

The Human Robot

*Understanding the Emotional Effects
of Industrialism*

By JULES SIEGEL

UNCORRECTED PROOFS

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In Brief

THE HUMAN ROBOT began in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico in 1973. I was then married to Virginia Christine Jolly, who struck up an acquaintance with James Clark Moloney, M.D., an elderly psychiatrist who introduced us to the concepts of the human robot. Human robots are people who have become machines, as a result of their conditioning from infancy on. Most of the horrors of modern time can be traced to their roots in the ways in which we abuse our children. While many other observers have since agreed on the essential facts, to the point where these ideas are familiar, even boring, Dr. Moloney was virtually alone in placing the blame for the introduction of these practices on industrialism, describing in horrifying detail the collaboration between early psychologists and businessmen.

Breast-feeding had to be curtailed from years to months. Infants were not to be allowed to sleep in the same beds with their parents, but were to be separated from their mothers as early as possible and, if possible, raised by strangers. In order to free their mothers to enter the factory, children had to be pushed to talk, walk and to control their bowel movements. These recommendations were translated into Victorian morality, first embraced by the emerging middle class and later inflicted on whole populations. The results have been quite gruesome, but if you don't examine the social costs, the outcome has been profitable beyond anyone's expectations at the beginning. All these distortions increase consumption as well as submissiveness to authority. Once a contributor to the leading psychoanalytic journals, Dr. Moloney was ridiculed as the "breast man" and had to have his later works privately published when he began examining these social and economic consequences.

When people hear the term human robot they think of some-

thing like Terminator. It's not like that all. The programming isn't cybernetic, but social. Examining '50s Hollywood and TV production codes reveals a set of rules and values defining on-screen behavior. The rule that the adulterous woman must always be punished, preferably by death, is based on Biblical values. There are many other programming rules like that, forming an algorithm that results in the very predictable screenplays of the epoch.

Similar social rules and values are almost always unstated, except in times of social crisis, such as the current debate over gay marriage. They result in predictable behavior patterns. Push social button A and social behavior B will result. That's how Bush won the election (aside from vote fraud, a very significant factor). The Democrats failed to understand that the election wasn't about issues, but about unconscious responses to well-known psychological tricks. If they had fully appreciated this, they might have been able to roll up a margin big enough to cancel out the frauds, which appear to have been confined to certain crucial states such as Ohio and Florida.

Some of these concepts have been touched on in *Don't Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate* by George Lakoff, who demonstrates that the conservative political philosophy is defined by the strict father, while the liberal political philosophy is defined by the nurturing parent. Lakoff is more concerned with language than psychology, however. I examine how the strict father and the nurturing parent are themselves first created in infancy and early childhood, and what this means in how we behave in modern industrial society.

This all sounds rather dry here. It's much richer and often very amusing in *The Human Robot*. As you will see when you read the current text it needs a lot of work to update it and make it even more dramatic and entertaining. I am confident that this could be a landmark work, rivaling best-sellers such as *The Naked Ape* by Desmond Morris, *The Territorial Imperative* by Robert Ardrey and *The Imperial Animal* by Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox.

Almost all therapists and emotional support group systems agree that forgiving your parents is a crucial step in giving up neurotic patterns. This becomes easier when you see them as ignorant and trusting victims of social and economic forces beyond their ability to perceive or comprehend. *The Human Robot* illustrates this process with many amusing and often infuriating examples of human robot behavior taken from the pages of history and daily life in our times.

Portions of this book appeared in *Playboy*. The current manuscript contains about 45,000 words. The finished book will contain about 75,000 words.

THIS VERSION of *The Human Robot* was a gift for my mother, Evelyn Saunders, on the occasion of her eightieth birthday, March 20, 1991. She was no longer able to read when she received it — indeed, as I write this, she has passed away — but perhaps before she died she had a lucid moment in which she was able to hold it in her hands and know that her faith in me was justified. I don't think that she ever quite grasped the concept of the book. After some conversations she and I had about environmental pollution in 1986, she privately (and very dubiously) asked my wife, Anita Brown, "Will there be a lot of *smog* in the book?"

Good question

Some books really do need an editor and a publisher. I want to make sure that *The Human Robot* reaches the widest audience to the greatest effect. The original concept was a collection of essays on more-or-less related subjects with a strong seasoning of humor. As I got into the book, however, I found myself aiming at a more polished and academic style. The first draft contained a lot of self-referential material, both in the personal sense of using my own experiences as illustrations, and in the artistic sense of looking at the book itself and its progress as I went along. I still have that draft and I think it would be a good idea for someone to look at it. I also have a number

of essays that were published in *Playboy* and *Penthouse* that might be valuable, too.

For the moment, I will appreciate your reading what you have here and, if you can spare the time, telling me what you think. My own opinion is that it is still rather too diffuse. It needs a stronger and more concise definition of the concept of the human robot and more tightly focused analysis of the way in which human robots are created — glorified Op-Ed pieces, perhaps, that reviewers and commentators can get their teeth into and bite and bark. The rest of the material should then be explained and analyzed in terms of these perspectives. I do a little of that, but I think it has to be laid on with a broader brush. The material on AIDS is fascinating, for example, but it floats there aimlessly like a turd in the punchbowl.

Meanwhile, I hope that you enjoy what you read and will, perhaps, find something in it that will help you to understand and endure this very grim epoch of human history. You never know — this might just be an important historic document!

May 14, 1996, Cancun, Quintana Roo, Mexico

Update, June 19, 2005 — I've made minor changes to the text and have begun adding illustrations and other editorial elements. Some photographs may not reproduce properly and are shown only for general effect. Most pictures and excerpts conform to fair use conventions, but I will obtain permission anyway when the book is ready for mainstream publication.

The Cult of Obedience

ALTHOUGH it is true that people vote with their stomachs, they don't always vote to fill them. This creates puzzles that elude conventional explanation. Why did England elect Margaret Thatcher? Why did American congressmen vote for nerve gas? Why did Jews in concentration camps create their own pathetic imitations of SS uniforms? Why did workers and farmers vote for Ronald Reagan? Why did America reject Dukakis and elect Bush?

The rational answer might be that we tend to make temporary choices against future self-interest in order to assure immediate security. This is called the Cinderella complex and it applies equally to men and women. Just another few hours here in the scullery and the Prince will arrive. At the end, all the Jews went into the gas chamber without reference to cuteness of uniform. Large numbers of poor people in England go hungry, while a few of the better-off grow fatter. One vote against one's conscience leads not to the spontaneous arrival of universal ethics, but to an endless series of similar humiliations. Some workers receive modest tax cuts, but millions are laid off, the streets fill with dispossessed families and farmers commit suicide when evicted from their ancestral lands.

The truth is we submit because we like it. Obedience feeds psychic needs and hungers that we do not usually examine because we are ashamed of them. If you live in a society that worships John Wayne, your screen of consciousness is filled with fearless images, individualism and independence. Draw back and you see yourself slumped at the TV filling up on confidence soup. No matter how much of it you suck in, the label will always say John Wayne not Joe Shmo. Meanwhile, Joe Shmo goes out into the world and consumes his daily serving of dog shit.

Feeling a little sleepy?

TOO MUCH REALISM CAN BE QUITE DEPRESSING. Well-adjusted people have a surprising ability to view themselves optimistically, even when this means indulging in a great deal of wishful thinking. Depressed people tend to see themselves more realistically. That's why they commit suicide.

Wishful thinking is a survival mechanism. Life, after all, does have its inevitable disasters. Our parents die. Loved ones leave us. Catastrophe always threatens. The wise person lives each moment as if it were the last. Enjoy the good times and don't think too much about the future. When unpleasant ideas appear, we tend to yawn. These strategies work as long as the general texture of life is full and satisfying. When things begin to fall apart, we ask questions. Today, as we witness collapse all around, even the well-adjusted no longer find it quite so boring to examine the forces and trends that produced our mess. If we want to make changes, we have to see things exactly as they are, no matter how embarrassing or painful. The storm no longer approaches. It is here. John Wayne, who was actually a draft dodger not a war hero, died of cancer. Are you next? Why do you obey?

Power and Reality

ACCORDING TO HARVARD SOCIOLOGIST JOHN P. SPIEGEL, power in groups is distributed in three ways:

- [1] **Linear or Hierarchical.** There's a leader at the top with anything from absolute power to reasonable authority. Power and decisions flow from top down through a chain of command. Russia under Stalin would represent the most extreme example of this, but it holds true for almost all large organizations
- [2] **Collateral.** The team spirit prevails. Power is shared horizontally. Everyone's in the same boat. Decisions are made by consensus. A production unit in Japanese factory, a political party caucus, a church dinner committee. Typical of small, closely-knit organizations.
- [3] **Individualistic.** Each person makes his own decision. Group

decisions are made by majority vote. A buyer in a supermarket, voters in a general election. This is the professed American style of distribution of power, but not usually the actual one.

We are born into groups and we live in groups most of our lives. Despite all propaganda to the contrary we are all utterly and totally dependent upon society as a whole for survival. Some paranoiac Vietnam veterans are living lives of utter isolation in the forests of the Pacific Northwest, existing as trappers, subsistence farmers, hunters. Scattered individuals throughout the world live similarly atomized lives. Everyone else — everyone else — depends upon others for all the necessities of life.

It is difficult to imagine a society without leaders and followers. It's normal to be accommodating, to want to please, to allow the other person to lead. Families have children and parents. For most people, that's enough responsibility. Taking on the problems of non-relatives is much less interesting than bowling. We leave to the politician the job of mediating conflicting demands.

The late Herman Kahn once observed, "Different societies have different *kerigmas* [enshrined values] and taboos. But all societies have *kerigmas* and taboos." We tolerate almost any injustice in the interests of social order and personal greed. In the rest of the world, this is frankly acknowledged. There is no freedom of the press, true, but few people feel bad about it because it's not anything they expect or consider crucial.

Here we insist that freedom of the press is an enshrined value. Yet the government selectively prosecutes publishers of officially forbidden ideas, places spies in editorial offices to illegally censor work in progress and to enforce secret blacklists of irritating writers. At the local level, we remove books from libraries and reading lists.

Let's not argue about whether this is good or bad or if it's worse behind the Iron Curtain. We are asked to risk war to defend our freedoms. This might not be fun even if it were a real exchange. The fraud intensifies the sense of hopelessness and free-floating anxiety.

This problem is repeated throughout American society. We

An American Hero

Excerpts from JOHN WAYNE'S AMERICA by Garry Wills

There was tremendous pressure, in public and in private, for Wayne to join. Wayne was prepared to do anything to avoid such a fate.

He wrote to Ford that he was trying to fill out the proper forms to enter the military, but he had no typewriter on location; that he left forms with Ward Bond, who couldn't fill them out; or that his wife, from



(left) THE SANDS OF IWO JIMA, 1949 Wayne's identification with World War II came mainly from movies made after the war.



whom he was separated, would not let him get essential documents he had left at home. In short, the dog ate his homework

MAN'S IDEA OF A MOVIE HERO
And the women agree! 6 feet 4 inches, John Wayne has smashed his way to fame in dozens of knock-down-and-drag-out—hard-riding...glorious motion pictures!

"The roles I play in movies are far from easy on my voice— I can't risk throat irritation. So I smoke Camels — they're mild"

John Wayne
POPULAR, HANDSOME
HOLLYWOOD STAR

There was nothing in his actual life to resemble the blank bullets he shot at fellow actors in feigned combat. He would forever be the warless 'war hero.'

don't have a servant class. There are no rulers. Everyone has the same chance in life. It's the land of opportunity. We are the richest, healthiest and most generous. You can't talk about obedience in American life because it doesn't exist. It all works on freedom of choice. Make the right choices and you rise. Make the wrong choices and ...

These are the myths. The facts are different. Among the industrialized nations, the United States has the highest percentage of its population in jail, the harshest sentences. The top ten percent of the population earns fifteen times the income of the lowest ten percent. Only France has a higher ratio. In Sweden it's seven to one. We have one of the worst infant mortality records. It is possible for a poor person to become a millionaire here. Rich people sometimes do become poor. Neither event is statistically significant.

In *The Rich and the Super Rich*, Ferdinand Lundberg estimated that less than one half of one percent of the population owns or controls 95% of the productive assets. He argued with C. Wright Mills, author of *The Power Elite*, about whether or not sixty families own America. Mills complained that it's more like 360 families.

Most of us do not own our own homes. I have seen differing statistics on this. Some assert that more Americans own than rent. I wonder if the homeless are counted, too. We are a nation of renters. Few of us own more than our furniture, clothing, appliances and a not very new car. Yes, Americans are more prosperous than most of the world's population. But this is no utopia. We don't measure up to our propaganda.

The Psychology of Personal Economics

ALTHOUGH WE ARE ACCUSTOMED to discussing these contradictions as if they were political problems, we experience them as psychological problems. From a purely personal standpoint, psychology is more important than politics. You only have one vote — if you vote at all. What you feel, however, is your own life and your life alone. That you get one hundred percent.

If you don't measure up to the myths and feel that you should,

you're going to be happy or unhappy in direct ratio to your economic progress. Since few make any economic progress, this means that your attachment to economic superstitions is a guaranteed source of life-long pain. Las Vegas provides a model for understanding life in America. A few win big. Some win a little. That leaves 95% losers. The basic rule in Las Vegas is "From each according to his gullibility, to each according to his good fortune." If you have the good fortune to be born owning the house, you win most of all.

This makes a kind of self-evident (though perhaps not quite sane) sense. Luck is genetic. You get lucky genes, you're born rich and beautiful. After that, everything else is easy. The most fortunate make the odds in their own favor. Why would they do it any other way? The very least you can do in your own self-interest is to stop kidding yourself. A good card sharp needs only to see one card per hand of poker to make the game move his way. Maybe you don't want to cheat, but don't play by illusions. Face the odds. Your ignorance is a house asset. They don't encourage card counters in the casinos. Win too consistently and they throw you out on your ass.

The Economic Function of Neurosis

WHILE YOU PRETEND THAT YOU ARE FREE, you remain a slave. You waste your power bouncing off invisible walls like a crazed fly banging against windows. It's a little easier to get out of a cage if you see the bars. The first step is to understand that the bars are invisible. You live in a mental cage of habits and attitudes installed in infancy when you were too little to doubt or even remember.

Lundberg writes:

Instead of the rich being irresistible exploiters, then, as Marxists present them, the situation as a whole is much more like a sadomasochistic process with one small group internally programmed for command and the other, much larger, for submission. Freud looked

upon all civilization as a process of necessary repression. Most of this repression is achieved by psychological means through the uptraining of children in certain ways by parents and parental substitutes.

Lundberg's thesis is amply supported by sociological and psychological research. During the years after World War II, James Clark Moloney MD, a former Navy psychiatrist, developed the concept of the "human robot" to describe the syndrome. In preparation for the invasion of Japan, Dr. Moloney had been sent to the island of Okinawa to study the psychological profile of its people, who were mostly ethnically Ainu rather than Japanese. When he arrived, they were recovering from the effects of months of living in caves and bunkers during intensive bombardment and some of the most ferocious battles of the war in the Pacific.

"I was immediately struck by their self-assurance," he said. "I could not find one case of mental breakdown. One day I watched 1,500 children, from infancy to puberty, gather in a Quonset hanger to have blood samples drawn for genetic typing. Not one child cried or made a fuss. Imagine a similar scene in the United States!"

Dr. Moloney soon learned that children were adored by the Ainu. The first few years of life were spent in what he called a "marsupial" phase, embraced as if in a kangaroo's pouch, nursed not merely on demand but held always so that the nipple was in easy reach. There was no formal toilet training. Children were observed carefully and nudged along, but otherwise proceeded at their own speed.

Visiting pre-Castro Cuba after the war, Dr. Moloney saw dramatic contrasts in Cuban maternity hospitals serving different economic classes. "I was impressed by the feeling of calm and peace in the older hospitals. In one, there were perhaps sixty mothers in a large open ward in various stages of giving birth, lots of babies, one or two women in labor — quiet, not screaming — and very few nurses. The women helped one another. The doctors were called only in an emergency — a sick child, a difficult birth."

Dr. Moloney was taken to a new hospital, serving the well-to-do. He said, "I heard an immense caterwauling and wailing as we approached the building and I asked my guide for an explanation. 'Oh,' he replied, 'That is the new nursery and those are the babies crying for their mothers.' This is modern child-raising. After a pre-natal period in which the mother is in a state of growing fear and anxiety, the baby is born screaming in drugged confusion. The helpless infant is immediately separated from its mother. It is fed with a bottle, even though breast milk provides immunity from many childhood diseases. Then it is kept in a crib — a little cage — and fed not on demand when it is hungry but on a schedule. All forms of intimacy — from cuddling to nakedness — are either strictly rationed or forbidden. Pregnancy, infancy and childhood are treated as diseases. The child is not so much raised as cured of its afflictions."

This denial, Dr. Moloney told us, results in hungers that can never be satisfied. "You know, I am 76 years old," he said. I have been married twice. I have children and grandchildren. I have had a distinguished career. For a while there, I was Mr. Family for the entire Northeast, so much so that I neglected my own family. I've written five books about breast-feeding. Every time I sit down to write a book, I find myself writing the same book. And finally, in my last book, I had to face reality. I was writing out of anger. I did not get enough titty as an infant and I am still angry about that. You can feed an empty stomach with food, but the hungry soul remains hungry for life."

In comparing our child-rearing practices with those of non-industrial cultures, Moloney charged that bottle-feeding, keeping babies in cribs, strict toilet training and early separation from the mother were steps in a process of what he called the mass production of human robots. A human robot is a person formed in the image of a machine. He/she/it has no independent feelings, but is programmed from infancy to respond to certain signals and perform certain actions.

At first, Dr. Moloney's work was published in the most respectable professional journals. When he began analyzing the role of the

businessman in creating these psychic plagues, he was soon dismissed as “the breast man” by his colleagues. Although he was ignored or ridiculed and had to pay The Philosophical Library, a vanity press, to publish his books, Dr. Moloney accurately predicted the epidemics of mental and social problems of our time.

Are you twirling your hair as you read this? Do you feel the need for a cigarette? A drink? A pill? Your favorite junk food? Did you suck your thumb or fingers as a child? Did you have to have braces? Are you unable to work without tranquilizers or stimulants? Have you been addicted to diet pills? Illegal drugs? Do you suffer from attacks of hopelessness in which life has no meaning? Do you wonder why you were born? Do you have feelings of unreasoning dread? Are you unable to form lasting relationships?

The list goes on and on. These are the ailments of modern life. In his books, Dr. Moloney has elaborated in grisly detail the ways in which the psychic starvation of children stunts emotional growth. Bottle nursing, cribs and strict toilet training produce adults who are angry and depressed, unable to sustain satisfaction physically or emotionally, associate pleasure mostly with acquisition of objects, and are highly skilled in techniques of passive manipulation. The more overtly sadistic make excellent soldiers and police. Those adept at more subtle forms of aggression, such as pillage by propaganda, become managers. The totally beaten work on assembly lines. All consume. They pray to God (an all-powerful person in the sky) to give them money the way they once prayed to Mommy from the crib to give them bottles.

Not they. We. Who are “they?” We are they.

This is painful stuff to take. The feeling of having been duped is very difficult to handle. The automatic reaction is denial. Mommy is looking over your shoulder. Don't be disloyal to Mommy by having these thoughts. We pacify ourselves with all kinds of toys, from automobiles to hypodermic needles. We look for mothering outside institutions to give our loyalty — the school, the state, the corporations. We do not allow ourselves direct personal contact with God

— or nature — or each other — that divine feeling of connection to the whole. Those who do achieve this through mystical experiences or the use of drugs such as LSD become no longer fit. No one listens to them any more. They are suspect.

While many other observers have since agreed on the essential facts, to the point where these ideas are perhaps a little familiar, even boring, Moloney was virtually alone in placing the blame for the introduction of these practices on industrialism, describing in gruesome detail the collaboration between early psychologists and businessmen. Do the following things to children, they said, and you will get obedient workers.

Breast-feeding had to be curtailed from years to months. Infants were not to be allowed to sleep in the same beds with their parents, but were to be separated from their mothers as early as possible and, if possible, raised by strangers. In order to free their mothers to enter the factory, children had to be pushed to talk, walk and to control their bowel movements.

These recommendations were translated into Victorian morality, first embraced by the emerging middle class and later inflicted on whole populations. Although there were other social factors such as the need for improved sanitary conditions in rapidly growing cities and more repressive sexual regulation in response to the devastating plagues of syphilis introduced from the New World, the most important force was industrialism's need to convert country people into obedient factory workers.

It was believed that sexual repression would increase worker reliability. In pre-industrial economies, most rural people worked three to four days a week, at most, except during planting and harvest times. They had plenty of time to make love and their basic ideas about sex were positive and even orgiastic. Before the 17th Century, for example, women were viewed as moved by torrents of uncontrollable sexuality. As the factory system spread, their image changed to cold and puritanical and ungiving.

Country people were at first unwilling to give the factory more

time, even when they moved into the cities. Victorian businessmen paid Christian missionaries to spread the ideas of sexual repression and childhood conditioning in order to solve this problem. In agricultural society, to have many children was a sign of wealth and fertility. They were not more mouths to feed, but more arms to help in the harvest. In the emerging industrial society, population growth was at first favored, but when child labor laws began to forbid the employment of children, and employers were required by law, contract and custom to be concerned about the welfare of their workers, children became liabilities rather than assets.

Since children were now a problem rather than a resource, the sexuality of the lower classes had to be curtailed in order to control population growth, despite the need for a continuing flow of new workers and consumers. More than that, the burden of responsibility had to be shifted to the parents. It was their own fault that they had all these children. They should have controlled themselves. Therefore the rich had no obligation to help the poor. Enforcing this code meant suppressing all normal forms of erotic expression. Masturbation by adults, homosexuality and anal and oral intercourse appear to have been frowned upon in many non-industrial societies because they tended to inhibit population growth. In industrial society, however, these activities were forbidden because all energy was to be channeled into productivity. All pleasures had to be earned and purchased.

The results have been quite gruesome, but, if you don't examine the social costs, the outcome has been profitable beyond anyone's expectations at the beginning. Denying the breast leads to oral fixations such as alcoholism, smoking and overeating. Abusive toilet training is reflected in constipation, compulsive neatness, miserliness. Keeping children in cribs and nurseries increases anxiety. All of these distortions tend to increase consumption as well as submissiveness to authority.

Good Fellowship

THIS WAS ALL ACCOMPLISHED in a spirit of good fellowship that masked the underlying viciousness. Industrialism was a progressive force in its day. And its day is not over. When you see a motor scooter, said an automobile executive quoted by *New York Times* reporter Steve Lohr, you want it. If this means pruning the human psyche to fit the assembly line, maybe you want that too.

It is very important to understand that the issue is not communism versus capitalism. We are looking at how people act and feel as a result of the way their work forms their habits and emotions. *Time* always takes an anti-sexual and anti-sensual view because it is a house organ of the business community. *Pravda* is equally prudish because Russia may have been relatively Communist but it is absolutely industrialist.

Private property is beside the point, because very few people anywhere in the world have any. Americans do have more personal property than Russians, but it wasn't Communism that foreclosed on your family farm. It was the bank. Finance and economics are not the same thing. An assembly line is an assembly line, whether owned by the state, a workers collective, an individual or General Motors. Look at the assembly line to understand sexual repression, not the method of finance that created the machine.

The picture of Russia drawn in *Harvard Business Review* by Marshall Goldman in "Gorbachev, Turnaround CEO," would in many ways apply to the United States or England or France, which are struggling with the very same problems in heavy industry. Goldman points out that Russian productivity and efficiency peaked in the Sixties. The same thing happened in the West. Epidemic alcoholism is by no means confined to Russia. Here we have the added problem of drug addiction, but the three-martini expense account lunch is an example of institutionalized and socialized alcoholism.

The somewhat facetious characterization of Gorbachev, then the world's top Commie, as a Chief Executive Officer of a modern transnational corporation is surprisingly appropriate. The Bolshe-

viks succeeded where the Tsar failed because they were industrialists, while he was a religious figure whose role was more suited to an agricultural theocracy than a modern corporate state.

Cops are cops — all over the world, under all economic and political systems. Authoritarian personalities thrive on your need to obey. We prefer slavery to chaos. The problems Gorbachev tried to correct were almost certainly the result of a regression to neo-Tsarism under Stalin, who originally studied for the priesthood and may very well have been a Tsarist agent during the early days of the revolution. His inexplicable release from jail while others around him remained in custody certainly points to that. During the 1950s, *Life* published very convincing evidence that Stalin had been a police agent, including the so-called Eremin Letter, which appears to have been forged.

One of the first victims of Stalin's prudishness was the emerging Russian psychoanalytic movement. In that sense, he was more like a Victorian industrialist, than a 20th Century revolutionary. Perhaps he succeeded because he was, like his Western counterparts, better attuned to the effectiveness of authoritarian methods during the transition from agricultural to industrial society.

Russia under Trotsky (or under Lenin, had he lived longer) might have had a very different history. Lenin's New Economic Policy was a very sensible adjustment to reality. The most successful modern economies, including Japan, Sweden and West Germany (and, one might argue, our own) are mixed systems that resemble in broad outline Lenin's prescription. Stalin was emotionally incapable of accepting independent personalities and independent thinking. The majority of the victims of his purges came from the managerial class, where success appears to have been as dangerous as failure.

Goldman's article conspicuously omits any discussion of the Russian space program and conventional military weapons, both of which were in many aspects superior to our own. Yet here too, if we were honest, we would see that cultural attitudes are formed in the context of work. On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the cultures of

aerospace, communications, research and development, and other light industries resemble each other more than they differ.

An entertainer in Russia is very much like an entertainer in the West. So is a journalist. So is a scientist. So is a technician. They tend to be better informed and educated than the rest of the population, more liberal, more flexible, better paid. Workers in heavy industry tend to be more servile, less flexible, poorly educated and badly informed, and very prudish. As one might expect, they smoke more. These are not personal failings, but responses to the demands and contradictions of their jobs.

Nor is the issue one of West vs. East. Children are emotionally mutilated everywhere in order to make them fit the machine. Japanese babies are worshipped by their mothers, who hardly put them down to let them walk. After several years of creamy happiness, the kids are thrown into an educational rat-race marked by brutal competition culminating in final examinations whose outcome determines the individual's economic life forever. Good grades mean signing on with a top corporation and never worrying about survival again. Poor grades lead to the bottom. Many commit suicide.

The Japanese strategy revs kids up to high states of energy with enriched mother love, then creates explosive states of anger, anxiety and frustration, which are channeled into career training. Upon acceptance by a corporation, a Japanese worker gets his mother back in the form of a nurturing institution to which he now gives his total loyalty in return for total security.

The bottle feeding/sexual repression/strict toilet training/ maternal denial system practiced in the United States goes infinitely further than the Japanese. At least the Japanese allow their children to develop feelings, even if they then exploit these feelings in a vicious game. Bottle babies are denied any feeling at all. We are subjected to extreme sensory deprivation. Then we learn to buy our feelings in the consumer marketplace, purchasing not soap but the emotion of cleanliness. We are hatchery trout striking guilelessly at the first sign of glitter.

The Stakhanovites

Excerpts from WIKIPEDIA, the free encyclopedia.

ALEKSEI GRIGORIEVICH STAKHANOV (Алексей Григорьевич Стаханов in Russian) (3 January 1906–1977) was a miner in the Soviet Union, Hero of Socialist Labor (1970), and a member of the CPSU (1936). He became a celebrity in 1935 as part of a movement that was intended to increase worker productivity and demonstrate the superiority of socialist economic system.

Stakhanov was born in Lugovaya near Oryol. In 1927, he began working in a mine “Tsentralnaya-Irmino” in a town of Kadievka (Donbass). In 1933, Stakhanov was made a jackhammer operator. In 1935, he took a local course in mining. On August 31, 1935, it was reported that he had mined a record 102 tons of coal in 5 hours and 45 minutes (14 times his quota). On September 19, Stakhanov was reported to have set a new record by mining 227 tons of coal in a single shift.

He was awarded two Orders of Lenin, Order of the Red Banner and numerous medals. Stakhanov was celebrated as a “model Soviet worker” as part of an effort to encourage workers and peasants to surpass their own quo-



ALEKSEI GRIGORIEVICH
STAKHANOV 1906–1977

Receiving the keys to a new car



worker” as part of an effort to encourage workers and peasants to surpass their own quotas. Stakhanov’s records set an example throughout the country and gave birth to the Stakhanovite movement. His achievements were, however, greatly exaggerated for propaganda purposes: years later, it was revealed that the numbers had been reached by adding the production of his co-workers to his own total.



Being worshipped by the little people

Imprinted for Life

THE DYNAMICS OF THE PROCESS may be understood through a biological process known as imprinting. The first hours after birth are crucial for vertebrates. Baby chicks learn to recognize and follow their mothers during the first six hours after hatching. During this period if you present a newly hatched duckling with a hen, it will follow that hen and consider it mother.

Many scientists now believe that humans go through imprinting phases as well. Moloney suggested that this is when we begin to learn to respond to false authorities. As infants, we are separated from our mothers and placed in the care of strangers scold us when they change our diapers: "Now look at this mess you made!" Mothers are discouraged from touching their babies too much or spending a lot of time with them. When the babies cry they are either ignored or fed a sugar milk solution. The newborns spend most of their time alone or being handled by nurses, technicians and doctors — brisk professionals who respond mostly to signs of distress.

At one time, an estimated 70% of all American infants were subjected to this. Today most children are breast-fed and some mothers are complaining about the pressure to nurse. Those of us born between World War I and Vietnam were bottle-fed and imprinted to the authoritarian rather than the maternal style.

Today, the exploitation of psychological handicaps by industry is awesome in its thoroughness. As Moloney predicted, we bottle babies have matured into supermarket suckers, utterly dependent on the industrial system for every facet of existence, down to the thoughts that we think.

Arthur Kretchmer, editorial director of *Playboy*, once said that the day will come when businesses will no longer ask for good workers but for anal retentives or obsessive-compulsives, specifying the correct neurosis for the job. For sure, industrial psychologists think this way privately, however discreet they may be publicly.

The Ford Motor Company flopped in the Fifties with a car they called an Edsel that had a radiator that looked like a vagina. They

will never make that mistake again. A recent model had the forward thrust of an erect penis and was called "Probe." AT&T ran advertisements promoting long distance telephone calls to Mom with a photograph of a telephone wire coil that looked exactly like an umbilical cord.

Television advertising appeals to anxieties about sexual performance, fear of loss of love and self-esteem. The products have maternal, breast-like qualities. Beer and liquor are soothing, just like breast milk. Consumers are shown sucking at the bottles. The packaging design plays heavily on shapes that resemble nipples and penises.

An elegantly surrealistic spot for Tott's Champagne features a magnificent contralto soprano voice singing a truly thrilling love anthem, whose words cannot (nor need be) understood, while the screen shows images of a palace with vast gardens, a cloaked woman rippling across the face of a clock, a waiting man in evening clothes, their car driving at night through a warmly lighted tunnel, the champagne bottle voluptuously spurting foam.

The commercial appeals to so many unconscious levels that it merits a learned monograph in some psychoanalytic journal.

First there is the authority of the palace, the obvious wealth expressed in the rich clothing and expensive car.

Then there is the subliminal anxiety produced by the cloaked figure and the almost death-like suspension of time, the haunting melody whose words seem to be in some unknown foreign language that we strain unsuccessfully to understand, the waiting man, the hallucinatory enlargement of the face of the clock.

Like a mother uncovering her breast, the woman throws back her cloak, revealing her almost bare white bosom in a black strapless gown, and offering the slightest hint of tension-relieving smile. The phallic car passes through the vaginal tunnel; the champagne ejaculates in the exhilarating release of orgasm — the soothing return to the womb and the breast.

Champagne is thus simultaneously linked with the genital potency of heraldic romance, and the ultimate bliss of soothing ma-

ternal milk — all in the setting of wealth, dignity and artistic finesse worthy of an opulent opera house, a fitting reward for the meticulously toilet-trained.

It isn't any of that. It's just bubbly alcohol. There's no hangover like a champagne hangover because you pay so much for so little: 12 per cent alcohol and the temporary illusion of membership in the ruling class.

Our enthusiastic responses to these infantile appeals result from unspeakable hungers that can never be satisfied.

We are scarred for life.

There is no escape from the consequences.

All we can do is to look at the scars and accept them and do our best not to inflict them on our children.

This requires a profound seriousness and a great deal of courage. It also requires compassion for victims who have been so severely damaged they cannot even look at their own scars. Since these people are our parents, our brothers and sisters, our closest loved ones, who are at the same time, our worst tormentors, the task is never going to be easy. You can't control the actions of others. All you can do is make yourself strong — strong enough to rebel, yes, but strong enough to obey, too.

The Orphaned Primate Syndrome

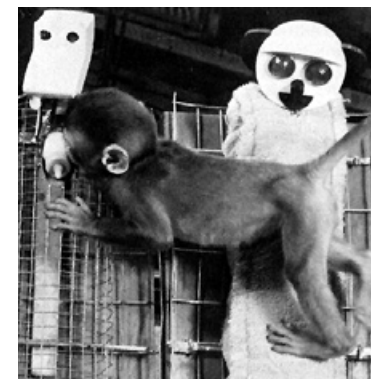
Harlow thought at first that he had cracked the code of adequate mothering: all you need is terry cloth.

Excerpts from *The Evolution of Primate Behavior* by Alison Jolly

ONE of the most famous series of primate experiments has been Harry Harlow's work with motherless monkeys. It began with an attempt to find out the stimuli of motherhood. Harlow thought at first that he had cracked the code of adequate mothering: all you need is terry cloth.

But then the babies grew up. They turned out to be strikingly abnormal in their behavior. One might perhaps have suspected as much from their totally abnormal upbringing and the fact that while growing up they sat and rocked in the corners, a stereotyped rocking typical of human mental defectives as well as isolate monkeys.

The motherless monkeys could not mate. Males mounted



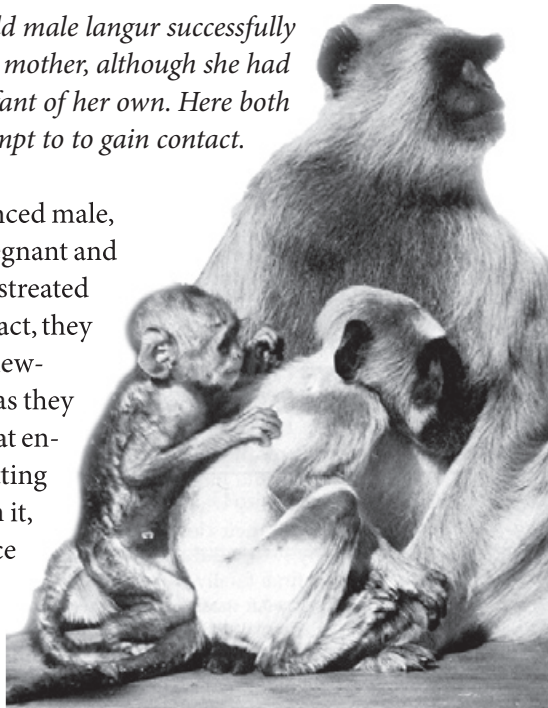
WESTERN PRIMATE LABORATORY

A baby rhesus keeps contact with his mother while reaching to drink from the hard pseudomother.

with impossible orientation, obviously with sexual excitement but little hope of reproductive success. Females would not accept mounting by males. Harlow placed several of these females in a "rape rack" ac-

An eight-month old male langur successfully adopted a foster mother, although she had an eight-week infant of her own. Here both attempt to gain contact.

P. DOUJINOV



cessible to experienced male, so they became pregnant and give birth. They mistreated their offspring; in fact, they treated their own newborn babies much as they would treat a rat that entered their cage, hitting it away, stepping on it, and grinding its face into the cage floor.

However, motherless monkeys were considerably

better with their second and succeeding babies, so that even they learned from experience.

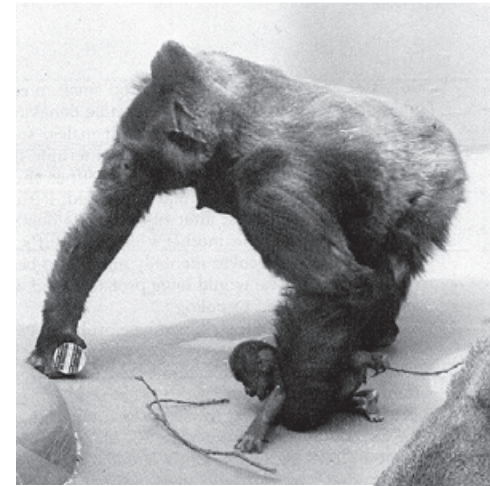
Separation and isolation experiments were widely repeated with different species, and for both shorter and longer times of isolation. The drastic reaction of pigtail macaques to separation from their mother became a "model" for depression and despair in children, and others, showed that for a few individual infants the ef-

fects of even short-term separation may persist for years.

The real questions for the historian of science are why we had to look at monkeys to find all this out?

A gorilla treats her infant as an object. Captive great apes have a record of abusive motherhood.

P. COFFEY, JERSEY WILDLIFE PRESERVATION TRUST



The same gorilla successfully mothered later

Why were we ever surprised at the results? And once the first dozen rhesus had been reared in isolation and the first surprise was over, did the later results justify the misery knowingly inflicted?

Experimental rigor

It would be too simple to accuse one person or laboratory. Rather, consider the scientific climate that will not let one look at a baby monkey hunched in a corner, endlessly

rocking or chewing its own extremities, and then conclude it is unhappy.

Science, in its original meaning, was simply knowledge. It is frightening that we can so easily impose amnesia on our own, long-evolved, primate social knowledge, in the name of experimental rigor.



Post-partum depression

Excerpted from *Down Came Brooke — She does a turn as emissary for postpartum depression* By Maggie Jones, SLATE

Two years ago, Brooke Shields made her mother-baby publicity debut by inviting a photographer from the British tabloid *Hello!* to tour her Wendy Bellissimo-designed nursery and sitting down with a *People* reporter to detail the fertility treatments she'd undergone before giving birth to daughter Rowan.

Shields refrained from absurdly smug sound bites. But she didn't hint at anything dark. "I know every mother says the same thing," she cooed, "but I think

Rowan is the most beautiful baby in the world."

At the time, we now learn in her new best-seller, *Down Came the Rain*, Shields was clawing her way out of a bout of post-partum depression that at one point made her suicidal. Shields — who was as vulnerable to the cult of

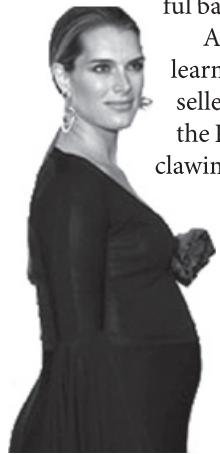


motherhood as anyone — gets credit for confessing that she neither loved nor desired her new baby and for taking a little air out of the image of rapturous new motherhood. If only she didn't feel compelled to write herself a post post-

partum Hollywood ending.

"I had always imagined that birth would be the closest thing to grace I'd ever experience," Shields writes with an earnestness that pervades the book. But graceful it was not. Following seven rounds of in vitro fertilization, she underwent 24 hours of labor followed by a grisly emergency C-section. Out came baby Rowan.

She is beautiful, healthy — and, to Shields' shock, not what she wants. Shields pads around her Manhattan apartment feeling fat, miserable, and whiny and longing to escape into long hot showers while someone else — anyone else — tends to the baby. She can't bear the smell of baby powder.



She doesn't seem to like her daughter. "I wasn't afraid she was too fragile," she writes. "I just felt no desire to pick her up."

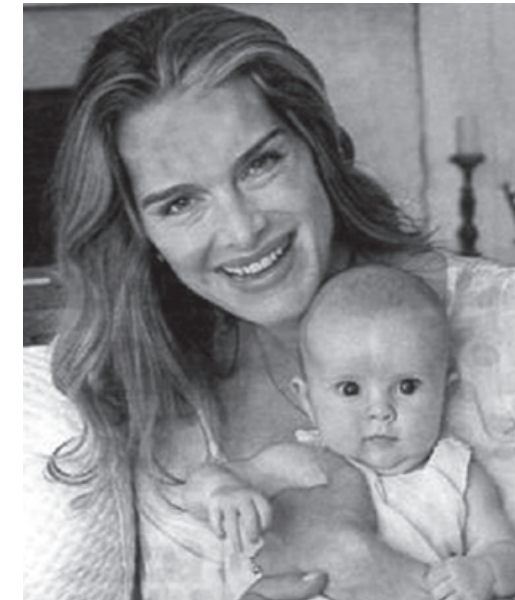
At her lowest moment, Shields considers driving her car into a wall. She also imagines her daughter "flying through the air and hitting the wall in front of me ... the wall morphed into a video game, and in it her little body smacked the surface and slid down onto the floor."

Postpartum traditions in the United States only reinforce that self-defeating notion: Mom and baby typically go home from the hospital two days after the delivery; a few friends and relatives come to visit; and then everyone goes on with their busy lives.

Compare that with Japan, where many women return to their parents' home in the last trimester of pregnancy and re-

main there for two months after they have their babies. Or Mexico, where researchers believe a practice called *La Cuarenta*, which encourages new mothers to refrain from household work, shopping, and sex for 40 days while relatives help care for the baby, lowers the rate of PPD.

As it is, only a small percentage of women with PPD get help. Shields was in the lucky minority because she knew another mother who had suffered PPD and because she could afford the therapeutic ingredients that helped lift the depression: a baby nurse, psychotherapy, and an ongoing prescription for Paxil.



The War Against Children

THE DEFINITION OF NEUROSIS IS VERY SIMPLE. If we agree that $2+2 = 4$ is reality, then the psychotic says $2+2 = \text{apples}$ or something equally uncooperative, but the neurotic says, yes, $2+2 = 4$ but I can't *stand* it. Much of the pain that the individual faces in accepting reality is created by prevailing mythology. There is a certain truth in the theory of outside agitators. We struggle to achieve goals imposed upon us by external authorities. Maybe if Mercedes-Benz were not so effectively advertised, you would be more than satisfied with a Chevy. A good beer can taste a hell of a lot better than many an expensive wine.

One of the untold stories of our time is the fundamental silliness of most of the insights attained by taking LSD and other strong drugs. We heard a lot of high-toned talk about mystical experiences, religious visions, psychological breakthroughs, but does anyone else recall:

- [1] The realization that human beings are devices that spin around eternity weaving self-important justifications for leaving the room and jerking off?
- [2] The profound enlightenment that the sensation of oneness with the cosmos called being God was actually the ultimate form of masturbation?
- [3] The recognition that the material universe and all it contains, including all living beings and the earth, the moon and the stars, is actually shit in various stages of activity?
- [4] The appreciation that the forces of gravity and magnetism are merely larger manifestations of the same force of sexual attraction that we feel for the opposite sex?
- [5] The absolutely side-splitting comprehension that the whole fuck-

ing thing — the agony and the ecstasy, the mud and the stars, the pride and the glory — is merely a really dumb joke whose punch line is that you fell for it yet another time?

Inventing the Past

ONE MAY SEE ALL HUMAN HISTORY as the record of our struggle generation after generation to come to terms with these kinds of simple truths. The basic strategy of industrialism has been to suppress these self-actuated realities in order to increase the sales of manufactured comforts.

Few people who have cooked for any period of time in rainy weather on smoky campfires will reject gas stoves, no matter what the psychological consequences might turn out to be, but there does come a point when we wonder if it is possible to have both hot running water and hot wet pussy. The modern challenge is to restore the humble sensual pleasures of our animal nature, but retain the mechanical comforts provided by industrialism.

The traditional culture did not fit the factory system. Therefore it had to be erased. The lengths to which they went to destroy the old culture are truly astonishing. We know what we did to the Hawaiians and American Indians, but much the same techniques were applied to rural people wherever industrialism triumphed, without reference to color. Some of the most vicious examples of cultural genocide took place in the British Isles.

At the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, what is now the United Kingdom was a patchwork of tiny semi-independent principalities speaking their own languages and wearing their traditional costumes. Nominally Christian, they celebrated an almanac of rituals dating back to pre-historic times. Their notions of private property were minimal. Many lands were held more or less in common, especially among shepherds.

As a result of the worldwide prosperity associated with the discovery of the New World and rising demand for consumer goods, especially clothing, the communal lands were fenced in by the emerging

mercantile nobility. The crofters were driven off the pastures they had worked for centuries. They collected in the cities, where they formed a vast pool of cheap labor as well as a market for cheap consumer goods, now that they were no longer independent and self-reliant. More efficient proto-industrial methods of sheep raising and clothing production were introduced.

The English overlords conquered the remaining independent centers by force of arms in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and then attempted to erase the native languages and traditions of the British Isles. They forbade speaking anything but English and even banned the traditional Scottish *breacan* or belted plaid coat.

During the 1700s, they began inventing traditions to replace the ones they destroyed. According to Hugh Trevor-Roper, the kilt was first designed and worn by an English Quaker Industrialist in the 1730s. In 1819, a clothing manufacturer seems to have thought up the idea of assigning different plaids to the different clans. The MacPher-son tartan, for example, was originally known as Kidd, because a Mr. Kidd used to order it in bulk for his West Indian slaves. Before that it had been N° 155. Trevor-Roper concludes: “The kilt is a purely modern costume, bestowed on the highlanders in order not to preserve their traditional way of life but to ease its transformation: to bring them out of the heather into the factory.”

It seems the English did this everywhere they went. In Wales, learned texts were forged and circulated as history. In Africa and India they invented complete new political systems, created monarchies where there had formerly been elected leaders, issued coats of arms and titles. They did not invent the future but the past. These were instruments of control whose power came from supposedly sacred history that in fact was created by the British to legitimize the throne. Although we think of English royalty as descendants of Arthur, and the rituals surrounding the monarchy as hallowed by time, the institution is surprisingly modern and so are the rituals.

In his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press), the anthology from which this information comes,

Professor Eric Hobsbawm comments: “Traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.”

Royal coronations and funerals were once private affairs, often unimpressive to the point of being tawdry. In 1820 *The Times* of London editorialized on the death of George IV: “There never was an individual less regretted than this deceased king. What eye has wept for him? What heart has heaved one throb of unmercenary sorrow?” Victoria’s coronation was completely unrehearsed, writes David Cannadine. The clergy lost their place in the order of service. The ring wouldn’t fit. Two train bearers talked throughout the ceremony.

Drastic changes were made in the nature of the British Monarchy after 1820. By now, the true rulers of England were industrialists and merchants, because they paid all the bills. As the power of the throne steadily eroded, the ceremonial function expanded. Queen Victoria no longer ruled. She symbolized the state. The management of the nation’s affairs was taken over by a cadre of professional administrators and politicians who adapted modern methods of advertising and propaganda to control the masses. The eccentric country gentlemen who had once been so influential in British life were left in the dust by the captains of industry.

Between the late 1870s and the outbreak of the World War I, mass circulation illustrated newspapers centered in London swamped the highly intellectual and rational provincial press. They presented the royal family bathed in honey light. At the same time, what had once been family affairs now became public spectacles, professionally staged theatrical productions with music especially written by Elgar and others. The priests began wearing rich vestments.

Cannadine says flatly that the motive was a wish to appeal to the working classes. After Victoria’s Golden Jubilee celebrations “everyone feels that the socialist movement has had a check,” noted the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In our time, the advent of radio and television brought the royal family in to the home. The media reported the great ceremonies of

state in an awed and hushed manner. No criticism was permitted. Aside from this, the Kings and Queens of England had been transformed into celebrities. The methods were theatrical rather than political.

Thus in an age of space ships, the Queen of England arrives at Westminster Abbey in a grand coach drawn by magnificent horses. For the funeral of Edward VII, Victoria's successor, there was a long procession through the streets of London behind a casket on a gun carriage pulled by sailors followed by lying in state at Westminster. These were not ancient English traditions. They were invented in our century by Reginald Brett, Viscount Esher, the royal master of pageantry.

It is true that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England and Europe had powerful royalty who had lavish ceremonies. Elizabeth I commissioned John Milton to write *Comus* for a theatrical presentation with music by Henry Lawes and sets by Inigo Jones, for example. These were private parties, however. The public was not invited and were it not for the magnificence of the designs and the fame of the artists, we would probably know nothing about them today. There is no connection to the present.

Nor is there any real connection between Elizabeth I and Elizabeth II, much less to Arthur Pendragon, the fabled King Arthur of the Table Round. There is some scant evidence to suggest Arthur was an historical figure, but since his reign is dated somewhere in the 5th Century it would have been mathematically impossible for even Elizabeth I to have claimed very much mutual blood with the Pendragons, as there would have been millions of collateral descendants over the twelve centuries that intervened. It is more probable that the myth of Arthur was promoted as political propaganda to sanctify the Tudor victory over the Plantagenets.

Elizabeth II is a descendant of the House of Hanover, who were not even English but Germans, distant relatives invited to take over the British throne in the 18th Century when the English royal line abruptly ended without a legitimate heir. George I hardly spoke Eng-

Children in the News

ILLUSTRATION BY DIANA BRYAN

Realism

A majority of children asked to choose between their fathers and television chose television.

Bronx boy, 7, gets gonorrhoea

Now what?

A social worker at an agency for adopted children threw her five-year-old son to death

from her sixth-floor apartment and then leaped after him but survived in serious condition. The wife of an author and college professor, she had been under treatment for depression.

The last egg

"Many couples would like to postpone childbearing as long as physically possible," reports social worker Leah Potts of Berkeley, Calif. "If they could count on reliably fertilizing the last healthy egg, that would be the goal."

Too busy

An Illinois woman has been convicted of murder because she did not stop her boyfriend from beating and torturing her infant daughter to death. She was too busy watching television, the judge said.

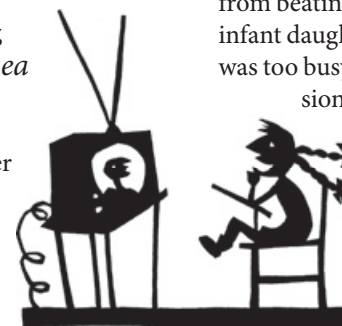
Crayon conspiracy

Crayon manufacturers, including the makers of world-famous Cray-

olas, agreed to pay schools \$1.2 million restitution after the Federal Trade Commission charged them with illegally conspiring to fix prices.

More realism

All infants who are "not within the bounds of genetic normality" should be killed at birth, advises Sir MacFarlane Burnet, an Australian M.D. who won the 1960 Nobel Prize for Medicine. This is absolutely necessary to avoid overpopulation and genetic deterioration, he says.



1 of 8 young women expect no children

lish. The Hanovers ruled Saxony. The term Anglo-Saxon was probably invented to help legitimize this embarrassing fact. The Angles were English. They lived in the British Isles. The Saxons were German. They lived in Germany. Saxon raiders did settle in England during the 5th Century and leave elements of their language in the tongues spoken at the time, just as the Normans left much French. The earliest uses of Anglo-Saxon referred to the Saxon spoken in England as distinguished from the Saxon of Saxony. Old English is the proper philological term for the language spoken in England before the Norman conquest. Anglo-Saxon came into prominence as a description of the British people well after the ascent of the Hanovers, not before.

Are these tawdry lies worth dying to protect? Yet this is how the English rule us to this day. How many American soldiers have lost their lives to defend a Camelot that never was? How many American souls suffer the torments of this psychological prison in the pathetic delusion that to be Anglo-Saxon is somehow superior to a real life?

During a post-mortem discussion of the 1988 Presidential election, Arthur Kretchmer said, "They voted for John Wayne." This is almost true, although Bush was hardly John Wayne. They voted, in fact, for the Queen of England and the kilt over the swarthy little Greek immigrant. So powerful indeed is the lie that you can be sure that many a member of an ethnic sub-group voted for the myth rather than reality. The British may have lost in 1789, but they merely shifted the battle to another theater. Here they rule us to this day.

The theme of royalty and fairy tales deserves much greater emphasis. I was interested to read Camille Paglia's comments on Princess Di, a figure she very correctly evaluates as a kind of meta-rock star. Two other factors are important: the almost grotesque tawdriness of the Royal Family's life and taste, as revealed in *Courting Disaster*, and the vicious tactics that Diane's rebellion aroused (not to speak of the disgusting trick Charles played on her in the first place by marrying her for reasons of state rather than a mutual love she thought they shared). Her despair was dismissed as a symptom of mental illness, just as Richard Nixon's thoroughly human grief was ridiculed by

Henry Kissinger, who, you can be sure, had a hand in his downfall. So are we all treated. It wasn't only Soviet Russia's dissidents who were diagnosed as insane. The mental institution scenes in Marilyn French's otherwise dreadful novel *The Women's Room* portrayed women as political psychiatric prisoners. What about the worker who loses his or her job and winds up receiving shock treatment when his or her grief becomes too annoying for everyone around him?

The War Against Children

ALTHOUGH THE USE OF THE TERM ANGLO-SAXON to legitimize the British crown may be suspect, it is quite valid as a cultural description. The Spartan concepts of child rearing that we tend to think of as especially British are in fact Northern European. These are adult-centered cultures rather than child-centered cultures. White culture in the United States is Anglo-Saxon in a very real sense: English and German. All other white ethnic groups have mostly embraced these cultural attitudes, with minor rebellion on the part of the more Latinate immigrants such as the Italians. By the third generation, however, the overwhelming majority of whites have thoroughly assimilated the program, and so have many people of color. One of the outstanding characteristics is the general absence of affection for children and only the most rudimentary evidences of any special consideration for childhood itself.

Today, children seem to go directly from diapers to lipstick. We treat them so badly that they are grateful to escape their condition. No one is lower on the pecking order. Being a child in America is a little like being a black lesbian Maoist in South Africa. Children are somewhere between cockroaches and dogs on the scale of status.

Once you get into raising a child, you find that all the advice is designed to help you shut the brats up so that Mommy and Daddy and Bob and Carol can cavort in the hot tub. There are plenty of day-care centers but no place to buy decent clothing at the right price. Hideous pastel puff paste sugar foods commercials screech through inept cartoons of bestial low humor and asinine violence. Children

themselves are portrayed by television as either poetically quaint aliens from another time or a strange combination of retarded drool and malicious whiz kid.

This is all so much part of the general texture of our lives that we seem to forget — or not to know — that there is any other way.

The ferocity of the suppression is beyond description. It is fueled by deep wells of searing anger. The scars are horrible to contemplate, etched by the aching melancholy of unrequited primal love. Perhaps it is easier to look away, to be silent and stoic, but it also seems that the pain is all the worse because no one is allowed to talk about it. The basic attitude of society was expressed quite well by the late Margaret Mead, who told a group of college students in the Fifties, “You had an absolute outbreak of men and women being so attached to children that they didn’t pay attention to anyone else. Nobody did anything of importance.”

Leaving aside the central premise here, that studying children and reporting on them, as Miss Mead had done, was important but rearing them was not, she was also wrong about the parents of the Fifties. These were mostly people who had just lived through the Depression. To begin with, flappers were not great mothers and neither were their children. Girls who tried their best to look like adolescent boys took to motherhood with much ambivalence at best. Their hopes had been stifled in many ways. They and their children were indifferent parents, the last in the line, quite tired of the concept. They really wanted cars, not kids, but somehow wound up with both — and could afford neither.

Children and the Business Cycle

THESE WERE THE PEOPLE WHO PRODUCED the postwar baby boom. Yes, there were many children born. Yes, they were — and are — the main force in our society. But it is wrong to say that because they were many, they were loved. The opposite is more likely. Conceived in a period of great affluence, these children were soon victims of the business cycle.

You don’t read much about this aspect of being a parent because most of the people who do the writing are, like Margaret Mead, pretty much exempt from general fluctuations in the economy unless we are having financial earthquakes. The ordinary working person, however, is typically laid off again and again. During the boom periods of the Fifties and Sixties, when we often approached full employment, couples could reasonably expect to be able to find work even if laid off.

As more and more women entered the work-force, joint income of married couples was often very high and considerably more stable even at lower levels than it ever had been. With increased levels of consumption, however, the second income soon became a necessity rather than a periodic luxury. Today, of course, because of inflation, women no longer have a choice. Unless their husbands are high earners, they must work. Now children are the luxury.

During this transition kids were simply dumped. Television was a great baby sitter. Mom and Dad went off to work and came home to swingers parties and wife-swapping, in one version of the myth. In reality families disintegrated in the crunch of conflicting and irreconcilable demands. There were many cases of parents walking away from each other and letting their children, just entering adolescence, shift for themselves. They wound up in communes, or cults, or brothels. Many disappeared, victims of adult predators. Many more committed suicide.

We are working out a vast historical trend as great as the epoch from the onset of the Dark Ages to the Industrial Revolution. A thick muffler of censorship suffocates discussion. I have read all five of Dr. Moloney’s books, the last in manuscript. They are beautifully written,

absolutely lucid and impeccably scientific with a strong behavioral slant. Their impact is overwhelming. He had to have them privately published because his thesis was too revolutionary. The medical doctor and the scientist and the industrialist had cooperated in the creation of an epidemic of psychic disease. They had cheated entire populations of the right ever to feel good.

This sounds rather conspiratorial. It was and it wasn't. Industrialists and their apologists attribute their success at the expense of the rest of the society to a kind of innocent unconscious process, an economic republic operating from the most democratic principles: the Free Enterprise System. One may salute their modesty, but we want to look very closely at the cunning, too, for that is where the hope lies. Industrialists on both sides of the Iron Curtain were quick to take credit for their successes. Now let them apply their genius to their failures. Dr. Moloney and others have documented the recommendations of various kinds of scientists to businessmen over the centuries about the psychological management of workers and the inducement of states of mind appropriate to impulse buying.

You can't switch the dials if you pretend they aren't there. It has been said that if we are all guilty then no one is guilty. This really is good. Guilt demands punishment. We have punished ourselves enough. To repent is sufficient. The Industrial Revolution was popular. Throughout the world rural people are still voting with their feet and leaving the land for the factory. The profit-seeking sectors of the economy thrive mightier on singles than on families. The fat is in automobiles and petroleum products, not meat and potatoes. Children require too many social services. Thus the forces of social persuasion tilt in conditioned reflex toward the cash register bell. We salivate on cue and surrender to the tyranny of choice.

Human drives are powerful. We fiddle with them at our peril. When you eliminate a dog's sense of smell, it loses interest in sex. Infant monkeys bottle-fed by artificial mothers grow up unable to mate and display many other symptoms of emotional distress such as compulsive rocking, hair-picking, tantrums and fear of other monkeys.

What happens when you do these things to humans? That is what we are now finding out. The sense of vertigo is awful. There is a great deal of literature on the effects of industrialization in Third World countries. Infant mortality goes up — because mothers are brainwashed into feeding their babies formula and then run out of money to buy it in proper quantity, stretching it to starvation. Birth rate goes down. Consumption of petroleum products and hard goods goes up.

Although there has been an increasing emphasis in the management community on psychological manipulation in modern times, none of this was planned from beginning to end. They had some ideas at the beginning and they were successful. The children of the rich have always been treated with abominable contempt by their parents — isolated, beaten, sexually abused. Women of the court who knew that their physical beauty was their main power gave up youth reluctantly. They wanted the breasts of adolescent girls, not mothers. They gave their children out for wet-nursing. This deprivation produced *mean* leaders. Their ferocity conquered the world.

One may excuse our ancestors. Life was hard. To the extent that they themselves perceived their actions, they saw themselves assuring the survival of the fittest. There was no room for runts and cripples in the cold meager world of forest scavenging, scrabble farming and petty banditry that was Northern Europe after the fall of Rome. This gloom was lightened by the success of the greatest raids of all, the conquest of the New World. With the introduction of vast new supplies of food originating in the Americas, there was a general softening of attitudes toward children. Infant mortality decreased drastically because of better nutrition. Population grows directly in ratio to food supplies.

The new surpluses of food and population and gold created a stable demand for consumer goods and the introduction of the factory system. Rural populations were driven off their communal lands (which were now used to run sheep) and forced into the cities where they formed a vast pool of cheap labor. Faced with the need to civilize (the word literally means urbanize) them and turn them into obedi-

ent workers, scientists and psychologists in the late 16th and early 17th centuries promoted programs whose stated aim was to break the child's will by separating it from the mother and subjecting it to harsh discipline, overly strict toilet training and repression of normal sexuality: in other words, the English public school system. The spirit, like the land, was fenced.

The growing middle class imitated their betters and, before long, the diseases of the rich — sadism, divorce, drug addiction — became fashionable, the way it was once fashionable in the United States to have an ulcer because this meant you were under pressure. With the advent of mass communications it became possible to saturate whole nations with the essentially crack-pot ideas we know as Victorian morality. Children were — and are — the worst victims.

Humans are one of the few mammals known to hurt their own young. Baboons and chimpanzee youngsters have a special coloration that makes them immune from harassment by adults. With puberty, this disappears, and so does the immunity. In humans, the process is reversed. Development of sexual characteristics signals maturity. Societies that have been most hostile to children, such as ruling class Europe in the Middle Ages, depict them typically in their art as tiny adults in miniature adult clothing rather than infants or toddlers. The line between child and adult is erased and the children are obliterated by the stronger force. This is, perhaps, the sociobiological meaning of the sexualization of blue jeans by preadolescent models. There are neither children nor adults, only consumers, and they are fair game, no holds barred. Were this anti-children campaign to have resulted only in the profound feelings of emptiness and pain we now call alienation, it would be bad enough to rate as the worst disaster of human history. There is also growing evidence that the most horrible poisons of our time are directly and indirectly fomented by the ways in which we raise our children.

The pandemic anxiety and depression of all classes of society cause great excesses of consumption. We know that they are excesses because we see the waste in the form of catastrophic failures of the

environment too large to hide: Love Canal, Three Mile Island, acid rains and so on. One may argue about whether or not the problems of pollution have been solved in principle. In fact, the smog in most cities of the industrial world is stupefyingly sickening. The number of miscarriages and birth defects goes up as you get closer to a polyvinyl chloride plant, for example. The closer you live to a freeway or other source of automotive traffic, the more likely you are to suffer from depression. Workers who take drugs to keep going on the line and to get off the anxiety at night do not produce great goods, nor do managers in the same cycle produce great decisions. Random violence and irrational terrorism explode from inner volcanoes of thwarted anger.

A Gruesome Reckoning

MOST FRIGHTENING is the association with the greatest plague of all, cancer. It is now generally agreed that something like 90% of all cancers are environmentally caused. Petroleum products are especially dangerous. We are so dependent on oil that any activity increases petroleum consumption, which, in turn, causes additional cancers. When you train people to abhor children in favor of cars and encourage them to work out their aggressions on the road or in seeking cheap thrills, you are increasing the cancer death rate. Saturday Night Fever is a frenzied escape from the machine-dreary realities of industrial life. Economists love to say that there is no such thing as a free lunch. It applies here very well. The reckoning is gruesome. One out of four deaths is now from cancer. The peak is yet to come — one out of two, some predict.

At the same time, psychologists studying the cancer patient have begun to see a personality pattern emerging. Some people they say, have a greater risk. The single most significant factor is a feeling of lack of closeness with parents. This may turn out to be a statistical fluke. Of course cancer victims will have these histories. The predominant trend of our time has been neglect of children. How many of us did have a feeling of closeness with our parents? This is also an

excellent way of blaming the victim as well. Thus the theories must be very closely examined. It seems viciously cruel to ask a victim of some environmentally-induced cancer such as the sarcomas produced by PVC to look into his or her own soul for the cause.

It is most likely that the psychological basis of cancer will be found to tend to apply mostly to the upper-middle class. Even so, the metaphor is surprisingly useful on a global rather than individual level. It is fascinating to find out that cancers are called neoplasms and are best likened to baby cells that never grew up and learned how to be nice. The metaphor is appropriate. Cheated of our babies, we perhaps grow them in a more acceptable form: self-destruction. It is the only way out, a dignified exit.

If they get past the cancer epidemic, the survivors of the baby boom have yet another gauntlet to run. "One father can support ten children, but ten children can't support one father," goes the Italian proverb. What if there are hardly any children at all? What if they don't like their parents? Marilyn R. Block, a researcher for the University of Maryland's Center on Aging, reports that battered parents may be as big a problem as battered children as abuse of the elderly grows.

There are a few positive signs. Bottle-feeding is now down to 43% after reaching a peak of 71%. Psychiatrists such as the late Arthur Janow (the Primal Scream therapist) are treating the scars of lost childhoods. We are learning that there are love deficiencies that are as fierce as vitamin deficiencies. People are being taught how to love themselves and each other better. In the vast outbreaks of killing and destruction that have been typical throughout human history, there have always been certain limits, not necessarily ethical or moral but territorial and physical. We did not have the capacity to hurt the land itself. The aggressors could find refuge. The rich could shield themselves with walls and distance from the poor. Now the wars have no limits in time and space. No one is immune. There are no non-combatants. When a Happy Rockefeller's breast is removed for cancer, someone close to the top has to begin to realize that things

are going wrong. The ubiquity of the risk creates a new community of interest.

And there are always the grandchildren. The affinity between children and grandparents is well-known. They love each other because they have a common enemy — the parents. Perhaps our grandchildren — which many of us will never fully enjoy because we conceive so late that we are lucky to have adult children in our lives — will save the day. The one thing we know is that we must have children. Nothing works without them. If we are to have so few, why can't we make them the happier for their rarity? The experiment is coming to an end. When you eliminate children you eliminate all sense of responsibility to the future. That is suicide. You destroy the present as well. When there is no tomorrow, anything goes. That's how the Nazis felt. When our children hold their Nuremberg, how will we plead?

Road Maps of the Soul

THE WAR OF INDUSTRIALISM against nature resulted in epidemics of distorted behavior so widespread that a whole new science, psychoanalysis, developed in response to the need to understand actions that made no sense. It is a measure of the success of the repression that the psychoanalysts themselves accepted the premise that these abusive strategies were a necessary technique of fitting the individual into society.

Baffled Animals

THE PATIENT'S JOB WAS TO LEARN how to understand this, to accept it, to forgive his or her tormentors and to sublimate normal sexual and sensual instincts and be a good worker and a good consumer. Anything else was neurotic or psychotic, condescending labels invented to describe as sickness the pathetic attempts of baffled animals (to use Anita Brown's exquisite description) to express absolutely justifiable outright fury or bitter resignation.

Psychoanalysis is the study of personal history in order to understand the present. The fundamental problem (and the reason for the process itself) is that our actions take place in conscious time, but have their roots in unconscious mental zones.

The great contribution of Sigmund Freud was his discovery of techniques to bring to the surface processes that originated in the unconscious. He used hypnosis at first, but later relied more on allowing the analysand — the person under analysis — to roam freely through his or her life story. Over a period of time, trends, patterns and contradictions would emerge that would reveal forgotten events and hidden rules of behavior. Before the age of the computer, the con-

cept of the unconscious mind was difficult to grasp. If we compare the mind to a computer, however, it becomes somewhat easier.

The screen might be considered the conscious mind. The programming — the array of electronic memories and rules that control the flow of information to the screen — is the unconscious. Any flaw in the programming can create unanticipated results on the screen.

Depending on the location and severity of the flaw and the kind of information processed, the results may range from mildly askew in appearance, but basically sound in content, to absolutely unintelligible.

This would be rather like the range of emotional dysfunction from eccentricity to neurosis to psychosis.

Portions of the program are transient and others are permanently wired in to the computer's internal mechanism. Flaws in the transient program can be fairly easily corrected by simply finding the error and changing the codes. Damage to the wired-in sections usually means that the part must be replaced.

The psychoanalyst typically deals with neurosis, not psychosis, and treats the transient portions of the human mind. All his techniques are mental. He uses no drugs or instruments. The psychiatrist, a medical doctor who may also be a psychoanalyst, treats all forms of emotional illness, and uses drugs, shock treatment and even surgery to make changes in the physical structure of the brain.

The neurologist is a medical doctor, sometimes a surgeon, rather like an electrician. He deals only with the nervous system, usually mostly to diagnose and correct, if possible, symptoms such as paralysis or blindness caused by infection or accidental damage.

Freud was a Viennese neurologist. He found the physical explanations of mental problems inadequate and he studied in Paris under the great French doctor Charcot who used hypnosis to demonstrate the existence of the unconscious. Freud's first patients were young women suffering from what were called "hysterical" neuroses: blindness or paralysis with no known physical cause.

Through careful and patient study, Freud guided his patients to

The Annals of Therapy

ILLUSTRATION BY DIANA BRYAN

Grope Therapy.

PIERRE Beaumard joined a course in group therapy in Dreux, France,

because he suffered from obsessional fears and felt incapable of communicating with others — especially women.

The psychotherapist who was leading the group suggested that the 37-year-old Beaumard could be cured if he allowed himself to be sandwiched between two mattresses and walked on by four other participants in the session.

When the topmost mattress was removed, the group discovered that he had died of suffocation.

Anger management.

Eyewitnesses claimed that a mental-health counselor unleashed two pit bulls on a crowd of hurricane refugees in a Stuart, Florida, office building just as the eye wall of Hurricane Frances was passing Sept. 4, 2004.



Ryan C. Moore, 54, of Port St. Lucie

was charged with assault and battery for allegedly releas-

ing his dogs with a command of “Go get them.” Two people were bitten, one seriously. Moore, who denied instructing the dogs to attack anyone, specializes in anger-management problems.

Quantifying Despair.

Jan. 24 is the “most depressing day of the year,” according to psychologist, Dr. Cliff Arnall. A specialist in seasonal disorders at the University of Cardiff, Wales, Arnall devised a formula that quantifies feelings to determine peoples’ low points.

The model is: $[W + (D-d)] \times TQ M \times NA$
Variables: (W) = weather, (D) = debt, (d) = monthly salary, (T) = time since Christmas, (Q) = time since failed quit attempt, (M) = low motivational levels and (NA) = the need to take action.

the roots of their problems in childhood catastrophes he called traumas. When the circumstances of the trauma surfaced, the paralysis or blindness ended. Although the cures were not always permanent, they were the first genuine successes in the treatment of emotional illness in the history of modern medicine.

Even an outline of the history of psychoanalysis requires a major book. Freud’s own writings have never been fully published. The bulk remains in the Freud Archives, and only a small portion is available even to approved researchers. Early in the development of psychoanalysis, Freud shifted from the study of sexual abuse of children by adults as the main source of neurosis and concentrated on sexual rivalries among child, mother and father.

He developed the theory of the Oedipus complex, based on the Greek myth of King Oedipus, who was separated from his parents at birth and then later returned and unknowingly killed his father and married his mother.

Freud explained his shift of emphasis as a scientific decision but it is now clear from the research of Dr. Jeffrey Masson that Freud was forced to abandon child abuse because the subject was unacceptable to the prudish Viennese medical establishment of his time. Although many cases of sexual abuse of children by parents and relatives had been documented in the medical literature and court proceedings, they were almost always explained away as childish fantasies designed to get attention or punish the parent. In some cases, they were diagnosed as psychotic hallucinations by juvenile perverts.

Since most of the cases of sexual abuse of children that came to the attention of the police involved the upper class and the victims frequently came from the lower classes, court decisions usually favored the adult. Moreover, in the authoritarian Teutonic family structure, the father was absolute lord and master who ruled by physical force, the mother a saint whose only role was to submit to his will and bear many children. The children were messy little animals who had to be whipped into a state of immaculate docility. The idea that

a child could have a complaint or make accusations was absolutely unacceptable.

In the face of this overwhelming rejection, economic boycott and communications black-out in the professional forums and media, Freud decided after extensive reflection that his critics were right and he was wrong. Psychoanalysts were to consider their patients' reports of sexual abuse in childhood as fantasies resulting from unresolved oedipal conflicts. The main task of psychoanalysis was to help the analysand resolve these conflicts, which were the source of the most common neuroses. Masson was viciously criticized by the majority of the psychoanalytic establishment when he published these ideas in the Eighties, and he was dismissed from his position at the Freud Archives. Most of this criticism was obviously self-serving. Psychoanalysis is a business. Masson was very effective in creating a lot of bad publicity.

At the same time, there is no doubt that he had the facts right, but the tone of his complaint against Freud was much too bitter. He accused Freud of cowardice and suggested that all analysands would now have to be recalled.

Cowardice and Prudence

COWARDICE IS OFTEN MERELY an ugly name for prudence. Denying the reality of the abuses was, in retrospect, a cruel expedient, but exploring the sexual rivalries within the nuclear family was useful and even healing. Few psychoanalysts remained exclusively Freudian in the years that followed. Many new healing techniques were invented and used by many different schools of therapy. Freud correctly located the source of adult neurosis in childhood. He exposed the unconscious. He identified the hidden sexual motivations behind much everyday behavior. He developed a system of mapping the human soul.

Neither Freud nor Masson attacked the central core of the modern dilemma. It is not sexual abuse of children that causes most emotional dysfunction, but a combination of neglect and overly aggres-

sive training. Children do not need to be aggressively civilized, as Freud believed. When loved, nurtured and protected, they civilize themselves. For most of the history of mankind, with few exceptions, all cultures loved, nurtured and protected children. Strong children from strong families quickly outgrow infantile sexual rivalries. Damaged children from damaged families remain trapped in infancy as adults.

Infantile adults serve the worst aspects of industrialism. We identify with the aggressor. We don't want to be Jews. We want to be Nazis. The machine has won. We want to be machines. We are human robots.

Masson blames the abusive parent. Freud, perhaps, placed the responsibility with the child. The psychoanalyst asks the adult to examine personal history, and, without reference to blame, change his or her own behavior patterns. Moloney expanded the Freudian map to include the world at large. He blamed neither the child nor the parent, but economic history.

Freud never used the word psyche, but rather the German *seele*, soul. His language in general was earthy and affectionate, so much so that much of his fame came from his skill — indeed, genius — as a writer. His translators found this embarrassingly unscientific. They substituted pseudo-Greek medical terminology in order to make psychoanalysis sound more scientific. Psychoanalysis, especially in the United States, became a business with formal trade associations and rules. Freud himself never believed that anyone necessarily needed a technician called a psychoanalyst to help in reading the map. An American medical doctor wrote to him about his own personal insights based on Freud's hints. He asked permission to come to Vienna to be psychoanalyzed by Dr. Freud. Freud wrote back and told him not to bother, but to continue in the same direction he had written about in his letter.

Classical psychoanalysts usually discourage patients from reading Freud's work. Some of their reasoning is valid. People do tend unconsciously to imitate symptoms and syndromes they read about. But

they also do frequently correctly identify their own character traits by reading descriptions of them in others. The worst that reading can do is to confuse you. At best, it can lead to insights just as profound and far-reaching as those gained in classical analysis. The prohibition against reading does benefit the psychoanalyst in an economic sense. Therefore it is suspect. Begin anywhere you like. Begin with your pain. Begin with your happiness. Begin here.

Anal, oral and genital instincts combine with a myriad of other factors to produce personality. Your life may be seen as the expression of obedience to your instincts and other forces. Your personality is your style of living. Any attempt to exert conscious control is frustrated by secrecy and complexity. Understanding these forces is a little like understanding the physics of color vision. From red, yellow and blue we get the rainbow, but if you don't know the rules it's difficult to see how green relates to blue and yellow. If you have ever attempted to adjust a color television by fiddling with the color drives, you know how easy it is to lose your way unless you know the correct order of control. Shame is an effective barrier against self-knowledge. You are ashamed to see a therapist, ashamed to hire a lawyer, ashamed to make demands, ashamed to be different. You're really ashamed about how little money you have. You know that people think this is a moral flaw.

We have gotten to the point where we can see how sexuality is repressed. The oral addictions encouraged by bottle-feeding are abating somewhat as young women make up their own minds. The problems of the anal character remain taboo. We do not joke around about shit in the American media. This is a bit of a shame, for the anal zone is the key to money and work. A classy magazine such as *The New Yorker* runs many an article about Dr. Freud and his theories and his friends and somehow never mentions his views on the relationships between shit and money. They don't accept ads for enemas or laxatives.

Yet the magazine is a monument to the anal character — immaculate, orderly, precise, demanding, critical, thorough, acquisitive. Why

that's a description of the perfect worker! It's also a description of a well-run bank. And anyone who fails to see the correspondences of the highly polished surfaces of a safe deposit vault and the glossy porcelain of a modern toilet automatically flunks this course.

Oral disorders relate to consumption. Anal disorders relate to production. Despite all the psychoanalytic theory the mechanisms are not clear, but it is supposed that we are born with a sucking reflex that must be satisfied. Babies typically get most of the milk in the breast during the first five minutes of nursing, but they continue to suck for up to a half-hour a session. This goes on for as long as five years if not artificially interrupted. Then it stops of its own, almost as if all the reflex were used up. It seems that if you don't play out this cycle adequately you are left with unused sucking need, which you work out physically on booze and cigarettes and, psychically, on sucking up to leaders.

Somewhat the opposite cycle takes place in anal reflexes. At about fourteen months, children usually begin to get control of bowel movements as they complete the growth of nerves and muscles governing elimination and also start eating more and more solid food. They take a new interest in the bathroom and their own productions and soon show great pride in using the toilet. It's a big step forward. Mommy is overjoyed. No more diapers! The normal course is automatic. It requires little or no instruction. Any attempt to force the cycle before its time is either futile or destructive. Children desire approval. They want to grow up. Since shit is such a highly politicized subject in our society, good bathroom performance produces acclaim.

In the context of deprivation of love and attention, bowel control is a powerful token but it is limited to once a day or so. Approval flows intensely while the child is on the potty. The kid is in control. This is why we call the toilet The Throne. When the toilet is flushed, the glory is over. The habit of prolonging the good part leads to constipation, which is typically treated with irritating drugs or enemas. A good performance is judged as well on the basis of lack of mess.

We are taught to be disgusted by shit and to love shitting. The best performance is secret. That is the adult way.

This is the usual scenario among the more advanced families. Any distortions are subtle and mute and in the direction of extreme privacy and cleanliness. In the past, because lower class mothers had more children and often had to work out of home, they tended to force bowel control by punishment and reward. The same people who believe in spanking also believe in strict toilet training. As a result, they are thrown into vicious struggles with their children. The home is an open battlefield between instinct and authority.

The effects on personality are not easy to reduce to simple rules, because there are many different nuances and combinations of denial, punishments, reward, and anger, depending on the individual family and its living situation. The most obvious symptom is the inability to relax. In more affluent families, the tension is perhaps discharged in achievement. Among the poor, it is resolved by spanking. Pain becomes a kind of reward rather than a punishment, because at least the anxiety is over.

The anal character is fascinating because it so clearly focuses the relationship between infantile training and adult behavior. The anal adult is frugal, meticulous, productive (when not constipated and procrastinating) and mostly socially adept — except when things don't go right. Then there's hell to pay. The explosions of anger are childish tantrums caused by the terror of making a mess that will provoke parental punishment. Anal people make good servants. They worship law and order. No wonder the corporate state favors strict toilet training.

Treason and Authority

EVEN THIS BARE OUTLINE of the Freudian map reveals certain fairly obvious correspondences between the economic politics of the family and the economics of society. In what we might call the normal family, based on the non-industrial model, there is an abundance of parental love and contact. Growth follows natural rhythms. Parents

and children share small spaces, frequently sleeping in the same bed, and there is little secrecy. Sexual expression by children is usually considered amusing. Authority tends to be maternal rather than paternal. Children are spanked in all societies, but abusive punishment or denial is rare. Children compete for their parents' affection, but since there is an ever-flowing well of love, each child gets a fair share.

In the society at large, there is little private property of any kind and the differences between rich and poor are really not very great. It is interesting to observe the relative poverty of royalty before the 17th Century. Henry VII's household inventory is eloquent: several pages of meticulously detailed articles itemized spoon by spoon. He ate most of his meals at a folding table attended by one servant. In childhood, Louis XIV shivered in thin, tattered clothing. Many modern middle-class families have far greater wealth than these monarchs.

By the time of Elizabeth, however, and Louis XIV's golden age, the great courts have become very wealthy indeed, but the royal children have been either abandoned or abused, almost as if traded for consumer goods. Punishment is vicious and often totally unreasonable. Louis XIII was whipped every day as a child, because it was thought it would strengthen his spirit. The day of his coronation, he was whipped twice. When asked what he thought of the ceremony, he said, "It was a grand show, but I would have foregone it all if they had but left off the second whipping."

Symbolic concepts such as the state have replaced fathers and mothers and families as authorities, and all purely personal feelings are subordinated to abstract goals. Louis XIV gave up the woman he loved and married a boring princess because loyalty to the state was more important than his own happiness. Without going into a detailed description, suffice it to say that his life was a pathetic tragedy by any normal human standards. Throughout his life Louis XIV was purged so frequently and violently with powerful laxatives that he developed an anal fissure which was closed by cauterizing it with a red hot iron — without anesthesia. By our time, the pattern of the court has been spread to almost all families. There is an overwhelm-

ing abundance of material wealth, but parents are non-existent, and the prevailing mood is an inescapable sense of emotional poverty and pervading anxiety. The same trend has taken place in our political structures. Real content based on affection, service and order has been replaced by a distant symbolism whose structure is theatrical rather than concrete.

The old traditions were specific and strongly binding, observes Professor Hobshawm. The new ones are vague about values, rights and obligations. Americanism is not clearly defined, but the school flag ritual is compulsory.

“The crucial element seems to have been the invention of emotionally and symbolically charged signs of club membership rather than the statutes and objects of the club,” he concludes.

The ferocity of the loyalties generated by these beads and trinkets suggests primal hungers. The hysterics of Beatle fans were so clearly out of proportion to the quality of the music (which hardly could be heard in giant sports arenas) that a person from another planet would have assumed that these children were insane.

Indeed they were. States of love are so intense that they resemble insanity more than anything else. One wonders what the chick sees when it sees its mother for the first time, all tender and open and new and feeling life as pure novelty. Transfer this fantasy to the human infant fresh from the womb. What did you feel when you were separated from your mother? The pain of unrequited love is so severe that we will do anything for merely a glimpse of the beloved.

When you break up you spend a long time in a little interior shrine grieving with the memories of the one you lost. “An airline ticket to romantic places, a cigarette that bears those lipstick traces.” “I cried a river over you.” “Heartbreak Hotel.” The songs have the power to make you weep. So do the funerals of heads of state.

These people aren't your friends or relatives. You don't even really know them. They are complete strangers. In many cases, they are your enemies. Were they judged by the standards of conventional justice, they might be in prison for murder. Why are you weeping?

Walled into the loneliness of your invisible chapel, you soon learn to purchase your contacts with the outside world through artificial media such as the telephone, radio, postage stamps, books, television, movies. Their characters take on life and populate your fantasy world. You think you really know them. We buy perfume and blue jeans as communion. Joe Shmo becomes one with John Wayne. Joe Shmo casts a vote in the memory of The Duke and elects Ronald Reagan. Maybe Ronald isn't too swift in the brain department, but he's family.

Like the Queen of England, Reagan was a ceremonial figure. In an article on the British Crown in *People*, Joyce Wadler hints very convincingly that the Crown has much greater power than it chooses to reveal. There seems to be no evidence to suggest that Ronald Reagan ever did any work, however. His only function was to project sincerity. He wasn't a President in the sense that Richard Nixon was. Reagan was an actor playing a role from a memorized script written by other people.

He could make contradictory statements without flinching because he was speaking by rote. He didn't really remember the last statement and he couldn't think ahead to the next one. He could demand a crusade against the enemies of private property and simultaneously sell weapons to Communist China. He wasn't complex. He was a simpleton. He had no doubts. That's why he was so effective on television.

A vote for Ronald Reagan was a vote for strict toilet training. That was his constituency. Working class voters went for Reagan even though it was clearly against their interests to do so because they preferred outright punishment to the grinding tension of Carter's upper-middle-class miserliness. There is no doubt that Carter's hostage strategy was correct from the stand point of saving lives, but it was too slow. The people wanted a tantrum. Thus the choice between Carter and Reagan may be explained in Freudian terms much more easily than in political terms.

Carter suffered from hemorrhoids. Reagan had rectal cancer. Do you need any further explanations?

Resistance

THE FREUDIAN MAP has never been challenged in broad outline. What you do with that map is your business. Maybe it's not oil down there but hot lead, but the map tells you that you can look inside, or in the mirror or up or back. The way in which people react to Freud usually is mostly dictated by economic self-interest (or what they perceive to be their self-interest, which is not quite the same thing). Both Hitler and Stalin hated Freud, Freudians and psychoanalysis

Restaurant Serves Food in Toilet Bowls

By *Wally Santana*
KAOHSIUNG, Taiwan (AP)
— Taiwanese restaurateur Eric Wang's eatery in the southern city of Kaohsiung delivers its food not on conventional plates and dishes, but in miniaturized Western and Asian style toilets. Marton — the name means toilet in Chinese — attracts its customers through its dazzling bathroom decor.

Walking in through an arched door, diners are greeted with a giant toilet bowl sitting between two urinals. White ceramic toilet seats comfortably

accommodate their bottoms, and urinals grace the walls.



“Diners come and walk away with the special experience,” he said. “Many try to create more fun, stirring up curry and rice so it looks exactly like when you forget to flush the toilet. Then they gulp it down.”

with the same ferocity and for much the same reasons that behavioral scientists do.

The feminists also hate Freud, because they see everything in man vs. woman terms, when — as many socialists chide them — they should be looking at the underlying economics. It wasn't a male plot to enslave women. It was a business plot to enslave humans. *Example:* Why do you have to raise your hand in school to ask permission to go to the bathroom? Because the business community insisted that workers had to be trained from the earliest age to control their bowel movements. Most of what we consider to be the modern educational agenda was written at the behest of early 20th Century businessmen, whose motives sounded quite noble, but whose recommendations served the assembly line in the least detail. These trends can be traced back to Louis XIV, the consummate businessman king, who broke the power of the landed gentry of his time by using techniques that are now so thoroughly embedded in the texture of our culture that we no longer really see them, much less question them.

Some psychologists now attack Freud's central theories on the interpretation of dreams. Despite all human personal experience to the contrary, they believe that they can demonstrate that dreams are mere random behavior without meaning, and even go so far as to suggest that this somehow invalidates the concepts of psychoanalysis. Dreams are seen as random behavior because all activity is seen as random behavior by the industrially oriented scientist. This is a result of at least three factors:

- [1] The basis of much — perhaps most — scientific thought is statistical. Everything is random until proved otherwise. No one can prove that dreaming is non-random. *Ergo....*
- [2] The scientist who makes this choice does so because of the economic climate in which his thinking takes place. One scientist complained to me, “You're warned against anthropomorphizing animal behavior. Hell, we're not even allowed to anthropomorphize *human* behavior.” The elimination of meaning and feeling allows all beings to be treated as Jews under Hitler.

[3] The content of a dream is essentially incommunicable. The writer or artist faces this problem all the time. Reality is essentially incommunicable. Let's not get into a full-dress discussion of this or I will be here forever. At least, what we consider to be conventional reality occurs in a state of consciousness in which conventional techniques of communication do apply. The dream takes place in another state of consciousness.

From a psychoanalytic point of view, it is not the dream that is under analysis, but the memory of the dream, which is already an interpretation. In this sense, it doesn't matter at all what the dream actually was, although I still feel very strongly that dreams are not random events, nor are they expressions of neurosis. They are dreams, another form of consciousness.

Freud's major contribution was the synthesis of an analytical geometry of the mind. He was a cartographer and his work flows from Descartes just as all modern map making does. Psychoanalysis and analytical geometry are Cartesian techniques of rationalizing the irrational. Their successes and failures have the same roots, which go all the way back to Aristotle. You can draw a chart in which you can demonstrate the parallels of the Four Causes, the four conventional dimensions and the three psychological dimensions of ego, id and, superego plus physical being, which the psychologist discusses but does not always explicitly acknowledge as a dimension, or you can use the oral, genital and anal stages.

The choice of the number three is not mystical. You can only handle a limited number of variables at once: three moves ahead in chess, for example. As an illustration of this problem, when the Atomic Energy Commission was developing nuclear power, questions were raised about the integrity of the emergency core cooling system. Phillips Energy Corporation suggested that the only way to resolve them would be to build a reactor and destructively test it, but that the test itself was too dangerous. They recommended that the program be halted. Instead, it was decided to perform a computer simulation. A three-dimensional simulation was recommended, but this proved to

be such a demanding exercise that it would have cost many millions of dollars. They then performed a two-dimensional simulation, because it cost less. No sweat, it reported. Lo! Three Mile Island.

One of the classical anal characteristics is the desire for consistency and logic, a response to the anxiety produced by strict toilet training. Authoritarian personalities are soothed by the existence of matching arrays of object — as in the uniformity of military equipment on parade — and ideas. Because of their inner weakness — and the poverty of their psychic structure — they see ideas as essentially weak and fragile, toothpick structures in which the whole depends upon the integrity of its smallest part. In reality a body of knowledge is like a forest. Its life exists as a whole and is not dependent upon the survival of a single tree or leaf (although each has its place).

Newton was an *astrologer* who invented calculus in order to perfect his calculation of horoscopes. Of the eight million words he wrote in his lifetime, six million were about astrology. No scientist today would dare attack his method on the basis of those six million words. Yet they feel free to attack the Freudian method on the basis of supposedly erroneous details in his theoretical musings. The attack is so consistently political in nature that it speaks for itself. It is part of a grand strategy with a hidden agenda — to turn living, feeling beings into machines that can be used without reference to ethics or aesthetics and then discarded. The anal character tends to suck all water out of the stool in an unconscious drive for efficiency that results in the hard pebbles of constipation. In the world at large, the same process takes place. Ideas harden. Living beings become objects. The result is a pervading sterility and lack of feeling marked by epidemics of seemingly senseless violence, and exaggerated emotional outbursts, the screams and cries of motherless infants starved for the moist, soft, maternal love.

Why Kerry Lost



The Wind Surfer

Middle America doesn't windsurf. That's for coastal people — the blue states. The gear has a humanoid look. Note the silly-looking cut-out flowers the goofy expression. Kerry is an alien being. In the background, an ersatz Swiss chalet tells us we're not in Kansas.



The Marlboro Man

Stringing barbed wire — a real man's job — Bush wears work gloves, down-home denim, a battered Stetson, and some kind of cut-off sweat shirt with a logo. He's really butch. Shucks, you could meet him on Christopher Street, if only he had a moustache.



Why Things Don't Work

WE HAVE ACHIEVED A NATIONAL UNITY OF DESPAIR. This eliminates a lot of argument. Having now agreed that everything is either rotten or toxic, we are beginning to consider not merely what happened but why. We have so far blamed our problems on everything from jellybeans to telepathic invasions from outer space. Sugar does, in fact, appear to be a malicious force. Astral energies do make people act funny. Breakdowns in moral values have been shown to increase the spread of venereal disease. The list of symptoms and their causes is infinite and so is the discussion, which grows more and more futile no matter how correct the reasoning.

More complex weapons systems did not get our boys out of Iran. Neither do more complicated prescriptions seem to be cleaning up our messes. If anything, they make them worse, becoming another part of the problem. Despite the anguish of the highbrows, the real answers are being found at what some might consider the dumbest level, the automobile war between the United States and Japan. The Japanese are landing whole automobile factories in our heartland. Our guys are calling for saturation bombing raids and closing the borders. Why are the Japanese whipping us? Apparently because they have a value system that is superior to ours and this is reflected in greater and better productivity.

"American businessmen surround themselves with yes-men," says Mitsuko Shimomura, United States correspondent for *Asahi Shimbun* of Tokyo. "They got greedy, they viewed the worker as a tool," comments Sony chairman Akio Morita.

This speculation is useful but it does not go far enough. Why do American businessmen surround themselves with yes-men? Why

do they view workers as tools? Does this really matter anyway? The attitudes of those in power throughout history have always been like this. If there are no complaints, all is well. If there are complaints, giving in would be a sign of weakness. So what if Top 500 corporations are totalitarian, as Earl Shorris charged in his widely acclaimed book, *The Oppressed Middle*? Totalitarian organizations, which seek to eliminate all individual independence, can produce immense material and psychic rewards. That's why they are so successful. Yet it does seem clear that they are almost always doomed to failure in the long run unless they can find ways to accommodate change, errors, eccentricities and other deviations from their ideal norms. The single most interesting insight to come out of this debate is that success handles itself, but you handle failure. How you handle it is crucial. Americans are very poor at dealing with failure. In our value system, failure doesn't exist.

Compare the defense industry, nuclear power and the space agency. All use essentially the same technology, the same skills, the same kinds of financing. At one point our military equipment became so poor in quality that it was possible to argue that one of the main factors in our Vietnam defeat was our inability to make a rifle that worked in combat. Atomic energy progress has halted because insurance companies won't take any further risks and neither will the bond buyers who put up the money to build the plants. The space program is especially significant. It did not work when the military was running it. Set up under an independent agency, NASA, staffed and administered by scientists and engineers, it achieved great successes.

The Karen Silkwood Syndrome

THE DIFFERENCE IS IN HOW EACH FIELD handles mistakes. The military and the atomic energy people attempt to control errors by increasing supervision and punishment. During the late Seventies, this had reached such insane proportions in the defense industry that there were 88 managers for every twelve line workers. The usual

reaction to any attempt to report errors is the cover-up, frequently combined with retaliation — the Karen Silkwood syndrome. There is widespread secrecy and paranoia. Despite this (or because of it), the quality of the product continues to decline.

The American automobile industry has worked much the same way from the beginning. Henry Ford was so obsessed with uniformity and standardization that he wanted every American to drive the same car, a black Ford. The classic modern failure of this approach was the Vega, produced by General Motors in a brand-new plant in Lordstown, Ohio, by young workers especially selected for their upbeat qualities. At first, the plant worked fine. Then new supervisory techniques were introduced along with a speed-up. Not only were all complaints about this crushed, but so were the workers' own unofficial ways of overcoming conditions that were unworkable in the first place. Grievances, which had only amounted to a few hundred a year at the beginning, quickly rose to more than 5,000 in the first few months of the recession. The Vega soon became known as a lemon, not necessarily because it was badly designed, but because the workers were unable to keep up with the speed of the line. Finally, they went out on strike.

What could have been a triumph for GM was turned into a defeat because of management's inability to admit that the new rules were a mistake. The heavier the pressure from above to conform, the more the workers rebelled. Cars were sabotaged on the line out of frustration. The real problem was that no amount of supervision or enthusiasm could make up for the fact that the program might have worked out in a computer simulation, but it just did not work out on the line. The managers were more interested in asserting their authority than they were in turning out good cars. This was the ultimate cause of the disaster.

At the beginning of the space program, the National Aeronautics and Space Agency found itself facing the same quality control problems. Instead of repeating the errors of the military, NASA encouraged its contractors to deal with the issue in novel ways. One of

the most significant originated at Rockwell International, the prime contractor for the Space Shuttle.

When Rockwell studied the actual causes of employee errors, they found that there were only two:

- [1] Those caused by the system itself or the speed at which it was running, for example, or,
- [2] The simple fact that people do make mistakes no matter how well the workplace functions.

It's possible to do some things almost perfectly for short periods of time, but over the long run everyone makes mistakes. That's life. That's what it is to be human. It's also a function of the way you define error. Even in a relatively simple situation, such as firing a rifle at a target, the bullets fall in distribution patterns that seem to owe more to mathematics than marksmanship. You can clamp a rifle to a bench and fire it at a target and still not be able to put two bullets in a row through the same hole.

Modern businesses are so large and the managers so far from the line that performance is not measured in person but through statistical methods using ideal norms. The norm is the bull's eye. If you make the bull's eye too small for the distance involved, some of the bullets will fall outside it no matter how skilled the marksman. This applies as well to all situations in which you are trying to get people to turn out a standard product in a standard period of time. There will be variations, deviations, errors, mistakes, omissions. No amount of supervision can correct this. It is not merely wired into the system itself, but it is also a physical law of nature. You can argue with it, but you can't evade it. A way to feel what this means on a gut level is to fold a piece of paper in successive halves. No matter how big the paper is and how strong you are, you can't get past fold seven. Try it.

Although it is impossible to eliminate errors entirely, it is possible to keep them to a minimum. Most important are ways of discovering them and correcting them before it's too late. First of all, according to Duane Gray, the Rockwell psychologist who headed the effort to deal with this, you can create a positive atmosphere of

teamwork in a system that is designed to be comfortably challenging rather than brutally demanding. There will still be errors. Gray's solution was simple and revolutionary: get the workers to find and correct their own mistakes.

This is actually what the workers at Lordstown tried to do themselves. They would double up. One man would work at double-time as fast as he could. His buddy would follow up and correct his mistakes at a more leisurely pace. Then they'd switch. Then management speeded up the assembly line so that everyone had to work fast. At the same time, workers were forbidden to use the buddy system. In order to meet production quotas, the workers continued doubling up and the foremen looked the other way, but the line was now moving so fast that it was impossible to maintain quality control. The end result of this bureaucratic Catch-22 was the total failure of the Vega.

Rockwell faced these issues and wrote a whole new book on employee motivation. Instead of punishing workers for their errors, they rewarded them for finding them and correcting them. They also sold the program to workers and management alike in motivational communication sessions that were inspired by encounter therapy techniques. The entire campaign was so successful that Gray's guide was written up in detail and circulated throughout the aerospace industry by NASA. It was later also made available without charge to anyone in business who asked for a copy. Many firms did and achieved very strong results. Predictably, others perverted the concept. The workers at Lordstown, for example, felt the final insult came when they were forced to attend sensitivity training sessions.

I was never able to locate Duane Gray and interview him directly and Rockwell was strangely diffident about him when I wrote the article. A *Playboy* fact checker called me in Oaxaca to tell me that the Challenger had been militarized and Rockwell had reverted to the authoritarian management. I dictated the words below and she read them back to me.

At about the time that Ronald Reagan became President, the Shuttle project was militarized. Rockwell dropped the enlightened management ideas and reverted to traditional authoritarian methods. As we know, the Space Shuttle has had more problems than the rest of the space program combined. Now we know why.

The eventual crash of the Challenger was a direct result of this error. When the article appeared, however, my text was replaced by some banal and meaningless clichés inserted by Jim Morgan, the Articles Editor. No one who openly criticized the Space Shuttle program ever worked again in the aerospace industry, including one of the chief project engineers, who was fired when he went public with his warnings, and later committed suicide after the Challenger disaster

Machine Guns and Slave Labor

MANY OTHER SECTORS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS and society have suffered similar setbacks, as proven methods of management and labor relations have been replaced by techniques long thought to have been thoroughly discredited. Many senior managers welcomed the return of the Darwinian style based on uncontrolled competition and survival of the fittest. There are several factors involved in management resistance to these new concepts. One is cultural lag. It takes time for a new idea to spread through any system. Despite all evidence to the contrary, most American businessmen seem to believe that the average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can. The sequel to this basic attitude is the belief that most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, and threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward achievement of the organization's objectives. The alternative attitude is that work is as natural as play or rest. External control and punishment are not the only means for getting people to work effectively. They have to

have a feeling of commitment to the goals. This is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement. Human beings not only accept but seek responsibility. Imagination, ingenuity and creativity exist throughout the organization, not just at the top.

These opposing theories of management were discussed in *The Human Side of Enterprise* by Douglas McGregor of the MIT School of Industrial Management, who concluded that under the conditions of modern industrial life the intellectual potential of the average human being is mostly wasted. The basic attitude of the businessman toward the worker was well-expressed at the turn of the 20th Century by an officer of a major coal company. When asked by Clare Booth Luce about the guards with machine guns she saw in her tour of a mine, he answered, "You can't run a coal mine without machine guns."

This might not have been true even then, but even with machine guns you could run a coal mine only so long as the goals were actually reachable. In *The Rebellion of the Hanged*, B. Traven vividly traced the origins of the Mexican revolution precisely to this process in the mahogany industry, which was typical of the time. Logging was done almost entirely by hand in guarded camps deep in mountain jungles by workers held in a form of wage slavery. Failure to achieve quotas was punished first by beating, then by hanging the worker in a net in the tree-tops for twenty-four hours or more, tied hand-and-foot, to be eaten alive by insects, snakes, vampire bats, scorpions and other vermin. Those who survived this ordeal — and most did, so hardy were the logger — somehow made their quotas. Any worker who attempted to escape before his term was up, was hunted down and hanged like this. Timber was a major export item. The government of Mexico under dictator Porfirio Díaz was hungry for foreign exchange. The quotas were set higher and higher, until finally no torture sufficed. Hardened by the torture, the loggers at last rose. The pattern was repeated throughout Mexico. These were the barefoot soldiers who brought down the government.

Punishment and Revenge

TERROR IS NOT MUCH OF A MOTIVATION in any production situation, to say the least. Even the mildest forms of punishment tend to create anxiety, hostility and the desire for revenge. As Duane Gray pointed out, the worker always has the weapon of sabotage. He or she can perform the task in a manner that appears acceptable, but in fact is not. When you set the norms too tight and enforce them by punishment, even machine guns won't work for very long. The new products of post-industrial technology are made to increasingly finer tolerances. In order to meet them, it is necessary to engage the worker's attention on a new level.

Businessmen find themselves unable to do this, Earl Shorris claims, because they have learned to define their pleasure not in work or play but in exercising authority over other people. Why do they persist in using punishment rather than reward in doing so? Because punishing a worker is the boss's reward. It makes the boss feel strong and confident and superior. This may work in slave-gang situations in which the gross output is measured in tons, but it is never going to work in manufacturing space-age equipment whose effectiveness is not measured by how many but by how well. There are too many subtle ways in which the worker can screw you up. Those Vegas looked slick enough coming off the line. The revenge appeared long after the punishment.

Moreover, as the success of new products is defined by intangible factors such as appearance, taste, texture, rather than crude utility, totalitarian techniques tend automatically to produce failure, although authoritarian methods can be successful. The difference between totalitarian and authoritarian is one of degree. Authoritarian systems rely on obedience within limits. Personal life, for example, is not supervised. Totalitarian organizations demand total obedience. It's not merely that one's personal life is supervised. There is no personal life. Hitler's architect, Albert Speer, wrote, "The whole structure of the system was aimed at preventing conflicts of conscience from even arising. The result was the total sterility of all conversations and discus-

sions among these like-minded persons. It was boring for people to confirm one another in their uniform opinions.”

Military organizations are typically authoritarian. It’s pretty much your own life off-base when you’re in civvies. Intelligence organizations tend to be more totalitarian. Counter-intelligence organizations, whose functions are to ferret out disloyalty, are the most totalitarian of all. As surgery represents the socialization of sadism, counter-intelligence is the socialization of paranoia. Their rules are more and more abstract and theoretical — guilt by association, crimes of thought rather than action. In a successful totalitarian society such as Russia under Stalin, the terror was almost absolutely random. There was no way to avoid making mistakes because there was no way to know what the mistakes were. Even the rules were secret or changed so rapidly in response to secret policy decisions that it was impossible to anticipate the results of any action. Although the punishments were savage to a degree almost unknown in our society, the rules of the game were similar to those of a typical modern American conglomerate. Most of Stalin’s victims came from the ranks of middle and upper management in Soviet industry. Here we fire chief executive officers of divisions for success as well as failure. The Stalins of industry mistrust bright young men. They were bright young men themselves once. Each person retreats into his or her private cell of paranoia, doomed to a lifetime of self-imposed solitary confinement. Everyone makes small talk, because anything important is too dangerous to say.

During the height of the terror in El Salvador, all commercial programming was suspended. The radios played Muzak 24 hours a day. Muzak is musical small talk. They play it in dentist’s offices because it’s the equivalent of two aspirin. The entire texture of totalitarian organizations becomes the bland white noise described by Alan Harrington in *The Crystal Palace*.

Communications media are especially vulnerable to self-destruction by obedience. People in television wear their shackles with irritating dignity. When formats are timed to the second and everything

must appear spontaneous although perfectly smooth and grammatical, there is little room for personal interpretation. The on-camera people wind up leading lives of absolute isolation from reality. The top people have bodyguards with machine guns. Armed men in uniform patrol the studios. When Bob Dylan demanded too much at Columbia Records they let him go, not because they couldn’t afford to give him what he wanted, nor that he did not deserve it as one of their biggest moneymakers, but because no star is bigger than the system. DJs no longer pick their own plays. They play the program director’s list and make small talk. Computerized programming needs no DJ. An engineer pushes the buttons. Safe.

Everyone must look smoother and larger than life, as in the heroic art of national cemeteries and military recruiting posters of any epoch. Network television ratings are declining because of the boredom of obedient mood. In any communication transfer, mood is the most significant factor, although the most elusive. The best mood for productivity and communication is interactive and lively, the exchange of energies with a nice feeling of bounce. The worst mood is sullen obedience. Forced good cheer, especially in the form of hearty banter, is the most nauseating expression of this mood. What else is the “Happy Talk” television news format but the ultimate performance of our most talented actors pretending to be jolly news folk in matching blazers?

Honesty Is the Best Euphoriant

IN AN AGE WHEN LAUGHTER IS A PRODUCT, it is interesting to observe that no one can make you laugh by issuing orders. It’s like sneezing. Try sneezing on command. Try laughing out loud right now. We do laugh at the boss’s jokes and the laughter is usually genuine. The boss almost always tickles your funny bone by stepping out of his authoritarian mood. For the moment, you are equals. The boss is even a little vulnerable. It’s awkward when you make a joke and no one laughs. The laughter does not come from the desire to obey, but because of the relaxation of tension. The boss isn’t being a boss. He’s

just being himself. For the moment, you can be yourself too. Honesty is the most potent euphoriant. All good administrators know this and use it. Bob Hope always got the servicemen screaming by making jokes about the brass, who laughed the hardest.

The reason things go wrong in America these days is that we don't know how to laugh at our mistakes. Honesty is a disease that makes you unemployable. It is easy to have a few laughs on yourself when you are winning the greatest war in history for the noblest cause. In the bunker there with Adolph it was a little quiet at times. The game is coming to an end. But take heart, the Old Man is not dead yet. They are actually making good cars again in America. "We are all in this together," one unnamed auto executive told Steve Lohr, "plant workers and management alike. And, frankly, for too long we didn't recognize that or try to create a working environment that makes everybody want to pull in the same direction."

You notice that he does not allow his name to be used, however. Most of the more interesting opinions seem to be anonymous. Nonetheless, with a big helping of socialism for Chrysler and a little helping of capitalism for the consumer in the form of rebates, automobile sales marched up 37% in one month. Network television audiences are down, but cable audiences are up. Major conventional book publishers are spending greater and greater amounts of money with less and less success, but small presses are thriving, so much so that three titles on the best-seller lists in 1980 (when this was written) began as self-published books. People are buying less white bread and more whole wheat.

Victory breeds arrogance. Defeat demands humility. There has been much study of Japanese methods of employee motivation. The most important factor appears to be the ability to produce a mood of relaxation rather than tension. Workers at all levels are pretty much hired for life. Rarely is anyone ever fired, although people are transferred out of situations in which they consistently do not perform well. The Japanese theory and practice of quality control ap-

peals to the workers' intrinsic creativity, which is encouraged rather than suppressed.

A revolution is in process in the United States. It is being made not by generals but by colonels, in response not to internal power struggles but to events in the real world — the loss of major markets, catastrophic failures of the environment too large to hide. The generals grew up in a world in which wars were limited in time and space. Now the wars are economic wars. There are no limits. No one can escape. There is no place to go. Finally, and perhaps most important, we are now witnessing the working out of very real structural changes in American society at the deepest levels. The colonels may have been neglected by their parents, but they were coming of age in the most highly permissive period of our history. All our value — from toilet training to automobile design — came into question. It is no accident that the cult of obedience comes from a period of strict toilet-training and most closely resembles Freud's descriptions of the anal character: compulsively neat, stingy and stubborn; everything must be just right or there's hell to pay. There are people who were living in communes in the Sixties who are now moving into very senior positions throughout industry and government. They do not believe in strict toilet training. They breast-feed their young. They do not trust leaders. They do not want nuclear war. They wear three-button suits to the office, but they smoke pot at home.

At the same time, the character of the American Gross National Product is changing. More than fifty percent (as of 1980) is now devoted to communications and it is growing. There's only so much hardware you can sell. Software — programming, education, entertainment, information — is an infinite demand. World markets are also changing. The capital surpluses are coming from what used to be Third World countries. Saudi Arabia's biggest export is oil. Its second largest — and maybe equally important — is capital. The Arabs are simply making so much money that they can't spend it all at home. They are now lending it to Third World countries. Most of these funds will be used for industrialization, for the purchase of entire systems

of production such as steel mills and automobile factories. There are only a few places you can buy these things. Japan and Germany supply excellent equipment and service, but they have relatively limited capacity. Even a modest upturn in world demand has them working overtime. In a real boom, only the United States has a big enough economy to deliver massive quantities of goods. The Allies won World War II with Russian troops, artillery and tanks, but with American trucks and planes and food. In the next round, we will set our own prices, because we will have the only store in town.

What we need now in order to be ready for this is a general amnesty in which worker and executive alike can identify the errors and mistakes that have accumulated in our rush toward material success. We have to take a different attitude toward mistakes, no matter who makes them. Tail-fins and gas-hogs were a mistake. Fine. We all agree about that, but I remember when I thought there was nothing greater-looking than a 1962 Cadillac Convertible with Batmobile rocket spurs. Most reformers throughout history have failed because they themselves have been obsessed with punishment. All revolutions end in the substitution of new masters, wrote Carlos Fuentes.

We don't want new masters, but a new sense of partnership. A number of years ago, when asked what he would do with all the unemployed cops if the Panthers ever succeeded, Bobby Seale said "Maybe we would send them back to school and teach them how to be human beings." Maybe we first have to agree what it is to be human. One of the axioms is that all humans make mistakes. What we do with that very simple fact is the key to everything else.

Sex, Lies and HIV

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE of our time is honesty. It really is the essential element in creating any rational system. You can't trust long chains of logical statements unless there is a profound and searching honesty ruling and checking the process of creation. That's why systems in nature are so redundant. If businessmen designed a tree, it would have one huge leaf. Nature doesn't trust any single element in the chain. It makes an uncountable proliferation of repetitions because it takes no risks and leaves nothing to chance. Thus millions of sperm attack that egg. If there is error, it is error on the side of generosity.

The aggression/denial/punishment program did work out fairly well at first, but that doesn't mean that more might not have been accomplished with less abusive techniques. Moreover, the program is singularly unsuited to post-industrial economies which are devoted to communications and services. Post-industrial societies will tend to favor sensuality, intuition and interaction because their "goods" are designed to produce feelings rather than satisfy survival drives. Post-industrial economies thrive on charisma, euphoria, communion and mass ecstasy. The Beatles and Woodstock were prime examples.

Time for a Change

POST-INDUSTRIAL VALUE SYSTEMS tend to be animist rather than objective. Animists believe that all things are living beings with thoughts and feelings, distinguished from each other only by relative states of energy. This concept would have been absurd to the Victorians and their successors, who were barely capable of understanding the idea of microbes, much less sub-atomic particles in constant motion.

As all instrumentation engineers know, complex electronic

systems tends to have life-like properties, which must frequently be understood and manipulated by intuition rather than reason. A Polaroid camera is very close to being a companion that provides instantaneous feedback. So is a computer, especially now that the package can be hand-held, as in the case of call-paging systems, laptop PCs, and shirt-pocket computers. People are imitating machines. Now machines are imitating people. Computers have diseases and personality problems. Next they'll be having children. Does it ever end?

At the same time, we cannot rely on mere academic truth. Research is merely another business, and it is subject to the same forces of distortion that affect all businesses. The need to soothe neurotic anxieties installed during infancy is almost certainly the most significant consumer motivation known to modern marketing. No serious product manager ignores this, even though it may not be discussed openly with many senior executives. In the same way, the need to obtain gratification from authority figures will produce various forms of servile behavior masquerading as research. This is a very serious problem. In one field alone, pharmaceutical research, the Food and Drug Administration found evidence of misconduct in 11% of 1,758 random audits of clinical trials over the past ten years. Spurious studies have a way of entering scientific literature and never leaving. Much of the thinking on the genetic sources of personality, for example, is based on faked studies of twins.

The Dumb Executive/Smart Worker Problem

IT IS POSSIBLE TO FOOL PEOPLE with this sort of sophisticated manipulation only up to a point. Human beings are economic animals. We think and act in ways that help assure personal survival. Culture follows economics East and West. The kind of work you do is not merely defined by your intelligence, but defines your intelligence. Rich people think it's cute to act dumb. Slaves don't.

In what used to be called the Soviet sphere and in the capitalist world, the pruders have the upper hand and the results are the same:

boredom, falling productivity and social disintegration. In both spheres post-industrial workers are having a crucial impact on heavy industry, but they do not respond well to authoritarian tactics, as they are often better educated than their superiors, differences in grade-level notwithstanding. An executive in his fifties with a degree in business administration may actually know less in a real sense than a computer repairman with a technical school education.

When Xerox attempted to introduce executive computers in the late Seventies, they failed because senior officials refused to push buttons. It was too much like work. In the course of dealing with this failure, Xerox researchers came up with concepts such as the graphical user interface, icons and the mouse, later exploited by Apple Computers and now used everywhere from mainframe computers and powerful workstations to IBM personal computers. Most executives, however, still will not use computers. An "executive" program in computer marketing jargon is one any imbecile can use.

Although he began using a computer amid much diffident har-har, George H. W. Bush, for example, was quite proud of the fact that he used an old portable typewriter rather than a word processor. This is a cultural choice. Computers are considered middle-class devices by the upper classes. The upper-class person usually has an anti-machine bias because:

- [1] Servants were cheaper than machines when the major new accumulations of capital were forming in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. The landed gentry were always short of cash. The choice of servants over machines was an economic necessity which they turned to a social advantage. Just as no gentleman could be in trade, no gentleman used machines where hands would suffice. Only the nouveaux used machines.
- [2] Today, servants are usually more expensive than machines. Only the rich can afford the luxury of inefficiency. Not using computers thus serves to demonstrate membership in the upper class. Using a computer is too close to being in trade.
- [3] Using something old rather than something new is an old rich

cultural choice that distinguishes the individual as a conservative in the true sense — conservationist. When Bush says that he is an ecologist, this is what he probably means. Among the highest strata of the upper classes, ecology and conservationism have always had high status, as befitting their image of themselves as landed gentry, whether or not their fortunes actually were invested in the stock market and derive from mercantile and industrial investments. Conservationism favors the preservation of large tracts of undeveloped land. The upper-middle and middle classes favor the abolition of large-lot zoning so that they can move into the semi-rural enclaves of the old rich. The newly-rich favor its abolition so that they can sell more real estate and make great profits by breaking up the old estates.

[4] Learning how to use a computer requires a great deal of concentration. High executives usually are too busy traveling and performing ceremonial functions to be able to spare the time merely to learn something new.

Because of this cultural bias against actually touching machinery, the executive will tend to have less access to the kind of information that the computer repairman will know or can easily obtain simply through the ability to access any interesting database. What might once have taken years of fruitless research can now be found in minutes.

“Doomwatch”

IN 1974 I DID EXTENSIVE RESEARCH for *Penthouse* on the dangers of PVC, a plastic made from vinyl chloride gas, associated with 27 cases of a hitherto very rare sarcoma, a cancer of the liver, in one factory in Akron. I had the University of California library in La Jolla, where I was then living, order a search of two databases, Medline and Toxline, for citations on PVC and phthalate esters (softening agents used to make vinyl supple). I received more than six hundred citations, many with abstracts, all horrible.

The impact of the information was overwhelming, so much so

that I was unable to write the article, as the research was simply too frightening. The failure of the immune system in repeated blood transfusions, for example, could easily be explained by the leaching of phthalate esters into the blood from vinyl blood bags, which causes a frequently fatal condition called lung shock. This was a great thing to know, as I was about to go into Scripps for a total hip replacement, during which I received six liters of blood and almost died from a blood reaction. When I called the manufacturer of the blood bags to ask why they didn't return to glass, they said it was too expensive.

During the course of this project, the head of the Department of Oncology at the Medical School of the University of California at La Jolla flatly told me that ninety-five per cent of all cancers are environmentally caused, principally by the products of incomplete combustion. Petroleum, he pointed out, is a geological artifact of incomplete combustion. He felt that these hydrocarbons were sufficiently close to human genetic material to merge with the genes and interfere in the normal growth process. I was also told all cancers are symptoms of immune system failure, as it is normal for wild cells to develop, but in a correctly functioning organism they are destroyed.

These ideas are well-known today, and had been first brought to public attention in Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, a book which I had read avidly in 1963, but with a certain sense of hopeful skepticism. Now the foremost authorities in medicine were telling me that the situation was even worse than anyone except the most radical environmentalist was claiming.

I also learned that the germ theory of disease was inadequate to explain most human sicknesses, as almost all disease-causing germs are present in the healthy body. The adequately nourished human being will recover unaided from all but the gravest injuries and sicknesses. Even the most conservative medical historians agreed that modern advances in life expectancy resulted from higher levels of nutrition and better sanitation, not new medicines.

Questions Without Answers

WHEN I FIRST HEARD ABOUT AIDS, it reminded me of symptoms I knew were associated with the use of industrial solvents. The first identified victims were male homosexual prostitutes in San Francisco who were heavy users of an inhalant drug called amyl nitrate, therapeutically used to dilate blood vessels during heart seizures. I found the HIV hypothesis extremely unconvincing. It seemed to me that the HIV infections in AIDS victims were more likely to have been a symptom of the failure of the immune system rather than its cause.

In 1987, a close relative who lives in Los Angeles, attended my ex-wife's wedding in New York and confided to Faera he was afraid he might have AIDS. I know very little about his private life, but I was later told by an in-law that my relative's lover had died of AIDS. I was then living in Puerto Morelos, a marine biology research center about 32 Km. south of Cancun, and, as chance would have it, I struck up an acquaintance with a vacationing virologist from San Francisco. She did not share my doubts about HIV, but she told me that a prominent Berkeley virologist, Peter Duesberg, was claiming that it was mathematically impossible for the HIV virus to destroy enough T-cells to cause the immune system to fail. I wrote my relative a comforting letter and told him to get in touch with Duesberg and pretty much forgot about the subject. I clipped and filed items about AIDS for a while, then had to limit myself when they became too voluminous and too repetitive. As of today, my relative is in perfect health.

The issue came home very dramatically in 1989 when I learned that Chrissie's older sister had gone through a very severe AIDS-like episode, but was not diagnosed as having AIDS. She has since recovered. She had been treated in 1967 for a thyroid tumor, which she believed might have resulted from a large-screen color TV her family had purchased the year before. Early color televisions were notorious radiation sources, although her parents' very traumatic divorce might have been equally significant, as she was quite depressed when I first met her. She is an exceptionally gifted and very productive artist. This is important because it exposed her to many dyes and solvents. At one

point, she employed and worked with hundreds of weavers in India, who executed her rug designs. Like most of us, she had an extensive history of drug use during the Sixties, Seventies and Eighties.

During the same period, Anita (who has mostly lived the ecologically pure and drug-free life in places such as Hawaii and Northern California since leaving home in Wantagh) was suffering similar symptoms that began when we were over-exposed to fumigation with malathion while living in a hotel here that used pesticides instead of proper sanitation techniques. We all became sick with one thing or another. I developed a chronic ear infection. Eli — then eight — had asthma attacks. Jesse had a penile infection requiring a circumcision — at age five. Faera, then 18, had painful lower-back swellings. We moved to a condominium overlooking the golf course and our symptoms abated, but Anita suffered a severe relapse while using an industrial-strength household cleaner. Then FONATUR sold the golf course to a Japanese group, which insisted on heavy area spraying with malathion. There was one two-week period when our neighborhood was sprayed sixteen times.

Her symptoms returned stronger than ever. One doctor wanted her to have an HIV test, which I absolutely forbade. In the course of one year, two women in our complex had spontaneous abortions, two others experienced symptoms of malathion poisoning, one man died of a cerebral tumor, and an infant died of unknown causes at five months after being born three weeks premature. It's important to note that these were all young, well-fed upper- and upper-middle-class people. The mother of the dead infant owned a furniture cleaning business.

Anita responded to treatment by the two medical doctors we trust here: short-range saturation bombing with various noxious pills by the heroic Olympics wind surfing medalist obstetrician who delivered Jesse, and longer-term gently supportive counseling and homeopathic remedies by the physician who treats our children. We fought the area sprayings all the way to the Presidential level in Mexico City and succeeded in stopping them. Her symptoms have now

virtually disappeared. We are all healthy again. During the course of this struggle, I wrote to Duesberg and received a thick file of documents confirming my doubts...and worse.

The Heresy of Peter Duesberg

PETER DUESBERG, Professor of Molecular and Cell biology at the University of California at Berkeley, the virologist who first defined the class of viruses called retroviruses, to which HIV belongs, says no retrovirus could cause the symptoms of aids, because retroviruses do not kill their host cells, but need them in order to live and reproduce. He claims that AIDS is not a new disease and that HIV is not a new virus. He doesn't believe that HIV is any more dangerous than the common cold. When challenged by his critics to allow himself to be exposed to it, he offered to inject himself with authenticated HIV if they would arrange for the appropriate publicity. They have not responded to date.

He believes modern American AIDS cases are mostly caused by the abuse of inhalant and intravenous drugs such as amyl nitrate, cocaine and heroin. Duesberg, among others, also believes that many AIDS cases are caused by the very drug that is given to combat HIV: AZT, a potent immune-system poison, whose side effects are pretty much the same as the symptoms of AIDS.

Duesberg points out that eighty per cent of all AIDS victims in the United States are male, as are eighty per cent of all drug users. In other countries, however, AIDS is not sex-specific. The curve of AIDS growth closely fits the curve of drug use, especially cocaine, which peaked in the Eighties and is now beginning to flatten out. The AIDS growth rate also appears to be flattening out, a fact the AIDS establishment has confronted in two ways:

- Redefining the syndrome in 1985 to include more victims,
- Introducing the notion of a latency period, which has been repeatedly lengthened as the epidemic failed to grow as expected: first to five years, then seven, ten and fifteen. In 1993, the Centers for Disease Control added cervical cancer to the list of AIDS-defin-

ing diseases, thus extending the hitherto 90% male syndrome to a new pool of females. Several of the diseases on the list occur in the absence of immune deficiency. In 1992, Duesberg observes, fully 38% of all American patients in the CDC's own AIDS statistics had diseases of this last category.

Moreover, he reports, the specific symptoms suffered by American AIDS victims follow the specific drugs they used:

Amyl nitrate— Kaposi's sarcoma;

Intravenous drugs— pneumonia and yeast infections;

Inhaled and smoked cocaine and crack— tuberculosis.

AIDSbabies born to HIV-positive mothers typically die of bacterial infections. The mothers are typically drug users — principally cocaine and crack — and usually undernourished. Blood transfusion AIDS victims almost always suffer from microbial and fungal diseases, such as pneumonia and candidiasis.

Duesberg has documented his argument meticulously. One paper alone, "AIDS acquired by drug consumption and other non-contagious risk factors," (*Pharmaceutical Therapeutics*, 1992), is 277 pages long. I have yet to read any answers that make sense, much less satisfy any of his arguments. The general response seems to be that the issue of safe sex is more significant than drug use. Debate on the subject was recently closed by the prestigious British science journal, *Nature*, which, after various flip-flops, published an article attacking Duesberg's theories — mentioning him by name 22 times — and then refused to publish his letter of reply.

Duesberg's ideas are ratified by the Group for the Scientific Reappraisal of the HIV/AIDS Hypothesis, which publishes a fascinating newsletter called *Rethinking AIDS*. The group includes some of the most distinguished figures in viral research. It came into existence as result of their efforts to get the following four-sentence letter published in a number of prominent scientific journals:

It is widely believed by the general public that a retrovirus called HIV causes the group of diseases

The AIDS/HIV Quiz

Ask the right questions.

■ How many of the known thousands of live-in lovers of AIDS victims who continued having unprotected sexual intercourse have been diagnosed (a) HIV-positive and/or (b) as having AIDS?

Answer: (a) Next to none. (b) A lot less.

■ Of the total number of diagnosed AIDS victims, how many have been tested and found to be HIV-positive.

Answer: approximately 50%. The rest are presumed to be HIV positive.

■ Did Ryan White die of any of the 25 AIDS diseases.

Answer: He died of uncontrollable internal bleeding, mainly caused by the fact that he was a hemophiliac, and probably exacerbated by AZT, which, among its other side effects, includes blood disorders. Some 50% of all patients who receive transfusions die within a year, 63% within three years — because they are very sick people to begin with.

■ Are government statistics on the HIV/AIDS “epidemic” based on (a) clinical reports, (b) laboratory tests, (c) none of the above.

Answer: They are based on government projections of the spread of the disease.

■ Based on the government’s own statistics, is AIDS (a) increasing rapidly, (b) increasing slowly, (c) staying about the same, or (d) declining.

Answer: anything except (a).

■ How does HIV get into the body during intimate acts such as butt-fucking?

Answer: No one knows. So little HIV is found in human semen that were it any other virus, there could be no possibility of infection by this route. Three out of four HIV-positive men show no virus in their semen. HIV infection is almost always diagnosed only by inference, through the presence of HIV antibodies, not the virus. All other viral diseases show large amounts of active virus.

called AIDS. Many biomedical scientists now question this hypothesis. We propose that a thorough reappraisal of the existing evidence for and against this hypothesis be conducted by a suitable independent group. We further propose that critical epidemiological studies be devised and undertaken.

To date, none of the journals has published this statement in whole or in part.

One important member of the group, Robert Root-Bernstein, MacArthur Fellow and Associate Professor of Physiology at Michigan State University, does not challenge the HIV hypothesis as vehemently as Duesberg, but is a major dissenter from the general concepts about AIDS, which he, like Duesberg, says is not a new disease at all, but a new name for a set of symptoms that have been widely reported in the medical literature since the late 19th Century.

Known as “slim disease” in Africa, it is associated with following factors:

- Malnutrition, especially protein deficiencies.
- Indiscriminate use of antibiotics.
- Exposure to industrial solvents.
- Repeated blood transfusions.

Root-Bernstein’s book, *Rethinking AIDS*, was on a Book-of-the-Month Club mailing I received last year, but I have yet to see any reviews. In June, 1990, at the Sixth Annual Conference on AIDS, Luc Montagnier, French co-discover of HIV, announced that the virus alone was benign, and that it required a co-factor called a mycoplasma to cause AIDS. This theory had been raised earlier by Dr. Shyh-Ching Lo, director of AIDS Pathology at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology. Montagnier was given only 15 minutes for his presentation. Less than 200 of the 12,000 people who attended the conference came to hear him, and half walked out before he finished speaking. Even Dr. Robert Gallo (hard-line HIV co-discoverer with Montagnier) now believes that a co-factor is necessary.

I note again and again that the critics of the HIV hypothesis state facts and cite statistics. The other side waves this all away — to the tune of \$3 billion a year in tests, research, dangerous medicines and beautifully printed scientific articles filled with brilliant theorizing and precious few facts. Reporters have been warned that any attention to alternative explanations could result in denial of access to official sources.

Miami Herald writer Elinor Burkett, who attended Montagnier's presentation, reported, "The establishment, the people who are running the AIDS research effort, gave us every signal that Montagnier was not to be taken seriously." Those who showed up at his talk sneered at him behind his back and made condescending and hostile comments to his face, she wrote.

Meanwhile, a new class of lepers has been created, and conveniently excluded from insurance plans. Those who are included are urged to use AZT. This treatment costs about \$15,000 per patient until death and does not require hospitalization, which costs from \$150,000 to \$300,000 until death. Montagnier and Gallo, who disputed the discovery of HIV after Montagnier made very serious and still essentially unresolved charges that Gallo used samples of the virus he had sent him, recently agreed to settle their differences by sharing the delicious royalties from the HIV test.

Peter Duesberg, on the other hand, was dropped from the National Institutes of Health Outstanding Investigator Grant program, which for five years had been giving him upwards of \$350,000 a year, when he raised his doubts about the HIV hypothesis. Ironically enough, he began his research because of his desire to get in on the big money. The peer group review board that cut him off was mainly composed of AIDS establishment figures whose economic well-being depended upon the HIV hypothesis.

Where I stand on this.

I HAVE NO AXES TO GRIND. I'm not a homosexual, nor am I promiscuous. I have been living with the same woman for more than eigh-

teen years and I have never cheated on her, nor do I intend to cheat on her. Anita Brown is almost twenty years younger than I am and has had a fling or two, but — as a result of the scars this left on our hearts — she now fervently professes to share my feelings about fidelity. I have little to fear from HIV. To the contrary, it would be a useful device to insure her faithfulness. And, in fact, after her last affair, which coincided closely with her malathion poisoning, she did worry mightily about AIDS. Hurt and fearful as I was, I did my best to calm her. She recovered in body and soul.

My feelings about drugs are more complex. For a long time, during the Sixties and Seventies, I used every drug I could get, except heroin. I lived in a drug-dealing commune for two years. I was not merely a drug user, but also a drug advocate. I threw away one of the biggest opportunities of my career — a major contract with *Rolling Stone* — because I refused to write an anti-drug story Jann Wenner desperately wanted in 1971, when corporate financier Max Palevsky bought into Straight Arrow. Although my drug use tapered off when I fell in love with Anita, and ended when we moved to Mexico in 1981, I still very strongly believe drug use is a personal decision, at worst a reflection of the sicknesses of our time, rather than their cause. This is not a politically convenient position. It has not made me commercially attractive, to say the least. From a political standpoint, therefore, Duesberg's hypothesis is embarrassing.

Despite this, I agree with him.

The HIV hypothesis doesn't hang together. Here is this supposedly virulently infectious disease, yet as far as I can tell no one has ever been able to demonstrate more than a handful — if that — of cases actually associated with direct contact with an infected person. Duesberg does not rule out the possibility of the anal sex connection: it's like a blood transfusion, alien proteins, etc. I doubt it, but the why will require 6 pt Optometrist Condensed to get into the maximum non-scientificallly literate reader's attention-span thought length of three lines, except to say it can be explained by simple economics: the butt-fuckee who gets AIDS is likely to be undernourished, over-

drugged street trade, while the butt-fucker will tend to be a john with at least enough discretionary income to pay to be on top. Anal inserters have a much lower incidence of HIV and AIDS than anal receivers. This alone hints at the absurdity of the hypothesis. How can you have an infectious disease with one-way communicability? In a letter, Rick Hertzberg, explains that since HIV is transmitted through the semen it makes sense that the person who receives semen will be most likely to be infected. As noted above, however, too little HIV is found in semen to cause infection. Moreover, if anal sex is, indeed, the primary route of infection through intimacy, how did the butt-fucker get infected in the first place? The more likely vector is shared needles. Here also the poor prostitute is more likely to be needle user and a needle sharer than the more affluent and less self-destructive john.

Among other puzzles:

- Leaving aside the issue of whether or not HIV causes AIDS, studies of prostitutes in several countries reveal that prostitutes who use IV drugs and share needles test high positive for HIV. Those who do not, test low, whether or not they use condoms. Lack of condom use is confirmed by the high incidence of other sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis in the non-drug group.
- HIV injected into apes produces HIV anti-bodies, but no HIV-positive ape has yet to exhibit any symptoms of AIDS. Apes have developed Simian Immune Deficiency Syndrome under circumstances whose details I have not yet seen, but these were not the same ones as the HIV-infected subjects.
- Without going into a full review of the Scientific Method, suffice it to say the HIV hypothesis fails all four of Koch's precepts, and thus would have to be rejected by any scientist. The other side's answer to this is that the Scientific Method is obsolete. (No, I'm not kidding. This is just going to be a gold mine for high school science textbook authors and publishers.)
- The HIV hypothesis has never been subjected to scientific peer

review. It did not appear first in an accepted scientific journal, but was announced by fiat at a Washington press conference on April 23, 1984 by then-Secretary of Health and Human Resources Margaret Heckler. Gallo has agreed on three different occasions to answer Duesberg with a technical paper in *Science*, the journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, but has never done so. His sole reply: Peter Duesberg makes him hysterical.

- Despite the general belief among the better-informed that the Centers for Disease Control diagnose you as having AIDS only if you are also HIV-positive (and the widely disseminated official definition of AIDS as any of 25 specific diseases in the presence of HIV), HIV-negative cases are also diagnosed as AIDS.

This last item is so weird I still can't quite get the significance, except that it demonstrates complete confusion and lack of consistency, which would be expected from New Age healers, but not from official science. I think it probably reflects internal dissent about the AIDS hypothesis at the Centers for Disease Control. The original official explanation was that the HIV-negative AIDS cases require more sensitive testing procedures, which do not yet exist. Now they've also invented a new disease with a new name to cover the contradiction.

I think if a person is a homosexual, a drug-user or a receiver of blood transfusion and exhibits AIDS-like symptoms, he or she is diagnosed as an AIDS victim and reported as such. Other cases are diagnosed differently if they do not fit the social criteria. The general prevalence of HIV-positive individuals but the relative scarcity of AIDS victims tends to support the idea that first the immune system is damaged and then victim is infected by HIV. It would make sense that many people would have HIV anti-bodies but not AIDS. They have healthy immune systems. Therefore they have sufficient anti-bodies.

Why the Media Resist Duesberg

ALTHOUGH DUESBERG DOES GET SOME SPACE, his views have been received without the warmth one would think they would generate. Think of what Nancy Reagan could have done with this. If I were single (or still cheating), I think I would prefer giving up drugs to giving up sex. To my skeptical friends, as usual, I am a dupe of the bleeding heart pinko liberal faggot New Age plot to treat cancer with crystals and aroma-therapy. When I look at AIDS from a publicity standpoint (that is, as a press agent, which is what I really am), the problem with Duesberg's thesis is that it offends too many powerful political constituencies, not the least of which is the functioning drug user.

People use cocaine in industrial society for the same reason that they chew coca in the Andes — to increase oxygen uptake in the brain, not merely for pleasure, but also so they can function economically. The functioning cocaine addict is a common personality in media circles and I would guess most — if not all — successful media people use cocaine and other stimulants when they can get them. Covert censorship aside, his thesis meets resistance at a primary level: the troops themselves don't like the story. Perhaps they feel that they can control their sexual contacts (or do without sex), but they must have drugs, if only to intensify the pleasure of masturbation. From the standpoint of the victim, the drug hypothesis is much less socially acceptable than the virus, because drug use is an illegal vice that implies moral weakness, but unprotected sex is merely an understandable lapse of judgment. Sexuality or drug use — it's a devil's choice, isn't it, anyway? Both smell like "blame the victim" strategies.

You show me a dead celebrity AIDS victim and I will show you a dead chemical addict: cocaine, poppers, glue. There was a piece in *Vanity Fair* about photographer Bill King. This guy was routinely squirting cocaine up his rectum several times a day. That was when he wasn't bailing out on a real binge. Oh gosh, poor Bill, he let a real warped dude put his diseased wazoo up his heinie, and he got this sickness and now he's dead.

Wrong. No disease. Bad life style by personal choice. The solvents that they use in jungle laboratories to extract cocaine from the coca leaf are known carcinogens. According to *Vanity Fair*, this King guy was filling his own buttock with extract of cancer juice. No, n — f only he had practiced safe sex he would be alive today! We'll just skip lightly over the fact that AZT, the drug used to treat AIDS, causes the very same symptoms as the disease. We have in our files documented cases of HIV-positive people who had no symptoms developing AIDS after being given large doses of AZT, then experiencing miracle cures when the drug was suspended. We also have the case of *Playboy* Playmate Rebekka Armstrong, HIV-positive since age sixteen. Current total symptomology: feels tired sometimes. Does not take AZT. Has very well-documented history of drug abuse, during which she did suffer from some AIDS-like symptoms, which promptly disappeared when she kicked drugs.

Makes you wonder if Magic Johnson ever will develop AIDS, doesn't it?

Remember, this is coming to you from a writer who was accurately misquoted in *Penthouse* by Patricia Bosworth offering the opinion that everyone should try LSD at least once. Not quite, Patricia. What I said was, "Everyone should try LSD at least once *before writing about it.*" Nonetheless, she got the Jules Siegel basic drift. I will never agree that LSD and marijuana turned a generation into vegetables, one of which was ketchup. At the same time, I never advocated sniffing glue or working in a PVC plant. That's about what you're doing when you are using cocaine made in discarded 55-gallon steel drums or blowing your head off with amyl nitrate. Poor people *have* to breathe substances like this or die of hunge — nd die of hunger, really. African AIDS is not a disease but a malnutrition syndrome formerly known as "slim" disease. Doctors there have protested vigorously about the general distortion of the statistics and the interpretations. They know what's up. Do you think anyone listens to them? AIDS is the Vietnam of disease wars.

So where's the DEA on this?

THE RESISTANCE AT THE OWNERSHIP LEVEL is even more serious and accounts for what might otherwise be an inexplicable paradox: Why don't the anti-drug forces embrace Duesberg's position? I think the real issue in AIDS is not drugs *per se* but petroleum derivatives. I don't have the facts at hand, but I would guess amyl nitrate is either partially or entirely a petroleum derivative, as are 95 per cent of all pharmaceutical products.

To industry, from a strategic standpoint, the amyl nitrate AIDS sarcoma victims are like the PVC sarcoma victims. In the case of PVC, only a few workers developed overt cancers, principally those who cleaned the reactor vessels and were subject to immense exposures of vinyl chloride gas. The subsequent legal battle revealed a long and well-documented history of malign effects at much lower doses. The supposedly sexual connections of AIDS, to me, seem to be designed to thwart examination of economically sensitive related issues. This is a standard tactic in industrial relations, based on the legal premise of contributory negligence. In one of the few apparently authenticated cases of accidental needle-stick HIV-infection, the victim, a hospital laboratory worker, sued his employer, and the defense attempted to attribute his infection to sexual promiscuity.

We should also consider the influence of homosexual advisers such as beauticians and interior decorators on upper-class women, who are forced to rely on homosexuals for much of their emotional support because other women of their class are too competitive and the men are uncommunicative.

Yet another conspiracy theory?

NO CONSPIRACIES (Hertzberg's accusation, in his letter). Organizations and individuals defending their economic, political and social positions, consciously and unconsciously:

- Burroughs-Wellcome markets a drug that supposedly kills a virus, thereby earning \$000 million (you fill in the amount) a year. Defending those sales isn't conspiracy, but marketing.

- Researchers who collectively earn billions of dollars on virus theory demonstrate their belief in the health-giving properties of the almighty dollar by attacking non-virus heretics. Are they supposed to let their children starve?
- Drug-users and sellers and their sympathizers tend to fight all claims of health damage from their preferred poisons, not just Duesberg's claims. See "The Tobacco Institute Saga" with John Wayne and other corpses.
- Gay people prefer the HIV explanation because it implies less personal choice and hence guilt and arouses more sympathy. This is especially true for the early victim cohorts. How could they possibly have known that they were going to be infected by an as yet undiscovered agent? Getting a disease isn't illegal, either.
- The petroleum derivative theory is rejected at the individual level because it implies painful changes in lifestyle; at the corporate level, because it prejudices freedom to continue to make easy profits, not to speak of encouraging lawsuits such as the asbestos case that practically sank Lloyds

The issue in cocaine would probably be not cocaine itself, which is almost certainly biologically innocuous, relatively speaking, but the solvents used in its illegal manufacture. Even the plastic syringes used by heroin addicts are petroleum derivatives, as are many of the synthetic opiates they use. I don't mean to imply that cocaine is good for you. Cocaine is a nasty drug that people take not merely to survive in the smog but also in order to enhance their feelings of masterfulness. It numbs and stimulates at the same time. I would not be surprised to find out that it is not biologically innocuous either. The rational solution would be to legalize the tea of the coca leaf, which is how it is used in the Andes, while maintaining strict control over the use of the extract. I think few people would want to use strange powders if a pleasant tea were available legally. In addition to the information I mentioned above on PVC and phthalate esters, there is extensive professional literature on the malign effects of plastics in pharmaceutical packaging. Although these facts would seem to be

sufficient of themselves to explain AIDS (among other strange new epidemics), official science insists on the virus.

It seems probable that the unusually lavish backing for viral research, like genetic research, results from the need to deny environmental realities. Historically, only a few viruses produced important diseases until the Industrial Revolution, and most of these, such as measles, were not very dangerous in populations that had been exposed to them over the centuries. On the other hand, the first medically investigated cancer epidemic — cancer of the scrotum among 18th Century London chimney sweeps — was environmental, caused by soot, a product of incomplete combustion chemically very close in structure to petroleum. It's fascinating that the great lethal influenza epidemics of 1917–19 followed the great spurt in automobile manufacture and use that was a principal consequence of World War I.

Duesberg believes that he was denied a Nobel Prize for his work on oncogenes because he essentially demolished the idea of a cancer-causing gene. After he lost his NIH funding The Tobacco Institute gave him a grant to continue his oncogene studies, apparently betting on his honesty in the event that his new research reversed his cancer-gene position — an unlikely prospect, but what a payoff if the long shot came in on the money!

Did only drug-use peak in the mid Eighties?

PLAYBOY PREDICTED SOME TWENTY YEARS AGO that the environmental crisis would peak in the mid Eighties. I think AIDS is a subset of a vast environmental epidemic. There is a well-known statistical problem called too few cases, but a lesser-known one of too many cases, which is what we're facing here: too many cases, too many factors, too many interactions. The result: too many seemingly reasonable interpretations.

Example: An HIV-positive dentist dies of Kaposi's sarcoma. A patient, Kimberly Bergalis, suffers from an intractable yeast infection and turns out to be HIV-positive as well, is given AZT and also dies of AIDS. Her estate receives a multi-million dollar out-of-court settle-

ment. Five other patients test positive for HIV as well. Lacking any explanation of how he might have infected them accidentally, it is theorized that he might have done so deliberately, despite the lack of any motive or method. Another researcher shows how HIV-infected tissue could be driven into the patients' tissues by centrifugal force during procedures such as drilling. Isn't this convincing? Frightening? Maybe. On the one hand, if the tissue-drill theory is correct, it demonstrates that we're not exactly dealing with the common cold here. The virus must be drilled into the tissues in order to cause an infection. This is, at worst, congruent with the idea of infection by blood transfusion. It still does not demonstrate that HIV causes AIDS. AZT, as we will see, is a prime suspect as well.

This drug is worthy of an entire separate treatment. It now appears that the manufacturer's studies confirming its usefulness were deeply flawed. They became unblinded, among other problems. It also looks as if some of the subjects in the control group were actually given AZT as well!

The theory behind the drug is that HIV supposedly works by killing its host cells, which are called T-cells, thus supposedly (the key word here is "supposedly.") damaging the body's immune system. AZT kills T-cells, thus supposedly destroying the virus. That HIV kills T-cells is mere theory and has never been proven, but it is a fact that AZT does kill them. Other than the manufacturer's own studies, which were terminated in mid-course, supposedly because it was unethical to let the control group subjects die without this supposedly suddenly proven treatment, there have been no studies that accurately test or demonstrate whether or not victims who receive AZT live any longer than those who don't. To the contrary, Duesberg cites reports that those who receive AZT die sooner.

Because of the too many cases effect, it is well within the statistical probabilities for all six HIV dental cases to have been mere chance. The dentist was eminently successful with a very large practice. Only six of his patients tested HIV-positive. We would have to know the exact number of patients in his practice to compare this with the

statistical average for all Americans, but in any large enough subset some Americans will test HIV-positive. The most likely explanation, despite all the brilliant detective work, is that these cases are merely a reflection of a national reality. Take another viral disease, herpes. Test for that among dental practices. Would anyone attribute these infections to the dentists?

Robert Root-Bernstein reports in *Spin*: Kimberly was found to be HIV-positive and had some AIDS-like symptoms. Received high doses of AZT and developed full-blown AIDS. During liability trial concealed sexual experience, which, based on suppressed medical examiner's report, apparently included anal and/or vaginal intercourse with homosexual or bisexual male, as evidenced by scars of sexual warts usually endemic to those groups. Successfully blamed infection on her HIV-positive dentist, but no mechanism for infection has been established. Five other patients also showed HIV-positive of similar strain, which I believe would be statistically consistent with HIV in general population as demonstrated by Army tests. If Kimberly was able to conceal her sexual experience, might we not suspect drug use as well?

Any given interpretation will be a reflection of a bias — usually economic, but also religious, political and psychological. The HIV/AIDS hypothesis removed a large set of victims from the sympathy (and economic relief) pool. The homophobes embraced it, but underestimated the influence of the homosexual elite and their supporters. The now-failed attempt to extend the syndrome to heterosexuals was probably motivated by the desire to increase the size of the set of blamed victims and further reduce economic liability.

I think Duesberg's thesis is correct, but in a much larger sense. As I pointed out earlier, something like 95% of all pharmaceuticals are petroleum derivatives. At this point, so is much of our food, because of the heavy use of chemical fertilizers. Add to this environmental pollution. So people are being poisoned and they are malnourished, often no matter how well-fed. Of course they are going to get sick and die in pandemic numbers. How could it be any other way?

The problem with Duesberg, *et al*, is that the amount of information is overwhelming and the thesis, once accepted, is quite upsetting — if you substitute Zyklon-B (the gas the SS used in the camps) for AZT. Let's allow ourselves the luxury of getting a little hysterical here and blowing all our credibility. One of the great mysteries of World War II was how the SS was able to fight so effectively right up to the closing days of the war. The answer was that the concentration camps turned a profit, not only from the seizure of the inmates' property before they were shipped off, but also from their work in the camps, and finally, as is well known, from the dental gold recovered from their corpses. Even their hair was sold to make wigs.

In the AIDS industry we see similar forces at work. An unpopular minority group. Junk science. Poverty and death for the victims. Wealth and glory for their keepers. Let us take the conceit even further, outward to all of us.

The first poison used to kill Jews was carbon monoxide in the form of automobile exhaust. Hitler's only lasting achievements were the Volkswagen and the Autobahn. (Well, I guess you have to count ballistic missiles and jet planes, too, even though they don't quite fit the metaphor.) Today, we are our own SS. We buy our own gas chambers and we gather in our own concentration camps, which we call cities, and, like the pathetic Jews who fashioned their own imitations of SS uniforms and then brutalized weaker inmates, we dress up in executive three-button suits and sneer at the homeless slobs drifting about the streets without taste and style, indistinguishable from garbage except by greater motility.

The petroleum industry turns a profit every time you move. Some of its products give you cancer. Others are then used to try to cure you. Even the hearse that takes you to your grave pays its tithe, and so does the lining of your coffin. The AIDS industry is all this in miniature. When you see this in all its gruesome glory, it's so poetic that a sense of awe prevails. Hitler was not merely a criminal. He was a prophet, the world's first and greatest conceptual artist. At least he

had enough sense to build walls around his ghettos. We just complain about the stench and look away.

I think the fundamental problem is blame. We blame the victim. We blame the owner. Blame implies punishment. Is the owning class criminally responsible? Perhaps it is, but where does that get us in solving the problem?

[Next chapter in progress: "The Roots of Drug Abuse," in which the concept described above is expanded to actually include prisons for profit.]

Is There Any Hope?

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT: Masturbation causes insanity. Genital herpes is God's punishment for oral sex. Anal sex causes AIDS. Condoms are salvation — and turn a profit. Perhaps AIDS has nothing at all to do with sexuality. It's just part of the Time, Inc. propaganda. Remember the hysteria they created over herpes? Anita has herpes, but over the years her outbreaks have been less and less severe and less frequent. The first time she developed herpes on her shin, after returning from Marin, where she had to have one last shot with her ex-boyfriend, we didn't know what it was and I *licked* it to make it better. I never got it. We are more careful now, but I still haven't gotten one. I have a tough immune system.

The well-known emotional timing of outbreaks also points to an immune failure. Perhaps this epidemic was also caused by pollution. I do know that genital herpes was quite common before *Time* decided it was a symptom of the breakdown of moral values. Perhaps it was — but not in the way they meant. Pre-industrial peoples have a value system that considers poisoning of the environment a grave sin rather than a mere by-product of progress.

Sympathy for George Bush

THE DEVIL'S KID DIED OF LEUKEMIA, but he keeps on buying and selling souls to sublimate his grief. The managerial sector of our society is wishing on lady bugs and saving its pennies for pie in the sky, bye and bye, courtesy of Prudential Life Insurance.

My computer search cost me a mere \$40. Today, you don't even have to go to the library. You access through the cheapest computer and modem. No computer technician would have any problems

understanding the material. George Bush is incapable of comprehending why his three-year-old daughter died of leukemia. He thinks God did it. He doesn't talk about the role of the oil business. How would he be able to understand something that was against his own financial interests, when he was programmed to believe that money is more important than life itself? When he vomited and fainted in Japan, it was revealed that he had taken a sleeping pill called Halcion the night before. The drug is banned in Europe because of its side effects. You did not read much about this in the American reports. The incident was attributed to an intestinal virus. Instead of going home to be at her husband's side, Barbara Bush stayed and joked wittily about his illness. What was it about the White House itself that caused George and Barbara Bush and their dog to come down with Graves Disease? The paint? Insecticides? Cleaning fluids? Were the Bushes the only ones?

Loyalty to the system forbids these questions to arise. Like Louis XIV, the American ruling class accepts personal suffering — even death — as the price of power. At least they really do have the rewards. What do their imitators at lower levels get for their pains? The George Bush clones are people who make enormous sacrifices and stress themselves into fatal heart attacks in order to pay life insurance policies that are possibly a worse investment than U. S. Savings Bonds. They would be better off reducing their life style and giving the money directly to their wives and children.

They prefer to arrange to do so after death because even though they won't see the results, having million-dollar face-value policies makes them feel like millionaires. When I was a young public relations executive and I went on a plane trip, I would buy a ten-thousand-dollar policy for a couple of dollars and send it to whatever girl I was trying to *shtup*. They were really *touched*. It was infallible. Talk about leverage! This is an amusing anecdote but it illustrates my point very well. Get the most for the least is the central axiom of the hidden agenda.

The Myth of Competition

COMPETITION DOES NOT ALWAYS ENHANCE CREATIVITY, although it does work in the short run. In emergencies, people do often come up with novel solutions because they start pumping adrenaline, which is merely another form of speed. Anyone who has ever relied on amphetamine knows that speed produces paranoia, which can easily result in creative paralysis. It can also result in rigid, stereotyped patterns of repetition, destructive self-delusions, extreme insensitivity and intolerance for the ideas of others, and severe depression.

Hitler was a speed freak. He used speedball — injections of stimulants laced with narcotics such as morphine, given to him by a Dr. Morel. His early successes showed all the symptoms of the beginning of a speed run, including the charismatic oratory, endless energy, ferocious self-confidence, unpredictable but brilliant tactics. Opening the second front with Russia seems to me to have been a symptom of the self-delusive phase. Suicide in the bunker speaks for itself: pure paranoia and the tomb of depression.

In Hitler we see writ large the malicious effects of what might be called the anxiety/euphoria syndrome. An adrenaline rush is a response to stress. One pops up into god-like strength and clarity enabling a rapid exit from the threat at hand. It is an emergency survival mechanism that cannot be sustained over the long run because it depletes normal energy reserves too rapidly.

People are at their most creative when relaxed and healthy. All modern theories of management rely on this fundamental premise for their basic techniques. In order to be creative, one must be free to fail. You can't expect people to take risks that threaten their physical survival and personal self-esteem.

When the alternative to success is the street, the prudent person becomes very prudent indeed. At the very least, no one enjoys being embarrassed. Creativity is best encouraged by feeding people well, paying them regularly and generously, assuring their future both during and beyond employment, and encouraging an atmosphere of good-fellowship, tolerance, and mutual respect.

Reaganomics apologist George Gilder, author of *Wealth and Poverty*, more recently promoting decentralization, manages to use these very ideas to advance the hidden agenda in an article in *Harvard Business Review*. He doesn't care about entrepreneurship in any real sense. His main aim is to justify greed and selfishness. Despite any disclaimers, he is really using discredited Victorian concepts of competition and individualism to rationalize treating as sausage material workers, consumers and all beings identified as "other."

His view of the semi-conductor industry is especially revealing. At one point, he believed that the Japanese semi-conductor industry was more successful than ours because it relied on entrepreneurship rather than administrative financing. The opposite is true. Actually, the Japanese system is really a very sophisticated case of state capitalism, with all of the financing and most of the administrative control dominated by the government through a handful of servile large companies and banks.

Gilder would have been wiser to use computer programming or other enterprises in which individual entrepreneurs and small companies have made all the important news, such as publishing, where small presses, self-publishers and packagers are becoming more and more vital to the survival of the industry. One of the most successful desktop publishing programs, Ventura Publisher, was developed by a tiny company (five employees) and marketed by Xerox. This was an elegant program that brought Macintosh-style functionality to DOS long before Windows, without sacrificing speed. When Xerox took over the programming functions themselves, however, and converted the program to Windows, they made a series of gross errors that destroyed Ventura Publisher, then waved away users' complaints. Finally, they had to sell it to Corel.

This sort of interaction between independents and mass marketers is becoming the rule rather than the exception in post-industrial economics. It is more fashionable to call it the Information Age, but information and communication are merely different facets of a broader development whose name has not yet emerged. Information

doesn't include crystals and massage parlors and health care, to name only a few other facets. Gilder could have looked at cable television, or fashions, or entertainment. His ideas don't really apply to large-scale manufacturing, where the ability to stay in the game no matter how high the cost of capital is the most significant factor. Marketing and manufacturing giants are unable to cultivate internal creativity because their political and administrative systems tend to stifle eccentricity in the interests of reliability and uniformity. This is simply a function of large distribution patterns.

Like the Darwinists, he fails to see that cooperation is the most powerful strategy for survival. Individuals don't survive. Only groups survive. Greed is a negative trait. The most successful species, in the Darwinian sense, defeats all neighbors in its ecological niche, which then dries up and winks closed. The American concept of rugged individualism is pure poppycock. We all like private property, but when was the last time anyone advocated pay streets?

The antiquated ideas dressed up in new words by Gilder are really designed to please a very small segment of the business population, the absentee owners and their senior operating officers, many of whom are quite elderly and firmly embedded in Victorian mindsets that have caused great misery to their children — and to our parents, and to ourselves.

The Business Function of Feminism

[Note: To be expanded into a full chapter.]

THESE TRENDS ARE THE DIRECT RESULT of the emphasis on divide-and-conquer strategies based on the superstition that aggressive competition is a primary and necessary factor in success. The businessman sees himself in constant warfare for dominance of the worker. Although we read and see a lot of propaganda about competition among corporations, it is more usual for various informal (and often illegal) market-sharing arrangements to prevail among established companies.

Workers are set one against another as a routine policy, with labor

unions a main target. Racism and sexism are deliberate tactics in the war against organization. The fundamental strategy is to dominate the worker at all costs. It was more important for the Reagan administration to destroy the air controllers' union than to assure safe operations, a bizarre move that attacked its most important constituency, as business people are the most stable air travel customers.

In the wake of the 1994 Democratic loss of both houses of Congress, some analysts suggested that one factor was the continuing loss of earning power by men. It is a fact that men's wages have fallen as a direct result of the entry of more and more women into the labor market. To the extent that the Democrats are seen as the party of women and feminists, they lose votes not only from the Religious Right, but also from the broad masses of men who perceive themselves to be at a competitive disadvantage with women.

On closer inspection, it is ironic that the Democrats should bear the burden of this loss, as the feminist agenda advanced by *Ms.* was an embarrassing break with feminist history, and, with the exception of equal pay for equal work, served the interests of the business community to the detriment of the labor unions. In this sense, feminism helps Republicans, the party of business, far more than it does the Democrats, the party of labor. The Republicans have the advantage of being able to benefit from the economics of the trend as well as the resentment it arouses.

In some cases, the feminist agenda was exactly the same as the Reagan agenda. They were both against *Playboy*, for example. Meese isolated it as "pornography" to silence a liberal bastion. Other than the glorification of the cheesecake image of female body, however, the *Playboy* Philosophy shared many feminist values. Despite the belief that *Playboy* presented women as sex-objects, it was the first mass market magazine in the world that taught men to see women as companions and friends rather than merely as wives and lovers. It pioneered the acceptance of women as intellectual and economic equals. No magazine did more for sexual education, nor for making men understand that a woman's failure to achieve sexual sat-

isfaction was not a symptom of frigidity but more likely a result of his inept technique. Today, when newspapers routinely discuss the techniques of oral sex, it is easy to forget how advanced the *Playboy* Advisor was in, say, 1964.

A young English woman vehemently told me, "*Playboy* turned women into slot machines." I replied, "It was better than being washing machines." It also wasn't even true. *Playboy* encouraged women to get out of the household slave role, to become economically self-sufficient, to use birth control pills, to have sex before marriage, to masturbate, to expect oral gratification from a man, among other then-shameful caresses. The list could go on and on. I found that most of the criticism of *Playboy* came from people who never read it, both male and female. They just looked at the pictures and accused everyone else of doing the same.

The hostility of the feminist movement has been so irrational (turning down the offer of a \$500,000 grant from the Playboy Foundation to help fight the anti-abortion movement, for example) that I feel it was generated by government agents. This may sound quite paranoid, but it is a well-known fact that Gloria Steinem worked for the CIA during the Sixties. This charge came from within the feminist movement and was raised publicly by the Redstockings in a press release sent out in 1976. It was also covered in feminist newsletters, and was edited out of a collection of feminist writings published by Random House. The book was delayed almost two years while they fought about this.

Gloria Steinem admitted that she worked for a CIA front during the Sixties. She organized intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic and got them to attend so-called Social Democratic conferences, which were designed to counter Communist influence by presenting a respectable liberal alternative. She's claimed that she was an unwitting dupe. Gloria surfaced in New York out of nowhere and went around interviewing writers and worming her way into the New York literary scene. Bruce Jay Friedman introduced me to her and I took her to a freeloading lunch at Georges IV set up by their

press agent. She was wearing a magnificent black mink coat and was just *fascinated* by me. She told me that she felt she was really on the inside now because in reading a blind item about me that Bruce had inserted in a *Herald-Tribune* article she knew to whom it referred. Everything was just great until the bill arrived. The waiter didn't know that it was a freebie and I had to go through the agonizingly embarrassing experience of straightening this out in front of Gloria. I believe that she was then television comic Milt Kamen's girl friend and I'm sure I never had a chance. Talk about *great-looking*, though, and *smart!* Now if only all that genius had been devoted to legitimate causes such as exterminating yapping dogs.... Her background was obscured by various self-inventions that were eventually exposed in *Time*. Coupled with multi-millionaire publisher and real estate magnate Mortimer Zuckerman, she lied to *Vanity Fair* about his financial aid for *Ms.* magazine. Not a penny came from Mortimer, Gloria said. Columnist Liz Smith revealed that Zuckerman had put \$1.2 million into a rescue attempt and sent his executives to help as well.

There has never been an adequate explanation of the original funding for *Ms.*, nor for the rapid acceptance of feminist propaganda by the mass media in the early Seventies. No radical movement has ever spread with the speed of feminism, which went from little or no organization and acceptance to total domination in less than two years. Obviously, it did touch very deep frustrations in American women, but it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the existing movement was manipulated very effectively to channel these frustrations to the benefit of the business community and the detriment of women, children, men and families.

There is a startling congruence in priorities of NOW and the business community: children are at the bottom, or do not exist except as proto-consumer/worker. Children were Number 14 on the famed NOW agenda of fifteen priorities. Other analysts commented that the Democratic loss reflected a Populist trend in American politics. Any attempt to re-capture the high ground here presents the Democrats with a dilemma pitting its feminist allies against the realities of

American life. The issue is family values. The feminist denial of the special role of the mother and her need to be sheltered from the brutalities of the work place does great damage to family values. It also makes it impossible for the Democrats to respond to the deeply felt anguish of mothers and fathers who must sacrifice their children's well-being in order to feed, clothe and house them.

Thus, what was originally mostly a lower class problem has become one that crosses all class boundaries. We aren't all Hillary Clintons, are we? For most of us, the day care center is a new kind of hell that separates us from our children. To the extent that feminists are blamed for this, the Democrats lose votes. Thus, the President's brilliant and attractive wife contributed to his party's defeat, because although she may very well represent the aspirations of many women, she also is the symbol of their failure.

The results speak for themselves. The techniques are quite transparent and obvious once you know where to look. Create false leaders. Erase existing culture. Substitute new values. Sell, sell, sell. Feminism is no different from any of the other campaigns. The world according to Virginia Slims is different from the world according to Adolph Hitler in content, but the aim is the same: to make sure that all energy belongs to the state — whether the state is National Socialism or Free Enterprise. Cigarettes or gas chambers — what does it matter? — the end is the same. Work will make you free. And dead. And someone else will profit.

The Myth of Freedom

IN THE CONTEXT OF THESE MANIPULATIONS, we can see that freedom, as a practical matter, is a myth. Democracy is obviously a nice institution to have, especially if you are one of the upper middle class and can benefit from it financially by getting paid to work in a campaign, but it is not exactly a strategy of life for anyone but politicians.

The more accurate picture of the American power would show Lundberg's rich families as living in the centers of fortresses staffed by C. Wright Mills' power elite. These well-paid stewards are orga-

Why the boss loves feminism.

ALTHOUGH the business community fought equal pay for equal work, it benefited from the entry of women into the labor market:

- Women work for less.
- They are more adaptable and less likely to deviate from company policies.
- Women are thought to be less likely to join labor unions.
- By increasing the size of the labor pool, they created more competition for jobs and enabled employers to make better deals.
- In two-income families, one person is more likely to be willing to work part-time or as a temporary, which employers prefer as it tends to decrease various labor costs, including fringe benefits.
- The atomization of the family reduces the strength of workers by depriving them of a base independent of the company.
- Taking children away from their mothers at an early age tends to increase their anxiety levels and results in higher rates of tension-relieving consumption as they grow up.
- The loss of women's household services increases purchases of various forms of fast foods, which have higher profit levels than home-cooked meals.
- Declining birthrates tend to increase purchases of hard goods. This might seem far-fetched, but it is a well-documented fact, which I saw in *Scientific American*.

nized in corporations whose main function is to form a legal moat against lawsuits that might otherwise attack the owners' fortunes if strict rules of liability were applied.

Filling in the spaces are the forces of law and order of the various governments of the United States, whose function is to assure common defense against foreign threats, maintain peace among the competing forces of the owners, to control the workers and handle such slimy jobs as garbage disposal, custodial services for the casualties and potter's fields for the burial of the unwanted bodies of the fallen.

The government pays for itself by collecting taxes from the workers. Any surplus income it might generate is disposed of by overspending on useless and ridiculously expensive military equipment manufactured by the rich, who advance funds at high interest, a miraculously effective method for transferring tax money without even providing any compensating services.

Most decisions, fashions, products, fads and social weather patterns originate or flourish first at the top and are passed down. What about break dancing and hip-hop, etc.? They do come from the bottom, but they are essentially trivial in economic terms, compared with, say, automobiles and air travel, not to speak of the concept of vacations and leisure time, among other more important trends. All levels are tied to each other by mutual emotional dependency symbolized by the transfer of money, a classic oligarchy feeding off the unattached poor.

The lives of the rich are devoted to the measurement of value. This is not merely absolute but also relative. Your poverty makes them richer by contrast. People with stable incomes like economic depressions. It solves the servant problem and expands the purchasing power of their money. They do not merely tolerate the filth that surrounds the perimeters of the possessions; they *worship* it, because it makes their cleanliness more valuable for its rarity.

In a political sense, freedom allows the ruling class to displace accountability to a lower class of democratically elected officials.

The true sign of the fully developed anal character is secrecy. Until he was named Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon had never been mentioned in a newspaper, even though he was one of America's richest men. The more public the position, the less powerful the person. The only monarchs who survived in this century were those who choose celebrity over power.

The rest are gone.

Are we birdbrains?

IN A TRULY MARVELOUS LITTLE BOOK, *The Sociobiology of Enterprise*, C. L. Ring makes a very strong argument for the theory that most human behavior is instinctive. We make a big fuss about all our ideas and strategies but we resemble birds in our social actions. There's a lot of important-sounding twittering as they go about choosing this or that twig. To the human observer, all robin's nests look more or less alike. A visitor from another planet would see humans as cuboid the way bees are hexoid because we make all our structures in the form of cubes and they make theirs hexagons. The choice seems only right and proper to us, but it may begin in our genes rather than our intellects.

Without the varnish of love and friendship, we can see that many of our actions are merely the expression of animal mating behavior. Aggressive males huff and roar and monopolize the females to assure the survival of their own seed. The winners get laid a lot and have a lot of children. The losers hang out on the periphery and sometimes get to mate with females who are not in heat and thus will not conceive.

Flocks of birds work out pecking orders in battles that begin on hatching. The top bird pecks first and humps the hens first. Each bird knows its place. The system is stable. When the flocks become artificially inflated in number, as in the case of turkey ranches, it makes the pecking order unstable because there are too many birds and status niches for their little brains to handle. Epidemics of crazed pecking without resolution sweep through the flocks and many birds die.

One turkey expert has patented opaque contact lenses for turkey. If they can't see the other birds, they don't start pecking.

B.F. Skinner once did an experiment in which pigeons were taught to recognize colors by being rewarded with grain from an automatic feeder that delivered when the right code was pecked on colored buttons. The birds became fabulous performers, ten thousand trials without a single error. Then he changed the feeder to deliver randomly instead of logically. As he reduced the rate of delivery, the pigeons' actions became more odd and contorted. Take three steps forward, tuck right foot under left wing, then peck. You could see them working out superstitious routines that obviously had a great meaning to them but no effect on the outcome. These ridiculous strategies made the pigeons feel better (if it's possible to speculate on what pigeons feel) because they apparently provided a feeling of control. Gamblers at Las Vegas act in the same way.

On a more subtle level, so do we all. We have been deprived of the normal sense of order and security supplied by family and community. We prefer our neurotic strategies to chaos. The contact lenses calm us.

Our adaptations to blindness may be more comfortable than seeing. In the Fifties, British psychologist R. I. Gregory described the case of a man who had made an astounding adjustment to blindness that began in infancy. He could tell time by feeling his watch, read the title of a magazine by touching the print. He went bicycling with friends and was an ardent woodworker. He even won at darts in the local pub. When he was 52, a surgeon restored his vision. At first, he was unable to recognize the meaning of what he saw. He had to learn his world all over again. It was terrifying. Within two years of the operation, his depressions became so severe that he died.

Are Americans a bunch of cry babies?

DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS, we've seen more and more opinion leaders claiming that American are just a bunch of cry babies. We've never had it so good, they sneer. People just like to complain because

they enjoy it *and* they get paid for it in ridiculously unfair insurance settlements, like the elderly lady who was awarded millions for spilling hot coffee on herself. This doesn't look quite as ridiculous when you find out that many other customers had complained that McDonald's coffee was way too hot and that the poor woman suffered horrible scald burns which left her permanently handicapped and disfigured.

Are we really discontented because our expectations were unrealistic? Has "the last half of our century been hugely successful" and has America really become "a vastly better place?" These are the principal arguments in the Miami Herald's recent excerpt from Robert J. Samuelson's book, *The Good Life and its Discontents; The American Dream in the Age of Entitlement*, yet another entry in the "Culture of Complaint" sweepstakes.

In somewhat the same way, Samuelson's claims tend to look a little less convincing when you examine them from the standpoint of what we have really gone through and what we really expected.

At the outbreak of World War II in 1941, the United States was, by many measures, very definitely poorer, more ignorant and more openly prejudiced than it is today. I was a six-year-old in a middle class Jewish family living in a middle class Jewish section of The Bronx. My older brother came home early from a ball game and told us that we were at war with the "Japs." He asked, "Who are the Japs, Mommy?" My mother, a high school graduate, answered, "I don't really know. I think they're kind of like the chinks." Black people were "*shvartzes*," the Yiddish word that literally means blacks, but had all the intonations of "nigras," which is what Southern racists used to call them when trying to be polite. All others were "*goyim*" or "guineas" or "spicks," just a few of the rich variety of insulting terms for anyone who wasn't Jewish like us. We didn't have a radio, much less a phonograph, and my father went out and bought a little white plastic Emerson table model to keep up with "the war news."

That, I have to say, pretty much sums up all the bad parts. My mother didn't even know that it was bad to call Chinese people

chinks. On the other hand, when I made the very unfortunate mistake of calling the nice black lady who helped out with the housekeeping a "nigger," my mother spanked me vigorously, one of the few times that I can remember her doing so. In the years that followed, we welcomed penicillin (does anyone else remember those dreaded ear infections and strep throats and glassine envelopes of sulfa powders?), television, our own car and all the other good things that Samuelson cites as evidence that our life improved.

But at the same time, other novelties appeared, such as the aerosol DDT bomb, symbolic of yet another series of disasters almost too severe to comprehend. When Uncle Jack died of lung cancer after a sickness of only three weeks, we had no way of knowing that it had anything to do with his having supervised the installation of asbestos insulation in one of New York's new post-war skyscrapers. We didn't know that the closer you lived to one of those great new expressways, the more likely you were to suffer from depression because of the carbon monoxide.

We certainly never connected my mother's increasingly severe emotional problems with the pesticides she religiously sprayed all over the place to keep down the vermin. We *welcomed* the shock treatments and miracle tranquilizers such as Thorazine they gave her. Little did we know that she would die hopelessly handicapped with a form of Parkinsonism caused by those very pills. Nor did we ever expect to live in a world in which random violence such as serial killings would become merely routine and children would carry weapons to school and be shot there and die.

The list of new evils could go on and on. I don't want to appear to be one of those old codgers telling all you young whippersnappers about the good old days, but when I talk with folks in their late fifties and early sixties, we tend to agree on our core definitions of normalcy, no matter how much our ethnic, political and cultural origins may vary. The most outstanding principle of agreement is that the normal young family consists of a father who works and a mother with small children who is home to give them milk and cook-

ies when school is out. Perhaps our neighborhood was some kind of statistical freak zone, but among the four thousand kids attending William Howard Taft High School, just about the *only* delinquents were children from broken homes or where the mother worked, in some cases even as school teachers.

Normalcy did not include people living in the streets. I never saw anything like that even once in all the time I was growing up, going to school and working as a young householder and divorced bachelor. In 1967, when I moved to California, normalcy did not include a pervading sense of personal fear. As a twelve-year-old, I roamed New York City by subway and bus and never once was afraid. When I returned to New York in 1978 to negotiate a book contract and stayed to work for *Penthouse* in the development of what was to become *Omni*, I was afraid to ride the subways. I am not a fearful person. In the course of my work as a writer for *Playboy* and *Rolling Stone*, I lived in dope-dealing communes with the kind of people the Hell's Angels avoided as too dangerous, and that was the safe part. In New York, living in the penthouse of the Hotel Chelsea, I was *afraid*.

So that's the world we got. What about the one we expected? I guess that would take a book longer than Samuelson's to define. Let's leave at this: in 1974, I was laid up in La Jolla, California, after surgery at Scripps Institute to replace an arthritic hip, the result of a fracture that never healed properly, probably because the surgeon who treated the original injury made some dreadful errors. He was later reduced to selling prescriptions to drug addicts, a nurse who worked for him told me. I never did sue him. If I had, I suppose I might have been cited in one of those ridiculous malpractice award stories. As a freelance writer, I had no medical coverage of any kind, and so I had to go on welfare, which turned out to be one of the most positive experiences of my life, yet another book I don't really want to write.

While recovering, I wound up doing some research on welfare and poverty, in the course of which I spoke to a thinker at the Hudson Institute, whose name I seem to remember was Anthony Lane, now President Clinton's national security adviser. I asked him, "Tony,

I'm sure you've heard the question, 'How come we can send a man to the moon, but we can't solve the problem of poverty?' Well, how come?"

He replied, "Sending a man to the moon is a problem with a clearly defined goal and a clearly defined set of actions necessary to achieve it. It's much harder to define the solution to poverty in the same way."

"It's easier," I answered. "Define the solution to poverty this way. Every man, woman and child in the United States must have a roof over their heads, two changes of decent clothing, two pairs of shoes and three square meals a day. After you accomplish that, you can go on to such luxuries as education and medical care. That's not unreasonable, is it? We can't do this because we are not allowed to admit that Americans haven't yet achieved these goals, but maybe the Russians have."

Lane heartily agreed with me. "You're right," he said. "I never thought of it that way."

Well, times have certainly changed. The Russians now have the same problems we do, only a lot worse. We can now admit that millions of Americans don't have the simple basics that the lowest foot soldier in the American Army takes for granted. Now, of course, the answer is that these people don't *deserve* any better and even if they did, why should the rich give up further tax advantages to do anything about it? Still, I think that it makes more sense to look at this awful reality before citing the number of VCRs and microwave ovens we have, not to speak of such truly absurd indicators as how many *airplane* trips we take. Meanwhile, maybe people like Robert Samuelson shouldn't insult all the intelligent mothers working double shifts on computer terminals by urging them to take heart in the fact that they aren't in coal mines. Or does he believe, like *PC Magazine's* Bill Machrone, that repetitive stress injury is an *emotional* problem?

Is There Any Hope?

THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE POWER of the elite removes an internal barrier to your progress. You don't have to be a democrat. You can be a leader. This is especially true of the middle class. Perhaps the power elite has no ownership, but we do have operational control. We do have a certain stubbornness. We do like to clean things up. Perhaps the future depends on what we allow ourselves to dare. For now, we need strategies of survival.

The most important rule will always be that you've got to know which way the wind blows. Never fight the tape. The tobacco industry is going to die not because it will be outlawed, but because college kids think smokers are stupid. It is true that the basic problems of food and energy and shelter can easily be solved with the resources available. Given modest changes in the psychology of rule there will be a general softening of attitudes as we emerge from the Age of Industry into the Age of Communication.

Unless we experience major changes in weather patterns causing worldwide famine and international gloom, the mood will be benevolent despotism rather than blood and iron. Maybe real wages will go down in the sense that not everybody will be able to own a private home or car, but food could become abundant and cheap again, rents might become low and public services such as sanitation, education and public transportation could be lavishly endowed. One thing we have learned from our crazed military expenditures is how rich we really are. We have unimaginable surpluses.

Some people see the United States as a country occupied by its own troops, but is it also true that one of the Rockefeller girls is a psychiatrist specializing in breast-feeding research. There are people in the Defense Department who know more about Buddhism and Taoism than many an academic Orientalist. They don't have girlfriends who look like Fawn Hall. They are fathers and they have wives and children and they're making a good living. They liked it better when the Defense Department was building highways and handing out scholarships. They are mission-oriented problem solvers and they

can't stand messes. They don't like seeing their livelihoods endangered by pea-brains with Rambo ego problems. You see their position growing more apparent all the time as the military take great pains to disassociate themselves from administration failures.

This came home to me very strongly in 1970 when I attended a Herman Kahn seminar at the Hudson Institute and struck up a conversation with a Marine colonel who looked like the classic Special Forces thug: Alabama accent, close-cropped red hair not quite covering what appeared to be the scars of hand-to-hand combat, built like a professional wrestler, tiny gray eyes.

When I asked him what he did, he replied, "I'm an Orientalist."

"Huh?"

"Yes, I'm a Taoist. I believe very deeply in the Tao."

"How does that fit in with being a Marine?"

"Well, I work in the Office of Naval Intelligence. Some of our principal allies and almost all of our most significant possible enemies are Asian. We do have to understand them, don't we? You can't understand the Asian way of thinking unless you understand the Tao, Confucianism and Buddhism. That's my job."

I valued my experience in the United States Army as a major turning point in my life. In later years, both as a public relations consultant and a writer, I spent many absorbing hours talking with military officers and Defense Department officials and, to this day, have a profound respect for the fundamental competence and sense of mission of the American military Establishment. The Center is often much broader than we think. Only the centrist gets anything done in a real sense. That requires a dedicated effort to understand the value systems of others.

We also don't know what will come out of the military involvement in the space program. Maybe they will have learned something. The stunning victory in Iraq was almost certainly a result of the shift of power from older ideologists, raised on the Victorian model, to younger modern pragmatists who have been more influenced by Dr. Spock. At the time, I thought, what happens if Gen. Norman Sch-

wartzkopf turns out to be a Democrat and decides to run for President? Clinton's election demonstrated that the center is now directly in the Department of Defense. This might seem to be an absurd conclusion, in view of the cuts in the Defense budget, the base closings and so on, but when you look at the course of the election there is no alternative. Clinton was the Defense Department candidate. When have you ever seen retired general staff officers and defense industry chief executives coming out for a Democrat? How else do you explain the fact that defense contractors provided the single largest source of Clinton's campaign financing? And the fact that the defense budget is now immune from any further cuts?

Moreover, Clinton had the kind of espionage that usually only Republicans command. During the campaign, someone slipped him advance copies of all the Bush commercials. To whom did he write the famous letter about his draft status? To a Navy captain. What did he do behind the Iron Curtain? He stayed for two weeks in Czechoslovakia at the home of the founder of the Czech Communist Party, then a dissident, who was later killed by the KGB. Finally, what if he was telling the truth when he said that he did not inhale? Why not? Because maybe he was a military intelligence agent on duty. He did not want to call attention to himself by refusing the joint. At the same time, he did not want to take the chance of blowing his cool. It's an undercover tactic well known to dope dealers and anti-drug war activists. If you pass a joint to someone and he/she/it puts it to his/her/its lips and does not take a hit, he/she/it is marked as a possible police agent. In this interpretation, Clinton was there on a mission and he believed in his mission: to protect these students (and by extension, his country) from the very real dangers of innocents abroad in the ugly murk of European power politics.

Perhaps Bill Clinton was and is an undercover military officer, educated by the military at Georgetown, his career coddled at every step by the vast secret resources of the Defense Department's pragmatic, liberal wing. I discussed this idea a few years ago with Arthur Kretchmer, long known as the sanest person in the *Playboy* empire,

expecting him to shoot it down gleefully. Instead he said, "I think you're on to something there. It sure explains these erudite briefings by a supposedly hick governor of a poor Southern state, doesn't it?" He wanted me to do an essay, but I didn't want to make trouble for myself by publishing these opinions in a mass magazine. The Department of Defense is a lot smarter than anyone gives it credit. The fundamental error of the left and the right is that they always mistrust and underestimate the center. Ever since the ridiculous arms run-up began under Reagan, the military has expressed more and more discomfort with the right wing. No one in the Department of Defense ever considered Russia a serious threat to American influence. In the first place, the Russians scrupulously respected almost all aspects of the Yalta division of spheres of influence. This doesn't mean that they did not try to make trouble for the United States, but one might argue that most of their apparently hostile moves were actually part of their defense against a Cold War they did not start and never wanted. When the Cold War ended with the Soviet Union's political and economic collapse, it was publicly revealed for the first time that Russia had never, in fact, represented any real military threat. Yet anyone who dared to express that position earlier had been ridiculed and silenced.

The Cold War was merely a resumption of the crusade against the enemies of private property, to use Reagan's eloquent description, which had been temporarily suspended during World War II. The arms race paid astounding dividends for a small sector of the American economy to the severe detriment of all other sectors. It had absolutely no military function of any kind. Clinton is the military revenge against the right wing insanity. This could be very good for America, because for the first time since Watergate we will have carefully planned and executed policies that will be designed to produce across-the-board results for the nation as a whole, as opposed to only for the oil companies and the banking industry.

This is not much of a supposition on which to build any predictions, but it is worth thinking about.

There is a general agreement among modern therapists that a crucial step in personal development is to see our parents as people rather than God-like superstars who rewarded us or hurt us in thrilling or frightening family dramas. This becomes somewhat easier when we see them in the context of history. They too were victims. The process was not personal but institutional. They were taught to hurt us because it turned a profit. This revelation may not relieve the pain of your symptoms, but it will help you assign the blame correctly. Perhaps you will be able to love your parents, or, at least, to stop hating them. It will help you to stop demanding what they cannot give you. Most important, it will enable you to begin to avoid hurting your children and your loved ones in the same ways that you were hurt.

The late Harold Greenwald, a New York psychoanalyst who worked extensively with call girls, once said he thought that the community of people who had been in analysis and freed themselves to some extent of the need for master-slave relationships would form a nucleus of regeneration. This is very wise counsel. No one should underestimate the scale of the damage that has been done, nor the difficulty of the repair — if, indeed, it is possible. We are dealing with existing forces and momentums too well established to be turned around in a day, a year, or even one generation to the next. There is a technique in psychoanalysis called working through. It's not all fabulous insights. Great patience is required. The alternative is chaos and defeat.

Meanwhile, begin with yourself. Begin anywhere. Begin with a question. Why do you obey?

