

the predicated **particular** act; to introduce sexual acts into this sort of predicated particular relationship is to introduce an act which nothing in healthy mental life demands, and which could therefore contribute nothing to a healthy mental life. However, it is obvious whence arises this argument in defense of casually loving "one's comrade" sexually. This is nothing but the pornographic "sexual liberation" otherwise seen in the "sexual delicatessen" practices of the happily-defunct Weatherman SDS cult. This is nothing but a rationalization for the "community of women," the pathological bourgeois impulse so aptly discredited by Marx in his 1844 **Manuscripts**. Indeed, it cannot be considered accidental that the socialists of otherwise demonstrable creative potentials lose those creative capacities during the period they are committed to "liberated" sexual behavioral outlooks, and that these powers can be rather readily reestablished once the individual liberates himself, through appropriate self-examination, from the bourgeois ideological fetish of "sexual freedom."

Because of the importance of the sense of identity in the dynamics of creative mentation, it is urgent that the socialist (individuals and group) insist on the best standard of paired mating-relationships. Specifically, there must be a sharing of mutual struggle to realize identity for one's creative powers, which as an array of predicates of particular creative activity, demand the corresponding Gestalt of universal creativity. The healthy internal life and outward functioning of a socialist group demands a socialist standard of paired relationships, in which the sense of identities involved is premised on the mutual struggle to realize the creative potentialities in oneself and the other, not as a pedagogical relationship of teacher to pupil, but as a relationship in which each is drawing upon the creative ferment in the other and realizing himself or herself in stimulating and receiving that ferment in the other.

## 9. The Psychology of Mass Organizing

In political mass organizing, the socialist propagandist and individual organizer in effect strips away a critical aspect of the persona of the worker, and so momentarily implicitly reduces that worker to the wretched state of a "little me." The general possibility of that **negative** aspect of mass-organizing work varies in effect to the extent that the practical habits of the workers' bourgeois ideology have ceased to work. Trade-union forms, for example, have ceased to provide efficient means **within themselves** for securing the worker the circumstances which coincide with his bourgeoisified illusions. More generally, depression conditions, unpopular wars, etc., have undermined the authority of those apparent "fixed laws" which correspond to the workers' bourgeois-ideological "respect for law." The anxiety which the workers have experienced through the failure of acts corresponding to their bourgeoisified ego-ideal has weakened their sense of

identity (passivity) and has undermined the authority of the bourgeois-ideological ego-ideals. These are circumstances in which aspects of the persona may be more readily stripped away.

Stripping away such elements of the persona, by itself, obviously does not produce socialist impulses in workers. Quite the opposite; it produces an alternation between pathetic passivity and wild, imbecilic heteronomic rage. Oppressive conditions, etc., absolutely do not make workers class-conscious, revolutionary, etc. Nor could stripping away the persona in itself accomplish this.

Socialist organizing is directed to the mobilization of workers around a new sense of social identity replacing the "little me," a new sense of identity which the propagandist and organizer must **synthesize**. What is to be done is, in effect, to realize to the extent possible the possibility for reconstructing an actually human individual from an adult accultured by capitalist society. The partial stripping away of the persona is at best merely a precondition for the positive work; moreover, this stripping-away should be carried out only to the extent that the debridement is accompanied by the beginnings of a new sense of social identity in the worker. This new sense of social identity is an approximation of the creative identity.

The object of organizing is to replace the old persona-determining ego-ideals with new criteria, formally identifiable by the concepts of **class-for-itself** and of **socialist expanded reproduction**. This transformation cannot be accomplished by a mere pedagogical relationship to the workers involved in this program of personal reconstruction. The advancement of the process depends upon the individual's acting in such a way as to establish such criteria through acts which approximate the realization of class-for-itself and expanded reproduction. The new qualities of the worker's identity can be developed only as his developing human powers for actualizing those qualities in the outer world.

The solution to this apparent difficulty appears in the understanding of the point that all abstract (formal) ideas, to the extent they reflect or are susceptible of actuality, are nothing but concentrated social relations. In this view of the tasks of mass organizing, the two conceptions, class-for-itself and socialist expanded reproduction, reduce to a single process-conception as follows.

The immediate practical basis for developing rudiments of the class-for-itself conception in the worker is that otherwise identified by the term **motion**. The socialist cadre induces the scintilla of a change in the individual worker, who replicates that by inducing a scintilla of change in other workers. The spread of this process, under the conditions that the affected individual workers are being brought together to "reenforce"

the tendency by unifying their forces on this basis, is the deliberate determination of a **movement** of social forces corresponding in principle to a mass-strike process. The psychodynamics of the relationships among workers in this process are those of love (e.g., "comradeship"); the individual realizes his inner identity by positive developments in the conceptual powers of other workers, and depends upon them in turn, for development of his conceptual powers. These are not abstract conceptions as such, but sensuous conceptions, in the sense that the conceptions in themselves imply and demand appropriate collective action and represent the potential basis for common such actions otherwise impossible.

In this process, up to a certain point, the process of organizing a broader force is itself the sensuous activity which feeds the development as a whole. The elementary laws of mental life demand superseding that condition. Since the failure to execute an appropriate collective act destroys the will and weakens the conceptions associated with new social identity, the organizing process under capitalism must become the basis for a strike process. The conception must be sensuously actualized.

Once we consider the sensuous acts corresponding to this mass-strike organizing process, the importance of the notion of Freedom/Necessity in this process becomes obvious. What is the conception that properly demands actuality? Essentially, the mass must act to realize the necessary acts corresponding to the potentiality of its actual powers. The mere impulse to "free" itself from the objective chains of capitalist oppression, which would ordinarily be an irresponsible, suicidal act, represents only the pathetic notion of the new creativity of the worker's identity. Freedom must be realized as a scientifically known means for developing the powers to overthrow existing, oppressive laws.

The practical point for the socialist cadres is identified by noting the bourgeois-ideological idiocy of the typical members of Progressive Labor, International Socialists, etc., which prompts them to limit their efforts to exciting the workers to greater militancy around **linear** slogan-impulses. If one instructs the workers that militancy is what is wanted, then how can one restrain the militant group of isolated workers from undertaking almost any sort of premature, futile heteronomic act of suicidal desperation? The idea of mass-organizing cannot be a simple linear notion of freedom; it must be introduced and constantly reestablished as a concept embracing Freedom/Necessity, such that the criteria of the mass-act are presented as subsumed by the notion of Freedom and vice versa.

Already, we have identified a rudimentary approximation of the tasks of organizing. We have eliminated

the problem of the pathetic monad-self by giving the worker the sensuous realization of the real inner self of his creative life. This is socially located (and thus reflected) for him, to become an actuality, through his activity of reciprocally advancing the conceptual grasp of the situation with a growing number of workers. Instead of "little me," as a fixed monad, the worker begins to locate his inner self as the socially-reflected **self-perfecting** activity of increasing his mental-sensuous powers. In practice, he begins to realize this advancement in his mental and social life by working in concert with socialist cadres to effect the rudiments of similar changes in other workers.

The instant this begins to occur, the worker becomes virtually class-conscious and revolutionary. The instant he breaks with the notion of his inner self as a monad-like thing, he has also broken with the "organic" epistemological outlook on the world around him as a world of **fixed laws**. He is open to judging possible ways of effecting even sweeping changes in the way society is organized, the way "things are done."

The change which occurs in this way is efficiently illustrated by reviewing the bourgeois myth that the axiomatic principle of individual human behavior is "individual material greed." It should be obvious that the person who accepts such a false axiom is giving prima facie evidence of his own state of internal mental life; he obviously has a bourgeois character-structure, with its reductionist monad-persona dynamics and its cohering reductionist outlook on the universe of the monad's experience. This pathetic element of the worker's usual bourgeois character-structure is at the same time an axiomatic basis for rationalization of the inevitability and permanence of capitalist control of the productive forces. **A society of individual-greed optimizing monads could only be a pluralistic parody of a capitalist form!\*** "Human nature will never change." "I'm minding my own business." "We can take care of our own interests by ourselves without outside interference." "That's his problem; I've got to get mine where I can." "You couldn't understand, since you're not black and not a woman." "Local control." **These and similar prima facie evidence of a bourgeois character structure more or less directly indicate the reasons why no socialist transformation could occur without an accompanying and preceding destruction of the personality characteristics reflected by such alienated, anti-human rubbish as these commonplace slogans. Indeed, precisely as the cynical critics of socialism charge, to have socialism it is first necessary to "change human nature," or, more exactly, to conquer the bestiality of the bourgeois character-structure.**

The previous review of socialist planning focusses on the complementary features wanted to locate the social basis for actualizing the notion of Necessity which accompanies the sense of the Free (creative) inner self.

\*Marx and Engels in 1875 describe the pathetic view of the social-democracy. The present-day society without certain of its defects.

The very existence of the human species in the quality of life (material conditions and leisure) presently existing at any time already demands development of the productive forces as a whole. Without modified technology, measured by greater negentropy of the productive forces as a whole, it would be impossible to maintain the prevailing quality of life within relatively-finite resources of a fixed technology. This development, which is thus the unique self-interest of even each individual qua individual, depends upon the process of expanded reproduction involving the entire world's working-class population. Within this, expanded reproduction occurs as the extension of the existing productive forces through productive employment of the unemployed. This productive employment occurs through the realization of the surplus product produced through the employment of productive labor. Hence, if employed labor attempted to maximize its immediate consumption at the expense of expanded employment, the consequence must be a reduction in the material consumption and leisure of employed labor. If unemployed labor attempts to maximize its consumption by undermining the employment conditions of employed labor or at the expense of productive development, the material interests of unemployed labor are thereby undermined.

That is only the crudest aspect of the problem.

The more profound truth is located in the lawful means and consequences of the development of the increased productive powers of any individual worker in the world. The development of productive powers is the development of the individual's creative (cognitive) powers. This obviously suggests the increase in the individual's powers to invent technological advances of universal benefit. Less obviously, but of equal significance, this development, epitomized by education, is essential to enable employed labor to realize the productive benefits of new technological developments embodied in the productive process. This advance in cognitive potentialities of individuals is limited by the rates of advance in both the material quality of consumption and the ratio of leisure.

We emphasize this point by means of an illustration we have frequently employed before this. It is obvious enough that the cheaper the cost of copper (among other essentials) to the U.S. sector, the higher the rate of social productivity in the U.S., and the higher the standard of consumption and leisure possible in the U.S. To obtain cheaper copper from the underdeveloped copper-exporting sector, it is essential to generally advance the material conditions of productive technology, and of material consumption and leisure throughout that sector. To fail to do so lowers thus the possible quality of existence in the U.S. sector.

This is the kernel of socialist humanism. The creative powers and the development of the creative powers of

every other potentially-productive individual in the world (as either or both universal and cooperative labor) is in the concrete interest of every other such person in the world.

In the organizing process, this principle has several interconnected immediate applications. Broadly speaking, as education, discussion of such scientific evidence is the pedagogical device for communicating the rudiments of potential socialist program and human conceptions to workers. In the negative aspect of socialist propaganda, this same evidence provides the clearest contrast between what the working class can accomplish for itself after taking over existing productive forces and capitalist decay, underproduction. It gives thus the negative motivation for socialist struggle. In the positive aspect of propaganda work, it provides the worker with a meaningful notion of socialist expanded reproduction, and arouses his mental powers for contributing to the specifications of socialist program: he begins to act in the mode of the socialist individual worker engaged in formulating socialist programmatic developmental policies, he begins to think and act as socialist man. In the organizing process, these notions provide him with class-consciousness respecting the workers whose bourgeois traditions set into "competition" with him. He can now see directly the importance of the unorganized or unemployed worker to himself, and his importance to that worker. He overcomes chauvinism toward workers of other races and nationalities, and recognizes his importance to them.

This organizing work depends upon the socialist cadres who are the unifying and leading organ of the organizing process as a whole. The organizing of the class cannot be effected unless a significant number of such cadres can become the kind of mass organizers our outlined approach demands of them.

This is no mere sweeping generalization, no mere truism. The instant one deploys large proportions of a socialist group's membership into direct organizing of sections of the working class, all sorts of dismal and even sometimes hideous difficulties appear. The persisting, actually **neurotic** bourgeois deformations of the personality of the individual cadres result in behavior which proves to be nothing but an unconscious intent to sabotage the organizing work in which they are purportedly engaged! Since the majority of cadres of an initiating group for any socialist party are drawn from an exceptional stratum of petit-bourgeois youth, it might appear that the unique source of the difficulties is the characteristics of the stratum in which these cadres have been accultured. The instant one notices the not-unrelated form of unconscious sabotaging by cadres directly drawn from the working class itself, the truth confronts us.

The petit-bourgeois background of many cadres does indeed involve a special, vicious form of problems. In



academic life, truth is of the propitiatory neurotic form we identified earlier. To express the problem most concisely, the characteristic neurotic behavior of the petit-bourgeois socialist cadre is summed up by the notion of "passing one's classroom recitations and quizzes."

Success in life, to the petit-bourgeois, is largely restricted to the task of being heard by the right people reciting the proper phrases. This more fundamental form of characteristic petit-bourgeois disorder is often maintained by internalized images of actual or synthetic academic authorities or peer-groups; the victim of this pathology is constantly looking over his shoulder, even when he is apparently addressing a worker, to reflect on the increase or diminution of status in the eyes of those academic authorities and peer-groups, should these authorities and peer-groups witness his performance in front of the worker. In addition to academic authorities and peer-groups as such, the typical such petit-bourgeois cadre is also "conscience-stricken" respecting the relationship between his academic status and the ego-ideals developed in the family. The neurotic behavior immediately controlled by reference to these internalized authorities may be either direct adaptation or counter-adaptation. Many members of socialist groups (such as the case of the typically anti-intellectual academic instructor who has joined PLP, etc.) restrict their socialist "politics" to merely acting out rebellions against internalized authorities, an actually harmless sort of delayed-adolescence prankishness which, even in its inversions, faithfully follows the guidelines of the academic neurosis. On this account, it is absolutely indispensable that the socialist group rip apart publicly the easily-demonstrated ideological content and (in many instances) outright objective incompetence of authoritative academic views, showing that the pathetic features of credulously respected academic authority are removed once the field in question is critically examined from the standpoint of the Marxian method. The socialist organization must create psychological distance between the mind of its members and academic authorities and peer-group opinion. This is not effected by simple negation, but by demonstrating the superior authority of the Marxian method in selected fields of such academic authority. If this drives certain potential recruits from the socialist group, such a selective process is to be desired. A few painful examples of the behavior of the petit-bourgeois academic outlook in mass organizing suffices to convince one of the need to select.

The issue here — the real issue — is ultimately identical with that confronting the socialist organization from its working-class social strata. The pathetic feature of academic ideology and influences for mass-organizing work is precisely the fact, as study of individual Ph.D.'s shows, that the **academic ideology systematically destroys the creative potentialities of the student.** The root of the nonsensical antics among petit-bourgeois cadres sent into mass organizing is their lack of creative activity; if this assumes the form of overt

anti-intellectuality among worker cadres with the same neurotic disability, the two cases are no less the same in the final analysis. It is the forms through which the neurosis is mediated which differ significantly.

It should be obvious, from our emphasizing on the stripping and rebuilding processes, that the tasks of the cadres are distantly related to those of the psychoanalyst. The kernel of the consequent practical problem involved: **unless the cadres themselves have developed their creative powers and identities in terms of class-for-itself and socialist-expanded-reproduction criteria, they are unable to direct their efforts toward the positive reconstruction of the worker's sense of inner identity.**

Where those qualities are lacking, the resulting foolishness of cadres invariably assumes one of three general forms. The most common form of neurotic behavior by organizers is that of adaptation to the backwardness of the workers they are assigned to organize: so-called "workerism." The backwardness of the workers in effect organizes the cadres. The second form is one which perhaps has a higher incidence among Labor Committee novice-organizers than those of other groups. **Because the members have some formal knowledge and experience of the significance and of some techniques for stripping away aspects of the persona, the member who applies such techniques without having yet developed a working grasp of the dialectical method rather inevitably accomplishes only the negative aspect of the "molecular" organizing task. He succeeds in either organizing or estranging worker-contacts on the basis of induced heteronomic rage. (Either way, the organization is thus confronted with a bit of a mess to be cleaned up.)** The third neurotic form is commonplace among those most closely bound to the academic ego-ideal (or, to its simple inversion). The socialist, in this sickening sort of incident, hides himself from any real contact with the workers by throwing up a pathetic persona-mask of chanted or shouted ritual slogans or other cant. He is not organizing anyone: he is acting out a pitiable neurotic episode. He is attempting to artifice an appearance of belief in his own role against the reflected skepticism he actually meets or projects on the workers.

Consequently, every engagement in mass-organizing deployments properly forces the socialist organization to concentrate on the conceptual problems of the dialectical method and Marxian economics. The inability of socialist members to master the dialectical method for themselves is the inevitable root of their probable failure as mass-organizers.

From our discussion of related matters, it should be evident that the difficulties of comprehending certain conceptions in dialectical method and Marxian economics are not pedagogical problems in the ordinary sense. The cause of these difficulties is nothing but a form of

**hysteria** in the proper clinical sense of that term. The difficulty in comprehending the notions of class-for-itself and expanded reproduction in **more than a merely descriptive fashion** is singularly located in the fact that these notions are insusceptible of comprehension to ordinary (bourgeois-ideological) forms of consciousness. No person who experiences (or would experience) a sense of a monad-like "little me" inner self through the stripping-away of his persona could possibly conceptualize the notions of class-for-itself or expanded reproduction.

Hence, the persisting difficulty of comprehending these notions must be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of a severe neurotic disturbance, which must be examined and treated as such a pathology. Undoubtedly, ordinary psychoanalytical work can contribute significantly toward the ultimate remedy. Competent psychoanalytic work would reduce the force of crippling secondary neurotic disorders, and increase the individual's "ego-strength" to the point of making more feasible a direct attack on the more fundamental pathology. However, so far, psychoanalytical methods and conceptions necessarily have failed to develop the competence to directly attack this grandfather of all neurosis, bourgeois ideology itself.

The hazard in utilizing the powerful concentrated social forces of an entire organization to effect forced therapy ought to be more or less obvious. **As the representation of the problems and goals indicates, the approximation of clinical group confrontations within the limits of clear and restricted task-orientations is absolutely mandatory.** However, **this** would fail if these practices degenerated into mere "therapy-group" sessions, which must occur unless the process is under rigorous control of qualified leading individuals and unless the notion of **task-orientation criteria** is positively focussed in such a way that the participants can locate thus an approximation of positive identity.

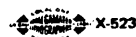
A preliminary period of several weeks of intensive sessions by member groups in the U.S.A. and Western Europe has made the requirements clearer, but has also shown results in the form of discernible qualitative improvements — with an absolute minimum of in-

**stances of neurotic episodes in individual participants. Despite the disturbing, although much-reduced incidence of neurotic behaviors of the sort which would have occurred in any case, the result of months of successive phases of work on this problem has been a grudging but marked improvement in performance, both in the quality of intellectual productions and in organizing work.**

A remark on the history of the socialist movement gives the necessary focus. The socialist organizations have been characterized by handfuls of actual mass organizers, around which the general membership otherwise operated as apparatus functionaries or as unskilled auxiliary aides to the actual mass organizers "in the field." These handfuls of qualified organizers developed as such more or less "spontaneously," and the socialist movement, up to this time, had developed no systematic notion of practice by which it could wilfully (self-consciously) increase the incidence of such persons within its membership. At the same time, every socialist organization has depended for its effective political leadership on the "spontaneous" incidence of a handful of such rare persons, to the effect that the "decapitation" of that group in terms of the loss of one or at most several such figures meant the effective destruction of the continued effective development and tactical direction of the organization. In both instances, the basis for these critical limitations on such forms of creative development has obviously been the same neurotic problem examined in this paper. Viewing such problems in the context of the brief period available to establish socialism (before an otherwise inevitable fascist holocaust), and considering the tiny nucleus of viable organized socialist forces available at this very late phase of the process, without the wilful production of an increased ratio of qualified mass organizers and political leaders from "mere ordinary" socialist cadres, there would not appear to be much hope for the continued existence of the human race during the remainder of this century.

**The limited but nonetheless unequivocal advances we have effected during the past months substantiate the conviction that our plunge a few steps beyond psychoanalysis in this respect contributes to saving the human race from the threatened new fascist holocaust.**

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# **National Caucus of Labor Committees**

## **Beyond Psychoanalysis**

**By L. Marcus**