

Horst-Eberhard Richter: Mother Russia's psy-warrior

by Gabriele Liebig

Prof. Horst-Eberhard Richter, of Giessen, West Germany, has been waging psychological warfare against the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany and the defense of the West for decades. Now, those exertions are bearing deadly fruit.

Back in 1968, armed with Friedrich Nietzsche as his teacher, Fyodor Dostoevsky as his favorite writer, and the weapons provided by a psychiatric and psychoanalytic education of many years, Richter hooked onto the student revolts and did much to build up the "alternative movement." The "ecology" movement to him was a transitional step to the "peace movement."

Since 1982, Richter has been chairman of the West German branch of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). The IPPNW, with 150,000 member physicians worldwide—8,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany—is an instrument of Soviet psychological warfare, which openly characterizes its goal as "psychological disarmament."

The list of high-ranking Soviet functionaries in leading positions in the IPPNW reveals what the organization is all about. At the Cologne IPPNW Congress in 1986, the following were present, among others: **Vadim Zagladin**, Central Committee Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; **Yevgenii Velikhov**, leading figure in the Soviet nuclear and strategic defense programs; Soviet psychiatrist **Marat Vartanyan**, who specializes in committing dissidents to psychiatric institutions; **Georgii Arbatov**, whose links to Soviet military intelligence, the GRU, were listed in 1987 in the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, and who sits, together with KGB Gen. **Mikhail Milshstein** and KGB Col. **Radomir Bagdanov**, on the Palme Commission. Arbatov is one of 11 individuals who founded the IPPNW in 1980 in Geneva.

Yevgenii Chazov, the Soviet IPPNW head, is minister of health of the Soviet Union and head of that ministry's fourth central office, making him personally responsible for the large-scale Soviet civil defense system. The IPPNW, of course, castigates and boycotts civil defense in the West as "preparation for war." He is the personal physician to Mos-

cow's elite. Since 1974, he has been a member of the Nationalities Senate of the Supreme Soviet and, since 1982, a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The IPPNW also has "American" leaders. Take **Bernhard Lown**, who has received a Nobel Peace Prize. He emigrated from Lithuania to America with his parents in 1935, and after the war, founded the International Student Union (IUS), known then as a front for the Soviet KGB.

'Identification with the threatening enemy'

Horst-Eberhard Richter was born in 1923, and at the age of 18, went to Russia, where he began a career as a severe psychosomatic. A "post-diphtherial polyneuritis"—an inflammation of the nerves following an attack of diphtheria—protected him from the cauldron of Stalingrad. A rheumatic illness causing paralysis of the legs later enabled him to avoid working in a hospital under a tyrannical sergeant, whom Richter hated. When he finally returned home, he learned that both his parents had been stabbed to death by drunken Russian soldiers two months after the war ended. Richter reacted with new illnesses, an inflammation of the lungs, a new paralysis of the legs, and a "collective guilt" complex.

At any rate, that is how he presents it in his memoir *Die Chance des Gewissens (The Chance for Conscience)*, which appeared in 1986. That is, he defended the murderers of his parents with the argument: It is, after all, our fault, since we attacked Russia.

Psychiatrist Peter R. Hofstätter considers Richter to be "to a great extent an inwardly disturbed personality": "Since Richter received, as a 22-year-old, the news of the bestial murder of his parents and reacted psychosomatically to 'what my mother must have had to go through beforehand,' he is obviously no longer capable of conceiving of the Russians as aggressors. The defense mechanism of identification with the threatening enemy described by Anna Freud plays a role here as well as incest anxiety, which is even more deeply buried in the unconscious."

Richter began his psychosomatic career as a patient in a hospital for rheumatics. After the war, he studied medicine

and philosophy; his psychoanalytic education came later. His early publications, *Eltern, Kind, und Neurose* (*Parents, Child, and Neurosis*, 1962), *Herzneurose* (*Cardiac Neurosis*, 1969), and *Patient Familie* (*Family Patient*, 1970), contain partially correct, but hardly original ideas on child and family psychology. They also contain a growing bias against the traditional nuclear family as an institution.

But it was through the 1968 student revolt that he was first “made conscious,” as he wrote. Only then did he recognize that psychology as therapy is doomed to failure within the prevailing social institutions. Since then, he has mobilized his psycho-arsenal against the dominant social order. The tragic results of this destructive process we see daily before our eyes.

With the book *Die Gruppe* (*The Group*, 1972), Richter launched the first phase of the “group movement.” First from Berlin, and then from his Giessen psychosomatic clinic, he appealed to the dispersed remnants of the 1968 movement—high school and university students, leftist teachers, social workers, and homosexuals—to turn their backs on the nuclear family and to form communes. “Hope for a new way to liberate oneself and others” was the motto. Richter and colleagues functioned as the “psychological companions” of such groups, which pursued “self-knowledge” and did experiments with groups of children in anti-authoritarian education. “Sexual liberation” played a principal role. Other group activities were directed at so-called fringe groups such as the homeless, the anti-social, and prisoners.

Die Gruppe had the hoped-for impact; the book became virtually the bible of the anti-authoritarian movement.

The second phase of the group movement was aimed at “reform” of psychiatry in the Federal Republic. Richter’s books, *Lernziel Solidarität* (*Educational Target: Solidarity*, 1974), *Flüchten oder Standhalten* (*Running Away or Standing One’s Ground*, 1976), and *Engagierte Analysten* (*Committed Analysts*, 1978) were aimed at the critics of abuses in customary psychiatry—psychosomatically oriented physicians, social workers, and also dissatisfied patients, the mentally ill, and drug addicts, who were to join together in “self-help groups” and work for a “revolution from below.”

Richter and his disciples were no longer concerned with curing psychological problems, in the sense of at least helping the sick adjust to society, but rather, with the adjustment of society to the sick. “It was gradually learned that the sick are better helped if, rather than ambitiously proceeding to change them therapeutically, one rather takes a positive attitude toward their weaknesses and peculiarities. The transformation must, therefore, begin with us, with the relatives, with the social environment. The process of accommodation now is in a reverse direction . . . namely, that we adapt social conditions to a considerable group of human beings who are unsuited for the high pressure and stressful activity that we commonly designate as normal.”

With this thrust, an avalanche of self-help groups, ther-

apeutic communities, and psychosocial work groups (AGs), under the leadership of Richter and, among others, the **Sozialpolitischer Arbeitskreis** (Social-Political Work Group, SPAK), spread across the land. Richter could proudly announce in the afterword to a new edition of *Die Gruppe* that the “Specialist Committee of Official Psychiatric Inquiry . . . explicitly recommended AGs of our sort, and not merely as an isolated model, but rather as a desirable grassroots organization for cooperation and coordination of psychological care in the Federal Republic.”

This “grassroots organization” exists today in the form of a dense network of thousands of psychosocial, school psychology, drug, and other counseling and contact offices, women’s centers, prisoners’ rehabilitation centers, homosexual and prostitute organizations, and the like. In and around this psycho-network was formed the **Self-Help Network, Inc.**; countless political “spontaneous groups” and “citizens’ ad-hoc groups” sprouted up. These, as Richter stated in 1978, “have become within a few years an influential political factor.” This psycho-network today forms the “nervous system” of the alternative movement.

After the NATO “two-track decision” in 1979 to deploy the cruise missiles in Europe, the ecology and anti-nuclear energy movement was re-tooled as the peace and anti-nuclear missile movement. Physicians and scientists were now more strongly targeted. In 1980, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War was formed by Chazov, Arbatov, Lown, and other KGB types in Geneva. In 1982, Richter and a handful of professors founded the West German section of the IPPNW, with Richter as chairman.

Richter narrowed down his propaganda almost exclusively to undermining the Western will to defend itself. As a speaker at IPPNW or peace movement conferences, and at psychology meetings, he always advocates one or another variation on the same theme: To assume there is a Soviet threat, and to take appropriate measures for defense, is the expression of a “collective paranoia.” Anyone falls into this category who dares to point out that the Soviets have used “détente” for a gigantic arms build-up, and today, in the area of conventional as well as nuclear weapons, civil defense, and ABM defense, the Soviets are superior to the West. Should anyone go on to assert that the Russians, behind the facade of disarmament offers, are working feverishly to extend this superiority by introducing new land-based strategic missiles and increasing the number of short- and medium-range missiles, are improving “conventional” attack power, and are determined to have ground-based beam-weapon ABM systems by the end of the decade—the diagnosis of “paranoia” for him is conclusive.

The IPPNW’s role as an instrument of Soviet psychological warfare was more than obvious at its Cologne conference in 1986, shortly after the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown. Since the Soviets do not intend to close down a single reactor, but rather to increase nuclear energy production in the Warsaw

LaRouche forces target Soviet 'peace' planners

The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War is one of the Soviets' oldest vehicles for disarming the West, militarily and morally. At the IPPNW's international congress in Montreal, Quebec on the weekend of June 4-5, the Soviet representatives were rudely confronted with the reality of their plans for "Russian supremacy" by a team of political activists from the International Caucus of Labor Committees, associates of U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Lyndon LaRouche in Canada.

The ICLC members distributed a leaflet to the Congress exposing the reasons why Fyodor Dostoevsky, who advances the case that war has a positive, therapeutic effect to purge the social organism of "toxins" acquired in peacetime, has been rehabilitated in the Soviet Union.

At the first session of the congress, Yevgeni Chazov, U.S.S.R. Minister of Health, was confronted with his statement, previously carried in the Western press, that "the Russian race is genetically more resistant to AIDS." Chazov denied the statement, blaming the Western press for "misquoting" him. But later, his associate, Nikolai Bochkov, Director of the Soviet Institute of Medical Genetics, revealed his own Great Russian chauvinism, when he told the same ICLC questioner, Chazov's statement is "wrong—do you think there is a genetical difference between the American and Soviet people? The American people and the Soviet or Russian people are the same European race—Caucasian."

Soviet speaker Mikhail Gerasev, representative of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, took a similar tack, in a panel on space-based weapons, to avoid the embarrassing questions of the LaRouche associates. He denied Western press and military accounts of Soviet plans for space-based weapons development, though he was forced to admit, under ICLC questioning, that the Soviets are, indeed, developing radio frequency weapons.

The congress was greeted by U.S. Democratic presidential hopefuls Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson. Dukakis gushed out his pride in the fact that his Commonwealth of Massachusetts gave birth to the initiative which led to the founding of the IPPNW.

Pact fivefold by the year 2000, Soviet IPPNW members nixed any stance in Cologne against civilian nuclear power. To quote the *Rheinischer Merkur* (No. 23/1986), "Americans and Soviets came to an agreement in a conversation in Giesse with the German IPPNW activist H.E. Richter not to burden the Cologne conference with global proscription of civilian nuclear power."

It devolved on Richter to spread Gorbachov's propaganda formula on the subject of Chernobyl at Cologne: If Chernobyl was a catastrophe, how much worse, then, are nuclear weapons!

Earlier, in 1985, the year a Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Chazov and Lown, Soviet party boss Mikhail Gorbachov had received the prize-winners and warmly "recognized" the work of the IPPNW. His predecessor, Yuri Andropov, characterized the founding call of the IPPNW as "in deepest agreement with the thoughts of the Soviet leadership."

Manipulation of fear

The manipulation of fear plays the essential role in psychological warfare. The intention is, of course, to soften the enemy's will to resist. Any fear of the consequences of ca-

pitulation should be taken away from the enemy, and capitulation made palatable to him; on the other hand, he is to have monstrous fear of what threatens him if he *does not* capitulate. On precisely this simple principle rests the ideology of the peace movement spread by Richter in West Germany. Germans are to have more fear of a nuclear war than of the Russians. The "enemy image" (*Feindbild* in German) of the Soviet Union is to be taken away, nuclear war demonized into something "unthinkable," as the absolute end of the world, and the mere thought of nuclear weapons and similar objects "cathexed," that is, inextricably tied emotionally, to the omnipresent, omnipotent, overpowering feeling of fear.

In a speech to a public health conference in Hamburg in 1981, Richter formulated his new theory of fear: "Many human beings come to us psychotherapists because of their fear. Fear that steals our sleep, that makes our hearts pound, that hinders our work. . . . But much fear is healthy, because the circumstances in which human beings live are unhealthy. Then fear is right, and confidence would be wrong. . . . Fear of nuclear armament is right, because it represents a real danger that is steadily increasing."

The following litany for the peace movement's prayer

wheel is reminiscent—especially because of the self-suggestive first person form—of the technique of autogenic training:

“1) My fear is justified. I stand by it because it is appropriate to the real danger. . . .

“2) I will not allow myself to be persuaded that either the West or the East is producing good and necessary bombs that are justified by the evil bombs of the other side. . . .

“4) Any form of thinking that pretends that it is necessary to be ready to fight for higher goals, I consider crazy or at least a lie. . . .

“7) The presupposition for my becoming involved is that I work together with other people or a group. . . .

“8) I need this common work, first, in order to strengthen my courage to resist with reciprocity and unity. This is to a certain extent a therapeutic effect of self-help groups.

“9) But I also need the group in order to further educate myself and gather information . . . because I could hardly fully process much of the difficult information and think the problems through to the end.

“10) For activities directed externally in the area of peace work, I also need group cooperation.”

The individual is to have fear and be swallowed up in a group; single “peace groupies” will be channeled into the “great movement,” where individual fears, transformed into fear of major world catastrophe, are to be “used for peace politics.” Meanwhile, Richter all the more passionately attacked fear of the enemy, of the Soviet threat, and, in general, of submission and capitulation. To exorcise these fears, he reached deep into his psychoanalytic bag of tricks: Fear is the basic feeling of screwed-up middle-class society. Since the individual fear-neurotic has a special inclination to form families, the “life form of the conservative petit bourgeois . . . [is] the symbiotic, mutually dependent ‘fear-neurotic family.’ ”

And that also colors society as a whole, since it is constantly necessary to shift its fear onto scapegoats or enemy-images. “And so, as in fear-neurotic families, they are constantly on guard to maintain themselves against the invasion of the evil by using phobic avoidances, fear-neurotic petit bourgeois individuals flock to the conservative leaders who promise to more sharply combat criminals, to prosecute the left protest group more strictly, to limit rights of demonstration, and, above all, to push forward arming against the communist East.” This evil is occasionally aggravated into “paranoid persecution mania,” which is dangerous and must be eliminated by the peace movement. Richter calls this process “psychic disarmament.”

Gulags for paranoids?

Fortunately, there are not yet gulags in which to lock up such unpleasant “paranoids,” who believe, despite all the peace propaganda, that we still need defensive weapons.

Even psychiatric institutions have not yet been sufficiently reformed to take dissidents with “anti-Soviet persecution mania.” But perhaps the IPPNW will bring that about.

Moscow psychiatrist Marat Vartanyan, a leading IPPNW member, is an expert in that area. In November 1985, Leonid Plyushch, a critic of the Soviet regime living in Paris, accused Vartanyan of belonging to a commission that had committed Plyushch to a psychiatric institute for many years on grounds of alleged catatonic schizophrenia. The British scientist Peter Reddaway, lecturer at the London School of Economics and author of two books on the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union, reports that, in Oxford in 1976, before a group of doctors, Vartanyan characterized dissident Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, who died in February 1987 in the United States, as mentally disturbed, suffering from “an acute form of paranoia.”

Yelena Bonner, Andrei Sakharov’s wife, in her book *In Einsamkeit Vereint (United in Loneliness)*, also describes Vartanyan as “director of the scientific center for mental illnesses,” and a “principal figure in the employment of psychiatry for political goals.” She heard that Sakharov, while in Gorky, had been treated with drugs and hypnosis by psychiatrists, including the hypnosis specialist **Valdimir Roshnov**, and expressed the fear that her husband “in isolation will be transformed into a living corpse.” Judging by how willingly Sakharov now is to allow himself to be used in Gorbachov’s campaign against the SDI, Bonner’s fears seem not to have been unfounded.

Richter himself, incidentally, visited the Soviet Institute of Psychiatry for three weeks in 1970. However, he devotes not a single word in his autobiography to what he saw there, doubtless so as not to arouse the fear-neuroses of West Germans. Yet he found it worth reporting that many Russians had congratulated him “because Willy Brandt is now deciding policy among us” West Germans.

Psychic disarmament

In virtually all of his books, Richter holds forth on the American Milgram Experiment. Stanley Milgram had, in a series of experiments, proved that average people can be seduced by a clever experimenter into torturing others. The subjects of the experiments, who had answered advertisements, were told falsely that they were to work in a behavioristic “learning experiment.” If a second experimental subject—in reality, an actor—were to give a false answer in a memory test, the first was to administer an electrical shock of increasing intensity. The hideous result of the experiments was that over 60% of those tested—insofar as they went along with the nonsensical experimental set-up and the administering of electrical shocks—advanced to a highest shock-level of 435 volts. They were very bothered by the screams of the “victim,” and expressed reservations and resistance, yet they obeyed the orders of the experimenter, who repeated

that he guaranteed the harmlessness of the shocks, and that the experimental subject "had no other choice but to carry the experiment to a conclusion."

Milgram's experiments are not merely a warning against blind obedience, but a warning to those who wield authority over others not to abuse their positions of responsibility.

Psy-warriors, however, interpret these experiments quite differently, as an encouraging proof of the manipulability of human beings, and thus, of the enemy population, if only one assumes the mantle of authority—of the professor of psychology or the Nobel Peace Prize winner—and if appropriate, effective methods are employed.

"Brought to full consciousness through the impetus of the '68 generation," and schooled on the spot for three weeks in Russian psychiatry, at the beginning of the 1970s, Richter set about building up a political movement, using group-dynamics techniques aimed at a "consciousness transformation of broad social groupings." Students and young parents are supposed to form communes and carry out anti-authoritarian experiments with their children; the mentally ill are to help one another in groups; heterosexuals are to join with homosexuals, in order to gain practice in tolerance.

In *Die Gruppe*, Richter characterized this venture as "social experimentation"; in *Lernziel Solidarität*, he spoke of "reeducation." Whoever "educates" his child makes it into a "narcissistic object of exploitation" by inducing the child to achieve what he has not himself managed to do. There is no discussion of children's intellectual education in the "children's groups" chapters of *Die Gruppe*, but instead, of anti-authoritarian methods and "sexual liberation." It is precisely the "intellectualization of society" that Richter is out to fight; the dominant "head thinking" is "masculine" and calls forth the "rebellion of feelings" and "feminine values." In *Die Gruppe* and other publications of the 1970s, Richter successfully rides the anti-authoritarian wave, bringing frustrated women and the mentally unstable and ill into rebellion against "masculine megalomania," which supposedly is tyrannizing society.

All that is challenging and, in particular, that which is excellent, is reviled and butchered as pathological, whether it be extraordinary professional achievements or other characteristics by which a human being raises himself above the mass. Thus, Richter states in *Flüchten oder Standhalten*, that, as a rule, all supervisors are neurotically unbalanced. As a special style in this chapter, Richter uses in almost every line the term "boss," and finally brings forth the following diagnosis in italics: "*Those who have above-average intentions to ascend to leadership positions have fundamentally more fears than other people of freely integrating themselves into groups in which they do not enjoy an especially pampered protection. Their fear-conditioned inability for solidarizing behavior leads them to seek and find the way up, which is, ultimately, merely a matter of getting means of power for keeping their fellow men at a distance.*"

Enthusiasm is forbidden; rather, what is demanded is a cult of piteousness. "It is a matter of recognition and reintegration of those aspects of frailty, weakness, and suffering that are suppressed by men both psychically and socially in our patriarchal society." The humanistic demand for self-perfection and overcoming faults and weaknesses is expressly rejected by Richter. "Reeducation to a new kind of courage is offered. That is the courage to also be able to retreat, to accept oneself as imperfect, to reconcile oneself with weaknesses instead of fighting them as 'inner cowardice.'" "

But alas, someone does it anyway. Someone does something wonderful through his own efforts; Richter accuses him *a priori* of the crime of doing it at the expense of the others, and illustrates this with the case of an "overpowering father," a high official who wrote a treatise on Goethe's *Faust*, and supposedly needed the impotence of his weak son Martin for his own self-affirmation. Each month the son spends his entire actor's honorarium in a single evening to get dead drunk. "After almost 100 years of psychoanalysis passed, it can now be comprehended that the mentally 'ill' are only the reverse side of the psychically 'healthy' . . . Generally, where imposing excellence is unfolded as in the picture of Martin's father, this is connected with displaced poverty and littleness, not only internally psychically, but also in the social frame of reference."

We should not fail to note that Richter uses here, for his twisted purposes, the well-known neurotic problem that many human beings feel threatened by especially good ideas or achievements by their peers. Richter strengthens this unhealthy mechanism, and insists that all "ideas of greatness," wherever they show themselves, are to be promptly dragged down from their pedestal.

Thus it is no surprise that in the parent-child groups "psychoanalytically accompanied" by Richter, there is no talk of intellectual stimulation and nourishment of the child's joy in discovery through playful instruction in music, painting, writing, reading, and handicrafts, but on the contrary, talk of "experiments in sexual liberation" and "experiments with aggression." With voyeuristic meticulousness, Richter describes the sexual experiments with four-year-old Petra, who was supposedly suffering from "penis envy." "Jutta said that she had explained to her daughter Petra the anatomical sexual differences. She had precisely described to her the vagina and the clitoris and . . . also explained the function of the sexual organs in the sex act. The daughter had listened with great interest, and, in Jutta's opinion, accepted the presentation with satisfaction. Clearly, the explanation stimulated Petra. Then, on the next meeting with Werner, her friend of the same age, Petra took the initiative in a sexual experiment. She tested various positions with Werner, now sitting down, now lying down. At first, she was dissatisfied that it didn't work. But finally, it did seem somehow to half-work. . . . Jutta was expressly relieved."

Petra is today around 20 years old, if she has survived the

procedure of "sexual emancipation." Those are considered sexually emancipated who change partners without feelings of guilt or claims of possession.

As one might suspect from all this, since the early 1970s, Richter worked for the spread of promiscuous homosexuality among youth and for the creation of the "gay lobby." For Richter, "homosexuality [is] not a clinical problem," that is, he does not treat it. On the contrary, he finds it quite lawful that many analysts are themselves homosexual, and gloats that "homosexuality, even masculine, even if only slowly and with tenacious exertion, [is achieving] progress in the struggle for societal recognition." In *Lernziel Solidarität*, he expressly recommends "mixed communes of heterosexuals and homosexuals. . . . Such experiments are particularly important, because they help revise the prejudice that homosexuals in a heterosexual society must necessarily flee into their own subculture and form homosexual countersocieties in order to maintain themselves at all. . . . Here we see how both sides experience the association as an enrichment and that the different sexual constitutions need not disturb the cohesion of the group."

The tragic result of such advice is the international homosexual movement, whose major organization in West Germany today is called AIDS Help. The fate of this artificially puffed-up "risk group," as it is now called, seems sealed, and many of those afflicted may regret having been drawn, out of simple curiosity, when still heterosexual years ago, into one of Richter's "mixed" communes.

Solidarity with disease

Richter himself will obviously incorporate the AIDS epidemic into his interpretation of disease as a welcome "protest of reason against irrational destruction." indeed, no "enemy-image" that we should fight or heal. Disease demands, rather, solidarity and, if necessary, modification of the surrounding society. "Pathological deviation can be a signal that shows the way from psychosomatic supervision toward critical social action."

Some of Richter's colleagues have protested. In a polemic against Richter that the daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* did not want to publish at the time, he was denounced for "his false maxim, to accept human susceptibility and suffering with resignation."

The remarkable expression "psychosomatic subversion" implies that the "enemy-image disease" has given way to another enemy-image: With disease as a weapon, society is to be undercut. We are reminded of the passage in F. A. von der Heydte's book, *Modern Irregular Warfare*, "The weakening of willpower in the ranks of the enemy and the lessening of mental and physical productive ability is the goal of the psychological struggle in the preparatory stage of an irregular war."

Richter's efforts around "reeducation" and "change of consciousness of broad social groupings," can be summed

up as the attempt to undermine the citizens' identity as creative and proficient individuals, by psychologically denying them everything that makes up such an identity. As a substitute, he offers the pseudo-identity of the sufferer, the pitiful one, victim of this society. Wisdom and self-knowledge lie in the recognition of oneself as victim. What remains is a pile of misery that breathes into a microphone at a peace meeting, "I'm afraid."

'Who would not suffer, must hate'

The number of such "pictures of misery" has, as expected, grown in recent years. Their conditioning into the "militant peace movement" takes place according to a pattern of cathexes of definite emotions—fear and rage—to definite concepts or objects considered symbols of war: weapons in general, nuclear bombs (in turn associated with nuclear power plants) and, of course, the SDI, the missile defense program that was immediately re-labeled "Star Wars."

Every psychoanalyst is familiar with the concept of cathexis from the treatment of neurotics, where the problem is to free patients from being automatically subject to cathexized emotions at the mention of certain subjects or words. Richter turns this upside down. At the sight or even the thought of nuclear missiles—NATO's, since one seldom sees the Soviets—irrational fear will occur. This effect can be whipped up by showing films on nuclear war, as Richter recommended in 1982 at the Second International Congress of the IPPNW in Cambridge.

This is how the peace movement recruits. And Richter, the best-selling author, does not shy away from intervening deeply into the subconscious of his readers as well as his patients in order to attain certain goals. At the end of *The*

"Subversive propaganda among the enemy troops . . . is one of the means of psychological warfare during the preparatory phase of an irregular war. . . . In time, this psychological war is expanded into a war of nerves, which . . . uses the mass media and verbally transmitted news in order to demoralize.

"Resistance requires sacrifices. The goal of weakening the enemy power of resistance and the enemy's will to resist is attained when there is success in reducing the enemy's willingness to sacrifice. . . .

"Sacrifice means doing without. Therefore, voluntary or forced doing without—doing without in itself, without regard to what—is denounced among the enemy as foolish, and living life to the fullest and letting oneself go—giving in to drives and the pleasure of the moment—is preached to the youth in the enemy camp as the ultimate wisdom of life."

—F. A. von der Heydte, *Modern Irregular Warfare*

God Complex, the grotesque psychoanalysis carried out on Martin, the aforementioned victim of a super-father, is described in detail. Richter describes Martin's dreams during analysis, when the psychological "killing of the father" was pending, the clinical sense or nonsense of which will not be discussed here. Martin thus dreamed of his threatening super-father, who appears to him in the form of a war-mongering American general!

In the second, crucial dream, in which the killing actually takes place, the father appears as a ship's captain who intends to drown a Jewish baby and is also armed with a beam weapon: "I swim to the ship with the pistol and see that the captain expects me. . . . As I swim up to him, I see that he has on his ship a spotlight sort of thing, round. Like a mirror. It sends a white beam of light upward. Really not like light. The beam was shining white, but focused. With this beam he destroyed an airplane. I was crazy with fear. It was clear to me that this man was immune to bullets. This beam was a connection to the above, to higher forces. He stood in contact with supernatural powers."

What of terrorism?

Madness, but with method! If Richter perpetuates such irrational nonsense in books for the general public, then what might he dish out in his sensitivity group sessions, when no outsiders are listening? The trick consists of heightening existing weaknesses, to suggest to human beings that universal wisdom is found in their navels, and irrational, neurotic gut feelings are right in dubious cases.

What happens if this demon from the gut makes itself independent and wants to kill and destroy, not merely in dreams, but also in the real world? Whence do you think came the radicalized, militant "peace fighters," each of whom on average is responsible for three attacks against NATO installations, power poles, and computer centers?

Officially, of course, Richter has to reject terrorism and violence. Between the lines, however, there are quite other resonances. Thus, Richter, in the work *Frieden und Psychologie (Peace and Psychology)*, seems to regret, while attacking the use of computers in the security field, that "leading terrorists have become a victim of the computers in the Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation."

A further example is the extremely ambiguous sentence, "Who would not suffer, must hate," the title and *leitmotif* of Richter's report at the Römerberg Discussions in 1979. Richter's excuse is that the whole speech is a plea for "learning to suffer." But whoever has met a group of punkers on the street who suddenly snarl out the newly fashionable word "hate," will realize what comes of giving people the sadistic alternate of suffering or hating.

Another haunting sentence from Richter is this: "I can only be myself through resistance." Richter's IPPNW understands itself as a sort of general staff for this organized resistance against the existing "social system" of the Federal Re-

public of Germany. The "Documentation of the Fourth Medical Congress for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 1984," in Tübingen, a meeting of the South German Physicians' Ad Hoc Group and the IPPNW, reads like a handbook for irregular warfare:

"Nonviolent actions prepare for a new social system. . . . The individual actions can be ordered along a scale. **Theodor Ebert** thus constructed three *escalation steps*: on the *first* and *lowest* step stands the resistance weapon of *protest*: it takes the form of leaflets, brochures, meetings, marches, etc., and aims at the mobilization of a broad mass. . . .

"On the *second step of escalation* is found the resistance method of *legal non-cooperation*, consisting, for example, in consumer boycotts . . . strikes, in boycotts of schools and universities, in boycotts of phony elections. . . .

"The *third escalation step* encompasses the resistance methods of *civil disobedience*, that is, open and nonviolent disregard for laws and regulations. Examples are blockade actions in front of Pershing missile depots and barracks, refusal to pay taxes, burning of service record books, total refusal to serve militarily. Civil disobedience should be accompanied by *civil usurpation* as a *constructive supplement*. The latter means acting as though the new social system were already in existence and we were to have roles to take in that. Examples are . . . the occupation of rocket bases and then doing agricultural work, the formation of self-ruling groups and paying taxes to those." (Emphasis original.)

Fortunately, the continuation of the ladder of escalation to actual usurpation, to the coup d'état on Day X, still cannot, for constitutional reasons, be found in generally accessible writings, but it is certainly in the internal papers of the terrorist milieu and in the letters from the Red Army Faction taking responsibility for terrorist acts. The enemy-image here is identical with that of the Soviets: *the military-industrial complex* in the West.

Richter said at the Second International IPPNW Congress in 1982: "We must reflect on the decisive role of our psychic energies, which can aim either at destruction or at survival in trusting cooperation. The auto-dynamic of the *military-industrial complex* and the profit interests of the armaments economy represent another important determinant. But to capitulate to this anonymous power complex would mean that we would give up our very selves."

The following was written in the program of the Frankfurt terrorist congress, Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 1986, where 1,000 RAF sympathizers exchanged ideas unhindered with representatives from the ETA, IRA, the PFLP, the Red Brigades, and the Bonn Libyan People's Bureau: "With SDI and Eureka, we intend to work out . . . what the dominant tendencies are now—the tendency toward monopolization and war. The meaning that the MIK [military-industrial complex] has in that—as a determining power factor."

One working paper at the congress, which later appeared under the headline "Direct Action" in the terrorist rag *Radi-*

kal, called for violence not only against objects but also against “the ones responsible”: “Like the NATO pipelines, construction firms can be attacked with very little risk, since there are simply too many construction sites and truck fleets for them to be watched around the clock. . . . There is something more to be added to this topic: We consider actions against *those responsible* in all areas not only to be sensible but for the long-range perspective in general. . . . Actions like those against R. Niedballe [referring to an arson attack on the automobile of the architect of the most modern jail in Europe] or Ganschow [ransacking of the home of the state security head] in Berlin occurred at a point where our actions are not only unambiguous but understandable. . . . Certain ‘objects’ can be watched, but certainly not all important state functions. After the *shooting of* [SDI-linked German industrialist] Zimmermann there was—*just after the sensitization toward armaments that occurred out of the peace movement—understanding* expressed in many writings. The right determination of this attack worked positively against the slander campaigns that are being carried out against the RAF.” (Emphasis original.)

A few months after the Frankfurt terrorist meeting, RAF attackers murdered Siemens chief scientist Prof. Karl-Heinz Beckurts and his driver. The letter taking responsibility asserted: “Beckurts represented precisely the direction of international capital in the current phase of the political, economic, and military strategy of the total imperialistic system and pushed it forward. . . . Siemens is the largest high-tech firm in West Europe and is globally—as KWU—the third largest nuclear firm. It represents, as hardly any other firm in the F.R.G., the concentrated power and aggression of the most reactionary factions of the bourgeoisie organized in the MIK and [their] attempt to force the socialist states to capitulate.”

Previously, in 1970, Richter came into contact with a project that ended up in terrorism. The same year, he spent three weeks visiting Soviet psychiatric institutions. More precisely, he was assigned the task by the rector of Heidelberg University of giving an expert opinion on the **Socialist Patients’ Collective** (SPK). Richter reported this episode in *Die Gruppe*: “Patients with mental disturbances congregated around one doctor (Dr. H) in the Heidelberg University Mental Clinic. The doctor came into conflict with the management of the clinic and was released. A portion of his patients solidarized with him. Common protests led the rector of the university to rent space in town for the group where the doctor was to have the opportunity to bring his current treatments to a conclusion.”

In his July 10, 1970, evaluation of the SPK, Richter had no objection to the SPK’s fundamental principle, that patients engage in “active, even guiding” psychotherapy within the group, nor to the “connection of psychiatric or psychoanalytic therapy with discussions of sociological, economic, political subjects to the point of subordinating psychotherapeutic aspects to a political, largely socialistic conception of

objective.” He criticized, on the other hand, “the deficient staffing with competent medical personnel (1 psychiatrist to 150 mental patients),” the “isolation from other psychiatric services” and the all-too-strong “expansion” of the SPK. And, although he stated that the SPK “formed, under the influence of a group dynamics process, a true collective self, [and that] the commitment for the common project [can] be called fanatical,” his recommendation at the end, subject to a series of conditions, was: “In general, I recommend making possible a continuation of the project of the SPK.”

Ultimately, he reports, the SPK fell into a “paranoid collective neurosis” and turned into a “battle group filled with blind rage.” Several arson and bomb attacks were ascribed to the SPK. In July 1971, seven SPK members were jailed and, in the cellar of the SPK’s offices were seized, among other things, high-caliber pistol ammunition, radio equipment, break-in tools, equipment for falsification of truck and driver licenses, photos of utilities plants and vital installations in Heidelberg against which bomb attacks were to be carried out, and the handbook of the Swiss noncommissioned officers’ group, *Total Resistance*.

From all appearances, the SPK episode was embarrassing to Richter. When the Christian Social Union’s newsletter reproached him in 1978 for speaking on behalf of the SPK in word and writing, Richter took them to court and won the case.

Crime and punishment à la Dostoevsky

When Soviet propaganda mills are grinding at high speed to decouple the Federal Republic from the Western alliance, and, recently, the bait of a possible German reunification has been publicly dangled, it is hardly surprising that Richter, in his 1986 memoir, *Die Chance des Gewissens*, adds a German theme to his psycho-concoction.

The target group of this book is, distinct from earlier books, the older generation, who lived through the war and the Nazi period. People listen if “collective guilt” apostle Richter demonstratively sheds an affected little tear for every depressive “who really loved Hitler in those days.” In the same way, Soviet propaganda also concerns itself with the right-wing grouplets and organizations that are more and more loudly advocating German reunification, even, if need be, under Russian auspices.

Richter leaps into this ferment, and attacks Anglo-American reeducation in order to push even more vehemently for reeducation in the Russian style. You Germans do not have the least right and are not really even capable of defending yourselves against American decoupling and incorporation into the Soviet sphere of influence—this message is supposed to get under people’s skin. Here, Richter consciously uses his own guilt complex about participating in the Russian campaign and his parents’ murder by two drunken Russian soldiers as a device. What Hofstätter diagnosed as “identification with the threatening enemy” is what Richter intends to

force on citizens of the Federal Republic as the essence of “being German.” To this end, he works out an entire psycho-portrait, freely based on Dostoevsky, in which “guilt and expiation” are the guiding theme.

The foundation is his own and Dostoevsky’s profound hatred of Western civilization and the civic ideals of the American Revolution, which European republicans also fought for. But Richter wants to know nothing of all that—that is American reeducation propaganda: “That democratic conscience that is seemingly suddenly functioning broke through. It spoke English. . . . Hitler merely suppressed in us what we had always been—followers of the North American civic ideals, spiritually half-Americans.” And he sneers, “Side by side! You and we, we Westerners, we anti-communists, we defenders of Christianity.”

We Germans have taken on a double guilt: first, the Nazi crimes, in which the war against Russia turned out to be the worst of all; second, entry into the Western alliance, rearmament, and hanging on to the values of Western culture. This guilt has been suppressed for decades, and the war generation still owes the 1968 movement an accounting. Now, however, the day of expiation has come.

It starts with a dose of sentimental Russophilia, a recollection from the Russian front: “From the Russians, around 200 meters away, there sounded an increasingly louder and louder mix of voices. Finally, we heard them singing songs. Spontaneously, the wish arose in me, to run over and sit with them.” He would hardly have survived that.

At the end of the book comes the great act of expiation during the large IPPNW symposium in Moscow on June 22, 1985, forty years after the end of the war. Richter gave a speech, the closing words of which he repeats in *Chance des Gewissens* verbatim: “In our Western physicians’ movement, we experience the cooperative work with the IPPNW as an important chance to draw a—indeed, the—crucial conclusion from the consciousness of the guilt for the Hitler crimes and the Hitler war that still weighs upon us. I myself have never forgotten my feeling of shame when I, 43 years ago as an 18-year-old soldier, entered this country and helplessly met the human beings for whom we were causing such terrible misery. I also lost my family in the war, indeed, because of soldiers of this country, which we had first attacked. I have never been able to free myself from the consciousness of our German injustice and my participation in that. And I see around me my German colleagues, many of whom understand, as I do, the peace work in the physicians’ movement as a possibility for us to intelligently confront our fearful past. You may understand that I would especially like to express my thanks to be permitted today at this place to speak on the subject of avoiding a new great war. It has cost me great difficulty to express these last sentences coherently. But I have said them, and feel also that they have brought me closer to my listeners than anything else that I said previously.”

Expiation through unlimited submission is something that is, naturally, quite welcome in Moscow. “What a useful idiot!” many KGB generals must have thought to themselves.

Richter titled one chapter of his memoir, “To Learn Anew, What It Is to Be a German.” I.e., just capitulate and renounce freedom and all the other Western nonsense, and Mother Russia will take you to her great bosom. Whoever hesitates, however, goes to a gulag. Richter intends to see docile subjects, subjects for the Western satrapies of the “Third Rome” as the outcome of such Russian reeducation.

The peace of the graveyard

Richter’s favorite writer, the same demented Fyodor Dostoevsky whose revival Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachov and his wife recently promoted, who hated Western Europe, progress, and even himself, announced shortly before his death his enraptured vision of the Russification of Europe: “To a genuine Russian, Europe and the fate of the entire great *Aryan race* are just as dear as Russia itself, because our destiny is universality. . . . And later, we—that is, not we, but the future Russian people—will all, down to the last one, grasp that being a true Russian means to die in order to bring final reconciliation to the European contradictions, to show the European longing its way out in the Russian soul, the all-human, all-uniting, to take up all our brothers into that soul with brotherly love, and finally, perhaps, to express the final word of the great general harmony, the fraternal final harmony according to the law of Christ’s Gospel!”

That is the Third Rome, a world-dominating Soviet empire whose rulers will always carry the expressions of the Grand Inquisitors of the Russian Orthodox Church, and for whose subjects there will no longer be freedom of thought. For all that deserves the name “thought” will be eliminated in Richter’s system of “psychic disarmament,” as pathological “megalo-ideas.” It will be a Pax Sovietica that, in Friedrich Schiller’s words, will only produce the “peace of the graveyard.”

In order to make such a prospect palatable, Richter finally seizes on the ultimate, most demonic weapon that a psychoanalyst can use. The decisive blow is directed toward the will to survive, indeed, for society as well as the individual. Death is to be accepted; neither in research, nor in medicine, nor in individual experience is death to be fought against as an enemy-image.

In order to propagate an ideological and strategic mood, Richter brings in the archetype of capitulation, capitulation to death: “The latent inhumanity of present-day medicine consists in its *generalized defamation of death as an enemy*, in the prevention of which it sees its principal meaning.” And in the IPPNW announcement on May 5, 1985 concerning Capitulation Day (May 8): “We see in May 8, 1985 an appropriate occasion, to recall with admonishment the dangers of that demon that continues to work in the tendency toward

general demonization of the external enemy."

On the one hand, he brings in Sigmund Freud, who said, "The goal of all life is death, and looking back into the past, the lifeless came before the living," in order to make death acceptable. On the other hand, he hammers again and again on the fact that there is only one way to have peace with a superior enemy: subjection. To want to prevent or postpone dying is a "vain attack against a superior enemy that will some time leave one behind, destroyed."

Such statements are not a matter of sympathetic support for dying human beings, but psychological warfare. As a representative of the London Tavistock Institute once told a colleague of mine, euthanasia is an important aspect of social control, since whoever accepts death, and most of all euthanasia, will oppose nothing whatsoever!

The Renaissance as enemy-image

The quintessence of Western culture and science is the Renaissance, that beautiful period of humanity that began with Dante and Nicolaus of Cusa and reached its artistic and scientific pinnacle in the work of Leonardo da Vinci—when

Correction

Due to an editing error, a paragraph was omitted from Mark Burdman's book review of Beyond American Hegemony: The Future of the Western Alliance, by David P. Calleo, in our May 27 issue on pages 56-57, which explained the subhead, "Toward a new age of cartels." The following should have appeared immediately before the last paragraph of the review:

Calleo's sympathies lie with the rentier-financiers and the usurious banking groups. Take this paragraph, appearing on page 107, as representative: "In the long run, neither America, Europe, nor Japan seems likely to have the economic weight and political power to dominate the world economy that appears to be developing. In its economic sphere, as in its political and military spheres, the world system will grow increasingly plural—with a proliferation of important actors, including states determined to safeguard their national prosperity. Taken altogether, these conditions and trends point, if anything, toward a *new age of cartels*—a web of agreements that permits competition but limits the damage. Some such organized competition would be the most rational and humane outcome and perhaps the only way to preserve the fabric of an open world economy in the course of destabilizing changes." (Emphasis added.)

human beings affiliated themselves with Platonic philosophy and made the ideas of Augustinian Christianity fruitful for the progress of mankind, and when, after the Dark Age, there was again talk of freedom.

Richter devoted his book *The God Complex* to a general attack on that age and its legacy, walking in the footsteps of Dostoevsky, who saw Western progress as the greatest threat to the "Russian soul." Just as Dostoevsky stated that he discovered the qualities of the Russian soul for the first time among prisoners in a penal colony, so Richter writes, "I learned in the 'enemy country' [Russia] in prison, from so-called asocials and, above all, from psychotics, something of tremendous importance about, above all, myself, something I would never have gotten in my narrow social environment."

He writes in the first part of *The God Complex*, "The step of medieval man into modern times, praised for a long time as a glorious self-liberation, was fundamentally a neurotic flight from narcissistic impotence into the illusion of narcissistic omnipotence. The psychic background of our apparently so imposing modern civilization is nothing other than an infantile megalomania nourished by deep, uncontrolled fears." At another point, he reviles scientific-technological progress, which gives rise to a "collective process of self-destruction," as "the collective neurosis of megalomaniacal expansionism."

He so hates the idea of progress that he has to sadistically sneer at the hope of transcendence of individual life. "Hidden in the traditional belief in progress is the offer of a fictitious consolation for a decreasing fitness curve and for death. The individual could say to himself: I myself, my generation and those that came before, are or were not capable of an endless extension of life or a lasting maintenance of glorious potency. But every generation contributes to having moved closer toward this goal. And, sometime in the future, some of our grandchildren will have reached it. . . . To a certain extent standing on the shoulders of our generation, the next and the one after the next will gather in all the fruit of the research of all preceding generations. There would be, then, with regard to the whole of civilization, a line of development permanently increasing into infinity. And the individual could say, in consolation for the fact that he, in contradiction to the ideal of omnipotence, must die, that he at least indirectly participates in that permanent ascent of mankind that encompasses his individual life." Today, in the culturally pessimistic time of expectation of ecological and other disasters, this dream, according to Richter, is nothing but a "Fata Morgana."

The attack could not be more obvious on the idea with which Germany's greatest poet Friedrich Schiller ended his inaugural address on universal history at the University of Jena: "Ours are all the treasures that industry and genius, reason and experience have finally brought to the world during a long age. Only from history will you learn to put a value on the goods whose commonness and unchallenged posses-

sion robs us of our thankfulness, precious goods to which the blood of the best and most noble adheres and which have had to have been achieved through the hard work of so many generations. And which among you, in whom a bright mind is married with a sensitive heart, could be mindful of this exalted duty without a silent wish being roused within him to pay off to the *coming* generation this debt that cannot be discharged to those of the past. There must a noble desire burn within us to make a contribution out of *our* means to the rich inheritance of truth, morality, and freedom that we received from the prior world and must give again richly increased to the world that follows, and to fasten our fleeting existence to this immortal chain that winds through all generations of men."

The *leitmotif* of the entire book is the so-called "God Complex" or *impotence/omnipotence complex*. "In the medieval community," the individual, he writes, was still "the child in a herd, primarily directed toward God as the omnipotent parental figure." With the waning Middle Ages, man lost God and like a mistrustful, impotent child developed the omnipotence fantasy, of being himself "a small god" who participates in the further development of the creation. Richter ascribes this complex to Descartes ("*Cogito ergo sum*"), Leibniz, and, of course, the totality of modern natural science. Suddenly, the left-socialist Professor Richter gets strikingly pious.

Obviously, the principal target of attack in *The God Complex* is the *Filioque* principle of the Nicene Creed, according to which the Holy Spirit comes from both the Father *and from the Son*, that is, that man participates in divine reason through Christ. The Russian Orthodox Church not only refuses to acknowledge the *Filioque* principle; it also intends to nullify it in the West. Richter's *The God Complex* serves this purpose.

According to Richter, man should not feel and act "divinely" and "creatively," but rather recognize, like Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor, "that he is miserable," as the gambler Dostoevsky thought of himself, and as, apparently, Richter thinks of himself. Were mankind to think of itself in that way, then it would no longer be morally fit to survive.

The above article appeared in a slightly longer version, and with extensive footnotes, in the German newsletter Spuren und Motive, Vol. 59, March 1987. It has been translated from the German by John Chambless.

All Mighty: A Study of the 'God Complex' in Western Man

by Horst-Eberhard Richter. Translated by Jan Van Heurck
New York, Hunter House, 1984
320 pages, hardbound, \$19.96.

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America's Secret Aristocracy, by Stephen Birmingham. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, Mass., 1987. \$18.95, hardbound, 334 pages.

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