

'Praxis' group runs Serbia today

Soon after Tavistock Institute director Dr. John Rawlings Rees called for the creation of psychiatric "shock troops" in 1945, Tavistock and the Frankfurt School began placing cadre throughout Yugoslavia, among other nations. To that end, the Frankfurt School established an official Yugoslavian affiliate, *Praxis* magazine.

One of the co-founders of *Praxis* is Dr. Mihailo Markovic, the chief ideologist of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party today, and also the chief adviser to Serbian President and strongman Slobodan Milosevic. Markovic frequently uses *Praxis* to justify the operations of Dr. Karadzic, Rascovic, et al. The other *Praxis* co-founder, Dr. Svetosar Stojanovic, is chief adviser to "Yugoslav" President Dobrica Cosic, and also one of Serbia's liaisons to the United Nations and the U.S. government. Stojanovic continues as editor of the publication. In effect, the *Praxis* group is running Serbia today.

From its inception in 1964, *Praxis* spread the Frankfurt School doctrine associated with the term "authoritarian personality." According to that doctrine, the "authoritarian" commitment to fostering science and technology, rather than following one's innermost feelings, causes "alienation" and "dehumanization," and leads to fascism. To fight such alien-

ation, *Praxis*, and the Frankfurt School generally, championed the views of the "young Karl Marx," who they said shared the same concerns. *Praxis* denounced the Soviet Union's advocacy of industrialization as "repressive," making man into an unfeeling machine, and made the same accusations against western capitalism.

We can see where such "humanist" views have led to in former Yugoslavia today.

Speaking to the press on Jan. 18, *Praxis* editor and presidential adviser Dr. Stojanovic condemned alleged western efforts to cut the ties between the Bosnian Serbs and Serbia. To do this, he said, would lead to the "annihilation" of the Bosnian Serbs by the Bosnian Muslims. Moreover, he railed, condemnation of the Chetniks' ethnic-cleansing policy is a product of "hysteria and racism."

Dr. Markovic has demanded "ethnic-cleansing" actions against the ethnic Albanians who comprise 95% of the population of Serbian-occupied Kosova. Writing in *Praxis*, he claims that the Albanian-ethnic call for Kosovan independence is merely a "meglomaniac project of Great Albania." Markovic identifies the problem as being that the Albanians in Kosova "have the highest birth rate in Europe." They are trying to use "demographic means" to achieve an "ethnically pure state," he claims, and must be forced to cut their birth rate. Kosova, being the "cradle of Serbian culture," can never be given up, he says.

The formation of 'Praxis'

The origin of *Praxis* can be traced back to the 1945 Yalta conference, where Great Britain, the United States, and Rus-



The co-founders of the "humanist" journal Praxis are advisers to the Serbian government, and vigorously defend Serbia's policy of "ethnic cleansing." Shown is the result of these policies: the demolition of Lipik, a town near Zagreb in Croatia. The wanton destruction serves no military purpose, but is a weapon of psychological warfare.

sia agreed to make Yugoslavia into an “independent socialist” country where sensitive East-West negotiations could be held. To this end, the doctrines embraced by Josip Broz Tito’s communist partisans, who soon were to rule Yugoslavia, had to be transformed.

As part of this ideological transformation, a group of students in Zagreb and Belgrade led by Mihailo Markovic, who had been an officer in Tito’s partisan army, began criticizing Marxist orthodoxy as early as 1948. In 1950, the Serbian Philosophical Society was created, shortly followed by the formation of academic societies in the other republics, devoted to the study of the young Marx and related themes. Both Markovic and Stojanovic were assigned to establish ties with Tavistock and the Frankfurt School.

Accordingly, Markovic was sent off to University College in London in 1953, to be trained by Dr. A.J. Ayer on the relation between “logic and identity.” Ayer was a protégé of Lord Bertrand Russell, one of British intelligence’s top twentieth-century game-masters, who forged the epistemology of British logical positivism as a tool of cultural warfare. One of the Russell family’s titles was that of the Marquess of Tavistock—for which the institute was named.

Markovic returned to Belgrade in 1956 to continue to propound Ayer and Russell’s views in a “critical” Marxist form. Out of this work came the 1961 book *The Dialectical Theory of Meaning*, a founding document of the *Praxis* group.

Similarly, Svetozar Stojanovic was sent to Oxford University in 1960 to study the relation of philosophy to ethics. He returned to Yugoslavia in 1962 to take over the philosophy and sociology department of the University of Belgrade.

In 1962, Markovic, Stojanovic and their crowd gathered at the Yugoslav Philosophical Association to issue what was to be the principal founding document of *Praxis*: “Humanism and Socialism.” They announced that “alienation,” caused by an obsession with industrial production, existed even in socialist society. In 1964, Markovic, Stojanovic, and their Yugoslav collaborators teamed up with the leaders of the Frankfurt School to formally found *Praxis* magazine. These Frankfurt School figures included:

- **Dr. Herbert Marcuse.** A leader of the Frankfurt School since the early 1930s, Marcuse went on to lead the research division of the U.S. wartime Office of Strategic Services, the predecessor of the CIA. Marcuse later became a pinnacle of the “New Left.”

- **Dr. Erich Fromm.** Then based in Mexico, Fromm had also been one of the Frankfurt School’s main leaders since the 1930s. A neo-Freudian theorist, Fromm became Markovic and Stojanovic’s acknowledged mentor.

- **Theodor Adorno.** The Frankfurt School’s top theorist, Adorno specialized in the use of television and the mass media generally as a brainwashing medium.

- **Max Horkheimer.** An early Frankfurt School leader, Horkheimer had emigrated to the United States during World

War II. He returned to Germany in the immediate postwar years to reestablish the Frankfurt School at the University of Frankfurt. Horkheimer also reestablished the German branch of B’nai B’rith, the Jewish masonic organization of which Freud had been a prominent member. Horkheimer became the most influential figure in Yugoslavian psychiatry.

The Korcula school seminars

Simultaneous with its founding of *Praxis* magazine, the group founded a summer school on the remote Croatian Adriatic resort island of Korcula. Almost instantly, the Korcula summer seminars became the international summer retreat for Frankfurt School operatives from around the world. Psychiatrists and intelligence agency officials, philosophers and radical student leaders, could hear Drs. Marcuse and Fromm lecture on their latest theories and plans. It was in this setting that many of the theories of what became known as the “New Left” were first proclaimed. Student cadre were trained for deployment back home, as *Praxis* became a central ideological organ for the New Left internationally.

Among the tasks of the New Left was to popularize the rock-drug-sex counterculture, which the Frankfurt School and Tavistock sought to impose on both East and West. “Do your own thing,” became the religion of the counterculture; Marcuse, Fromm, and Markovic became the high priests.

In 1967, the same group came together for a summer conference at Tavistock itself, entitled the “Dialectics of Liberation.” There, such figures as Communist Party U.S.A. operative Angela Davis, black liberation leader Stokely Carmichael, and other U.S. New Left leaders, were given intensive training by the combined forces of Tavistock and the Frankfurt School/*Praxis* network. The conference was overseen by Tavistock clinician Dr. R.D. Laing, who claimed that psychosis played a central role in liberation. Laing laid out his program in the final sentence of his book *Politics of Experience*, published that year: “If I could turn you on, if I could drive you out of your wretched mind; if I could tell you, I would let you know.”

During this period, *Praxis* was popularized in the West through the claim that it was suffering repression because of its “heroic” demand that Yugoslavia submit to “radical democratization.” To this end, Fromm published the collection *Socialist Humanism* in 1965, containing the writings of Markovic, Stojanovic, and others. The thinking of the *Praxis* group, Fromm wrote, represented a “renascence of Humanism.” But despite alleged repression, the group continued to flourish, and sponsored other seminars in Belgrade, and Dubrovnik, Croatia to supplement those held at Korcula.

As far back as 1970, Lyndon LaRouche and the publications associated with him repeatedly denounced the Frankfurt School, *Praxis*, and Tavistock, by name, for creating the “New Left” in order to destroy western civilization. As a result, Fromm, Marcuse, and others denounced LaRouche as a “fascist.”

Shift toward the 'New Age'

The *Praxis* journal temporarily ceased publication in 1975, after the first, more "political" phase of the New Left had been superseded by the environmentalist, feminist, "gay rights," and related New Age movements. The Korcula summer sessions ended that year. By 1981, *Praxis* renewed publication and became a flagship publication for these New Age doctrines. Like the New Left, the New Age also found its origin in the Frankfurt School and the Tavistock Institute.

In 1986, the magazine further evolved, and formally defined itself "democratic socialist," replacing its previous self-definition as "Marxist humanist." Editors Stojanovic and Seyla Benhabib, of Harvard University, motivated this change in the following terms:

"Marxism," they explain, has been "radically challenged," indeed vanquished, "by post-structuralist, hermeneutic-contextualist, and post-modernist epistemology," associated with such doctrines as those of R.D. Laing. The problem with Marxism, they opine, is its "naive faith in scientific-technological progress." It is insufficiently sensitive to oppression based on "gender, race, ethnic, linguistic, and religious identity."

Presumably, the psychiatrists who run the Chetnik rape-camps today are more "sensitive" to the need to combat ethnic oppression.

Who will speak out?

The following is a list of *Praxis*'s current editorial board. It has been shown that the Frankfurt School can be blamed to a significant degree for the mass murder now ongoing in Bosnia, and that its most important mouthpiece, Milosevic adviser Dr. Mihailo Markovic, proclaimed this murderous program in the pages of *Praxis*.

The question now is, will these editors, based not only in former Yugoslavia, but also in the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, now dissociate themselves from this policy?

Editors: Svetozar Stojanovic and Seyla Benhabib.

Editorial board: Samir Amin, Andrew Arato, Shlomo Avineri, Zygmunt Bauman, Richard J. Bernstein, Norman Birnbaum, Tom Bottomore, Christine Buci-Glucksmann, Jean Cohen, Drucilla Cornell, Reginaldo di Piero, Franco Ferrarotti, Iring Fetscher, Zagorka Golubovic, Carol Gould, Jürgen Habermas, Andras Hegedues, Helge Maria Hernes, Michael Loewy, Mihailo Markovic, Gyorgy Markus, Istvan Meszaros, Ralph Miliband, Stefan Morawski, Oskar Negt, Lucius Outlaw, H. Odera Oruka, Jean-Michel Palmier, Wolf Schafer, Gunnar Skirbekk, Svetozar Stojanovic, Rudi Šuppek, Ljubomir Tadic, Charles Taylor, Edward P. Thompson, Mihaly Vajda, Adolfo Sánchez Vásquez, Ivan Vejvoda, Marx Wartofsky, Albrecht Wellmer, Kurt Wolff.

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