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Why Menexenus spells trouble for Andropov

by Criton Zoakos

The Menexenus is one of the more obscure and certainly the most controversial of all Plato's dialogues. Its authenticity has been challenged for centuries, even though literary, historical, and traditional evidence supports this dialogue's authenticity more than any of Plato's other dialogues. The grounds for challenging the dialogue's authenticity have been curious. In the Menexenus, Socrates has assumed an uncharacteristic role, as he delivers what appears to be an unabashedly jingoistic public oration on the history of Athens. The identification of the real story behind the Menexenus given below vindicates that wickedly humorous piece for the first time ever since it was written.

Most human beings, throughout history, have fought wars not knowing exactly for what ultimate purpose they were fighting. Ordinary people participate willingly in wars and other great world conflicts because they have no other means for moral fulfillment of their lives, except a worthy contribution to the moral success of their society, as mediated by their state. Soldiers may fight for all sorts of things: money, glory, adventure, perceived moral obligation, support of a political program, love of commander.

But it is not these motivations which make history. Above all these stand the states, the institutional organization of society, and the purposes of states, whose motivations govern the conduct of great conflicts. And those forces and influences of history which shape the motivations of states, ultimately regulate the flow of history.

This is why Plato's most obscure dialogue, the *Menexenus*, spells trouble for Yuri Andropov.

The dialogue's context is the world of the fourth century B.C., a period of world history very similar to the political universe which has come to the surface since March 23, 1983, when President Ronald Reagan proclaimed his doctrine of strategic defense, relegating "deterrence" to history's scrapheap.

As ancient historians report to us, the political factions of the "West" in the fourth century B.C. broke down to two general tendencies which could be named,

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At left: Tissaphernes, one of the Persian satraps whose funding shaped Athenian politics during the time of Plato. At right: Philip of Macedon.

in late-20th century American usage, the Kissinger-Harriman faction and the Heritage Foundation-Hoover Institution faction. The Kissinger-Harriman faction was represented by what all Greek states *practiced*, from 449 B.C. down to 338 B.C.: collaboration, convergence and détente with the "East," then represented by the Persian Empire. The Heritage Foundation-Hoover Institution faction of the time was represented by what the chief spokesmen of Greek public opinion *preached* from about 408 B.C. down to 336 B.C.: make war to the end against the Persian Empire.

What made these factions indistinguishable from each other was that both justified their proposed policies on grounds that they served to instill racialist "blood and soil" cultural and psychological characteristics in the western (Greekspeaking) populations. Both factions were controlled by the cultural and ideological arbiter of the Greek-speaking world of the time, the Cult of Apollo at Delphi and at Delos, an Oriental cult introduced into the West during the late eighth century B.C. for the purpose of transmitting the Oriental cultural matrix of blood and soil.

Yet, apart from the "left" and "right" versions of Apollo's blood and soil policies, there was another force of which historians of the period speak very little. This force, of whose existence the dialogue *Menexenus* is the crucial clue, ultimately proved to be the arbiter of the great world-historical developments of the fourth century B.C., as it was the inspirator and executor of the program which came down in history as the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

The conflict between East and West, more precisely between the mystical, anti-science, countercultural matrix of the East and the rationalist, pro-science matrix of the West, a conflict which 19th-century historians have rightly dubbed the "Eternal Question," erupted with great force during the first half of the first millennium B.C. in the form of a strategic conflict between the two then-superpowers, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Menexenus and its historical context

The details are lost in the mist of early recorded history. What is verifiably known is that classical Greek-republican civilization emerged out of a protracted Dark Age simultaneously and in connection with a great Renaissance in Egypt during the eighth century B.C. According to surviving historical accounts, reported by Diodorus Siculus, the Egyptian Cult of Ammon used as its instrument the so-called Ethiopian or 25th Dynasty, to once again unify and revive Egypt. That Egyptian revival was carried out by means of close military alliances with Greek cities and by large-scale dissemination of Egyptian culture and science among those Greek cities.

Every notable Greek personality of the period was educated in Egypt. One may speculate that without Solon's education by the priests of Ammon, the tradition of Western political republicanism would not have been launched. His authorship of the Athenian constitution and his archonship during 594 B.C. set off a chain of events without which neither Aeschylus nor the Academy of Plato (and hence the tradition of institutions of higher education) would have been possible. Similarly, the education of Thales by Ammondominated Egypt launched the scientific tradition in the West and triggered a chain of events which also resulted in Plato's

Academy and all that implies for the subsequent course of Western civilization.

For Prof. Yuri Andropov to know: the Great Game which he is now attempting to play was launched by these distant and little understood priests of Ammon as a joint military-scientific project: they wedded the military capabilities of the Greek tribes with a rationalist cultural orientation and injected that military combination with a scientific tradition, to lasting effect. It was this military-scientific policy which broke the stranglehold over the then-civilized world maintained by the obscurantist Mesopotamian priesthood—via that priesthood's influence over the kings of Assyria.

The Ammonians' military-scientific project led to a chain of events in Mesopotamia which obliged the Mesopotamian-Babylonian priesthood to overthrow the Assyrian state, replace it with a Babylonian state, then to overthrow that in order to install in power outlying military tribes, first the Medes and then the Persians. After the Persian conquest of Babylon in 540 B.C., the permanent orientation of the Babylonian priesthood's state was to suppress Egypt and the Greek world. The conquest of Egypt was accomplished in 525 B.C. and Persia's invasions of Greece started in 490 B.C.

Key instruments of Persian-Babylonian policy within Greece were the Cult of Apollo and Apollo's Oracle at Delphi, which were introduced from the Oriental province of Lycia into Greece at about the time of the first phase of Greek collaboration with the priests of Ammon. At appropriate points of this report, we shall review the relevant events of Greek history, with the caveat to the reader that the period was not an age of innocence or simplicity, but fully as complicated and corrupt as the contemporary world known to us. There were as many deceivers and "suckers" then, proportionately, as there are now. Historians of the period and the records which they left us were meant to be read between the lines by those who can discern the issues. Now, back to Apollo and on to the *Menexenus*.

The Menexenus of Plato must be read side by side with four of Isocrates' speeches: the Panegyricus, the Areopagitica, the De Pace, and the Letter to Philip. It will then become evident how Plato the politician used the services of Isocrates to launch the project which resulted in the campaign of Alexander the Great.

If you transposed yourself to the city of Athens at the time of the writing of the *Menexenus*, having been a worldly, knowledgeable New Yorker of the 1980s would prove an advantage in your effort to understand what's going on in the city. Politics was run by a corrupt, ignorant, and greedy Congress, made up of members controlled by businessmen, merchants, and international bankers who were hiring out everything, including generals and mercenary armies, to foreign service. Opinions among congressmen were swayed by the opinion-makers, the Walter Cronkites, Yankeloviches, and Harris pollsters of the day: Isocrates, Aeschines, Demosthenes, Lysias, Gorgias, et al. The old nobility of Athens

had withdrawn from public affairs, either making their deals with the mercenary classes or living a sullen, isolated existence on their farms. The glamorous men of the day were bankers, sophists, and mercenary admirals and generals, all basking in the glitter of Persian subsidies.

Withdrawn from the crowd was the Academy of Plato, outside the walls of the city, pursuing original research in a number of branches of science. Its students included members of such old Athenian noble families as had not yet been totally demoralized, but were mostly young foreigners from every land of the eastern Mediterranean. The Academy's presence in the city was hardly felt at all—it was chiefly a distant rumor enveloped in misunderstanding, and some sort of indifferent awe that is due to things not understood. But, the Academy, by its mere presence, had set a standard of dignity.

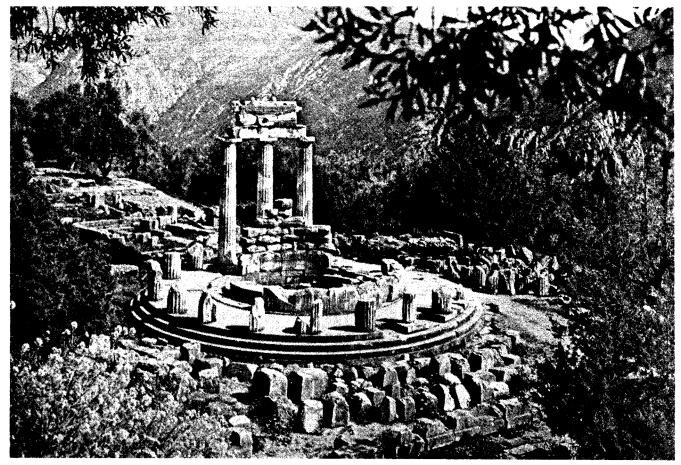
Athenian democracy at work

Isocrates tried hard to imitate that air of dignity. He would reject the role of the rabble-rousing orator of the Assembly. He would become the head of a school teaching others to become rabble-rousing orators. He would influence opinion and policy by writing his speeches and publishing them for circulation among policy-making circles. Over the years, Isocrates became recognized as the leading respectable opinion-molder of all Greece, not just Athens. His relative distance from day-to-day politics, in imitation of the Academy's style, had wrapped him in an air of dignity.

Beneath him in rank and influence were the sparkling orators of the Assembly, Hyperides, Aeschines, Demosthenes. And beneath them, the rabble of scavenging Sophists. This was the backbone of Athenian post-Periclean "society." The rest were the average citizenry, merchants, sailors, craftsmen, actors, the backbone of Athenian democracy, all voting citizens.

The secret of the democratic process was bribery, known by the name Theoric Fund or Spectator's Money. Citizens were paid a full day's salary in order to attend the sessions of Congress, to the point where the entire voting citizenry of Athens could attend the sessions as a way of making a living. Revenues for the Theoric Fund would be secured either by bribes from the Persian king, or by the income of hired-out mercenary armies, or from the funds of rich merchant-banker families. The bribed citizens would sit and watch orators propose and explain policies to the Assembly. You could depend on the orators to embellish even the most odious policy. There was only one criterion in the listening, voting public's mind: will such and such a policy proposal keep the Theoric Fund going? And votes would be cast accordingly.

Of the 300,000-plus total population of Athens, about 25,000 to 30,000 were voting citizens; the rest were slaves, non-citizen immigrants, and women. The opinion-making functions of orators, sophists, et al. was aimed at these 25,000 to 30,000. The opinion-making functions of the more aloof Isocrates were aimed at these plus the orators themselves, as



The rotunda of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

well as the non-Athenian public in the rest of Greece.

Isocrates, as he himself willingly admitted in writing, was pushing opinions and policies given to him by the Cult of Apollo. (See the *Letter to Philip*, quoted below). So, his long-term policy is the policy of the Oracle of Delphi.

The overall policy of Delphi is described in full detail in four surviving documents of Isocrates: the *Panegyricus*, a major speech delivered to representatives of all Greek states at the Olympic Games of 380 B.C.; the pamphlet *De Pace*, distributed among policy-making circles in the year 355 B.C., the year in which Isocrates's own political faction took control of the Athenian administration under the archon Euvulus; the pamphlet *Areopagiticus*, distributed in 354 B.C., and his *Open Letter to King Philip* of Macedonia, circulated in 346 B.C.

The policy, as it was finally shaped, was a merging of the "Kissinger-Harriman" approach of collaboration with the East with that of the "Heritage Foundation-Hoover Institution" confrontationist line. Isocrates proposed a "limited war" between Greece and Persia, whose outcome would be the establishment of oligarchical regimes throughout Greece, the establishment of a "Third Force" buffer state between the expanded Greek-oligarchical territories, and a stabilization of Persia. Characteristically, he called the whole scheme a

"peace movement" and called on King Philip of Macedonia to head it up: "How, then, can we refuse to believe that people so hard-pressed would gladly see at the head of a movement for peace a man who commands confidence and has the power to put an end to the wars in which they are involved?" (Letter to Philip of Isocrates, 50c).

The Isocrates Plan

The objectives of this "peace movement" were identified by Isocrates in the same document in the following way:

". . . [There are] those who now, for the lack of the daily necessities of life, are wandering from place to place and committing outrages upon whomsoever they encounter. If we do not stop these men from banding together, by providing sufficient livelihood for them, they will grow before we know it into so great a multitude as to be a terror no less to the Hellenes than to the barbarians. But we pay no heed to them; nay we shut our eyes to the fact that a terrible menace which threatens us all alike is waxing day by day.

"It is therefore the duty of a man who is high-minded, who is a lover of Hellas, who has a broader vision than the rest of the world, to employ these bands in a war against the barbarians, to strip from that empire all the territory that I defined a moment ago, everything to the west of the Sinope-

Cilicia line, to deliver these wanderers from the ills by which they are afflicted and which they inflict upon others, to collect them into cities, and with these cities to fix the boundaries of Hellas, making of them buffer states to shield us all. . . .

"This King [Artaxerxes III Ochus] is so far from exercising dominion over others that he is not in control even of the cities which were surrendered to him; and such is the state of affairs that there is no one who is not in doubt what to believe—whether he has given up because of his cowardice, or whether they have learned to despise and condemn the power of the barbarians. . . . Consider the state of affairs in his empire. Who could hear facts and not be spurred to war against him? Egypt was, it is true, in revolt even when Cyrus made his expedition [i.e., Xenophon's Anabasis]; but her people nevertheless were living in continual fear lest the king might someday lead an army in person and overcome the natural obstacles which, thanks to the Nile, their country presents, and all their military defenses as well. But now this king has delivered them of that dread; for after he had brought together and fitted out the largest force he could possibly raise and marched against them, he retired from Egypt not only defeated, but laughed at and scorned as unfit either to be king or to command an army.

"Furthermore, Cyprus, Phoenicia and Cilicia, and that region from which the barbarians used to recruit their fleet, belonged at that time to the Great King but now they have either revolted from him or are so involved in war and its attendant ills that none of these peoples is of any use to him; while to you, if you desire to make war upon him, they will be serviceable. And mark also that Idrieus, [the satrap of Caria] who is the most prosperous of the present rulers of the mainland, must in the nature of things be more hostile to the interests of the King than are those who are making open war against him [the satraps of Phrygia, Armenia et al.]; verily he would be of all men the most perverse if he did not desire the dissolution of that empire which outrages his brother, which made war upon himself, and which at all times has never ceased to plot against him in its desire to be master of his person and all of his wealth.

"It is through fear of these things that he is now constrained to pay court to the King and to send him much tribute every year; but if you should cross over to the mainland with an army, he would greet you with joy, in the belief that you were coming to his relief; and you will also induce many of the other satraps to throw off the King's power if you promise them 'freedom' and broadcast over Asia that word which, when sown among the Hellenes, has broken both our empire and that of the Lacedaemonians."

That this "Isocrates Plan" is the policy of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, Isocrates himself proclaims rather unambiguously:

"Now if, after examining and reviewing all these admonitions in your own mind, you feel that my discourse is in any part rather weak and inadequate, set it down to my age, which might well claim the indulgence of all; but if it is up to

the standard of my former publications, I would have you believe that it was not my old age that conceived it but the divine will that prompted it, not out of solicitude for me, but because of its concern for Hellas and because of its desire to deliver her out of her present distress and to crown you with a glory far greater than you now possess [emphasis added]."

It is well known among historians that King Philip of Macedonia became a major military power because for the 10 years between 355 B.C. and 346 B.C., he engaged in military operations in defense of Apollo's Oracle of Delphi, which had been conquered by forces hostile to the policies of the Oracle. It was during these 10 years in defense of Apollo that Philip's armies and finances grew to the status of a first-tier world power. Isocrates will not let Philip forget this fact:

Plato's self-defined task was to discover and establish the principles of science which ought to rule human life and to deduce from those the principles of statecraft which might be applied to straighten out the mess of the fourth century B.C. From this, a long-term political program was developed, as reflected in Plato's writings, and a short-term political program as reflected in the Menexenus and the 'Alexander the Great project.'

"I think that you are not unaware in what manner the gods order the affairs of mortals; for not with their own hand do they deal out the blessings and curses that befall us; rather they inspire in each of us such a state of mind that good or ill as the case may be, is visited upon us through one another. For example, it may be that even now the gods have assigned to me the task of speech while to you they allot the task of action, considering that you will be the best master in that province, while in the field of speech I might prove least irksome to my hearers. Indeed, I believe that even your past achievements would never have reached such magnitude had not one of the gods helped you succeed; and I believe he [Apollo] did so not that you might spend your whole life warring upon the barbarians in Europe alone, but that, having been trained and having gained experience and come to know

your own powers in these campaigns, you might set your heart upon the course which I have urged upon you."

This much for Isocrates: not only has Apollo "prompted him" to come up with the Isocrates Plan, but Apollo has built up Philip's power in order to execute the Isocrates Plan.

The plan adopted—and destroyed

In the year 337 B.C., a decade after Isocrates' letter to Philip, King Philip assembled all the Greek states at a Congress in Corinth in which he proclaimed the entire Isocrates Plan as his own policy in every detail of domestic and foreign policy. The Isocrates Plan was incorporated in the text of a Common Peace and obligatory official oaths which were sworn to by all the citizens of every participating Greek state. Prince Alexander, the heir apparent to Philip who was objecting to the plan, was exiled by his father.

The ball was ready to roll when Philip was assassinated. Alexander took over, and the Isocrates Plan was never carried out. The clue as to why the Isocrates Plan was so suddenly and so efficiently destroyed is to be found in the *Menexenus* dialogue of Plato, because that dialogue sheds light on the otherwise puzzling question of Plato's attitude to Isocrates.

This is what Prof. Yuri Andropov should beware. The Oracle of Apollo at Delphi was quietly confident that Isocrates had been used well. Isocrates was proudly proclaiming that he was the chosen agent of the Oracle at Delphi.

But, in the quiet shadows of the little Academy forest outside the city walls of Athens, Plato and his friends had analyzed the kinds of social forces that the Oracle at Delphi was manipulating, and the Oracle's method of manipulation. Plato's findings were published in this obscure and incomprehensible dialogue, the *Menexenus*.

In that dialogue, replete with wicked sarcasm as well as subtle ironies, Socrates is made to deliver nothing less than the equivalent of a raving "anti-communist" patriotic speech which, he says, he was taught by the most famous prostitute of Athenian bordellos, Aspasia, who, Socrates claims, wrote all of Pericles' important speeches (in addition to sleeping with him).

In the dialogue, before actually delivering the speech, Socrates first describes the psychological effects on the population of such anti-communist (i.e., anti-barbarian) patriotic speeches. He describes the effects of what is today called "soft brainwashing," as opposed to "aversive brainwashing," whose effects on the victim usually last for no less than three days, but usually no more than five.

After this precise clinical characterization of the effects of anti-barbarian patriotic brainwashing, Socrates proceeds to demonstrate the technique by delivering the prostitute Aspasia's speech, which turns out to be an ironical dissection of Isocrates' *Panegyricus* oration of 380 B.C. The speech, like the *Panegyricus*, is mostly a fraudulent account of Athenian history as a professional anti-barbarian of that period's Heritage Foundation would render. Isocrates' anti-barbarianism is, for all practical intents, identical to, say, Margaret

Thatcher's anti-communism. And Socrates' Aspasia speech, with devastating ironies, draws out the absurdities of the Isocratean-Thatcherite historical claims. Any reader of the period, going over the particulars of Athenian "incorruptibility," "valor," "democratic principles," "rule by the best" which Socrates chooses to highlight in order to support the argument of the genetic superiority of Greeks over the "barbarians," would be laughing outrageously at his own expense, as he would be able to immediately realize the stupidity of his very own conceited rationalizations of his state's despicable and treacherous actions. To understand the Socratic irony, the modern reader of *Menexenus* must first be fully conversant with the particular events of the first decades of the fourth century and also with the way in which the Athenian citizens were thinking and feeling about those events.

When Socrates in the *Menexenus* proudly proclaims that the power and military valor of Athens forced the Great King of Persia to humbly beg for Athenian assistance and to even offer large amounts of money to buy the favor or at least the benevolent neutrality of mighty Athens, the contemporary Athenian reader would have burst out in self-conscious laughter, knowing as he did that his country had just been smashed at the end of the Peloponnesian War by Sparta, which had been heavily subsidized by Persian gold.

The contemporary Athenian reader would also have known that after his country's defeat in 404 B.C. and beginning with the year of the murder of Socrates in 399 B.C., the Persian King started subsidizing Athens heavily for the purpose of destroying the victorious Sparta. The Athenian reader would also know that the major revenue of his state was the payments of Athenian mercenary armies under admirals Iphicrates and Conon in the service of the Persian satrap Ariobarzanes of Syria and Hellespontum. Athens in the first two decades of the fourth century was a Persian puppet and its politicians most unabashedly pro-Persian. It had even made the Satrap Ariobarzanes and his sons honorary Athenian citizens. In the Menexenus, Socrates demonstrates the technique orators used to get the Assembly to vote up Persian policies, employing the techniques of anti-barbarian/anticommunist persuasion.

Getting beneath the particulars of political technique, Socrates in the *Menexenus* identifies the pathology in the population which makes the trick work: the cultural matrix of blood and soil. A whole passage of the Aspasia speech is devoted to the genetic superiority of Athenian blood, which derives from the special way in which Athenian "Mother Earth" produced human beings in the prehistoric period:

"The country which brought them [the fallen Athenians honored by the oration] up is not like other countries, a stepmother to her children, but their own true mother; she bore them and nourished them and received them, and in her bosom they now repose. It is meet and right, therefore, that we should begin by praising the land which is their mother, and that will be a way of praising their noble birth.

"The country is worthy to be praised, not only by us, but

by all mankind—first, and above all, as being dear to the gods. This is proved by the strife and contention of the gods respecting her. And ought not the country which the gods praise to be praised by all mankind? The second praise which may be fairly claimed by her is that at the time when the whole earth was sending forth and creating diverse animals, tame and wild, she our mother was free and pure from savage monsters, and out of all animals selected and brought forth man, who is superior to the rest in understanding and alone has justice and religion.

[All Athenians knew that the first-born of Athenian land was a big snake, a python which was worshipped as the autochthonous god at the time in which Socrates is made to speak.]

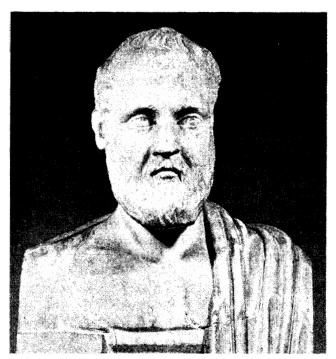
"And a great proof that she brought forth the common ancestors of us and of the departed is that she provided the means of support for her offspring. For as a woman proves her motherhood by giving milk to her young ones—and she who has no fountain of milk is not a mother—so did this our land prove that she was the mother of men, for in those days she alone and first of all brought forth wheat and barley for human food, which is the best and noblest sustenance for man whom she regarded as her true offspring. [All Athenians who heard that would laugh, because they knew that the central fact and pivot of all Athenian politics was that the country was not producing cereals, and therefore the city's foreign policy was centered on the effort to secure cereal imports from the Black Sea.] And these are truer proofs of motherhood in a country than in a woman, for the woman in her conception and generation is but the imitation of the earth and not the earth of the woman."

The internal arrangement of the Aspasia speech in the *Menexenus* follows closely the oratorical composition of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, in which the oracle of Delphi had first presented a systematic elaboration of the blood and soil principle with which public affairs were to be manipulated toward the ultimate implementation of the Isocrates Plan.

Plato's relation to Isocrates

What is of relevance to us (and to Yuri Andropov), is to elucidate the actual attitude that Plato maintained toward Isocrates throughout his life. This subject has been one of considerable controversy among classical scholars in the past three hundred years. While Isocrates, Plato's senior by seven years, displayed his annoyance and occasional hostility toward Plato publicly, Plato himself always made a point of maintaining a benign and appreciative attitude toward Isocrates. In the *Phaedrus*, Plato positively praises Isocrates. In his Epistle XIII to Dion, he makes it clear that he views Isocrates' activities as useful.

In the question of "who manipulated Isocrates," the turn of historical events suggests that Plato outmaneuvered the Oracle of Delphi. The major evidence for this is that Alexander the Great's campaign did exactly the opposite of what Isocrates and Philip were planning, and did so under the



Isocrates

influence of Plato's Academy. But the most crucial epistemological evidence, the evidence which answers the question "how did Plato do it," is the *Menexenus* dialogue. To establish this point, we need to quote a certain crucial part of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*:

"To begin with the first and most necessary demand of human nature, you will find that our ancestors were they who supplied it. Though what I am going to relate may be disfigured by tradition or fable, the substance of it is not the less deserving of your regard.

"When Ceres wandered from one country to another in quest of her daughter, who had been carried off by violence, she received in Attica the most favorable treatment, and those particular good offices which it is lawful to make known only to the initiated. The goddess was not ungrateful for such favors, but in return conferred on our ancestors the two most valuable presents which either heaven can bestow, or mankind can receive; the practice of agriculture, which delivers us from the fierce and precarious manner of life common to us with wild animals. . . Athens also is the seat of philosophy, which hath softened our manners and regulated our conduct; and which, by teaching us to distinguish between evils brought upon us by imprudence, and those inflicted by necessity, hath enabled us to ward off the one and to bear the other honorably.

"Athens likewise is the theater of eloquence, a talent which all men are ambitious to acquire, and which excites so much envy against those who actually possess it. She has ever been sensible that speech is the original characteristic of human nature, and that it is by the employment of it alone we acquire all those powers which distinguish us from other

animals. . . . In eloquence and philosophy, therefore, Athens so far excels all other nations, that those who are considered as novices at home, become masters elsewhere; that the name of *Greek* is not employed to denote the inhabitant of a particular country, but rather the talents for which the men of that country are distinguished; and that this appellation is more frequently bestowed on such as are acquainted with our literature, than those who were born in our territories."

This selected passage contains the crucial ambiguity of Isocrates' pathetic role which the Delphic method of Apollo's Oracle used systematically and which Plato successfully "judoed" by the diabolical way in which he handled Isocrates. What is the Greeks' claim to political supremacy? Why, according to Isocrates, should they declare war on the "barbarians"? Is it their genetic superiority imposed by their unique "blood and soil," or is it simply the inherent superiority of a unique cultural matrix? Isocrates and the Delphic method merely exploit the superiority of Greek culture to support their argument of racial superiority. Hence the pernicious telltale of equating philosophy with oratorical eloquence. The Delphic outlook of Isocrates fancied that it was holding Plato, the embodiment of the Western cultural matrix, prisoner and servant of Apollo's racialist blood and soil policy. Plato, on the opposite side, manipulated that policy to the purpose of defeating the Apollonian Oriental cultural matrix of the period.

Plato's relationship to Isocrates was essentially anchored in the fact that the former was an intellect of much more sweeping scope than the latter. Plato's lifelong concern was to preserve and advance forward that which he identified as the essential kernel of what we call Western civilization: the drive for a continuous succession of scientific breakthroughs, or, in his terminology, the "hypothesis of the higher hypothesis." Isocrates was a different kind of soul, "silver soul," Plato would have said, and Dante would have mercifully placed him in Purgatory. Isocrates liked to be viewed as the "Grand Old Man" of pan-Hellenic politics, the great strategist of the race who would settle the "Eternal Question" of East-West conflict by means of a "limited war," a compromise and a "Third Force" buffer zone. A flatterable Kissinger-cum-Carrington of the age, his vanity was used by the Oracle of Delphi. Beneath him was the swarm of orators, politicians, and generals who saw in Isocrates the standard of sophistication and "the last word" in strategic matters. So Isocrates was made the spokesman of a racist blood and soil strategy. Because of his public position, and the politics of the period, he had to cloak that racist pride in terms of "superiority of Western culture." He called for war against the "barbarians" in the name of "Western civilization," while he used the war to introduce the barbarian cultural context of racialism in Western civilization.

Plato played the game in reverse: he let the course of events lead to a war between East and West in order to introduce the West's civilizing principle, the scientific outlook, into the East. Isocrates was caught between two intri-

cate webs, one spun by the Oracle at Delphi and the other by Plato and the Academy. Plato won over the Oracle.

The sequence of events in the fourth century

By the year 461 B.C., a mere 20 years after the defeat of the Persian invasions, the political soul had been yanked out of what we call classical Greek civilization. What followed was unmitigated decline and degeneration. Most historians and classical scholars will dispute this judgment vehemently. The judgment, however, stands. During that year, the republican party of Athens, the Areopagus, was smashed. Republican leaders such as Admiral Cimon, the son of Miltiades, victor of the battle of Marathon, had been sent into exile. Eventually, the great Aeschylus was forced to abandon his beloved Athens and spend the rest of his life in Sicily. Athens fell to the hands of Pericles' Democratic Party, the pro-Persian party.

The Periclean Democratic Party had its origins in the sixth century B.C. faction of merchant and maritime interests on the East Coast of Attica, led by the Alcmaeonid family. During the troubles of the Peisistratid period of the sixth century, the aristocratic, blue-blood Alcmaeonid family had been sent into exile for undermining the traditions of Solon's Constitution. In exile, they became collaborators of Persia and at the same time, the greatest patrons of the Oracle of Delphi which they rebuilt. The Delphic oracle throughout the years of the Alcmaeonidic exile was advising Sparta to invade Athens. In the year 490 B.C., during the first Persian invasion, Delphi had persuaded every single Greek state to side with the invading Asiatic armies. The Persian invasion was defeated by Athens alone and single-handed. Even Sparta, which feinted opposition to the Persians, sent military reinforcements to the Athenians one day after the historic battle of Marathon had been fought and won by the Athenian army under the republican Miltiades.

The Alcmaeonid democratic faction started gradually to regain a timid foothold in Athenian politics after the defeat of the second Persian invasion of 480 B.C. That invasion, unlike the first, was not repelled by the Athenian army, but rather by the newly constructed Athenian navy, at the naval engagement of Salamis, and by the combined forces of the depleted Athenian army and the full force of the Spartan army at the battle of Plataea. Therefore, ironically, even though the second Persian invasion was defeated, it had already caused an irreparable exhaustion of the Alcmaeonids' and the Delphic oracle's enemies, the Areopagitic land armies of Athens. It was this irreparable weakening which led to the full-fledged restoration of the pro-Persian, pro-Delphic democrats under Pericles.

The defeat of the Areopagus of 461 B.C. set off a chain of events which led, in 431 B.C., to the Peloponnesian War, so called, a 30-year conflict of all Greek states, half of then led by "democratic" Athens and the other half by "oligarchical" Sparta. The Peloponnesian War was not a conflict between Athenian state interests and Spartan state interests per

se. It was a military competition between two equally rotten Greek political systems both of which had been created and nurtured by Persian money and political manipulations of the Delphic oracle.

From 461 B.C. onward, there are no virtuous political leaders and no virtuous citizens in the Greek world. The so-called democratic factions, after the example of Athenian democracy, were based on the masses of mercenary sailors and petty merchants and artisans held together by public bribes with Persian money. Their leaders were old blue-bloods turned international bankers and merchants, after the example of the Athenian East Coast Establishment of the Alcmaeonids. The anti-democrats were a bunch of petty tyrannies led by greedy adventurer-individualists, scores of "Anastasio Somosas" of the type derided by Plato in his dialogue *Gorgias*.

Starting in 461 B.C., Pericles transformed the erstwhile Athenian Commonwealth of states into a coalition of likeminded corrupt democracies under the protection of the Persian king. This historians have called the Athenian Empire. The records show, however, that it was another Persian satrapy, the 21st Satrapy, which was taxed just like every other Persian satrapy but whose leader, Athens, was allowed by the Persian Great King to keep the proceeds of the satrapic tax—provided these proceeds were kept at the temple of Apollo in Delos. The Delos treasury was allowed to be transferred to Athens only after Athens and Persia made a deal whereby Athens undertook to make a major shift in its foreign policy, to declare that Sparta, and not Persia, was its numberone foreign policy adversary. This deal was clinched with the signing of a peace treaty with Persia in the year 449 B.C.

The 449 B.C. peace opened the stage of Greek-versus-Greek conflicts between "oligarchs" and "democrats" which led to the Peloponnesian War. The fate of that war was decided when Sparta, in the year 412 B.C., entered into a treaty with Persia against Athens, the Treaty of Miletus. This caused an internal constitutional transformation in Sparta, which for the first time in its history permitted the conduct of financial transactions and the establishment of a state treasury, both necessary measures for receiving massive infusions of Persian funds. By the year 404 B.C. Athens was defeated.

Throughout this period, there were no heroes and no statesmen who shaped Greek history. The single most important personality of Greek politics, the arbiter of Greek politics, was a Persian oligarch and his family, Pharnabazus, the satrap of Syria ad Hellespontum. He was the inspirator of the Spartan-Persian Treaty of Miletus of 412 B.C. From the year 412 B.C. to 386 B.C. he was the shaper of all Greek politics. After the destruction of Athens which resulted from this treaty, he took under his wing the pathetic but militarily ingenious Athenian Admiral Conon, who had lost the crucial naval engagement of Aegospotamoi in 405 B.C. in which the entire Athenian navy was destroyed, and which led to Athens' capitulation. Conon, the champion of Athens, fearing legal lynching back in Athens, preferred to defect to Phar-

nabazus' court. He was later appointed commander-in-chief of all Persian Mediterranean navies and destroyed the entire Spartan fleet at the battle of Cnidos in 394 B.C.

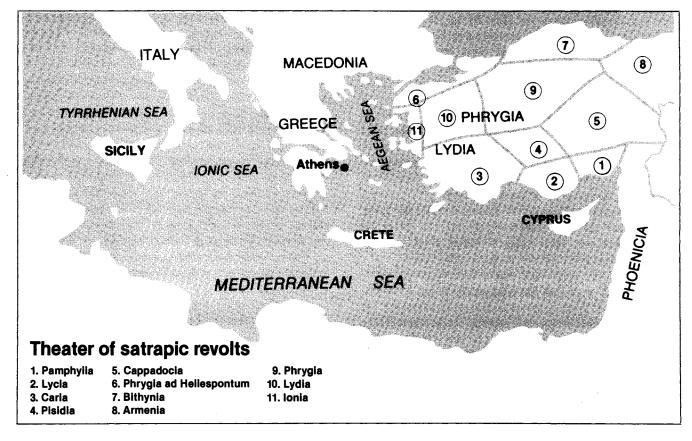
Pharnabazus meanwhile had succeeded in dethroning King Lysander of Sparta, the founder of the Spartan Empire and conqueror of Athens. He subsequently toured Greece and was given a hero's reception in Athens, whose great fortifications, the Long Walls, had been taken down by his own Spartans eight years earlier. He, the destroyer of Athens, was granted Athenian citizenship for himself and his children. This was in 393 B.C., six years after the execution of Socrates.

Seven years later, in 386 B.C., Pharnabazus was transferred to the Persian capital of Susa to marry the daughter of King Artaxerxes. During that year, a peace treaty was signed between Sparta and Persia, the Peace of Antalcidas, in which all Greek states, now totally corrupted and weakened, recognized the sovereignty of the "Great King." Called the King's Peace, its text, inscribed on a marble slab, was displayed in the central square of every Greek city. According to the custom of the period, all citizens were obliged to take oaths on the text of the treaty. Pharnabazus' post as Satrap of Phrygia ad Hellespontum was filled by his brother Ariobarzanes. Another member of the Pharnabazus family, his son by the king's daughter named Artabazus, in later years became a close collaborator of King Philip of Macedonia and a central component in the Isocrates Plan. This Artabazus, by rights, was a citizen of Athens.

The case of the pathetic Admiral Conon was not unique. Another illustrious Athenian politician, Alcibiades of Symposium fame, also betrayed Athens and defected first to Sparta and later to another Persian Satrap, Tissaphernes of Sardis. Every other great name among military and naval leaders served Persian satraps or the Persian King during the fourth century. Iphicrates, the famous military innovator, King Agesilaus of Sparta, so much admired by Xenophon, and so forth.

From the death of Socrates in 399 B.C. to the invasion of Asia by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C., the world of the entire eastern Mediterranean was a massive cauldron of war, corruption, murder, and doublecross. Roving bands of efficient mercenary soldiers, led by able military commanders, were moving incessantly at sea and on land, almost daily shifting sides, allegiances and paymasters. The main revenue of Greek states came from hiring armies out to the highest bidder. The sides and dividing lines of the conflict appear confusing and blurred, unless one examines the policies of the Delphic priesthood and the thread of the careers of the Pharnabazus clan. They themselves, it turned out, despite their apparent dominance over affairs, were nothing but mere instruments of the larger principles of statecraft which fueled that incessant, apparently senseless slaughter. Delphi and the priesthood, just like Lord Carrington, were attempting to manipulate something they could not understand.

It was in this maze of moral and political chaos that Plato decided to establish his Academy in the year 387 B.C., one



year before the infamous King's Peace. Plato's self-defined task was to discover and establish the principles of science which ought to rule human life and from those deduce the principles of statecraft which might be applied to straighten out the mess of the fourth century B.C. His lasting contribution to that century and to us is his discovery of the importance of the fact that there exist five and only five regular solids as a boundary condition of physical space, and the implications of that discovery upon the laws of composition of the universe. From this, a long-term political program was developed, as reflected in Plato's writings on the subject of the laws of composition of state-building, found primarily in the Republic, and the Laws. And a short-term political program for straightening out the miserable fourth century B.C., as reflected in the Menexenus and his "Alexander the Great project."

The Achilles heel of the oligarchical model

Visualize a map of the organized world of Plato's time, the Eastern Mediterranean. The main bulk of political power is centered in Mesopotamia, the heart of the Persian Empire where the Chaldean priesthood reigns supreme. This is the heart of the Oriental cultural matrix: mysticism, superstition, and systematically cultivated paranoid hostility to the scientific outlook. This empire rules over Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and Greece, which it has reduced to a state of permanent war of each against all. Then suddenly, after the "Greek problem" has been taken care of, the Great King's

satraps on the coastal regions begin to revolt, in unison or separately. This phenomenon of satraps' revolts is of unique importance in the politics of the last three thousand years. Understanding this, for example, provides the clue for understanding what really happened in the fascinating Thirty Years War of recent West European history: The Satraps' Revolts of the fourth century B.C. represent the Achilles' heel of the Oriental cultural matrix, the unique strategic vulnerability of the "Eastern Division" of Empire politics.

The problem is this: The Oriental priesthood, the grand-mother of Eastern Orthodoxy, claims the right to rule the world by manipulation. They are the Chaldeans, the Mobeds, the Phoenician manipulators, echoed in our day by the "Byzantine style" in modern politics exemplified by the Venetian-Swiss banking tradition and its inspirator, the Byzantine Rite of the Eastern Orthodox Church and its great monument, Mount Athos.

This claim to rule by the Oriental priesthood-prototype requires certain instruments of rule, it requires the sinews of Empire. The priesthood must stay one step behind the actual wielders of temporal power, the Empire-builders. The Empire-builders must be manipulated but they must also exist in order to build the Empire which the Chaldean priests shall rule by manipulation. The entire history of Mesopotamia from Akkad and Sumer down to the Achaemenids of the fourth century, is determined by emergence of great Empire-builders and kings who are led to power by the priesthood—kings, who, upon accumulating power, challenge the priest-

hood and are subsequently torn down by the priesthood.

The Chaldean priesthood's response to the challenge of Ammon coming out of Egypt in the eighth century B.C. was to eventually install the Achaemenid Persian dynasty in Mesopotamia. They gradually started chopping down the Great King's power by the time of the third king of the Achaemenid line, Darius, whom they forced to share power with seven senior clans of Persian oligarchs, and then launched a great game of playing the oligarchical families against the central authority of the king. Therefore, as soon as Greek-republican and Egyptian power were subdued at the start of the fourth century, during the reign of Darius's grandson Artaxerxes, the priesthood-oligarchical combination resumed the game of taking apart the central power of the king. The clan of the satrap Pharnabazus, the subduer of Greece, played a major role in this great game throughout the fourth century.

If you visualize before you a map of the eastern Mediterranean littoral, right past the Dardanelles going eastward, you have the following succession of satrapies along the coast: Phrygia ad Hellespontum, Aeolis, Ionia, Lydia, Caria (right across the island of Rhodes), Lycia (Apollo's birthplace), Cilicia. This completes the entire Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor. Then turning south along the coast, we have Phoenicia, Palestine and Egypt. The inland area of Asia Minor is covered by the satrapies of Phrygia Major, Cappadocia, and partly Armenia.

Throughout the fourth century, all of these satrapies were in revolt against the Great King at one time or another. Both the king and the rebel satraps were relying mostly on Greek mercenary troops to conduct their warfare. The complicating factor for the priesthood stagemanaging the whole thing was that in the midst of these decentralizing revolts, the old republican enemy in Egypt and in Greece might revive. Care was therefore taken to sustain an ongoing policy of corruption of leaders and peoples. The corruption took the form of preserving and supporting two types of government: democratic (mob rule by bribe, the Theoric Fund) and oligarchical/tyrannical regimes.

The first major revolt of the satraps was led by Ariobarzanes of Phrygia ad Hellespontum, an honorary citizen of Athens, the brother of Pharnabazus (now son-in-law of King Artaxerxes), in the year 366 B.C. In 362 B.C. he is defeated and crucified but is replaced by his nephew Artabazus, also an Athenian citizen as son of Pharnabazus and the favorite grandchild of Queen Mother Parysatis, one of the major instruments of the priesthood within the royal palace. The concluding phase of the Ariobarzanes revolt included in its rebel ranks Orontes, satrap of Ionia and Mysia, Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, Mausolus of Caria and Datamis of Cappadocia. The satraps ended their revolt when they were joined by an Egyptian national liberation movement led by Pharaoh Tacho I.

From 359 B.C. onward, the year in which Philip of Macedonia becomes king, a series of new satrap revolts is programmed and the coastal satraps, especially Mausolus of

Caria, move to systematically increase their regional powers. This later leads to a full-fledged satraps' revolt in 355 B.C. in which the Athenian citizen satrap Artabazus and his two Greek Rhodian Generals, Memnon, and Mentor, play a key role. That same year, 355 B.C., Isocrates' faction takes power in Athens and Isocrates produces two of his most important policy pamphlets, *Areopagiticus* and *De Pace*, in which he proposes that Athens establish a formal oligarchical constitution and scrap its navies. Another Egyptian revolt shakes up the satraps' revolt. In 352 B.C. Artabazus is defeated and takes refuge in the court of Philip of Macedonia, friend of Isocrates. Mentor, Artabazus' general and brother-in-law, follows him into Philip's court while Artabazus' other general and brother-in-law, Memnon, is fighting in Egypt on the side of the Egyptian rebels against the king.

These satraps, mercenary generals, and Philip of Macedonia are the friends of Isocrates and the Isocrates faction now ruling in Athens.

The decade of the 340s B.C. is a period of planning and consolidation, also the decade in which the Isocrates Plan was made public in the form of Isocrates's letter to Philip. Artabazus, Memnon and Mentor restore their positions in the Persian King's court in a series of maneuvers which involved Memnon's doublecrossing the Egyptians with aid from the Phoenician priesthood. Memnon's, Mentor's, and Artabazus's restoration to the king's court was critical for the Isocrates Plan, which called for a "limited war" between Philipled Greek tyrannies and King-led Persian armies. There was hope by Mentor, Memnon and Artabazus that the king might go along with the plan. Eventually, however, the king, Artaxerxes III Ochus, did not agree. He was therefore assassinated in the year 338 B.C. by a conspiracy of Memnon and Prime Minister Bagoas. Within weeks, King Philip of Macedonia convoked a panhellenic Congress in the city of Corinth where Philip personally proclaimed the Isocrates Plan as the policy of all Greeks. The relevant documents were signed and oaths were taken by the population, whose texts survive.

Next summer, Philip was ready to move his armies to the coast of Asia Minor. Commander of all Persian forces on the Mediterranean, land and naval was General Memnon, the guest at Philip's court for years and the assassin of Artaxerxes III Ochus. Then suddenly, Philip was murdered. Alexander and his faction took power after a brief struggle. Two years later the invasion of Asia was resumed under the command of Alexander. His first act of the invasion was to proclaim the restoration of the old republican constitutions of the 7th century B.C. for all the Greek cities in Asia. This was the first of a series of policies designed and proposed by Plato's Academy.

As Alexander's campaign moved forward, Alexander and his companions continued to promulgate similar measures, all of which were designed to destroy the arrangement envisaged by the Oriental priesthood and articulated in the Isocrates Plan. The bulk of the generals in the Macedonian army were themselves oligarchs committed to the Isocrates

Plan. Each time new republican measures were promulgated by Alexander and his "Companions," the generals were forced to accept them in the context of "exigencies of warfare." The critical moment came when Alexander decided to cross the Cilicia-to-Sinope line, the demarcation point between East and West according to the Isocrates Plan. This occurred at the battle of Issus and led to a series of revolts by old-line generals against Alexander, and a series of assassination attempts, the last of which, organized by an old pupil of Isocrates, Aristotle, succeeded in putting an end to Alexander.

The Socratic barb which provokes involuntary eruptions of laughter, and Socratic irony in general, is the key to introducing scientific thought. 'Where does laughter come from, then?' True laughter is the mind's way of celebrating its ability to laugh at itself. It is the sign that the citizen's rational sense of identity grows out of its previous boundaries, and conquers territory previously occupied by the dark semiconscious and the pitch-black unconscious.

But Alexander's life had already accomplished a major objective. The Isocrates Plan of the Oriental priesthood had been smashed. Certain cultural developments took place which set in motion the chain of events which led to Christianity and, ultimately, the birth of a civilizing movement on the European continent.

The Socratic 'barb'

The evidence of the Platonic Academy's central role in this subversion of the Isocrates Plan has been presented elsewhere. (See the *Campaigner* magazine, February 1981.) What this report wishes to emphasize is the underlying method by with Plato's Academy succeeded in carrying out this political coup. That method is indicated in the wicked humor of the *Menexenus* dialogue. In it, Plato identified the principal instrument of Oriental political warfare as the systematic spread of "blood and soil" ideology. He identified the psychological

symptoms of "blood and soil" brainwashing and with the ruse of the Aspasia speech, identified the weapon with which one disarms the "blood and soil" ideology: wicked humor.

Plato's Academy, during Plato's life and after his death, continuously intervened throughout the extensive geographical area in which the priesthood-inspired Satraps' Revolts were taking place through the fourth century. Before the Academy had been formally established, it was Socrates' policy to intervene in these Satraps' Revolts. The interventions were of multiple character and on all sides. They were military, political, cultural and, as in the case of the satrapy of Caria, mathematical.

The very first "satrap revolt," the expedition of Prince Cyrus against his brother the Great King in 401 B.C. in which Xenophon the historian participated, known as the Anabasis of Cyrus from the title of Xenophon's book, was encouraged by Socrates himself, as Xenophon informs us. In the subsequent decades of the fourth century, we have evidence of Platonic interventions in the political turmoil of the satrapies of Caria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Rhodes, Ionia, Phrygia ad Hellespontum, the so-called Phrygia Minor. There were ongoing interventions into Macedonia which were begun by Plato himself and his friendship with King Perdiccas III, and continued by Plato's successor as head of the Academy, Speusippus, one of whose letters to Philip survives. In at least one instance, after King Philip was won over to the Isocrates Plan, we find leaders of the Academy forming tactical alliances with the Persian King's troops against the military activities of King Philip, as in the case of the siege of Byzantium, a city whose garrison was commanded by a prominent Platonist leader, the Athenian Leon and to whose defense rallied one of the most celebrated Platonist military commanders, General Phocion, renown for being the only nonmercenary Greek general of the fourth century, a man of great dignity and great poverty, whose military services to Athens were never offered by him but were demanded by public vote of the citizens each time the city was in peril. Phocion was the only general who served because he was literally drafted to command. (He was in the end brought to a mass-trial and executed by hemlock in the manner of the death of Socrates.) The Academy's policy as a whole to the issue of the Satrap Revolts was to manipulate them extensively from all sides. The operation was crowned with great success in the year 334 B.C. when a prominent member of the Academy, Delius of Ephesus, then chief adviser to Alexander the Great on Asian policy matters, promulgated the restoration of the old republican constitutions of all the Greek cities of the Asian coast, constitutions which dated back to the eighth century and the time of Thales of Miletus.

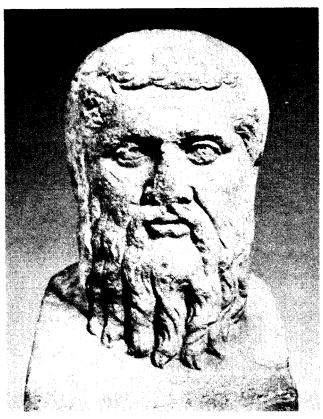
In the sixty-seven years which passed between Socrates's intervention in the Anabasis of Cyrus and the action of Delius of Ephesus, the Socratic-Platonist policy was guided by two evaluations:

1) The existing institutions of political power, from the office of the Great King to the dependencies deriving from

him, the satrapies, Somosa-like oligarchies and bribe-based democracies, were not viable. The key weakness of the system was that the Oriental priesthood was necessarily obliged to undermine the central pivot of this power-system, the monarchical tendencies of the office of the Great King.

2) A mass-psychological operation was mandated as a long-term policy, to undermine the "blood and soil" psychological grip of the priesthood over both populations and political leaders, in order to generate, or at least simulate a quality of "moral fitness to survive" among political leaders and portions of the population at large.

The instrument for this latter policy was the method of



Plato

"hypothesizing the higher hypothesis," the principle governing the composition of scientific thought, a principle which, when applied to the task of straightening out the delusion-governed practices of "popular thought" is known by the name "Socratic irony." This was the central and sole organizing technique of the political cadre force of the Platonic Academy. The *Menexenus* dialogue is characteristic of the Platonists' organizing techniques. An anecdote, reported by Plutarch, respecting the political activities of Platonist general Phocion, is illustrative of the technique.

The scene was in the general assembly of the citizens of Athens, where the subject was being debated of whether or not to hire out another yet mercenary army. Phocion was there trying to dissuade his fellow citizens from going ahead with the proposed plan. He was mainly reminding them of their past stupidities. His opponent was the grandiloquent Demosthenes. At some point, Demosthenes interrupted Phocion and said, "You know, Phocion, the Athenians will kill you once they get angry." And Phocion retorted "And they shall kill you, Demosthenes, if for once they come to their senses." Nobody present was able to resist the oncoming gales of laughter.

To understand the political efficacy of the Socratic "barb," one must first know the enemy method of the obscurantist "Oriental" priesthood-archetype. What is the appeal of the "religious fundamentalist" method? It is this: In great periods of systematic institutional destabilization, such as the era of the fourth century B.C. "Satraps' Revolts" or the recent "institutional unraveling" in the United States, the standard "axiomatic assumptions" which govern the conscious portion of the thinking of the citizenry are shaken badly, become grotesque absurdities. As the conscious portion of mental activity thus shrinks, so shrinks correspondingly the psychological analogue of "conscious thinking," namely the conscious sense of identity, the "ego" of the thinking citizen. The area from which "ego" and "conscious axiomatic thinking" have retreated is filled by the domain of semiconscious and preconscious, a domain dominated by the surging fears of the shrinking, panicked "ego."

The Oriental priesthood-archetype method, the method of liturgical ritual and obscurantism, is to address the person directly above the level of conscious thought, directly above the level of "axiomatic thinking processes," above the "logical" level, and straight into the semi-conscious and preconscious level inside which the mind's "axiom-forming" activity occurs. The Oriental method then gets inside this "axiom-forming activity" and singles out one of its elements, the element of fear, of the terror of identity-insecurity. It harps on fear, plays and molds it until fear is made the dominant force. This hegemonic fear-force then becomes the generator of the new "a priori axiomatic assumptions" which will dominate the future "conscious" mental activity on the logical level. This is how the Oriental cultural matrix is generated in the historic process.

The Socratic "barb" which provokes involuntary eruptions of laughter, and Socratic irony in general, also addresses the mind at the level directly above the mere conscious level of "logical" elaboration. One can never "laugh" with a logically analyzed joke. "Where does laughter come from, then?" How does laughter suddenly sneak up on you when you least expect it, like a well-executed guerrilla attack? It comes from the area of pre-conscious and semi-conscious mental activity. The Socratic irony is an intervention into what we call the "irrational," most-appropriately the "pre-logical." The irony is a statement which operates like a beam of powerful light suddenly falling on the concealed objects filling the dark, unlit pre-conscious where fears and terrors reside. These fear-contents, thus illuminated become conquered by the comprehension of reason. Thus conquered by

reason, from looming giants the psychological fears shrink to the dimensions of pathetic little creatures. Then the gale of laughter hits you, as the emblem of relief for recognizing the foolishness of your previous fear. True laughter is the mind's way of celebrating its ability to laugh at itself. It is the sign that the citizen's rational sense of identity, the so-called ego, grows out of its previous boundaries, as it conquers territory previously occupied by the dark, obscure semiconscious and the pitch-black unconscious.

Now look at the case of our gloomy Professor Yuri Andropov. How shall we commit the distasteful but necessary cruelty of telling this aging, withering old man what the fruit of his work shall be as he passes on to his rewards? Ah, Yuri Andropov's life's work: The clever former chief of the Soviet Union's intelligence services caught up with the great game of the Oriental priesthood early in the 1960s, when the priesthood, Lord Bertrand Russell's Pugwash movement, had launched its great "Aquarian," "post-industrial society" project against the United States. The Pugwash Movement which sold Andropov the so-called Kissinger and Carrington Plan perspective, helped Professor Andropov into realizing the intrinsic cleverness of the old great game which Isocrates first played, that of dividing the world into an Eastern and a Western Division of a great imperial peace. Andropov, upon his accession to power realized that the game can be played most efficiently if one brings into the play the great ideological asset of Russian history, the imperial doctrine of Moscow as the Third and Final Rome.

As of November 1982, the operative doctrinal orientation of Soviet foreign policy is not Marxism-Leninism but the Third Rome Doctrine. The Soviet Union is now a state whose policy is informed by the Oriental cultural matrix of "blood and soil."

Although few may yet realize it, the two-hundred-year old fraud of defining politics in terms of "Left" and "Right," reminiscent of the old "Athens democracy" versus "Sparta oligarchy," has now come to an end. Progressively in 1983 and in 1984, more and more players in the Great Game will realize that the older, fundamental conflict of world politics will be asserting itself in the consciousness of nations. That is the conflict between the Oriental cultural matrix of mystical cultism, mother-earth worship, anti-science bias, and counterculture and the Western cultural matrix of dedicating organized societies to the pursuit of continuous scientific discovery (the hypothesis of the higher hypothesis) and the application of scientific discovery to the task subduing the earth.

The Oriental cultural matrix is "blood and soil." The weapon which defeats it is the *Menexenus* weapon: wicked humor. Hence Professor Andropov's big trouble: Who ever heard of Soviet humor!

And one more thing: has it occurred to him that under the present circumstances, he can no longer claim that the Soviet Union is a "progressive country?" If he did, he would sound like the whore Aspasia claiming that Athens had put the Great King on the Athenian welfare rolls.

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