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The Passion and Second Coming of L.D. Trotsky

by L. Marcus and K. Gandhi

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- 3 EDITORIAL:
THE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMMATIC UNITED FRONT**
- 8 MOTHER'S LIBERAL HELPERS:
THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD TO FASCISM
by S. Wagner**
- 20 AN OPEN LETTER TO LATIN AMERICA
by L. Marcus**
- 34 THE PASSION AND SECOND COMING OF L.D. TROTSKY
by L. Marcus and K. Ghandi**
- 2 FEATURES**

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THIS ISSUE

One of the first questions asked by serious people awakening now to socialist politics as their sense of morality and social responsibility is jolted by the collapse of the economy and the systematic destruction of bourgeois social institutions is, "But how can such a few people as the International Caucus of Labor Committees really expect to make a revolution?" This simple question, one that goes right to the ABCs of socialism, is the subject of this month's editorial, **The International Programmatic United Front** ... The question is probed further and even more decisively in this month's feature article, **The Passion and Second Coming of L.D. Trotsky** by L. Marcus and K. Ghandi. Marcus and Ghandi extend the monumental breakthroughs of the "New Psychoanalysis" (see *Campaigner*, Sept./Oct. 1973) to expose the self-righteous failures and religious zealotry hidden behind the Manichean ritual of the "Trotsky-Stalin question" and to locate the essential human qualities required by revolutionaries, producing in the process the first actual human view of Leon Trotsky himself... A unique theoretical contribution of the Labor Committees, which as early as 1968 set the NCLC apart as the only genuine socialist tendency among the plethora of anarchistic sectlets and reformist parties, was the location of the actual content and origin of fascism in the radical "local control" ideology embraced by U.S. liberals in the late 1960s. Susan Wagner's **Mother's Liberal Helpers: The Democratic Road to Fascism** elaborates this critical thesis, drawing upon the extensive clinical evidence supplied by the activities of leading American liberal democrats over the past six months... L. Marcus' **Open Letter to Latin America**, previously published in the ICLC's Spanish-language quarterly *Boletin Internacional*, outlines the basis for the creation of a revolutionary movement in Latin America, and presents the central polemic underlying such an effort.

Did you know that your future existence depends on fusion power, and that its development is being deliberately, criminally suppressed by the Rockefeller-allied Atomic Energy Commission?? It is something you cannot afford to ignore.

The special September-October double issue of the *Campaigner* will feature previously unpublished technical articles, the fruits of fusion research, contributed by scientists presently collaborating with the ICLC in the campaign to break through the AEC's psywar barrier and push this vital work further. **The Conceptual Design of A Tokamak Fusion Power Reactor, UWMAK-I** and **Technological Implications for Tokamak Fusion Reactors of the UWMAK-I Conceptual Design**, a two-part summary by Robert W. Conn and G. L. Kulcinski of a 2000-page detailed engineering study on the construction of a fusion reactor, **Applications of Fusion Power Technology to the Chemical Industry** by Morris Beller, James R. Powell, and Meyer Steinberg and **Prospects for Nuclear Fusion Power** by William Gough constitute some of the best scientific evidence testifying to the immediate feasibility of developing fusion technology — contrary to AEC-enforced lies on the matter. Louis Gold, in his **Project Jericho** documents the hideous story of AEC suppression of fusion research which he experienced first hand.

The editorial, **Science and Socialist Program** by Chuck Stevens, describes the methodology by which one determines the necessity for and feasibility of new technologies, outlining the scientific revolution implied by controlled nuclear fusion. Eric Lerner's **Human Ecology** locates the revolution in technology represented by fusion power in the successful evolution of the human species. The programmatic implications of fusion power development are demonstrated by Carol Menzel in a detailed examination of the immediate potential for vastly expanded agricultural production in the advanced sector in the context of expanded East-West trade.

NEXT ISSUE

editorial

The International

Programmatic United Front

The fate of humanity depends upon the early formation of an international *programmatic* united front among three key political vanguard tendencies of continental Europe. These vanguard forces are the mass-based Communist parties, the left wings of the mass-based social-democratic parties of the continent, and the International Caucus of Labor Committees. Given the establishment of such a united front in some preliminary form, the North American working people then begin to provide a leading strategic role, and the Japanese, Australian, and "Third World" class forces then, in turn, assume their important roles. The European initiative is the keystone for the broader effort.

This united front must be *programmatic*, and not merely a tactical alliance based on defense of specific interests in common. The working class is threatened by a massive Schachtian slave-labor austerity under conditions determined by the deepest depression-crisis in capitalist history. It will not be possible to energize sufficiently broad strata of workers, farmers and white-collar employees and unemployed to win anything unless the united front offers a program of economic reconstruction which immediately provides full employment, a basic working-class standard of living, and rapidly expanded food production. For example, a programmatic agreement merely to nationalize key industries and banks is inadequate because it is passive with respect to the vital issues of expanded reproduction.

There are only the three cited tendencies capable of such a united-front leadership in continental Europe. The sizeable European and North American "Maoist" organizations are police countergangs of Brigadier Frank M. Kitson specifications. The so-called "Trotskyist" tendency has virtually ceased to exist as even a minority faction within the socialist movement. The right-wing socialists of the French "autogestionnaire" type are either outright Tavistockian police agents or dupes of those agents. In continental Europe, there are the Communist parties, the left wings of mass-based

social-democracies, the Labor Committees — after that, the political swamps and abysses.

Despite the relative smallness of the European Labor Committees organization, without the active inclusion of that tendency, the united front would fail. Here we shall concentrate attention on the reasons for that fact.

The Soviet Leadership

The Soviet-bloc Communist and Workers' parties and the Yugoslav League of Communists must be included in the notion of the international programmatic united front for Europe. It is not essential that they formally enter the alliance, but they must be de facto consultative participants. Even the briefest examination of the economic problems of a united Western continental Europe under conditions of Anglo-American blockade makes this point clear. After one has accounted for the immediate intra-EEC trade and production coordination, Western Europe's industrial-agricultural infrastructure cannot be brought into reasonable balance without massive trade and other economic agreements with the Soviet bloc. Consequently, Yugoslav and Soviet bloc concurrence on joint economic policies with Western Europe becomes an essential feature of the programmatic outlook of a Western European workers' alliance.

Considering the dismal disorientation of the Soviet leadership during the months of April, May, and June to date, some critics might be too easily inclined to the epithet "counterrevolutionary" as a term for Soviet disorientation. Such moralistic reactions could be premised only upon a total misunderstanding of the Soviet bureaucracy, and a consequent resort to those facile but disorienting rationalizations formerly associated with "orthodox Trotskyist" formulations.

In the main, the Soviet bureaucracy — especially the party bureaucracy — is a consciously socialist agency of a workers' economy and state. It is not in any real sense

of those terms a revolutionary leadership, a revolutionary socialist cadre-formation. For somewhat different, but related reasons, the same distinction applies to the mass-based Communist parties of Western Europe. It is most relevant that this does not apply to the oldest layer of cadres of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which is a revolutionary socialist cadre formation.

A revolutionary cadre organization is constituted as a social formation around the invariant principle of its commitment to the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist working class into a revolutionary class-for-itself. That is not merely the condition specified by Marx and Engels as early as the *Communist Manifesto*; it is an absolute, scientific distinction.

The sense of individual identity of the cadre-party member is constantly located for him in respect to his contribution to that invariant. The concern for the accomplishment itself subsumes a correlated preoccupation with everything that pertains to it. The revolutionary cadre is not only acutely sensible of the distinction between class-in-itself and class-for-itself tendencies among individual workers and groups of workers, but with the discovery of methods for more effectively strengthening the latter impulse. His existence is focused entirely upon discerning the conditions and methods for this end.

Those organizations which have disassociated themselves from such a primary task, no matter how pro-socialist their convictions in other respects, cannot possibly develop those insights upon which proper assessment of tactical potentialities of class struggle depends.

To repeat this crucial point, the competence to determine strategic and tactical policies of class struggle depends upon a prolonged total commitment to detecting and recognizing unconscious revolutionary impulses in mass forces as a matter of direct perception. This qualification is not an instinct, but is a cultivated conceptual power acquired only through prolonged intensive concentration in political work of cadre organizations which are primarily committed to just such a revolutionary transformation.

The Soviet leadership absolutely lacks such qualifications. The Bolsheviks were such a force, otherwise the October Revolution could not have occurred. Yet, the Bolsheviks — apart from the Luxemburgist cooptations to Soviet leadership — were lacking in direct experience or understanding of the problems of class struggle in the advanced sector; and apart from the Luxemburgist tendency within the early Comintern, the Communist International never developed a qualified body of cadres outside of the Soviet Union — with the conditional exception of certain Balkan formations. After the crucial German events of 1921, by Lenin's death, the

prolonged isolation of the October Revolution, the demoralizing material conditions created by Civil War, and the growing hegemony of Zinoviev and then Stalin added two forms of self-isolation to the objective isolation. The Bolsheviks lost confidence in revolutions abroad for the immediately foreseeable future ("socialism in one country") and attempted to rationalize the problems of industrial management through a social compromise with a substantial stratum of petit-bourgeois bureaucrats of traditionally Menshevik or more rightward tendencies. The "Lenin Levy" marks the point of irreversible transition from the Bolshevik cadre-party. Since that point, the Soviet bureaucracy, including the party bureaucracy, lacked all contact with the problems of revolutionary mass work.

A recent article by Marshal Grechko aptly illustrates the point to be made. Grechko is explicit in his efforts to analyze the cadre-role performed by the Red Army within Soviet society. When he turns his attention to potential Soviet allies outside the Soviet bloc, he reduces the matter to the mass force of the capitalist sector's "simple people." No experienced revolutionary cadre would offer such over-simplification. The mass of working people, the fact of their objective self-interests, etc., are *in themselves* of no strategic importance. The mass of German workers in the Wehrmacht invading the Soviet Union were such "simple people," and yet they acted contrary to their class's historic interests, and did so in the most forceful manner. To the revolutionary cadre, class forces are defined in respect to the ebb and flow of subjective states and organizational potentials in the masses. No revolutionary cadre would place any confidence in the molecular factor of masses of "simple people."

In contrast to the party bureaucracies throughout the rest of Eastern Europe, the oldest cadre-stratum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is organically rooted in the experience of leading a heroic revolutionary struggle. The recent Tenth Congress of that party did include some wishful observations on non-alignment policies and some other errors of a minor sort, but in the main Tito documented a successful recent struggle for radical reorientation of the party's internal organization and policies, a struggle of the quality that can be mustered only by a revolutionary-cadre organization rooted in mass struggles. Whatever esteem might be justified for this or that individual leader in the Soviet Union or other parts of Eastern Europe, there is *no party* in those countries, including the Soviet Union, which possesses the qualities to independently replicate the quality of struggle seen in the recent experience of the LCY.

Consequently, the Soviet party is organically incapable of detecting or effectively orienting to a mass-struggle

potential in Western Europe (or elsewhere). As Lenin demonstrates, this defect is not a flaw in the Russian character, etc., or a reason for deprecation of the potentials of numerous Soviet party activists taken as individuals. The problem is based on the fact that the identity of the party member within the apparatus is not located in preoccupation with revolutionary mass work. Hence, the decisions formulated by the apparatus and its component tendencies are not premised upon revolutionary mass-struggle strategic and tactical criteria. The party is oriented both to the internal problems of the Soviet bloc and to the foreign-policy interests of that bloc otherwise. These are the invariants of membership in the leading organizations of that sector. The Soviet apparatus can respond only in terms of those invariants upon which the organizations of that apparatus are constituted.

The bureaucracy does not recognize such a flaw in its constitution. No one can imagine himself to be defective in lacking what he does not know to exist. The Soviet official is aware of the literary and statistical categories known to him as mass struggles, revolutions, and so forth. He associates with such truncated knowledge certain rationalizations, on which premise he deludes himself that he can analyze actual phenomena of this kind in a dialectical manner. The fact remains, he cannot.

Hence, to show such bureaucrats — however profoundly pro-socialist their convictions — that a certain strategic mass-struggle potential exists is merely to confuse them. They believe that they already know all that is necessary to know concerning the ABC's of mass struggle, and are protected from sensibility of the need to learn better by referring to the primacy of the "first socialist revolution" in knowledge of such matters. No one in the Soviet leadership understands the mass struggle, but virtually everyone in that leadership is convinced *ad hominem* that no one outside the Soviet hierarchy possibly could be qualified to instruct them.

Such are the essential implications of Soviet failure to recognize and act upon strategic potentials in the world today.

Mass-Based Communist Parties

The same principles apply, with somewhat less force, to the mass-based Communist parties of Western Europe. They can be summarily characterized as left-wing social-democracies distinguished by their identification with the Soviet leadership. They are not revolutionary parties, but only mass-based socialist parties. At best, they are mass-based parties of and for those who have no conception of establishing socialism, but who are nonetheless committed to certain socialist principles.

Unlike the bureaucracies of Eastern Europe, these parties are to a significant extent immediately engaged in the actual class struggle *within the capitalist sector's working class*. On this account, those matured cadres constantly engaged in or otherwise oriented to the political struggle among the masses tend to reflect the qualities of revolutionary organizers despite the contrary tendencies predominating in the party apparatus as a whole.

In day-to-day character, these parties, like even the left-wing factions of the mass-based social-democracies, are ordinarily *centrist* vanguard formations. As to pre-1914 German Social Democracy, "the party is everything." Their primary concern is the successful growth of the party within conditions of capitalist society. The idea of socialist revolution exists for them, but only as an abstract idea; it never exists for them in any immediate, practical situation, even a revolutionary situation. On this account, such parties happily avoid the sort of suicidal adventures one expects from the ultra-lefts, but they less happily class actual revolutionary situations under the heading of risky adventures.

There is a further significant conservative influence upon such parties. Not without some justification, capitalist ruling circles regard Communist parties as reflections of Soviet influences, and hold these parties accountable to a far greater extent than mass-based social-democracies.

Consequently, mass-based Communist parties tend to impose a protective conservatism upon their members exceeding that imposed upon the left wings of certain mass-based social-democracies. This produces one of the most crucial tactical ironies of Western Europe.

Although the right-wing factions of leadership in the mass-based social-democracies are more or less directly tied to CIA and NATO police agencies, their left wings tend to include significant numbers of cadres notably to the left of the Communist parties in temper and thinking. In ordinary circumstances, these social-democratic left wings have the function of political safety-valves. The capitalists would not ordinarily tolerate such radical manifestations by a mass-based Communist party, but consider these expressions harmless occurrences among the youthful strata of social-democracies otherwise efficiently controlled by right-wing and center formations. In a pre-revolutionary or revolutionary situation, those left wing social-democratic formations will usually provide the key to the mass mobilization of the working-class forces.

At such junctures, the freedom of political self-development of these minorities renders them both the most receptive to conceptual advances and the efficient

means for organizing the working-class base out from under the right-wing and center factions of the social-democracy. Hence, the alliance of this left-wing social-democratic minority with mass-based Communist parties provides the immediate, efficient basis for mobilization of the working-class majority — under suitable conditions of crisis.

The Role of the Labor Committees

In Western Europe, the working class already has the instrument of mass self-mobilization in the combination of Communist and social-democratic parties. The class would not accept an alternative form of mass mobilization until those instruments had been discredited and an alternative developed to potential hegemonic influence. Hence, for this period, either the masses will be mobilized around those parties or not at all.

Yet, as we have indicated, neither the Communist parties nor left-wing social-democratic factions have developed the organic qualifications for subjective leadership of the class. They are not organized around revolutionary mass-organization as an invariant principle of association; those parties' internal deliberative processes are not capable of creating the strategic, tactical, programmatic thrusts absolutely indispensable to organizing the masses in time. This contribution must *originate* from outside either the Communist or social-democratic parties.

The International Caucus of Labor Committees is the only qualified revolutionary-cadre force existing in the world today. That is not a pretense, a proprietary claim; it is a simple fact.

Two things are essential for the united front of Communists, left wing social-democrats, and Labor Committees. Firstly, the Communist parties and left-wing social-democratic factions involved must be viable in respect of their capacity to assimilate and act upon the necessary strategic, tactical, and programmatic conceptions. Secondly, experience must have demonstrated to them that the Labor Committees' strategic and tactical analysis uniquely correspond to the current reality. Both preconditions are being fulfilled, notably in West Germany and Italy, and the basis for anticipating the same results elsewhere is more than adequately established. It is merely necessary for the present, preliminary steps toward actual united fronts to reach a critical mass for the actual establishment of the international programmatic alliance prescribed.

North America

The mass mobilization of the working people of North America is ultimately the decisive aspect of our work.

This eliminates the major colonial base of the Rockefeller supranational power, and concurrently represents the most powerful industrial base and most developed section of the world's working class for the tasks of world reconstruction. It should be obvious that the organization of the North American working class requires a somewhat different specific course than is applicable to Europe.

In North America, the only force capable of organizing the working class is the Labor Committees. Outside the Labor Committees, only the tiny Communist parties of the U.S.A. and Canada can be regarded as even nominally socialist organizations. Among well-known self-styled groups, the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Union, the shrunken Progressive Labor Party, and the October League are all police-controlled countergangs of Brigadier Kitson specifications. The Communist Party U.S.A. is heavily infiltrated by the CIA and its LEAA, HEW, and HUD adjuncts, to the extent that the CPUSA is openly and consciously allied with known professedly fascist CIA agents, and most CPUSA national tactical policies run in conformity with CIA policies. Worse, led by Judas Goat Angela Davis, the CPUSA is being dragged deeper into alliance with the RU police-gang; Angela Davis almost succeeded even in implicating the CPUSA in such outright police-provocateur alliances as the LEAA's Symbionese Liberation Army and Black Liberation Army. The Communist Party of Canada, encouraged in that direction by the CIA-controlled forces around the CPUSA, is veering toward a similar abyss within the New Democratic Party of Canada. Even at best, the non-police-agent cadres of these Communist parties would represent only a useful body of allies to the Labor Committees; there is absolutely no mass-based vanguard organization in North America comparable to the present influence of the Labor Committees.

Nor do the trade-unions *in themselves* represent a means for mobilizing a vanguard force. Given the degree of CIA control of the AFL-CIO and UAW bureaucracies, it would be obscenely absurd to envisage a labor party based on formations based within the existing trade-unions.

However... the organic history of trade-union organization, and existing lines of association of workers reflecting present and past trade-union organization do represent a major aspect of the means for rapidly organizing those workers. One cannot, in general, propose to organize a political mass movement through the existing unions, but those workers can be organized in parallel to their existing lines of trade-union organization. There are some exceptions; insofar as the general effort can be aided by some degree of

organization through the unions, so much the better.

Just as the Labor Committees has demonstrated certain principles "experimentally" in West Germany and Italy, we have certain demonstrations upon which to reflect from recent organizing experience in the U.S.A. and Canada. In general, the process of reaching out directly to several hundred thousands workers in our "fourth circles" of mass organization has differentiated the relatively more political workers along lines of internationalism. It was the worker who responded to the British situation in January, to the West German, French, Italian, Yugoslav, etc. situations later on who was the individual in relatively greater proximity to us.

A single major forward step of the united front in Europe will at any moment in North America immediately mobilize an additional several thousands of workers from our present "fourth circles" into our "second and third circles." This expansion of those inner circles of NUWRO and the Labor Committees will immediately extend the fourth circle from hundreds of thousands to include several millions of those workers who now merely recognize the Labor Committees. This qualitative augmentation, such quantum jumps, will occur primarily along lines paralleling trade-union organization, drawing in thousands of ghetto victims from the side.

Such a qualitative advance in North America will have a reciprocal effect upon European organizing, which effect will, in turn, produce another quantum jump in North America.

There is nothing speculative or wishful in this estimation. The recent smashing of trade-unions from outside and from within and the collapse of municipal budgets and services has convinced the overwhelming majority of North American workers of the impossibility of traditional reforms. In June we hear only rarely that cry, "Our union will fight this," which was pervasive in 1972-73 and still rampant even last January. The workers are waiting for a credible positive political alternative, and that noted, they will begin to move. When such movement begins, it will occur as an accelerating, self-feeding growth in organization.

The Programmatic Struggle

The program is elementary. We have advanced it in some detail since mid-1970 when we first published our "Emergency Reconstruction Program."

In opposition to Schachtian, zero-growth fascist economic and social policies now being offered by Democrats and liberal "Eastern Establishment" Republicans, we propose world development based on a commitment to brute force development of controlled

thermonuclear fusion processes. The commitment to the rapid development of fusion technology provides the background orientation for short-term industrial expansion accompanied by massive development of the scale and productivity of agricultural production.

On the basis of materials available to us earlier this year, we had determined that a commitment to fusion development in the order of \$15-20 billions per year would be sufficient to have pilot plants by the end of the decade and regular fusion power production being installed by the middle of the 1980's. On the basis of the suggestions and assessments of leading physicists, we have been shown that our earlier estimates were unduly conservative.

However, presuming that the more conservative estimate were accepted as safely realistic, a commitment to fusion power development would permit us to exploit existing energy resources at an expanded rate, and thus to rapidly increase the per capita throughput of power for households, industry, and agriculture while expanding industry and agriculture in scale into the so-called developing sector. That policy provides sufficient material basis for full utilization of existing technological potentials for a growth policy for the U.S. sector in the order of a 25 per cent per annum sectoral value contribution, and coordinate, if more modest rates for Western Europe and Japan.

Limiting our observations here to such summary report, this provides the working-class with a massive positive alternative for human existence, the basis and powerful impetus for ridding the earth of a capitalist system whose continuation requires fascist genocide and probably nuclear holocaust.

Experience has shown that the workers of North America and Western Europe can readily conceptualize the feasibility of the kind of reconstruction program we have identified. To act politically on that they require only the demonstration of the possibility of building the political instrumentalities of self-government through which to bring such a program into operation.

With that in view, we have an obvious socialist alternative to offer to the proletarians of the Southern Hemisphere.

Nothing is guaranteed but the feasibility of causing the mass mobilization we have proposed to occur. Given the commitment to that result, we can then say without exaggeration that the choice for the human race is either fascism and nuclear extinction under Rockefeller leadership or an expanding human existence under the initiatives now being supplied by the International Caucus of Labor Committees.



Rockefeller's Menagerie

Left to right: Humphrey, Mondale, Mansfield & Javits

Mother's Liberal Helpers: The Democratic Road to Fascism

by S. Wagner

[Cartoon by Beth Shaw]

Fascism is being ushered into the United States by the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. It is implementing the program and it has long since fostered the ideology.

Nazi Finance Minister Hjalmar Schacht would stand in awe at the comprehensiveness of the economic and labor policies being spawned by Rockefeller's liberal midwives. Between themselves, Senators Mansfield, Mondale, Humphrey and Jackson have not only proposed every essential element of Hitler's Labor Front and Mussolini's corporate state, but have significantly upgraded their capabilities to include brainwashing and modern technology. This modern fascist state has already been given a trial performance in Brazil where the return to the Middle Ages was heralded last summer by an outbreak of the bubonic plague.

Underneath the Brazilian "economic miracle," underneath the Nazi Labor Front, lies a broken and impotent working class. Here, too, the liberals nestled in the Democratic Party have a service to render to Rockefeller. In every period of conjunctural crisis, when the political class-consciousness of the U.S. working class begins to stir, the Democratic Party has succeeded in atomizing the class, and dragging it back to a state of political infantilism.

The workers engaged in the mass strike outbreaks of the thirties were lulled to sleep as the party of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt cooed, "Don't get agitated, don't start pretending you are adults, Mama will provide." The potential black revolutionaries of the sixties were turned into psychotic, squalling, tantrum-throwing nationalists when they opted to suck on the big nipple of the OEO.

In Western Europe, a worker can realize his class-consciousness through actual political working-class institutions — the social democratic, socialist and communist parties. The U.S. worker submerges his human, class-conscious identity when faced with the grown-up world of politics and runs for the warm skirts of the Democratic Party.

Herein lies the potential of the National Caucus of Labor Committees — a small group of Communists armed with New Solidarity. As the world as we have known it for twenty-five years shatters under the Rockefeller-directed credit collapse, the working class is faced with a concrete choice. The NCLC demands that the self-conscious adult inside each human being take on the frightening task of wrenching control of the world's economy out of Rockefeller's bloody hands and that he or she accept the responsibility of themselves directing the future of the human race.

The Democratic Party offers no such terrifying responsibility. Think, instead, of the German Jews filing

into the Nazis' boxcars, like dazed children. This is what the Democratic Party of the seventies is offering.

I. THE POLITICS OF JOY

In 1968, with the world economy shuddering on the edge of descent into final destruction, Hubert Humphrey Democratic presidential candidate and arch-liberal campaigned under the slogan — the Politics of Joy. It is no coincidence that Humphrey chose to represent himself and liberal policies with a grotesque reincarnation of the credo of the Nazi Labor Front: *Strength Through Joy*. For Hitler's "Strength Through Joy" strategy, which reduced a once-strong and class-conscious working class to a herd of atomized, benumbed slaves is but a cruder form of the sophisticated counter-insurgency politics of the Democratic Party since the 1930's.

Workers, students and minorities in the U.S. tend to stumble at the thought of fascism entering from the left of the political spectrum. Traditionally, they have found themselves squared off against the repressive, intransigent labor and social policies of the Republican right. The educational system and the media have done a masterful job of equating fascism with Mayor Daley's police or Richard Nixon's B-52's.

Anyone duped by that image (and one need only look at the pages of the Communist Party USA's *Daily World*), has not learned the simple lesson learned by John D. Rockefeller, Sr. after the Ludlow Massacre in 1914. Old John D. came to understand that overt repressive control of the working class will backfire into open, spreading rebellion. Much better, he was counseled, to create institutions which give the illusion of self-management and representation and which channel working-class ferment into narrow impotent forms.

The Republican and conservative right have never learned nor adopted the lessons of Ludlow. The essential distinction between the Republicans and Democrats is summed up by the comments of an army veteran "Bonus Marcher" in Washington, D.C. after the second Bonus March in 1934, "Hoover sent the Army. Roosevelt sent his wife."

The appropriate image of the Republican base is Texas clothing manufacturer Willy Farah. Confronted with an Amalgamated Clothing Workers' unionization drive in his factories, Farah rounded up guns, goons and dogs and announced, "The NLRB be damned." This comic display of macho provoked nationwide support for the strike, Farah was nearly ruined, and the unionization drive was successful. Willy Farah looks at the world as if it were made up of multitudes of small-time capitalists like himself and assumes that Adam Smith's "invisible

hand" makes the whole apparatus work. The class struggle is something between the individual capitalist and his workers, and may the toughest man win. Yet complementing their willingness to beat a striking worker over the head with a club, the Willy Farahs of this world have an entrepreneurial eighteenth-century faith in capitalist progress. Depressions do not herald the permanent end of technological advancement. They simply mean squeeze your workers a little harder, and let's get on with capitalism.

Old Rockefeller taught his boys that such attitudes will not breed fascism; they will only stiffen working class resistance.

Instead, the Rockefellers and their international capitalist brethren turned to the Democratic left to control the working class. Liberalism is capitalism's political counter-gang philosophy. That is, in advanced western societies, liberalism is the radical, pro-capitalist foil to communist, class-conscious insurgency. The most overt example of this phenomenon came after World War II, with the CIA-directed creation of liberal political parties — the Free Democratic Party in West Germany, the Republican Party in Italy and the Americans for Democratic Action grouplet in the United States. All were explicitly spawned to counter the potential influence on liberals and intellectuals of the Communist Parties in the unrest of post-war Europe.

The operative process which delivers liberals so readily into the hands of professional counter-insurgents in the CIA, is a psychological one. It is a process of self-degradation. At some time in their lives, most liberals capitulate to their fears of confronting and defying the existing capitalist authorities. Rather than realizing their potential to understand and act upon a coherent world, liberals cave in to their mothers' view that the world is run by an "Illuminati." One's only hope to effect the world is to serve that Illuminati; that is, to become a lawyer, or a professor or a statesman.

That capitulation most obviously manifests itself in a conscious rejection of revolutionary, class-wide activity. Look at the ranks of former members of the Communist Party USA who were broken and you find liberals. (It is only now, with the growing power of the NCLC, that some of these shells are returning to human political activity.) Even worse, look at the progressives and activists who rejected communism outright and you find the most bitter, vicious proto-fascists currently engaged in politics.

Liberals have destroyed any hope of an identity divorced from capitalist reality. Unlike the conservative who is attached, often economically, to a parochial, unchanging form of capitalism, the liberal fluctuates wildly with the violent ups and downs of capitalism. In a depression, he is like a necrophiliac, clinging to the

dying body of capitalism and adapting to the new reality with a Zero-Growth death ideology and with genocidal economic policies.

Once the liberal has decided to accept the warm kitchen of a controlled capitalist environment, any hope he or she once harbored for "helping others," becomes a grotesque caricature of itself. The help offered by today's liberalism is a brainwashed grin on the hollow face of an exhausted worker, black pride in a burned-out ghetto, or "co-participation" in a sped-up hell hole of a factory.

This is the substance of Hubert Humphrey's politics of Strength Through Joy.

II. THE SOCIOLOGY OF DEFEAT

The same economic crisis which pushed Germany and Italy into fascism now confronts the entire advanced capitalist sector. The reason for this is best examined in the difference between the United States' response to the depression of the 1930's and Germany's response. The entire Western sector was faced with a liquidity crisis. The amount of paper capital was expanding while the real wealth and real production which backed it up, was contracting. The crash of 1929 marked the violent deflation of that worthless paper and the descent into depression. With the hot air out of the system, the problem then facing all Western capitalists was the renewal of production backed by newly-floated credit representing some form of real wealth. That wealth was to be squeezed from some sector of the world's working class.

Germany, stripped of its colonies, unable to engage in world trade was forced to turn in on its own population as a source of that real wealth. New credits were floated — the Mefo and Offa bills — which were specifically backed up with loot from the labor intensive public works projects and armament industry. With paper credit again expanding and the cannibalization of its own population was no longer sufficient, Germany turned to the east adding the factories of Eastern Europe and the bodies of the Slavic populations to Germany's store of wealth.

The United States, after a short period of cannibalization which took the form of FDR's public works projects and the National Industrial Recovery Act, was able to ease up on its own population because of the promise of outside loot. World War II, besides providing the economy with a shot in the arm with war production, laid the political basis for the establishment of the dollar empire. With the Bretton Woods agreement of 1948 which pegged foreign currencies to the dollar, wealth siphoned from the Third World (and from post-war Europe) has provided the underpinnings for contemporary world capitalism. Roosevelt's New Deal did not get the United States out of a depression — war

production and the promise of the Marshall Plan and the Alliance for Progress did.

Since the end of the 1960's it has become obvious to both the Labor Committees and to enlightened international capitalists, that the growth of paper capital is again accelerating far beyond the amount of loot squeezed from the Third World. The solution in the advanced sector is a replication of Hitler's Germany — self-cannibalization and war with the Soviets.

With the outbreak of the orchestrated Mideast War in October, 1973 and the phony oil embargo, the Rockefeller forces announced their intention to rapidly consolidate this fascist solution. The rise in the price of oil has essentially placed an eight-billion dollar "reparations payment" on the advanced capitalist sector, payable to the Rockefeller banks. (For the Third World the oil price increase is the final push to mass genocide.) The political fallout of this economic realignment, was the consolidation of austerity regimes in Europe throughout the spring and summer of 1974 — Chancellor Schmidt in West Germany, Foreign Minister Callaghan in Great Britain and President Giscard D'estaing in France. The resignation of the "Willy Farah" administration of Richard Nixon, effectively completed the consolidation.

In tandem with the economic and governmental realignments in the advanced sector comes the necessary destruction of any healthy, class-conscious resistance to burgeoning fascist austerity.

A working class which succumbs to the seductive warmth of fascism is a working class which has been reduced to mass psychosis. The Rockefellers, through their mad-doctor Institutes such as Tavistock (see last Campaigner) have carefully distilled the elements of German and Italian fascism and are attempting to consciously replicate that psychosis.

Look at the working class of Weimar Germany. Bled and spent from the imperialists' World War I, they faced over a decade of pure economic chaos: miserable, cold unemployment after the war, wild skyrocketing inflation, followed again with depression and unemployment. Throughout the 1920's, culminating with the Von Papen Government in 1932, parliamentary democracy proved itself unable to cope with economic collapse.

The solution obvious to German workers was the assumption of state power, as their Soviet brothers had done in 1917. Such a move would link up the industrialized German economy to the staggering Soviets, giving the Germans both a market and a source of raw materials. It would also throw off the stranglehold of capitalist reparations payments which was squeezing the life out of the German economy. But, through fear and

stupidity, and with almost criminal consistency, the Social Democracy and the Moscow-directed Communist Party (KPD) continually blocked that road. By 1933, the class was trapped in a controlled environment — parliamentary democracy did not work, revolution was a chimera, the economy was beyond mortal man's control.

The appearance of Hitler's political "stability," and Schacht's economic "stability," was embraced. And like a frightened child snuggling into the safety of a warm bed, no heed was paid to the neighbors that disappeared.

The fate of the Italian working class was but a variation on the same theme. Rather than the stolid, inactive impotence of the SPD and KPD, the Italian Communists rapidly destroyed themselves with wild, isolated factory seizures which were easily crushed by the nationally-organized fascists.

Rockefeller's contemporary game plan for the United States is the same — submerge the working class in a controlled aversive environment and then invite them in from the cold for a fireside chat in the lap of liberal fascism. Rockefeller fully expects the working class to be sufficiently softened up after months of Watergate, inflation, gas shortages, plant closings and the Symbionese Liberation Army. After dangling the hope of normalcy in front of workers, in the form of Gerald Ford's presidency, Rockefeller expects the working class to go down with a final groan when they realize that neither "Von Papen" Ford, nor bourgeois democracy can tame the economic chaos, nor the frightening new social dislocations.

Rocky hopes to channel any remaining eruptions of anger into militant, local impotence egged on by such fascist counter-gangs as the Revolutionary Union.

At the appropriate moment, Rockefeller's pet liberals appear — Javits, Mondale, Humphrey, Mansfield, et al. — and end the agony with soothing phrases resurrected from the New Deal, like full employment, energy development, community control, centralized planning and national priorities.

This time around Rockefeller has a problem. His controlled environment is being pierced. Although he captured the AFL-CIO long ago, although he transformed the Socialist Workers Party into a fascist counter-gang, although he has Moscow so terrified that the non-agents in the Communist Party USA are completely broken, he finds workers slipping out of his grip, gravitating toward a class-conscious conception of expanded reproduction. They are talking about fusion power, and the problems of workers in Italy!

Throughout the United States, the ideas and program of the National Caucus of Labor Committees are being tested against those of Rockefeller's liberal

Congressional cohorts. Workers are sorting out the difference between two different conceptions of the world, and their own place in it.

III. POST-WATERGATE LEGISLATION

Those two different conceptions of the world are represented by two bodies of legislation facing the post-Watergate Congress. The first calls for the expansion of the productive capabilities of the United States and the world through the brute-force development of fusion power and through the realization of the agricultural productivities of the American farmer.

Fusion power — a safe, clean cheap source of energy — is immediately practical, given a sufficient level of investment over the immediate years. The development of a fusion technology will free the United States and the world from the ever-tightening raw materials squeeze which works to the Rockefellers' advantage. It is no coincidence that we find one hand of the Rockefellers politically or economically controlling essential sources of raw materials; and the other hand sabotaging the development of fusion power.

The situation in agriculture is parallel. While the Rockefeller-controlled New York banks suck credit out of the farm regions in the United States, thereby ensuring a shortfall harvest and mass bankruptcies, John D. Rockefeller III cries that we cannot feed the world's population and we must lop off several million people. The counter to this is a proposal for a debt moratorium on agricultural credit, and a commitment to provide necessary new credit, fertilizer and supplies to ensure that American farmers can achieve maximum productivity.

This program, submitted by the National Caucus of Labor Committees to Congress, will only ultimately be "legislated" by a self-organized working class — a class which has decided that, as a class, it alone can run the United States and eventually, the world economy.

The other program, submitted by liberal Democrats and a few Republicans to the Congress, demands no such responsibility. It offers to turn complete control of the economy over to the Rockefellers. Workers do not have to face the rigors of organizing as a class, or even as trade unionists. If they docilely wait in the warmth of their individual kitchens they will be taken care of — a job at \$60 a week, government-provided transportation to the Rocky Mountains, free housing in a trailer camp, centralized food distribution. Workers simply have to agree to leave politics and economics to the direction of the grown-ups.

This liberal-fascist legislation has several interlocking dynamics which will be examined in concrete detail. All fascist economies must be grounded on the destruction of potentially class-wide organization and consciousness,

on the *atomization* of the working class. In tandem with that fragmentation, the centrally-controlled *mechanisms of looting* must be established. And overlaying this outline of fascism, is the development of the appropriate *national ideology* which will cement workers firmly into to new society.

1. Atomizing the Class

As was clear in Germany in 1933, the physical dissolution of class-wide structures (which took one day and was accomplished without bloodshed) was less important than the psychological destruction of the will to fight and the substitution of an alternate form of organization. Those alternate structures took the form of close-knit community ties which resembled extended families; and the Nazi Labor Front which established factory-wide and industry-wide organizations. A steel worker was to locate his identity with his factory manager, the industry owner and the output of his steel plant. Any vague stirrings for an identity broader than that were dissolved into honoring "der Fuehrer" and "das Reich."

Precisely parallel structures have been gestating in the United States for many years now. The Anglo-American Nazi doctors operating out of the Rockefeller-funded Tavistock Institute in England and the agents that are seeded throughout the United States (See Tavistock Campaigners) have been poking into the bourgeois neuroses of the working class for 25 years, developing the appropriate ideologies and formations which counter class-wide activity. Several pieces of liberal legislation crystallize those mad-doctor investigations.

a. *The Warsaw Ghetto Acts*: The community control ideology and organization spawned in the early 1960's and tested on ghetto populations is being extended to the whole class. The ideology is hideous. It plays on an individual's fear of acting in and controlling the "outer" world. It reinforces the infantile need for a warm friendly family. It provides the environment for brainwashing. Potential black revolutionaries have been turned into screeching children in a sandbox, frightened and angry at any intrusion of outsiders such as reality and responsibility. The same treatment, with variants like vigilanteism, is slated for the rest of the class.

The leading Rockefeller agent in the House of Representatives, Democrat Henry Reuss of Wisconsin (a member of the cabal's prestigious Council on Foreign Relations) has introduced the most comprehensive version of this fascist organization. His "Full Employment and Equal Opportunities Act" (H.R. 15476) quite simply calls for full employment on your own block. Employment funds will be given to community councils (established under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, enacted in December 1973)

which will decide how best to utilize them — sanitation, day care, education, methadone maintenance, transportation, home repairs and the like. The community control provided by this act is exactly analogous to the community control in the Warsaw Ghetto — the residents democratically decide who gets the last loaf of bread and who goes to the concentration camp.

Mr. Reuss, whose other proposals include strangling credit lines to cities and industry, envisions a time when city, state, and federal services are non-existent and community residents can choose to use their employment funds for either education or sanitation. For those workers who are not employed by the meager allocation of community funds, Mr. Reuss suggests a national Stand-by Job Corps analagous to the Civilian Conservation Corps of the Thirties. (Similar proposals will be treated later.)

Matching the Reuss proposal in its overt fascist proposals is the community Anti-Crime Assistance Act (H.R. 9175) fielded by Representative John Conyers. Conyers, a liberal black Democrat from Detroit, is representative of precisely the process of self-degradation which we described earlier as essential in the creation of a liberal. In Conyers' case, much of the credit for transforming him into a social fascist, goes to the American Communist Party. In the late 1940's Conyers, Coleman Young (the current mayor of Detroit) and other potential black revolutionaries were members of the CPUSA. The CP, in the midst of being purged from the trade unions and under government attack, was in a state of moral and political retreat, Conyers, Young and others were sent by the CP *into the Democratic Party*, ostensibly to push for progressive policies from within a safe haven. With only the morally and intellectually degenerating Communist Party as a touchstone, these "infiltrators" were permanently sucked into the warm, safe mudhole of liberal politics.

It is no coincidence then, that Conyers and Young represent the most vicious community control politics in the country. Both were key in entrenching the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (LEAA) more firmly in Detroit, than probably anywhere else in the nation. The LEAA, as has been developed at length in our other publications, is a nationally-funded gestapo, under the effective control of the CIA, through "ex-agents". While providing advanced equipment, training and national organization for this American SS, the LEAA is also the medium for promoting "community-controlled policing" — that is, self-policing. The Detroit situation is the most graphic of the LEAA's modus operandi. While an LEAA-funded super-cop STRESS squad randomly shot down black youth, Conyers and others mobilized the community outrage at this, into demands

for self-policing and black cops. The LEAA itself is now funding programs for improving community-police relations and for assisting in the creation of vigilante community squads. A variant on this same theme is the activation of LEAA-organized ghetto gangs or terrorist groups which spark a similar demand for self-policing and friendly "native" cops.

As a necessary component in the creation of any Warsaw Ghetto, then is Conyers' "Judenrat" Act, which establishes the basis for a significant upgrading of the community-police apparatus. As a pathetic footnote, Conyers can not only thank the Communist Party for his start on the road to liberal fascism, but for supporting his anti-STRESS drive in Detroit.

Much of the rest of the government's apparatus is being molded into furthering the community control apparatus and ideology. For example, the 1975 Housing and Urban Development Act (now law) contains a major new amendment which provides for channeling housing funds into community development corporations for use at their own discretion. Gridded against the June announcement that no more public housing would be funded, the new HUD bill is an obvious implementation of the Reuss scheme.

b. The Nazi Labor Front Act: Out in the forefront in the drive to chain workers to the chimera of "labor-management coparticipation" is Rockefeller's own houseboy, New York Senator Jacob Javits. Javits, a liberal Republican, is currently carrying a heavy load, both in subverting constitutional democracy here in the United States and as a leading NATO agent, calling for NATO intervention into social dislocations in Europe.

In order to ensure the complete docility of the labor movement, the trade union structure must be completely destroyed or subverted into the equivalent of the Nazi Labor Front. In the United States, CIA-labor lieutenants such as Leonard Woodcock of the UAW, Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers union, have prepared the ground for the latter process, by trumpeting the demand for coparticipation, and labor-management cooperation. Left to itself, without Labor Committee intervention, the trade union structure would soon find itself totally reorganized along completely corporatist lines — with steel workers joining USW labor bureaucrats and the steel owners and deciding how best to increase output. In Nazi Germany, this vertical organization of workers and employers into one industry was called a National Estate.

Senator Javits, in an August 14, 1974 speech, is proposing \$5,000,000 to lay the basis for that structure. Long an advocate of increasing productivity through co-participation Javits would use that money to establish

5000 labor-management productivity councils. Isolated from a class-wide perspective of expanding production through investment in new technologies, and confined within the parameters of a decaying factory, the worker in one of these productivity councils is expected to brainwash himself and his comrades into speeding themselves up.

The glue which holds these 5000 councils together must be some sense of national (capitalist) goals and identity. Representative Reuss in numerous speeches surfaces again calling for the establishment of a "social contract," between government, industry and labor. Workers would "agree" to cut wages, increase productivity and accept layoffs, all in the national interest. Javits has provided the mechanism to implement that social contract with his Economic Review Act (S.3771) which would establish an Economic Review Board. Made up of government and industry representatives and labor lieutenants, the Board would monitor the economy and make "recommendations" on employment, production and the like.

c. *The Boxcar Bills*: Locking workers into a narrow community or factory-based view of themselves are two essential components of destroying the capability for working-class wide self-organization. A third factor is the actual physical disruption of lives accompanied with the creation of a dependency on central government for essential services such as food and housing.

As British Brigadier General Frank Kitson laid out in his book *Low Intensity Operations*, and as the previous two issues of the *Campaigner* explain in detail, the prime elements in controlling a population are relocation and food control.

The most overt expression of this was floated in Senator Walter Mondale's National Employment Priorities Act (S.2809). Mondale, a Democrat from Minnesota who rubs shoulders with the Rockefellers at their international strategy sessions (the Bilderberger conferences), hastily withdrew support for *his own bill* after the Labor Committees exposed its overt fascist implications. The key provisions surfaced in various other bills such as Reuss' Full Employment Act and Javits' Economic Review Act. Nonetheless, Mondale's bill provides a comprehensive example, especially since it was openly endorsed by Leonard Woodcock and the UAW.

The bill would provide for a National Employment Relocation Administration, made up along corporatist lines with pseudo-labor representation. This Administration would control, through selective allocation of aid and funds, the location of plant closings and municipal bankruptcies. For the millions of workers thrown out of work or cut off from municipal services, the good

Senator Mondale offers relocation. Knowing that the traumas caused by such a violent disruption of life, provide a singular opportunity to "hook" workers on an infantile dependency to a capitalist "big brother," Mondale offers to provide relocating workers with the following: supplemental income benefits, a relocation allowance, the maintenance of health and retirement plans, emergency mortgage and rent payments, *food stamps* and surplus *food commodities*, and manpower training programs.

With these minimal necessities held out as inducement, Mondale drives home the final conditions: workers must agree to relocate anywhere in the country; and workers must agree to submit to counseling (read: brainwashing) and retraining. If workers fail to progress *satisfactorily* in the counseling and retraining, they lose all benefits.

Hitler and Mussolini would have been awed. Their little minds could not have imagined such a powerful tool in turning a working class into an atomized mass of brainwashed slaves.

2. The Mechanisms of Loot

Of course turning millions of workers into zombies is not the end result of the liberal programs, as much as Rockefeller and his liberal friends may enjoy the process. The end result is the propping up of their property titles with loot squeezed from those workers, and not unimportantly, from small and mediumsized capitalists.

The most recognizable method of extracting loot from the working class is the vast public service employment projects last seen during the last depression in Germany, Italy and the United States. At miserable wages, these jobs will herd workers into work camps in god-forsaken areas. A very prescient Lieutenant Colonel, writing in the October 1973 issue of *Military Review* (and probably cribbing from Rockefeller) lays out the economic and political ramifications of public service employment:

Let us imagine that the urban crisis in the United States continues to worsen... The ranks of the unemployed and underemployed grow larger as more youth join the work force... The unemployment rate slowly climbs through 10.8 per cent, and urban crime is on the upswing. The discouragement of the unemployed has developed into hopelessness. This has increased the danger of insurgency in the cities to a level higher than that of 1968.

The Secretary of Defense recommended to the President that an ad hoc committee be formed to study the possibility of establishing a program similar to the CCC to help the country out of its dilemma. Such a committee consisting of the Secretaries of Interior, Justice, Defense, and Health, Education and Welfare and Housing and Urban Development and chaired by the Vice President, was formed and set to work.

The Lt. Colonel's Domestic Service Corps would be an updated version of the CCCs, administered by civilians and trained and deployed by the military.

In September 1973, at approximately the same time the Lt. Colonel was writing this piece of "conjecture," the leading liberal lights in the country were gathered at a Public Service Employment Conference in New York City. Calling for essentially the same thing, perhaps minus the military, were Senators Kennedy and Hart, Representatives Abzug, Badillo, Chisolm, Drinan, Jordan, and Rangel and such organizations as PUSH, the AFL-CIO, the Urban League, the National Organization of Women and the countergang ADA. Some months later, a Committee of One Hundred for Full Employment was established composed of essentially the same roster with the addition of Leonard Woodcock and Jerry Wurf. The Committee has endorsed the Reuss Warsaw Ghetto Act for Full Employment and Equal Opportunity.

Recent converts to public service employment are that great friend of labor, Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns and a new terrorist group which plans to blow up industries until they fund public service jobs. Of course, giving substance to this is a Jacob Javits bill — the "Emergency Energy Employment Assistance Act" (S.2993) — calling for a \$4-billion investment into public employment jobs.

Another mechanism for squeezing loot out of workers is the so-called Brazilian index system — a system which ties wage increases to a government calculated cost-of-living indicator. The success of such a wage control is best measured by the previously mentioned plagues which have broken out in Brazil as the result of the decimated standard of living of Brazilian workers. The leading spokesman for the Brazilian index in the United States is Senate Majority leader Mike Mansfield, a member of Rockefeller's Commission on Critical Choices, who has proposed the "Wages Adjustment Act" (S.3600).

This looting operation can only be successful, if control over the contracting economy — and hence over the loot — is concentrated in the hands of the hegemonic capitalist interests. In Germany, that control was institutionalized on several levels. The cartel statutes of 1933 allowed cartels to destroy "unreliable competitors," by means of boycotts or similar measures, to force outsiders into cartels, and to prohibit the erection of new or the expansion of existing enterprises. Other federal agencies, under the direction of the cartels, regulated the importation, production and distribution of critical raw materials. With the establishment of the Office of the Four-Year Plan under Herman Goering in

1936, all the elements of rationalization and central control were placed under one war-oriented office.

A series of legislative proposals put forth by the already encountered Javits, Reuss, Mansfield and Mondale reflect the need to place the U.S. economy as firmly in Rockefeller's hands as the German economy was in the hands of the Krupps, Thyssens and Flicks.

Javits' Economic Review Board, besides establishing the labor-management productivity councils, would be vested with vast oversight powers over the flow of raw materials, employment, industrial production, trade, etc. Mondale's National Employment Relocation Board would have similar oversight capabilities over especially plant closings and unemployment, and, as mentioned, could selectively fund chosen faltering industries or municipalities. Senator Mansfield, along with Treasury Secretary William "Oil Hoax" Simon, has already established a Temporary National Commission on Supplies and Shortages which can rapidly evolve into a regulator of the flow of raw materials.

Fondly remembering Nazi Finance Minister Schacht's dictatorial economic powers as the head of the Reichsbank, Representative Reuss, in various speeches, has proposed that the Federal Reserve be given the power to *selectively* issue credit to "productive," (labor intensive) enterprises.

Clearly all these proposals, would give the Rockefeller forces in the government the ability to "destroy unreliable competitors," that is small, non-Rockefeller industry. With everyone bankrupt but himself, Rockefeller intends to then buy up existing productive capacity at a nickel on the dollar.

This fetish for centralized planning is an interesting component of the liberal make-up. Liberals themselves are impotent, spineless little worms. They could not dare control the very messy collapse of world capitalism. Like hysterical children they demand that firm central control be placed in the hands of the all-powerful Illuminati (today found in the corporeal form of the Rockefellers). The anguished liberal shriek for centralized planning and control can still be heard from the last depression.

One who is still shrieking is Senator Hubert Humphrey. In a state of extreme anxiety of the economic collapse, Hubert has put out a very comforting, all-encompassing "Balanced National Growth and Development Act" (S3050), which would serve as an executive super-cabinet concerned with all aspects of domestic economic and social life. The super-cabinet, implementing its policies through regional bodies — much like the Nazi Labor Front — could gracefully preside

over an orderly dismemberment of non-Rockefeller industry.

3. Ideology: "Rocky Has A Better Idea"

The contraction of the economy and the relocation to public-service slave labor camps does not hold an especial appeal to the American worker. In Nazi Germany, the horrors of fascism were coated over with a harkening to return to the past. The pleasures of hearth and home, the joy in craftsmanship, the virtues of an idyllic medieval Germany were spooned to German workers to keep them lulled into insensibility. In fascist Italy, Mussolini recalled the grandeurs of the Roman past.

Looking to the past in the United States, one finds a Revolutionary War, the constant assault on the frontier, a pushing forward. When faced with potential insurgency in twentieth century America, the liberals who took the reins reflected this ideology. Roosevelt cooled proletarian unrest with the *New Deal* and Kennedy turned to the ghetto with the *New Frontier*. This is reflected in industry with slogans like "Ford Has A Better Idea," and General Electric's "Progress Is Our Most Important Product."

Faced with the necessity to rule over a contracting economy, and to implement violent zero-growth measures, Rockefeller must come up with something better than "Fight Hunger with Hunger," to calm the American worker.

The outlines have already been sketched with the energy development proposal which Richard Nixon entitled "Project Independence." Ah, what an enticement to the rugged American individualist: freeing the U.S. economy from the shackles of Arab oil, discovering new frontiers in energy development. Enough of this zero-growth, as President Ford put it in August, new technologies will allow us to have both a clean environment and growth.

In Congress, the liberal gaggle have floated a dozen bills — funding experimental projects, creating an Energy Research and Development Agency (S.2744), establishing public-private energy development corporations (S.1283). And a thorough search through the legislation reveals not one word about fusion power, the only source of energy which could truly provide the technological basis for an expanding economy.

Since the U.S. working class will not work itself to death building monuments to the past, Rockefeller will instead substitute the American pyraminenbau — oil shale development, coal gassification and liquification plants, geothermal and solar energy schemes. The Rocky Mountain energy development project already underway will eventually involve millions of workers engaged in coal and oil extraction, environmental repair (sic), the

construction of huge plants, the diversion of rivers, the laying of thousands of miles of energy transmission cables. There are rumors that the 17th-century dream of a canal connecting the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean will be built.

And with the immediately feasible development of fusion power, all this is just as worthless as building monuments to Hitler. But not to Nelson Rockefeller. Working people on \$60 a week, 10-12 hours a day, seven days a week, feeding them little (since Americans are all "too fat" anyhow), bringing fresh labor in from the Warsaw Ghettos in the remaining cities when the old labor drops — all this will give Rockefeller the wealth necessary to keep his paper Fourth Reich afloat. It is working in Brazil, why not bring it to the United States?

IV. CONCLUSION:

LIBERALS AND THE WORKING CLASS

Why not? What will stop Rockefeller from completing the job that FDR and the New Frontier started. Once again, Rockefeller hopes to keep the working class nestled in its apolitical slumber on the lap of the liberal Democratic Party. For the past forty years liberals have been fielding overtly anti-working class policies, have been attacking and undermining independent political working-class organization, have been setting the class up for brainwashing and fascist austerity. And by catering to the syndicalism in the American working class, to the infant in each worker that says "politics is for the big folks," they have workers half-convinced that politics is not a class affair.

Start with the spiritual father of liberalism, Franklin Roosevelt and with the long-suffering mother, Eleanor. As was developed, the only thing which kept the United States from implementing fascist austerity was the promissory note on the loot of post-war Europe and the Third World. With that still in a very hazy future in 1934, Roosevelt's early New Deal policies had the embryos of fascist formations in them. The National Recovery Act established corporatist formations in which prices and wages were set by joint labor-management negotiations. The setting of these codes of fair competition allowed major U.S. industry some of the luxuries of their Nazi cohorts: that is, in the words of the NRA, "The elimination of unfair competition." The strengthening of the private banking system was also accomplished in the early days of the administration.

The looting of labor proceeded apace with the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Projects Administration. Within months after "sending his wife," to pacify the angry unemployed vete-

rans, Roosevelt had thousands of them toiling in the CCCs.

In a rough equivalent of his wife, Roosevelt also sent the working class section 7(a) of the NRA — the right to organize. In a carefully thought out strategy (see Freeman article, last issue) Roosevelt and the capitalists hoped to defuse the mass strike potential of 1934 with the wet blanket of section 7(a). As any revolutionary workers must have known, the right to organize is only granted off of the self-organized strength of the class. Nonetheless, the communist parties and the class, chose to play with the toys that the Holy Mother Eleanor had given them rather than face the responsibilities of taking power in the United States.

Throughout the war period, the rage of the working class began to build as wages were held down and profits soared. The working-class explosion at the end of World War II was well prepared for. While the liberal trade-union leaders were successfully purging the communists, a new countergang was busy isolating the working class from any broad support from professional and intellectual layers. The Americans for Democratic Action was created consciously for that purpose by a coalition of anti-communist trade-union leaders, the Holy Mother Eleanor and a passle of ex-OSS and present and future Council on Foreign Relations members.

The need for the ADA was spelled out by one of its founding members, James Wechsler, "In American, . . . there was rising Republican reaction, a pro-Communist left and nothing in between but the still inept bumbling President." Even more blunt was Max Lerner, "There can be no doubt that without the ADA, American political thought and action would have become more extremist at both ends, Left and Right. The example of European nations, where Communism penetrated the intellectual and professional groups after the war is an index of what might have happened in America." With self-ascribed credentials such as those, little need be said about the actual policies of the ADA, except perhaps to point out the subsequent careers of some ADA alumni: Chester Bowles, advisor under Kennedy on Africa, Asia, and Latin America; Arthur Goldberg (formerly of OSS trade-union operations), Secretary of Labor, Wilbur Cohen, Secretary of HEW as it began to gear up its brainwashing operations in the ghetto; Archibald Cox of Watergate fame; and Thomas Finletter, NATO ambassador. Enough is enough.

Throughout the fifties, liberal activity was confined to installing and testing the infrastructure in preparation for the upsurges of the sixties. Clearest among these activities was Nelson Rockefeller's direct involvement in the creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; better identified as the Department of Brainwashing, Community Control and Slave Labor.

Just as the depression of the thirties had mobilized the fighting instincts of the entire class, so was the beginning contraction of the economy in the early sixties going to create an upsurge among the effected layer — the ghetto population. The liberals, once again in the service of the Illuminati, forwarded a counterinsurgency program matched in brutality only by the coming austerity.

The concept of "community control," was deliberately developed by the Ford Foundation in the late fifties and grafted onto President Johnson's War Against Poverty at the last moment by a Ford Foundation agent, Paul Ylvisaker. The community control strategy had a two-fold purpose — to counter any possibility of linking the ghetto in a class-wide fight; and to create the controlled aversive environment necessary for the brainwashing of millions of ghetto youth. The near-psychotic proto-fascist content of this strategy was laid out by Ylvisaker himself: "Every man for himself — the social expression of Darwin's Law of Nature. By splitting the old social atoms of family and village and by liberating the individual particles, we have released a tremendous amount of human energy. This is the power potential of the city and its role in the human system. But we are in constant danger of dissipating that power. . . ." It was said of Ylvisaker that "he put his deepest faith in the vitality of this emancipating anarchy."

Harnessing that emancipating anarchy — one could not come up with a more accurate description of brainwashing — the transformation of an atomized, angry black youth into a zombie cop-killer. That is the program which liberals and Democrats gave to the ghetto in the sixties.

The economic decay which hit the ghettos in the sixties now extends to the entire working class, and the liberals are extending their program to the entire class. The sleeping, apolitical giant that is the American working class must now awake under the leadership of the Labor Committees. Lying cuddled in the lap of liberalism and of the Democratic Party is no longer simply ludicrous — it is suicidal.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO LATIN AMERICA

by L. Marcus

Comrades:

I am certain you will forgive me if I write to you with Yanqui bluntness but also comradely love.

In the continent of Latin America, the nation of Brazil is already becoming a vast Auschwitz, with large sections of the population being systematically murdered. In Peru, an important labor movement and potentially-strong peasant force have been weakened to almost the point of destruction by the fascist-like "participation" programs of the U.S. CIA-trained Junta dictatorship. Bolivia's proud socialist labor movement has been crushed as it had not been in two previous decades of struggles. In Chile, the opportunist policies of Senor Allende and his Communist Party supporters have dissipated most of the revolutionary potential of the socialist movement; the country will soon fall to a succession of various kinds of Bonapartist dictatorships. The Peronista successes in Argentina are openly a trick for carrying out the programs of self-sacrifice which the workers were unwilling to tolerate from the crisis-ridden military dictatorship of Alejandro Lanusse. Without the establishment of a single continent-wide Latin-American revolutionary cadre organization, mobilizing the masses of workers and oppressed peasant and lumpen masses for a socialist revolution throughout the continent with a single program and voice, all Latin America will soon become the victim of the programs now underway in Brazil.

Such desperate circumstances do not permit serious revolutionaries to disguise their thoughts with the rituals of so-called courteous speech. I criticize plainly.

Nothing of decisive importance can be understood or said from the standpoint of the limited experience of one particular nation. The cause of every major turn in the situation within your country is located almost entirely outside that country, chiefly in the United States but also in the general international monetary system of imperialism. The leading capitalist and compradore figures

and factions in each Latin American country are acting according to policies dictated to them by the CIA and by other chiefly USA major financial powers and governmental agencies. Otherwise, the material conditions of life of the various classes are regulated by world monetary and trade developments.

The situation in each country is fundamentally only a small externally-determined part of the general pattern of Latin American developments as a whole, and cannot be understood or solved except as a small part of a continental analysis and tactical program for that entire region — within the context of the developing world depression crisis.

There is no satisfactory revolutionary perspective which could be developed from a national basis.

To better the material conditions of life of the workers and other popular forces in that country would require a repudiation of debt-service and profits to imperialist financial interests, which would require also eliminating the handful of so-called native capitalists. Consequently, there is no possible progressive capitalist reform of the material conditions of life within the country. Without a socialist revolution, not a centavo of material improvements for the people could be achieved. To make a socialist revolution in any part of Latin America today is to directly challenge U.S. imperialism, which would be able to depend upon the CIA-controlled Brazilian military forces (at least); to bring such forces into another Latin American country, it would merely be necessary that the CIA direct its local puppet to issue an appeal to his friend, President Medici, to "defend" his country from "invasion by the forces of disorder."

To speak of changing the national situation in Latin America means to organize on a scale on which we can develop the tactical correlation of revolutionary forces to defeat the combined forces of the local military *and* Brazilian military. Without a revolutionary movement in

Brazil and other countries, a merely national revolutionary struggle is an act of futile individual desperation. To choose a ("more possible") reform struggle would be, as I have said, a farce.

Consequently, a revolutionary analysis and tactical perspective for any part of Latin America today — especially for a smaller country! — must begin with an analysis of the national situation in terms of world-wide and continental developments, which determine what occurs in each particular country. The tactical perspective for a victory exists for no nation of Latin America today without a program of continental organization of the workers and peasantry for socialist victory on a continental scale.

After such an analysis and tactical perspective have been developed with scientific accuracy, it is then possible *and also indispensable* to study the peculiarities of the struggle within each particular nation, as a competent military planner studies carefully the peculiarities of each battle within the larger reality of a general tactical and strategical perspective for the whole war.

What we require (you and I together) is a strategic program for winning a socialist revolution in Latin America within a definite period of time. The date cannot and need not be exact; we are, unfortunately, at considerable distance from the favorable circumstances in which we can *precisely* plan the insurrection. However, a general agreement on the *approximate* year we must make a revolution is necessary so that each step of our work can be planned accordingly.

Such a plan requires not only a strategic view of the way in which a Latin American socialist revolution must be organized, step-by-step; there must be a coordination of commitments by revolutionary cadre-organizations among Latin America, North America and Western Europe (chiefly). The possibility of winning in Latin America demands pinning down the capitalist forces in North America and Western Europe *in a way that was not done for the Vietnamese struggle*.

We of the International Caucus of Labour Committees (small organizations in Canada, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Sweden, West Germany) and the National Caucus of Labor Committees (USA) are committed to such a coordinated strategical and tactical policy. I suggest that you consider bringing together essential cadres from *all* countries of Latin America, to form the nucleus of a unique continent-wide mass-based revolutionary organization.

This must be, unfortunately, an "underground" international organization with parallel legal, parliamentary forms wherever possible.

I appreciate fully the enormous *subjective* difficulties

of such work. At the beginning, it is most difficult to discover and win over the *handfuls of exceptional individual cadres* from each national sector of the quality from which the beginning must be made.

We know this difficulty very well from our work in establishing a continental cadre organization for Western Europe.

If only a dozen, even a half-dozen exceptional individual cadres from various countries can be assembled at first, that is the way all great revolutionary movements are developed *out of the wreckage of the broader preceding organization*.

For the moment, I suggest that you assume that you have already agreed to my suggestion. If you make that assumption for a moment, you will be able to better understand the comments I now make. I ask you to criticize yourselves from the standpoint of a Latin American revolutionary organization which is considering its special programmatic message to the workers, youth, and agricultural workers of your particular country... instead of from a *national* organization.

The Latin-American Situation, 1957-73

The internal economic and political situation in all Latin America since 1957 can be divided into several distinct phases, according to the shifts in USA policy and qualitative changes in the international capitalist monetary situation. Some opening remarks on the changed world circumstances affecting the region after World War II are necessary.

During World War I, the USA advanced from a net importer of capital to both a net exporter of capital and the dominant world imperialist power. During the period from 1919-1926, the USA exploited its new advantages to greatly reduce the power of Great Britain, actually establishing U.S. domination of the international monetary system at Great Britain's expense. Despite the continuation of conditions of inter-imperialist rivalry, there was a pronounced tendency to reduce all other advanced capitalist nations to mere satrapies of the USA.

Prior to World War I, there had been a significant intervention of British and German capital as well as U.S. investment into Latin America, such that there had been *some* opportunity for local regimes to maneuver among the imperialist powers on terms of indebtedness, investment and trade. This limited "freedom of choice" was sharply reduced after World War I. Although some vestiges of this maneuvering possibility continued to exist during the period preceding the close of World War II — most notably during the years immediately preceding and during the early part of World War II.

The U.S. leading circles, from about 1936 to 1940, studied the experience of 1914-31 for the purpose of determining policies by which the U.S. would finally reduce all other advanced capitalist nations to Dollar Imperialism satrapies. This new policy was publicized during 1940 as the "American Century" policy.

The thrust of this scheme was that the U.S. would stay out of World War II in its first phase, so that it could concentrate on bleeding England and France of national reserves, applying the lessons of the U.S. experience during the 1914-17 period. During the war, the U.S. self-consciously kept Britain on the verge of national bankruptcy, as a way of forcing down the value of the pound relative to the U.S. dollar, and forcing the British to sell off major assets to U.S. interests at bargain prices. At the end of the war, through the Bretton Woods agreement establishing the International Monetary Fund, the U.S. used its monetary strength to force devaluations of the pound and to generally reduce all advanced capitalist countries (former ally and former enemy alike) to mere satrapies of the Dollar Empire.

Since few economists, even Leftist economists, understand this arrangement, it is necessary to identify the key point to be made.

Inter-imperialist rivalry involves one entire monetary system's expansion at the expense of other entire monetary systems. An independent monetary system is defined by an independent reserve basis for the national currency, which is situated in the state debt of the key metropolitan country. The client (colonial and semi-colonial) countries of the metropolitan imperialist power are made dependent upon the monetary system of the advanced country, and the indebtedness imposed upon the client countries is used to prop up the credit of the state-debt-linked central banking system of the advanced country.

Under Bretton Woods agreements, the principal credit and reserve of all advanced countries' central banking system became the U.S. dollar, and a major part of world trade was denominated in dollars.

For example: West Germany today. Ignorant fools, such as Ernest Mandel and Communist Party economists, insist that West Germany is in inter-imperialist rivalry with the USA! The principal reserves of the BRD's Bundesbank are U.S. dollars; if West Germany crushed the dollar, the collapse of the dollar would wipe out the value of the majority of the assets (dollars) providing backing for the printing of D-marks; the D-mark would collapse! West Germany's favorable export position, like that of Japan, demands that the U.S. export massive dollar-credits and payments, by which German and Japanese exports are paid. As a result, Germany and Japan receive new billions of dollars into

their central banking systems.

In short, the capitalist wealth of every advanced capitalist nation depends upon a common, single system of reserves, the U.S. dollar.

This new dependent relationship of the advanced capitalist countries to the U.S. dollar is not a colonial relationship, but a satrapal relationship.

Although most of the key export industries of each nation are controlled directly or indirectly by U.S.-dominated cartels, capitalist domination of these various nations depends upon maintaining the essential forms of bourgeois ideology, which is to say nationalist ideology. To destroy the cult of the nation-state would undermine the fundamental premises of capitalist ideology. Dollar rule of the most essential aspects of every advanced-sector economy is accomplished by exploiting both the national chauvinism of each sector and indigenous political and social institutions, which institutions are permeated with centrifugal particularist (e.g., nationalist) tendencies. Thus, although the entire capitalist world is now a single super-imperialism economically, each national sector within that whole has short-term special interests which set one *satrapy* into conflict with others and even to the USA itself *on secondary issues*.

Ignorant people imagine that these conflicts over secondary issues are evidence of inter-imperialist rivalry.

In the case of the U.S. General Motors Corporation, we find the various divisions of automobile production (Chevrolet, Pontiac, Buick, Oldsmobile, Cadillac) also in "inter-imperialist rivalry" with one another. Similarly, corporations operating in Puerto Rico struggle to maintain specially favorable conditions there by keeping Puerto Rico under somewhat different laws than the states of the USA. Similarly, among the fifty states of the USA, the corporations operating within each state struggle to maintain certain competitive advantages with respect to other of those states.

More significant, the major portion of those Japanese and Western European exports into the USA, which are ignorantly regarded as European competition with the USA, are chiefly exports produced either under contract of U.S.-based firms or are produced by European firms controlled by U.S.-dominated cartels! For example, in the case of footwear, the bulk of the imported shoes and sandals which wiped out large sections of smaller U.S. footwear manufacturers were produced in Europe under contract for the major footwear manufacturing firms in the USA! A substantial portion of the automobiles shipped into the USA from Europe are manufactured by U.S.-owned (General Motors, Ford, Chrysler) plants in Europe!

Under the Dollar Empire, the following three-way relationship is established among North America,

Western Europe (and Japan), and the region south of the Tropic of Cancer. The USA and Canada export heavy capital goods to Europe, as a part of U.S. investment in Europe, using super-cheap skilled and semi-skilled European labor (e.g., the German and English workers receive about half the wages of the comparable U.S. worker). Europe exports to the "developing countries," and the "developing countries" ship cheap primary commodities to the U.S. against their capital indebtedness to the USA. These have been the results *on balance*, with the USA thus consuming approximately 40 per cent of the primary commodities produced throughout the world!

Because of this new situation, the USA was able to secure the special imperialist policy it had set forth at the end of the 1890's in its "Open Door To China" statement.

The USA, prior to World War II, had based its imperialist policy on the fact that U.S. production, based on mass industries could outproduce and underprice the commodities of every other nation. Therefore, the USA sought to effect a removal of all special trade and tariff relationships between the competing imperialist powers and their respective colonial and semi-colonial clients. During the period between the two World Wars, the character of U.S. trade shifted, emphasizing major capital goods and other heavy industrial output. Instead of a commodity export policy as such, the USA sought an "Open Door" for U.S. *capital takeovers* in the form of both direct investment and international loans imposed upon the region south of the Tropic of Cancer.

With the elimination of competing imperialist systems at the Bretton Woods conference, the U.S. imperialist policy proceeded under the guise of "anti-colonialism." The U.S. sought the elimination of all political colonial nation forms, which had provided special concessions to its former imperialist competitors. Instead, the U.S. proposed "independent ex-colonial nations," which would be under direct control of the USA through native compradore classes and international loan indebtedness.

This also meant that the *last vestige* of tactical maneuvering-room was taken from the semi-colonial countries, such as the so-called "independent nations" of Latin America. With the entire capitalist world under the domination of the dollar, every "independent nation" south of the Tropic of Cancer was absolutely a colony of the dollar.

Up to about 1957, all "independent" nations south of the Tropic of Cancer remained predominantly primary commodities producers for imperialism, systematically looted through rigged prices and the imposition of enormous per capita income-ratio of debt-service obligations

under the system of dollar-denoted international loans to these client states.

During the period, 1957-60, the U.S. began to advance a modified policy for the semi-colonial countries, later adopted (1961) by the United Nations as the "Development Decade" resolution. The (1957-60) initial form of the U.S. "Development Decade" policy proposed to eliminate the latifundist compradore role in Latin America (in particular) in favor of the kind of "democratic" revolution seen in the overthrow of Jimenez of Venezuela.

The economic object of this policy was to increase the potential rate of economic looting of the semi-colonial region by introducing significant manufacturing and similar investment which would exploit the cheap labor of these regions (saving on the more costly labor of the advanced sector). To accomplish this reform, the U.S. proposed a system of accelerated "infrastructural loans" for highways, power systems, etc., to create the material preconditions for direct private manufacturing investment. The complementary feature of this program was an emphasis on agricultural land reform, a program of expanding the production of cheap food for use in employment of cheap labor, and to squeeze the poor farmers off the land to become an urban proletariat and lumpenproletariat in the increased numbers the new private investment program required.

The partial shift from primary commodities to manufacturing investment conflicted with the existing political and social structure of most regions, especially the latifundista features. This principle of eliminating the latifundista element was more recently shown in Peru, where the Junta's nationalization payments to latifundistas forced the former owners of nationalized estates to invest in domestic manufacturing, so to convert themselves from latifundistas into industrial capitalists.

It was under this 1957-60 policy that the U.S. State Department tolerated and partially encouraged the Cuban revolution of the 1957-59 period. (I gained first-hand knowledge of this during late 1957! *The "Cuban Model" of revolution depends upon the toleration by U.S. imperialism!*) The Batistianos were strangling the Cuban economy with their corruption, destroying Cuba's considerable investment potential to U.S. investors for the new program. Castro was vowed, especially after his compact with the liberal exiles in Florida, as a useful tool for repeating the kind of "democratic revolution" occurring in Venezuela.

As a result of Castro's "second revolution" in 1960, the U.S. abruptly changed its policy — as was first publicly demonstrated in the butchery of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo.

During 1959-60, the U.S. State Department under Rockefeller pressure, pushed the Belgian government to accelerate Congo independence. (Rockefeller interests had bought up major holdings through Belgium, primarily, in Rhodesia, Katanga province of the Congo, and other parts of the Belgian colony. Elimination of Belgian administration was desired by U.S. interests to permit acceleration of the investment program — which has since occurred.) After Castro's "second revolution," U.S. policy toward Lumumba changed; Lumumba was not to be permitted to become a "second Castro."

From approximately 1961 onwards, the U.S. generally (if not entirely) abandoned further efforts to carry out the "Development Decade" program through "social-democratic and liberal" forces. The political forces to carry out the program, under new U.S. policy, would be the military. The Peruvian Junta is the model of the sort of military regime the U.S. began to work for during the early 1960's. To replace the traditional "latifundist" strata of "colonels," the U.S. through the CIA (principally) began indoctrinating a younger generation of Latin American officers (captains, majors) in the new economic reform programs of "Development Decade" reform. The CIA training center in Panama is typical of the regional programs put into effect. The present Peruvian junta regime was the first new crop of CIA trainees to rise to power to carry out the new program.

The first important application of the new post-1961 program occurred from 1964 onwards in Brazil, through a CIA-directed military overthrow of the discredited liberal regime. The differences between the military of semi-developed Brazil and more backward Latin American countries is obvious; the U.S. had in Brazil a military apparatus more advanced in its qualifications than in, for example, Peru.

From 1961 through 1968 (approximately), U.S. policy focused on preparatory efforts to integrate "Development Decade" infrastructural development and some private direct investment coexisting with traditional forms of imperialist exploitation (primary commodities, massive foreign debt-service). This shifted during the 1967-68 period, as a result of both the wave of 1964-66 recessions in Western Europe and Japan, and the 1967-68 wave of international monetary crises (the British crisis of Nov. 1967 and the following two major dollar crises of February and March, 1968). The "Development Decade" program implementation was modified from about 1968 onwards, to imitate the main principles of Nazi economics minister Hjalmar H. Schacht (1933-36) and ultimately the subsequent economic methods used by the Nazis during the 1943-45 period. The program put into effect in Brazil over the past five years is the model for this new drive to turn all Latin America into a gigantic Auschwitz.

It is no metaphor or exaggeration to insist that the economic "development" program of Brazil today is *directly based* on that of the Nazi slave-labor system! *During my late 1971 public debate with one of the leading international supporters of the Brazilian model, Keynesian economist Abba Lerner, Lerner conceded that the Brazilian "development" model was a copy of Schacht's Nazi program.*

The economic principle involved is what the CIA's Brazilian stooges term "recycling" of labor. This is based on the fact that a human being contains a certain amount of stored-up potential value in his "muscle and bones." In the form this principle was applied by Krupp and I.G. Farben at Auschwitz and elsewhere, if one works a person at a rate of consumption of over 3,000 calories per day, and feeds the worker with only 1,000-1,500 calories a day, two things happen. Firstly, the difference between work-output and consumption is additional income for the capitalist; the same difference is the gradual depletion of the body of the slave.

If Auschwitz had fed its inmates from miserable family garden plots within the camp itself, we could say that much of Brazil today is a gigantic Auschwitz. Much of the population scratches a miserable existence from the soil and other petty means, which barely keeps it alive. The Brazilian employers (through the aid of the government) herd masses of these miserable lumpens to replace workers already employed. The lumpens are forced to work much harder than the workers they replace, and they are paid much less. Meanwhile, the workers they replace become lumpens. When one batch of lumpens is worn out through high intensity of labor, it is replaced by another batch of lumpens. When the original employees are in desperate enough condition, they replace some of the lumpens who have replaced them: capitalist accumulation through systematic genocide of classes.

Meanwhile, the population is "weeded out," through disease, etc., so that all Brazil is beginning to resemble a death-camp system.

It is not accidental that about the same time the Brazilian model of "development" was adopted as U.S. policy (for the entire semi-colonial region), John D. Rockefeller III and others associated with him advanced what is called the "Zero Population Growth" policy. This policy was developed principally as a justification for systematic depopulation in the region south of the Tropic of Cancer.

Brazil is already under this policy. Peru, under the junta, has developed to the point that a similar recycling policy is now beginning to be introduced. If Allende is not overthrown by the left and if the Peronista regime in Argentina successfully plans out its imitations of "democratic industrial management" reforms, all Latin

America will be operating on the basis of present-day Brazilian policies.

These U.S. semi-colonial policy decisions intersect spontaneous developments in the international monetary system.

With the crises of 1967-68, and especially since the August, 1971 collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the situation of primary-commodities producing semi-colonial regions has become catastrophic. Whatever political policy the U.S. dictated to Latin America, there is no possible way under continued capitalist government by which the material conditions of life of Latin American workers and farmers could return even to the miserable general levels available in 1965-66! The terms of trade, volumes of exports, prices, etc., and international inflation generally, would not permit the capitalist level of per capita income in Latin America to reach the point at which workers' real-income levels could be maintained without a repudiation of national debt-service to foreigners and nationalization without compensation of all substantial domestic capitalist investment.

These economic realities must be seen as intersecting and reinforcing anti-democratic policies effected under U.S. direction in these countries.

The maintenance of parliamentary systems depends upon neutralizing the revolutionary political potential of the workers and peasants through token concessions to various fragmented groupings within the ruled population. The appearance of such disastrous economic conditions that the ruling class must drastically reduce real incomes of the ruled merely to prevent general capitalist bankruptcy is a condition in which capitalism can not tolerate even mild forms of democratic government.

Uruguay's abrupt transformation from a democratic state to a police state is exemplary of the economic processes involved throughout Latin America.

Shallow-minded critics will insist that the Allende election in Chile and the recent Peronista victory in Argentina contradict our report. On the contrary, in both Chile and Argentina, these transitory "democratic" populist regimes are nothing but short detours to absolute, most-repressive dictatorship.

In Chile, the political organization of the workers and farmers and the objective correlation of these forces made the establishment of even a Peruvian-model dictatorship a very risky program for the U.S. rulers of that country. We see in Chile that the Allende regime has used its duping of its followers to accomplish repressions which the workers and farmers would not have tolerated from the Frei regime. The Allende regime, with the enthusiastic support of the counterrevolutionary Communist Party, has divided, demoralized, and largely

discredited the revolutionary potential of the masses. Allende, by holding back the socialist revolution (sabotaging land reform, breaking strikes, etc.) has created the objective and subjective preconditions for the sort of reactionary regime which could not have been established at the time of his initial election to the Presidency.

In Argentina, the Peronistas stepped in to enforce (successfully) such repressive economic concessions from the workers as Lanusse could not. To the extent that President Hector Campora emulates the "peaceful coexistence with capitalism" policy of Senor Allende, the combat potential of the Argentinian workers will be destroyed in massive demoralization, discredit, and fragmentation.

The Allende and Campora regimes are identical in principle with the miserable Spanish Popular Front government of 1936. Under circumstances in which a reactionary (Lerroux-Robles) "bien negro" regime (1933-35) could no longer impose the repression international capitalism demanded in Spain, the Popular Front government acted as Allende has done, suppressing peasant land seizures, conciliating reactionaries, refusing to arm the people, etc., to the point that a Franco fascist coup succeeded, with Franco then supported by large numbers of those engaged peasants who had been suppressed by the "Popular Front" regime.

Indeed, Allende and Campora are echoes of a pattern now being seen in the advanced capitalist sector.

Beginning in 1969, through negotiations with Italy's Communist Party leader, Enrico Berlinguer, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt opened indirect negotiations with Brezhnev. Under the Brandt-Berlinguer-Brezhnev agreements, Communist parties would support social-democratic parties in a Popular Front (with certain liberal capitalist groups). The Popular Front would be based on the program of the "Swedish Way," the labor-recycling program of Swedish social-democrat Olaf Palme. The core of this program is what is called in Germany *Mitbestimmung* (co-determination), in France *participation* or *pluri-functionalism*, and in English-speaking countries *local control*. The program would offer workers "participation" in determining their job conditions and other matters in return for agreeing to speedup and recycling.

In general, the Brandt program offers workers some minor percentage of the added profits employers gain through speedup; the workers are then permitted to "participate" in deciding the form in which they will receive their small percentage. Combined with the Swedish pattern of job rotation (a step toward outright recycling), this Brandt program means increased unemployment, ferocious acceleration of work-pace, and increased fragmentation of the working class.

This program is already in effect. The result will be that Brandt et al. (with Brezhnev support) will repeat the crime of the Spanish Popular Front on a vaster scale, creating the preconditions for fascist crushing of the working class.

It is not unusual for the capitalists in the onset of a crisis to tolerate such a social-democratic or Popular Front regime as a preparation for the establishment of a crushing police regime. In Argentina it is merely an ugly fact that the Peronistas are under the leadership of an aging enthusiastic admirer of Franco.

The "Authority of Fidel Castro"

Despite my absolute defense of the Cuban Revolution's integrity and accomplishments, and my personal regard for comrade Fidel Castro, I must insist that comrade Castro is absolutely not an infallible saint when he speaks of scientific matters of socialist revolutionary policy. His endorsement of the semi-fascist Peruvian Junta and his reenforcing of the illusions in Chile toward the counterrevolutionary "Marxist" fool, Allende, are only recent examples of the terrible blunders comrade Fidel has made over the years.

Perhaps the most foolish thing comrade Fidel has ever said is his repeated, silly argument that one does not criticize another revolutionary movement.

Firstly, we must not overlook the fact that the Cuban Revolution of 1959 was possible *in that form* only because U.S. imperialism looked favorably upon the victory of the Castro forces *at that time*. That is a simple fact, to which I have never heard a single Cuban leader refer, comrade Fidel included.

I do not undervalue the personal courage of the guerrillas, the personal courage and other noble qualities of comrades Fidel, Che, and others. As Che's death in Bolivia should show, his skill, courage, and so forth were not enough by themselves. U.S. imperialism believed that Castro would prove to be no more than the means by which "traditional" Cuban liberals gained power from Batista. Therefore, funds were cut off from the Batistianos; military aid (technical and material) was cut off; and, not insignificant, Batista's regime was saturated with demoralization as a result of the clearest possible evidence that the regime's duration was being limited by U.S. negotiations with various groups of Batista's enemies.

With a small amount of U.S. aid to Batista in 1957 onward, all these conditions would have been changed. Fidel's small band would have been isolated, without arms shipments, without allies, and ultimately hunted down and butchered.

Secondly, we see that the outcome of comrade Fidel's advice to other Latin American revolutionaries has been a consistently bloody tragedy. Che Guevara's unnecessary death in Bolivia was an enactment of the foolish ideas running through the heads of all the leading Cuban revolutionaries. The effort to simply *substitute* guerrilla methods for political organizing is a kind of Debregist foolishness which borders on the criminal. (And no one can consider us reluctant to act by guerrilla means or otherwise *as necessary*, after "Operation Mop-Up" against the CIA's ally, the Communist Party USA.)

Guatemala, Peru, Chile — we see little from Castro's suggestions but consistent blunders, and obvious refusal to learn positive lessons from these blunders. Faced with such an accumulation of disasters and blunders, no one can consider himself a revolutionary in the situation unless he begins again and again with the most devastating scientific criticism.

What sort of criticism is required? It is not enough to criticize past kinds of mistakes. Such criticism may protect one against repeating a particular kind of mistake, but what is needed is a kind of criticism which prevents one from making new kinds of errors. It is necessary to look behind particular mistakes to discover and change the misguided mentality which creates particular mistakes.

The Petit-Bourgeois Problem

Before criticizing the "Popular Front" bias, I discuss now the individual ideological root of this problem. To understand our actions, we must understand the forces within us compelling us to such actions.

The root of the worst kinds of mistakes repeatedly made in the Latin American movement, from San Juan and Mexico City to Patagonia, is exposed by Karl Marx in his *Eighteenth Brumaire*; it is the peasant mentality permeating especially the peasantry and petit-bourgeois "revolutionary" strata, and also infecting the lumpen and working-class strata of the urban centers. This world-wide problem is intensified to an extreme by the backwardness of Latin American countries, in which the notorious cult of Machismo reveals the petit-bourgeois peasant mentality in its most extreme form.

The case should not be exaggerated. The peasant or petit-bourgeois mentality is only a special case of capitalist ideology, merely the extreme case. Nonetheless, it is this extreme version of Machismo, leaking out of every side of the Latin American revolutionary movement, which is the inevitable source of disastrous blunders.

I first encountered this special form of sickness infecting the Latin American movement during 1956-57, initi-

ally through contact with the Venezuelan situation.

The kernel of the entire left was chiefly recruited from the compradore classes, the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois educated strata. The cliquist form of Venezuelan political life from Right through Left reminded me of Ceylonese politics, in which all the leaders of the contending parties — Right-wing, Communist Party, Trotskyist — were drawn from the same small group of families. Brothers, cousins, and so forth from the same compradore families were distributed throughout all parties. National Ceylonese politics are almost a family drawing-room political discussion using the press and national life generally for a private family drawing room. Throughout the Spanish Caribbean, I discovered through my Venezuelan and Cuban acquaintances, all the principle and secondary revolutionary leaders either knew one another from university or knew a friend of a friend through university or family connections. The pattern of family and other social connections made even “Marxist-oriented” revolutionary movements a matter of settling differences within close social circles.

In meeting such circles I saw first-hand the social origins of the stink of petit-bourgeois “Marxist” diletantism which continues to ooze from the writings of even the most “super-revolutionary” of Latin American groups to the present day. In short, the young men and women who play the key organizing role in creating these “Marxist” groups are more oriented to the winning-over of liberals from the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois strata, to maintaining active discussions and friendly social connections with those liberals. Their relationship to the workers and peasants is essentially demagogic, a matter of the most simplistic slogans, and crude recipes for a conception of “direct action” one would expect among schoolboys on a spree.

Much of Latin-American Left political activity suggests to one that well-intentioned young people have transferred the conceptions of the university student strike into the realm of life-death struggles, and have involved uneducated workers and peasants in what are actually only imitations of campus upsurges — with some rifles and pistols added.

Many choose to insist that one not criticize misguided revolutionary struggles on the premise that comrade Fidel has foolishly said one should not. Comrade Fidel is not responsible for the idea; wherever petit-bourgeois revolutionaries gather *around the world*, the same petit-bourgeois *Menshevik* rejection of serious and open scientific criticism prevails.

What are the facts? Comrade Che was half-correct when he insisted that the objective conditions throughout Latin America demanded immediate revolution. It is also true that the objective conditions for revolution have

existed in Latin America at repeated intervals — provided that the workers and peasants were prepared to mobilize and fight in their immediate objective self-interests. Why, then, this being true, do compradore regimes still exist?

If this is true, how is it possible that capitalism still exists in Latin America? There is not a single worker or peasant in Brazil who should not desire for the immediate overthrow of the murderous regime in that country; why does it exist, then? These regimes persist only because of the ideas which dominate the insides of the people’s heads. In short, the central problem of revolutionary struggle is the foolish way of thinking which dominates the insides of the heads of workers and peasants. (It is also true that similar but slightly different foolish ideas dominate the insides of the heads of most organizations of the North American Left.)

The essence of capitalist ideology, for which the peasant or petit-bourgeois mentality is the extreme form, is that alienation which causes the individual to see himself as most inwardly a monad-like “little me” — as Garcia Marquez has analyzed the pathetic dominance of Latin American culture by this disease in *Cien Anos de Soledad*. The extreme version of this, the peasant or petit-bourgeois mentality documented by Marquez, is the extentialist world-outlook, in which each man is an isolated island inside himself. His relationship to the outer world, to society, even to his immediate family, is a fraud of “honor,” as we see in the disease of Machismo.

This is the extreme form of the bourgeois ideological sickness analyzed successively by Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx. It is the bourgeois world-outlook which says that only the isolated individual could possibly know his innermost needs, only the isolated village could know its proper desires, only the workers within one factory should manage their own affairs — without “outside” interference from other employed or unemployed workers, only the popular forces of each nation could know what is proper for their own nation. It is this ideology, this mental sickness, which compels the victim to act usually in only the way which leads to the perpetuation of capitalism.

In this pathetic outlook, one has respect for the private self of the other person, one has respect for his opinions, because he (“like me”) must not be insulted and dishonored by our looking below the surface of the false mask he presents to the outside world. In politics, the bourgeois individual is eclectic; in the socialist movement, his programs are eclectic porridges made up of courteous selections from the treasured sentiments of “every section of the popular forces one seeks to attract to the unified struggle for national dignity and righteousness.” He is not a revolutionary, even when he

takes up the gun to make a revolution, because he is unwilling to tear away the mask of illusions from his fellow-man — or himself! He will die heroically rather than permit anyone to be so discourteous as to ignore the sincerity of opinion of any part of “the popular forces.”

He will die for the revolution in failure after tragic failure, rather than become an actual Marxist.

To be a Marxist means not only to change social relations fundamentally, but also to fundamentally change the innermost sentiments of one's fellow-man... to tear away the mask of Machismo. *Revolutionary practice* is not shooting and being shot, although those may be necessary in their place. Revolutionary practice begins with changing one's most fundamental beliefs about the nature of one's innermost social identity, and in so doing fundamentally attacking the most intimate (false) sentiments of others. Revolutionary practice is, in essence, the most devastating scientific criticism — especially of revolutionary movements.

For an ideological problem related to that we often see in the Latin American movement, consider Italy. During 1919-22, the Italian Left occupied the factories, one by one. They held these factories; they held them firmly, one by one. The fascist *squadristi* came and took the factories from the workers, one by one. Today, the Italian Left is prepared to repeat that mistake, to the extent that the Communist Party of Italy's Enrico Berlinguer permits it to resist capitalist repression at all. The Italian Left has learned absolutely nothing in fifty years, and would learn nothing from mere experience alone if fascist takeovers were repeated in the same way every fifty years for a thousand years — unless a revolutionary movement first attacked the Italian ideology, the anarcho-syndicalist ideology arising out of a tradition of peasant petit-bourgeois influences on even Italian working-class culture.

To speak with brutal frankness, there is nothing more futile as a tactical conception today than mere *national* struggle. This mistaken tactical tendency does not arise from nowhere; it arises from the persistent influence of the petit-bourgeois capitalist ideology.

A revolutionary movement is one whose program begins from the application of two interconnected fundamental conceptions of Karl Marx to the concrete situation before us. These are the *class-for-itself* and *expanded socialist reproduction*. I summarize:

The production of the necessary material conditions of life of every worker today, in every part of the world, depend upon the mass of commodities in the list of material needs of a working-class household whose culture is agreeable to worker's employment in modern world technology. The commodities which make up that list are produced in various parts of the world. The

factories which produce those commodities depend upon materials, supplies, and equipment which comes from other factories and mines, and so on. This world-wide network of production could not be reproduced in any one country today; no country has a labor force sufficiently large to staff all the kinds of industries on which *modern* existence of each working-class household depends.

Furthermore, the possibility of even today's miserable standard of working-class existence depends upon the cheapness of social cost of production made possible by a world-wide division of productive labor. To improve the material conditions of life and leisure of workers, it is essential to develop this world-wide network with new technologies, and to increase the number of workers productively employed. This demands creating new factories; this demands productive employment of the masses of presently unemployed workers. This demands reducing the hours of labor while increasing the level of consumption.

This program of expanded development of the world-wide productive forces is the only individual self-interest of every worker in every part of the world. That is what his interest is, scientifically, whatever to the contrary he may think his interest is.

For the same reason, the worker employed in the factory has an identical self-interest with the worker who is unemployed, and the poor peasant's self-interest is nothing but the solution to his problems through the working-class development of the productive forces in the same way. For this reason, the self-interest of the worker in every country is the same, and the workers in no one country could possibly solve their national program unless that national program is merely part of an international program of the whole world working class.

The *individual* interest of the individual worker is to enjoy the right to exist as a human being. This means to know, self-consciously, that the rest of his class needs him to exist. The rest of his class could need him only if he were applying his *human* powers to create new ideas and assimilate new ideas to improve the conditions of life of his class. For what his class needs from him, he *then* has the right to demand that material consumption and leisure through which he can develop to be still more valuable to the rest of his class. A worker who sees himself in that way is class-conscious, is revolutionary; a worker who does not see himself in that way is not class-conscious, is not revolutionary.

The worker who sees himself in terms of his individual greed, who does not base his struggle on the necessity of developing the productive forces on a world-wide scale, is not a revolutionary. The socialist who operates on the

basis of Machismo, and who respects the Machismo of other socialists and liberals — the socialist who refrains from subjecting the revolutionary movement to ruthless, open scientific criticism, is no revolutionary.

It is necessary, first of all, to have a clear program of socialist reconstruction of the world, and to locate the special form of tasks that defines for each region of the world. As that program is developed, the cadres must cut themselves free from all intellectual, ideological ties to the petit-bourgeois and bourgeois liberals, and go directly to the workers and peasants.

One must organize and educate the workers and peasants to understand the basic principles of the way their needs are met through a world-wide network of production. They must be educated to understand for themselves why the capitalist system fails to develop the productive forces. They must be educated to understand that better housing, better schools, better medical care, and so forth are not rights of individual greed, but are necessary conditions for increasing the usefulness of the individual to society. *They must be organized as a political fighting force around such education.*

It is important, of course, to have useful allies. It is proper and important to make certain defensive alliances with liberals for civil liberties — provided one makes no corrupting (e.g., Popular Front) political alliances with the liberals. It is more important to constantly seek out united front alliances among various parts of the working-class forces, and especially with even opponent socialist groups. However, if these important efforts are used as a pretext to avoid political differences with other socialists (Fidelistas, CPers); if necessary program and tactics — and open scientific criticism — are avoided in the interest of friendly relations with such groups, then one is not a revolutionary.

One must independently, scientifically determine what program, what strategy, what tactics, the working-class forces require, and serve that program at all costs, even if that means beginning with an isolated handful. That was the key to Lenin's genius and victory: to reject all unprincipled suppression of criticism, to be willing, if necessary, to begin as an isolated handful working for the necessary program.

The "Popular Front" Error

The suicidal "popular front" tactical perspective which infects much of the Latin American left is what must be criticized and corrected.

This policy first appeared in the so-called "Marxian" socialist movement during the 1860's in Germany, in both LaSalle's alliance with Bismarck and the alliance of

the Eisenachers (Bebel, Liebknecht) with the "progressive national bourgeoisie." It was the continuing reactionary policy attacked by Rosa Luxemburg, the policy behind the notorious SPD betrayal of August, 1914. It was also the policy of the Russian Mensheviks, was taken over from the Mensheviks by Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, and Bukharin for the 1924-27 period, and resurrected at the Comintern Plenum and World Congress of 1935. It was this social-democratic policy which made Franco's victory possible in Spain — with Stalin's support. It was the policy which destroyed the French workers' movement during the 1935-37 period, to the point that not a single strike occurred in France after 1937 until the Hitler occupation. It was the policy which caused the crushing of the Chinese workers' movement by Chiang Kai Chek in 1927, and the butchery of the Indonesian Communists in 1965.

The essential arguments raised to justify this suicidal policy have remained the same for over a hundred years — from LaSalle, Bebel, Martinov, Stalin, Bukharin, the PKI's Aidit, or the present-day apologists. No matter that this policy always leads to the victory of a more repressive capitalist regime, we see self-styled "revolutionaries" repeating the same miserable policy over and over again, and shamelessly using the same algebraic form of arguments used to justify every wretched bloody failure before then.

My preceding remarks on the problem of bourgeois petit-bourgeois ideology in the socialist movement point to the deep psychological basis for the hysterical error of repeating this miserable policy after it has been exposed so often by experience.

The general argument for the "Popular Front" policy is this:

- (1) We revolutionaries are too few to fight against our class enemy; we cannot win the workers and peasants soon enough to deal with the problems facing us today.
- (2) We must be "practical;" we must admit our weakness and therefore dissolve our efforts through compromises to form a broad, popular movement of the majority of the masses. We must reject "sectarian" "elitist" errors by subordinating revolutionary commitment to alliances with semi-revolutionary and bourgeois-liberal "progressive forces."
- (3) Later, the revolution; first, now, we must take a small step forward by establishing a more progressive regime, progressive reforms, and so forth.

This is counterrevolutionary thinking. A revolution becomes possible when the broad masses have first lost confidence in all existing liberal and semi-revolutionary forces, and when an alternative leadership and organi-

zation exists for them in the form of a vanguard party which has established its base in the pores of the masses. A revolution occurs almost as an explosion, as a sudden movement of the majority of workers and others into the camp of a tiny minority of the socialist forces in their own ranks. The broader masses suddenly leave the organizations of the liberals and semi-revolutionaries to join the ranks of groups that were perhaps not more numerous than 1% to 5% of their numbers in the weeks and months just before then!

That is the principal lesson of the Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin's tiny Bolshevik faction, with scattered handfuls of workers attached to it at the start of 1917, became the leadership of the October revolution! This sudden development was possible because Lenin maintained ruthless independence of all "popular front" tactics and formations, ruthlessly publicly criticized the blunders of all his opponents. The workers therefore knew what the Bolshevik policy was, what the Bolshevik alternative was. Lenin had consistently stood for a policy, even when he was a tiny minority (against Kamenev and Stalin) in his own party! He threatened to split the small Bolshevik party in order to have a party totally committed to the "April Theses" policy. That is the historic lesson of Leninism.

Why is this the case?

The masses break with the liberals and semi-revolutionaries when the liberals and semi-revolutionaries refuse to threaten the capitalist system itself. For example, the Peronista movement today. Campora demands that the workers of Argentina sacrifice to save the Argentine capitalist economy. The masses will break violently with both the liberal and semi-revolutionary factions of the Peronista coalition — provided there exists a credible tiny alternative nucleus through which they can create a party of anti-capitalist actions.

The essence of the "Popular Front" tactic is therefore necessarily counterrevolutionary. To establish a "broad popular progressive alliance," it is necessary to avoid demanding those policies which would drive away semi-revolutionary and liberal "progressive popular allies." This means that the would-be revolutionaries immersed in such "progressive fronts" eliminate the existence of a serious anti-capitalist alternative.

The breaking-point usually occurs around strike waves. Bourgeois factions support and tolerate "popular front" movements under two conditions. Firstly, that the masses of workers are in motion, threatening mass strike action or already engaged in such mass strike action. Secondly, that the "Popular Front" agrees to compromise the demands of the workers' movement, to limit the demands to those which will not destroy the capitalist system, "established law," nor destroy the solvency of

the national (capitalist) economy. The masses, duped into believing that the "Popular Front" is their friend, act as they have recently tended to do in Argentina, they permit their "friends" of the Popular Front to bargain away essential demands and to end the mass strike upsurge.

Some sections of the working class will tend to resist this "compromise." The would-be revolutionaries within the "progressive alliance" must therefore decide at this late stage of the strike-struggle whether to support the more militant workers' (or, peasants') struggle and break with the "progressive alliance" or to apologize for the "progressive leaders" and join with them in denouncing the militant workers (or peasants) as "misguided," "adventurers," "provocateurs," "dupes of provocateurs," etc. As the workers movement is betrayed and demoralized in this way, it turns in disgust from its "progressive alliance friends." Perhaps a majority of the workers simply become demoralized; often a minority either openly joins the fascists or other right-wingers (as in Italy today), or at least becomes tolerant of any fascist or bonapartist who promises reductions in unemployment or other concessions. (E.g., in Chile, where right-wing forces support strike action as a tactic for securing neutrality or even support for a bonapartist coup from the workers.)

The issue is not whether the revolutionaries will break with the "popular front" at a crucial time. At the time that the mass-strike has been weakened, when only a minority of militants are striking or engaging in land seizures, it is already very late in the process — perhaps too late. The time for the revolutionaries to act as an independent force is on the upsurge of struggles preceding the massive strike actions. The revolutionary works within those upsurges to win workers to a socialist program, and to force a break of the workers from the influence of "progressive" liberal and semi-revolutionary forces. To reject that task, to instead, compromise to secure an alliance with the liberals and semi-revolutionaries, is to virtually guarantee the defeat of the workers' movement in advance.

The critical point in a workers' upsurge is the point at which the question is whether the "progressives" will be able to seduce the workers into accepting a "compromise." The key tactical question in the revolutionaries' work in the mass movement is to prevent the workers from accepting the compromise. If they accept the compromise, the revolutionary situation for the period ahead will probably be hopelessly lost. But, to prevent the compromise means to expose the liberal and semi-revolutionary "progressives" as the enemies of the working class! As organic Judases.

This ought to be ABC to any individual cadre who has studied the Bolshevik revolution or a small part of

the history of other famous struggles. Why, then, do we see again and again, such cadres tolerating and supporting the popular front counterrevolutionary tactic?

The kernel of the problem is this. These cadres do not believe it possible to change the existing mass of workers and peasants into a revolutionary force in a systematic way. As they look inside themselves, they find no quality in themselves which they believe could be capable to fundamentally change masses of workers and peasants in a revolutionary way. Among petit-bourgeois radicals, this private contempt for themselves causes them to vacillate between desperate exemplary small-group action ("electrifying the masses") on the one hand and passively supporting "progressive alliances" on the other. *They have no faith in the historic revolutionary potential of the masses because they have no knowledge of anything in themselves which is actually revolutionary.* They are not revolutionary because they are (in Latin America) victims of the bourgeois ideology of Machismo. They will not be changed in their "inner self," and they cannot change the "inner self" of anyone else. They cannot conceive of a scientifically regulated process of changing the "inner self" of masses of workers and peasants in the way this occurs and must occur to have a revolution.

But... Cuba! one hears. Until 1959, as long as the imperialists themselves were *tolerating* armed revolutionary movements to come to power to establish democratic governmental forms in place of dictatorships, it was possible *in rare instances*, to have a "Second Cuban Revolution." It was possible, in the rarest circumstances, that the armed force of the revolution, dedicated intellectuals attached to the self-interests of the mass of the armed force drawn from the urban and rural proletariat, would refuse to make the compromises demanded by the imperialists and national "progressive" capitalists — as occurred in Cuba. If the imperialists refuse to tolerate the new revolution's rejection of this compromise — as occurred in Cuba — then the new government must be overthrown or crushed, or it must break free from the capitalist system. Cuba is the only country in which this occurred in this way in the entire post-war period.

"lawyers revolution" (as Castro termed the 1959 revolution later that year), in which the immediate scientific principles of socialist revolutionary struggle apply only indirectly to the organizing process. In the "Cuban Model" it is possible to have dedicated revolutionaries who are still infected with petit-bourgeois Machismo make a revolution and then a second revolution — *although this has occurred only once!* (Red China was a separate state within China before 1947; Vietnam is a more complicated case, not directly comparable to Cuba, for slightly different reasons than in the case of

China.) The conditions under which a movement as qualitatively inadequate as the Cuban movement could make a "second revolution" even once no longer exist.

There is much to be learned from the Cuban experience and certain qualities in comrade Fidel which provide useful object-lessons. I have referred to this in the January, 1971 *Campaigner* ("Fidel 'Joins' the Labor Committee"). However, Castro and other Cuban spokesmen have no competent understanding of either the dialectic of current international developments or of the process by which a "Leninist" type of revolution can be made — and only what we may broadly call a "Leninist" type of revolution is possible for this entire period.

Our Approach

As our international tendency has increased in influence and resources, we have increased our commitment for work on Latin America. Recently, in addition to our English, Greek, German, Italian, and French journals, we have produced the first issue of a Spanish journal. In fraternal alliance with the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal group, we are conducting an energetic public campaign over the issue of Brazil in North America and Western Europe. Immediately, we are also in the process of elaborating a general programmatic statement on Latin America; a first statement of these should be prepared for publication by some time in September.

What must be done quickly is to discover and bring together a half-dozen, dozen, or more exceptional cadres from at least most Latin American countries, as the nucleus for creating a single revolutionary organization for the entire continent. These exceptional cadres would immediately concentrate on educating and winning-over the best contacts they have from other parts of the existing Latin American socialist movement — through individual recruitment, fusions, and so forth.

From the start, such a force must approach the entirety of Latin American struggles and potential struggles, developing educational, propaganda, intelligence-gathering, organizing, and tactical work with the same continental view one would apply to the planning and conduct of a continent-wide revolutionary military campaign.

The first thing to settle in starting such work is the question of theoretical fundamentals. (1) The class-for-itself concept and expanded reproduction concept, and the ABCs of actual Marxian economic theory. Without that scientific grounding in method and theory, no effective revolutionary organization can be built. Without a shared scientific basis for judgments, political decisions for strategy, tactics, and other work can only have an

accidental quality. (2) The strategic situation (world economic developments, imperialist strategic situation in the depression, relative position and dynamics of various movements throughout the world), and the strategic situation of Latin America within that whole. (3) A broad set of programmatic principles for the necessary sectoral development of socialist Latin America must be outlined and propagated — per capita food requirements, food production, etc. — where and how we intend to obtain and develop the productive forces to meet the specific needs of the population. (4) The situation and dynamic of various classes in various political regions from the right to the left. (5) The strategic significance of the struggle within each particular country for the universal struggle and the peculiarities of rhythm, strength, etc. which must be understood in order to decide on a tactical perspective for each country.

We have the resources (because of our growth and our advantageous situation in North America and Western Europe) to make certain contributions to this general effort. Latin American revolutionaries have an immediate knowledge and understanding of particular variables which are not competently reported in the official leftist or semi-bourgeois publications and these Latin American revolutionaries have the means to judge various concepts against the movement of the masses or the possible movement of the masses in that region.

We have fewer than six years to reach victory in all parts of the capitalist world. Therefore, we must salvage everything that is viable in the existing movement (individuals and organizations) for the process of creating the type of regional revolutionary organization required. We must not permit ourselves to waste the valuable opportunities we still possess.

Fraternally yours,
Lyn Marcus

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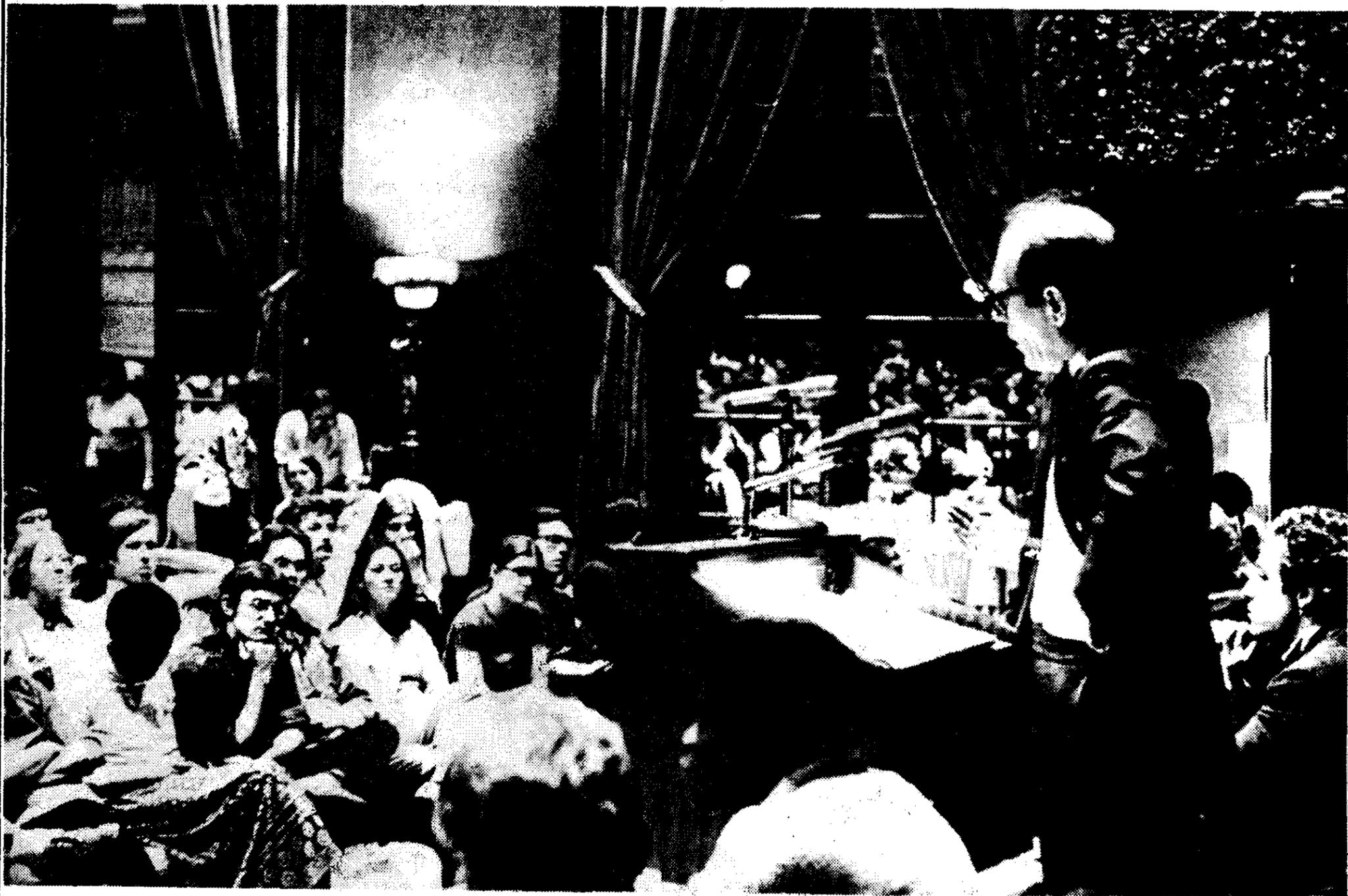
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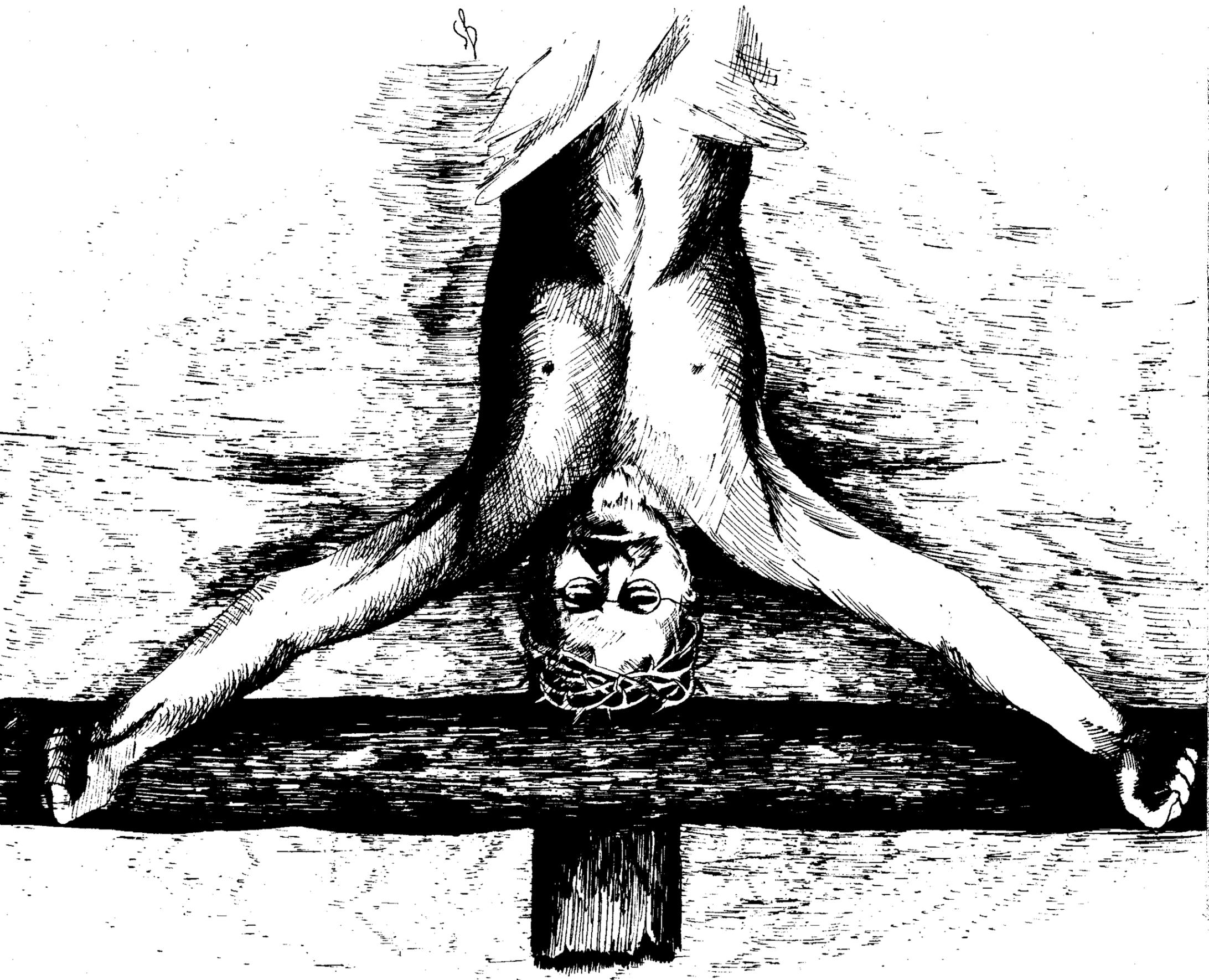
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The Passion and Second Coming of L.D. Trotsky by L. Marcus and K. Ghandhi



In "The Case of Ludwig Feuerbach" it was shown that the internal categories of modern Christian religious life are in no sense arbitrary. Those doctrines are the *determinate* outcome of the churches' efforts, "organic" efforts over several centuries, to adapt doctrine and ritual to the deepest psychological wants of the victims of capitalist ideology. As religion thus abstracts the common, universal features from the widest assortment of individual and other special neuroses, its doctrines serve as the efficient body of clinical evidence through which to distinguish even the atheistic individual's participation in the universal neurosis (bourgeois ideology) from the special pathetic qualities of his personal development.

The central images of religion are much more than appropriate constructs. They are not merely fictions which satisfy a neurotic need. They are projections of the characteristic unconscious images from the believers into the realm of doctrine. Nor are they peculiar to religious believers. They are characteristic of the unconscious life of nearly all victims of capitalist ideology, including such professedly atheistical communities as logical-positivism and "organized Trotskyism."

Nor is the relationship between religion and believer only a contingent feature of secular practice generally. Religious belief reflects the "deepest" aspects of mental life, and consequently it discloses the real pattern of motivations by which nearly every judgement and action of the individual is controlled. The critical, psycho-analytical study of religion is the efficient way to go directly past the surface rationalizations by which people misrepresent their motivations, to thus expose the actual reasons people behave the way they do.

There might be some collateral value to collecting interviews of presently and formerly professed "Trotskyists," concerning their initial affiliation, etc. At best, most of those reports would be unconscious lying. One understands nothing respecting the "Old Trotskyism" (characteristic of groupings during the 1940-58 period) until one studies it as *a cult of the Passion and Second Coming of Christ-Trotsky*, as we do here.

The point to be made through this study is of general applicability for the socialist movement of the 1970's. We shall expose what we identify as a "Trotsky Syndrome," characteristic of the 1940-58 "Trotskyists," but also of the widespread, tragic neurotic flaw of many otherwise promising young cadres throughout the movement today. The syndrome is associated with its victim's self-image as *a self-righteous but impotent individual, doomed to fail*. The image of Trotsky as a brilliant person who failed despite his relatively correct strategic outlook, the image of Trotsky as a "prophet," a tragic hero — almost a living archetype — prompted his self-

styled followers to make their own neurotic flaw into a special sort of doctrinal virtue of their faction. Hence, those groupings, especially those of the 1940-58 period, express the phenomenon in a remarkably concentrated form, so much so that it is that neurosis, not Trotsky's ideas, which represented the fundamental doctrine of *practice* for the professed tendency in general.

The parallels between Christianity and the "Old Trotskyism" are not only luridly pronounced, but such a connection bears directly on the "Trotsky Syndrome" itself.

Trotskyist Theology

To the "Trotskyist," in particular, like Feuerbach's God of the pure understanding, Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin are too purely rational, too perfected, too potent to be directly comprehended by ordinary men and women. "Ordinary folk" can find referents within their mental processes only for gods who are *flawed* as they are. For the identical reason religion requires a *Messiah*, a *God with man's flaws of passion*, the "Trotskyist" movement cannot directly comprehend Marx or Lenin; it requires a *flawed* God-become-mere-man to *mediate* its relationship to the incomprehensible deities. On this account we have the trinity of Karl Marx (the *Logos* or "Holy Spirit"), V.I. Lenin (God the judge, the law-giver), and the Christ-Trotsky who failed on earth as ordinary Trotskyists were unconsciously determined to do.

To the "Old Trotskyist," the query, "what will socialism be like?" brought forth in reply an ingenuous Garden-of-Eden sort of chiliastic description: what it might "be like" *if*, miraculously, Trotsky were to descend to earth again backed by the will of his Heavenly Father. The official "Trotskyist" explications of such a world are infantile, sentimental rhapsody respecting the all-curing remedies of a "workers' society." The 1940-58 "Trotskyist," in particular, never considered what the characteristic problems of workers' society would be, nor how the society would function to actually resolve the necessary crises of expanded socialist reproduction (e.g., the "ecological crisis", the reactionary carry-over of such bourgeois ideology as "nationalism," etc.) Their socialist society was a chiliast's fantasy, whose mere contemplation was presumed to have some wonderfully propitiatory connection to daily party practice.

The "Trotskyists," including — to a certain lesser degree — Trotsky himself, reflected their professed impotence in hagiolatry. This tradition (the so-called "cult of the personality") spilled over into the world movement from the wretched Lenin-idolatry of even the left opposition itself. In this schema, Trotsky places Lenin above himself, and the "Trotskyist" abjures any notion of equalling or surpassing Trotsky on matters of

theory and method. The "Trotskyist" organizations had a sense that somehow the future movement would "throw up new Lenins and Trotskys," it was dogmatically asserted that, naturally, such Second-Coming Trotskys would manifest themselves within the leadership of the SWP, etc., but it was more forcefully assumed *in practice* that no actual person in the movement was going to be permitted to develop such eerie qualities. If any member consciously set himself to mastering theory and method, to master these as peers of Lenin and Trotsky, i.e., independently of the "inspired exegeses," he would be treated just as the Church would treat a parishioner who set out to become a second Christ. *The theology of the "Old Trotskyist" movement was the "imitation of Christ-Trotsky," a sentimental contemplation of the Passion, Crucifixion and Second Coming of Trotsky.* The doctrine of the movement was an exegetical, scholastic, rabbinical "interpretation" of "inspired writings," the high point of "theoretical" achievements a clever quibble respecting the discrepancy between current practice and the ostensible meaning of sacred literary authority on that topic.

These parallels between the "Old Trotskyism" and Christianity are in no way strained, not mere plausible metaphors. We shall demonstrate that here in due course.

The reader who grants, entirely or conditionally, that such parody is existent in the sense we have stated, may suggest a plausible cause for this connection in the pervasive influence of religious teachings and symbolism in the society from which socialists are recruited. This connection exists. As the mind conditions religious forms, those forms reflexively condition the mental processes from which they themselves arise. This is an extremely significant but tertiary aspect of the matter. (It is not astonishing that so much of the festive life of the U.S. socialist movement, for example, mimicked the revival meetings of Protestantism, or that so many socialist and labor-union songs are based on popular hymns.)

More immediately, the centrist socialist demands that the forms of life of his political organization meet those same bourgeois-ideological needs alternately served by religious practices. This must be as much the case for the centrist who has a relatively minimal exposure to religion per se as for his ex-Catholic, ex-Protestant comrades. The requirement is paradoxical: the rituals offered must, on the one hand, conceal their religious quality, and yet credibly fulfill what the believers' unconscious processes accept as a model of that very quality which must be concealed.

Fundamentally, the resemblances arise because both Christianity and "Trotskyism" have a common psycho-

logical basis in the bourgeois ideology *almost equally* dominating their respective parishioners. If there were no Christianity to emulate, "Trotskyism" would have still assumed what we are able to actually recognize as the forms of Christian doctrine.

Stalinist Anti-Trotskyism

The religious quality of centrist socialism is not peculiar to the "Trotskyist" factions. Stalinism, still the essential theology of the Communist Parties, is similarly superstitious. This is a subject demanding extensive analytical treatment in its own name. We treat it here only as that bears directly on Stalinist anti-Trotskyism, a phenomenon through which certain prominent theological features of "Trotskyism" itself are better illuminated.

The official Trotskyist explanations of Stalinism are only far less an edifying hoax than traditional Stalinist counter-statements. For decades, the Trotskyist movement mischaracterized the influence of Stalinism in the same way that Enlightenment counter-theologians atheistically represented religious belief as a simple hoax. It was argued that the awesome authority of the Soviet Union itself, as the certified existent form of anti-capitalism, duped credulous CP members into believing anti-Trotskyist lies from the Kremlin. Until the very early 1960's, the *raison d'être* of Trotskyist organizations was located in this thesis. It was argued that the successful exposure of those lies would result in Trotskyist relative hegemony within the socialist movement. It would so finally be conceded that "Trotsky was the true son of Lenin."

They obsessively ignored the overwhelming evidence of daily life in the socialist movement, that the CP rank-and-filer's belief in Stalin's false statements was principally a wishful credulousness. It was not lies that created acceptance of Stalinism, but reactionary outlooks within the CP ranks which created Stalinist lies. Stalin exploited the most fantastic lying, but he was able to secure world-wide currency for those pathetic falsehoods only because the ordinary CP member demanded that its leadership create the most pathetic slanders against the Left Opposition.

The CPers' hostility to Trotsky is not a result of credulous acceptance of Stalin's lies, but is a superstitious impulse rooted in a deeply religious obsession concerning his relationship to the CP itself. It is not the lies that cause affiliation to the CP, but affiliation to the CP that cause rank-and-filers to demand the propagation of hysterical edifications from their leaders.

A preliminary insight into the real connections is located by considering the impact of Trotsky's earlier "Germany" articles and pamphlets on Communist Party members of the 1933-35 period. There is a parallel in the

immediate reaction of European and North American CPers during late September and October to the Labor Committee's predictive analysis — a year before the event — of the way in which Allende's Chile regime would fall. The obvious vindications of Trotsky's warnings was cause for the extremes of lying against Trotsky just as the fall of Allende put hysteria into right-wing CPers' rage against the Labor Committees. The rank-and-file CPers' conscience was enraged by the irrefutable evidence (in both examples) that "popular front" realpolitiking is always counterrevolutionary in effect.

The opportunist socialist is thus confronted by a conflict between his reason (self-consciousness) and his infantile passions for fearful "popular front" gregariousness (his Ego).

This conflict was examined under the caption, "The Agony of Self-Consciousness" in "The Sexual Impotence of the PSP." One with psychoanalytical experience can identify the obsessive qualities of the conflict as being in proportion to the political phenomena we are attributing to that neurotic impulsion.

We have the following conspicuous features of the CPers' circumstances to consider. Firstly, as a self-esteemed pariah in capitalist society, a potentially or actually persecuted political minority, he is subjected not only to the rational concerns he requires as a matter of "political combat sense," but also experiences an acute upsurge of his neurotic "fears of rats." The neurotic aspect of the matter impels him toward violently propitiatory behavior toward large strata of possible allies — e.g., the social democracy, the liberals. In accordance with lawful psychodynamics, this same neurotic fear plunges him, more intensely than usual, into an obsessive Ego-state, characterized by a more acute ploy of the infantile passions (fear, rage, object-lation) and obsessively gregarious impulsions.

His obsession, his rage, is immediately focussed against his own self-consciousness. He must, so to speak, angrily blind himself to any internal voices which, by exposing the degraded quality of his Ego-impulsions, might weaken or otherwise interfere with what his Ego is grimly determined to do.

Witness the case of CP Chile policy. Since the election of Allende, the CP press throughout the world had held Chile up as a model to be emulated, as the modern road to socialism in the Age of Peaceful Coexistence. To maintain that course in Chile, the CPC endorsed and even incited butcheries and other repressions of Chilean leftists, workers, and farmers. Then, inevitably, in due course, Allende was dumped, fulfilling precisely the course of development of which the CP's leading socialist critics had warned. How, then, did the CPUSA react to this bloody proof of the suicidal character of its "popular

front" policies? It waved Allende's bloody shirt, made a martyr of the bungling opportunist, plunged hysterically into more extreme manifestations of the same suicidal policy.

Contrary to "Old Trotskyist" theology, discrediting of CP policy does not necessarily result in mass movements toward the organization of the vindicated critics. Usually, as in the Chile case, exactly the contrary occurs. Demoralization, per se, usually impels the CPers to lunge more hysterically toward partial reconciliation with some large faction of even the enemy political machines! Contrary to the strategy for Trotskyism associated with the James P. Cannon traditions, the militant working-class rank-and-file is not rational; it is neurotic, and its governing neurosis (bourgeois ideology) usually impels it, under stress, toward deeper submission to capitalism.

The demoralized CPer of 1973, like his predecessors of 1934-35, was impelled toward a "popular front" betrayal of rational class self-interest. He plunged into a more profound, more obsessive Ego-state, and became therefore violent in his attitudes toward those who created internal threats to his hysterical behavior.

Trotsky's "Germany" 1929-33 articles, thus paralleling 1972-73 Labor Committee analysis of Chile, speak to the reason, the self-consciousness of (in particular) the CPer. They strengthen self-consciousness, even awaken it. Self-consciousness, informed in its judgement, condemns the suicidal infantilism of the Ego. The Ego lashes back, shrieking in rage, "Don't try to control me. I know what's best for me." The attack on his own restive self-consciousness is accompanied by a vicious attack on external allies of self-consciousness.

Self-consciousness dictates *changing* the mental state of not only the CPer thus affected, but his commitment to that changing of state, from Ego state to self-consciousness, of other CPers, militant workers, etc., and hence to create new, left-hegemonic revolutionary institutions. It means abandoning the CP perspective of opportunist "peaceful coexistence" tactical maneuvers within the existing capitalist framework, and resolving to change the system fundamentally. This, in turn, means rising above "nationalist" and parochial idiocies generally to establish an international party per se. It demands, in place of reallocating existing produced wealth, a programmatic conception of coordinated world-wide qualitative development of the productive forces.

In every respect, self-consciousness of the *implications* of the Chilean events demands rejecting the view of a fixed order of reality, a view of merely reordering the existing elements of reality. It demands *hubristic* (i.e.,



The Communist Party is, from a psychological standpoint, unconsciously regarded by most CP members as mother.

Promethian) overview on the wilful qualitative changing of world-wide reality *by each individual*.

In terms of Christian doctrine, this is to violate the first of Rabbi Ezra's ten commandments. It is to place Lucifer (Prometheus), the potent god who changes the laws of the universe, above the Apollonian Father-God, the apotheosis of unchangeable laws of the "outer world" (Zeus). That image exactly identifies the root of anti-Trotskyism within the mind of the CP rank-and-filer.

The ordinary CP rank-and-filer, like the ordinary, benumbed Catholic, is — in his opportunist phases — a superstitious adherent of the Whore of Babylon (The Virgin Mary). Such a CPer's professed "materialist" outlook means only that he openly professes a clearer connection to the spiritual Madonna-side of his Mariolatry. The Communist Party is, from a psychological standpoint, unconsciously regarded by most CP members as Mother — i.e., a sort of "Mother Church."

The typical, hysterically Trotsky-baiting CP rank-and-filer had, contrary to the Trotskyist's mythology, almost no perception of a system of Stalinist lies about Trotsky. Rather, the CPer "felt" a deep entirely superstitious, irrational fear of Trotskyism, just as the Christian similarly feels superstitious fear of Lucifer.

Lucifer, not Satan! Thorough and far-reaching capitalist Christian doctrine properly identifies Satan as the patron essence of witches. It is Stalin, the unifying symbol of the Big Whore-Mothers of the World, who exactly fulfills the theological and psychoanalytical qualifications of Satan: ignorant, boorish, superstitious, sensually sadistic Stalin is a perfect Satan. It is "the God of Light," Lucifer, which is hated by all whores.

Why should such a religious hatred of Trotsky be thus so peculiar to Stalinists? Why do so few Trotskyists, anti-Trotskyists, and others outside the CP fail to experience that particular feeling or know of its decisive role within CP ranks? Not only do Labor Committee recruits from CPs universally report this phenomenon, but once one has discovered the fact, CP literature readily affirms the hegemonic pervasiveness of that syndrome.

The special impotence of the CPs is the key to this, the effect of that special quality of impotence on the new recruit.

Is this not the same, essentially, as Trotskyist impotence? Why attribute any special qualities to it therefore? It is not the same. Mass-based Communist Parties have been repeatedly in a position to undertake the seizure of power in the advanced capitalist sector (Germany, 1923; France, Italy, etc., 1944-46) and have turned away from such manifest opportunities each time. The same trait is reflected in a far greater number and variety of the lesser openings representing major opportunities for building toward the critical juncture of state power. Unlike the Trotskyist groups, which — except in Ceylon — never enjoyed so much as a distant perspective of left hegemony in any country, the Communist Parties have a trait of constantly sabotaging major historic opportunities repeatedly presented to them: almost an obsession with political abortion of this sort.

The new CP recruit, especially the cadres drawn from the working-class organizers of mass upsurges, enter the party with a commonly fierce devotion to quickly changing the world. There they soon encounter pervasive qualities which destroy their revolutionary commitment. The new recruit expects fiery intellectual passion in CP leaders; he meets philistine cynicism and boorishness — the Babbitt-smell of bureaucratic functionaries. He expects revolutionary theory, sweeping strategic conceptions, a scientific ruthlessness of precision respecting tactics. He finds the same “realpolitiking” squatness of intellect and moral outlook otherwise typical of a union official. The banal stink of “practicality” (realpolitiking) is like the moral climate of an ill-kept outhouse. On one level he quickly realizes that “this bunch of clowns can’t lead a revolution.” Yet he believes that that miserable organization is the only socialist force relevant enough to build a socialist influence in his country. He compromises, remaining in the CP, he makes a disastrous moral compromise within himself. Hence, the typical pattern: the longer a formerly revolutionary recruit remains in the CP, the more successfully he advances within it, the more morally benumbed he becomes.

It is the discrepancy between a once-aroused self-consciousness and a “disciplined” enforcement of Ego-

state political outlooks and practice, which causes the distinct, acute syndromes peculiar to the CP. The CPer is usually more susceptible to self-consciousness, hence more vulnerable to, more threatened by addresses to his reason. He must repress this fact, “to live with himself as a CPer,” and force himself, with “fanatical discipline,” into Ego-state politics, become a devout adherent of political whorishness. Hence his fear of Lucifer.

It is widely characteristic of CPers that their deepest superstitious hatred of Trotskyists is cathexed to the words “outsiders” and “intellectuals.” “Outsider” has a double meaning. It identifies the “outsider” within the CPer himself, the self-consciousness which is the hated outsider to his own witch-dominated Ego. It also reflects the notion of “outsider” originating in infantile mother dependency, showing thus the bourgeois-ideological content of CPUSA daily practice (parochialism, modern Jeffersonism, etc.). “Intellectual” is the word which often brings up the CPers’ fiercest hatred, not accidentally: it reflects the hostility of the obsessed Ego to the CPers’ non-self-consciousness, rage against those who would attempt to awaken his own reason to domination of his own mind.

The latter phenomenon is more generally endemic outside the CPUSA in a common hostility toward those who demand self-conscious thinking. Usually, the real motives of the philistine leftist are crudely disguised by a fallacy of composition. The pseudo-intellectuality of ordinary classroom life, itself a reflection of Ego-state domination, is cited as if the moral indifferentism of “kosher” scholars were the taint of actual intellectual life. Two things are to be recognized in regarding a related syndrome as “special” to Stalinists. Firstly, as we have noted, the CPer who was recruited from labor organizers of a revolutionary disposition joined the party as an individual of relatively unusual heightening of self-consciousness, thus distinct from the ordinary working-class philistine whose adolescent and adult life is one of unrelieved banality. Secondly, respecting the widespread philistinism of the left generally, the Stalinist *Proletkult* tendency is qualitatively more vicious, in the terms we have already identified this point.

More broadly, the CPers’ essentially superstitious hatred of Trotskyists is reflected in such expressions as, “They are ... slimy ... somehow alien ... not right” Contrary to the cited commonplace Trotskyist myth, the CPer has no *explicit* motive whatsoever for his “Trot-baiting.” It is entirely an irrational feeling; that it is no more than a linear sort of emotion (hence an infantile emotion) the CPer reflects by giving an “infinite” referent for his attitude: “They are capable of anything” — generalized “evil.” Therefore, he demands that his

press and leaders fabricate a plenum of lies concerning Trotskyists.

His mental state, a generalized, "linear infinite" form of infantile, superstitious fear/hatred, corresponds to the anxiety of an endlessly recurring nightmare. His mind is a *schwaermerei* of fragments of irrational feelings and fleeting images, literally a "bad infinity" state. He demands a "cadence" to bring this kaleidoscopic swarm to a resolution of sorts. His infantile state demands something "definite" to replace the ambiguity. He will therefore seize upon any vicious slanders — the wilder the better to his ends — with the most intense outpouring of infantile elation of object-possession, i.e., with obsessive wishful credibility. He will believe the most fantastic assertions. This credulity corresponds to his Satanic (i.e., whorish) "infinite" feeling: "Trotskyists are the essence of a universal evilness, hence capable of anything." Yet even that criterion of credulity is relatively secondary to the psychodynamics of his superstitious obsession. He hysterically clings to any concrete fabrications because his anxiety demands the elation of possessing *any* such "objective" possessions.

The Trotskyist who suggests that the lies are the causal factor are themselves hysterically refusing to acknowledge the preponderance of the very evidence which has most preoccupied their attention. The "Moscow Trial" fabrications are exemplary. (For economy, we limit our immediate attention to the acceptance of the show-trial fantasy outside the Soviet Union.)

There was *never* the slightest basis for believing the charges against the principal defendants of the *Yezhovschina*. The overwhelming majority of Lenin's Central Committee, headed by Trotsky, were alleged to have conspired in covenant with Adolf Hitler for a capitalist restoration in the U.S.S.R. Mussolini's immediate and continuing enthusiastic support of Stalin exemplifies the obvious point. Even a *rational* empiricist watching from a telescope on Pluto would not have ignored the obvious falseness of the whole affair. The Dewey Commission's report is also exemplary.

The widespread "comsymp" acceptance of the Moscow Trial fabrications is significant. From the Seventh Congress (1935) through the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Stalinist policy was the "popular front" of "peaceful coexistence," in which Communists subordinated their organization and its supporters to alliances with social-democrats and "liberal" capitalist factions. The thrust of the Moscow Trial terror in the capitalist sectors was directed against opponents of this support of capitalist factions. The Comsymp and liberals generally consciously acknowledged his own bitter hatred of the socialist factions against which

Stalinist terror was directed — just as liberals, headed by the *New York Times*, again, in 1973, openly conspired to assist the Communist Party U.S.A. against the Labor Committees. The pro-F.D.R. fellow-traveler and liberal recognized that the "Trot-baiting" of the CP was directed against the liberals' opponents and represented the CP's virtual dissolution of socialism into the left-wing of the Democratic Party.

The Moscow Trial falsehoods could not have been the *cause* for *anyone's* acceptance of anti-Trotskyism. Hence, as subsequent history confirms (the Khrushchev "revelations"), the mere repudiation of those falsehoods would not diminish anti-Trotskyism in the least. However, the Trotskyists had to believe the specious explanation of their own reasons. If the Trotskyist acknowledged the preponderance of the clinical evidence, he would be obliged on this account to reject his own obsessive conceits concerning the "objectivity" of political processes. He could have been compelled to locate Stalinism in the psychopathic processes we have identified, and by implication *examine his own mental processes by the same method*.

It was the Trotskyists themselves, including Leon Trotsky only to a lesser degree, who were obsessively compelled *to deny that Stalinist anti-Trotskyism was entirely a religious matter*.

The Evolution of Trotskyist Doctrine

It should be neither surprising nor regarded as strained metaphor that a theology such as Trotskyism is characterized by successive *apostolic*, *episcopal*, and *agnostic* phases. As we have already emphasized, it is the *episcopal* or "Old Trotskyism" phase, typified by the 1940-58 period, which characterizes the cult in its exemplary form. However, to understand this middle, characteristic phase, it is essential to see its roots in the *apostolic* period; by considering the lawful outcome of "Old Trotskyism" in its agnostic successor, we are able to readily demonstrate features of the "Trotsky syndrome" which might otherwise appear unduly subtle to many.

The apostolic period dates from the last period of Lenin's illness, 1923, to the assassination of Trotsky's son Leon Sedov, 1938. The significance of the latter date is that it corresponds to the transfer of the organizing center from Paris to New York City, or the placing of *de facto* control of the world tendency in the hands of the actually *Zinovievite* centrist faction of James P. Cannon et al. There is a *limited analogy* to Marx's transfer of the headquarters of the First International to the U.S.A.. The *Yezhovschina* had successfully obliterated the last *organized* remnant of the actual Left Opposition. The death of Sedov and the pathetic state of the squabbling factions in Britain and France ended the

immediate prospect for an organized faction actually representative of Trotsky's *direct* political influence.

1938 also corresponds to the ritual of establishing the self-styled "Fourth International". Isaac Deutscher's opposition to that organization has a double significance. Deutscher's argument is ironical in fact. He correctly regarded the pretense of the founding as farcical *in any ordinary terms of reference*, but thus rejected the urgent, rather desperate reasons which made that step *therefore* indispensable. The very fact that the Left Opposition had been wholly crushed in its efforts to become a significant force prescribed *the absolute historic urgency of establishing some encysted germ-form in which the basis for a new movement — even decades hence — might be reasonably provided*. At the same time, the refusal of Deutscher's faction to participate in the new organization to the latter, historic purpose contributed to making the "Fourth" the farce it became in fact. Indeed, Deutscher's misguided position exemplifies the wretched circumstances which forced Trotsky to capitulate to the proprietary claims of Cannon et al. (We shall return to this point below.)

The second phase, the episcopal, begins with the consolidation of Cannon's position as "first bishop" by the circumstances accompanying Trotsky's death. Trotskyism as a subject had ceased to be located in the initiating activity of Trotsky and had been relocated in the "rabbinical" authority of the established organization to interpret and amend the "literary heritage." The subject-form of Trotskyism was reified absolutely, from the theoretical-strategic terms of Trotsky's reference to the practical family interests of the organized faction *in itself*.

"Trotskyism" in the sense of Trotsky's historically located authority, his strategical outlook and methods, was degraded from subject to mere principal predicate. The former predicate, the organized actualization of strategy as daily practice, became the subject-form. The alienated object-form of the determinate, mediating activity was asserted to be the primitive, fundamental reality; the former essence, the strategic conception of goal became the determinate expression of the self-reproduction of the organization as an entity-in-itself.

Trotsky's personal history and writings became the mere attribute, the mere possession (heritage) of the (principally) SWP. "Once the truth about Trotsky's genius is generally recognized, the SWP will enjoy the resulting. . ." *capital gain in its assets*.

The apostolic or "Old" Trotskyism characteristic of the 1940-58 period was formerly oriented to the inevitability of such developments as the Khrushchev "revelations" and the Hungarian revolt. It was the fundamental

self-estimation peculiar to the episcopal phase that the final exposure of Stalinist anti-Trotsky lies would lead directly to the rapid left-hegemony of organized Trotskyism at the first succeeding radical upsurge. Therefore the "Old Trotskyism" collapsed in demoralization as soon as the initial experience of a new radical upsurge (1958-60) had made a mockery of this fundamental doctrine.

The episcopal phase collapsed beginning approximately the end of 1960. For most of the groups, excepting the leading British faction and its allies, the "Old Trotskyism" had failed them. Not only had the Khrushchev "revelations" and Hungary failed to give them left hegemony, but the new radical upsurge had apparently bypassed even the labor movement itself, in favor of a new kind of social revolution identified by "Third World" struggles generally and epitomized by the case of Cuba. The entire "Trotskyist" movement fragmented into sundry variations on two themes. The majority of the forces, at the beginning of the 1960s, coalesced around the "Cuban model" of the "brand new" phenomenon of "Third World" struggles. The minority a few years later (1965-66) retreated entirely into sectarian encystment.[19]

The *agnostic* phase formally begins during the 1961-63 period of unification of the "bishops" of Cannon-Dobbs (SWP) and Ernest Mandel-Pierre Frank. The initial impetus for this was provided by direct informal negotiations between Mandel and one of Cannon's principal heirs of the 1940-60 period, Murry Weiss. The temporary thesis of those discussions was the perspective of wooing Fidel Castro and his worldwide following to a reconstituted "Fourth International" of which Castro would presumably become principal spokesman. This particular illusion was dispelled soon enough, but it is nonetheless of decisive clinical importance for an understanding of the essence of "New Trotskyism." This hare-brained hope was an impulsive objectification of an emerging but generally formless world outlook; like the Stalinist anti-Trotskyist lies treated above, the obsessive objectification of Castro as prospective leader of the "Fourth International" was an attempt to reduce the anxiety of kaleidoscope fragments of feeling and images to a consoling cadence of fixed-object goals.

Two theses of more enduring and profound importance for the worldwide evolution of the "New Trotskyism" were developed by other SWP spokesmen. The key argument used to rationalize the transition from "Old" to "New" was developed by the eclectic Joseph Hansen. The rationalization for generalizing Hansen's thesis into its present counterinsurgency expression was developed by an SWP admirer and collaborator of Detroit's Reverend Albert Cleage, George Breitman. As Weiss and his short-lived thesis faded from the SWP in 1963,

these two doctrines rapidly emerged as the exemplary models for sweeping overthrow of the "Old Trotskyism."

Hansen's thesis had the importance, at the time of its introduction, of stilling the consciences of an SWP majority which was still cathexized to the catch-phrases of the old doctrine. He insisted that since the Cuban two-phase revolution reflected the "theory of permanent revolution," that the Cuban leadership was an "organic" (possibly "unconsciously" so) expression of Trotskyism. The conspicuous general feature of his thesis was his amalgamation of two distinct problems. Demagogically exploiting the obvious fact that the second Cuban Revolution had been realized as a conscious establishment of a *deformed workers' state*, [20] he argued that the non-socialist Fidelista movement of the first bourgeois-nationalist revolutionary struggle represented a *repeatable* model, *an alternative policy-model for willful accomplishment of socialist revolution*. This is the germ-form of the "New Trotskyism."

"Permanent Revolution"

The application of "permanent revolution" to Cuba is most instructive in several ways — none of which Hansen did or would concede.

The "theory of permanent revolution" was developed, as an alternative to the Adler-Menshevik "theory of national stages," by Rosa Luxemburg during the early and middle part of the 1890s, initially set forth in her doctoral dissertation. [21] For Luxemburg this thesis had two interconnected features.

Using the industrial development of Russia in Poland as her chief point of illustration, she attacked the cretinism of the theory of relatively autarkic national phases of political-economic development. The capitalist world was characterized by a worldwide interdependence of the productive forces, so that the quality (phase) of development of the productive forces within a national subsector was determined by the quality of capitalist development as a whole, a quality epitomized in the dominant sectors. Thus, if the economic maturity of the dominant sector specified a ripeness for socialist transformation, then all sectors were overripe for directly socialist revolutions.

Her second, connected thesis was the point that this circumstance of the economic basis restricted the quality of working-class self-consciousness to the class-for-itself form of internationalism, in respect to which "national" working-class consciousness was a chimera, an anti-socialist bourgeois-ideological relic. By catering to "nationalist" revolutionary ideology, the socialists were conciliating counterrevolutionary tendencies.

Through Luxemburg's strong influence on Parvus during the immediately following period, a bowdlerized

version of her conceptions appeared in the Parvus-Trotsky version of the "theory of permanent revolution" following the 1905 Russian revolution. This is not to imply that Trotsky merely plagiarized Luxemburg on this account. The experience of 1905 showed that the Russian capitalists, tied to world capitalism, could not satisfy Russian popular bourgeois-democratic interests for agrarian reform, etc. The same experience also demonstrated not only the need for direct movement to a Russian workers' government, but the need *to subsume* the bourgeois-democratic material aspirations of the peasantry within a socialist program and struggle for soviet power. Trotsky's 1905-06 experience demonstrated to him the insoluble contradictions of a "stages" tactic within the context of *national* workers' revolutionary struggles.

In an important sense, Trotsky was an internationalist *relative to* the Mensheviks, the social-democracy, and Stalin. The workers' movement of each country must support a socialist struggle policy for all other countries. However, he differed absolutely from Luxemburg in the respect that he, like Lenin, never overcame his vestigial bourgeois-ideological premise of self evident national divisions of the workers' immediate struggle, nor did he ever comprehend the actual notion of socialist expanded reproduction even to the qualitative extent that Luxemburg did.

Despite their otherwise important differences, relative to Cuba, Luxemburg's and Trotsky's notions of permanent revolution broadly concur in immediate analytical practice. The Cuban Revolution could not fulfill the promised measures in the self-interests of the urban and agrarian proletariat within capitalist order. Castro had to either sell out the proletariat, as Allende's government did, or nationalize the principal Cuban productive forces under some approximation of a self-government of the working class. To survive imperialist blockade and other countermeasures, he was compelled to align Cuba with the Soviet sub-sector of the world economy.

In this respect, Castro's comprehension of "permanent revolution" was metaphorically comparable to the understanding of Kepler's law by a falling iron ball.

The "New Trotskyism"

On this point there are several grotesque fallacies in Hansen's fraudulent theses.

To the extent that the "spontaneous" socialism-in-fact of the Cuban Revolution is indeed positive, the same spontaneous reality dictates Cuba's assimilation within the Soviet bloc (not the "Fourth International"), a bloc under the political control of the Soviet bureaucracy. All fortunate Cuba-like revolutionary developments could only, *taken individually*, lead to the same result.

More grotesque is the assumption that the Cuban Model is *repeatable*. Castro succeeded in his first revolution because the USA gave the preponderance of its support to the overthrow of Batista by the alliance of which Castro was then a part. The U.S. government did not imagine that a force developing in the manner of the popularly-based July 26th Movement could be capable of even contemplating effective steps toward a workers' economy. Imperialism was caught off guard, and unable (for political reasons) to reorient itself toward the kind of policy which would have prevented Castro's success until mid-1960, after the new Cuban state had consolidated itself. After 1960, no Cuban-Model revolution could occur anywhere. (When this particular criticism was made against Hansen's thesis, he went into what is for him a public rage.[22] His whole thesis was being exposed on what was, for him, its most vulnerable, most indefensible point: his fraud of implying *repeatability*.)

More generally, Hansen's thesis was entirely an effort to exclude the decisive role of self-conscious revolutionary vanguard organization from socialist revolution. In his original representation such an explicit profession was sedulously evaded. What his private views were on this he carefully avoided revealing. He merely insisted that spontaneity was *also* — in *fact!* — a revolutionary method; he tended to say, but avoided debating whether he saw this only as supplementary or, as he strongly implied, a new wave, even the characteristic method for the succeeding period. In any case, the extreme, spontaneist method became the *later* SWP — and Hansen — policy of "New Trotskyism."

Essentially Hansen's thesis broke with actual Marxism and the "Old Trotskyism" alike in these points: (1) The Trotskyist movement had no perspective of organizing socialist transformations — at least, for the indefinite future; (2) revolutions required no programmatic-strategic impetus and method; "program" was degraded to a recipe-collection consulted for the purpose of submitting polite suggestions to spontaneist movements; (3) no foreseeable perspective for socialist transformation in the advanced sector; (4) the abandonment of even the pretense of Marxian conjunctural analytical methods in preference for blatantly empiricist methods of extrapolation from "current trends." His attempt to reconcile the tailist approach to spontaneity with "permanent revolution," and his status as former chief guard at Coyoacan were stressed to insert the fundamental break within the appearances of theoretical continuity — a package designed to soothe the tattered consciences of the demoralized, tired, and credulous "old cadres."

The *overtly* vicious break occurred during late 1962 and 1963 in Breitman's "theory of Block Nationalism." Hansen's Cuban-Model formula was applied to spon-

taneist petit-bourgeois black nationalist ferment, to order a tailist approach to the SWP's daily practice. Tentatively at first, this thesis was extended to its consistent corollary, that the SWP had essentially written off the working class as a revolutionary class force. If we take into account the organic changes in SWP membership which ensued in an organization adapted to the Hansen-Breitman "New Trotskyism," the replacement of "old cadres" by anarcho-syndicalist "New Left" strata of increasingly virulent anti-labor moods, we can correctly say that *there is a direct connection between the 1960-63 Hansen-Breitman initiatives and the SWP's present policies as an active supporter of CIA-type and actual CIA counterinsurgency activities in the USA.*

The reactionary CIA-controlled SWP of today is the extreme expression, the proto-fascist result, toward which the "New Trotskyism" everywhere tends to converge. "Proto-fascist" is no factional exaggeration in the case of the SWP majority and leadership. Perfervid petit-bourgeois anarcho-syndicalism (radical "local control" militancy) is exactly that Dionysiac form of enraged heteronomy ("pluralism") which is the essence of all mass-based fascist movements.

Cannon and Dobbs

Especially because of the initial period of absolute hegemony of the Cannon "papacy" (1940-1952), the SWP is an even more precise model of the "Old Trotskyism" than its 1961-73 version is the extreme prototype of the "New."

The Cannon faction was a product of the old trade-union opportunist Cannon-Foster clique from the CPUSA of the 1920s, which had been most strongly oriented toward Gregory Zinoviev during most of that period. At the point of Cannon's expulsion, this political character was embodied in the draft program of that CPUSA faction. Not only was this policy the official policy of the newly-established Communist League of America, but it was the cornerstone of SWP domestic policy throughout the 1934-1949 period, and the policy toward which the party hoped to return throughout the subsequent period of reaction (1950-57).

It is most relevant to contrast the Cannon-Foster program with such Trotsky writings of the "Germany" period as "What Next?" or his "Whither France?" Despite Cannon's strong personal attachment to and awe of Trotsky himself from 1928 onwards, Cannon was always a Zinovievite politically. In 1928, at the moment of his "Damascus Road," he was a standard anti-Trotskyist CPUSA bureaucrat personally aligned toward Zinoviev. He happened to join Trotsky at a moment when the joint opposition (including Zinoviev) was being thrown out of the CPSU, but before Zinoviev had

recanted. These curious features of the Cannon Pauline conversion to Trotskyism are significant exactly because Cannon remained a Zinovievite in practice for as long as he was active in the SWP leadership.

There was always a large gap, to say the least, between the Cannonite conduct of U.S. Trotskyist domestic matters and Trotsky's policies and methods. *Cannon was, so to speak, a Trotskyist in "foreign policy."* This was the case even during Trotsky's lifetime.

The conflict shows up luridly in the stenogram of June, 1940 debates between Trotsky and SWP leaders concerning policy toward the CPUSA's proposed presidential candidacy of Earl Browder. Trotsky there goes further toward a factional attack on Cannonism than the record shows otherwise. There is nothing accidental in that appearance, since other indications exist of his growing estrangement from Cannon's labor lieutenants, Cochran and Dobbs, during the same period. He (properly) accuses Cannon et al. of an opportunistic adaptation to the pro-capitalist ideological currents among trade-union *rank-and-file militants*. He makes this charge repeatedly, his cold anger on the issue indelibly showing even from the version of the transcripts published by the SWP leadership. He is accusing Cannon et al., accurately enough, of being outright centrists (viz., outright Zinovievites).

There are portents of this in earlier proceedings. Throughout his relationships to the SWP, Trotsky crossed swords with the leadership on account of various expressions of the latter's characteristic philistinism respecting principled theoretical matters. The scandalous case of the Burnham-Schachtman "Intellectuals In Retreat" is exemplary, as is his precise language of "critical support" to the Cannon tendency (the "viable" tendency) during the 1939-40 split struggle. Cannon occasionally reciprocated, especially on the "organizational question," with cautious "independence" from Trotsky's authority.

To Cannon, the organization was always the subject, and its "Trotskyist" professions the organization's principal predicate. From the 1934 Minneapolis general strike onwards, the revolutionary strategic perspective became increasingly a chiliastic self-distinction of an organization which, back in the "trade-union business," was principally situated in the pursuit of Cannon-Foster traditional practices.

The extreme version of this is expressed by Cannon's now-retired heir, Farrell Dobbs.

When Dobbs, in 1964, publicly asserted, "The party is everything," one of his impressionable young critics triumphed, "Bernstein!" The critic, an individual typically slovenly and shallow in political matters, missed the point. Bernstein said: the *movement* is everything — *not the party*. The "party is everything" is the expres-

sion appropriate to Bernstein's centrist opponents, Bebel et al. The young impressionist was committing slovenliness in overlooking the distinction. The secret of *the connection between* the "Old" and "New" Trotskyisms has its most revealing expression in the case of the same Dobbs who kicked Cannon upstairs (in 1961-63) in order to preside over the anti-episcopal transition.

There is some parallel between the Cannon-Foster split of 1928 and the Dobbs-Cochran split of 1952. Cannon had been the *political* side of the Cannon-Foster CPUSA clique. Although Foster remained within the CP, this ironically reflected his proverbial muddle-headedness over political questions (from the earliest available record of his activities in the IWW to the end of his career). Similarly, the Dobbs-Cochran tendency of 1940-52 split along the lines of Dobbs' commitment to *politics* as he understood it. In the 1952 break, it was Cochran who expressed the tradition of Bernstein-Legin "the *movement* is everything," and Dobbs the tradition of Cannon and Bebel, "the *party* is everything." That is the key difference between the *opportunist* (Cochran) and *centrist* (Bebel-Cannon) tendencies in the socialist movement.

Immediately, this would seem to represent a fundamental political difference between Dobbs and Hansen-Breitman, even during the 1961-72 period. It does represent an extremely significant *secondary* difference which would have expressed itself in openly bitter factional forms if Dobbs had enjoyed what he saw as significant opportunities for SWP union base-building during that time. The difference between the Dobbs and Hansen-Breitman tendencies is lodged in their contrasting social orientation. The fact of Dobbs' book, as well as its contained political thesis, shows where essential agreement and secondary factional differences are located.

Dobbs' de facto orientation throughout the 1961-72 period is *essentially* a continuation of his policy from the period of the Cochran split. He states this clearly enough in the passage cited above. His concern is to maintain the continuity (existence) of the political trade-union experience from its point of cessation for him (1950-51) to the day of future reemergence of such raw ferment. To that extent, he expresses the essence of the Cannonite side of the "Old Trotskyism," if in a bowdlerized form. The opportunist petit-bourgeois social orientation expressed by the Hansen-Breitman theses is for him a necessary means for bridging a fallow period.

Fundamentally, Dobbs' view is in principled agreement with the methodological approach of Hansen-Breitman. The latter have, in essence, transferred the centrist principles of trade-union orientation to petit-bourgeois milieu, with one notable difference. The petit-bourgeois ferment to which Hansen-Breitman are

oriented is, unlike ordinary trade-union "rank-and-file caucus building," more or less self-defined as *political*. The centrist traditionally represents the party as the *political complement* of the organized labor union movement. The professedly apolitical character of *established* trade-unions is the working point here. In the case of the professedly political petit-bourgeois radical ferment, this fact creates an immediate formal conflict between the socialist party and the "spontaneity" (government-organized or other) which it tails. So the transfer of tailist methods from "labor" to petit-bourgeois strata did involve a crisis respecting the SWP's conception of the socialist vanguard party.

In a labor upsurge, this difference would have caused a probable split in a Dobbs-led SWP. Was Dobbs insensible of this? The cited book, together with abundant correlating evidence over the 1960s, indicates business-manager Dobbs never took the petit-bourgeois perspective seriously as anything more than a source of party gate-receipts.

That is the essence of centrism. It is the essence of Communism in Dobbs' vulgarized but otherwise faithful expression of its central distinction. That is key to the irony of Dobbs' biography: that from the first instant he assumed sole leadership of the SWP, it proceeded to become an increasingly anti-labor petit-bourgeois anarcho-syndicalist cult, and then the LEAA-controlled fascist gang it is today.

The "Old Trotskyism"

The degradation of Trotsky's strategical conceptions to a boulderized catechism of "positions," to the dead form of mere predicates of a religion, is the product of essentially the same ruse by which the 1891-1914 SPD partihnoise similarly degraded the reading of Karl Marx. The kernel of this is Cannon's "proletarian party" policy, a replication of the "proletarian kernel" policy of the Bebel-Ebert-Kautsky faction of 1907-13.

Taking his views more or less directly from the CPUSA tradition of the 1920's, Cannon was always personally identified by vulgar social prejudice against revolutionary intellectuals. Although the surviving accounts suggest he was always prudent enough to rationalize his philistinism, by citing valid evidence against academic types of phrasemongering or mere existentialist absurdities, the pervasive dishonesty of his tactic was to amalgamate petit-bourgeois clowning with its opposite, rigorous creative revolutionary thought.

The apparent difficulty in presenting a variety of exemplary cases is itself the most telling evidence against him. There was never a program in the SWP or its

predecessors for developing promising cadres into qualified socialist thinkers. Any individual who attempted to pursue self-development to such an end was subjected to an increasing pressure of vulgar personal abuse, until he either resigned or repented. A review of what passed for internally-developed "theory" in the pages of the 1930s and 1940s *New International* and *Fourth International* magazines reflects this. Excepting principally some work by John G. Wright and articles by Trotsky and other *non-SWP* authors, the only decent copy is of an ordinary journalistic sort of popular socialist reporting. Notable evidence includes the now-hoary series of published lectures on "dialectical materialism" by George Novack, a banal collection of vulgar homilies, whose hegemony in that organization is itself preponderant evidence of the wretched standard of "Old Trotskyist" intellectual life. To Cannon, the acceptable model of a party intellectual was a "politically reliable" academic recruit who could popularize the outcome of his bourgeois formal education in his field.

Cannon last exemplified this publicly in a 1964 address embracing the Ford Foundation-sponsored "Triple Revolution" statement as an authoritative bourgeois work for exploitation by the socialist movement. To the SWP leadership, it was sufficient to supplement the practical experience of "the day-to-day movement" with useful selections of reportage, statistics and assorted "new discoveries" from the work of accredited capitalist authorities. The party therefore required a not-excessive number of certified experts who could attend to the culling and popularization of such prefabricated "authoritative materials".

Although Cannon has been variously reported to have occasionally cited the task of "intellectual hegemony," the SWP leadership of even his reign was viciously opposed to developing within its ranks the quality of creative activity typified by even the leading revolutionary strata of the pre-1917 European socialist movement.

There was more to this anti-intellectual philistinism than personal social prejudice. *Cannon rejected the Marxian principle that the consciousness of even militant worker-organizers must be qualitatively transformed from a class-in-itself to a class-for-itself content.* He insisted that the militant worker already possessed the socialist world-outlook in an essential, rudimentary form. As the cited passage from Dobbs implies, thus merely simplifying the kernel of Communism, the SWP saw the workers as requiring nothing more than the *informing* of their *already-existing* "proletarian outlook." "Theory", to Cannon et al., was the algebraic calculation of the need for socialism from the informa-

tional augmentation of the militant trade-unionists' existing quality of "proletarian consciousness."

The Labor Committees' Food Program brings forth the problem to be considered in its most accessible form. The worker and his wife who have jointly understood the world problem and the necessary means for self-consciously remedying that have taken an initial, potentially decisive step from the bourgeois-ideological, parochialist outlook of alienated family life to a self-conscious class world view, the amplification of the food issue by the parallel NCLC-NUWRO Energy Program, the analysis of the bill of consumption, etc., provide such workers with a *qualitatively new sense of personal identity*.

This change is twofold. Not only does it involve a shift from a parochialist (e.g., militant trade-union chauvinist) view to an understanding of world classwide common interest, but it situates that interest *negentropically*. The cited NCLC programs represent Marx's fundamental conception of Freedom/Necessity in the terms of reference of the individual workers' existence, thus providing him the *unique means* for conceptualizing Marx's notion of *human practice*.

The way in which those programs were developed is an integral part of their content. Without that development the programs would not exist.

Immediately, the programs as such were the creation of teams of researchers, technically-qualified specialists, and statistical work, all coordinated by a leadership which was qualified to comprehend and judge the work and its results. These human ingredients of the effort were created, in turn, not only by educational programs in economic theory and dialectical method, but by seven preceding years of intellectual life involving these conceptions, the most intense and energetic intellectual ferment which has been seen in the membership of a political organization in human history to date.

That same distinctive quality of the Labor Committees which creates such materials is the essential resource of cadres who are qualified to sit with individual small groups of workers and present the programs in detail to the effect that those workers can, in turn, competently present the same conceptions to others.

This is the kernel of the socialist organizing process. The building of a socialist working-class mass movement begins with the creation of a vanguard of the qualities the Labor Committees represent today. At that point, the vanguard must proceed with a ruthless quality of *driving patience* to bombard the masses of workers with propaganda for the contrasting net immediate "tangible" result of smoking out a mere handful of exceptional individuals. (Although, at the same time, the

"intangible" effects of the mass propaganda are an essential preparation for future fruition.) In this way, through developing such rarer individuals as cadres, the natural leading organic intelligentsia of the working-class social strata are educated and recruited, *their consciousness qualitatively transformed* to the class-for-itself outlook. These cadres, organizing in turn in the pores of the class, represent the growing network through which organization around the program becomes increasingly influential and then potentially hegemonic.

The assumption of state power by such a mass is an assertion of competence to govern all aspects of political-economic life. Even more significant, the masses' foreknowledge that it embodies precisely such qualifications is the essential subjective motivation for its will to assume power.

Cannon et al. expressly, angrily denied this, rejected the only policy by which a socialist transformation can be organized in the advanced sector. Their conception of socialism was a transition through a political mass-based organization based principally on the existing trade-unions. The question of actual socialist program was deferred to a future point — and a future organization — *after* the transition had begun.

Two features are of decisive significance. There is a lack of *the quality of program* required to motivate a mass to make the first step of transition. The very essence of real class consciousness is rejected by the centrist, plainly in order to avoid an unpopular conflict with trade-union parochialist hostility to "outside interference." In sum, Cannon et al. based their "transitional" approach on a pre-capitulation to the form in which bourgeois ideology is expressed among militant rank-and-file trade unionists. The reactionary apolitical aspects of Cannonite policy in the Minneapolis movement, the adaptation to trade-union ideology, from even the period of the 1934 general strike, is exemplary.

Cannon's philistine anti-theoretical attitudes reflected his determination that there was not only no need to introduce class-consciousness to trade-unionists "from the outside," but that attempts to accomplish this were downright pernicious. He therefore generally kept the party free of even the potential capacity and will to make itself revolutionary in fact.

The philistinism of the SWP required a dichotomy of "Trotskyism" into two parts. The earthly part, daily practice, was Feuerbachian in the worst sense, a vulgar, sentimental plodding left-opportunism toward the parochialism of union militants — as Trotsky angrily

indicted Cannon et al. during the cited June, 1940 debate. Since this could absolutely never lead even to serious competition with the more energetically opportunistic CPs, and absolutely never toward socialist transformation, all the party's notions of revolutionary strategy were either relegated to the realm of "foreign policy" or out of even the universe itself, to the chiliastic domain of life after death.

As explored above, the principal miracle upon which the Trotskyist faith of 1940-58 was premised was the ever-coming wonderous day upon which Stalinist lies would be finally exposed and the entire left thus resound with the admission that "Trotsky was, indeed, the only true son of Lenin." When this miracle failed to work, during the 1956-61 period, the "Old Trotskyism" collapsed into agnosticism.

The very circumstances of renewed radicalism which had exposed the fraud of this miracle had created an opportunity for the demoralized organization to take on a new form of material existence. The aging functionaries subsisting on a pittance, many of whom had had no "regular life" outside the party for years, could either retire into the shock of impoverished isolation or try to keep the organization in existence *for themselves* "somehow." This was the essential point of agreement between Dobbs and the group around Mandel.

So, the fact that the demoralized SWP existed in 1960-67 was itself the principal reason it continued to exist. The "Old Trotskyism" was dead, discredited, but the party machine was still there and could be used *for something*. The Dobbs-Hansen-Breitman alliance used it, each part for a somewhat different particular purpose. The decayed relics of the old centrist method were applied to soliciting gate-receipts from a new social ferment — whatever that might lead towards. To hold the machinery together it was necessary to avoid unnecessary shocks in making the transition. The new agnosticism had to be packaged in the tattered literary trappings of the dead episcopal faith: "The New Trotskyism."

The Actual Trotsky

The actual Lev Davidovitch Trotsky is a contradictory figure. In his essential features and his best work he is a near-peer to Luxemburg and Lenin. Intellectually, he compares poorly with the magnificent Rosa, although in this respect he stands considerably above Lenin. He suffers most clearly in contrast to Lenin's *potency*. Lenin may have been inferior to Trotsky in brilliance, but he was one of the most extraordinary individuals in history in *his capacity to act from self-consciousness*. It was

exactly on this point that Trotsky, from 1907-13, 1923-29, and 1938-40, seems a tragic vacillator.

Trotsky suffered a visible agony of self-consciousness on this point. During the most heroic and potent period of his entire life, 1928-34, he is not only aware of his internal neurotic disorder, but manages to largely overcome it on all important matters of that period. Never, before or later, does his writing approach the quality of reflected world-historical comprehension and potent will we encounter in the writings completed during that interval.

"My Life"

His autobiography, *My Life*, acknowledges his neurotic flaw in several ways. Most notable is his inclusion of the text of Adolf Joffe's testament. Joffe identifies the core of the character-flaw with as much perfection as could be attained outside a thorough psychoanalytical treatment:

"You and I, dear Lev Davydovich, are bound to each other by decades of joint work, and, I make bold to hope, of personal friendship. This gives me the right to tell you in parting what I think you are mistaken in. I have never doubted the rightness of the road you pointed out, and as you know I have gone with you for more than twenty years, since the days of 'permanent revolution.' But I have always believed that you lacked Lenin's *unbending will*, his *unwillingness to yield*, his readiness even to remain alone on the path that he thought right in the anticipation of a future majority, of a future recognition by every one of the rightness of his path. *Politically, you were always right*, beginning with 1905, and I told you repeatedly that with my own ears I had heard Lenin admit that even in 1905, *you, and not he*, were right. One does not lie before his death, and now I repeat this again to you. . . . But you have *abandoned your rightness* for the sake of an over-valued agreement, or compromise. This is a mistake. I repeat: politically you have always been right, and now *more right than ever*. Some day the party will realize it, and history will not fail to accord recognition. Then don't lose your courage if some one leaves you now, or as many come to you, and not as soon, as we all would like. You are right, but the guarantee of the victory of your rightness lies in nothing but the extreme unwillingness to yield, the strictest straightforwardness, the absolute rejection of all compromise; in this very thing lay the secret of Lenin's victories. Many a time I have wanted to tell you this, but only now have I brought myself to do so, as a last farewell."

This flaw is Trotsky squatting as a tolerated celebrity of the Menshevik "swamp" during the pre-war period. No competent Trotskyist apologist "explanation" can effectively diminish the literal intent absolute sincerity of Lenin's fierce denunciation of Trotsky's wretched neurotic character-traits during that period. In such miserable exhibits as his sychophantic public adulation

of the SPD centrist "proletarian kernal" in Vienna Pravda, his political life is sometimes even swinish. He survived that worst period of his political life, and never again lapsed back into such personal opportunism. Unfortunately, his principal, related if less ignoble neurotic episodes from 1923 onwards had a decisive effect on the subsequent history of the entire human race.

The single most important of those lapses is his 1923 violation of his agreement with Lenin, his spasm of moral imbecility in failing to throw Stalin out of the leadership — as Lenin had firmly instructed him — at the moment they had that philistine son-of-a-bitch in a position to be toppled.[36] Trotsky could speak of the "objective bases" for Stalinism as much as he chose. It is a fact that if the murderous, counterrevolutionary bastard had been chucked out in 1923, there would have been no "Lenin Levy" of bureaucrats into the Bolshevik Party in 1924 — the ("objective") key ruse by which Zinoviev and Stalin actually accomplished their Thermidorian counterrevolution. That "lapse" is the most important event of that period, which effectively determined — in a certain significant sense — the history of the human race over the past half-century. That was one of those *rare* critical single personal incidents which have the extraordinary quality of determining the course of history.

More blatant and only less significant in its results is Trotsky's lie, denying authorship of his paper, "The Real Situation In Russia." This lie destroyed the possibility of building a *significant* Left Opposition outside the U.S.S.R. at the last gasp of opportunity for such an accomplishment.

The June, 1940 stenogram implies a parallel lapse. Why did Trotsky compromise with the urgent task of eradicating the centrist tendency from the SWP leadership? This compromise predetermined the impossibility of a viable Trotskyist organized faction surviving his assassination.

Of course, in estimating the importance of these errors, we are conceding the importance of Trotsky himself. After the assassination of Luxemburg and the death of Lenin, Trotsky was the only existing person who could have changed the course of history, away from the rise of fascism and the fifty years of continued imperialist domination. Without his neurotic flaw, there is no doubt, given the circumstances of 1923, that he would have accomplished no less. It may also be stipulated that in the three instances cited, a correct action would demand extraordinary perspicacity and a Promethean standard of resolution. Trotsky demonstrably had such perspicacity, and had self-consciously adopted such a standard of Spinozan morality.

Trotsky's Failure

To comprehend the internal life of a man with the special attributes of mind and purpose that characterized Leon Trotsky, and only a very few other individuals in history demonstrably possess such extraordinary human qualities, no ordinary psychological standard will apply. Trotsky himself repeatedly emphasizes just this point. The character of a person's internal mental processes is to be judged by the effect of those processes upon the course of human development. Is the material and social life of mankind richer because that individual existed? Questions of individual "personality" are meaningless if considered outside of this general criterion.

This is not only *our* standard of judgement to be imposed externally upon the subject, but it is uniquely the internal standard as well of those individuals who profess a revolutionary Spinozan ethical outlook. That worldview is Trotsky's outlook precisely. But such a world historical sense of humanity and self-worth entails equally monumental responsibilities. To the extent that an individual has the ability and the opportunity to positively change the course of human history, he *must* do exactly that; nothing less will suffice. *Trotsky's "tragedy" was that according to this revolutionary ethic, his own ethic, he failed.* And, ironically, it is just this *pathetic* feature of Trotsky's character, the cause of his most agonized thoughts, which is the ritual subject of Trotskyism's cult of impotence.

Nothing of what we have said previously concerning Trotsky's manifest lapses at crucial historical junctures is subject to the slightest doubt. Trotsky commits himself unequivocally to that same evaluation. His views regarding his regrettable behavior during the Russian party split, as well as during the 1907-1914 period are well known. Referring to his agreement with Lenin to fight the Thermidorian clique, he states in *My Life*:

On December 21, Lenin wrote triumphantly to me: "Comrade Trotsky, it seems that we have managed to capture the position without a single shot, by a mere manoeuver. I suggest that we do not stop but press the attack." Our joint action against the Central Committee at the beginning of 1923 would without a shadow of a doubt have brought us victory. And what is more, I have no doubt that if I had come forward on the eve of the twelfth congress in the spirit of a "bloc of Lenin and Trotsky" against the Stalin bureaucracy, I should have been victorious even if Lenin had taken no direct part in the struggle.

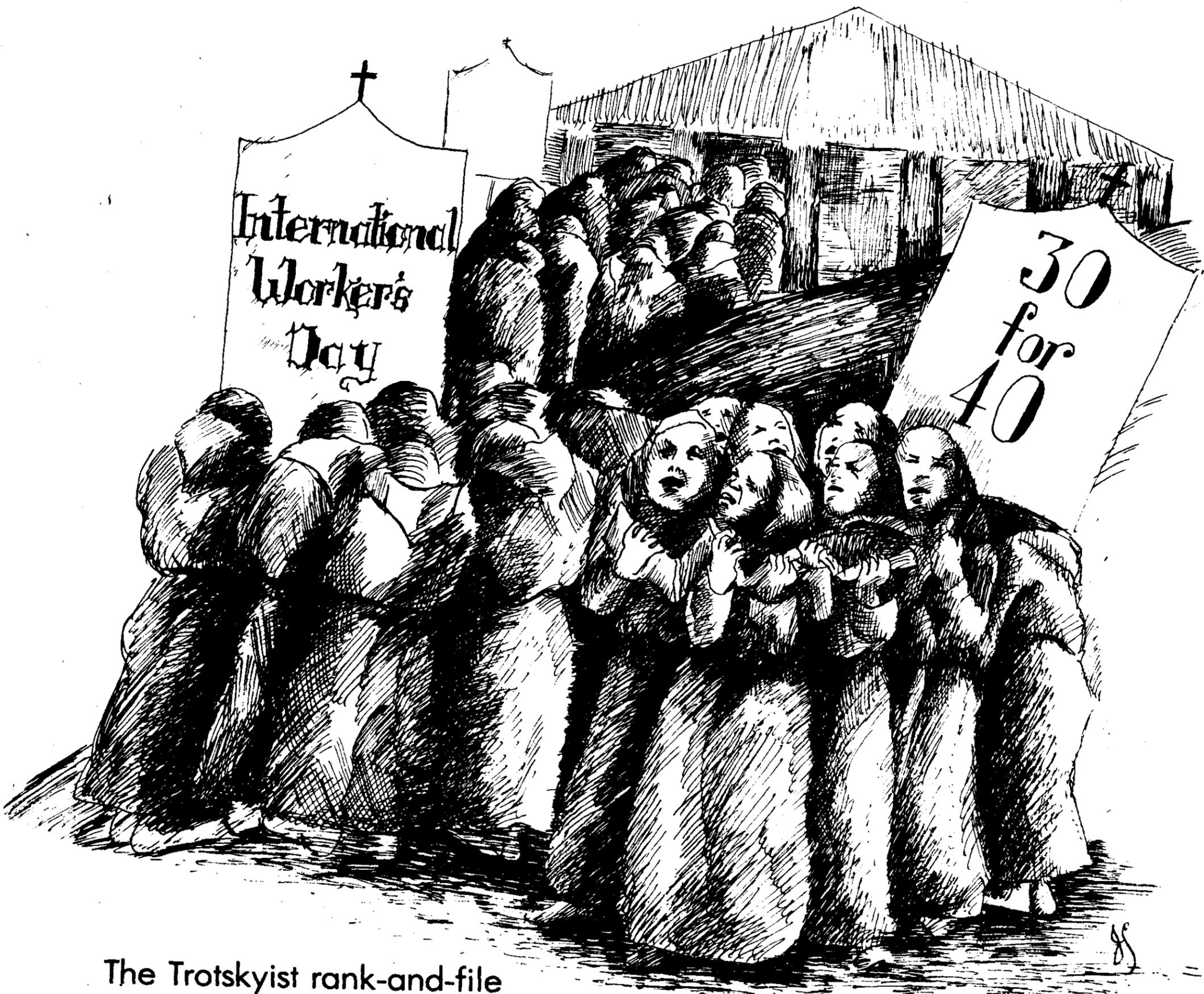
Trotsky's manifest qualities of intellect and Promethian sense of purpose rule out, absolutely, the idea that such lapses could have even possibly been mere "honest mistakes." They could only have been the result of a crippling neurotic flaw. In fact, when one examines the two periods in question, it is virtually impossible to

miss the disgusting fact that his actions during the cited periods were largely dictated by his concern for peer group opinion. Yet that is precisely the content of all neurosis, including the universal neurosis, bourgeois ideology; the pathological concern to propitiate some internalized body of "opinion" rather than to act according to a scientific comprehension of reality.

In his neurotic desire not to alienate the backward faction gathered around Martov, Trotsky repeatedly gave virtually all of his political principles to pawn; he became little more than a captive literary front man effectively controlled by the Mensheviks. Even they treated him with contempt behind his back. His major literary effort from the period of the initial Russian party split, *Our Political Tasks*, is an exceptionally cheap

work, whose main interest is the large quantity of vile slander directed against V.I. Lenin.

From 1907 till 1914 his behavior is similarly reprehensible. His whole relation to the Mensheviks continued off and on throughout the period. As though that were not enough, his emigre participation in the German socialist movement was limited primarily to hobnobbing with the most degenerate philistine backside of that doomed behemoth: the Austrian party and its oleaginous Adlerite stewardship. The odor of the grocery store clinging to these self-satisfied petit bourgeois nobodies was so noxiously overpowering that it could only have been a strong neurotic capacity for self-degradation that allowed Trotsky to tolerate their presence for more than a moment.



The Trotskyist rank-and-file

We repeat, he could not have been "merely mistaken"; he otherwise manifests an acute perception of just those psychological qualities which make certain people revolutionary fighters. He becomes especially pathetic in this period when one realizes that he had hardly anything to do with Rosa Luxemburg or her tendency during his sojourn in Vienna.

Indeed, at the time Rosa was one of the few individuals of stature fighting for his "Permanent Revolution" thesis. He could not have avoided an alliance with her if he had actually been engaged in a serious struggle for *his own political perspectives* for the Russian movement. He exhibits the same *basic* tendency from the last period of Lenin's illness till his subsequent exile. In *My Life*, shortly after he states that *had he fought* he would undoubtedly have been victorious, he goes on to mention his reasons for *not* fighting. (hence, not winning!):

Independent action on my part would have been interpreted, or, to be more exact, represented as my personal fight for Lenin's place in the party and the state. The very thought made me shudder Would the party understand that it was a case of a fight by Lenin and Trotsky for the future of the revolution, and not a fight by Trotsky for the place of Lenin?

Yet Trotsky's unique historic duty was precisely to "fight for Lenin's place in the party and state." Who else could take Lenin's place? Stalin? Zinoviev, the hero of 1917? Why should Trotsky have cared in the least what the party philistines thought of his "personal" motives so-called, especially since it was by and large just such people that Lenin was determined to boot out of the party?

Trotsky continued to capitulate to party opinion throughout the ensuing period. Until it was too late, he constantly refused to "break Bolshevik discipline" (actually Stalin's discipline) and launch an open faction fight. When he did fight he persisted in making dangerous compromises, *which he knew Stalin would break* at the soonest opportunity.

Upon Lenin's death, Trotsky spoke in support of the disgusting "Lenin Levy;" yet it was just this indiscriminate recruitment of people lacking any revolutionary qualifications whatsoever which was used by Stalin to choke the Bolshevik party. At the crucial Thirteenth Party Congress immediately following Lenin's death, Trotsky spoke only once, agreed to the suspension of Lenin's will, and spent the rest of his time (invaluable time!) attempting to dissociate himself from the "embarrassing" support of the oppositionist "group of 46." As late as October of 1926 he agreed to "cease all factional activity," only to have Stalin break the worthless agreement within weeks, and then proceeded to

disavow important supporters who had been expelled from the Third International, due to their public support of his faction. During the entire period it is not unjust to say that Trotsky spent relatively little time in serious fighting efforts, and a great deal too much time in futile back-room efforts to seduce the treacherous Zinoviev.

Nor did Trotsky ever completely destroy this crippling neurosis. As late as December 1939 he could write to John G. Wright, concerning a totally corrupt *potential majority* (!) within the SWP (the Schachtmanites):

But at the same time, I believe that the implacable ideological fight should go parallel with very cautious and wise organizational tactics. You have not the slightest interest in a split, even if the opposition should become, accidentally, a majority at the next convention. (*In Defense of Marxism*)

The foregoing conjunctures demonstrate the persistence of infantile neurotic tendencies within Trotsky's internal mental life, tendencies powerful enough to dominate his self-conscious reason at crucial historical junctures. We must now proceed to an examination of the specific quality of those tendencies.

Among most ordinary scribblers of the liberal or socialist variety, it is commonly held prejudice that the so-called "intellectual" outlook of an individual is not usually indicative of a person's psychological state. In fact, as Marcus has demonstrated elsewhere, ideas are never abstract when properly viewed, but rather express the essence of a person's inner map of the world. To believe the contrary is itself conclusive evidence of impotence. It is the hysterical belief of someone who is literally frightened out of his wits at the thought that some other person might indiscreetly peek behind the printed persona to glimpse the more vulgar activity underlying the literary result. One is, after all, not unjustified in assuming that the person who uses mouthwash may indeed be afflicted with bad breath, or at least with the fear of it.

To be more exact, certain central conceptions respecting an individual's epistemological view of the universe suffice to uniquely determine the psychological state of an individual at the time those views are uttered. *Psychology is empirical epistemology*. Speaking schematically, hubristic theories and hypotheses which reflect a living comprehension of "self-reflexive processes," "actual infinities," etc., are singularly characteristic of self-conscious states of mind. Serious preoccupation with fundamental antinomies or paradoxes is characteristic of "enlightened" states, in which an agonized conflict between the ego and self-consciousness is evident. Purely mechanistic notions of "bad infinity" suffice to indicate infantile ego states, and so on.

Trotsky on Psychoanalysis

In his writings, Trotsky gives two **irreconcilable** accounts of the basis for Stalinism. In his autobiography, he gives the essentials of the correct approach:

To absorb a certain philosophic outlook into one's flesh and blood, and to make it dominate one's consciousness, and to co-ordinate with it one's sensory world is given not to every one but to only a few. In the working masses, a substitute is found in the class instinct, which in critical periods attains a high degree of sensitiveness. But there are many revolutionaries in the party and the state who come from the masses but have long since broken away from them, and who, because of their position, are placed in a separate and distinct class. Their class instinct has evaporated. On the other hand, they lack the theoretical stability and outlook to envisage the process in its entirety. Their psychology retains many unprotected surfaces, which, with the change of circumstances, expose them to the easy penetration of foreign and hostile ideological influences. In the days of the underground struggle, of the uprisings, and the civil war, people of this type were merely soldiers of the party. Their minds had only one string, and that sounded in harmony with the party tuning-fork. But when the tension relaxed and the nomads of the revolutions passed on to settled living, the traits of the man in the street, the sympathies and tastes of self-satisfied officials, revived in them. *My Life*.

Yet, in contrast to this, he is also the originator of the crude, mechanistic edification widely cited by vulgar "Trotskyists": the "material greed" piece of "objective" intellectual masturbation. The first reflects the self-conscious Trotsky writing in his best period of life-work; the second represents the dejected Trotsky, forcing himself to continue the struggle while in an infantile Ego-state.

The "charge" of the infantile state is neither exaggerated nor lightly put forth.

The image of the *dejected Trotsky* is not comparable to the ordinary experience of the typical individual falling into maudlin fits of self-pity whenever denied its "own way," or subjected to the sort of oppression commonplace to workers and unemployed in capitalist life. From 1917 onwards, Trotsky was manifestly self-conscious of his special, Spinozan responsibilities to the future existence of humanity generally. He is often represented as "vain," but the reporters infallibly confuse his actual manifestations of Ego-state vanity with an hubristic quality which only imbeciles and philistines would regard as "vanity." The person who has assumed special responsibilities does not value his time or opinions as the mere "democratic equals" of persons who take their own responsibilities or intellectual development carelessly.

Trotsky's actual vanity is manifest in his spates of self-effacement. The moments of personal vanity of persons who rise to positions of extraordinary responsibility are moments in which he says in effect, "I have a right to an 'ordinary personal life,' to be liked as an individual, etc." A person of Trotsky's historical peer group, in particular, is free of infantile Ego-pranks in exactly those moments of firm judgement in which anarchists and other moral imbeciles regard him as "elitist," "arrogant." The person of Trotsky's self-consciousness is reduced to dejection not on his own account, not even on the account of the personal suffering of immediate friends and family. He is dejected only by failing to fulfill his power to remedy the great affliction of humanity. The weight of personal and *historic* oppression so imposed upon Trotsky is beyond the imagination of the ordinary person.

As we have noted previously, the "reductionist" viewpoint characteristic of classical materialism, empiricism, logical positivism, and existentialism is an infallible reflection of nothing but the domination of the self by Ego/witch identity.

Witness the following exemplary passage from Trotsky on psychology:

Marxist criticism in science must be not only vigilant but also prudent, otherwise it can degenerate into mere sycophancy, into famusovism. Take psychology, even. Pavlov's reflexology proceeds entirely along the paths of dialectical materialism. It conclusively breaks down the wall between physiology and psychology. The simplest reflex is physiological, but a system of reflexes gives us "consciousness." The accumulation of physiological quantity gives a new "psychological" quality. The method of Pavlov's school is experimental and painstaking. Generalizations are won step by step: from the saliva of dogs to poetry — that is, to the mental mechanics of poetry, not to its social content — though the paths that bring us to poetry have as yet not been revealed.

The school of the Viennese psychoanalyst Freud proceeds in a different way. It assumes in advance that the driving force of the most complex and delicate of psychic processes is a physiological need. In this general sense it is materialistic, if you leave aside the question whether it does not assign too big a place to the sexual factor at the expense of others, for this is already a dispute within the frontiers of materialism. But the psychoanalyst approaches the problems of consciousness not experimentally, going from the lowest phenomena to the highest, from the simple reflex to the complex reflex, but attempts to take all these intermediate stages in one jump, from above downwards, from the religious myth, the lyrical poem, or the dream straight to the physiological basis of the psyche.

The idealists tell us that the psyche is an independent entity, that the "soul" is a bottomless well. Pavlov and Freud think that the bottom of the soul is physiology. But Pavlov, like a diver, descends to the bottom and

laboriously investigates the well from there upwards; while Freud stands over the well and with penetrating gaze tries to pierce its ever shifting and troubled waters and to make out or guess the shape of things down below. Pavlov's method is experiment, Freud's conjecture, sometimes fantastic conjecture. The attempt to declare psychoanalysis "incompatible" with Marxism and simply turn one's back on Freudism is too simple, or, more accurately, too simplistic. But we are in any case not obliged to adopt Freudism. It is a working hypothesis which can produce and undoubtedly does produce deductions and conjectures which proceed along the lines of materialist psychology. The experimental procedure will in due course provide the tests for these conjectures. But we have no grounds and no right to put a ban on the other procedure which, even though it may be less reliable, yet tries to anticipate the conclusions to which the experimental procedure is advancing only very slowly. *Culture and Socialism*.

There are two features of this to be considered. Firstly, we have evidence of Trotsky's Ego-state in the mere fact of his regarding Pavlov's researches as having the slightest direct bearing on a scientific *human* physiology. This on Trotsky's part is not only explicitly anti-Marxian and anti-dialectical, but is the most banal rejection *at the moment of his writing* of the broadest conceptions of humanism.

What could cause Trotsky, who otherwise knew better, to write such rubbish? The internal evidence of the cited piece gives the answer. Trotsky is arguing from the standpoint of momentary neurotic hysteria: *he is grotesquely elevating poor muddled Pavlov to the status of a scientific psychologist merely as a ruse for slandering Sigmund Freud!* Trotsky is hysterically fearful of psychoanalysis.

He was acquainted with Freud's work from his period in Vienna, and certainly familiar with enough of its essential features (through the Adler family and so forth) to have recognized its *essential* competence. Indeed, his principled objections to psychoanalysis are identical with the usual empiricist slanders against the identical methodological features of Karl Marx's writings!

To summarize the working point: the argument that experimental methods in the genre of Pavlov's is the "materialist" basis for a human psychology is the rawest, most vulgar sort of epiphenomenalism as well as the purest reductionism of the sort which Trotsky elsewhere usually repudiates in the most emphatic terms.

As to the motives for Trotsky's silly slanders of Freud here, it is impossible for a person to develop as a revolutionary, showing the psychological insights which Trotsky shows throughout *The History of the Russian Revolution* (for example), until he has encountered the conflict between the Ego-state and self-consciousness in a special way. To a large extent, the knowledge thus

acquired overlaps and exceeds the range of factual knowledge of mental processes of psychoanalysis.

The only possible reason such a person would *lie* publicly as Trotsky does about the general merit of psychoanalysis as the *initiation* of a scientific psychology is that he is at considerable pains to suppress knowledge of certain features of his own mental life.

Here we are at the kernel of the "Trotsky Syndrome."

It is typified by the person who asserts to himself, "I know all about my little personal neurotic flaw, but I can function quite nicely, thank you, without rooting it out." The reflection of this personal obsession is support for the policy of limiting issues within the movement to the form of "objective differences" of formulation of "positions," ruling out of order the "subjective" issues.

Trotsky's hysterical attitude toward Freud is not untypical of individuals at certain crucial junctures of their psychoanalysis. Previously, they have made splendid progress, rooting out a wide variety of the Ego's neurotic tricks, showing consequently excellent progress in general functioning, etc. Abruptly, they plunge into an extraordinarily stubborn state of "resistance." They insist, in a variety of alternative sorts of tantrums, that they have gone quite far enough in "giving up my independence."

Trotsky too, "knows all about his problems of episodic impotence, psychosomatic illnesses, etc. He will not give up the residue of his attachment to his mother-image, his recurring lapses into tendencies to gain acceptance within a peer-group through propitiatory ruses of personal political impotence "Leninist organizational discipline." So, just as he wilfully slanders Freud, he wastes much of his invaluable energy and talent concocting elaborate "objective" edifying excuses for what he knows, as Joffe did, to be simply neurotic "cop-outs" with deadly consequences for the movement which he fails during such moments.

Trotsky and History

A related case of such ambivalent and even childish conceptual states is to be found in Trotsky's widely differing judgements concerning the relation of the individual to history. This must have been an acutely painful conflict, when one recognizes that his conscious identity as a revolutionary hinged on just this question. It is yet more remarkable when one recognizes that *at times* he expressed a completely correct and self-conscious view of the matter, especially, though not accidentally, in *The History of the Russian Revolution*, wherein he correctly attributes an epoch-making role to Lenin. In other places Trotsky hysterically denies the power of the in-

dividual to make history, at times even reverting to Plekhanov-like mechanism, coherent with his own earlier denunciation of Lenin for attempting to "force the pace of history."

At the worst, Trotsky's profuse references to Dame History conceal shadings of the neurotic religious idea of history as an external *destiny*. Ultimately, history is not subject to any human will, but plunges forward according to its own laws. The pathology emerges most perversely in *The Revolution Betrayed*:

A political struggle of interests and forces, not of arguments. The quality of the leadership is, of course, far from a matter of indifference for the outcome of the conflict, but it is not the only factor, and in the last analysis is not decisive. Each of the struggling camps moreover demands leaders in its own image.

The February revolution raised Kerensky and Tseretelli to power, not because they were "cleverer" or "more astute" than the ruling tzarist clique, but because they represented, at least temporarily, the revolutionary masses of the people in their revolt against the old regime.

So far, one may be slightly uneasy, but the tone, and the reference to leadership as a "factor" are not decisive. He continues further on:

The Bolsheviks in their turn conquered the petty-bourgeois democrats, not through the superiority of their leaders, but through a new correlation of social forces. The proletariat had succeeded at last in leading the discontented peasantry against the bourgeoisie.

The consecutive stages of the great French Revolution, during its rise and fall alike, demonstrate no less convincingly that the strength of the "leaders and heroes" that replaced each other consisted primarily in their correspondence to the character of those classes and strata which supported them. Only this correspondence, and not any irrelevant superiorities whatever, permitted each of them to place the impress of his personality upon a certain historic period.

This is the most blatant kind of historical determinism. If the history of the socialist movement in the twentieth century, especially the political history of Trotsky, has any lessons at all, it is that the quality of leadership is *everything*. The only thing inevitable about capitalist history is the collapse of capitalism itself.

In the normal course of capitalist development, the efforts of even the most gifted revolutionary have little tangible effect. It is at those critical junctures of collapse that single individuals visibly alter the physiognomy of world history. To make such a leap into a higher historical "manifold" is an innovative activity exactly the opposite of anything mechanically determined or inevitable.

The distinction here is the same as that between the finite ordinal numbers and the first transfinite ordinal limit number. The former are created by following out a mechanically determined process of adding units. The latter existence, though it is the absolutely lawful successor to *all* the finite numbers, can not be discovered by following the unending natural increase of the counting numbers into oblivion. Such a new manifold is *created* by "stepping outside" the counting process, and self-consciously comprehending that process as an entirety. (This is the actual meaning of the phrase "quantity becomes quality" so often recited by so-called Marxists.)

In a certain sense, leading individuals are indeed only reflections of the interests and aspirations of their class, but it is the supremely ironic fact that the historic interest of the working class is not to be found in any fixed platform, but in the maximization of creative innovations (as represented heuristically by momentary exponential tendencies for the rise of $S/C+V$) that determine that the uniquely appropriate representatives of a revolutionary working class are not the normal order of philistine politicians or swinish trade union bureaucrats, but the most gifted creative innovators — revolutionaries. Trotsky gives a high expression to this view in *The History of the Russian Revolution*:

... Lenin was not a demiurge of the revolutionary process, that he merely entered into a chain of objective historic forces. But he was a great link in that chain. The dictatorship of the proletariat was to be inferred from the whole situation, but it had still to be established. It could not be established without a party. The party could fulfill its mission only after understanding it. For that Lenin was needed.

... From this extraordinary significance which Lenin's arrival received, it should only be inferred that leaders are not accidentally created, that they are gradually chosen out and trained up in the course of decades, they cannot be capriciously replaced, that their mechanical exclusion from the struggle gives the party a living wound, and in many cases may paralyze it for a long period.

It would be wrong to view his own particular lapse of intellectual power as the result of Trotsky's simple desire to "cover up" his personal role in Stalin's victory. The conception at issue is the core of the dialectic method itself, and of Marx's central notion of expanded reproduction in particular.

The problem posed for conceptualization is no different from the question of the original evolution of man from the animals. Neither socialist society, nor man in general, emerges mechanically from a previously determined process; rather, they *distinguish themselves* from all predecessors, because their essential nature is defined not as just another external category, but by qualities of

self-development. Marx underlines this kernel of his method in the opening paragraphs of *The German Ideology*.

The implications of this lapse on Trotsky's part are legion. Most important, however, is the immediate psychological point to be made. It is not insignificant that this type of antinomy, or even crude mechanism, arises most frequently when Trotsky is considering questions most directly relevant to the sense of revolutionary identity. His ego connives to preserve a finite realm for itself.

In effect, Trotsky rationalizes his failure of the 1923-1928 period by saying, significantly, that he will be the first servant of history, but he refuses to its master. By asserting that ultimately there is something unsubmittable to human will, he is justifying the existence of a part of himself which refuses to submit to his own self-conscious will. Trotsky's world is not the absolutely infinite world of reality, but is more like an admittedly far-flung galaxy, which nonetheless continues to revolve about a fixed, mother-centered axis.

This fear of *total* potency before history, is strikingly summarized by the fainting attack which Trotsky suffered upon learning that the October insurrection, under his immediate direction, was a success. At least as significant as the event itself is the sequence of statements he uses to describe the attack:

"Give me a cigarette," I say to Kamenev. (In those years I still smoked, but only spasmodically.) I take one or two puffs, but suddenly, with the words, "Only this was lacking!" I faint. (I inherit from my mother a certain susceptibility to fainting spells when suffering physical pain or illness. That was why some American physician described me as an epileptic.) As I come to, I see Kamenev's frightened face bending over me. (*My Life*)

This might appear to be reasonably explained by the physically and emotionally exhausting period immediately preceding the insurrection. Such merely plausible explanations are belied by Trotsky's general psychology, as well as by the internal features of his own account of the matter. It goes without saying that the statement that he inherited his susceptibility to fainting *from his mother* is without basis in medical fact. It does however, have a significant basis in psychological fact, and Trotsky's acute, if intuitive, comprehension of psychology renders such statements all the more significant. Furthermore, he has already in the course of his autobiography referred to his frequent fainting spells, yet it is only here, while discussing the moment of the seizure of power, that he mentions his curious superstition that they are a genetic inheritance from his mother.

In fact, throughout his life Trotsky was the victim of a large number of illnesses of a purely psychosomatic genesis. From early adolescence he suffered frequent fainting attacks as well as ulcerative colitis, both of which are almost always psychosomatic in origin, a fact recognized by any competent physician or psychoanalyst. Such psychosomatic symptoms are rather easily cured in most cases even within the early stages of analysis.

The presence of such symptoms in an individual indicates significant areas of the person's psychology which are neurotically preserved as unconscious mental activity, i.e., psychic activity. These areas are deliberately repressed so as not to be controlled by the conscious self-knowing faculties associated with the "will," processes correctly associated with the father by Freud. Such repressed features of the individual's mental life represent important areas of unresolved conflict. In such states of anxiety-ridden irresolution, the unconscious conflict may issue in a surrogate neurotic act (symptom) in place of self-conscious action in reality. In the case of psychosomatic symptoms, the repressed conflict results in a surrogate act directed against the person's own body.

That this was in fact the case with Trotsky, that significant parts of his mental life stayed neurotically unconscious in just this fashion, is strictly demonstrated by his well known "cryptogenic" (psychosomatic) fever which began in the early stages of his fight with the Stalin faction. The fever is clearly purposeful. *Its secondary purpose is to justify Trotsky's failure to act in a critical situation.* Primarily though, it is a surrogate for the political acts which the situation demanded of him and which he refused to carry out. *The mysterious fever intensifies at precisely those crucial moments when history demands that Lev Davidovitch act decisively and on his own.* In *My Life* he takes four pages (!) to explain the genesis of his world-historical fever. He concludes his medical apology with the words:

After the influenza, some cryptogenic temperature set in. The doctors ordered me to stay in bed, and thus I spent the rest of the autumn and winter. This means that all through the discussion of "Trotskyism" in 1923, I was ill. One can foresee a revolution or a war, but it is impossible to foresee the consequences of an autumn shooting-trip for wild ducks.

At the next intensification of factional activity he remarks:

In the autumn of 1924, my temperature again began to mount. By that time, another discussion had blazed up, brought about this time from above in accordance with some prearranged plan.

And later he describes those "discussions":

The slander was like a volcanic eruption. It was a great shock to the large mass of the party. I lay in bed with a temperature and remained silent.

During Lenin's death he was, of course, sick. He did not return to Moscow for the funeral. While it is undoubtedly true that Stalin misinformed him of the date of the funeral, it is inconceivable that Trotsky should have trusted Stalin at that point in time; in any event, political considerations demanded that he head back to Moscow with all possible speed. (It was at this time that Trotsky spoke in support of the Lenin Levy). Trotsky himself indicates his awareness of this fact in *My Life* by quoting the following passage written by his wife:

Our friends were expecting L.D. to come to Moscow, and thought that he would cut short his trip in order to return, since no one imagined that Stalin's telegram had cut off his return. I remember my son's letter, received at Sukham. He was terribly shocked by Lenin's death, and though suffering from a cold, with a warm temperature of 104, he went in his not very warm coat to the Hall of Columns to pay his last respects, and waited, waited, and waited with impatience for our arrival. One could feel in his letter his bitter bewilderment and diffident reproach.

At the end of the chapter Trotsky remarks laconically:

It is necessary to analyze the content of this slander. As I lay in bed, I had plenty of time to do so.

Thus, returning to the October fainting spell, it is clear that there is more here than meets the naive eye. In clinical work, especially among gifted revolutionaries, just such psychosomatic reactions as fainting are readily observable under situations of acute anxiety-stress, and the most profound anxiety is especially observable when the individual's everyday sense of "I," the infantile witch/ego, is threatened with takeover by the self-conscious "I" — no longer in the form of the impotent superego, but as an identity associated with the most profound emotional powers of the human mind, emotions threatening in the extreme to the infantile ego.

On the night of the insurrection Trotsky is confronted with the inescapable fact that he is no longer merely a brilliant actor within history, but that his self-conscious self has completely and potently changed and dominated the "inevitable" course of history. The implications of this confirmation of his self-conscious identity by reality itself are too great — he can only faint as did his mother before him. This is further confirmed by the brief outburst of modesty which struck him immediately after the seizure of power. Not only did he refuse the presidency of the Soviet Republic, which is perhaps understandable, but he refused to take on the commissariat of

internal affairs, the most crucial post in the fledgling government. Lenin was not pleased.

Trotsky and Lenin

Trotsky's relation to his own self-conscious mind is laid bare in his attitude towards the figure of Lenin, for it was Lenin who was supremely possessed of that quality which Trotsky lacked: the ruthless determination to act according to the dictates of self-consciousness, and "opinion" be damned!

When this fact is understood, Trotsky's capitulation to the "Lenin cult" is seen in its true significance. Isaac Deutscher uneasily attempts to account for this seemingly uncharacteristic *religious* act of Trotsky's as a mere factional ploy designed to defuse Stalin's slanders concerning his actual relation to the actual Lenin. In part, this is no doubt true. Trotsky was not above such justifiable overemphasis.

The kernel of the hagiolatry, however, is Trotsky's consciousness of Lenin's real superiority to himself, in the specific sense we have indicated. The *religious* content of his appreciation of Lenin is not that he exaggerates Lenin's virtues or accomplishments, but rather his insistence that such qualities of self-consciousness are in effect *unattainable*. "Marx and Lenin, so closely linked historically and yet so different, were to me the two unsurpassable summits of man's spiritual power," he writes in *My Life*. Lenin is the iconographic representation of his own self-conscious mind. Trotsky's ego pays Sunday worship to self-consciousness, only to excuse itself during the ensuing week. To act completely from self-consciousness cannot be expected of a mere mortal like Trotsky!

He makes the point with painful bluntness in his 1935 diary. In what is clearly a reflection on his own relation to the dead Lenin, he writes:

Christianity created the figure of Christ to humanize the elusive Lord of Hosts and bring him nearer to mortal man. Alongside the Olympian Marx, Engels is more "human," more approachable. How well they complement one another! Or rather, how consciously Engels endeavors to complement Marx

When it is most incumbent upon him to "be like Lenin" — to act unrelentingly according to self-conscious reason — he views Lenin (i.e., self-consciousness) as an unattainable ideal, something more than human (actually *inhuman*) — as a kind of Christian God of unchanging law. This attitude is quite consistent with his earlier attacks on Lenin in his pamphlet "Our Political Tasks," written immediately after the Bolshevik-Menshevik split.

In the later years Trotsky recognizes Lenin as the appropriate standard of personal behavior, only to reject

it as "Olympian." In the earlier pamphlet he is also aware that Lenin's course is that prescribed by self-conscious reason. In order to consummate his unprincipled alliance with the hurt feeling and backward politics of the Mensheviks, he is forced to attack his own self-consciousness; hence his wild, vituperative attacks against the external representative of his own self-conscious mind — Lenin:

The Mensheviks were the first group "trying to establish itself on the shoulders, not on the broken bones, of its predecessors"; and this alone was a sign of maturity ... *Iskra*, on the other hand (as opposed to the economists), had addressed its social democratic message to the intelligentsia, not to the workers. Lenin had bullied the revolutionary intelligentsia into a Marxist orthodoxy, into an unconditional surrender to Marx's authority, hoping that in this way he would train the men of the intelligentsia into reliable leaders of an immature and timid labour movement. But Lenin was merely trying to force the pace of history; for to be in possession of a proletarian doctrine, such as Marxism, "was no substitute for a politically developed proletariat." Lenin distrusted the masses and adopted a haughty attitude towards their untutored activities, arguing that the workers by themselves could not rise from trade unionism to revolutionary socialism, and that socialist ideology was brought into the labor movement "from outside," the revolutionary intelligentsia. This, Trotsky wrote, was the theory of an "orthodox theocracy."

"Trying to force the pace of history," "doctrine not enough," "haughty attitude," "from outside"; what a consummate collection of all those epithets which have for years been hurled by mealy-brained scribblers against Marx, Luxemburg and Lenin, not to mention Trotsky! One would think that the object of such a vicious attack could be none other than Lucifer himself. Precisely! When Trotsky was not forced by external circumstances or internal conviction to identify with

Lenin's party, the unattainable God of unchanging law is revealed in his true guise as the hubristic Lucifer, the religious symbol of revolutionary man.

The problems of Trotsky's illnesses and the relation to self-consciousness come together in a demoralized dream which Trotsky records in his 1935 diary. For the very reason that it is the only adult dream which Trotsky has recorded, it gains added significance:

I go on being sick. It is amazing how much difference there is in me between health and sickness. I am like two different people, even in external appearance, and sometimes this happens within twenty-four hours. Hence there is a natural supposition that the cause is my nerves. But the physicians diagnosed an infection a long time ago, in 1923. It is possible that it is my "nerves" that give such a wide range of external manifestations of the illness.

Last night, or rather early this morning, I dreamed I had a conversation with Lenin. Judging by the surroundings, it was on a ship He was questioning me anxiously about my illness. "You must have accumulated nervous fatigue, you must rest ..." I answered that I had always recovered from fatigue quickly, thanks to my native *schwungkraft*, but that this time the trouble seemed to lie in some deeper processes I answered that I already had many consultations and began to tell him about my trip to Berlin; but looking at Lenin I recalled that he was dead. I immediately tried to drive away this thought, so as to finish the conversation. When I had finished telling him about my therapeutic trip to Berlin in 1926, I wanted to add, "This was after your death"; but checked myself and said, "After you fell ill"

Aside from the obvious wish-fulfillment in making Lenin come to life, the significant aspect of this dream is the relation between Trotsky's psychosomatic illness, his incapacity to act, and Lenin as the image of his self-conscious mind. Here, both waking and asleep, Lev Davidovitch comes closer than anywhere else to ad-



mitting the psychological origin of his illness. He admits to Lenin that the trouble lies "in some deeper processes." Beneath the cover story, Lenin advising a friend to get medical help, L.D.'s besieged self-consciousness demands that he, Trotsky, "seriously [the words emphasized]" resolve the illness, i.e., stop vacillating and act.

Trotsky begins to answer, saying that he had "already had many consultations." "I tried my best but...." Suddenly, a thought intrudes upon his consciousness which he cannot drive away; Lenin is dead, the moment for self-conscious action is irrevocably dead (this is 1935)! At the end he wishes to conclude "This was after your death," but instead he attempts to protect himself from the horrifying reality, only to reveal himself the more: "After you fell ill...." Is it not Trotsky whose illness is at issue? When Lenin died, Trotsky fell ill, *his self-conscious mind fell ill*. A flaw that indeed proved fatal.

It is just this supposedly "human" Trotsky, this Christ-like impotence, which is revered by Trotskyism. It is not accidental that most Trotskyists are victims of "Trotsky fantasies," whereas "Marx fantasies" are experienced with far less frequency. Trotsky's religious view of himself is that he will be among the greatest mortals, but he refuses to become "one of the gods." In more conventional political terms, his self-conception is equivalent to that of a great *secondary leader*. Yet, as his otherwise titanic capacities demonstrate, the only thing which prevented him from rising to the first rank, as historical necessity required, was just this determination to remain in the second rank. As long as this was all that was demanded of him, he was capable of Promethean qualities of intellect and morality. His ego would put up with *that degree of freedom* for his self-conscious self, but no more.

Had Trotsky launched a serious fight against the triumvirs in 1923, he would have had to have been prepared to assume the isolated role of Lenin, no longer the second in command of the party and state. This is the source of his obsessive concern that the party not "think" that he wanted to succeed Lenin. To "be like Lenin" would have meant relinquishing the last vestige of his infantile ego. That he refused to do. "The thought made me shudder."

Trotsky reveals the infantile genesis of his neurotic relation to self-consciousness in his account of his childhood in the first chapter of *My Life*. From this it becomes clear that Lenin, and less significantly, Marx, are father figures for him, not in the crude sense of normal dependency, but insofar as he viewed them as unattainably superior self-consciousnesses in the sense

we have discussed. This neurotic image coheres with his infantile relation to his own father.

His childhood picture of his father, a wealthy peasant, is undoubtedly that of a potent, warm and lively person for whom he expresses a deep sense of love. Yet, despite this, there is an unmistakable sense of almost "Olympian" distance which L.C. feels in relation to him. When one strips away the purely external circumstances, the father is remarkably similar to Trotsky's characterization of Lenin. For example:

Nevertheless, my father slowly but obstinately kept climbing upward By indefatigable, cruel toil that spared neither himself nor others, and by hoarding every penny, my father rose in the world.

In themselves, these statements are not sufficient to establish any reliable conclusion. What makes them definitively significant is the peculiar fact that the adult male figure who assumes the greatest emotional presence in L.D.'s childhood recollections, a presence overshadowing that of his actual father, is one Ivan Vasilyevitch. Vasilyevitch is the *second in command* at Yanovka, *father's right hand man*. It is he who stirs the greatest warmth in Trotsky. Vasilyevitch is the more "human" figure who in important ways mediates his relation to his more sternly distant father.

Trotsky's depiction of his father cannot but recall the echoes of his earlier statements concerning Lenin; statements which strangely, after insisting on Lenin's essentially scientific and internationalist outlook, make a sly attempt to reduce Lenin's one most profound quality of ruthless self-conscious action to — peasant practicality.

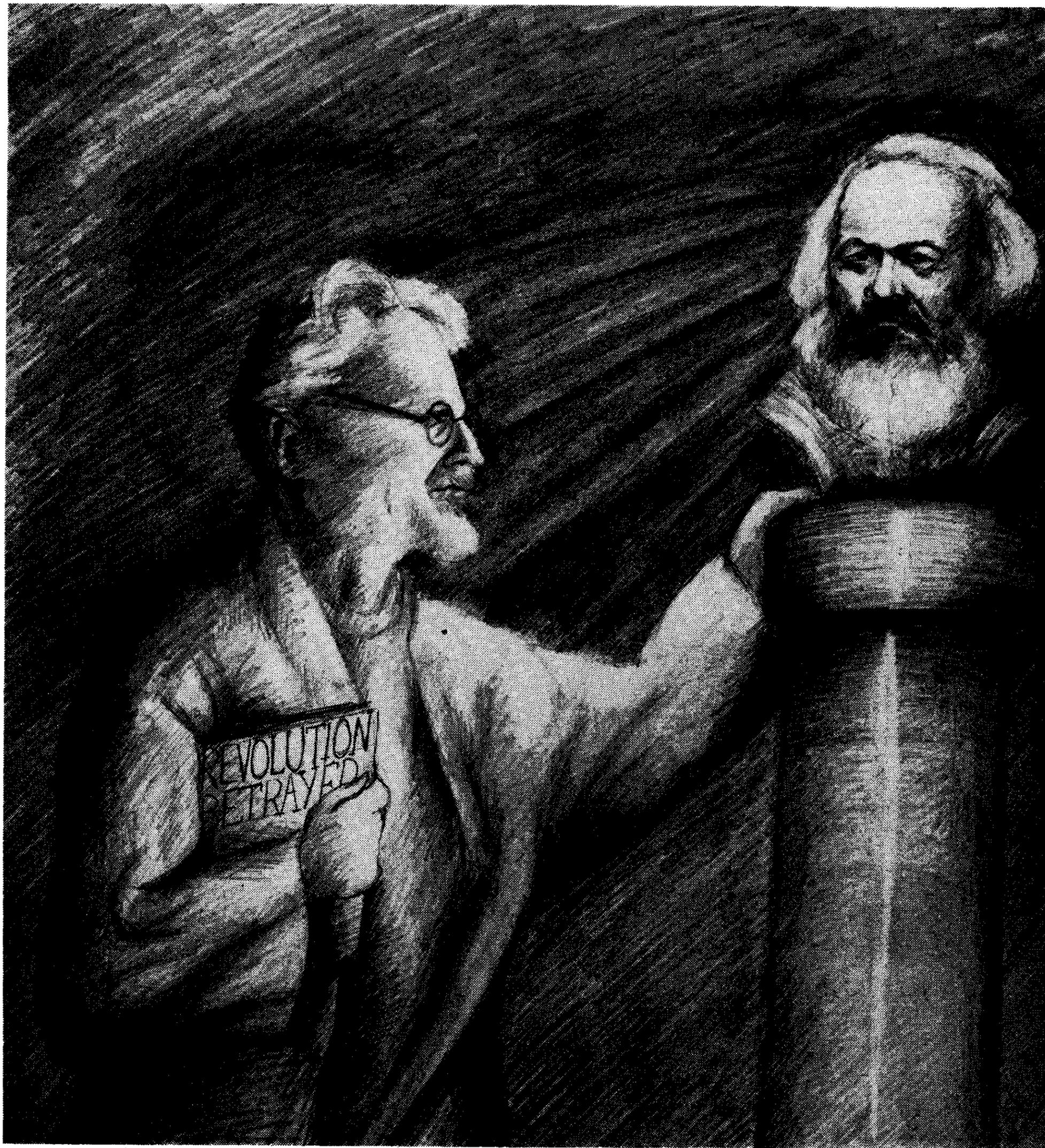
There is no dogma here, no elaborated system and, of course, no posturing; it is simply the outward expression of inward conservation of strength for action. It is a peasant's practical proficiency but on a colossal scale. [Deutscher, ed., *The Age of Permanent Revolution*, "Lenin on his Fiftieth Birthday."]

And:

When Lenin, screwing up his left eye, listens over the radio to a parliamentary speech of one of the imperialist makers of destiny or goes over the text of the latest diplomatic note, a mixture of bloodthirsty duplicity and polished hypocrisy, he resembles a very wise muzhik whom words cannot cajole not sugary phrases ensnare. This is the peasant shrewdness elevated to genius, armed with the last word of scientific thought. [*Ibid.*]

The Creative Process

Since we have cited certain critical lapses in Trotsky's theoretical outlook in order to demonstrate the neurotic aspects of his character, it is incumbent upon us to discuss the overall quality of Trotsky's creative faculties in terms of those neurotic effects which must inevitably



Trotsky's ego pays Sunday worship to self-consciousness, only to excuse itself during the ensuing week.

distort any creative mental process. Our standard for judgement is once again, a totally Promethean standard. By submitting the quality of Trotsky's thought to such a standard we are of course, admitting his unusual intellectual talents. It is not gratuitous, therefore, to compare him to his most gifted contemporary, Rosa Luxemburg.

Overall, Trotsky compares poorly with Rosa. His style and mode of polemic, while often brilliant, lack the highly fertile "flowing quality" of Luxemburg's best efforts. This "flowing quality" is no mere stylistic device, but is an epiphenomenon of the profusion of idea-content in her writing. Nor is this some elusive "feminine" quality: among socialist writers there is

perhaps nobody outside of Marx himself whose briefest sentence carries that density of thought, with the consequent richness and multiplicity of overtones. Trotsky's best writings theoretically, tend to shorter simpler sentences; ideas are spread more thinly and have a more linear quality, at times approximating the crude notion of "making points." Compare for example two of Trotsky's better pieces, "Tolstoy: Poet and Rebel" and "Results and Prospects" with, respectively, Luxemburg's pieces "The Spirit of Russian Literature: Life of Korolenko" and "The Mass Strike."

"Style" may seem to be a vague conception to those who have learned to regard it as a trick or embellishment. But that "ineffable" quality of style, at least among talented writers, is perhaps the most exact single key to the gestalt of underlying conceptual processes. In Lev Davidovitch's case, there is a clear "stylistic" reflection of the already cited infantile mechanistic defects from which he suffered throughout his life. It is not accidental that he writes his most potent prose when he is analyzing superstructural social processes, e.g., in *The History of the Russian Revolution*, for it is in just that realm that he rises to the height of his revolutionary capacities.

In fundamental questions of dialectical method, and especially economic theory, despite brilliant intuitions, Trotsky compares very poorly with Luxemburg. That is, he is weakest intellectually in precisely those areas which demand *a sustained self-conscious mastery of creativity itself*. Nor is this an academic matter, for in her lifetime Luxemburg far surpassed both Lenin and Trotsky in wealth of basic *strategic* conceptions for the *international* movement as a whole.

The self-conscious Trotsky is the self who characterizes best his own noetic processes.

Marxism considers itself the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process. But the "unconscious" process, in the historico-philosophical sense of the term — not in the psychological [sic] — coincides with its conscious expression only at its highest point, when the masses, by sheer elemental pressure, break through the social routine and give victorious expression to the deepest needs of historical development. And at such moments the highest theoretical consciousness of the epoch merges with the immediate action of those oppressed masses who are farthest away from theory. The creative union of the conscious with the unconscious is what one usually calls "inspiration." Revolution is the inspired frenzy of history.

Every real writer knows creative moments, when something stronger than himself is guiding his hand; every real orator experiences moments when some one stronger than the self of his every-day existence speaks through him The utmost spiritual vigor likewise infuses at times all personal activity connected with the movement of the masses. This was true for the leaders in

the October days. The hidden strength of the organism, its most deeply rooted instincts, its power of scent inherited from animal forebears — all these rose and broke through the psychi routine to join forces with the higher historico-philosophical abstractions in the service of the revolution. Both these processes, affecting the individual and the mass, were based on the union of the conscious with the unconscious: the union of instinct — the mainspring of the will — with the higher theories of thought. [*My Life*]

This passage so accurately describes the awakening of the powerful forces of human creative potential, that it could only have been written by an exceptionally gifted individual. It is not, emphatically, the experience of an *essentially* self-knowing intellect. The passage describes perfectly the emotional and intellectual process experienced by someone possessing a strong sense of self-conscious identity, whose "everyday" sense of self is still to some degree that of the infantile ego, when that individual's self-conscious "I" is suddenly "filled" with emotions uniquely associated with creativity, and given emotional force and potency. Under these special conditions the normal "I" of the ego is taken over and subordinated to the newly potent "I" — self-consciousness. This is the self "stronger than the self of everyday existence," precisely.

Trotsky's comprehension of creativity is absolutely correct, from the standpoint of the ego's oceanic experience of creative activity. Expressions such as "inspiration" and "the creative union of the conscious with the unconscious" indicate that for Trotsky the full depth of such processes is not at the *command* of his everyday self. To his ego they remain unconscious. His self-consciousness is an *other* self.

He says, "The hidden strength of the organism, its most deeply rooted instincts, its power of scent inherited from animal forebears." While we cannot assume that this is meant as a literal scientific statement, the imagery suggests the bourgeois-reductionist attitude toward the unconscious as categorically unconscious, e.g., Freud; as primitive or animalistic emotions and processes impenetrable to self-conscious control. Normally, self-consciousness is the impotent superego of bourgeois society. The actual quality of "revolutionary will" is alone the property of the self-knowing self, the self which knows its own mind. When L.D. states that "instinct" is "the mainspring of the will," he is describing a self-consciousness without will, which depends upon transfusions of emotional energy from a source outside the control, and impenetrable to the gaze of a passionless self-consciousness. Thus, will appears in the guise of instinct! (Recall his depiction of Lenin's peasant qualities.)

For Freud, the will is identified with the superego and

the infantile emotions with bestiality. Trotsky, who is aware of loftier emotions, the emotion of creativity and potent human loving, views "everyday" self-consciousness also as a superego, but for him this is nothing but a pathetic weakling next to the "instinctual" force of will of unconscious creative emotion. For the actually self-conscious mind, that quality of creative emotion is the opposite of anything instinctual, bestial or unconscious, but is the most human, most conscious, most willful, most everyday quality of self-conscious life. That quality is the passionate source of Spinoza's "calm," of Marx's relentless hubris.

While Trotsky was capable of brilliant insights and discoveries of historic significance *and brilliance* that process of discovery was not itself, completely, the self-conscious subject of mentation. His mental processes were not consistently those of a "transfinite" self-consciousness.

In later years especially, as in *The Revolution Betrayed* and his biography of Stalin, the image of the dejected Trotsky prevails as he strives desperately to muster his elusive creative powers, which remain essentially uncontrollable. The struggle of the dejected Trotsky, the Christ-Trotsky, is best portrayed by Shelley, who had similar limitations, who prays to the uncontrollable West Wind, his all too changeable creative powers:

*"Oh lift me, as a wave, a leaf, a cloud,
I fall upon the thorns of life, I bleed."*

"The Imitation of Christ-Trotsky"

The "Old Trotskyist" movement adopted from the whole reality of the actual Trotsky the false, one-sided image of the heroic, tragic self-righteous failure. Immediately, this fallacy of composition had the effect of denying the requirement of eradication of crippling neurotic flaws, degrading everything to the realm of scholasticism: objective literary postures, "position"-taking. The same fallacy reduced Trotsky to the form of the desired Christ figure.

The disgusting impotence-policy was the essence of the "Old Trotskyist" movement.

The "Trotskyist" profession became, for both political and "independent" academic posturers, a cult of self-righteous impotence: "I represent a noble, correct minority view in every walk of life. However, I am a prudent and scrupulous person, never unduly rude to prevailing opinion, circumspect in my observance of the rules of conduct imposed by duly-constituted enemy opinion. I always defend my right to be a minority in

terms of strictest legality of trade-union and other institutions managed by my bitter opponents. When I become the majority, I shall change the rules. Meanwhile, happily lacking such rights to act, I can safely do nothing more significant than duly publish my 'position' on passing events. Therefore, one Great Day, When The Roll Is Finally Called Up Yonder, The Great Historian In The Sky will review my life-long list of 'positions' and He will shake His Head with wonder that my extraordinary wisdom was not heeded by my fellow man."

This was the rule of internal factional life within the SWP, for example. The leadership, in day-to-day practice, might show its real political tendency and outlook. It was deemed outrageous, even among the minorities victimized by the leaders, to attribute the quality of a political tendency to a pattern of day-to-day frauds and swindles. Such issues were entitled conventionally "organizational beefs," "apolitical," etc. The rules stipulated that the political tendency of a leading faction was essentially only that view which could be attributed to textual criticism of its literary contributions. The molecular process of daily practice, by which the actual political outlook of an organization is efficiently shaped and expressed, was not an admissible topic of analysis.

Real revolutionary practice begins with a strategic overview of an entire ensuing period of world history, with emphasis on predicting as accurately as possible both the form and term of the processes leading toward a new conjunctural crisis. Within this framework, one determines the quality of the forces which must be mobilized to act in a certain way at each decisive progress-interval of the process. Such forces must be brought into being and *it must be pre-determined* that they will act appropriately at each future point. Within this overview, the individual and group must determine the program; the specific tasks of self-development by which to achieve the necessary qualifications and means to force the accomplishment of each step.

The impotent socialist, by contrast, waits for a "new Trotsky" to magically appear and deliver a strategic outlook in the fashion of the mythical Moses descending Mount Sinai. He situates "necessary actions" in limited terms of the short-term tactical reflex-action of a given organization to a given situation, and defines this always in terms of the crudest features of both. He considers the "act of mission" as either a remarkable high-flown or ineffably speculative consideration. The issues of self-development of necessary future qualities for competent decisive action do not much concern him. Whether he actually shifts the course of history at critical times is of entirely secondary concern to him — as long as he adopts the "correct

position" of mental attitude concerning which outcome he deems relatively more desirable. A purely contemplative, academic commentary on desirable-undesirable outcomes is the essential thing for him.

If his party manifests a wholly imbecilic policy toward new developments, the important aspect of this evidence is the good issues it will represent at next year's party convention! The exigencies of time and space are secondary to the tempo and protocol of his party's organizational ritual.

His concern is not to willfully, ruthlessly, efficiently determine the course of history, but to play the game of socialist politics in the way that will earn him merit in the Great Beyond. Hence, such a "Trotskyist," exemplified in the crudest extreme by the little sectlets, is preoccupied chiefly with the imitation of a Christ-Trotsky who passionately failed and went to a Great Reward.

The immediate personal issue embedded in this wretched cult is the Feuerbachian refusal to eradicate the neurotic flaw, to supersede the Ego-state which prevents him from becoming self-conscious, becoming "intellectual" in the Labor Committees' meaning of that term. Like Feuerbach, the victim of the Trotsky Syndrome not only regards the creative understanding as incomprehending to him, but stubbornly refuses to give up those neurotic passions which, as flaws, prevent him from comprehending that understanding. Hence, decreeing his pathetic state of impotence the "normal," unalterable condition of mortal man, the victim of the Trotsky Syndrome demands that he be "le... as I am," in a state of impotence, unable to judge and act according to self-consciousness.

Epilogue: "The Fourth International"

By empiricist criteria, Deutscher was totally justified in viewing the 1938 founding of a "Fourth International" as the comi-tragic gesture *which the organization itself has always been*. By "business standards," there could not have been a poorer occasion for that formation. The labor movement in Europe lay in the worst ebb in decades, the Left Opposition cadres (the core of Trotsky's support) had recently been virtually wiped out. The only stable if tiny organized section was the SWP, not strictly a Trotskyist group at all, and in a country in which early-to-middle 1930's political ferment had degenerated into mere left trade-unionism.

Yet, *by other criteria*, Trotsky's decision was correct.

The essential, historic decision was twofold. The principal consideration was the establishment of a self-consciously organized, self-maintaining *germ-form* to conduct continuity with the world-outlook of Bolshevism

into future decades. For such a purpose, there could be no circumstances more appropriate than those of 1938-40, especially under the conditions in which Trotsky's assassination was already imminent. The loose federation of existing national "Trotskyist" factions could not fulfill such a role. It was essential to drastically counteract *the centrist tendencies immanent in autonomous national formations*, by subordinating the national groupings *politically* to the hegemony of a group of persons whose primitive outlook was *international*. *However tiny, however isolated, an international executive must exist*.

At first glance, this purpose failed. The two principal, schismatic heirs of that international stand in ruins. The largest of the two, the "New Trotskyist" Unified Secretariat, is an eroding shambles, whole national sections collapsing even as the opposing, split-oriented factions of Mandel and Barnes maneuver over possession of the spoils. The former principal competitor, the London-based "International Committee," has already split, many of its former elements already dissolved or collapsed. Yet, neither of these decaying hulks represents even a form of the "Old Trotskyism." The organized expressions of "Old Trotskyism" died during the 1961-66 period. Worse, from the time of Trotsky's assassination there never existed an international executive which expressed the strategical method and conceptions which Trotsky aimed to secure against the future.

It might appear that Deutscher's criticism is historically vindicated, after all. Perhaps Trotsky's writings themselves were the only efficient source of "continuity." Such a case for Deutscher's argument is merely specious.

Relative to Trotsky's writings, we may usefully compare the case for written music. Contrary to the formalists, the written score does not speak for itself. It is merely the composer's mnemonic ruse, by which he communicates to a musician, *provided the musician is familiar with the conventions by which the score is to be interpreted*. In music, such a problem arises notoriously respecting the performance of scores from as recently as the eighteenth century — e.g., Bach, Telemann, on which there are regularly new upsetting general discoveries. Similarly, Trotsky's writings are constantly addressed to terms of reference which exist only in the experience of vanguard socialist parties; a person from such a milieu may usually not comprehend Trotsky's argument, but only a person of such experience could understand the bulk of his strategic outlook.

The comparison is in no way strained.

The point of view of the leading activists in a vanguard grouping is the problem of connecting a general trans-

formation of society to “molecular” interactions with individuals. Even the centrist, who degrades transformation to chiliastic “policy postures” or so-called “positions,” confronts this problem as it bears upon achievement of even modest intermediate organizing accomplishments. The daily life of the organized movement is situated in the problem of the organizing process through which a handful of accredited pariahs (socialists) attempt to effect a favorable change in quality of attitudes toward socialism among anti-socialists. It is the molecular tactical day-to-day experience which the socialist leader addresses as referent in efforts to supersede the tactical by a strategic policy outlook.

The daily life of socialist organizations confronts their active members — especially the leaders — with an overview of problems whose experience is only implicit and undefined for persons outside such experience. Hence *the continuity of essential socialist theoretical work requires a continuity of organized socialist activity governed by such theoretical inquiry.*

Deutscher’s argument is more directly refuted by

pointing to the emerging importance of the Labor Committee organizations of North America and Western Europe. Despite the “Old Trotskyism,” etc., *the Labor Committees were made possible by Trotsky’s decision to form the Fourth International!* His purpose was successfully realized *despite the Trotskyists.*

The initiation of the Labor Committees, from proverbial “scratch,” back in mid-1966 was the direct outcome of a deliberate negation of both the “Old Trotskyism” and of the principal errors of Trotsky himself. This developed out of an examination of the vicious discrepancy between the practice of the various schisms of the “Fourth International” from the standpoint of organizing practice. This outcome reflects the essential, historic validity of the 1938 founding: to create the continuity of organized practice in which socialist theory might dialectically correct itself. The proper purpose of the international was not to pass along an unaltered body of *fixed* Bolshevik doctrine and experience, but to maintain a body of *creative activity* which situated and tested itself *sensuously* in ongoing

When I become the majority, I shall change the rules. Meanwhile, happily lacking such rights to act, I can safely do nothing more significant than duly publish my ‘position’ on passing events.



organizing practice. What the "Old Trotskyists" did was to regard continuity as a matter of Talmudic continuity of orthodoxy, merely adding new lemmas to a fixed body of theorems of an "essential, unalterable" core body of doctrine. Hence, they merely perpetuated every Bolshevik and Trotsky blunder and otherwise degraded their political life to a religious cult practice. The same body of experience, as the reference for creative activity, produces the opposite result: the overthrow of Lenin's, Trotsky's, etc. errors, and the supersession of religious cultism by revolutionary practice.

Throughout the series applying the "new psychoanalysis" to political questions, we have necessarily emphasized the opposite epistemological qualities of self-conscious reason and Ego-state formalism. That same point is the key to the ironical connections through opposition of the Labor Committee to the "Fourth International."

The possible order of conceptions of the Ego-state is limited to a view of the universe as a "bad infinity" of ultimately elementary, self-evident, linearly homogeneous discrete existences: at best, the mechanistic world-view. This is determined by the alienated Ego-state relationship to the fixed object-image and the linear quality of the infantile emotions of *fear, hatred, and object-possession elation*. This world-outlook is incapable of even "making sense" of such dialectical conceptions as expanded reproduction. The point of view of the cultured person whose sense of "I" is located in self-consciousness is of a universe whose *primitive* quality is *process, not things, a true continuum*. Contrary to naive (i.e., Ego-state or logical-formalist) interpretations of this, the *transfinite* quality of primitive continuity is not simple "bad infinite" linear extension. It is *self-subsisting positive* (i.e., *negentropic*) extension, of the form typified by *socialist expanded self-reproduction* as we have outlined that elsewhere. Relative to the Schelling fallacy (Hegel: "a night in which all cows are black"), in which there is no *necessary* determination of objects from the self-definition of continuity, the characteristic of a negentropic transfinite quality of extension is that extension of continuity is mediated through the *necessary* determination of subsumed object-arrays of higher orders of formal complexity.

The difference between the two opposed world-outlooks is located in the different qualities of emotion characteristically "cathexized" to the respective Ego and self-conscious locations of the primary sense of "I." It is only from the standpoint of the self-conscious "I" that "I" have an immediate internal referent for transfinite continuity, that referent is the *fundamental emotion*, which is itself of the quality of transfinite extension. In

the Ego-state, the only direct referents for a *primitive* sense of reality are object-images (taken as self-evident) and linear emotions. The Ego can assess the creative powers of self-conscious reason, but only *indirectly*, experiencing them merely as "pre-conscious" *intuition*.

The distinction extends to the immediate form of social relationships, in which the Ego-state knows "love" only as the most intense expression of *infantile object-possession elation*, and only fixed, parochialized objectives of impassioned behavior. In the Ego-state, the individual is sexually impotent and politically impotent. Since he cannot conceptualize transfinite extension, he cannot comprehend the complete reordering of the quality of social reality through a change of the invariant quality of generalized social reproduction. Hence, his conceptual powers are limited to partial insight into a social reality determined by the invariant principle of capitalist modes of social reproduction. More immediately, since he is himself attached to the Ego-state, he cannot conceive nor undertake that *revolutionary human practice* which is changing the workers' sense of identity from the Ego to self-consciousness.

As we apply those principles, summarized just above, to the "Fourth International," we have the solution to the apparent paradox of the Labor Committees' connection to its origins in that international. Once the banalized activity and conceptions of that international are superseded by rising to the standpoint of self-consciousness, a whole new world-outlook, a replication of Karl Marx's, arises.

The supersession thus described corresponds exactly to the supersession of religion by sanity. Religion is the sense of one's estranged human qualities for alienated, Ego-ridden man. The self-consciousness of former religious behavior from the vantage-point of the holistic tasks of human evolutionary social reproduction is sanity.

The essential point, what was essential in the Fourth International despite its religion, was the situating of the conceptual tasks of socialist strategy within the framework of a political organizing experience. This was essential because the empirical problems thus submitted to the powers of conception embodied the actual problem to be solved, however religiously distorted the form in which those problems were initially represented.

What Trotsky accomplished in founding the Fourth International was this. Firstly, the Trotskyist rejection of the "theory of states" and "popular front" reduced the definition of the socialist organizing task to its proper, rigorous terms as a practical problem: If one excludes the "stages" and "popular front" ruses as solutions, how does one organize effectively within such a tactically-narrowed range of methods? Secondly, the situating of

the political task within a uniquely international framework, discounting solutions which might be mooted on a national qua national basis. The issue here is whether one treats an international strategy and its subsumed tactics as the eclectic aggregate culled from a confederation of "national roads to socialism," or considers the formulation of international strategy as the *primitive* policy, in respect to which national-section policies are merely tactical predicates. Despite the streak of "national exceptionalism" dominant in the Cannonites and others, Trotsky succeeded in "spoiling the well" of such chauvinism, such that the conscience of the "Trotskyists" repeatedly forced them, however reluctantly, to concede the primacy of strategy.

The actual elaboration of the latter feature of Trotsky's initiatives is a subject in itself. In practice, the attempt to suppress "the international question" by any "national exceptionalist" national section leadership created the most invaluable tactical advantage for opponent factions. The SWP, the most parochialist of the principal groups, was constantly embarrassed to find its neglect of internationalism resulting in successful tactical grabs by its Trotskyist factional opponents abroad. Some factions, such as Pablo's, would take possession of the International Secretariat machinery, and therewith proceed to define current "world Trotskyist" policies from that platform, using such a resource to license endorsed factions within various national sections. Otherwise, as in the instance of the Cuban Revolution, developments outside the USA (for example) would for a period decisively affect the milieu from which the parochialist national section was pursuing gate-receipts, in which guise the question of the "Fourth International" would rise to prominence afresh. By establishing a "Fourth International" Trotsky in effect set a diabolically clever trap for the "national chauvinists" among his heirs; none of his principal heirs dared openly decanonize the international; as long as its existence — and maintenance — remained canonical, the fact of its existence would periodically spoil the chauvinist antics of the parochialists.

In fact, the overwhelming majority of the factional and split affrays within the main currents of organized Trotskyism were situated in international terms: "The Russian Question," "The Eastern European Question," "The China Question," "The Cuban Question," "The Algerian Question," etc. International factional allies for a factional affray in any national section was always an important longer-term issue. If a significant weight of "foreign" Trotskyist factions defined "world Trotskyism's position" on any subject contrary to the adopted "majority" ruling in any one national section, this itself created the most potent immediate basis for

bumptious minority revolts or even substantial splits with that national section. Whether Cannon et al. liked it or not, Trotsky's foundation of the international saddled his heirs with its nagging implications for two generations to come.

It was exactly this juxtaposition of the cited two features of Trotsky's founding of the international which confronted L. Marcus with the fruitful form of the problems to be solved. The international political-economic strategy issue, which impelled him to an impassioned attack on the issue of theoretical economics, was prompted by his view of the sterility of both factions on this question during the split of the Fourth International in 1952-53. The second principal feature leading toward the founding of the Labor Committees, the social process, came in response to the failure of all Trotskyist groups to deal with the then-emerging imperialist worldwide policy response to the threat of a late 1960's monetary crisis. Although the distinguishing influences prompting Marcus to approach these issues in a dialectical fashion lie entirely outside the Trotskyist movement itself, it was the experience of the way in which Trotsky's influence defined the international's organizing experience which supplied the necessary terms of reference for those studies.

Thus, through the fact of the Labor Committees, the fact of that tendency's powerful growth in quality and influence, vindicates the *essential* correctness of Trotsky's 1938 decision on the international. It has succeeded despite the existent "Fourth Internationals" and the successive centrist and agnostic phases of decay of the "Trotskyist" organizations.

Whether Trotsky himself would agree with us today is approximately as irrelevant as the question whether Johannes Kepler would accept Einstein's Riemannian universe. The idea of a "Trotskyist orthodoxy," even if it were premised on Trotsky's actual conceptions, represents a bankrupt substitution of religion for living revolutionary practice. Everything which is of continuing value in Trotsky's outlook we have carried forward; most of what was shallow, neurotic, or otherwise wrong in his views we have superseded. Trotsky has a viable place in the present only to the extent that we locate his work entirely in the past.

The prime lessons to be learned from his life and work are, generally, the principle identified by Adolf Joffe: to pursue in practice the dictate of self-conscious reason at all times, at all costs, despite any amount of contrary mere personal opinion from any overwhelming number of sources. Conversely, particularly, the tragic element of his life, the ferocious cost to humanity of several of his typical neurotic lapses, warns us to be wholly intolerant of such neurotic flaws, especially of the cult of self-

righteous impotence associated with the sort of pathetic "objectivity" seen in the religious life of the "Old Trotskyist" movement.

What must be especially extirpated from today's revolutionary movement is the Trotsky Syndrome, the pose of self-righteous agony of self-consciousness: "I must respect the limitations imposed upon my Ego; I cannot part with my internalized mothers' fears. I must soothe her fears by being a prudently impotent mere small voice of minority views, essentially passive within the inevitable course of events as determined by the enemy polemics." Trotsky hesitating to chuck out Stalin in 1923, Trotsky denying his authorship of "The Real Situation In Russia" in 1926, Trotsky temporizing with Cannon's centrism in 1938-40 — all out of scrupulous respect for the ordered ways of "organizational discipline," all the tragic self-degradation of a Promethean playing "acceptable" Apollonian, must not be a tolerated pattern for the present and future.

An Epitaph for L.D. Trotsky

L.D. Trotsky has been dead for thirty-four years. The recent virtual extinction of the professedly Trotskyist movement is the vanishing of a tendency which had been a decaying cult for a quarter-century after Trotsky's assassination. To the extent one attempts to evaluate Trotsky as the originator of a Marxian tendency, one must regard the end of his life's efforts as tragically misguided. Is that the end of the matter; is that his proper epitaph?

If the human race survives this decade, a revitalized Communist movement (with a capital C) will routinely re-adopt Trotsky as a leading Bolshevik, restoring the official view of him to approximately that held by Lenin during his own last illness. That will represent the epitaph which corresponds to Trotsky's own strategic outlook of the 1923-1940 period.

Trotsky was not a "Trotskyist." His persisting post-1917 self-image was that of Lenin's junior partner in the Bolshevik leadership. His factional activities, even after 1934 were strategically oriented toward a united front of his tiny forces with the main bodies of the mass-based Communist parties — as one notes in the 1940 factional differences between him and the Stalinophobic Cannonite leadership of the SWP.

Trotsky's general view, the locus for his self-estimation, was that the Stalin faction's accommodation to the layer of bureaucrats assimilated into the CPSU during the "Lenin Levy" amounted to a decapitation of the Communist movement. As the purges obliterated the Bolshevik Left Opposition and finally the near-entirety of the 1917 Bolshevik leadership, he found himself the

sole surviving exponent of the Bolshevik point of view. His strategic policy was to attempt to mediate the replication of the outlook of the Bolsheviks in handfuls of cadres recruited and trained within the movements of the capitalist world. The ultimate function of this replicated Old Bolshevik leading stratum was to connect itself to the mass oriented to the Communist parties.

This was a correct policy. Anyone who writes off in advance the cadres of mass-based Communist parties and the left-wing factions of mass-based social-democracies is no revolutionary at all. The only viable basis for existence of definite Marxian tendencies outside those parties is the development of a revolutionary intelligentsia which is being prepared to connect itself to (especially) the mass-based Communist parties in alliance with the left-wing forces of mass-based social-democracies.

That principle is being freshly demonstrated in life in Western Europe today. Today, whoever writes off in advance the potential revolutionary viability of the mass-based Communist parties and mass-based left-wing social democracies has wilfully handed the human race over to a fascist world order and nuclear holocaust without a struggle.

It was correct for the Trotsky of 1934-1940 to situate himself as the individual principally responsible for making such an effort. He was after all, the only surviving authoritative agent for the outlook of the Old Bolsheviks. Unfortunately, insofar as his policy was broadly correct, he failed to win any faction to it among his professed followers. The immediate causes for this failure are properly located within the social strata from which the Trotskyists were recruited, but the tolerance of such endemic reactionary tendencies among those recruits must be blamed upon the psychoneurotic and intellectual flaws of Trotsky himself.

Oblomovism

In each national-cultural sector we encounter characteristic neuroses, neurotic complexes usually identified with the associated pathological behaviorisms of their male victim. Since these pathologies involve the bestialization of the victim, they are invariably associated with some particular beast-totem. In Spanish cultures the self-identification of the neurotic male as a subhuman animal is the *Macho* (from *masculu*, for male dunkey or jackass). In Italy, it is the *Pappagallo* (peacock) or *cazzist* (mere extension of one's own penis). In Germany, the *wolf-dog*. In Russia, the *bear* who sleeps through unpleasant seasons, identified with the chief character of a famous novel, *Oblomov*.

The certification of *Oblomov* as the prototype of the

neurotic Soviet revolutionary leader was made by Lenin. Lenin's perception on this point can not be considered accidental, since his political life represents in the main a self-conscious, successful struggle against precisely such tendencies within himself. Trotsky, as we have demonstrated here, was a raging *Oblomovist* by comparison with Lenin, literally taking to his bed with "cryptogenic" (i.e., psychogenic) maladies whenever confronted with acute problems whose psychological implications he was unwilling to face.

As we have emphasized, Trotsky was neurotically preoccupied with his *persona*, with peer-group opinion of him. His long years of relative isolation from 1929 onwards, and his maverick independence prior to 1917 are deceptive phenomena; as Joffe's testament accurately emphasizes, Trotsky lacked precisely Lenin's fierce independence.

Within the leading strata of the North American and European Labor Committees, we understand the relevant problems most clearly. In the conclusion of "The Case of Ludwig Feuerbach," we distinguished categorically between the *enlightened* and *self-conscious* individual. The enlightened individual may have developed creative powers of the sort corresponding to self-consciousness, but he locates such achievements as *predicates* of his bourgeois ego, rather than as the subject, the substance of his identity. Self-conscious insights are for him achievements to be possessed by his bourgeois ego, rather than the substance, the identity of his existence. The psychodynamic of this atavistic tendency among revolutionaries is found in the victim's feeling-state, his determination not to let go of that feeling of being the loved infant in his mother's arms, his willingness to mature beyond a state of innermost identity involving attachment to the warm comfort of mother's skirts. We have pointed out Trotsky's explicit admission of such neurotic obsessions, and the direct connection between his psychopathology, his *Oblomovism*, and the Russian/peasant traditions of his social origins. To be the son of a Russian peasant mother who is also a Jewish mother is to suffer the preconditions for *Oblomovism* with a vengeance.

Such tendencies appear clearly in Lenin only when we contrast Lenin with Rosa Luxemburg. Lenin's inability to actualize his internationalism is exemplary. Despite his impulse toward an internationalist outlook, during his years abroad he was detached from involvement in the German, Austrian and French movements, and never developed a competent insight into them. His rejection of the Austrian-Menshevik "theory of national stages" during the war never led him to break with the nationalist correlatives of that misconception. Lenin's clinging to his psychoneurotic nationalities policy was

the clearest expression of the unresolved residue of *Oblomovist* tendencies in himself.

This problem is no historical curiosity. The Tavistock think-tanks, including the RAND Corporation, have not only studied *Oblomovism* in psychological depth-studies, but Rockefeller manipulation of the Soviet leadership today is chiefly premised upon programs based on those specific neurotic susceptibilities.

Trotsky's break with Lenin in 1903, his wretched role in the Russian movement during the 1911-14 period, his "cryptogenic" illnesses, his hysterical disregard for the actuality of the international movement during the 1923-27 period, and his opportunist concessions to the Stalinophobic centrist tendencies among the Cannonites, are all examples of this persisting *Oblomovist* flaw.

Admittedly, Trotsky's *Oblomovism* was relatively a state of Olympian mental health when contrasted with the paranoid extremes of the same disorder in Stalin. The most extreme forms of *Oblomovism* within the Soviet leadership are identified by the use of *cosmopolitanism* as a term of opprobrium; *Oblomovism* in its extreme expression as naked Great Russian chauvinism. (It is not difficult to understand the roots of the paranoia in Georgian Stalin's profession of Great Russian chauvinism.)

Intellectual Flaws

In his frequent expressions of self-conscious awareness, Trotsky emphasized the non-existence of a specifically Trotskyist tendency; his was, for him, simply a Leninist tendency. He was too sensible of reality to imagine that he had contributed any qualitative theoretical advance to Marxian thought.

The one point on which he injudiciously veered from that was on the theme of "permanent revolution." On this point he may have erroneously considered himself, momentarily, a significant innovator, but then precluded such pretenses in a characteristic gesture of pride-filled self-deprecation. In fact, his only contribution in that vein was a correct assessment of the special tactical policies required for a proletarian revolution in a peasant-dominated Russian population. Insofar as this tactical insight from the 1905 experience was woven into a general theory, that theory had been earlier developed by Rosa Luxemburg and was contributed to the Parvus-Trotsky these through Luxemburg's earlier, vigorous education of Parvus on this point.

Similarly, the strategic and tactical formulations of the Third Congress of the Comintern, which Lenin and Trotsky jointly sponsored at that time, were a rather truncated version of Luxemburg's organic development of united-front policies from the body of her mass-strike

conception. This approximation of Luxemburg's conception is the most positive feature of Trotsky's 1929-33 Germany writings.

Despite his own considerable intellectual powers and collateral contributions, Trotsky was never a theoretician. He had a certain grasp of Marxian dialectical method and economic theories, but no real mastery of either. Consequently, it is not surprising that he lacked a firm sense of the prerequisites for building a viable, self-reproducing socialist organization. The most obvious type is the mass-based party, which exists as the institutionalized form of political organization of the most advanced strata of an entire working class, for which the Communist parties of France and Italy or the German social-democracy are the prototypes. Even as a centrist formation without a socialist strategic outlook, such mass-based parties embody a self-reproducing function. The second type is the small cadre-organization, whose historic value is uniquely located in its development of strategic and tactical perspectives. In this case, its peculiar viability and ability to reproduce that viability are independent of the attributes of mass support. This quality depends uniquely upon the qualifications of the organization as a revolutionary intelligentsia. The criteria for leadership within the organization are predominantly those of profuse mastery of Marxian theory, as expressed by creative contributions to that theory. Such a party thus represents uniquely essential qualities which the broad masses lack the means to develop independently. Such an organization meets those qualifications only to the degree that its leaders are at least relatively the peers of Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, V.I. Lenin, and that the standard of membership is a commitment of the new recruits to developing such qualities in themselves.

If the Trotskyist factions were to have fulfilled the historic function which Trotsky wished to project for them, of supplying the mass-based Communist parties with the necessary strategic and tactical orientations through united-front formations, the essential quality of the faction would have had to be emphasis upon the development of a revolutionary intelligentsia.

The development and presently accelerating influence of the Labor Committees are the most appropriate contrast with the imminently bankrupt Trotskyist organizations of the 1940-58 period. The Labor Committees are the successful fulfilment of everything the Trotskyist factions failed to achieve. That success is also in part the result of a pre-calculated determination not to replicate the bankruptcy of Trotskyism.

From the outset, the criterion for Labor Committee cadre status was a receptivity to and ability to apply the most advanced and comprehensive dialectical and

economic-theoretical conceptions. Cadres were recruited through classes of a more advanced type than had been given before in the socialist movement, and "drop-outs" from that instruction were thus automatically self-excluded from involvement in the building of the organization. The selective process was intensified by a policy of ruthless factionalism against all nonsense in the socialist movement.

For example, in the course of the Columbia strike, the Labor Committees refused to adapt to the prevailing moods of the majority. When it became apparent in early June of 1968 that Mark Rudd et al. were replicating the outlook and policies of Benito Mussolini and Gregor Strasser, the Labor Committees committed their members to explicitly identifying and orienting factionally to that fact. During the summer and fall of 1968, the Labor Committees were unique in the entire U.S. socialist movement in leading an attack upon the Ford Foundation's "educational counterinsurgency" strike-breaking program, to the effect that the members endured accelerating bitter enmity and actual hooligan attacks from other professedly socialist groupings on this account.

In sum, the development of the Labor Committees as a revolutionary intelligentsia was premised on the organic unity of advanced education and ruthless adherence to the tactical consequences of policies adduced from the standpoint of the most advanced theory. The result, as has been demonstrated increasingly, is the forging of talented young potential revolutionaries into hardened cadres who will act ruthlessly for a scientific perception of reality against all odds.

It is that specific quality of Promethean hubris which distinguishes the revolutionary intelligentsia, the natural leadership of the mass movement. The forging of such a cadre-organization begins with the problems of such intellectual commitment in struggles on a more modest scale. Subsequently, by constantly forcing the cadres to escalate their responsibilities for struggles approaching those of socialist transformation itself, the cadres are organically hardened in the qualities required to lead mass movements.

It is such selection and development policies which uniquely produce a vanguard organization capable of developing and acting upon the development of strategic and tactical policies for the socialist transformation.

The present world situation exemplifies this point. The fate of humanity depends upon a distinct, reciprocal connection between Labor Committee efforts in Western Europe and North America. (A special, immediate role is seen for the Japanese and Australian working classes, and a subsequent role by the working class of the under-developed sector; the initiative role must come from

Western Europe and North America.) In North America, the only vanguard force worth mentioning is the Labor Committees and their collaborators. Around this kernel, the entire mass workers movement must be directly built. However, the possibility of actualizing the accelerating Labor Committee influence among millions of workers into a mass organization depends significantly upon the establishment of an international programmatic united front in Europe. That European effort then depends upon the reciprocal effects of its activity upon the potentialities of the North American working class. Thus, in effect, the North American movement is organically linked to the European (and Japanese and Australian) movements.

In Europe, the possibility of stopping fascism depends upon the programmatic alliance of the Communist parties, the left wings of mass-based social-democracies, and the Labor Committees. Why, one might ask, is this role of the small Labor Committees essential to the success of the role of the mass-based workers' parties? In sum, the Labor Committees offer not only the uniquely correct strategic and tactical programmatic outlooks, but also represent the only repository of *the capacities for necessary further development* of those strategic and tactical policies under the conditions of mass struggles. The role of the Labor Committees as a revolutionary intelligentsia is indispensable, such that without them the Communist and social-democratic mass-based organizations would be disoriented and so defeated in an actual decisive struggle.

It is *the active qualities* of the vanguard which are essential. Any small organization which premises itself upon the perfection or semi-perfection of either simple recipes or even articulated bodies of "orthodox doctrine" is a useless sect, with no positive role to contribute to the struggles of mass-based vanguard organizations.

Trotsky himself had no conception at all of such a development of an organization of the revolutionary intelligentsia. In part, this was a reflection of his *Oblomovist* flaw; he ridiculed the notion of a revolutionary intelligentsia in 1903 and regarded this notion of Lenin's as "exaggerated" even later in life. In part, his lack of conception of building a viable tendency was a direct result of his failure to develop adequately such qualities in himself. He did not recognize the rampant philistinism of the Cannon crew as constituting in itself the pervasive bankruptcy of the organizations identified with his name.

The Outcome of Trotsky

Today, as the professedly Trotskyist organizations have omitted themselves as a faction of the current socialist movement, the word *Trotskyism* has lost all meaning. There is no Trotskyist faction within the movement to be treated as a ponderable current, and there is no corpus of thought called Trotskyism worth anyone's resurrecting. All that remains are the lessons of Trotsky's efforts and the obligation of the future Communist movement to restore L.D. Trotsky himself to his proper status as a past contributor to the struggles.

If there might have been something hypothetically useful in Trotsky's role in the Left Opposition, something to focus upon for leading suggestions for today's efforts, we have long since eliminated that possibility. To the extent that Trotsky's views may coincide with notions of continued usefulness to the movement, we have developed conceptions which are far superior to Trotsky's, and which are grounded in the work of Trotsky's predecessors, such as Marx and Luxemburg. Under these circumstances, to turn to Trotsky for authoritative guidance on such matters would be to take a significant step backwards.

This warning is not made lightly nor arbitrarily. In the recent year's experience within the Labor Committees we have found that cadre's sudden preoccupation with the study of Trotsky's writings for guidance on a question with a regression to impotence in his or her current political activity. This recurring correlation prompted us to investigate the phenomenon of endemic "Trotskyism" within the Labor Committees more deeply. That study was made during the spring and summer of 1973, during which period we examined a number of individual cases with the resulting clinical definition of what we termed the "Trotsky syndrome." It was that study which led directly to this present article.

The healthy revolutionary cadre of today will regard L.D. Trotsky as one of the principal Bolshevnik leaders whose failure to establish a viable tendency was not accidental. His achievements were real, and lawfully so. His failure, however his effort was correctly premised in part, was also quite lawful. Consequently, there is a role in the movement for those who graduate from Trotskyism, but no useful place for those who return to it. Trotskyism *today* is a psychoneurotic socialist' determination to be impotent, so as not to unduly offend the dangerous ruling capitalist circles!