

SLOUCHING TOWARDS UTOPIA

**AN ECONOMIC HISTORY
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

J. BRADFORD DELONG

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BASIC BOOKS
New York

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Basic Books
Hachette Book Group
1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10104
www.basicbooks.com

First Edition: September 2022

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2022936817

ISBNS: 9780465019595 (hardcover), 9780465023363 (ebook)

E3-20220726-JV-NF-ORI

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*To the next generation:
Michael, Gianna, Brendan, Mary Paty, Matthew,
Courtney, Brian, Barbara, Nicholas, Maria, Alexis, and
Alex.*

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INTRODUCTION

My Grand Narrative

What I call the “long twentieth century” started with the watershed-crossing events of around 1870—the triple emergence of globalization, the industrial research lab, and the modern corporation—which ushered in changes that began to pull the world out of the dire poverty that had been humanity’s lot for the previous ten thousand years, since the discovery of agriculture.¹ And what I call the “long twentieth century” ended in 2010, with the world’s leading economic edge, the countries of the North Atlantic, still reeling from the Great Recession that had begun in 2008, and thereafter unable to resume economic growth at anything near the average pace that had been the rule since 1870. The years following 2010 were to bring large system-destabilizing waves of political and cultural anger from masses of citizens, all upset in different ways and for different reasons at the failure of the system of the twentieth century to work for them as they thought that it should.

In between, things were marvelous and terrible, but by the standards of all of the rest of human history, much more marvelous than terrible. The 140 years from 1870 to 2010 of the long twentieth century were, I strongly believe, the most consequential years of all humanity’s centuries. And it was the first century in which the most important historical thread was what anyone would call the economic one, for it was the century that saw us end our near-universal dire material poverty.

My strong belief that history should focus on the long twentieth century stands in contrast to what others—most notably the Marxist British historian Eric Hobsbawm—have focused on and called the “short twentieth century,” which lasted from the start of World War I in 1914 to the fall of

the Soviet Union in 1991.² Such others tend to see the nineteenth century as the long rise of democracy and capitalism, from 1776 to 1914, and the short twentieth century as one in which really-existing socialism and fascism shook the world.

Histories of centuries, long or short, are by definition grand narrative histories, built to tell the author's desired story. Setting these years, 1914–1991, apart as a century makes it easy for Hobsbawm to tell the story he wants to tell. But it does so at the price of missing much of what I strongly believe is the bigger, more important story. It is the one that runs from about 1870 to 2010, from humanity's success in unlocking the gate that had kept it in dire poverty up to its failure to maintain the pace of the rapid upward trajectory in human wealth that the earlier success had set in motion.³

What follows is my grand narrative, my version of what is the most important story to tell of the history of the twentieth century. It is a primarily economic story. It naturally starts in 1870. I believe it naturally stops in 2010.

As the genius, Dr. Jekyll-like, Austro-English-Chicagoan moral philosopher Friedrich August von Hayek observed, the market economy crowdsources— incentivizes and coordinates at the grassroots—solutions to the problems it sets.⁴ Back before 1870 humanity did not have the technologies or the organizations to allow a market economy to pose the problem of how to make the economy rich. So even though humanity had had market economies, or at least market sectors within its economies, for thousands of years before 1870, all that markets could do was to find customers for producers of luxuries and conveniences, and make the lives of the rich luxurious and of the middle class convenient and comfortable.

Things changed starting around 1870. Then we got the institutions for organization and research and the technologies—we got full globalization, the industrial research laboratory, and the modern corporation. These were the keys. These unlocked the gate that had previously kept humanity in dire poverty. The problem of making humanity rich could now be posed to the market economy, because it now had a solution. On the other side of the gate, the trail to utopia came into view. And everything else good should have followed from that.

Much good did follow from that.

My estimate—or perhaps my very crude personal guess—of the average

worldwide pace of what is at the core of humanity's economic growth, the proportional rate of growth of my index of the value of the stock of useful ideas about manipulating nature and organizing humans that were discovered, developed, and deployed into the world economy, shot up from about 0.45 percent per year before 1870 to 2.1 percent per year afterward, truly a watershed boundary-crossing difference. A 2.1 percent average growth for the 140 years from 1870 to 2010 is a multiplication by a factor of 21.5. That was very good: the growing power to create wealth and earn an income allowed humans to have more of the good things, the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries of life, and to better provide for themselves and their families. This does not mean that humanity in 2010 was 21.5 times as rich in material-welfare terms as it had been in 1870: there were six times as many people in 2010 as there were in 1870, and the resulting increase in resource scarcity would take away from human living standards and labor-productivity levels. As a rough guess, average world income per capita in 2010 would be 8.8 times what it was in 1870, meaning an average income per capita in 2010 of perhaps \$11,000 per year. (To get the figure of 8.8, you divide 21.5 by the square root of 6.) Hold these figures in your head as a very rough guide to the amount by which humanity was richer in 2010 than it was in 1870—and never forget that the riches were vastly more unequally distributed around the globe in 2010 than they were in 1870.⁵

A 2.1 percent per year growth rate is a doubling every thirty-three years. That meant that the technological and productivity economic underpinnings of human society in 1903 were profoundly different from those of 1870—underpinnings of industry and globalization as opposed to agrarian and landlord-dominated. The mass-production underpinnings of 1936, at least in the industrial core of the global north, were profoundly different also. But the change to the mass consumption and suburbanization underpinnings of 1969 was as profound, and that was followed by the shift to the information-age microelectronic-based underpinnings of 2002. A revolutionized economy every generation cannot but revolutionize society and politics, and a government trying to cope with such repeated revolutions cannot help but be greatly stressed in its attempts to manage and provide for its people in the storms.

Much good, but also much ill, flowed: people can and do use technologies—both the harder ones, for manipulating nature, and the softer

ones, for organizing humans—to exploit, to dominate, and to tyrannize. And the long twentieth century saw the worst and most bloodthirsty tyrannies that we know of.

And much that was mixed, both for good and for ill, also flowed. All that was solid melted into air—or rather, all established orders and patterns were steamed away.⁶ Only a small proportion of economic life could be carried out, and was carried out, in 2010 the same way it had been in 1870. And even the portion that was the same was different: even if you were doing the same tasks that your predecessors had done back in 1870, and doing them in the same places, others would pay much less of the worth of their labor-time for what you did or made. As nearly everything economic was transformed and transformed again—as the economy was revolutionized in every generation, at least in those places on the earth that were lucky enough to be the growth poles—those changes shaped and transformed nearly everything sociological, political, and cultural.

Suppose we could go back in time to 1870 and tell people then how rich, relative to them, humanity would become by 2010. How would they react? They would almost surely think that the world of 2010 would be a paradise, a utopia. People would have 8.8 times the wealth? Surely that would mean enough power to manipulate nature and organize humans that all but the most trivial of problems and obstacles hobbling humanity could be resolved.

But not so. It has now been 150 years. We did not run to the trail's end and reach utopia. We are still on the trail—maybe, for we can no longer see clearly to the end of the trail or even to wherever the trail is going to lead.

What went wrong?

Well, Hayek may have been a genius, but only the Dr. Jekyll side of him was a genius. He and his followers were extraordinary idiots as well. They also thought the market alone could do the whole job—or at least all the job that could be done—and commanded humanity to believe in the workings of a system with a logic of its own that mere humans could never fully understand: “The market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of the market.” They thought that what salvation was possible for humanity would come not through St. Paul of Tarsus’s *solo fide* but through Hayek’s *solo mercato*.⁷

But humanity objected. The market economy solved the problems that it

set itself, but then society did not want those solutions—it wanted solutions to other problems, problems that the market economy did not set itself, and for which the crowdsourced solutions it offered were inadequate.

It was, perhaps, Hungarian-Jewish-Torontonian moral philosopher Karl Polanyi who best described the issue. The market economy recognizes property rights. It sets itself the problem of giving those who own property—or, rather, the pieces of property that it decides are valuable—what they think they want. If you have no property, you have no rights. And if the property you have is not valuable, the rights you have are very thin.

But people think they have other rights—they think that those who do not own valuable property should have the social power to be listened to, and that societies should take their needs and desires into account.⁸ Now the market economy might in fact satisfy their needs and desires. But if it does so, it does so only by accident: only if satisfying them happens to conform to a maximum-profitability test performed by a market economy that is solving the problem of getting the owners of valuable pieces of property as much of what the rich want as possible.⁹

So throughout the long twentieth century, communities and people looked at what the market economy was delivering to them and said: “Did we order that?” And society demanded something else. The idiot Mr. Hyde side of Friedrich von Hayek called it “social justice,” and decreed that people should forget about it: the market economy could never deliver social justice, and to try to rejigger society so that social justice could be delivered would destroy the market economy’s ability to deliver what it could deliver—increasing wealth, distributed to those who owned valuable property rights.¹⁰

Do note that in this context “social justice” was always only “justice” relative to what particular groups desired: not anything justified by any consensus transcendental principles. Do note that it was rarely egalitarian: it is unjust if those unequal to you are treated equally. But the only conception of “justice” that the market economy could deliver was what the rich might think was just, for the property owners were the only people it cared for. Plus, the market economy, while powerful, is not perfect: it cannot by itself deliver enough research and development, for example, or environmental quality, or, indeed, full and stable employment.¹¹

No: “The market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of

the market” was not a stable principle around which to organize society and political economy. The only stable principle had to be some version of “The market was made for man, not man for the market.” But who were the men who counted, for whom the market should be made? And what version would be the best making? And how to resolve the squabbles over the answers to those questions?

Throughout the long twentieth century, many others—Karl Polanyi, Theodore Roosevelt, John Maynard Keynes, Benito Mussolini, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Vladimir Lenin, and Margaret Thatcher serve as good markers for many of the currents of thought, activism, and action—tried to think up solutions. They dissented from the pseudo-classical (for the order of society, economy, and polity as it stood in the years after 1870 was in fact quite new), semi-liberal (for it rested upon ascribed and inherited authority as much as on freedom) order that Hayek and his ilk advocated and worked to create and maintain. They did so constructively and destructively, demanding that the market do less, or do something different, and that other institutions do more. Perhaps the closest humanity got was the shotgun marriage of Hayek and Polanyi blessed by Keynes in the form of post–World War II North Atlantic developmental social democracy. But that institutional setup failed its own sustainability test. And so we are still on the path, not at its end. And we are still, at best, slouching toward utopia.

RETURN TO MY CLAIM above that the long twentieth century was the first century in which the most important historical thread was the economic one. That is a claim worth pausing over. The century saw, among much else, two world wars, the Holocaust, the rise and fall of the Soviet Union, the zenith of American influence, and the rise of modernized China. How dare I say that these are all aspects of one primarily economic story? Indeed, how dare I say that there is one single most consequential thread?

I do so because we have to tell grand narratives if we are to think at all. Grand narratives are, in the words of that bellwether twentieth-century philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein, “nonsense.” But, in a sense, all human thought is nonsense: fuzzy, prone to confusions, and capable of leading us astray. And our fuzzy thoughts are the only ways we can think—the only ways we have to progress. If we are lucky, Wittgenstein said, we can

“recognize... them as nonsensical,” and use them as steps “to climb beyond them... [and then] throw away the ladder”—for, perhaps, we will have learned to transcend “these propositions” and gained the ability to “see the world aright.”¹²

It is in hopes of transcending the nonsense to glimpse the world aright that I’ve written this grand narrative. It is in that spirit that I declare unhesitatingly that the most consequent thread through all this history was economic.

Before 1870, over and over again, technology lost its race with human fecundity, with the speed at which we reproduce. Greater numbers, coupled with resource scarcity and a slow pace of technological innovation, produced a situation in which most people, most of the time, could not be confident that in a year they and their family members would have enough to eat and a roof over their heads.¹³ Before 1870, those able to attain such comforts had to do so by taking from others, rather than by finding ways to make more for everyone (especially because those specializing in producing, rather than taking, thereby become very soft and attractive targets to the specializers in taking).

The ice was breaking before 1870. Between 1770 and 1870 technology and organization gained a step or two on fecundity. But only a step or two. In the early 1870s that British establishment economist, moral philosopher, and bureaucrat John Stuart Mill claimed, with some justification, that “it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day’s toil of any human being.”¹⁴ You have to go forward a generation after 1870 before general material progress becomes unquestionable. The ice could then have resolidified—the nineteenth-century technologies of steam, iron, rails, and textiles were approaching their culmination point; moreover, they all depended on hyper-cheap coal, and the hyper-cheap coal was being exhausted.

But tell anyone from before the long twentieth century about the wealth, productivity, technology, and sophisticated productive organizations of the world today, and their likely response, as noted above, would be that with such enormous power and wealth in our collective hands we must have built a utopia.

That is in fact what they did tell us. Perhaps the third best-selling novel in the United States in the nineteenth century was *Looking Backward*,

2000–1887, by Edward Bellamy. Bellamy was a populist and—although he rejected the name—a socialist: he dreamed of a utopia created by government ownership of industry, the elimination of destructive competition, and the altruistic mobilization of human energies. Technological and organizational abundance, he believed, would generate a society of abundance. His novel, therefore, was a “literary fantasy, a fairy tale of social felicity,” in which he imagined “hanging in mid-air, far out of reach of the sordid and material world of the present... [a] cloud-palace for an ideal humanity.”¹⁵

He throws his narrator-protagonist forward in time, from 1887 to 2000, to marvel at a rich, well-functioning society. At one point the narrator-protagonist is asked if he would like to hear some music. He expects his hostess to play the piano. This alone would be testament to a vast leap forward. To listen to music on demand in around 1900 you had to have—in your house or nearby—an instrument, and someone trained to play it. It would have cost the average worker some 2,400 hours, roughly a year at a 50-hour workweek, to earn the money to buy a high-quality piano. Then there would be the expense and the time committed to piano lessons.

But Bellamy’s narrator-protagonist is awed when his hostess does not sit down at the pianoforte to amuse him. Instead, she “merely touched one or two screws,” and immediately the room was “filled with music; filled, not flooded, for, by some means, the volume of melody had been perfectly graduated to the size of the apartment. ‘Grand!’ I cried. ‘Bach must be at the keys of that organ; but where is the organ?’”

He learns that his host has dialed up, on her telephone landline, a live orchestra, and she has put it on the speakerphone. In Bellamy’s utopia, you see, you can dial up a local orchestra and listen to it play live. But wait. It gets more impressive. He further learns he has a choice. His hostess could dial up one of four orchestras currently playing.

The narrator’s reaction? “If we [in the 1800s] could have devised an arrangement for providing everybody with music in their homes, perfect in quality, unlimited in quantity, suited to every mood, and beginning and ceasing at will, we should have considered the limit of human felicity already attained.”¹⁶ Think of that: the limit of human felicity.

Utopias are, by definition, the be-all and end-all. “An imagined place or state of things in which everyone is perfect”: so says Oxford Reference.¹⁷

Much of human history has been spent in disastrous flirtations with ideals of perfection of many varieties. Utopian imaginings during the long twentieth century were responsible for its most shocking grotesqueries.

Citing a quotation from the eighteenth-century philosopher Immanuel Kant—“Out of the crooked timber of humanity no straight thing was ever made”—the philosopher-historian Isaiah Berlin concluded, “And for that reason no perfect solution is, not merely in practice, but in principle, possible in human affairs.”¹⁸

Berlin went on to write, “Any determined attempt to produce it is likely to lead to suffering, disillusionment, and failure.” This observation also points to why I see the long twentieth century as most fundamentally economic. For all its uneven benefits, for all its expanding human felicity without ever reaching its limit, for all its manifest imperfections, economics during the twentieth century has worked just shy of miracles.

The consequences of the long twentieth century have been enormous: Today, less than 9 percent of humanity lives at or below the roughly \$2-a-day living standard we think of as “extreme poverty,” down from approximately 70 percent in 1870. And even among that 9 percent, many have access to public health and mobile phone communication technologies of vast worth and power. Today, the luckier economies of the world have achieved levels of per capita prosperity at least twenty times those of 1870, and at least twenty-five times those of 1770—and there is every reason to believe prosperity will continue to grow at an exponential rate in the centuries to come. Today, the typical citizens of these economies can wield powers—of mobility, of communication, of creation, and of destruction—that approach those attributed to sorcerers and gods in ages past. Even the majority of those living in unlucky economies and in the “global south” confront not the \$2- to \$3-a-day living standard of those economies in 1800 or 1870, but an average closer to \$15 a day.

Many technological inventions of the past century have transformed experiences that were rare and valued luxuries—available only to a rich few at great expense—into features of modern life that we take so much for granted that they would not make the top twenty or even the top one hundred in an ordered list of what we think our wealth consists of. So many of us have grown so accustomed to our daily level of felicity that we utterly overlook something astounding. We today—even the richest of us—rarely

see ourselves as so extraordinarily lucky and fortunate and happy, even though, for the first time in human history, there is more than enough.

There are more than enough calories produced in the world, so it is not necessary for anybody to be hungry.

There is more than enough shelter on the globe, so it is not necessary for anybody to be wet.

There is more than enough clothing in our warehouses, so it is not necessary for anybody to be cold.

And there is more than enough stuff lying around and being produced daily, so nobody need feel the lack of something necessary.

In short, we are no longer in anything that we could call “the realm of necessity.” And, as G. W. F. Hegel said, “Seek food and clothing first, and then the Kingdom of God shall be added unto you.”¹⁹ So, one would think, we humans ought to be in something recognizably utopian. That we cannot accept this is another consequence of living our lives fully in the stream of economic history. While history fueled by utopian aspirations is an all or nothing proposition, economic history’s successes and failures are most often experienced in the margins.

Which is partly why no full-throated triumphalism over the long twentieth century can survive even a brief look at the political economy of the 2010s: the stepping back of the United States from its role of good-guy world leader and of Britain from its role as a key piece of Europe; and the rise in North America and Europe of political movements that reject democratic representative consensus politics—movements that former US secretary of state Madeleine Albright has called “fascist” (and who am I to tell her she is wrong?).²⁰ Indeed, any triumphalist narrative would collapse in the face of the conspicuous failures over the previous decade by the stewards of the global economy.

Yes, during the years between 1870 and 2010, technology and organization repeatedly lapped fecundity. Yes, a newly richer humanity resoundingly triumphed over tendencies for population to expand and so for greater resource scarcity to offset more knowledge and better technology. But material prosperity is unevenly distributed around the globe to a gross, even criminal, extent. And material wealth does not make people happy in a world where politicians and others prosper mightily from finding new ways to make and keep people unhappy. The history of the long twentieth century

cannot be told as a triumphal gallop, or a march, or even a walk of progress along the road that brings us closer to utopia. It is, rather, a slouch. At best.

One reason why human progress toward utopia has been but a slouch is that so much of it has been and still is mediated by the market economy: that Mammon of Unrighteousness. The market economy enables the astonishing coordination and cooperation of by now nearly eight billion humans in a highly productive division of labor. The market economy also recognizes no rights of humans other than the rights that come with the property their governments say they possess. And those property rights are worth something only if they help produce things that the rich want to buy. That cannot be just.

As I noted above, Friedrich von Hayek always cautioned against listening to the siren song that we should seek justice rather than mere productivity and abundance. We needed to bind ourselves to the mast. Interference in the market, no matter how well-intentioned when it started, would send us into a downward spiral. It would put us on a road to, well, some industrial-age variant of serfdom. But Karl Polanyi responded that such an attitude was inhuman and impossible: People firmly believed, above all else, that they had other rights more important than and prior to the property rights that energized the market economy. They had rights to a community that gave them support, to an income that gave them the resources they deserved, to economic stability that gave them consistent work. And when the market economy tried to dissolve all rights other than property rights? Watch out!²¹

Slouching, however, is better than standing still, let alone going backward. That is a truism no generation of humanity has ever disputed. Humans have always been inventive. Technological advance has rarely stopped. The windmills, dikes, fields, crops, and animals of Holland in 1700 made the economy of its countryside very different from the thinly farmed marshes of 700. The ships that docked at the Chinese port of Canton had much greater range, and the commodities loaded on and off of them had much greater value, in 1700 than in 800. And both commerce and agriculture in 800 were far more technologically advanced than they were in the first literate civilizations of 3000 BCE or so.

But before our age, back in the preindustrial Agrarian Age,

technological progress led to little visible change over one or even several lifetimes, and little growth in typical living standards even over centuries or millennia.

Recall my very crude index that tracks the value of humanity's useful ideas about manipulating nature and organizing collective efforts—an index of our “technology,” as economists call it. To calculate it, assume that each 1 percent increase in typical human standards of living worldwide tells us that the value of our useful ideas has risen by 1 percent. That is simply a normalization: I want the index to scale with real income, and not with something else, such as the square root of or the square of income. Also assume that each 1 percent increase in the human population at a constant typical living standard tells us that the value of useful ideas has risen by 0.5 percent—for such an increase is necessary to hold living standards constant in the face of resource scarcities that emerge from a higher population. This is a way of taking account of the fact that, since our natural resources are not unlimited, we depend on as much added human ingenuity to support a larger population at the same standard of living as we would depend on to support the same population at a higher standard of living.²²

Set this quantitative index of the global value of useful human knowledge equal to a value of 1 in 1870, at the start of the long twentieth century. Back in the year 8000 BCE, when we discovered agriculture and developed herding, the index stood at 0.04: roughly, and on average across the globe, with the same materials and on the same-size farms, it would take twenty-five workers in 8000 BCE to do what one worker could do in 1870. By the year 1, eight thousand years later, this index was 0.25: with the same resources, better “technologies” meant that the typical worker was now more than six times as productive as the typical worker had been back at the beginning of the Agrarian Age—but only one-quarter as productive as the typical worker of 1870. By the year 1500, the index stood at 0.43, more than 70 percent above the year 1 and a little less than half the value of the year 1870.

These are impressive changes in an index number. They summarize, from the standpoint of those who lived eight thousand years ago, truly miraculous and impressive enlargements of the human empire. Technologies of the year 1500, the Ming pottery or the Portuguese caravel

or the wet cultivation of rice seedlings, would have seemed miraculous. But this growth, and the pace of invention, took place over an enormous span of time: technology crawled ahead at only 0.036 percent per year for the entire period between 1 and 1500—that is only 0.9 percent over an average twenty-five-year lifetime of that age.

And did greater knowledge about technology and human organization cause the life in 1500 of a typical person to be much sweeter than it had been in 8000 BCE? It turns out not. The human population grew at an average rate of 0.07 percent per year from year 1 to 1500, and this 0.07 percent per year decrease in average farm size and other available natural resources per worker meant that more skillful work produced little, if any, additional net product on average. While the elite lived far better in 1500 than they had in 8000 BCE or the year 1, ordinary people—peasants and craftsmen—lived little or no better than their predecessors.

Agrarian Age humans were desperately poor: it was a subsistence-level society. On average, 2.03 children per mother survived to reproduce. A typical woman (who was not among the one in seven who died in childbirth, or the additional one in five who died before her children were grown, sometimes from the same contagious diseases to which her children succumbed) would have spent perhaps twenty years eating for two: she would have had perhaps nine pregnancies, six live births, and three or four children surviving to age five, and the life expectancy of her children remained under, and perhaps well under, thirty.²³

Keeping your children from dying is the first and highest goal of every parent. Humanity in the Agrarian Age could not do so at all reliably. That is an index of how much pressure from material want humanity found itself under.

Over the millennia, 1.5 percent average population growth per generation added up, however. In 1500 there were about three times as many people as there had been in year 1—500 million rather than 170 million. Additional humans did not translate to less individual material want. As of 1500, advances in technological and organizational knowledge went to compensate for fewer natural resources per capita. Thus economic history remained a slowly changing background in front of which cultural, political, and social history took place.

The ice started to groan and shift after 1500. Or perhaps a better metaphor is crossing a divide and entering a new watershed—you are now going downhill, and things are flowing in a new direction. Call this shift the coming of the age of the “Imperial-Commercial Revolution.” The pace of inventions and innovation sped up. And then, in around 1770, the ice was cracking as we crossed into yet a different watershed, as far as the level of worldwide prosperity and the pace of global economic growth was concerned: call the century after 1770 the coming of the age of the “Industrial Revolution.” By 1870 the index of the value of knowledge stood at 1, more than twice as large as in 1500. It had taken 9,500 years to get the tenfold jump from 0.04 to 0.43—an average time-to-double of some 2,800 years—and then the next doubling took less than 370 years.

But did this mean a richer, more comfortable humanity in 1870? Not very much. There were then in 1870 1.3 billion people alive, 2.6 times as many as there had been in 1500. Farm sizes were only two-fifths as large, on average, as they had been in 1500, canceling out the overwhelming bulk of technological improvement, as far as typical human living standards were concerned.

Around 1870 we crossed over another divide into yet another new watershed: the age Simon Kuznets called an era of “modern economic growth.”²⁴ During the period that would follow, the long twentieth century, there came an explosion.

The approximately seven billion people in 2010 had a global value of knowledge index of 21. Pause to marvel. The value of knowledge about technology and organization had grown at an average rate of 2.1 percent per year. Since 1870, the technological capability and material wealth of humankind had exploded beyond previous imagining. By 2010, the typical human family no longer faced as its most urgent and important problem the task of acquiring enough food, shelter, and clothing for the next year—or the next week.

From the techno-economic point of view, 1870–2010 was the age of the industrial research lab and the bureaucratic corporation. One gathered communities of engineering practice to supercharge economic growth, the other organized communities of competence to deploy the fruits of invention. It was only slightly less the age of globalization: cheap ocean and rail transport that destroyed distance as a cost factor and allowed humans in

enormous numbers to seek better lives, along with communications links that allowed us to talk across the world in real time.

The research laboratory, the corporation, and globalization powered the wave of discovery, invention, innovation, deployment, and global economic integration that have so boosted our global useful-economic-knowledge index. Marvel still. In 1870 the daily wages of an unskilled male worker in London, the city then at the forefront of world economic growth and development, would buy him and his family about 5,000 calories worth of bread. That was progress: in 1800, his daily wages would have bought him and his family perhaps 4,000 coarser-bread calories, and in 1600, some 3,000 calories, coarser still. (But isn't coarser, more fiber-heavy bread better for you? For us, yes—but only for those of us who are getting enough calories, and so have the energy to do our daily work and then worry about things like fiber intake. In the old days, you were desperate to absorb as many calories as possible, and for that, whiter and finer bread was better.) Today, the daily wages of an unskilled male worker in London would buy him 2.4 million wheat calories: nearly five hundred times as much as in 1870.

From the biosociological point of view, this material progress meant that the typical woman no longer needed to spend twenty years eating for two—pregnant or breastfeeding. By 2010, it was more like four years. And it was also during this century that we became able, for the first time, to prevent more than half our babies from dying in miscarriages, stillbirths, and infancy—and to prevent more than a tenth of mothers from dying in childbirth.²⁵

From the nation-and-polity point of view, the wealth creation and distribution drove four things, of which the first was by far the most important: 1870–2010 was the century when the United States became a superpower. Second, it was during this period that the world came to be composed primarily of nations rather than empires. Third, the economy's center of gravity came to consist of large oligopolistic firms ringmastering value chains. Finally, it made a world in which political orders would be primarily legitimated, at least notionally, by elections with universal suffrage—rather than the claims of plutocracy, tradition, “fitness,” leadership charisma, or knowledge of a secret key to historical destiny.

Much that our predecessors would have called “utopian” has been

attained step by step, via economic improvements year by year, each of which is marginal, but which compound.

Yet, as of 1870, such an explosion was not foreseen, or not foreseen by many. Yes, 1770–1870 did see, for the first time, productive capability begin to outrun population growth and natural resource scarcity. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the average inhabitant of a leading economy—a Briton, a Belgian, a Dutchman, an American, a Canadian, or an Australian—had perhaps twice the material wealth and standard of living of the typical inhabitant of a preindustrial economy.

Was that enough to be a true watershed?

Back in the early 1870s, John Stuart Mill put the finishing touches on the final edition of the book that people seeking to understand economics then looked to: *Principles of Political Economy, with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*. His book gave due attention and place to the 1770–1870 era of the British Industrial Revolution. But he looked out on what he saw around him and saw the world still poor and miserable. Far from lightening humanity’s daily toil, the era’s technology merely “enabled a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes.”²⁶

One word of Mill’s stands out to me: “imprisonment.”

Yes, Mill saw a world with more and richer plutocrats and a larger middle class. But he also saw the world of 1871 as not just a world of drudgery—a world in which humans had to work long and tiring hours. He saw it as not just a world in which most people were close to the edge of being desperately hungry, not just a world of low literacy—where most could only access the collective human store of knowledge, ideas, and entertainments partially and slowly. The world Mill saw was a world in which humanity was imprisoned: in a dungeon, chained and fettered.²⁷ And Mill saw only one way out: if the government were to take control of human fecundity and require child licenses, prohibiting those who could not properly support and educate their children from reproducing, only then—or was he thinking “if”?—would mechanical inventions wreak the “great changes in human destiny, which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish.”²⁸

And there were others who were much more pessimistic than even Mill. In 1865, then thirty-year-old British economist William Stanley Jevons

made his reputation by prophesying doom for the British economy: it needed to immediately cut back on industrial production in order to economize on scarce and increasingly valuable coal.²⁹

With so much pessimism circulating, the coming explosion in economic growth was far from expected—but it would also be dangerously misconstrued by some.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had in 1848 already seen science and technology as Promethean forces that would allow humanity to overthrow its (mythical) old gods and give humanity itself the power of a god. Science, technology, and the profit-seeking entrepreneurial business class that deployed them had, they said,

during its rule of scarce one hundred years,... created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?³⁰

ENGELS SNARKED THAT IN overlooking the power of science, technology, and engineering, mere economists (such as Mill) had demonstrated that they were little more than the paid hacks of the rich.³¹

But Marx and Engels's promise was not that there would someday be enough to eat, or enough shelter, or enough clothing for the masses, let alone an exponential increase in the value of global knowledge, or even a nearly unlimited choice of music to listen to. Slouching, galloping economic growth was but a necessary paroxysm on the way to utopia. *Their promise was utopia.* In Marx's few and thin descriptions of life after the socialist revolution, in works such as his *Critique of the Gotha Program*, the utopian life he foresaw echoed—deliberately, but with what authorial intent?—the descriptions in the Acts of the Apostles of how people who had attained the Kingdom of Heaven behaved: each contributed “according

to his ability” (Acts 11:29), and each drew on the common, abundant store “according to his needs” (4:35).³² Perhaps he kept these descriptions rare and without detail because they differed so little from what Mill envisioned: an end to the imprisonment and drudgery of poverty, a society in which all people could be truly free.

However, economic improvement, attained by slouch or gallop, matters.

How many of us today could usefully find our way around a kitchen of a century ago? Before the coming of the electric current and the automatic washing machine, doing the laundry was not an annoying, minor chore but instead a major part of the household’s—or rather the household’s women’s—week. Today few among us are gatherers, or hunters, or farmers. Hunting, gathering, farming, along with herding, spinning and weaving, cleaning, digging, smelting metal, and shaping wood—indeed, assembling structures by hand—have become the occupations of a small and dwindling proportion of humans. And where we do have farmers, herdsman, manufacturing workers, construction workers, and miners, they are overwhelmingly controllers of machines and increasingly programmers of robots. They are no longer people who manufacture, who make or shape things with their hands.

What do modern people do instead? Increasingly, we push forward the body of technological and scientific knowledge. We educate each other. We doctor and nurse each other. We care for our young and our old. We entertain each other. We provide other services for each other so that we can all take advantage of the benefits of specialization. And we engage in complicated symbolic interactions that have the emergent effect of distributing status and power and coordinating the division of labor of today’s economy, which encompassed seven billion people in 2010.

Over the course of the long century we have crossed a great divide, between what we used to do in all of previous human history and what we do now. Utopia, it is true, this is not. I imagine Bellamy would be at once impressed and disappointed.

The economic historian Richard Easterlin helps explain why. The history of the ends humans pursue, he suggests, demonstrates that we are ill-suited for utopia. With our increasing wealth, what used to be necessities become matters of little concern—perhaps even beyond our notice. But conveniences turn into necessities. Luxuries turn into conveniences. And

we humans envision and then create new luxuries.³³

Easterlin, bemused, puzzled over how “material concerns in the wealthiest nations today are as pressing as ever, and the pursuit of material needs as intense.” He saw humanity on a hedonic treadmill: “Generation after generation thinks it needs only another ten or twenty percent more income to be perfectly happy.... In the end, the triumph of economic growth is not a triumph of humanity over material wants; rather, it is the triumph of material wants over humanity.”³⁴ We do not use our wealth to overmaster our wants. Rather, our wants use our wealth to continue to overmaster us. And this hedonic treadmill is one powerful reason why, even when all went very well, we only slouched rather than galloped toward utopia.

Nevertheless, getting off the treadmill looks grim. Only a fool would wittingly or ignorantly slouch or gallop backward to near-universal dire global poverty.

LET ME REMIND YOU, again, that what follows is a grand narrative. Of a necessity, I spend chapters on what others have spent books, indeed multiple volumes, describing. In pursuit of big themes, details necessarily suffer. Moreover, I will, as needed—which will be often—“pull up the roots” and jump far back in time to identify and quickly trace an influential origin story, for we cannot do other than think in narrative terms. What happened in 1500, say, had consequences for what happened in 1900. Details, gray areas, controversies, historical uncertainties—they suffer, they suffer greatly, but they suffer for a purpose. To date, we humans have failed to see the long twentieth century as fundamentally economic in its significance—and consequently we have failed to take from it all the lessons we must. We have drawn lessons aplenty from the myriad political, military, social, cultural, and diplomatic histories of these decades. But the economic lessons are no less pressing, and, in fact, are more pressing.

The source from which all else flows was the explosion of material wealth that surpassed all precedent: the long twentieth century saw those of us who belong to the upper-middle class, and who live in the industrial core of the world economy, become far richer than the theorists of previous centuries’ utopias could imagine. From this explosion flowed five important

processes and sets of forces that will constitute the major themes of this book:

History became economic: Because of the explosion of wealth, the long twentieth century was the first century ever in which history was predominantly a matter of economics: the economy was the dominant arena of events and change, and economic changes were the driving force behind other changes, in a way never seen before.

The world globalized: As had never been the case before, things happening on other continents became not just minor fringe factors but among the central determinants of what happened in every single place human beings lived.

The technological cornucopia was the driver: Enabling the enormous increase in material wealth—its essential prerequisite, in fact—was the explosion in human technological knowledge. This required not just a culture and educational system that created large numbers of scientists and engineers, and means of communication and memory, so that they could build on previous discoveries, but also a market economy structured in such a way that it was worth people's while to funnel resources to scientists and engineers so that they could do their jobs.

Governments mismanaged, creating insecurity and dissatisfaction: The governments of the long twentieth century had little clue as to how to regulate the un-self-regulating market to maintain prosperity, to ensure opportunity, or to produce substantial equality.

Tyrannies intensified: The long twentieth century's tyrannies were more brutal and more barbaric than those of any previous century—and were, in strange, complicated, and confused ways, closely related to the forces that made the explosion of wealth so great.

I write this book to engrave these lessons on our collective memories. The only way I know how is to tell you the story, and the substories.

The place to start is in the year 1870, with humanity still ensorcelled, so

that better technology meant not higher living standards for the typical human but rather more people and more resource scarcity that ate up nearly all, if not all, of the potential for material human betterment. Humanity was then still under the spell of a Devil: the Devil of Thomas Robert Malthus.^{[35](#)}

1

Globalizing the World

He was annoyed by the disquisitions in favor of democracy, reason, feminism, enlightenment, and revolution that crossed his desk. So, just before 1800, English scholar and cleric Thomas Robert Malthus wrote a counterblast, his *Essay on the Principle of Population*. His objective? To demonstrate that his explicit target, William Godwin (the father of *Frankenstein* author Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley)—and all of Godwin’s ilk—were, however good their intentions, shortsighted and deluded enemies of the public welfare. Rather than revolution to bring about democracy, reason, feminism, and enlightenment, what humanity needed was religious orthodoxy, political monarchy, and familial patriarchy.¹

Why? Because human sexuality was a nearly irresistible force. Unless it was somehow checked—unless women were kept religious, the world stayed patriarchal, and governmental sanctions were in place to keep people from making love except under certain approved and stringent conditions—the population would always expand until it reached the limit imposed by the “positive check”: that is, population would only stop growing when women became so skinny that ovulation became hit-or-miss, and when children became so malnourished that their immune systems were compromised and ineffective. The good alternative Malthus saw was the “preventative check”: a society in which paternal authority kept women virgins until the age of twenty-eight or so, and in which, even after the age of twenty-eight, government restrictions kept women without the blessing of a current marriage from making love, and in which religion-induced fear of damnation kept women from evading those restrictions. Then, and only

then, could a population settle at a stable equilibrium in which people were (relatively) well nourished and prosperous.

What Malthus wrote was, from his point of view, not false, at least for his day and for earlier days as well. The world in the year 6000 BCE was a world with perhaps 7 million people on it and a technological index of 0.051. The standard of living was about what the United Nations and academic development economists might peg at an average of \$2.50 per day, or about \$900 a year. Fast-forward to the year 1, and we see a world with a great deal of accumulated invention, innovation, and technological development compared to 6000 BCE. Technology had advanced far, with my index having now reached 0.25, but the approximate standard of living was still about \$900 per year. Why no change? Because human sexuality was indeed a nearly irresistible force, as Malthus knew, and the world human population had grown from about 7 million in 6000 BCE to perhaps 170 million in the year 1. The economist Greg Clark has estimated English construction-worker real wages over time, and this data tells us that, on an index that sets these wages in 1800 at 100, construction-worker real wages had also been at a value of 100 in 1650, in 1340, in 1260, and in 1230. The highest they had reached was a value of 150 in 1450, after the Black Plague of 1346–1348 had carried off perhaps one-third of the population of Europe, and after subsequent waves of plague, generation by generation, plus peasant revolts, had severely limited the power of aristocrats to maintain serfdom. From 1450 to 1600, real wages fell back to what would be their 1800 level.²

Malthus's proposed cures—orthodoxy, monarchy, and patriarchy—did not help much to raise this inevitably grim Agrarian Age typical human standard of living. By 1870 there had been some improvement, at least in England. (But remember that England in 1870 was by a substantial margin the richest industrial nation and by far the most industrial economy in the world.) In 1870 Clark's English construction-worker real-wage series stood at 170. But there were some who were not impressed: Remember John Stuart Mill? Smart money still bet that there had not yet been any decisive watershed boundary crossing in human destiny.

John Stuart Mill and company did have a point. Had the Industrial Revolution of 1770–1870 lightened the toil of the overwhelming majority

of humanity—even in Britain, the country at the leading edge? Doubtful. Had it materially raised the living standards of the overwhelming majority—even in Britain? By a little. Compared to how mankind had lived before the revolution, it was unquestionably a big deal: steam power and iron making and power looms and telegraph wires had provided comforts for many and fortunes for a few. But how humans lived had not been transformed. And there were legitimate fears. As late as 1919 British economist John Maynard Keynes wrote that while Malthus's Devil had been “chained up and out of sight,” with the catastrophe of World War I, “perhaps we have loosed him again.”³

A fixation on food makes compelling sense to the hungry. From the year 1000 BCE to 1500 CE, human populations, checked by a shortage of available calories, had grown at a snail’s pace, at a rate of 0.09 percent per year, increasing from perhaps fifty million to perhaps five hundred million. There were lots of children, but they were too malnourished for enough of them to survive long enough to boost the overall population. Over these millennia the typical standards of living of peasants and craftworkers changed little: they consistently spent half or more of their available energy and cash securing the bare minimum of essential calories and nutrients.

It could hardly have been otherwise. Malthus’s Devil made certain of that. Population growth ate the benefits of invention and innovation in technology and organization, leaving only the exploitative upper class noticeably better off. And the average pace of invention and innovation in technology and organization was anemic: perhaps 0.04 percent per year. (Recall, for context, that the average pace starting in around 1870 was 2.1 percent per year.)

That was life up to 1500, when there came a crossing of a watershed boundary: the Industrial-Commercial Revolution. The rate of growth of humanity’s technological and organizational capabilities took a fourfold upward leap: from the 0.04 percent per year rate following year 1 to 0.15 percent per year. The oceangoing caravels, new horse breeds, cattle and sheep breeds (the Merino sheep, especially), invention of printing presses, recognition of the importance of restoring nitrogen to the soil for staple crop growth, canals, carriages, cannons, and clocks that had emerged by 1650 were technological marvels and were—with the exception of cannons,

and for some people caravels—great blessings for humanity. But this growth was not fast enough to break the Devil of Malthus’s spell trapping humanity in near-universal poverty. Population expansion, by and large, kept pace with greater knowledge and offset it. Globally, the rich began to live better.⁴ But the typical person saw little benefit—or perhaps suffered a substantial loss. Better technology and organization brought increases in production of all types—including the production of more effective and brutal forms of killing, conquest, and slavery.

In 1770, a generation before Malthus wrote his *Essay on the Principle of Population*, there came another watershed boundary crossing: the coming of the British Industrial Revolution. The rate of growth of humanity’s technological and organizational capabilities took another upward leap, roughly threefold, from 0.15 percent to around 0.45 percent per year, and perhaps twice that in the heartland of the original Industrial Revolution: a charmed circle with a radius of about three hundred miles around the white cliffs of Dover at the southeastern corner of the island of Britain (plus offshoots in northeastern North America). At this more rapid pace, from 1770 to 1870 more technological marvels became commonplace in the North Atlantic and visible throughout much of the rest of the world. Global population growth accelerated to about 0.5 percent per year, and for the first time global production may have exceeded the equivalent of \$3 a day per head (in today’s money).

The numbers are important: indeed, they are key. As the economic historian Robert Fogel once said—echoing my great-great-uncle, the economic historian Abbott Payson Usher—the secret weapon of the economist is the ability to count.⁵ Remember, we humans are narrative-loving animals. Stories with an exciting plot and an appropriate end of comeuppances and rewards fascinate us. They are how we think. They are how we remember. But individual stories are only important if they concern individuals at a crossroads whose actions end up shaping humanity’s path, or if they concern individuals who are especially representative of the great swath of humanity. It is only by counting that we can tell which stories are at all representative and which decisions truly matter. The individual technologies are important. But more important is their weight: counting up the overall extent to which people were becoming more productive at making old things and more capable at making new things.

The causes of the Industrial Revolution were not foreordained. The revolution was not inevitable. But tracing its causes and the lack of necessity in history is outside the scope of my book. Theorists of the multiverse assure me that there are other worlds out there like ours, worlds that we cannot hear or see or touch in much the same way as a radio tuned to one station cannot pick up all the others. And knowing what we know about our world leaves me utterly confident that in most of those other worlds there was no British Industrial Revolution. That growth would more likely than not have leveled out at the Commercial Revolution-era level of 0.15 percent per year or the medieval level of 0.04 percent per year. These seem like far more likely scenarios: worlds of semipermanent gunpowder empires and sail-driven global commerce.⁶

But that is not our world. And even in our world I do not think that the Imperial-Commercial and British Industrial Revolutions were decisive.

Consider that the 0.45 percent per year global rate of growth of deployed human technological and organizational capabilities typical of the Industrial Revolution era would have been eaten up by global population growth of 0.9 percent per year, or a hair under 25 percent per generation. Instead of four average couples having eight children survive to reproduce among them, the four couples together have fewer than ten. But with even moderately well-fed people, human sexuality can and does do much more: British settler populations in North America in the yellow-fever-free zone north of the Mason-Dixon Line quadrupled by natural increase along every one hundred years, without any of the advantages of modern public health. Consider well-fed but poor people facing high infant mortality and desperate to have some descendants survive to care for them in their old age. Four such couples could easily have had not ten, but fourteen children. A growth of 0.45 percent per year in human technological capabilities was not enough to even start drawing a sorcerous pentagram to contain the Malthusian Devil. And so the world of 1870 was a desperately poor world. In 1870, more than four-fifths of humans still by the sweat of their brow tilled the earth to grow the bulk of the food their families ate. Life expectancy was little higher than it had ever been, if any. In 1870, 5 ounces of copper were mined per person worldwide; by 2016, we mined 5 pounds per person. In 1870, 1 pound of steel was produced per person worldwide; by 2016, we produced 350 pounds per person.

And would the growth of technological ideas continue at that 0.45 percent per year global pace of 1770–1870? All of humanity’s previous efflorescences had exhausted themselves and ended in renewed economic stagnation, or worse, a Dark Age of conquest. Delhi had been sacked by foreign invaders in 1803—Beijing in 1644, Constantinople in 1453, Baghdad in 1258, Rome in 410, Persepolis in 330 BCE, and Nineveh in 612 BCE.

Why should people expect the growth of 1770–1870 not to similarly exhaust itself? Why should people expect imperial London to confront a different fate?

Economist William Stanley Jevons made his reputation in 1865 when he was still a young whippersnapper of thirty-three years old with *The Coal Question*: arguing that Britain at least would within a generation run out of easily accessible coal, and then the factories would just... stop.⁷ There was nobody who was a bigger believer in the British Empire than Rudyard Kipling. The British Empire was very good to Rudyard Kipling—until September 27, 1915, when, during World War I, it devoured his son John by killing him in the bloody fields outside the French city of Lille. Yet his reaction to the sixtieth anniversary of Queen-Empress Victoria Hanover’s accession to the throne, in 1897, was a poem about London’s destiny being the same as Nineveh’s, closing: “For frantic boast and foolish word—/ Thy mercy on Thy People, Lord!”⁸

Thus without a further acceleration—a bigger than Industrial Revolution acceleration—of the underlying drivers of economic growth, today’s world might indeed have been a permanent steampunk world. It might in 2010 have had a global population of the then current seven billion. But, even if invention had maintained its 1770–1870 average global pace, the vast majority of people would have remained at little more than the 1800–1870 typical global standard of living. With global technology and organization today at about the level of 1910, the airplane might still be an infant technological novelty, and the disposal of horse manure our principal urban transportation-management problem. We might have not 9 percent but, rather, more like 50 percent of the world living on \$2 per day, and 90 percent living below \$5. Average farm sizes would be one-sixth of what they had been in 1800, and only the uppermost of the upper classes would

have what we today regard as a global-north middle-class standard of living.

This, of course, is not what happened. What did happen was post-1870 innovation growth acceleration: a third watershed boundary crossing.

Around 1870 the proportional rate of growth of humanity's technological and organizational capabilities took a further fourfold upward leap to our current 2.1 percent per year or so. Thereafter, technology far outran population growth. And thereafter, population growth in the richest economies began to decline: humans became rich enough and long-lived enough that limiting fertility became a desirable option.

The period from 1870 to 1914 was, in the perspective of all previous eras, "economic El Dorado," or "economic Utopia," as John Maynard Keynes put it, looking back from 1919.⁹

The resulting world of 1914 was an odd mix of modernity and antiquity. Britain burned 194 million tons of coal in 1914. The total coal-equivalent energy consumption of Britain today is only 2.5 times that. US railroads carried passengers some 350 miles per citizen, on average, in 1914. Today US airlines carry passengers 3,000 miles per citizen. Yet in 1914, all of Europe save France still saw the powerful political and social dominance of agrarian landlords, who still mostly saw themselves as descendants of knights who had fought for their kings with their swords.

Compared to the past, it was almost utopia. Globally, the real wages of unskilled workers in 1914 were half again above their levels of 1870. Such a standard of living hadn't been attained since before we'd moved to the farm.

Why has every year since 1870 seen as much technological and organizational progress as was realized every four years from 1770 to 1870? (Or as much progress as was realized every twelve years from 1500 to 1770? Or every sixty years before 1500?) And how did what was originally a geographically concentrated surge in and around parts of Europe become a global (albeit unevenly so) phenomenon?

To foreshadow a more thorough discussion in [Chapter 2](#), I think the answers lie in the coming of the industrial research laboratory, the large modern corporation, and globalization, which made the world one global market economy, all of which then proceeded to solve the problems that the economy set itself. And the biggest of those problems turned out to be

finding a way to ratchet up the pace of economic growth. The lab and the corporation are what allowed the likes of Thomas Edison and Nikola Tesla to become inventors. They did not have to fulfill the ten other roles that their predecessors had had to fill, from impresario to human resource manager. That work was left to the corporation. This made a huge difference. Invented technologies could be rationally, routinely, and professionally developed; and then they could be rationally, routinely, and professionally deployed.

Was their development around 1870 necessary and inevitable? We can see how many things in history are neither inevitable nor necessary—how we are as much the product of what didn’t happen as we are of what did. Our history is littered with such might-have-beens. Here’s just one: Lillian Cross does not hit assassin Giuseppe Zangara with her purse on February 15, 1933, and so his bullet finds the brain of president-elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt rather than the lung of Chicago mayor Anton Čermák; Roosevelt dies and Čermák lives—and America’s history in the Great Depression years of the 1930s is very different. But the creation of the industrial research lab was not the action of one, or of even only a few, humans. It took many working together, often at cross-purposes, over a course of years. Inevitable? No, but many people working together over time does make a particular outcome increasingly likely.

We feel that that process could have worked out differently, but we have no good way to conceptualize how that might have happened, or what the plausible range of different outcomes is. As the historian Anton Howes has pointed out, nearly any weaver for five thousand years before 1773 could have made his or her life much easier by inventing the flying shuttle. None did until John Kay, who had no deep knowledge and used no advanced materials, just, as Howes marveled, “two wooden boxes on either side to catch the shuttle... [and] a string, with a little handle called a picker.” Thus, he added, “Kay’s innovation was extraordinary in its simplicity.” By comparison, the research lab and the corporation were complex, and could have perhaps escaped humanity’s conceptual grasp.¹⁰

The labs and corporations needed accelerants if they were to spread and transform the world. The biggest accelerant is clear: globalization.

Back before 1700, what we would call “international trade” was a trade of high-valued preciosities for precious-metal cash—spices, silks,

psychoactives (opium, for example), fine manufactures (steel swords, porcelains, and so forth), important and scarce raw materials such as tin (essential for making bronze), occasional staples transported by ship between and within empires (wheat from Egypt and Tunisia to Rome, rice from the Yangtze Delta to Beijing)—and slaves: pull humans out of their social context and enforce a zero-status hierarchical role on them, and you can get a lot of work out of them for a little food. It mattered. It mattered a lot as far as the comfort and sophistication of elites were concerned. But it was not an essential force shaping economic life (except, of course, for those whom the pre-Industrial Revolution trade networks enslaved). What we would call “international trade” was at most 6 percent of global economic life: about 3 percent of what a typical region consumed was imported from elsewhere, and about 3 percent of what a typical region produced was exported elsewhere. This began to change after 1700. Between 1700 and 1800 the guns-slaves-sugar triangle trade in the North Atlantic did become an essential force, powerfully shaping Africa and the Caribbean for great evil, and playing a still-debated role in concentrating and transferring to Britain the wealth of a global seaborne empire, and in setting Britain on its path to a market economy, limited government, the Industrial Revolution, and world domination. But international trade in 1800 was still, at most, just 6 percent of global economic life.

After 1800, cotton and textiles became important additions to the list of key commodities in world trade. The cotton was imported to the manufacturing heartlands of the British Industrial Revolution—Britain itself; the regions immediately across the English Channel, inside a rough circle with a radius of three hundred miles, with its center at Dover in the southeastern corner of England; plus New England in the United States—and textiles and other manufactures were exported from those same regions to the rest of the world. But world trade in 1865 was still only 7 percent of global economic activity.¹¹

There was the globalization of transport, too, in the form of the iron-hulled, screw-propelled oceangoing steamship, linked to the railroad network. There was the globalization of communication, in the form of the global submarine telegraph network, linked to landlines. By 1870 you could communicate at near-light-speed from London to Bombay and back, by 1876 from London to New Zealand and back.

Yet another aspect of globalization was a lack of barriers. Of the consequences arising from open borders, the most influential was migration—with the very important caveat that the poorest migrants, those from China, India, and so on, were not allowed into the temperate settlements. Those were reserved for Europeans (and sometimes Middle Easterners). Caveat aside, a vast population of people moved: between 1870 and 1914, one in fourteen humans—one hundred million people—changed their continent of residence.¹²

The embrace of openness by world governments also meant the absence of legal barriers to trade, investment, and communication. As people moved, finance, machines, railroads, steamships, and the telegraph nerves of production and distribution networks followed, chasing abundant natural, physical, and biological resources. The proportion of global economic activity that was traded across today's national borders rose from perhaps 9 percent in 1870 to perhaps 15 percent in 1914, as the revolutionary decreases in the cost of transport massively outstripped what were also that era's revolutionary decreases and differentials in costs of production. Thus transportation made a huge difference.

Consider the railroad.

The metallurgy to cheaply make rails and engines made transport over land, at least wherever the rails ran, as cheap as travel up navigable watercourses or across the oceans, and made it faster.

Some groused. The mid-nineteenth-century Massachusetts transcendentalist author and activist Henry David Thoreau's response to the railroad was: "Get off my lawn!"

Men have an indistinct notion that if they keep up this activity of joint stocks and spades long enough all will at length ride somewhere in next to no time and for nothing, but though a crowd rushes to the depot and the conductor shouts "All aboard!" when the smoke is blown away and the vapor condensed, it will be perceived that a few are riding, but the rest are run over—and it will be called, and will be, "a melancholy accident."¹³

My ancestors, and most of humanity, had a very different view.

Before the railroad, as a general rule you simply could not transport agricultural goods more than one hundred miles by land. By that mile marker, the horses or oxen would have eaten as much as they could pull. Either you found a navigable watercourse—ideally much, much closer than one hundred miles away—or you were stuck in bare self-sufficiency for all your staples. This also meant that, overwhelmingly, what you wore, ate, and used to pass your hours was made within your local township, or dearly bought.

For Thoreau, the fact that it took him a day to walk or ride into Boston was a benefit—part of living deliberately. But his was the point of view of a rich guy, or at least of a guy without a family to care for, and for whom Ralph Waldo Emerson’s second wife, Lidian Jackson, was willing to bake pies.

The laboratory, the corporation, global transportation, global communications, and falling barriers—together, these factors were more than enough to trigger the decisive watershed and carry humanity out of Malthusian poverty. They also made the story of the world’s economies one story in a way that had never been true before.

Given our global propensity to live close to navigable water, perhaps the biggest revolution in transportation came not in the 1830s, with the railroad, but later, with the iron-hulled oceangoing coal-fired steamship. In 1870 the Harland and Wolff shipyard of Belfast launched the iron-hulled, steam-powered, screw-propellered passenger steamship RMS *Oceanic*. It promised to take nine days to go from Liverpool to New York, a journey that in 1800 would have taken more like a month.

The *Oceanic*’s crew of 150 supported 1,000 third-class passengers at a cost of £3 each—the rough equivalent of a month and a half’s wages for an unskilled worker—and 150 first-class passengers at £15 each.¹⁴ In today’s dollars, the same share of average income for the first-class seats comes to \$17,000. But the more relevant context is to the 1870s’ recent past. A generation earlier, a third-class berth on the (slower and less safe) equivalent of the *Oceanic* cost twice as much, and that berth cost four times as much in 1800. After 1870, sending a family member across the ocean to work became a possibility open to all save the very poorest of European households.

And humans responded by the millions. The production and trade

globalization of the late 1800s was fueled by one hundred million people leaving their continent of origin to live and work elsewhere. Never before or since have we seen such a rapid proportional redistribution of humanity around the globe.

Some fifty million people left the settled areas of Europe, mainly for the Americas and Australasia, but also for South Africa, the highlands of Kenya, the black-earth western regions of the Pontic-Caspian steppe, and elsewhere. It was an extraordinary age, 1870–1914, in which working-class people could repeatedly cross oceans in search of better lives.

If I have my family history right, all of my ancestors had made it to the United States by 1800, back in the days when cross-ocean migration was for people who had been enslaved, were indentured, or were middle class. The last that I know of was Edmund Edward Gallagher (born in Watmeath, Ireland, in 1772). He and Lydia McGinnis (born in New Hampshire in 1780) were living at the start of the 1800s in Chester, Pennsylvania, where they recorded the birth of their son John. But all of my wife's ancestors came here during the post-1870 great wave of global migration. One was Maria Rosa Silva, born in 1873 in Portugal. She arrived in 1892. In 1893, in Lowell, Massachusetts, she married José F. Gill, born in 1872, not in Portugal but on the Portuguese-speaking island of Madeira. He had arrived in 1891—not on a ship to Boston, but to Savannah.

Perhaps he knew sugarcane, and heard that Savannah had it, but decided that he was too Black in Savannah, and so decamped to Lowell. We do not know. We do know that they and their children, Mary, John Francis, and Carrie, went back across the Atlantic from Boston to Madeira soon after 1900. And we know that he died in South Africa in 1903. We find Maria Rosa and four children—a newborn Joseph added—going back across that Atlantic and, in the 1910 census, in Fall River, Massachusetts, where she is recorded as a widowed weaver renting a house, with five children born and four living.

The migrations were not always one way. As we have seen with José Gill and Maria Rosa Silva, some people crossed the Atlantic multiple times. One person who made the reverse journey permanently—born in America, moved to England—was Jennie Jerome, born in 1854, the daughter of New York financier Leonard Jerome and Clara Hall. The occasion was her marriage to Lord Randolph Spencer-Churchill, younger son of the 7th Duke

of Marlborough. The couple became engaged in 1873, just three days after their first meeting at a sailing regatta off the Isle of Wight in the English Channel. Their marriage was then delayed for seven months, while Jennie's father, Leonard, and the groom's father, the Duke, John Winston Spencer-Churchill, argued over how much money she would bring to the marriage and how it would be safeguarded. Their son Winston was born eight months after their marriage. They had another son, John, six years later.¹⁵

Randolph died about two decades later, in 1895, at the age of forty-five, perhaps of syphilis, certainly of something with a pronounced neurological character. The diagnosis on the death certificate is "general paralysis of the insane." Jennie was thereafter "much admired by the Prince of Wales" and others, as they put it in those days. In 1900 she married George Cornwallis-West, who was a month older than Winston.

Winston Spencer Churchill—he dropped the hyphen and turned the first half of his last name into a middle name—would be the *enfant terrible* of British politics when young, a disastrous British chancellor of the exchequer—the equivalent of finance minister or treasury secretary—when middle-aged, and a decisive factor in defeating the Nazis as British prime minister during World War II. And not least of Winston's excellences as a wartime prime minister was that he was half American, and so knew how to talk to America, and particularly how to talk to then American president Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Though the redwood forests of northern California contain shrines to the Bodhisattva Guan-Yin, migration from China to European-settled California and to the rest of the temperate-climate settler colonies and ex-colonies was quickly shut down. Plutocrats such as Leland Stanford (the railroad baron and governor of California who founded and endowed Stanford University in memory of his son) might have favored immigration, but the populists favored exclusion. For the most part, they were unable to staunch the flow of Europeans and Eastern Europeans, but they were largely able to enforce "Chinaman go home." People from the Indian subcontinent fell into the same category in this respect.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869, the son of Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi, the prime minister of the small British-allied and British-subject principality of Porbandar on the peninsula of Kathiawar, and of Karamchand's fourth wife, Putlibai.¹⁶ When he was

fourteen their families married him and Kasturbai. In 1888, at the age of eighteen, he sailed from Mumbai to England to study law. Three years later, at the age of twenty-two, he was a lawyer, and sailed back to India. He did not do well in his career. In 1893 he ran across a merchant who needed a lawyer to try to collect a £40,000 debt in South Africa. Gandhi volunteered for the job and again crossed the ocean. He thought he was going for a year. But he decided to stay. In 1897 he went back to India to collect his family and bring them to South Africa. He would remain in South Africa for twenty-two years. And it was there that he became an anti-imperialist, a politician, and an activist, for in South Africa people from the Indian south continent were not treated as badly as indigenous African peoples, but they were at most only one step higher.

Another participant in these great migrations was Deng Xiaoping, born in 1904 as the son of a middling-rich landlord whose income was perhaps five times the Chinese average at the time.¹⁷ In December 1920 he arrived in France to work and study: World War I, from 1914 to 1918, had pulled huge numbers of workers into the army and left them dead and maimed. The French government was eager to allow anyone who wanted to replace them in, both during and after the war. Deng took advantage of the postwar part of the program. He worked as a fitter—a metal-parts fabricator—in the suburbs of Paris at a Le Creusot factory. There he became a communist and met many other future leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, including Zhou Enlai. In 1926 he studied in Moscow at its Sun Yat-sen University, and in 1927 he returned to China to become first a cadre and then a high official in the Chinese Communist Party. During the Mao era, he was twice purged, the first time as the “number-two person in authority taking the capitalist road,” and yet he became China’s paramount leader as the country finally stood up in the 1980s, and may well have been the most consequential single figure in the history of the long twentieth century.

Throughout the temperate-zone lands settled from Europe, local populists were overwhelmingly successful in keeping the United States, Canada, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Australia, and New Zealand “European.” The flow of migrants out of China and India was directed elsewhere, to the tea plantations of Ceylon or the rubber plantations of Malaya. Still, fifty million Chinese and Indians migrated, going instead to South Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and the highlands of Peru.

Resource-rich settlement areas such as Canada and Argentina with Europe-like climates provided a further boost to European living standards. The one-third who migrated and then returned home did so, in most cases, with resources that made them solid members of their home economies' middle classes. The two-thirds who migrated and stayed found their living standards and their children's living standards higher by a factor of between 1.5 and 3. Those left behind also benefited. Ultimately, these decades of migration raised wages in Europe, as workers at home faced less competition for jobs and could buy cheap imports from the New World.¹⁸

Plutocrat and populist alike benefited. Indeed, there is no sign that workers already on the labor-scarce western, peripheral side of the Atlantic lost out as their shores absorbed the migration wave from labor-abundant Europe. Real wages in America, Canada, and Argentina appear to have grown at 1.0, 1.7, and 1.7 percent per year, respectively, in the years leading up to 1914—compared to growth rates that averaged 0.9 percent per year in northwestern Europe. Only in Australia, where real wages seemed to stagnate in the half century before 1914, does increased trade appear to have played any role in eroding the relative wages of workers in a labor-scarce economy. Regardless, migration to temperate-zone countries meant people carried capital with them, which built out the scale of the recipient economies.¹⁹

Did migration lower relative wages in tropical-zone recipient economies? Yes—and such was the case in economies that never saw a migrant. British capital, Brazilian-stock rubber plants, and labor imported from China to Malaya could and did put heavy downward pressure on the wages of workers in Brazil who did not know there was such a place as Malaya. Economic underdevelopment was a process, something that itself developed over 1870–1914.

And migration did not raise wages much in the migration-source economies of China and India. Both had such substantial populations that emigration was a drop in the bucket.

Through misfortune and bad government, India and China had failed to escape the shackles of the Malthusian Devil. Technology had advanced, but improvements in productive potential had been absorbed by rising populations, and not in rising living standards. The population of China in the late nineteenth century was three times what it had been at the start of

the second millennium in the year 1000. So potential migrants from China and India were willing to move for what to Europeans seemed to be starvation wages.

Thus, the large populations and low levels of material wealth and agricultural productivity in China and India checked the growth of wages in any of the areas—Malaya, Indonesia, the Caribbean, or East Africa—open to Asian migration. Workers could be cheaply imported and employed at wages not that far above the level of physical subsistence. Nevertheless, these workers sought out these jobs: their opportunities and living standards in Malaya or on African plantations were significantly above what they could expect if they returned to India or China. Low wage costs meant that commodities produced in countries open to Asian immigration were relatively cheap. And competition from the Malayan rubber plantations checked growth and even pushed down wages in the Brazilian rubber plantations. The result: living standards and wage rates during the late nineteenth century remained low, albeit higher than in China and India, throughout the regions that would come to be called the global south.

For ill and good, the world was now an integrated unit, with one story.

Part of this global story was the emergence of a sharp division of international labor: “Tropical” regions supplied rubber, coffee, sugar, vegetable oil, cotton, and other relatively low-value agricultural products to Europe. Temperate-zone regions of expanding European settlement—the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Ukraine, and perhaps South Africa—produced and shipped staple grains, meats, and wool to Europe. German farmers found themselves with new competitors, and not just from the Americas: as much came in the form of Russian grain shipped from Odessa. Western Europe paid for its imports by exporting manufactured goods. As did the northeastern United States, where industrial supplies and materials would rise to be fully half of US exports by 1910.

And as wages in economies that were to become the global periphery diminished, so, too, did the possibility that this periphery would develop a rich enough middle class to provide demand for a strong domestic industrial sector.

To understand why, consider the British Empire.

Wherever the British went they built a fort, some docks, and a botanical

garden—the latter to discover what valuable plants grown elsewhere might flourish under the guns of their fort as well. During the nineteenth century it was the British Empire that brought the rubber plant from Brazil to Kew Gardens, and then to Malaya, and that brought the tea shrub directly from China to Ceylon. Although rubber was not introduced into Malaya, Indonesia, and Indochina until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, by the end of World War I these three regions had become the principal sources of the world's natural rubber supply. Most of this process was mediated by the British Empire, but not all. The Portuguese brought the coffee bush from Yemen to Brazil. The comparative advantages of the regions that were to become the periphery of the late nineteenth-century global economy were not so much given as made.²⁰

The United States was the most prominent long-run beneficiary. Casting our glance, briefly, out into the future, these decades of migration in the 1800s and early 1900s were crucial steps on the path that turned the long twentieth century into an era of US predominance. Consider that in 1860 the United States had a population of full citizens, with women and children included—that is, “Caucasian” English speakers whom the government regarded as worth educating—of 25 million, while Britain and its Dominions had a full-citizen population of 32 million. By the midpoint between 1870 and 2010, 1940, things had massively changed: the United States had 116 million full citizens, and Britain and its Dominions had 75 million. Natural increase had multiplied both populations, and so it was immigrants, welcomed and assimilated, who gave the United States greater heft than the British Empire by 1940.

The decades between 1870 and 1914 were a time of technological advance, population growth, and migration, and with transportation and communication advances came a concomitant rise in trade and investment. The cost of transporting people fell alongside the cost of transporting goods: flour that cost 1.5 cents per pound in Chicago and 3 cents per pound in London in 1850 cost only 2 cents per pound in London in 1890. Indeed, every commodity that was neither exceptionally fragile nor spoilable could, after 1870, be carried from port to port across oceans for less than it cost to move it within any country.²¹ As long as there were docks and railroads, every place in the world became cheek by jowl with every other place. Everyone's opportunities and constraints depended on what was going on in

every other piece of the world economy.

This mattered: between 1870 and 1914, exports as a share of national product doubled in India and in Indonesia and more than tripled in China. And in Japan—which was forced out of two and a half centuries of Tokugawa isolationism by US gunboats—exports rose from practically zero to 7 percent of the national product in just two pre-World War I generations. In 1500, international trade as a proportion of total world production had been around 1.5 percent. By 1700, it had risen to around 3 percent. By 1850, to about 4 percent. In 1880, it was 11 percent, and by 1913, 17 percent. Today it is 30 percent.²²

The story of this rise from 1870 to 1914 is what international economist Richard Baldwin has called the “first unbundling”: the mammoth fall in shipping costs that substantially meant that the use and consumption of goods no longer had to be “bundled” in the same region as their production. You could produce goods where it was cheapest, transport them inexpensively, and have use and consumption take place where the wealth to purchase them was located.²³

But this did not “make the world flat” in any sense. If you were doing anything more complicated than buying a simple, well-understood, known-quality good, you had to communicate—they had to learn what you wanted, you had to learn what their production capabilities were, and you had to reach a meeting of the minds about how both of you should best adjust. You also had to look them in the eye, face-to-face, to understand with what and how far they could be trusted. Baldwin’s “first unbundling” meant that production could and did move away from use and consumption, but it did not just move to that point on the transport network where resources were most available. It moved together, into industrial districts, so that producers could economize on the costs associated with communications and meetings of the minds, and with face-to-face negotiations and trust.

The factories came to be located near each other. This meant that the industrial research labs and the new ideas were concentrated as well—and the still-high costs of communications meant that the ideas tended to stick in one place. The goods could be carried and used anywhere on the transport network. But they could only be most cheaply and efficiently produced in a few places worldwide. Thus the world boomed in its pre-1914 economic El Dorado. And the global north industrialized. The serpent

in the garden was that the world diverged in relative income levels: as the market giveth (in this case, to the global north), so it may taketh away (as it did in what was to become the global south, which industrialized far less, in many places industrialized not at all, and in important places deindustrialized).²⁴

Northwestern Europe gained an enormous comparative advantage in making manufactured goods. And natural resources out on the periphery became more valuable as well: copper, coal, coffee, and all mineral and agricultural products could be shipped by rail to the ports where the iron-hulled, steam-powered, oceangoing cargo ships lay. The market economy responded as knowledge sped along copper wires. The industrializing core specialized in the manufactures because of its superior access to industrial technologies. The periphery specialized in the primary products that its newly improving infrastructure allowed it to export. The ability for both to specialize was of great economic value.

The social returns on the investments in technology and infrastructure that created this late nineteenth-century world economy were enormous. Consider just one example: economic historian Robert Fogel calculated that the social rate of return on the Union Pacific's transcontinental railroad was some 30 percent per year.²⁵

The growth of trade meant that the logic of comparative advantage could be deployed to its limit. Wherever there was a difference across two countries in the value of textiles relative to ironmongery—or any other two nonspoileable goods—there was profit to be made and societal well-being to be enhanced by exporting the good that was relatively cheap in your country and importing the good that was relatively dear. Once established, a comparative advantage tended to stick for a long time. There was nothing about British-invented automated textile machinery that made it work better in Britain than elsewhere. Yet Britain's cotton textile exports rose decade after decade from 1800 to 1910, peaking at 1.1 billion pounds a year in the years before World War I.²⁶

The reach of comparative advantage was also broad. A country near-hapless in growing food but even less capable of making machine tools could improve its lot by exporting food and importing machine tools. A country that was best in class at making automobiles, but even better, in relative terms, at making airplanes, could get ahead by exporting airplanes

and importing cars. Such was the power of expanding world trade. Whether one's comparative advantage came from innovative entrepreneurs, a deeper community of engineering practice, a well-educated workforce, abundant natural resources, or just poverty that made your labor cheap, business could profit and society grow richer. And so the surge in real wages was worldwide, not confined to where industrial technologies were then being deployed.

This was the consequence of finance and trade following labor. The 1870–1914 world economy was a high-investment economy—in historical comparative perspective. The industrialization of Western Europe and of the East and Midwest of North America provided enough workers to make the industrial products to satisfy global demands, and also to build the railways, ships, ports, cranes, telegraph lines, and other pieces of transport and communications infrastructure to make the first global economy a reality. There were twenty thousand miles of railways in the world when the American Civil War ended in 1865. There were three hundred thousand miles in 1914. (There are a million miles of rails worldwide today.)

Workers in Hamburg, Germany, ate cheap bread made from North Dakotan or Ukrainian wheat. Investors in London financed copper mines in Montana and railroads in California. (And railroad baron Leland Stanford diverted a large tranche into his own pockets.) State-funded entrepreneurs in Tokyo bought electrical machinery made by the workers of Hamburg. And the telegraph wires that connected all were made of copper from Montana and insulated by rubber gathered by Chinese workers in Malaya and Indian workers in Bengal.

As John Maynard Keynes would write in 1919, the upshot was that, for the globe's middle and upper classes, by 1914 “life offered, at a low cost and with the least trouble, conveniences, comforts, and amenities beyond the compass of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages.”²⁷

And the upshot for the working classes of the globe—at least those touched by ships and railroads and by international commerce—was an increasing margin between living standards and bare subsistence. Malthusian forces responded: as of 1914 there were five people where there had been four a generation before. Half a century saw more population growth than had taken place over half a millennium back in the Agrarian Age. Yet there was no sign of downward pressure on nutrition standards.

Investment and technology meant that, for the first time ever, as population grew, available resources, including nutrition, more than kept pace. Malthus's Devil was chained.

Consider the ability to communicate.

Around 1800, Arthur Wellesley, a fourth son of a financially shaky Anglo Irish aristocratic family, a man whose only obvious talent was as a not incompetent but definitely amateur-class violin player, sought to make his fortune and reputation. He had bought himself a post as a major in the British Army's 33rd Regiment of Foot. (The British government believed that an officer corps overwhelmingly staffed by the relatives of rich, established landlords would never repeat the quasi-military dictatorship of 1650–1660, hence the rule was that officers had to buy their posts, and so the only men who could become officers were those with close landlord relatives willing to lend or give them the money.) His elder brother Richard then loaned him the money to buy the step-up to lieutenant colonel. Richard was then appointed viceroy of India, and so Arthur, the future Duke of Wellington, went along for the ride, banking correctly that nepotism would lead his brother to make him a general. His brother did. Ever after, Arthur Wellesley, the only general ever to command an army that overwhelmed an army commanded by Napoleon Bonaparte, would say that the battle where he had been at his best as a general was the first one he ever commanded: Assaye in Maharashtra, the battle that won the Second Anglo-Maratha War.²⁸

It took Arthur Wellesley seven months to get to India from Britain. It would take him six months to get back. That time lag meant, among other things, that whatever questions, instructions, and orders the British imperial cabinet and the directors of the East India Company asked him to convey to their proconsuls in India would be a year stale by the time they even reached Fort William in Calcutta, Fort St. George in Chennai, or Bombay Castle. A conversation where a single question-and-answer interchange takes a year is not a dialogue: it is two overlapping monologues. And conveying attitudes, practices, capabilities, and goals across such a gulf is haphazard to the point of being hazardous.

The electric telegraph allowed a conversation. It connected points on the globe as messages sped through copper at nearly the speed of light.

Not everyone was welcoming. Henry David Thoreau, again, groused:

“We are in great haste to construct a magnetic telegraph from Maine to Texas, but Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing important to communicate.”²⁹

While Texas may not have had much important to learn from Maine, in the summer of 1860 Texas had a great deal to learn from Chicago: the Republican Party National Convention meeting at the Wigwam nominated Abraham Lincoln as its candidate for president. So started a chain of events that would kill twenty-five thousand white adult Texans and maim twenty-five thousand more, and that would free all two hundred thousand enslaved Black Texans within five years. Maine may not have had much to learn from Texas, but telegraphs reporting relative prices of Grand Bank codfish in Boston, Providence, New York, and Philadelphia were of great importance to Maine fishermen slipping their moorings.

Knowing the price of codfish is valuable, the freeing of hundreds of thousands of Americans is profound, and both only hint at the shift that came with telegraphed intelligence. Ever since the development of language, one of humanity’s great powers has been that our drive to talk and gossip truly turns us into an anthology intelligence. What one of us in the group knows, if it is useful, pretty quickly everyone in the group knows, and often those well beyond the group, too. The telegraph enlarged the relevant group from the village or township or guild to, potentially, the entire world.

Spanning the globe with telegraphs was difficult. Particularly difficult to set up were the submarine telegraph cables. The year 1870 saw the English engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel’s SS *Great Eastern*—then the largest ship ever built (nothing larger was to be built until 1901)—lay the submarine telegraph cable from Yemen to Mumbai, completing the undersea line from London. Future dukes of Wellington, and millions besides, no longer took months conveying news and commands from London to Bombay and back. It took only minutes. After 1870 you could find out in the morning how your investments overseas had done the previous day, and wire instructions and questions to your bankers overseas before lunch.

This mattered for three reasons:

First, this process brought not just more information with which to make decisions; it also improved trust and security. Consider that 1871 saw thirty-

four-year-old American financier J. Pierpont Morgan join forty-five-year-old American financier Anthony Drexel in an investment banking partnership to guide and profit from the flow of investment funds from capital-rich Britain to the resource- and land-abundant United States. Today's J. P. Morgan Chase and Morgan Stanley are the children of that partnership.³⁰ Second, this greatly aided technology transfer—the ability in one corner of the globe to use technologies and methods invented or in use in another corner of the globe. Third, this process was a handmaiden of empire. Where you could cheaply and reliably communicate and move goods and people, you could also command and move and supply armies. Thus conquest, or at least invasion and devastation, became things that any European great power could undertake in nearly any corner of the world. And the European powers did.

Before 1870 European imperialism was—with the very notable exception of the British Raj in India—largely a matter of ports and their hinterlands. By 1914 only Morocco, Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, Nepal, Thailand, Tibet, China, and Japan had escaped European (or, in the case of Taiwan and Korea, Japanese) conquest or domination.

BY THE END OF the 1800s, with the greatly increased speed of transmitting information, the greatly lowered cost of transporting people, and the greatly lowered cost of transporting machines, it seemed as though, for the first time in history, it ought to have been possible to apply any productive technology known to humanity in any corner of the world.

There were textile factories in places such as Mumbai, Calcutta, Shanghai, Cape Town, and Tokyo, as well as in Manchester, in Fall River, Massachusetts, and in Brussels. The North Atlantic economic core supported these endeavors with capital, labor, organization, and demand, which is to say its need for and willingness to buy products from the periphery. Before 1870 Western Europe's staple imports were limited to cotton, tobacco, sugar, and wool—with small quantities of palm oil, furs, hides, tea, and coffee as well: luxuries, not necessities or even conveniences. After 1870, however, technology demanded oil for diesel and gasoline engines, nitrate for fertilizing fields, copper wiring, and rubber tires. And even without new technologies, the much richer post-1870 North

Atlantic core's demand for cocoa, tea, coffee, silk, jute, palm oil, and other tropical products skyrocketed. Commodity demand and industrial technology transfer ought to have begun to draw the world together. But they didn't.

As Saint Lucia-born trade and development economist W. Arthur Lewis put it, the net effect of the coming of a single economic world was to enable a great many countries and regions to jump on an “escalator” of modern economic growth that would raise them “to ever higher levels of output per head.” Yet Lewis judged that as of 1870, only six countries were fully on the escalator.³¹

We glimpse why there were so few of them in the story of the khedive, or viceroy, of Egypt from 1805 to 1848, Muhammed Ali. His foremost desire was to transform his country so his grandchildren would not be the puppets of French bankers and British proconsuls. One way in which he set out to achieve this dream was by seeking to turn Egypt into a center of textile manufacture. The problem was that keeping the machines working proved unachievable. His textile factories stopped. And his grandson, Ismail, who became khedive in 1863, indeed became the puppet of French bankers and British proconsuls.³²

It is understandable that China, India, and the other regions of what would become the post–World War II global south did not produce and export the relatively high-value commodities, such as wheat and wool, that were exported by temperate settler economies: agricultural productivity was too low, and the climate was unfavorable. It is understandable why—with heavy downward pressure put on wages in Malaya, Kenya, and Colombia by migration and threatened migration from China and India—the prices of the export commodities that they did produce started out and remained relatively low.

What is more puzzling is why industrialization did not spread much more rapidly to the future global south in the years before World War I. After all, the example of the North Atlantic industrial core seemed easy to follow. Inventing the technologies of the original British Industrial Revolution—steam power, spinning mills, automatic looms, iron refining and steelmaking, and railroad building—had required many independent strokes of genius. But copying those technologies did not, especially when you could buy and cheaply ship the same industrial equipment that supplied

the industries of England and the United States.

If Henry Ford could redesign production so that unskilled assembly-line workers could do what skilled craftsmen used to do, why couldn't Ford—or someone else—also redesign production so that unskilled and even lower-wage Peruvians or Poles or Kenyans could do what Americans were then doing? After all, even by 1914, Americans were extraordinarily expensive labor by world standards.

Did the difficulty lie in political risks? Was the decisive factor the relative advantage afforded by being near your machine suppliers and other factories making similar products? Was it the need to have specialists close at hand to fix the many things that can go wrong?

It remains a great puzzle to me. And not just to me, but to other economic historians as well. We understand far too little about why the pace of technological diffusion outside of the industrial core was so slow before World War I.

“Peripheral” economies did a superb job at specializing in plantation agriculture for export. They did a bad job at creating modern manufacturing industries that could have also turned their low relative wages into a durable source of comparative advantage.

When I am asked why this happened, I say that the initial cost advantage enjoyed by Britain (and then the United States, and then Germany) was so huge that it would have required staggeringly high tariffs in order to nurture “infant industries” in other locations. I say that colonial rulers refused to let the colonized try. I say that the ideological dominance of free trade kept many others from even considering the possibility. Few even thought of taking a few steps away from the ideology of free trade as the be-all and end-all toward the practical political economy of Alexander Hamilton and company. Yet a Hamiltonian “developmental state” approach might have mightily benefited their economies in the long run.³³

Unmanaged, a market economy will strive to its utmost to satisfy the desires of those who hold the valuable property rights. But valuable property owners seek a high standard of living for themselves boosted by purchase of foreign luxuries. They are not patient people who wish to enable and accelerate long-run growth, let alone encourage the trickling down of wealth and opportunity to the working class. Moreover, while the market economy sees the profits from establishing plantations, and from the

revenues that can be charged for the use of infrastructure such as railroads and docks, it does not see and cannot take account of the knowledge that workers and engineers gain from being part of a community of practice. Watching what goes wrong and right with pioneers and competitors, and listening to them boast when things go right and commiserating with them when things go wrong with their enterprises, is a powerful social channel for productivity growth. Yet there was no money flow associated with conversations at Silicon Valley's Wagon Wheel bar.³⁴ And so the market cannot see the benefits to the economy.

Such “acquired skill and experience,” John Stuart Mill wrote, can create a “superiority of one country over another in a branch of production... aris[ing] only from having begun it sooner... [with] no inherent advantage.” But—unless managed—the market economy’s maximum-profitability test would keep that skill and experience from ever being acquired. And so 1870–1950 saw the most profitable and the most innovation-supporting parts of economic activity becoming more and more concentrated in what we now call the global north.³⁵

The economic historian Robert Allen thinks the dominant factor was imperialism: colonial governments were uninterested in adopting a “standard package”—ports, railroads, schools, banks, plus “infant industry” tariffs in sectors just beyond currently profitable export industries—of policy measures that would have enabled industrialization. W. Arthur Lewis thought that the most important issue was migration and global commodity trade: industrialization required a prosperous domestic middle class to buy the products of the factories, and tropical economies could not develop one. Economic historian Joel Mokyr thinks that it was the habits of thought and intellectual exchange developed during the European Enlightenment that laid the groundwork for the communities of engineering practice upon which the North Atlantic core’s industrial power was based. And development economist Raul Prebisch thought that what mattered most were the landlord aristocracies notionally descended from Castilian conquistadores, who thought their dominance over society could best be maintained if the factories that produced the luxuries they craved were kept oceans away.³⁶

I do not know enough to judge. The answer lies somewhere in the causal mix of individuals reaching individual decisions and larger cultural and

political forces. What I know that we cannot know is what might have happened if the twentieth century hadn't happened the way it did.

Revving Up the Engine of Technology-Driven Growth

The world that emerged after 1870 was globalized in a way that it had never been before. But what exactly did that mean? Globalization was clearly something more than just the planet-crossing lines of communication and transportation that were beginning to move ideas and people faster than ever before. To get a better sense of what globalization meant, we might begin by examining the story of Herbert Hoover.¹

Hoover was born in 1874 in Iowa. His father, a blacksmith, died in 1880, and his mother died in 1884. Herbert was therefore orphaned at the age of ten. In 1885 he started moving west—first to Oregon to live with an aunt and uncle; then, in 1891, to California—as he always claimed, to be the first student to attend Stanford University (he arrived before opening day, and the staff let him sleep on campus). There he studied to become a mining engineer, graduating in 1895 in the distressed aftermath of the Panic of 1893.

Hoover's first job was as a mine laborer in Grass Valley, California, earning \$600 a year. His next was as an intern and special assistant to a mining engineer, for which he earned \$2,400 a year. He kept moving west. In 1897 he crossed the Pacific—first to Australia, where he worked for the mining company Bewick Moreing, earning a salary of \$7,000 a year, and then to China, where he earned \$20,000 a year. It was in China that Hoover made the first major tranche of his fortune, albeit in ways he sometimes found hard to explain later on.²

From 1901 until 1917, he lived in London, working as a consulting

engineer and investor, with jobs and investments in Australia, China, Russia, Burma, Italy, and Central America in addition to the United States. In 1917 he moved back to America, where he was appointed secretary of commerce in 1925 and elected president in 1928. From son of the town blacksmith to college graduate to multimillionaire mining consultant to president of the United States—had anyone else ascended so far and so fast, even in America? It was an exceptional country. And the fact that it was exceptional was a significant shaper of how the long twentieth century was exceptional.

Hoover, however, did not make the bulk of his fortune from globalization. He made it, rather, through his mastery of the application of mining technologies, and through his skills as a manager and organizer. Globalization was not the most consequential development contributing to the watershed of 1870. Between 1870 and 1914, technology and organization improved at a rate of 2 percent per year—more than quadruple the pace of progress during the previous century, from 1770 to 1870. The global economic leaders—initially the United States, Germany, and Britain, with Britain rapidly falling off—had been growing faster than the rest of the world even before 1870, perhaps 0.9 percent per year faster.³ Now, they picked up the pace and maintained their lead in growth of perhaps 2.5 percent per year, nearly three times as rapid a pace relative to what it had been before 1870.

Before 1870, inventions and innovations had by and large been singular discoveries and adaptations. They produced new and better ways of doing old things: of making thread, of weaving cloth, of carrying goods about, of making iron, of raising coal, and of growing wheat and rice and corn. Having pioneered these improvements, their inventors then set about finding ways to exploit them. It was a process that required inventors to be not just researchers but development engineers, maintenance technicians, human resource managers, bosses, cheerleaders, marketers, impresarios, and financiers as well.

That pre-1870 system was good enough as long as the confluence of circumstances was just right. Consider the invention of the steam engine in the eighteenth century. It needed a cheap source of fuel, it needed something important and profitable to do, and it needed societal competence at the metalworking technological frontier. Fuel was found at

the bottom of the coal mines. With the steam engine, cheap, plantation-grown cotton, ideally suited for machine spinning, quickly reached factories that produced sought-after goods. And with practical metallurgy to make iron rails and iron wheels cheaply, the fuse that was the Industrial Revolution was lit. Steam power propelled the automatic spindles, looms, metal presses, and railroad locomotives of the nineteenth century.

But the fuse might well have sputtered out. That, after all, is what the pre-1870 track record would lead one to expect. Printing, the windmill, the musket, the seagoing caravel, the water mill, and before that the horse collar, the heavy plow, the 3,600-soldier legion—each of these did revolutionize a piece of the economies and societies of their day. Yet none of them lit anything like the rocket of economic growth we have ridden since 1870. Ancient Mediterranean civilization was followed by what is rightly called a Dark Age. Printing revolutionized the dissemination of information, but books were always a small part of total spending, and the printing press was one revolutionary invention, not a series of them. The windmill and the water mill meant women no longer had to spend so much time nose to grindstone, but their fathers and husbands found other things for them to do instead. The musket and the caravel made the Imperial-Commercial Age and the gunpowder empires, but that, again, was a discrete jump rather than a takeoff into sustained growth. The horse collar and the heavy plow shifted the center of European settlement and commerce northward, but did not drastically improve the lot of Europe's working class. The legion was essential for the making of the Roman Empire, but it then reached the limits of its expansion, and eventually fell.⁴ What changed after 1870 was that the most advanced North Atlantic economies had *invented invention*. They had invented not just textile machinery and railroads, but also the industrial research lab and the forms of bureaucracy that gave rise to the large corporation. Thereafter, what was invented in the industrial research labs could be deployed at national or continental scale. Perhaps most importantly, these economies discovered that there was a great deal of money to be made and satisfaction to be earned by not just inventing better ways of making old things, but inventing brand-new things.

Not just inventions, but the systematic invention of how to invent. Not just individual large-scale organizations, but organizing how to organize. Both were essential to the arrival of the integrated, command-and-control

central planning of modern corporations. Every year between 1870 and 1914 the newer and better industrial technologies that emerged from the first industrial research laboratories were deployed, sometimes as they were sold to already established producers, but more often as they spurred the emergence and expansion of large corporations.

As W. Arthur Lewis observed, a rich man in 1870 possessed the same things that a rich man in 1770 possessed.⁵ The 1870 rich might well have had more of those things—more houses, more clothes, more horses and carriages, more furniture. But displaying wealth was a matter of displaying the number of servants one employed, rather than the commodities one personally enjoyed. After the 1870s, that changed. The making of new commodities added a new twist, granting the rich access to, as Lewis put it, “telephones, gramophones, typewriters, cameras, automobiles, and so on, a seemingly endless process whose latest twentieth-century additions include aeroplanes, radios, refrigerators, washing machines, television sets, and pleasure boats.” Four percent of Americans had flush toilets at home in 1870; 20 percent had them in 1920, 71 percent in 1950, and 96 percent in 1970. No American had a landline telephone in 1880; 28 percent had one in 1914, 62 percent in 1950, and 87 percent in 1970. Eighteen percent of Americans had electric power in 1913; 94 percent had it by 1950.⁶

The arrival of these wonders of convenience and consumption is often called a “second industrial revolution.” The economist Robert Gordon wrote of “one big wave” consisting of everything from flush toilets to microwave ovens, after which the low- and even the moderate-hanging fruit of organic chemicals, internal combustion engines, and electric power had been picked and technology was bound to slow. For him, the steady progress of science happened to suddenly bring us to a place extraordinarily rich in technological potential. But that, I think, misses much of the point: we associate these with a single “second industrial revolution” because they came in quick succession: instead of being spread out over a century and a half, as they would have been at the previous British Industrial Revolution-era pace, they arrived in a generation. What is most important is never so much the arrival of any particular technology as it is a burgeoning understanding that there is a broad and deep range of new technologies to be discovered, developed, and deployed.

Consider steel. What would be the fundamental building material of the

twentieth century and the master metal of industrial civilization was effectively invented anew in the second half of the 1800s. Steel is composed of 90 to 95 percent iron mixed with carbon. You can make carbon-free wrought iron in your furnace if you keep its temperature below the melting point of iron and hammer it as the slag, or the various impurities in the iron, melt and run out, and then do this over and over again. But wrought iron is too soft for industrial purposes. If you heat your furnace with coke, a pure form of coal, and keep it high enough to melt the iron, the carbon from the coke alloys with it and you get pig or cast iron. But it is too brittle for industrial purposes.

Creating steel requires getting the details just right—but doing so is not easy.

For thousands of years steel was made by skilled craftsmen heating and hammering wrought iron in the presence of charcoal and then quenching it in water or oil. In the centuries before the nineteenth, making high-quality steel was a process limited to the most skilled blacksmiths of Edo or Damascus or Milan or Birmingham. It seemed, to outsiders—and often to insiders—like magic. In the Germanic legends as modernized in Wagner’s *Ring* cycle operas, the doomed hero Siegfried acquires a sword made by a skilled smith. Its maker, the dwarf Mime, is in no respect a materials-science engineer. His brother, Alberich, is a full magician.⁷

That changed in 1855–1856, when Henry Bessemer and Robert Mushet developed the Bessemer-Mushet process. It forced air through the molten cast iron to burn off all non-iron impurities, and then added back just enough carbon (and manganese) to make the steel needed for industry. The price of a ton of steel dropped by a factor of seven, from £45 down to £6, at a time when £70 per year was the average wage in Britain. The Thomas-Gilchrist and Siemens-Martin processes followed, offering further improvements. Worldwide steel production would rise from trivial amounts—enough for swords, some cutlery, and a few tools that needed the sharpest attainable edge—to some 70 million tons a year by 1914.⁸ By 1950 this would grow to 170 million tons, and as of 2020 it is 1.5 billion tons a year. As of 2016, steel cost about \$500 per ton, and the average North Atlantic full-time wage was nearly \$50,000 per year.

But it was not just steel. Robert Gordon was 100 percent right when he wrote that the year 1870 was the dawn of something new in the world, for

over the next several decades, “every aspect of life experienced a revolution. By 1929, urban America [had] electricity, natural gas, [the] telephone, [and] clean running water[,]… the horse had almost vanished from urban streets[,]… [and] the household… enjoy[ed] entertainment[s]… beyond the 1870 imagination.”⁹ From the railroad and the steel mill as the high-tech edge of the economy in 1870, to the dynamo and the motor car as the high-tech edge in 1903, to the assembly line and the aircraft of 1936, to the television set and rocket (both moon and military) of 1969, to the microprocessor and World Wide Web of 2002—technological revolution, with its economic and then its sociological and political consequences, problems, and adjustments, came faster and more furiously than in any previous age.

Many of these changes came long before 1929. And they were not confined to the United States. On the 1889 centennial of the French Revolution’s storming of the Bastille, France held a universal exposition. At the center of it was not some tableau of revolutionary martyrs, but a tower designed by and named after Gustave Eiffel. As historian Donald Sassoon wrote, the French exposition became a “consecrat[ion of]… commerce and trade, modernity, and the wonders of technology exhibited in the Galerie des Machines.... Under the banner of modernity, progress, and the peaceful pursuit of wealth, the French people would regain national pride and unity.”¹⁰

Eiffel’s steel-built tower, saved from dismantling at the end of the universal exposition by a public outcry, has dominated the Paris skyline ever since. Across the Atlantic Ocean from Paris, in New York City’s harbor, stood another of Gustave Eiffel’s designs. But this steel framework was clothed in copper and called the Statue of Liberty.

Life was still hard and dirty. America, rapidly becoming the world’s growth center as the year 1900 passed, was still poor. And it was very unequal. Indeed, but for those Americans held in bondage just a few decades earlier, it was more unequal than it had ever been before, or than it would be again for the remainder of the 1900s.¹¹ Yet the United States in the first decade of the 1900s was also a very attractive place compared to every single other place in the rest of the world. In spite of the long hours and the risk of death or injury at the hands of corporations that cared little or not at all for worker safety, US jobs were very good ones by international

standards.¹² They were jobs worth moving five thousand miles for, from, say, Hungary or Lithuania to suburban Pittsburgh or New Jersey.

It is traditional at this point in any economic history to talk about Thomas Alva Edison—the most famous inventor in the world, “the wizard of Menlo Park,” New Jersey, who would register more than a thousand patents and found fifteen companies, including what is now called General Electric. But Edison’s story is already widely known and in fact obscures the global reach of the revolution.

Let’s talk instead about another migrant, who, like Herbert Hoover, moved west—but in this case someone who moved west from Croatia to America: Nikola Tesla.¹³

Tesla was born on July 10, 1856, in the town of Smiljan, in the Krajina region of the province of Croatia in the Habsburg Empire—then ruled by the young emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna. Tesla was the fourth of five children. His father was literate—a priest in the Serbian Orthodox Church—but his mother was not. His parents wanted him to become a priest. He wanted to become an electrical engineer.

Tesla studied electrical engineering in Graz, Austria, for two years, and then dropped out of school. He broke off relations with his family and friends, worked as an engineer for two years, and apparently suffered a nervous breakdown. His father urged him to return to college at Prague’s Karl-Ferdinand University. Perhaps Nikola did, but if so only for one summer. Around which time his father died.

The year 1881 finds Nikola Tesla working in Budapest for a startup, the National Telephone Company of Hungary, as chief electrician and engineer. But he would not stay for long. In the very next year he moved to Paris, where he worked to improve and adapt American technology, and two years after that, in June 1884, he arrived in New York, New York, with nothing in his pockets save a letter of recommendation from engineer Charles Batchelor to Thomas Edison: “I know of two great men,” Batchelor had written. “You are one of them. This young man is the other.” And so Edison hired Tesla.

In America Tesla went to work for Edison Machine Works. He would later claim that Edison promised him \$50,000—the entire net worth at the time of the Edison Machine Works—to improve and redesign Edison’s direct current generators. Whatever was or wasn’t agreed to, in 1885 Edison

refused to pay that sum. Tesla quit and found himself digging ditches for a living for a couple of years.

By his own estimations, Tesla was a difficult man who found other men difficult. The day after Edison died, for example, Tesla seemed to demonstrate an extraordinary lack of any social intelligence whatsoever as he sketched, for the newspapers, his onetime employer and world-renowned inventor thusly: Edison, he said,

had no hobby, cared for no sort of amusement of any kind and lived in utter disregard of the most elementary rules of hygiene.... His method was inefficient in the extreme, for an immense ground had to be covered to get anything at all unless blind chance intervened and, at first, I was almost a sorry witness of his doings, knowing that just a little theory and calculation would have saved him 90 percent of the labor. But he had a veritable contempt for book learning and mathematical knowledge, trusting himself entirely to his inventor's instinct and practical American sense.¹⁴

Of his own personality, Tesla wrote:

I had a violent aversion against the earrings of women... bracelets pleased me more or less according to design. The sight of a pearl would almost give me a fit but I was fascinated with the glitter of crystals.... I would get a fever by looking at a peach.... I counted the steps in my walks and calculated the cubical contents of soup plates, coffee cups and pieces of food—otherwise my meal was unenjoyable. All repeated acts or operations I performed had to be divisible by three and if I missed I felt impelled to do it all over again, even if it took hours.¹⁵

Tesla coupled his eccentricities with bizarre and utopian claims about the future course of science and technology. He was, as much as Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's fictional Dr. Viktor von Frankenstein, the very model of the mad scientist. Unsurprisingly, he found it difficult to maintain either financial backers or a supporting engineering staff. Yet Tesla and his

allies beat Thomas Edison in the struggle over whether electricity was going to have an alternating or direct current.

Direct vs. alternating current—what does that mean? Back up to the 1770s, and to Alessandro Volta’s discovery of the effects produced by a zinc atom’s property that it can step itself down to a preferred, lower-energy quantum state by giving up an electron. Moreover, a silver atom can step itself down to a preferred, lower-energy quantum state by accepting an extra electron. Connect an anode to a piece of zinc, and electrons released from the zinc will pile up in it. Connect a cathode to a piece of silver, and the silver will grab electrons from it. Now run a conducting wire from the anode to the cathode. Then a direct current—actual electrons—will flow from the anode to the cathode until this “electrical battery” has run down, which happens when the zinc as a whole acquires enough of a positive charge that that charge’s attracting electrons offset the strength of the chemical-reaction tendency of electrons to leave the zinc. And as the electrons flow in a direct current from the anode to the cathode, the energy of their motion can be tapped to do work. That is DC—direct current—electricity: intuitive and sensible. But its range is small: as an electron travels from the anode to the cathode, it bumps and jiggles and loses energy to heat with each inch it travels.

Suppose that, instead, you spun a wire near a magnet so that it made one revolution sixty times a second. A stationary electron does not notice that it is near a magnet. A moving one does: it gets pushed by the magnet with a force proportional to the electron’s velocity. So as the wire is spun near the magnet, the electrons in it get pushed first one way and then another: shaken sixty times a second. Since the wire is a conductor, this shaking gets transmitted to pieces of the wire not near the magnet. By wrapping the wire many times around a cylinder, you can turn the wire into a very powerful magnet—which can then shake another wire extremely vigorously in this alternating-current (AC) pattern, and this is then a transformer. The more vigorously an electron is shaken, the greater the efficiency with which the power is transmitted—a lower current carries the same energy, and fewer electrons means less in the way of heat loss.

Edison’s DC systems therefore required lots of power plants: one per neighborhood. Tesla’s AC systems therefore required only a few large power plants, placed where they were most convenient, with the power then

transmitted via vigorous shaking—high AC voltage—through long- and short-distance power lines, and the degree of the shaking stepped up and stepped down via transformers. Economies of scale are thus on Tesla's side. And they are powerful indeed. But this was witchcraft. There was no flow of electrons to carry the energy. There was just shaking back and forth, first one way, then the other. How could shaking with no actual movement of electrons from place to place produce useful power? And so there was great resistance, as even trained engineers had a hard time seeing how this could work.¹⁶

There was a time, perhaps, when Nikola Tesla was the only electrical engineer who understood that power transmission via AC was more than a theoretical curiosity, that it would and could work much more efficiently, hence much more cheaply, than Edison's method.

He was right. Our entire electrical power grid and everything that draws off of it are Tesla's much more than they are Edison's. The world viewed from space at night, illuminated by the electric power grid, is Tesla's world. His ideas about how to make electrons dance in an efficient and powerful way were correct, even though they struck nearly all of his contemporaries as highly speculative, unlikely to be practical, and borderline or over-the-borderline insane.

Tesla did much, much more. In 1894 he staged perhaps the first, or at least one of the first, demonstrations of radio. Many of his ideas panned out. Many of his ideas were too many years ahead of their time. Many of his ideas were simply mad: death rays and broadcast power, for two. He made a huge difference—perhaps five to ten years' worth of difference—in advancing electricity in the economy, and may have permanently shifted the economy into a somewhat different direction from the one in which it had been heading. How could the mad scientist Tesla make such a difference? Because he could work in *industrial research labs* and his ideas could be developed and applied by corporations. He could work for George Westinghouse. And General Electric could copy what he had done.

Tesla was first, foremost, and finally an inventor. In 1887, he founded Tesla Electric Light and Manufacturing, but his financial backers fired him from his own company. The next year, he staged a demonstration of an AC induction motor—the ancestor of all our current AC motors—at the American Institute of Electrical Engineers meeting. And the year after that,

he found at last a permanent financial backer, George Westinghouse and his Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company. Tesla soon began working at the company's laboratory in Pittsburgh. In 1891, at the age of thirty-five, Tesla was back in New York establishing his own laboratory with money he'd made by selling his patents to Westinghouse under a patent-sharing agreement. In 1892 he became vice president of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers and received patents for the polyphase AC electric power system he invented. In 1893 he and George Westinghouse used AC power to illuminate the Chicago World's Fair—the first World's Fair ever to have a building for electricity and its applications.

The late 1880s and 1890s saw Westinghouse and Tesla and their backers struggle against Edison and his backers in the so-called "war of the currents." Edison had bet on a DC electrical grid. Direct current worked very well with incandescent lamps and with the motors of the day. It worked well with storage batteries, which meant that you only had to build the expensive generating capacity for average loads rather than peak loads. And Edison had not fully comprehended what Tesla was getting at when Tesla worked for him: "[Tesla's] ideas are splendid," he said. "But they are utterly impractical."¹⁷

The AC systems of Tesla and Westinghouse allowed the efficient transmission of electrical power over long distances through high-voltage power lines. Once the energy got where you wanted it to go, it could then be reduced, via step-down transformers, to a voltage that wasn't immediately fatal. Edison's DC system was far less risky, though it required low voltage to be pushed across long distances, incurring extremely large resistance power losses. On the one hand, Tesla's system, with all its attendant risks, got more energy where you wanted it. On the other, it was not obvious how alternating current could be used to power anything useful. Until, that is, Tesla invented the induction motor.

Both Westinghouse and Edison nearly bankrupted themselves as each struggled to build out an electrical power grid fast enough to become the dominant standard. Westinghouse and Tesla won.

The reach of Tesla's ideas was vastly expanded by the wealth and organizational intelligence of others and continued to expand even after Tesla, in 1899, moved from New York to Colorado Springs to conduct experiments in high-voltage power distribution—both through wires and

wireless. His wireless power distribution experiments soon turned into radio, an outcome in which he had limited interest. Tesla was instead captivated with the idea of distributing electric power throughout the world without having to build power lines, and in distributing electric power for free. His was a kind of open-source electric power movement that antedated the open-source software movement by ninety years.

Dominant financiers J. P. Morgan and George F. Baker decided in 1907, when that year's financial panic, plus George Westinghouse's having unwisely borrowed too much money from them, gave them the opportunity, that the heroic age of electricity was over. It was time, Morgan decided, to rationalize operations and replace visionary inventors like Tesla (and wild-eyed, charismatic entrepreneurs like George Westinghouse, who would back him) with sober, flannel-suited executives, such as Robert Mather and Edwin F. Atkins, who would routinize the business. They focused on the bottom line: spend less on blue-sky experiments, pay workers less, and channel free cash flow not into overseas expansion or (horrors!) into competing with banker favorite General Electric, but into dividends. Tesla gave Westinghouse a perpetual royalty-free license to use all his inventions, and so impoverished himself. Morgan and Baker pushed Westinghouse out anyway, and kept the license.¹⁸

Tesla was not alone in straddling the end of the short nineteenth century and the start of the long twentieth. As a creative, inventive genius he kept rare company, but as a post-Westinghouse charity case of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City, his impoverishment meant he kept vast company, for the world then was still a poor one.

In 1914 perhaps two-thirds of nearly all humans still tilled the earth to grow the bulk of the food their families ate. Most humans could not read; nor had they seen a steam engine up close, traveled on a railway train, spoken on a telephone, or lived in a city. Life expectancy was still little higher than it had been in the Agrarian Age. And in 1914, even in the United States, more than one-third of the labor force worked in agriculture. At the time, the United States was a beacon to the world's toiling millions, who were often willing to move continents to improve their lot. Of all the countries of the world, only Britain and Belgium were moving their workers out of agriculture and into the cities faster than America was. Consider that early in the first decade of the 1900s Germany became the

world's third superpower, more powerful and more industrialized than any other nation save Britain and the United States. But by the time Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany went to war in 1939, four-fifths of the wheeled and tracked vehicles in his army were still powered by horses and mules.¹⁹

To get a better sense of not just how poor but how unequal a society the United States was at the beginning of the twentieth century, consider the case of an anonymous college professor, who in 1902 was the subject of a four-page article for the *Atlantic Monthly* under the byline of G.H.M.²⁰ The professor, claiming to be vastly underpaid, asserted, with pique, that the "average college professor's salary" was "about \$2,000." He saw this as clearly inadequate and unfairly low. Yet, at the time, \$2,000 was roughly four times the average American worker's gross production and six times his annual wage. For comparison's sake, in 2020 a professor earning four times the national average would command an annual salary of \$500,000.²¹

But G.H.M. saw himself as a "reasonable man." He did not ask for "a large [salary], commensurate with what equal ability would bring in other lines of work (\$10,000 to \$50,000)"—or twenty to one hundred times the nation's then current average income per worker.

Yet the *Atlantic Monthly* did not give this ordinary professor four pages for parody. As G.H.M. went through his budget, readers nodded in agreement that his family was indeed strapped for cash. The first large expense he listed was for personal services. With no consumer durables—refrigerators, washers and dryers, oven ranges powered by an electric grid or municipal gas, not to mention cars and home appliances—"we must pay \$25 a month for even a passable servant," the prof wrote. Add to that \$10 a month for laundry, for the regular servants would "do no laundry work," he complained. And then \$1 a month for haircuts, and \$2 a month for a gardener. On personal services alone we are up to \$445 a year—roughly the average level of US gross domestic product (GDP) per worker in 1900. And the individuals hired to help did so without benefit of a gasoline-powered lawnmower, electric hedge clippers, a vacuum cleaner, or a dishwasher.

Professor G.H.M. could not afford to live within walking distance of campus, and could not afford to keep a horse and carriage, so he had to use that newfangled high-tech invention—the bicycle—to commute. That an ordinary professor could feel, along with a reading public, that his talents should command such an enormous multiple of the average income, and

worry about its insufficiency, is a sign of the deeply stratified economy in which he found himself.

That inequality comes into sharp relief when we turn our attention from this average professor to the average working-class family at the start of the twentieth century.

Perhaps a third of American households in 1900 had boarders, almost always male and unrelated, sleeping and eating in the house. It was the only way for the housewife to bring income directly into the household. It also multiplied the amount of labor she had to do. Much of it was manual. For example, few households had running water or a hot water heater. Instead, water came in by the bucket from a common faucet that was, hopefully, near the house, and for washing it was then heated on a wood- or coal-burning stove. The same absence of durable goods that cursed our professor damned our housewife, from heating that stove to cleaning a shirt.²²

Those who could afford the resources to maintain bourgeois styles of cleanliness flaunted it. White shirts, white dresses, and white gloves were all powerful indications of wealth in turn-of-the-twentieth-century America. They said, “I don’t have to do my own laundry,” and they said it loudly.

The relatively prosperous steel factory town of Homestead, Pennsylvania, provides further insight into the vast disparities of wealth at the time. In 1910, only one in six working-class households had indoor bathrooms. Half of “Slav” and “Negro” families lived in one- or two-room houses. Most white families lived in four-room houses—and many groups that would be called “white” today were not considered to be so then, including “Slavs,” “Latins,” and “Hebrews.” But even in the relative comfort of a four-room house, few could afford to heat more than one room through a Pennsylvania winter. And how many ways can you think of to cook potatoes on an antique cast-iron stove? Meal preparation was not a one-hour-a-day but a four-hour-a-day task.

Infant mortality was still high. One in five babies in Homestead, Pennsylvania, died before reaching his or her first birthday. Adult women faced substantial risks in childbirth. And adult men died, too, like flies. Accident rates in the Homestead factory left 260 injured per year and 30 dead. This out of a total population of 25,000 and a steel mill working population of 5,000. Each year, 5 percent of those 5,000 workers were injured sufficiently in factory accidents to miss work, 1 percent were

permanently disabled, and half a percent were killed.

We can do the math. If you had started to work for U.S. Steel when you were twenty, there was then a chance of one in seven that the factory would have killed you before you reached fifty, and of almost one in three that it would have disabled you. Is it any wonder that life insurance and disability insurance provided by local lodges and organizations (because the company provided few) loomed so large in American working-class consciousness at the turn of the century? Is it any wonder that Homestead was home to some of the most violent and brutal labor disputes of the late nineteenth century, exceeded in viciousness only by the mines of the Rocky Mountains and the railroad marshaling yards of Chicago? And is it any wonder that the first component of the welfare state put into place in many parts of the United States was workmen's compensation?

Most of the Homestead workforce only worked six days a week. That "only" was hard won, for U.S. Steel viewed shutting most of the mill on Sundays as a major concession on their part, one its principals hoped would produce large public relations benefits. As long as they could find workers willing to work the night shift, the Homestead mill (depressions and recessions apart) stayed open twenty-four hours a day on weekdays. And when things changed, they changed all at once—from two twelve-hour shifts, before and during World War I, to two (or three) eight-hour shifts during the 1920s, World War II, and thereafter.

Yet Homestead jobs—at least Homestead jobs taken by people born in the United States—were good jobs for the time, even by the elevated standards of the United States. Most who held those jobs were grateful. "Their expectations were not ours," historian Ray Ginger explained. "A man who grew up on a Southern farm did not think it cruel that his sons had to work as bobbin boys [collecting spun thread in a textile mill]. An immigrant living in a tenement and working in a sweatshop yet knew that for the first time in his life he was wearing shoes seven days a week."²³ White households in Homestead could make around \$900 a year, which placed them well within the upper third of the US population in terms of income per household, in the richest country in the world save for Australia.

Relative to what could be earned by people of similar skill levels anywhere else in the world, a job in the Homestead mill was a very attractive job. And so people came to America, and people in America

sought out the places like Homestead where the economy bustled.

The sources of America's exceptional wealth were many.

By 1870 the focus of economic growth crossed the Atlantic from Britain to America, where, on a continent-wide scale, a flood of immigration, vast resources, and an open society made inventors and entrepreneurs cultural heroes.

Some have noted that the country's vast size and population induced industries that could embrace mass production and modern management. Some have noted the great tide of immigrants who turned to America, bringing with them labor, talent, and a willingness to work and consume. Still others have stressed the crucial role played by natural resources in America's industrial supremacy: in a world in which transport costs were still significant, a comparative advantage in natural resources became a comparative advantage in manufacturing. Others have stressed the links between a resource-rich economy and the "American system" of manufactures, relying on standardization, attempts to make interchangeable parts, heavy use of machinery—and wasteful use of natural resources, including both materials and energy. Finally, some have stressed the openness of American society, the ease with which individuals, ideas, capital, and initiative moved across the continent, and across other continents and back again.²⁴

It was a system of opportunities in which a Hoover and a Tesla, not to mention a Westinghouse, an Edison, a professor going by the initials G.H.M., and a Homestead laborer, could feel hopeful and be ambitious. But calling it a "system" is too grandiose, suggesting some farsighted process. In the twentieth century these collective sources of exceptional wealth led to possibilities of mass production not because of any deliberative, planned process of industrial development, but through myopic choices that generated further technological externalities. The invention of inventing, it turns out, produces yet more inventions.

To which we can add two additional sources of American wealth: education and peace, though we must note that these were largely unavailable to both the Indigenous peoples—First Nations, descendants of earlier immigrants by land rather than later ones by sea—who were then being exposed to diseases via "gifts" of blankets and herded onto reservations, and Blacks, against whom white society was then waging a

campaign of terror.

In America in 1914, even in rural America, children went to school. The years before World War I saw a large increase in education, as at least elementary school became the rule for children in leading-edge economies. And the number of years that a typical student attended school grew as well.²⁵

The United States made the creation of a literate, numerate citizenry a high priority. And that encouraged those with richer backgrounds, better preparations, and quicker or better-trained minds to go on to ever-higher education. Industrialists and others soon found the higher quality of their workforce more than making up for the taxes levied to support mass secondary and higher education. This was not a unique American advantage. While the United States' strong educational system provided an edge in productivity, Britain's Dominions, and even more so Germany, also had a strong commitment to education and enjoyed a similar advantage in industrial competitiveness.

American exceptionalism was very real, but can blur a point: the country was exceptional compared to the rest of the developed Western world only by degrees. Cumulatively, the differences by degree, however, added up to something that to many appearances was a difference in kind. And the end result was a United States that enjoyed a remarkable extent of technological and industrial dominance over the rest of the world for much of the twentieth century. It also captured much of the world's imagination.

Because it was in relative terms so prosperous, and because its gradient of technological advance in the pre–World War I period was so much faster than that of Western Europe, the United States was where people looked to see the shape of the dawning twentieth century. In the seventeenth century, much of Europe had looked to Holland; in the nineteenth, much of the world had looked to Britain. As the long twentieth century began, almost the entire world, and certainly all of Europe, looked to America. To observers it appeared to be a qualitatively different civilization. The United States lacked the burden of the past that constrained the politics and oppressed the peoples of Europe, and, freed from that burden, it could look boldly toward the future.

The unique American advantage was greatly reinforced by the fact that in the United States, the period of explosive prosperity set in motion around

1870 (also called the Belle Époque, the Gilded Age, or the economic El Dorado) lasted without interruption longer than elsewhere in the world. China collapsed into revolution in 1911. Europe descended into the hell of World War I in 1914. In the United States, the period of progress and industrial development lasted from 1865, when the guns fell silent at Appomattox at the end of the Civil War, until the start of the Great Depression in the summer of 1929.

We can see some of the admiration and wonder that turn-of-the-century America triggered by gazing at the country through the eyes of yet another migrant: Lev Davidovich Bronstein.

Lev's parents had also been migrants: his father, David, and mother, Anna, crossed the greatest river they had ever seen to move hundreds of miles out of the forest and into the grasslands—lands where the horse nomads had roamed within recent historical memory before their suppression by the army. There they lived on what were among the richest agricultural soils in the world, and very thinly settled. It was fifteen miles from the Bronsteins' farm to the nearest post office.

But this is not Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie*, a story of the European settlement of the wheatlands of America. The Bronstein farm was in Yanovka, in Ukraine. The languages they spoke were Russian and Yiddish, not English. When they sent their son Lev to school by sending him to the nearest big city, it was not the Lake Michigan port city of Chicago, but the Black Sea port city of Odessa.

There he became a communist. And midway through his career he found himself feared by czars and policemen, and hunted and exiled because he was feared. In January 1917 he began a ten-week stay in New York City with his family (his second wife and their children). Unlike most of the people who had left the Old World for the New and wound up in New York in the 1910s, the communist Lev did not want to be there. But he and his family made the best of it, and he later wrote about their life in the city:

We rented an apartment in a workers' district, and furnished it on the installment plan. That apartment, at eighteen dollars a month, was equipped with all sorts of conveniences that we Europeans were quite unused to: electric lights, gas cooking-range, bath, telephone,

automatic service-elevator, and even a chute for the garbage. These things completely won the boys over to New York. For a time the telephone was their main interest; we had not had this mysterious instrument either in Vienna or Paris.

They—particularly the children—were overwhelmed by the prosperity of the United States and by the technological marvels that they saw in everyday use:

The children had new friends. The closest was the chauffeur of Dr. M. The doctor's wife took my wife and the boys out driving[;]... the chauffeur was a magician, a titan, a superman! With a wave of his hand, he made the machine obey his slightest command. To sit beside him was the supreme delight.

When the Russian Revolution came, Lev returned to St. Petersburg, a city that would change its name several times over the long twentieth century, first to Petrograd, then to Leningrad, and finally back to St. Petersburg. Fittingly, Lev would change his name, too. He took an alias from one of his former czarist jailers in Odessa: Lev Bronstein became Leon Trotsky.

Trotsky was never allowed back into the United States. He was, after all, a dangerous subversive, with a long-run plan that included the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence. He became Lenin's right hand, the organizer of Bolshevik victory in the Russian Civil War, the first of the losers to Joseph Stalin in the subsequent power struggle, and finally the victim of the Soviet secret police, assassinated with an ice pick in his head outside Mexico City in 1940.

Before his murder, while in exile, Trotsky would recall his departure from New York City. And in doing so he would capture what much of the world believed. In leaving New York for Europe, Trotsky felt, he was leaving the future for the past: "I was leaving for Europe, with the feeling of a man who has had only a peek into the furnace where the future is being forged."²⁶

Utopia was being built, Trotsky thought. But it was not being built in the

Russian Empire to which he was returning to try to take advantage of the political moment opened by the abdication of Czar Nicholas II Romanov. It was the United States that was holding high the banner of utopia, and promising to be the world's leader and guide along the path.

The heat for this forge came from recurring waves of technological advance that kept coming at an unprecedented pace. These waves were created by the industrial research lab and the modern corporation, and though they were America centered, they diffused outward, first to the rest of the global north and then, slowly, throughout the world: remember, there was more proportional techno-economic progress and change in a single year over the 1870–2010 period than in fifty years before 1500, and more than in twelve years over the period from 1500 to 1770, or more than in four years over 1770–1870. This progress created much, and it also destroyed much. This is a market economy we are talking about: the financing to keep your job existing requires that it be part of a value chain that satisfies some maximum-probability test carried out by some financier who may be thousands of miles away; your ability to earn the income you think you deserve depends on your potential employers scrutinizing the value of what you can do by the same metric. As technological capabilities grow, the ability of those whose work relies on old technologies to pass such tests declines. “Capitalism,” economist Joseph Schumpeter wrote in 1942, “never can be stationary.... The fundamental impulse that sets and keeps the capitalist engine in motion comes from the new consumers’ goods, the new methods of production or transportation, the new markets, the new forms of industrial organization that capitalist enterprise creates.... Industrial mutation... incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure *from within*, incessantly destroying the old one.... This process of creative destruction is the essential fact about capitalism.”²⁷ Great wealth is created by the creation. Poverty is imposed by the destruction. And uncertainty and anxiety are created by the threat. Someone had to manage this process, to contain rebellions against the consequences of the “destruction” part if the future of technological possibilities was in fact to be forged.

After 2006, the pace of measured economic growth in the United States was to plummet. In 2010, our ending date, many thought this was a flash in the pan because 2010 came just after the nadir of the Great Recession that had begun in 2008. But over the entire decade of 2006–2016, measured real

GDP per capita grew at a pace of only 0.6 percent per year—a shocking falloff from anything that had been seen earlier in the long twentieth century. Over the 1996–2006 decade, the pace had been 2.3 percent per year. Over the two decades before that, 1976–1996, the pace had been 2 percent per year, and in the “Thirty Glorious Years” after World War II it had been 3.4 percent per year. After 2006, exceptional America’s furnace’s fires were rapidly cooling, if not out, or not yet out.

3

Democratizing the Global North

There is a big difference between the *economic* and the *political economic*. The latter term refers to the methods by which people collectively decide how they are going to organize the rules of the game within which economic life takes place. It therefore relates to how people collectively decide to establish the rules by which they make decisions about organization and institutions. To see how political economy works in practice, let's jump back in time, to the start of the story of the federal government of the United States.

James Madison was never enthusiastic about democracy. He wrote, in the *Federalist Papers* in 1787, “Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have been... as short in their lives as... violent in their deaths.”¹

Then again, in the late 1700s next to nobody among the rich and powerful was enthusiastic about democracy.

What James Madison was enthusiastic about was a *republic*, a system of government in which a certain subset of people who counted—consisting, for the most part, of those already endowed with healthy amounts of security and property—would choose a small, select group of the wise, thoughtful, and energetic to represent them. These representatives would share the values of the people and advance their well-being but, it was hoped, would do so disinterestedly: seeking not their own profit but rather to demonstrate their virtue as citizens.

Madison fervently wanted to avoid the “turbulence and contention” of

democracy. Recall that under the Constitution Madison and his peers drew up, states could restrict the franchise as much as they wished, as long as they preserved “a republican form of government.”

America’s Founding Fathers had their work cut out for them convincing anyone that even their limited-franchise republic was a good idea. At the time, feudal webs, monarchies, and empires seemed to be the more durable and quite likely the better forms of government. As of 1787, Madison and Alexander Hamilton, in the *Federalist Papers*, were reduced to arguing that establishing a republic was worth risking, in spite of its sorry historical past, because of “advances in the science of government” since classical antiquity. But Thomas Jefferson, for one, thought Hamilton at least was just “talking his book” because he had committed himself out of ambition to the revolutionary republican cause—that privately Hamilton wished for a monarchical form of government for America.² Back then, democracy’s superiority wasn’t so obvious.

Yet from 1776 to 1965, democracy—at least in the form of one male, of the right age and race, one vote—made huge strides in the North Atlantic. The feudal and monarchical systems of government fell into ever-greater disrepute.

For a while, *prosperity* was seen as the most important qualification for political participation. Up until the end of World War I, in the Prussian provincial legislature of the German Empire, those who paid the top one-third of taxes got to elect one-third of the representatives. In the early 1840s, François Guizot, a slightly left-of-center prime minister in France’s constitutional monarchy, responded to demands for a broader electoral franchise with the words *enrichessez vous*: if you want to vote, get rich enough to qualify. It did not work. On February 23, 1848, King Louis-Philippe, of France’s Orleanist dynasty—the only king of the Orleanist dynasty—threw Guizot under the proverbial horse cart in the hope of avoiding revolution and dethronement. Too little, too late. Louis-Philippe abdicated the following day.³

Over the period 1870–1914, expanding democracy proved to be the political principle that caused the least offense to the greatest number, and it consequently gained general acceptance. Political society would be a realm in which some or most of the male individuals’ preferences would count equally in choosing the government, and government would then curb and

control the economy somewhat. It would limit but not extinguish the extra influence of those whom Theodore Roosevelt called the “malefactors of great wealth.”

But even this was not enough to satisfy everyone—indeed, there would be ongoing pressure to expand the franchise.

When liberals were in power, they tried to extend the suffrage on the principle that new, poorer voters would be less conservative and would support them. When conservatives were in power, they (more rarely and reluctantly) tried to extend the suffrage in the belief that workers, loyal to king and country, would support them. Allowing more people to vote would “dish the [liberal] Whigs,” for the workers would remember who had and who had not succeeded in giving them the franchise.⁴ And when revolution threatened, governments, fearing armed mobs in the streets, would extend the franchise to divide the potentially revolutionary opposition. “The principle,” then prime minister Earl Grey said in an 1831 debate over Britain’s franchise-extension reform bill, “is to prevent... revolution,” and on the basis of that expectation he declared, “I am reforming to preserve, not to overthrow.”⁵

By such means did the suffrage creep forward, step by step, under liberal and conservative regimes. Up until 1914, at least in the increasingly prosperous North Atlantic industrial core of the world economy, the prospects for spreading broad prosperity and stabilizing democracy looked good. The politico-economic system seemed to be working: the rising prosperity made aristocrats and plutocrats feel that the slow erosion of their relative social position was a price worth paying for the good things they received, and made those lower down feel that their continued toleration of upper-class dominance was a price worth paying for societal progress. Finally, conservatives and liberals saw wide- enough paths to political victory to make both confident that the current trajectory of history was on their side.

While suffrage expanded quickly in many respects, it came in fits and starts, and a much longer time passed before it was extended to women.

In 1792, France became the first country to grant universal male suffrage —although effective suffrage of any kind was gone by the time of Napoleon’s coronation in 1804, and universal male suffrage did not return, save for a brief interval in 1848–1851, until 1871. In the United States the

fight for the franchise for white men had been won around 1830. The first European state to offer universal suffrage—for both men and women—was Finland in 1906. In Great Britain (near) universal suffrage came in 1918, when the suffrage was extended to all men twenty-one and older and to women thirty and older. Adult women under thirty had to wait until 1928.

American suffragettes fought the good fight for decades. By the early 1900s it was ongoing. In their ranks was my great-grandmother, Florence Wyman Richardson, who, with others, chained herself to the statehouse fence in Missouri's capital, and as a consequence reportedly got herself expelled from the St. Louis Veiled Prophet debutante ball. The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution extending the vote to all women passed in 1920. France, having led in the late 1800s, was the laggard. Not until the expulsion of the Vichy Nazi collaborationist regime in 1944 did it extend the vote to women.

It took even longer for the extension of the franchise to cross the race line, especially in the United States.

Events involving heroic sacrifices of every sort played out over more than a century during the fight for the right of Blacks to vote. Among these were the Colfax Massacre in Louisiana in 1873, during which approximately one hundred Blacks were murdered. At a much less heroic end of the spectrum, when my great-grandmother Florence joined others to launch the Urban League in St. Louis in the 1920s, she became the scandal of her neighborhood by inviting Black people to dinner.

The enfranchisement of Blacks would not truly come in the United States until 1965, with passage of the Voting Rights Act—and even thereafter, it remained tenuous. As I write this paragraph, one-third of US states have recently crafted bureaucratic and legal obstacles aimed at differentially disenfranchising up to one-fourth of Black voters. As august, at least institutionally, a person as the late Supreme Court chief justice William Rehnquist won his spurs by running “ballot security” efforts in the early 1960s, in which “every Black or Mexican[-looking] person was being challenged.” Why did he do this? As one witness reported: “[As] a deliberate effort to slow down the voting... to cause people awaiting their turn to vote to grow tired of waiting, and leave... handbills were distributed warning persons that if they were not properly qualified to vote they would be prosecuted.”⁶

FROM MADISON TO REHNQUIST and beyond, it has ever been the case that for some segment of humanity, democracy—and the right to vote, and the consequent exercise of influence and power—raised more questions than it solved. Of this richly braided material Gordian knots were tied, repeatedly, and efforts to sever them commanded the spilling of gallons of ink, and of even more of blood.

The history of these conflicts over democracy has intersected in important ways with economic history. To understand how, let us turn again to two Vienna-born thinkers whom I have already mentioned: the Austrian-British-Chicagoan right-wing economist Friedrich August von Hayek (1899–1992) and the slightly older Hungarian-Jewish-Torontonian moral philosopher Karl Polanyi (1886–1964).

We first give the floor to Hayek, driven always to teacheth the lesson that “the market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of the market.”

In Hayek’s view, to inquire whether a market economy’s distribution of income and wealth was “fair” or “just” was to commit a fatal intellectual blunder. “Justice” and “fairness” of any form require that you receive what you deserve. A market economy gives not to those who deserve but to those who happen to be in the right place at the right time. Who controls the resources that are valuable for future production is not a matter of fairness. Once you step into the morass of “social justice,” Hayek believed, you would not be able to stop chasing a “just” and “fair” outcome “until the whole of society was organized... in all essential respects... [as] the opposite of a free society.”⁷

Note that this did not mean you were morally obligated to watch the poor starve and the injured bleed out and die in the street. Society should make “some provision for those threatened by the extremes of indigence or starvation due to circumstances beyond their control,” Hayek said, if only as the cheapest way to protect hardworking and successful folks “against acts of desperation on the part of the needy.” But beyond that you should not interfere with the market. The market was, or would lead us to, utopia—or as close to utopia as humans could attain. Interference was therefore worse than inexpedient.⁸

That a market economy can produce a highly unequal distribution of income and wealth just as it can produce a less unequal distribution of

income and wealth was beside the point. To even raise the question of what the distribution of wealth should be was to presume—falsely, Hayek believed—that people had rights other than property rights, and obligations to others beyond those they freely assumed through contract.

Besides, rectifying inequality was awful because it was chimerical. Hayek believed we lacked and would always lack the knowledge to create a better society. Centralization always led to misinformation and bad decisions. Top-down was a disaster. Only bottom-up “spontaneous order,” which emerged from everyone pursuing their own self-interest in what might seem to be a chaotic process, could possibly lead to progress.

To that end, what humanity had was market capitalism, the only system that could possibly be even moderately efficient and productive, for “prices are an instrument of communication and guidance which embody more information than we directly have,” Hayek wrote, and so “the whole idea that you can bring about the same order based on the division of labor by simple direction falls to the ground.” Any attempts to reorder the market distribution of income in order to reward the deserving at the expense of the undeserving would erode market capitalism: “The idea [that] you can arrange for distributions of incomes... correspond[ing] to... merit or need,” he said, does not fit with your “need [for] prices, including the prices of labor, to direct people to go where they are needed.” And once you start top-down planning, you are on what he called “the road to serfdom,” and “the detailed scale of values which must guide the planning makes it impossible that it should be determined by anything like democratic means.”⁹ Hayek’s was a “this-is-as-good-as-it-is-ever-going-to-get” sort of utopianism.

Hayek understood, however, that this better method of organizing society that cared not a whit for fairness and justice was unlikely to be accepted with universal cries of “huzzah!” That the only rights the market economy recognizes are property rights—and indeed, only those property rights that are valuable—predictably didn’t inspire the multitudes. It was clear that people thought they had other rights beyond those that accrued to the property they happened to hold. And this feeling posed an enormous problem for Hayek. To his credit, he didn’t shy away from the direction his arguments led. He identified two substantive enemies to a good (or at least as good as it is likely to get) society: *egalitarianism* and *permissiveness*.

Too much democracy—democracy that made people feel that they should be able to do what they wanted and not be lorded over by those with more property—was, in short, bad.

Indeed, for Hayek, egalitarianism was “a product of the necessity under unlimited democracy to solicit the support even of the worst.” In other words, democracy essentially meant conceding, as he put it, “‘a right to equal concern and respect’ to those who break the code”—which, he warned, was no way to maintain a civilization.¹⁰

The fearsome result for Hayek would then be *permissiveness*, which, “assisted by a scientistic psychology,” he wrote, “has come to the support of those who claim a share in the wealth of our society without submitting to the discipline to which it is due.” The lesson was clear. A prosperous market economy could only flourish if it was protected by authority.

For Hayek, overly democratic, egalitarian, and permissive societies would probably need at some point someone to seize power and reorder the society in an authoritarian mode that would respect the market economy. Such an interruption would be a temporary “Lykourgan moment,” as he called it—using a term harking back to the mythical ordainer of the laws of the classical Greek city of Sparta—and afterward, the music could restart and the normal dance of ordered individual liberty and market-driven prosperity resume. Hayek, standing on the shoulders of giants and tyrants alike, articulated a position about the market economy that throughout the twentieth century would turn the political right against democracy again and again, leading a great many to view the institution not just as a lesser good but as a genuine evil. These views did not lose strength as World War I drew near.

Now the paragraphs above have cast a harsh light on Hayek’s thought as a moral philosopher and political activist. And, later on, I will make even harsher judgments of Hayek’s thought as a macroeconomist. Why, then, should we not ignore him? There are three main reasons.

First, he serves as a marker for an extremely influential current of thought and action, influential not least because it found itself congenial to and backed by the rich and powerful.

Second, Hayek’s political economy is not completely wrong. The democratic political sphere can turn into one in which the logic is not cooperation and growth but rather confiscation and redistribution—with

“deserving” and “undeserving” standing in, respectively, for the friends and enemies of the powerful. Hayek is not wrong that keeping your head down, concentrating on win-win production for market exchange, and ignoring appeals to “social justice” as chimerical can be vastly better than such a scenario.

Third, Hayek was a farsighted genius Dr. Jekyll in one crucially important aspect of his thinking—he was a hedgehog who knew one very good trick, as Isaiah Berlin quoted Arkhilokhos as saying, rather than a fox who knew many tricks.¹¹ He was the thinker who grasped most thoroughly and profoundly what the market system could do for human benefit. All societies in solving their economic problems face profound difficulties in getting reliable information to the deciders and then incentivizing the deciders to act for the public good. The market order of property, contract, and exchange can—if property rights are handled properly—push decision-making out to the decentralized periphery where the reliable information already exists, solving the information problem. And by rewarding those who bring resources to valuable uses, it automatically solves the incentivization problem. (There remain the macrocoordination problem and the distribution problem, and most of the flaws in Hayek’s thinking come from his inability to recognize the nature of those problems at all. But absolutely nailing two out of four ain’t bad.)

Overall, what Hayek got right is absolutely essential in making sense of the long twentieth century’s economic history. His reasoning not only is cited by decision makers of varying influence throughout these decades, but aspects of what his reasoning elucidates were unquestionably at play.

We give the floor now to Karl Polanyi, who teacheth the lesson that “the market is made for man, not man for the market.”¹²

Friedrich von Hayek loved that the market turned everything into a commodity, and he feared those who damned the market because it did not make everybody materially equal. Polanyi disagreed emphatically. In *The Great Transformation*, Polanyi explained that land, labor, and finance were “fictitious commodities.” They could not be governed by the logic of profit and loss but needed to be *embedded* in society and managed by the community, taking into account religious and moral dimensions. The result, Polanyi wrote, was a tension, a contest, a *double movement*. Ideologues of the market and the market itself attempted to remove land, labor, and

finance from society's moral and religious governance. In reaction, society struck back by restricting the domain of the market and putting its thumb on the scales where market outcomes seemed "unfair." As a consequence, a market society will face a backlash—it can be a left-wing backlash, it can be a right-wing backlash, but there will be a backlash—and it will be powerful.

Now these were—are—brilliant insights. As expressed by Polanyi in the original, they are also, sadly, incomprehensible to an overwhelming proportion of those who try to read him. With deference to comprehension, my summary of what Polanyi was really saying follows:

The market economy believes that the only rights that matter are property rights, and the only property rights that matter are those that produce things for which the rich have high demand. But people believe that they have other rights.

With respect to *land*, people believe they have rights to a stable community. This includes the belief that the natural and built environment in which they grew up or that they made with their hands is *theirs*, whether or not market logic says it would be more profitable if it were different—say a highway ran through it—or more lucrative if somebody else lived there.

With respect to *labor*, people believe they have a right to a suitable income. After all, they prepared for their profession, played by the rules, and so believe society owes them a fair income, something commensurate with their preparation. And this holds whether or not the logic of the world market says otherwise.

With respect to *finance*, people believe that as long as they do their job of working diligently, the flow of purchasing power through the economy should be such as to give them the wherewithal to buy. And "rootless cosmopolite" financiers—powerful people with no connection to the community, and yes, this often shades, and more than shades, over into antisemitism, as what is for Polanyi a critique of the operation of a system turns into a condemnation of Jewish and Jew-like people who fill a particular role in it—who may be thousands of miles away should have no commensurate right to decide that this or that flow of purchasing power through the economy is no longer sufficiently profitable, and so should be shut off. They should not be able to make your job dry up and blow away.¹³

People have not just property rights, Polanyi declared, but these other economic rights as well—rights that a pure market economy will not respect. A pure market economy will lay down that highway, ignore years of preparation when doling out an income, and allow your purchasing power to dry up and blow away along with your job if someone thousands of miles away decides better returns on investments are to be found elsewhere. Hence society—by government decree or by mass action, left-wing or right-wing, for good or ill—*will* intervene, and re-embed the economy in its moral and religious logic so that these rights are satisfied. The process is one of double movement: the economy moves to remove the embedding of production, transactions, and consumption from the network of relationships that is society, and then society moves—somehow—to reassert itself.¹⁴

Note that these rights that society will attempt to validate do not—or might not—be rights to anything like an *equal* distribution of the fruits of industry and agriculture. And it is probably wrong to describe them as *fair*: they are what people expect, given a certain social order. Equals should be treated equally, yes; but unequals should be treated unequally. And societies do not have to and almost never do presume that people are of equal significance.

What can we do with these insights? Hayek and Polanyi were theoreticians and academicians—brilliant ones. But their insights and their doctrines are important only because they capture deep broad currents of thought that sparked through the brains of millions and drove actions. Not Hayek but Hayekians, and not Polanyi but Polanyians, and those acting on the motives identified by Polanyi, made history. So to get a glimpse of how this played out in practice, let us take a look at economics and politics interacting at the bleeding edge—at the most rapidly growing and industrializing place on the pre–World War I earth, in that era’s counterpart to the twenty-first century’s Shenzhen: Chicago.¹⁵

In 1840, when the Illinois and Michigan Canal opened connecting the Mississippi River with the Great Lakes, Chicago had a population of four thousand. In 1871, Mrs. O’Leary’s cow burned down a third, perhaps, of the city. Chicago built the world’s first steel-framed skyscraper in 1885, the city had a population of two million by 1900, and at that point 70 percent of its citizens had been born outside the United States.

On May 1, 1886, the American Federation of Labor declared a general strike to fight for an eight-hour workday. A front line of that conflict formed at the gates of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company in Chicago. There, hundreds of police, backed up by private Pinkerton agency security guards, protected hundreds of strikebreakers who passed an angry crowd. On May 3, police officers opened fire on the crowd, killing six. The next day in Haymarket Square eight police officers were murdered by an anarchist bomb during a rally in protest of police violence and in support of the striking workers. The police opened fire and killed perhaps twenty civilians (nobody seems to have counted), largely immigrants, largely non-English-speaking ones. A kangaroo court convicted eight innocent (we now believe) left-wing politicians and labor organizers of murdering the eight policemen. Five were hanged.¹⁶

In 1889 Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, asked the world socialist movement—the “Second International”—to set aside May 1 every year as the day for a great annual international demonstration in support of the eight-hour workday and in memory of the victims of police violence in Chicago in 1886.

In the summer of 1894 President Grover Cleveland, in the fine tradition of triangulating politicians, persuaded Congress to establish a national holiday in recognition of the place of labor in American society. But not on the International Workers’ Day, May 1, which commemorated Chicago’s slain workers—rather, the new holiday would be observed on the first Monday in September.

Not all American politicians were so timid. In 1893 the new Democratic governor of Illinois, John Peter Altgeld—the state’s first Democratic governor since 1856, the first Chicago resident to become governor ever, and the first foreign-born governor ever—pardoned the three still-living so-called Haymarket Bombers. His reasons were unambiguous. Those convicted of the bombing had likely been innocent. The real reason for the bombing, in Altgeld’s view, had been the out-of-control violence by the Pinkerton guards hired by McCormick and others.

Who was this Altgeld who pardoned convicted anarchists and blamed violence on the manufacturing princes of the Midwest and their hired armed goons? And how did he become governor of Illinois?

Altgeld was born in Germany. His parents moved him to Ohio in 1848,

when he was three months old. He fought in the Union Army during the Civil War, and at Fort Monroe, in the Virginia tidewater country, he caught a lifelong case of malaria. After the war he finished high school, became a roving railroad worker, found work as a schoolteacher, and somewhere in there read the law sufficiently to become a lawyer. By 1872 he was the city attorney of Savannah, Missouri. By 1874 he was county prosecutor. In 1875 he showed up in Chicago as the author of *Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims*.¹⁷ By 1884 he was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress—and a strong supporter of Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland.

He won election as a judge on Cook County's Superior Court in 1886. And somewhere in there he became rich. He was a real estate speculator and a builder: his biggest holding was the tallest building in Chicago in 1891, the sixteen-story Unity Building, at 127 N. Dearborn Street.

An immigrant in a city of immigrants, he was also a Progressive. As governor, Altgeld supported and persuaded the legislature to enact what became the most stringent child labor and workplace safety laws in the nation up to that point, increased state funding for education, and appointed women to senior state government positions. And he pardoned anarchists.

The largely Republican and Republican-funded press condemned Governor Altgeld for his Haymarket pardons. For the rest of his life, to middle-class newspaper readers nationwide, especially on the East Coast, who were the middle tranche of those who managed to vote, Altgeld was the foreign-born alien anarchist, socialist, murderous governor of Illinois. Even when they brought themselves to consider reforms, they looked to the likes of President Cleveland to deliver them. To see the consequences, consider the Pullman Strike.

On May 11, 1894, workers of the Pullman Company, manufacturer of sleeping railcars and equipment, went on strike rather than accept wage cuts. Altgeld's friend and fellow attorney Clarence Darrow explained in his autobiography how he wound up as the lawyer of the strikers, the American Railway Union, and their leader Eugene V. Debs. Darrow had been a railroad lawyer for the Chicago and North Western, with a wife and a ten-year-old. He quit his job to defend strike leader Debs.

About the nature of the contest he had no doubts:

Industrial contests take on the attitudes and psychology of war, and both parties do many things that they should never dream of doing in times of peace.... As I stood on the prairie watching the burning [railroad] cars I had no feeling of enmity toward either side, I was only sad to realize how little pressure man could stand before he reverted to the primitive. This I have thought many times since that eventful night.¹⁸

Yet with no feelings of enmity, and even after watching striker violence and arson, Darrow sided with the strikers. What won Darrow over to their cause was watching the railroads' blatant efforts to bring the force of the government in on their side. "I did not regard this as fair," Darrow later wrote. So when Debs and others asked him to take on the case, he agreed to do so, later writing, "I saw poor men giving up their livelihood."

The railroads were successful in bringing in the government. The ever-triangulating President Cleveland—the only Democrat elected president between James Buchanan and Woodrow Wilson—decided to grant their request. He attached a mail car to every train, making blocking any train an interference with the US mail, and thus a federal crime. The US attorney general, Richard Olney, got the courts to enjoin the strikers, forbidding the obstruction of trains. Cleveland then ordered the US Army to deploy in Chicago.

Governor Altgeld protested. In two telegraphs to the president, he pointed out that the Constitution gave the president power to use troops against domestic violence *only* "on application of the [state] legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened)."¹⁹ Altgeld protested that neither he nor the Illinois legislature had applied. Cleveland's response was dismissive. It was more important to protect property against rioters, anarchists, and socialists, he declared: "If it takes the entire army and navy of the United States to deliver a postcard in Chicago, that card will be delivered!"²⁰

On July 7, Debs and the other union leaders were arrested for violating the terms of the injunction, and the strike collapsed.

This was a breaking point for Altgeld and for many others, who subsequently decided that it was time for the Democratic Party's

presidential nominee to be a truly Democratic candidate, not a centrist like Cleveland. Altgeld and his supporters wanted their rights as Polanyi would later express them: they wanted the fairness and justice that Hayek would decry. They also wanted the United States to abandon the gold standard and permit the free coinage of silver, at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold.

Cleveland and his supporters, many of them businessmen and bankers, favored adherence to a strict gold standard in order to maintain the value of the dollar. Altgeld and his supporters, many of them laborers or farmers, wanted an expansionary money policy—unlimited coinage of silver—because they felt it would ease their credit burdens and raise prices for their crops. What the “Free Silver” proponents wanted was, in short, the opposite of what Cleveland and his supporters wanted. Both views were reactions in part to the Panic of 1893.

At the 1896 Democratic National Convention, Altgeld seized control of the platform and changed it to condemn the gold standard, denounce the government’s interventions against labor unions, support federalism, and call for an income tax amendment or a Supreme Court that would declare an income tax constitutional to allow the government to gradually redistribute wealth and to raise the resources to carry out the Progressive platform. The platform also supported the right to unionize and called for expanded personal and civil liberties.

To advance the cause, Altgeld sought to get the Democratic Party to nominate former US senator Richard P. Bland. The young William Jennings Bryan, politician from Nebraska, however, had other ideas. In a speech that damned the gold standard and a parade of moneyed interests, Bryan wowed the convention. He headed a presidential ticket, with the unprepossessing Arthur Sewall as his running mate.

In response, President Cleveland and his supporters abandoned the Democratic Party and formed the National Democratic Party, which ran the ex–Republican Illinois governor and ex–Union general John M. Palmer alongside ex–Kentucky governor and ex–Confederate general Simon Bolivar Buckner, in hopes of siphoning votes from Bryan and Sewall.

The Republican ticket of William McKinley and Garret Hobart won.

Popular vote totals in presidential elections in the decades before 1896 had been narrow. The political mythology might have led people to think

that, by nominating a populist like Bryan, the Democrats could enjoy an overwhelming victory in 1896. But it was not to be so. Bryan lost, and lost by much more than Democrats had lost in the presidential elections of recent previous decades. William McKinley won in an electoral landslide, with a final electoral count of 271–176, and a popular-vote semilandslide. It was not so much that crucial swing voters in the US electorate swung to the Republican side. It was, rather, a huge countermobilization against William Jennings Bryan and a turnout increase that determined the outcome of the election. There were many voters, it turned out, who were formerly on the fence and insufficiently interested to take the trouble to show up at the polls who did show up in 1896, and they definitely did not want the sort of Democratic candidate that Altgeld and his allies favored. (Not, mind you, that the Democratic Party in 1896 could be properly characterized as *egalitarian*: of Bryan's 176 electoral votes, 129 came from states that, had Blacks been allowed to vote, would have swung to the Republican side because Lincoln had freed the slaves.)

When the crucial center of the white males who had the vote and exercised it was asked to choose between protecting property, on the one hand, and promoting opportunity through means convincingly portrayed as threatening property and order, on the other, they chose property—because they had it, or thought they would have it—and because they feared that too many of those who would benefit from redistribution were in some sense unworthy of it. Even the very weak-tea leveling associated with pardoning those railroaded after Haymarket and supporting the Pullman strikers was too much for start-of-twentieth-century America to bear.

Altgeld lost his governorship, lost a bid to be mayor of Chicago in 1899, and died, at the age of fifty-four, in 1902. Clarence Darrow lived longer and more successfully, in part because he was willing to defend large corporations, among other groups and ideas, in the remainder of his legal career—including evolution and high school teachers, murderers, and trade union officials. Whatever affinities he had for the notions of Polanyi, he was mindful of the influence of Hayek's ideas on the society in which he lived. “Conflicted” is the word, as he noted in a letter to his friend Jane Addams in the mid-1890s: “I came [to Chicago] without friends or money. Society provides no fund out of which such people can live while preaching heresy. It compels us to get our living out of society as it is or die. I do not

choose yet to die, although perhaps it would be the best.”²¹ Among those idealistic workers who passed through Jane Addams’s private social-welfare agency, Hull-House, was the young Frances Perkins, who was to become President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s secretary of labor and the principal author of America’s social security system.

For all of his personal concessions, Darrow shared Altgeld’s opinion of the Democratic politicians. They were not proper standard-bearers for the causes that he thought would bring the United States closer to utopia, as his 1932 memoirs explained: “I had always admired Woodrow Wilson and distrusted [his successor] Republican President [Warren] Harding. Doubtless my opinions about both in relation to affairs of government were measurably correct; still, Mr. Wilson, a scholar and an idealist, and Mr. Palmer, a Quaker, kept [Eugene V.] Debs in prison; and Mr. Harding and Mr. Dougherty unlocked the door.”²²

Darrow spent the 1920s defending the teaching of evolution (in the Scopes Monkey Trial) and attacking social Darwinist eugenicists. (Of one such, he said, “By what psychological hocus-pocus he reaches the conclusion that the ability to read intelligently denotes a good germ-plasm and [produces] desirable citizens I cannot say.”²³) Darrow died in 1938 at the age of eighty-one. In the mid-1920s Scopes Trial, he had faced off against his old political ally, William Jennings Bryan. Bryan had added anti-evolutionism and tolerance of the Ku Klux Klan to his 1920s causes of an equal rights amendment for women, agricultural subsidies, a federal minimum wage, public financing of political campaigns, and Florida real estate.

The Democratic Party of 1900 or so was against plutocrats, bankers, and monopolists. It was for a rough equality. But it was a strange kind of rough equality among the right sort of people. Socialist-pacifists—such as Eugene V. Debs, who besides being involved with the Pullman strikers opposed US entry into World War I—did not belong. And neither did Blacks. Woodrow Wilson was a Progressive, and well respected on the left. He also segregated the US federal government’s civil service.

W. E. B. Du Bois was born in 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He was raised by his mother, Mary, and her parents, Othello and Sarah Lampman Burghardt. Othello’s grandfather, Tom, had been the first Black person to move to Great Barrington, where he died in around 1787 at the

age of fifty. W. E. B. Du Bois's white neighbors took up a collection to pay for him to go to Fisk University, a historically Black university in Nashville. He then went from Fisk to Harvard (earning a bachelor's degree in history and graduating *cum laude* in 1890). He went from Harvard to the University of Berlin, where, as he later said, his peers did not see him "as a curiosity, or something sub-human," but as "a man of the somewhat privileged student rank, with whom they were glad to meet and talk over the world; particularly, the part of the world whence I came." He found himself "on the outside of the American world, looking in." He then returned to Harvard, where he earned a PhD—the first Black man to do so—in 1895 at the age of twenty-seven.²⁴

In 1895 there was a Cotton States and International Exposition held in Atlanta, Georgia, to show the world that the ex-Confederate states of the US South were back—with technology, with agriculture, ready to produce and trade with the world. But at the same time, there were all the lynchings of Blacks—at least 113 of them in 1895. President Ulysses S. Grant had attempted to make it the US Army's mission to protect Black people from the white supremacists' guerrilla-terror campaign, and at his urging, Congress had passed bills attempting to stop the violence. These attempts, however, ended when Grant left the White House. His successor, Rutherford B. Hayes, traded that cause away—along with the power of one million Black men in the South to vote—in return for electoral votes.

At the exposition, the Black leader Booker T. Washington gave a speech proposing what became known as his "Atlanta compromise": Blacks, he said, should not seek the vote—or integration, or, indeed, equal treatment; instead, they, and white northerners seeking their uplift, should focus their attention on education and employment. "The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house," he said. Blacks should get a "basic" education. In return for this submission, they should receive the protection of the rule of law and the guerrilla-terror campaign should end. "Cast down your bucket where you are," was Washington's watchword. That was the best he thought Blacks could do at the time. They should concentrate on education—seeking an overwhelmingly vocational education—and then work, save, and let the wheel of history turn.²⁵

Du Bois disagreed with Booker T. Washington and took the leadership

of those arguing and agitating for full equality—social, political, economic—now. Yes, there had been progress since the days of slavery.²⁶ No, the progress was not sufficient. Meanwhile, he noted, the white supremacist campaign of terror was not ending.

Four years after Washington’s speech, in the same city, a Black man, Sam Hose, was accused of killing his white employer, Alfred Cranford, a farmer, who had gotten out his gun and threatened to shoot Hose when Hose had asked for time off to visit his mother. White supremacist agitators, lying, claimed that Hose had also tried to rape Alfred’s wife, Mattie Cranford. A mob of at least five hundred took Hose away from the sheriff; cut off his testicles, penis, fingers, and ears; chained him to a pine tree; and then lit the pine tree on fire. The members of the mob did not wear masks or refuse to give their names. It took Hose more than thirty minutes to die. Members of the mob then cut off more of his body parts, including bones, and sold them as souvenirs.

Du Bois later said that when he saw Hose’s burned knuckles in a storefront display, he knew he had to break with Booker T. Washington. Blacks needed to make demands for equal rights, equal treatment, integration, and parity.

Du Bois believed in the promise of education to solve the problem, but not just technical and trade education, like Washington. For Du Bois, the answer lay in a full liberal arts college education for the potential meritocratic elite he called the “Talented Tenth”: “Education must not simply teach work—it must teach Life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this and Negro colleges must train men for it.”²⁷

The community needed to support the Talented Tenth, who would show the world what educated and entrepreneurial Blacks could and would do, and the Talented Tenth needed to repay the community by going into politics. Otherwise, white supremacy would grind Black people down and then justify itself by pointing to the small numbers of accomplished Blacks: “For three long centuries this people lynched Negroes who dared to be brave, raped black women who dared to be virtuous, crushed dark-hued youth who dared to be ambitious, and encouraged and made to flourish servility and lewdness and apathy,” he wrote. And yet “a saving remnant

continually survives and persists,” demonstrating “the capability of Negro blood, the promise of black men.”

But Du Bois and company were rowing against a very strong current. From 1875 to 1925 or so, rising segregation and discrimination continued to stomp down the Talented Tenth wherever they appeared. Politicians and interest groups, fearing white populism, sensed the possibility of anger directed at rich urban eastern plutocrats and worked hard to redirect it into anger at lazy Negroes. Those who stuck to the goal of a relatively egalitarian income distribution in the face of social Darwinism redefined the “fitness” that was to survive and flourish as an ethnoracial attribute. Thus Woodrow Wilson sought to raise up the white middle class and degrade the Black population, and Wilson’s Progressive coalition did not say “boo.”

WHATEVER ELSE CONSTITUTED AMERICAN exceptionalism, marked caution toward “utopian” overhauls of social relations and social hierarchies—whether race or class based—was very high on that list. And the United States was not alone. Once European society was no longer a contest of a closed aristocracy of wealth, honor, and blood against everybody else, once upward mobility was possible, anything that was or could be misrepresented as full-fledged leveling socialism proved broadly unattractive.

We can see this at work well before our starting date of 1870. Consider France in June 1848. That year a wave of political discontent washed across Europe, encouraging many to embrace liberal reforms. But those who thought a truly just, equitable utopia beckoned were to be disappointed. What Alexis de Tocqueville discovered, along with all of Europe, was that the overwhelming majority of Frenchmen did not want to be taxed to provide full employment for urban craftsmen. It turned out they valued their property more than they valued opportunity for the unemployed.

In 1848 the farmers of Tocqueville’s France sided against the socialists when, as Tocqueville put it, the socialists—that is, the workers—rose in “a blind and rude, but powerful, effort... to escape from the necessities of their condition, which had been depicted to them as one of unlawful oppression.”²⁸ He was referring to the June Days uprising, a reaction

against the government's decision to close the Second Republic's National Workshops, which had provided work for the unemployed. The workshops had been funded by taxing farmers, who did not want to pay for a burgeoning program for urban workers. In the heated conflict, an estimated 4,500 died, and thousands more were injured.

The politicians of the French Second Republic were terrified and abandoned the worker movement. The lesson of French politics since 1789 had been that, unless there was a Napoleon (or someone similar) on hand to send in a disciplined military—with orders to shoot down the mob and blow up the barricades—mobs in Paris unmade governments. But the Paris June Days were different. Tocqueville, who opposed the worker movement, later wrote that he saw “thousands... hastening to our aid from every part of France.” He noted that peasants, shopkeepers, landlords, and nobles “rushed into Paris with unequalled ardour,” partly via rail travel, making for a “strange and unprecedented” spectacle: “The insurgents received no reinforcements, whereas we had all France for reserves.”

The same principle was at work in the United States in 1896 as in France in 1848.

Yet back in the days of the French Revolution of 1789, order had much less appeal to those not at the top of the social pyramid: “Let’s strangle the last king with the guts of the last priest!” said philosopher and critic Denis Diderot.²⁹ Diderot died before the revolution—which might well have been a blessing for Diderot: the revolutionaries came within a hair of executing American democracy activist Thomas Paine, who had traveled to France to help them, just because. Yes, the French did manage to murder King Louis XVI. Yes, they did wind up with an egalitarian distribution of land parceled out to families of small farmers. But they did not wind up with a stable political democracy.

In succession after 1791, France experienced the terrorist dictatorship of the Jacobins; the corrupt and gerrymandered five-man Directory; a dictatorship under Napoleon Bonaparte as “first consul”; a monarchy until 1848; a First Republic; a Second Republic; a shadow of an empire under Napoleon Bonaparte’s nephew Louis Napoleon; a socialist commune (in Paris at least); a Third Republic, which suppressed the commune and elevated a royalist to president; and, peaking in 1889, the efforts of an aspirant dictator and ex-minister of war, Georges Ernest Jean-Marie

Boulanger, with his promise of *Revanche*, *Révision*, *Restauration* (revenge on Germany, revision of the constitution, and restoration of the monarchy).³⁰

And yet land reform stuck. Dreams of past and hopes of future military glory stuck. And for those on the left of politics, the dream of a transformational, piratical political revolution—the urban people marching in arms (or not in arms) to overthrow corruption and establish justice, liberty, and utopia—stuck as well. Regime stability did not, and “normal politics” between 1870 and 1914 always proceeded under revolutionary threat, or were colored by revolutionary dreams.

This was true elsewhere in Europe as well. The continent’s nationalities grew to want unity, independence, autonomy, and safety—which first and foremost, especially in the case of the German states, meant safety from invasion by France. Achieving any portion of these outcomes generally entailed, rather than wholesale redistribution, a curbing of privileges, and then an attempt to grab onto and ride the waves of globalization and technological advance. Those waves, however, wrenched society out of its established orders. As class and ethnic cleavages reinforced themselves, the avoidance of civil war and ethnic cleansing became more difficult, especially when your aristocrats spoke a foreign language and your rabble-rousers declared that they were the ones who could satisfy peasant and worker demands for “peace, land, and bread.” Increasingly, in those parts of the world without colonial masters, politics became a game without rules—except those the players made up on whim and opportunity. Nearly everywhere and at nearly any moment, the structure of a regime, and the modes of political action, might suddenly shift, perhaps in a very bad way. Representative institutions were shaky, and partial. Promises by rulers of new constitutions that would resolve legitimate grievances were usually empty promises.

In the end, the regimes held until World War I. The games went on. Outside the Balkans, the only regime change in Europe between 1871 and 1913 was the low-casualty proclamation of the Portuguese Republic in November 1910.

The expectation and fear that revolutions were on the agenda proved to be wrong. One reason was that always, in the moment, left-wing—even socialist—parties in pre-World War I Europe wanted parliamentary

representation, but once they had that, they pressed immediately for only relatively weak tea. Consider the Socialist Party of Germany, which sought to rally the radical edge of the nation's voters with the following:

- universal male and female suffrage
- the secret ballot, proportional representation, and an end to gerrymandering
- holidays for elections
- two-year legislative terms
- the right to propose and vote on referendums
- elected local administrators and judges
- a referendum requirement for declarations of war
- international courts to settle international disputes
- equal rights for women
- freedom of speech, association, and religion
- a prohibition against spending public funds for religious purposes
- free public schools and colleges
- free legal assistance
- abolition of the death penalty
- free medical care, including midwifery
- progressive income and property taxes
- a progressive inheritance tax
- an end to regressive indirect taxes
- an eight-hour working day
- child labor laws
- a national takeover of unemployment and disability insurance "with decisive participation by the workers"³¹

Rather white bread, no?

But they also sought in the long run not incremental advance but the complete reordering of society and economy into a real utopia. The Socialist Party of Germany's platforms also called for:

By every lawful means to bring about a free state and a socialistic society, to effect the destruction of the iron law of wages by doing

away with the system of wage labor...

The transformation of the capitalist private ownership of the means of production—land and soil, pits and mines, raw materials, tools, machines, means of transportation—into social property and the transformation of the production of goods into socialist production carried on by and for society...

Emancipation... of the entire human race.... But it can only be the work of the working class, because all other classes... have as their common goal the preservation of the foundations of contemporary society.

The demands seem contradictory. Were the German socialists revolutionary overthowers of a rotten system or improvers of a going concern? They could not decide, and so found themselves falling between the two stools.

We now come to one of the inflection points in this long century's history. The tensions were already there between two camps, broadly speaking: those who fell under the banner of Hayek's "blessed be the name of the market" and those who fell under the banner of Polanyi's "the market is made for man." Broadly. Things get messy. What was held in common by all was a faith, of varying sorts, in the market. And some of these faiths were more utopian than others.

Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and those who drew inspiration from them had no illusions about what the market taketh, but they had a grand illusion as to what the market would eventually giveth, or transcend itself to become —the revolution of the proletariat. Earl Grey, Benjamin Disraeli, and other right-wingers understood that the market is made for some men, but not all—and, likewise, that some men, but not all, would benefit. Finally, centrists attempted to hold the tensions at bay with many reforms and a few bayonets. It mostly worked—until 1914.

While the center was holding, and the left was falling between two stools, the right was thinking up new justifications for its basic principle: "What I have, I hold!" English naturalist Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* had set intellectual waves in motion: ideas that turned into *social Darwinism*. The social Darwinists justified economic inequality not by

looking to the past, to the descent of the rich from the henchmen of William the Conqueror, but by looking to the present and the future, by claiming that inherent racial traits both accounted for their economic success and justified existing economic inequalities. One step further, and they were proposing that the superior races should be encouraged to breed, and others should not. As John Maynard Keynes was to remark a generation later, in the eyes of the social Darwinists, “socialist interferences became... impious, as calculated to retard the onward movement of the mighty process by which we ourselves had risen like Aphrodite out of the primeval slime of ocean.”³²

Ideologies are not like streetcars, in that you can pull the cord and get off at the next stop whenever you wish. But they are like streetcars in a different respect: they have tracks that they must follow. Social Darwinists justified economic inequality within societies as part of a progressive struggle for existence that, via evolution, improved the gene pool.³³ Why not, then, take the next step and see relationships between nations as a similar struggle for existence that, again via evolution, improved the gene pool? “I am better than you” became, all too easily, “We are better than they.” And “we” had to have the weapons to prove it, should it come to a fight.

Jennie Jerome’s son, Winston S. Churchill, was in the cabinet of the British Liberal government in the 1900s. Alarm at the growing size of the German battle fleet was mounting, and Britain needed control of the seas to tie its empire together. Moreover, Britain imported half its food. A German battle fleet that controlled the seas around Britain could starve half of Britain to death. As Churchill told the story, the Liberal Party government, to appease the navy and the press, offered to fund four new dreadnought-class battleships a year to defend against the growing German fleet. The navy demanded six. And, Churchill said, “We compromised at eight.”³⁴

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle had his detective character Sherlock Holmes comment on rising international tensions as World War I approached: “There’s an east wind coming all the same,” Holmes says. “It will be cold and bitter, Watson, and a good many of us may wither before its blast. But... a cleaner, better, stronger land will lie in the sunshine when the storm has cleared.”³⁵

Doyle wrote those words in 1917, when World War I was more than half

done. But he placed them in the mouth of a pre-1914 Holmes. He had Holmes prophesy that, in spite of all the blood, global war should not be avoided, for it would, in the end, turn out to have been worthwhile. The political, social, cultural, and economic barometer was dropping. The warning signs were abundant: a right-wing upper class had, by and large, lost its social role; politicians were increasingly anxious to paper over class divisions with appeals to national unity; a social Darwinist ideological current advocating struggle—even or especially military struggle by peoples-in-arms—over not what language a province would be administered in but whose grandchildren would live there, was growing. These issues were storing up trouble as 1914 approached. The unleashing of unprecedented economic growth had shaken the world and transformed politics. And at the end of that transformation was a pronounced imperial and militaristic turn.

In 1919, John Maynard Keynes would write, bitterly, that he, his peers, and his elders among the well-thinking, self-confident establishment had all shrugged off the warning signs and passively sat by. They had regarded “the projects and politics of militarism and imperialism, of racial and cultural rivalries, of monopolies, restrictions, and exclusion, which were to play the serpent to this [pre-1914 economic growth] paradise... [as] little more than the amusements of [the] daily newspaper.” To him and his ilk, Keynes would say, looking back through the rearview mirror, the idea that the progressive system of increasing prosperity might break down was “aberrant [and] scandalous”—and easily avoidable.³⁶

As 1914 approached, there was no intellectual or organizational antimilitarist countermobilization to speak of to try to head off catastrophe.

4

Global Empires

In 1870, at the start of the long twentieth century, one of the greatest empires the world has ever seen—the British Empire, the only potential peer of which was the Mongol Empire—was approaching its zenith. Part of what made it the greatest is that this empire had both formal and informal manifestations—it came in the form of standing armies, colonial offices staffed by bureaucrats, and jails to enforce deference, but exercised its will in all sorts of other, less tangible ways as well. Because we all know how this particular story ends, I feel no guilt in flashing forward. The year 1945 saw the completion of the supersession of Britain by the United States as the world’s leading industrial, commercial, and imperial power. What’s interesting is that once the United States established itself as the world’s preeminent power, it set about building an American empire that was, unlike its predecessor’s, almost entirely informal.

Right here I have a narrative problem. The big-picture story of the “global north,” or the North Atlantic region, from 1870 to 1914 can be pounded (with some violence) into the framework of one narrative thread. What would become known as the “global south”—that is, countries generally south of, but more importantly, on the economic periphery of, the global north—cannot. And my space and your attention are limited. What is more, a century most defined by its economic history is a century centered on the global north. This, of course, says nothing about cultures or civilizations, or even the relative merits of global north or south in general, or nations in particular. It is merely to assert that the economic activity and advances of the one region of the world causally led the economic activity

and advances of the other.

Given this background, what I offer you here are four important vignettes: India, Egypt, China, and Japan. To situate ourselves in these national histories, understand that while 1870 is the watershed year of the global north's economic growth spurt, it is (not coincidentally) the middle of the story of imperialism for the global south. Perhaps not the exact middle, for the imperialism project starts in 1500 and, as a project, ends in the later 1900s. As I said, the interpretive ground here gets slippery. And for purchase we can recall our two-person chorus, Friedrich August von Hayek and Karl Polanyi, watching, waiting, and whispering.

Europe—or, rather, Spain and Portugal—started building empires in the 1500s. It was not that they had unique technological or organizational powers compared to the rest of the world. Rather, they had interlocking systems—religious, political, administrative, and commercial—that together reinforced the reasons to seek power in the form of imperial conquest. Empire building made political-military, ideological-religious, and economic sense. Spain's conquistadores set out to serve the king, to spread the word of God, and to get rich.¹ Other adventurers and wannabe imperialists from elsewhere on the globe did not have such a strong set of interlocking incentives and capabilities.

When the Portuguese arrived in what is now Malaysia in the 1500s, they met political-military opposition from local rulers, ideological-religious opposition from Islamic communities, and economic opposition from Chinese traders who did not want to be displaced. But Chinese merchants had no political backing from their Ming rulers. Local sultans could not summon religious-ideological energy for crusades to expel the Portuguese. And these local Islamic communities were not profitable enough for faraway sultans and allies to generate sustained intervention. The Portuguese—and the Spanish, and later the Dutch, French, and British—had it all, gold, guns, God, and kings, working together.²

So the European overseas empires took root and grew in the 1500s and thereafter. The period from 1500 to 1770 was an Imperial-Commercial Age, with imperialism and globalization advancing along all their dimensions: military, political, economic, and cultural, for great good and great ill.

These early empires were, however, limited. Outside of the Americas, the sea became European, but the land did not. Sea control, however, meant

a great deal. In the 1500s and 1600s, control over the high-value, low-weight luxury goods of East Asia, or over the precious metals of Latin America, made individuals' fortunes, provided healthy boosts to early modern European royal treasuries, and channeled the energies of potentially disruptive young men and enthusiastic missionaries bent on pleasing their God.

This dynamic also produced the tobacco, sugar, and slave trades, and made West Indian empires both the focus of high politics and a driver of what was then slow economic growth. The slave trade, meanwhile, devastated Africa and plausibly created the conditions that today keep it the planet's poorest continent.³

But by 1870 the logic of empire appeared to be ebbing. There was little in the way of luxuries that could not be made more cheaply in the industrial core. Plus, it became more expensive to conquer than to trade. But empires are not built on logic alone, and even after 1870 they continued to grow. Conquering, controlling, exploiting, and with these a general debasing, continued.

Imperialism was perhaps lamentable, but inevitable, one-half of our chorus whispers. There was so much money to be made by bringing the world into a single marketplace, and to function, marketplaces have to be governed by something. The market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of the market. It was largely intentional, and explicable, if still lamentable, the other half of our chorus whispers. The market was made for man, not man for the market.

By 1870 the difference in power between imperial metropole and subjected colony had become immense—in technological, organizational, and political terms. The improvements in transport and communications made war and conquest and occupation vastly easier. There was no part of the world in which Western Europeans could not—if they wished—impose their will by armed force at moderate cost. And proconsuls were rarely focused on just what resources would flow back to the imperial metropolis from their particular outpost of empire. After all, the outposts were populated, and often led, by disruptive young men with things to prove, or enthusiastic missionaries with souls to save. Whether it might not be cheaper in the long run to simply trade and pay for those resources was for many a tertiary concern.

These enterprising young men and zealous missionaries not only had means but also method.

Consider the 1898 Battle of Omdurman in the Sudan, during which ten thousand soldiers of the Mahdist Sudanese regime died. Only forty-eight British and Egyptian soldiers died. The difference was not entirely due to superior European military technology. The Mahdist regime had proto-machine-guns, telegraphs, and mines—all bought from European suppliers. What it did not have was the organizational capacity and discipline to make effective use of them.⁴

The consequence of a disciplined global north more organizationally capable was a globe integrated into the European-dominated world economy, much of it ruled or swayed by European proconsuls, and the spread of European languages and European preferences: European-style schools, European culture, and European methods of administration, science, and technology. Harbors, railroads, factories, and plantations sprung up, from Bali, in what is now Indonesia, to Accra, in what is now Ghana.

And everywhere peoples were told that they were dirt under the feet of their European rulers.

Consider India. In early 1756, the newly installed Nawab of Bengal, Mirza Mohammad Siraj ud-Dowla, wished to show the British in Calcutta who was master of Bengal. He borrowed some gunners and artillery pieces from the French and attacked and captured Calcutta and its Fort William. He expected negotiations, and that the subsequent peace would produce a grateful France, much higher taxes paid to him by trading Europeans, and much less tax evasion via smuggling by the chastened British.

Big mistake.

The British sent 3,000 soldiers—800 British, 2,200 Indian—north by sea from Madras to Calcutta. Siraj ud-Dowla mobilized for the battle. British commander Robert Clive bribed the Nawab's three subordinates. And in the aftermath the British East India Company acquired the taste for conquering, ruling, and taxing India rather than merely trading with it.

By 1772 Calcutta was the capital of British India. Warren Hastings was its first governor-general. The British East India Company had entered the sweepstakes in the succession wars over the territories of the Mogul Empire. Each generation saw formerly independent principalities become

subservient allies. Each generation saw former allies become puppets. And each generation saw former puppets become territories ruled by London. Nearly a century after Clive and Siraj ud-Dowla came the great Sepoy Mutiny (also known as the Indian Mutiny, the Sipahi Rebellion, or the Great Rebellion of 1857). It was defeated. And on May 1, 1876, the British government proclaimed Queen Victoria I Hanover to be *Kaiser-i-Hind*: Empress of India.⁵

Back in 1853 Karl Marx had halted work on his magnum opus to try to get enough money together to keep from having to pawn his wife's silver (again). He had written an essay titled "The Future Results of British Rule in India" in which he prophesied that the British imperial conquest was India's greatest short-run curse and greatest long-run blessing: "England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other... laying the material foundations of Western society in Asia.... The political unity of India... imposed by the British sword, will now be strengthened and perpetuated by the electric telegraph. The native army, organized and trained by the British drill-sergeant, [will be] the sine qua non of Indian self-emancipation."⁶

If you listen carefully, you'll hear an echo of half our chorus, albeit with very different intonations. Blessed be the market. Yes, Marx would have it that the bourgeoisie effects progress by "dragging individuals and people through blood and dirt, through misery and degradation." But while it takes, on the one hand, it gives most lavishly—full emancipation, human emancipation, by setting the stage for and providing the overwhelming incentives to pull the trigger to create Full Communism—with the other.

Yet as of 1914, the great economic and social changes that Karl Marx had confidently predicted sixty years before had not advanced very far. The drawing of a net of railways over India? Check. The introduction to India of those industries necessary to support the railroads? Check. The spread of other branches of modern industry across India? Not so much. The spread of modern education across India? Not so much. Improvements in agricultural productivity, resulting from the creation of effective private property in land? Not at all. Overthrow of the caste system? Not at all. The overthrow of British colonialism, the restoration of self-government, and the creation of subcontinental political unity by virtue of a revolt by the British-trained army? They had come remarkably close in 1857, but only

close.

The failure of the British Raj to transform India poses an enormous problem for all of us economists. We are all, even the Marxist economists, the intellectual children of the Adam Smith who was reported by Dugald Stewart to have said, “Little else is requisite to carry a state to the highest degree of opulence from the lowest barbarism, but peace, easy taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice: all the rest being brought about by the natural course of things.”⁷ Under the British Raj in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries India had a remarkable degree of internal and external peace, a tolerable administration of justice, and easy taxes. Yet no sign of progress “to the highest degree of opulence” had occurred.⁸

Whether deemed natural or unnatural, the course of things had yielded different results.

Egypt provides another insightful example. Muhammed Ali (1769–1849), an Albanian orphan, son of shipping merchant Ibrahim Agha and his wife, Zeynep, was bored being a tax collector in the Ottoman-ruled Greek port of Kavala. In 1801 he enlisted as a mercenary in the Ottoman army sent to reoccupy Egypt, the French expeditionary army under Napoleon having wiped out the old Mamluke regime, before itself surrendering to the British navy. By 1803 Muhammed Ali commanded a regiment of his ethnically Albanian fellow countrymen. The Ottoman governor of Egypt ran short of cash. No longer able to afford them, he dismissed his Albanian troops. They mutinied and took over the government, and a scramble ensued.

Somehow Muhammed Ali wound up on top. He retained the loyalty of his Albanians and managed to suppress both Turkish and Egyptian fighters. He then received at least the temporary blessing of the Ottoman sultan, Selim III the Reformer (who shortly thereafter was deposed, imprisoned, and murdered by his own janissary guardsmen). Muhammed Ali looked northwest at Europe and east to India. He ruled a prosperous kingdom—but he saw that Europeans might do to his or his children’s kingdom what they had done to India.

So Muhammed Ali strove to make Egypt great, introducing new crops, land reform, a modern military, a focus on exporting cotton, and the construction of state-owned textile factories to jump-start Egyptian industry. He understood that unless he could keep the machines working, his great-

grandchildren would become the puppets of French bankers and British proconsuls. But the machines could not be kept working. Was it because Egypt did not train enough engineers? Was it because the bosses were state employees? Was it because the policy was not pursued long enough, and when Egypt's military came under pressure it became irresistibly attractive in the short run to buy weapons, ammunition, and uniforms from abroad?⁹

Muhammed Ali died in 1849. Had his progeny shared his worries, they might have reformed sufficiently to educate Egyptians capable of fixing those machines. But in Egypt it was Muhammed Ali's personal project, not an intergenerational, nationalist one.¹⁰

In 1863, six years before the completion of the Suez Canal, Muhammed Ali's grandson Ismail took the throne of Egypt as khedive at the age of thirty-three. Educated in France, open to European influences, and eager to modernize his country, he was also lucky. He became ruler of Egypt in the middle of the "cotton famine" created by the American Civil War. The temporary disappearance of the American South from the world's cotton supply resulted in a cotton boom everywhere else. The working textile factories of the Industrial Revolution needed cotton, and their owners were willing to pay almost any price for it. Egypt grew cotton. And so for a few years it seemed as though Egypt's economic resources and wealth were inexhaustible.

They weren't.

The Egyptian government declared bankruptcy in 1876. The creditors of the khedive became Egypt's rulers. Ismail abdicated. Two financial controllers—one British, one French—were appointed with substantial control over taxes and expenditures. Their task was to make sure that Egypt, now governed by Ismail's son, kept up revenue and paid off its debt. The heavily taxed Egyptians wondered why they were being made to pay off debts run up by their extravagant ex-khedive. British troops restored order in 1882, and thereafter the khedive was a British puppet. On varying pretexts, British troops stayed in Egypt until 1956.

So Muhammed Ali's great-grandchildren did become puppets of French bankers and British proconsuls.¹¹

China, too, offers important insight.

Poor and disorganized in 1870, imperial China was a country where the government and the economy were in crisis. Over more than two centuries

of rule, the government of the ethnically Manchu Qing dynasty had trained its ethnically Han Confucian landlord-bureaucrat-scholar aristocracy to be incapable of taking effective action. After all, effective action might be directed against the Central Government Security Perimeter (which is, perhaps, how we ought to translate what was back then translated as “Forbidden City”).

One such, born in 1823 to a scholar-gentry family in a village about 150 miles west of Shanghai, was Li Hongzhang. The grind of studying the Confucian-school literary classics and passing the examinations was a hard and grueling one. In 1847, after intensive study under a tutor from Hunan, Zeng Guofan, Li succeeded. Filial piety required Zeng to return to Hunan to mourn his mother in 1851, just as the Taiping Rebellion broke out. The bureaucrat-commanded army was useless, the supposedly elite Manchu “banners” of the dynasty equally so. Zeng, desperate to save the situation he found himself in the middle of, turned out to have a great talent for military organization. He recruited, trained, and commanded a volunteer army—the Xiang Army—to resist the Taiping rebels. Li Hongzhang went along and became one of the dynasty’s few competent generals.

By 1864 the Taiping Rebellion was suppressed, and Li was sent on to suppress another group of rebels, the Nian. By 1870, he was a diplomat trying to calm the French after the murder in a riot of sixty Catholic priests, nuns, and congregation members, along with the French consul in Tianjin. In 1875 he led the muscle in a military semicoup upon the death of Emperor Tongzhi, to make sure that the four-year-old Guangxu, nephew of Empress Dowager Cixi, ascended the throne. Li had been trained to be a bureaucrat, applying two-thousand-year-old philosophical principles to questions of governance. But he found that the skills that mattered were (a) generalship, and (b) being able to turn away the wrath of and procure the aid of European imperial powers.

Many Western China specialists see and can almost touch an alternative history—one in which late nineteenth-century China stood up economically, politically, and organizationally. Japan, after all, won its short war against Russia in 1905, negotiated as an equal with Britain and the United States over warship construction in 1921, and was perhaps the eighth industrial power in the world by 1929.¹²

We economists are much more skeptical. We note the corrupt and

incompetent bureaucracies that failed to manage the Yellow River dikes and the Grand Canal. We note that the Qing could not get their local officials to collect the salt tax. We note that when, in the mid-1880s, the Qing dynasty, having bought foreign metalworking machinery and built a navy, arsenals, and docks, thought it was strong enough to oppose the French conquest of Vietnam, its fleet was destroyed in an hour. And we note that when, in 1895, the Qing dynasty thought it was strong enough to oppose the Japanese extension of their sphere of influence to Korea, it was, again, wrong. The Treaty of Shimonoseki added Taiwan, Korea, and southern Manchuria to Japan's sphere of influence.

Furthermore, we economists note that even as late as 1929 China produced only 20,000 tons of steel, less than 2 ounces per person, and 400,000 tons of iron, or 1.6 pounds per person. Meanwhile, it mined 27 million tons of coal, or 100 pounds per person. Compare this to America's 700 pounds of steel per capita in the same year or 200 pounds in 1900, or to America's 8,000 pounds of coal per capita in 1929 or 5,000 pounds of coal per capita in 1900.

Narrow the scope to one mine, the Kaiping coal mine in northern China. There we see general, diplomat, and governor Li Hongzhang at work in the 1880s. He saw that China needed industrial muscle. And so he became the prime bureaucratic mover behind the coal mine, as well as behind a number of China's other "self-strengthening efforts," such as the 1878 cotton mills in Shanghai, the Tianjin arsenal, the telegraph between Tianjin and Peking, and more. Men who were as focused as Li was on economic development could make things happen.¹³

But they could not work through the bureaucracy and get anything done. Li had commissioned a wealthy Hong Kong merchant, Tang Tingshu, to build the Kaiping mine. What he had sought was a large, modern, industrial mine that could help modernize the nation. But they faced unusual forms of opposition. A vice president of the Board of Civil Offices, Chi Shihehang, declared that "mining methods angered the earth dragon... [and so] the late empress could not rest quietly in her grave." Li had to choose between abandoning his idea of building a modern coal mine—and with it the fuel to power steam engines—or accepting blame for any deaths or diseases that might strike the imperial family. Very bravely—considering the large size of the imperial family and the high death rate of the time—he chose

modernity.

Production began in 1881. By 1889, three thousand workers in three shifts were producing seven hundred tons of coal a day. By 1900, nine thousand workers were producing, but only a quarter of what was expected of miners in the United States or Australia. The mine was both a public governmental project and a private capitalist enterprise. The mine director was both an employee of the company's Hong Kong shareholders and an official of the Qing administrative bureaucracy.

The mine's director-general, Tang Tingshu, died in 1892. His replacement, Chang Li—called “Yenmao” in virtually all English-language sources—was neither a merchant, nor an industrialist, nor an engineer, nor a manager. Chang was a political fixer—another key mover in the semicoup of 1875—for the Empress Cixi. But Chang was arguably the wealthiest man in Tianjin by 1900. Maintaining the favor and patronage network that supported the Qing court was a higher priority than effective management. The mine had become a source of income for the well connected, rather than an important piece of an industrialization program. Li Hongzhang died in 1901, after one last round of diplomatic fencing with the European imperial powers, who wanted to be paid handsomely for suppressing the “Boxer”—“Fighters United for Justice” would be a better translation—Rebellion.

In 1901, twenty-six-year-old expatriate mining engineer and future US president Herbert Hoover took over the mine. Hoover claimed that the nine thousand-worker payroll had been padded by six thousand names, and that the director of personnel doing the padding (and collecting the wages) had bribed Chang Li handsomely for the post.

“Wait,” you say. “Herbert Hoover took over?”

Yes. Hoover arrived in Tientsin in 1900 just in time to be besieged in the city by the Boxer Rebellion. There Chang Li had fled, rightly fearing that the Boxers would execute him as a corrupt puppet of the Europeans, and that the besieged Europeans wanted to imprison him for passing intelligence to the Boxers.

From this point forward things become cloudy, as nearly all narrators become unreliable, desperate in various ways to appear in a good light. Somehow Hoover got Chang released from prison. Somehow Chang gave Hoover a power of attorney to reincorporate the Kaiping mine as a British-

flag enterprise controlled completely by Herbert Hoover. The historian Ellsworth Carlson reported that the local British chargé d'affaires was disgusted. Hoover and company had “made a pretty pile at the expense of the Chinese,” he said, and while “legally the Board of Directors were unassailable... morally they were in the wrong.” Britain shouldn’t countenance “a financial transaction which had fleeced Chinese shareholders,” the chargé d'affaires continued, and “lined the pockets of an Anglo-Belgian gang,” all under the orchestration of “a Yankee man of straw.”

None of which Herbert Hoover would have agreed with. More than a century later we can try to read Hoover’s mind. Perhaps he thought the old shareholders should be grateful that he and his partners had only charged them 62.5 percent of the company; after all, the alternative was for the Russians to have confiscated the entire mine as war reparations, leaving the old shareholders with zero. Perhaps he thought that Chang Li was a corrupt thief, while Hoover would make the mine run productively and profitably. Indeed, Hoover managed to nearly triple the value of the old stockholders’ shares: the 37.5 percent he left them was worth more than the 100 percent the old stockholders had owned before.

We again hear echoes of our whispering chorus. The impersonal market had taken from some, given to others, and greatly increased the total; blessed be the market. But the local chargé d'affaires heard something else: Man—in this case one Herbert Hoover—took and gave, not the market. Some—especially the new European stockholders who now owned the majority of the mine, and who now received the profits that Li Hongzhang had intended as part of the basis for a great economic leap forward for China and all its people—might bless the man; but others—say, the Boxers who had rebelled, and the Qing dynasty officials who found their room to maneuver against imperialist would-be conquerors diminished—would curse him.

And, by extension, the unhappy and rebellious would also curse a social-economic structure that could not find and promote competent executives but instead advanced corrupt political fixers; a political-ritual culture that required one of the few modernizing regional governors to focus his attention constantly on the enterprise to keep it on track, and to run interference in order to protect it from reactionaries; and an educational

system that churned out literati instead of engineers, and that meant the country required foreign technical personnel for everything. But their curses changed little in the world around them. Outside of the charmed circles near ports created by the extraterritorial foreign concessions, and to a slight degree in regions within the control of the few modernizing governors, modern industries simply did not develop and modern technologies simply were not applied in late imperial China.

Visionary reforming politician Sun Yat-sen, who had offered his services to Li Hongzhang in 1894 only to be rebuffed, built up a financial and propaganda network among Chinese emigrants beyond the reach of the government. Military politicians, such as Yuan Shikai, concluded that working with the Manchu court was useless. In 1912, Sun Yat-sen launched a rebellion, which Yuan Shikai and his peers refused to suppress, and the Qing dynasty fell.

The six-year-old emperor abdicated. Yuan Shikai declared himself president of the subsequent republic and tried to seize control of the country. China descended into near anarchy.

There are many, many more stories I could tell of Europe's empires in the late 1800s and of how the colonized and the nearly colonized tried to respond. But India, Egypt, and China convey much of the picture. The power, real and threatened, of the formal empires of the North Atlantic, with all their wealth and influence, meant that at the start of the long twentieth century, even those who were not formally colonized were nevertheless dominated by informal empire—overwhelmingly by the British. It was a world in which offers were made that could not, realistically or prudently, be refused.

Perhaps the offers could not be refused because the consequences of accepting them were so good. Perhaps they could not be refused because the consequences of not accepting them were so bad. As the twentieth-century socialist economist Joan Robinson liked to say, the only thing worse than being exploited by the capitalists was not being exploited by the capitalists—being ignored by them, and placed outside the circuits of production and exchange.

There was also, of course, the question of who exactly bore the consequences of refusing a particular offer. Would it be the country's ruling elite, its current citizens, or their descendants? Generally, attitudes split

along Hayekian and Polanyian lines: those who found that the market gaveth, blessed be the market (and some percent of imperialism); and those who found that the market tooketh, cursed be the men who deprived the people of bread, shelter, or dignity.

It was easier to decide who to bless and who to curse when it came to the formal mode of empire. In the first decades of the long twentieth century, however, making such distinctions became increasingly difficult as the informal mode of the British Empire—and to a lesser extent of other European empires—gained power. Such are the benefits of hegemony, which had four important aspects: free trade, concentrated industry, free migration, and freedom of investment.

It was technically possible, of course, to resist the advances of informal empire. But to refuse an offer often meant calling down upon yourself your own people's retribution. Afghanistan may indeed be where empires go to die, but it has also proved a grave for social progress, technological advancements, and longevity. Most of the nation-states that were extended offers they couldn't refuse ultimately agreed to play by Britain's rules—broadly, for three reasons.

First, playing by those rules was what Britain was doing, and Britain was clearly worth emulating. The hope was that by adopting the policies of an obviously successful economy, you—that is, the government—could make your economy successful, too. Second, trying to play by other rules—say, protecting your handmade textile sector—was very expensive. Britain and company could supply commodities and industrial goods cheaply as well as luxuries that were unattainable elsewhere. And Britain and company would pay handsomely for primary product exports. Finally, even if you sought to play by other rules, your control over what was going on in your country was limited. And there was a great deal of money to be made.

Playing by the rules of the international economic game had consequences.

The first, an aspect of globalization and free trade, was that steam-driven machinery provided a competitive advantage that handicrafts could not match, no matter how low workers' wages. And with very few exceptions, steam-driven machinery worked reliably only in the global north. Manufacturing declined outside the industrial core, and peripheral labor was shifted into agriculture and other primary products. And as a

consequence, the global periphery was “underdeveloped.” Gaining in the short run from advantageous terms of trade, the peripheral states were unable to build communities of engineering practice that might provide a path to greater, industrial riches.

An essential secondary consequence was that steam-driven machinery worked reliably and steadily enough to be *profitable* only in the global north. The “reliably” and the “profitable” parts required three things: a community of engineering practice, a literate labor force that could be trained to use industrial technology, and sufficient finances to provide the necessary maintenance, repair, and support services.¹⁴

Another consequence was the mostly free system of migration in the early years of the long twentieth century (save for Asians seeking to migrate to temperate-zone economies). Finally, free trade and free migration made possible by Europe’s informal imperial domination helped to enrich the world greatly in the generations before World War I. Free capital flows, through the freedom of investment, greased the wheels.

You could lend to whomever you wished. You could borrow from whomever you wished. But, before World War I, it was understood that you would at least try to pay it back. Certainly those economies that received inflows of capital before World War I benefited enormously *if they had the labor, the skill, and the organizational resources to take advantage of them*. For the United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina, and perhaps others, such as India, the availability of large amounts of capital—largely British-financed capital—to speed development of industry and infrastructure was a godsend.

It is not clear that the free flow of capital benefited those exporting it. France subsidized the pre–World War I industrialization of czarist Russia in the belief that someday it would fight another war with Germany (correct) and that victory depended on a large, active, allied Russian army forcing Germany to fight a two-front war (not so correct). Before World War I, buying Russian bonds became a test of French patriotism. But after the war, there was no czar ruling from Moscow—there was only Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who had no interest in repaying the czar’s creditors.

One other way that informal empire exercised its influence was by providing the rest of the world with an example to emulate. This was most notably the case with the British Empire. British institutions and practices

appeared to be—had in fact been—stunningly successful. Emulating them, at least on a trial basis, made compelling sense, whether that meant wearing business suits, translating Latin verse in school, establishing strong property rights, or investing in railroads and ports. Most of this was of substantial use elsewhere in the world. Some of it was not. And it would turn out that what had fit British circumstances in the mid-1800s fit the governments and economies of the periphery less and less successfully as the long century unfolded.

So stood most of the periphery to the North Atlantic economic core during the years of formal and informal empire. The pattern, which played out in India, Egypt, China, and elsewhere, seemed so common as to be declared the stuff of providence and nature. But there was one exception.

Alone among the non-European world before 1913, Japan managed to deal with the imperialists, prosper, industrialize, and join them.

To understand exactly what happened in Japan, we must look at least as far back as an early seventeenth-century daimyo warrior prince, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who was granted the title of shogun, that is, viceroy for the priest-emperor in all civil and military matters, in 1603. His son Hidetaka and grandson Iemitsu consolidated the new regime. From its capital, Edo—later Tokyo—the Tokugawa Shogunate ruled Japan for two and a half centuries.[15](#)

From the start, the shogunate looked with caution south to the Philippines. Only a century before, the Philippines had been made up of independent kingdoms. Then the Europeans landed. Merchants had been followed by missionaries. Converts had proved an effective base of popular support for European influence. Missionaries had been followed by soldiers. And by 1600, Spain ruled the Philippines.

The Tokugawa Shogunate was confident that it could control its potential rivals and subjects in Japan. It was not confident that it could resist the technology, military, and religious power of the Europeans. And so the country was closed: trade was restricted to a very small number of ships, and these were allowed access to the Port of Nagasaki only. Japanese subjects returning from abroad were executed; foreigners discovered outside of the restricted zone were executed; and Christianity was violently suppressed. For centuries formal empire struggled, and failed, to gain a foothold.

Another factor differentiating Japan was that one in six Japanese were urban. As of 1868, Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo together had two million people. Half of adult men were literate: in 1868, there were more than six hundred bookshops in Tokyo. And literacy and urbanization laid the groundwork for technological competence.

The historian Robert Allen tells the story of the Lord of Nagasaki, Nabeshima Naomasa, and his cannon foundry. His workers acquired and then translated a Dutch description of a foundry. They then set out to copy it: “In 1850, they succeeded in building a reverberatory furnace, and three years later were casting cannon. In 1854, the Nagasaki group imported state-of-the-art, breech-loading Armstrong guns from Britain and manufactured copies. By 1868, Japan had eleven furnaces casting iron.”¹⁶

But the Tokugawa era came to an end in 1868 with the Meiji Restoration. Rule was grasped by a shifting coalition of notables—most prominently, at first, the “Meiji Six”—Mori Arinori, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori, Itō Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo, and Kido Takayoshi—who were interested in absorbing European technology while maintaining Japanese civilization and independence.¹⁷ The ambition was transparent. In the four-character slogans that the Meiji Restorers used to communicate with the country as a whole, *Wakon yosai* (Western learning with Japanese spirit) would be adopted in the interest of creating *Fukoku kyōhei* (a rich country with a strong army).

There followed the rapid adoption of Western organization: prefects, bureaucratic jobs, newspapers, language standardization on Tokyo samurai dialect, an education ministry, compulsory school attendance, military conscription, railways built by the government, the abolition of internal customs barriers to a national market, fixed-length hours of the working day to improve coordination, and the Gregorian calendar, all in place by 1873. Representative local government was in place by 1879. A bicameral parliament (with a newly created peerage) and a constitutional monarchy were in place by 1889. By 1890, 80 percent of school-age children were at least enrolled.

In China, Li Hongzhang had been one of the few able to swim against the institutional and cultural tide to push modernization and industrialization forward. In Japan there were many such men. One of the Meiji Six was Itō Hirobumi. In 1863, the Choshu clan elders decided they

desperately needed to learn more about European organization and technology, so—illegally—they smuggled five of their promising young students out of Japan to travel and study in Europe. Itō worked for 130 days as a deckhand on the sailing ship *Pegasus* before arriving in England, where he studied at University College in London. He cut his studies short after only six months and returned to Choshu to argue stridently against a policy of confronting the imperial powers: Japan was too weak, he said, and the organizational and technological gap too large.

By 1870, Itō was in the United States, studying money and banking. The next year, he went back to Japan, where he wrote the regulations for the commutation of feudal dues and their replacement by a general system of national taxation. By 1873, he had become minister of industry, tasked with reverse-engineering as much European technology as possible and building telegraph lines, streetlights, textile mills, railroads, shipyards, lighthouses, mines, steel foundries, glassworks, the Imperial College of Engineering, and more.¹⁸ In 1881, he muscled his contemporary Ōkuma Shigenobu out of the government and in so doing became the informal prime minister of Japan; four years later, he became the first formal prime minister of Japan, under a constitution he had written based on the model of Prussia's in 1850.

Itō launched the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. With eleven European-built and two Japanese-built warships, and with an army trained by a Prussian major, Jakob Meckel, Japan quickly won. The major Chinese base and fort of Dalian in Shandong—Port Arthur—fell to a frontal Japanese assault in one day. Korea and Taiwan were grabbed as Japanese protectorates.

In 1902, Japan allied itself with Britain, seeking the role of Britain's viceroy in the North Pacific. Three years later, Japan again went to war, this time with Russia, a conflict the Japanese won decisively, bringing Manchuria into their sphere of influence.

In 1909, Itō Hirobumi met his end, assassinated by Korean nationalist An Jung-geun. In response, Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910.

It was not just the Meiji Six. There were many others who played important roles in shaping a more modern Japan. Takahashi Korekiyo, for example, born in 1854 as the illegitimate son of a Tokugawa court artist, sailed to Oakland, California, in 1867 to work as a laborer and learn English. He returned and began to work his way up the bureaucracy (while

also temporarily crossing the Pacific again, this time to Peru, to fail at mining silver), becoming vice president of the Bank of Japan, selling bonds to finance the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, becoming president of the Bank of Japan, and then, in 1921, becoming prime minister. Upward mobility was a powerful possibility in Meiji Restoration-era Japan. Takahashi acquired knowledge of the levers of modern finance without having been inculcated into the cult of financial orthodoxy. This was to matter later on, for when the Great Depression of the 1930s started, Takahashi was finance minister, and was able to look at the situation with unblinded eyes and set Japan on a course that allowed it to escape the Great Depression almost entirely.¹⁹

How did Japan manage it?

Economic historian Robert Allen believes the industrial economies that developed successfully before 1900 focused the power of government on creating four, and only four, institutional prerequisites: railways and ports, education, banks, and a shielding tariff on industries where their future comparative advantage would lie—if they could get there.

Imperial powers prohibited Meiji Japan from imposing tariffs on imports of greater than 5 percent. But the Japanese government, then and after, was willing to substitute. It did not so much “pick winners” as recognize winners—successful exporters—and subsidize them. When the Ministry of Industry established Japan’s railway and telegraph systems, it also established a school to train Japanese engineers. And it relied as much as possible on domestic suppliers. Meiji Japan did not have large-scale banks. But it did have some very wealthy merchant clans willing to move into industry: Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda. Lastly, Meiji military politicians focused on preparing the logistical trail to defend Japan and to conquer an empire in the age of steel and steam. Even before cotton-textile industrialization began, military industrialization was underway: shipyards, arsenals, and their linkages employed perhaps ten thousand industrial workers by the early 1880s.²⁰

It was a near thing, however. Outlier Japan was an outlier by luck as much as by determination. In 1910, manufacturing was still only one-fifth of the nation’s GDP, and in the preceding decade, Japan was only a semi-industrial civilization. It had, however, accomplished something unique: it had transferred a significant amount of industrial technology outside of the charmed circles of the North Atlantic and had the expertise necessary to

keep it running and profitable.

EMPIRES, FORMAL AND INFORMAL, both accelerated and retarded economic growth and development throughout the global south. But on balance, empire did more to retard than to advance. After all, the business of empire was not economic development. The business of empire was... empire.

Within the industrial core, the conservative view was that empires were ordained by God—or at least were morally required. Let us give the mic to Rudyard Kipling:

*Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go send your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples
Half devil and half child.²¹*

Those “sullen” “captives” you were being sent off to civilize might not like it. “Half devil and half child,” these “wild... new-caught people” were definitely not your equals. And what you were being sent off to do wasn’t any fun but rather “exile,” “burden,” and “heavy harness.” But still, for some reason, you needed to do it.

The enlightened liberal belief in the early 1900s was that this made little sense. The belief was that the then-existing empires were little but confidence games, and that they were on their last legs.

The Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter thought the people were being conned—diverted to cheering for victories so they would not notice that the landlord-aristocratic political power structure made no sense.²² He thought the landlord-aristocrats were being conned, too: sent to die of dysentery, wound-caused infection, or shot and shell, when they could, instead, be drinking cappuccinos with whipped cream at the Café Central at Herrengasse 14 in Vienna.

Empire was the equivalent of a modern-day sports team, whose victories kicked off celebrations—such as the immense Mafeking Night party in Britain, which was kicked off by good news about British progress in the South African Boer War. The military aristocracy loved to play, and the people loved to watch.

Schumpeter hated this. And he thought that it was on the way out—that as people became richer and more prosperous, the bourgeois virtues would win, and the drive for empire would die. Schumpeter expected the con to end, and a peaceful, less aristocratic, less imperial, less bloodthirsty twentieth century.

He was wrong.

The British activist John Hobson had a different take on the driver of imperialism—that it was economics, rather than culture and sociology, that was the primary factor.²³ Hobson thought that having the government spend money putting people to work building weapons, and then using the weapons to conquer colonies that could be forced to buy exports, was a way of avoiding mass unemployment, and so keeping domestic political peace—albeit a highly suboptimal way.

As Hobson saw it, a government's main task was to keep its people working and prosperous and happy. And its main obstacles in doing this were disruptive business cycles, which could cause mass unemployment. Empire managed to overcome these obstacles in two ways: first, by equipping the military needed to maintain the empire, which put people to work; and second, by taking advantage of the fact that empire is a good source of consumers for the products of domestic factories. European governments that pursued empire, Hobson thought, were less likely to face economic distress, and so more likely to hang on to power. The solution to empire, he thought, would be more equality at home. This would translate into smaller business cycles, less unemployment, and less need for empire.

And Hobson thought that a pro-democratic, pro-equality political shift was coming, and that in its aftermath war and empire would lose their purpose, giving way to a peaceful, more egalitarian, more democratic, less imperial, less bloodthirsty twentieth century.

He, too, was wrong.

The British public intellectual Norman Angell thought that empire and war—except, perhaps, for wars of national liberation to give people self-

government—were already pointless and obsolete.²⁴ And he firmly believed that governments could not be so inept or so shortsighted not to realize that.

He was wrong as well.

The same forces that propelled European powers to empire would propel them to destructive industrial war, and in 1914 those forces would turn Europe into a truly dark continent. The history of the long twentieth century took its very sharp militaristic turn. The question was: Would that turn negate all the progress in world civilization since 1870?

5

World War I

Perhaps the saddest book on my bookshelf is Norman Angell's *The Great Illusion*—the retitled version of *Europe's Optical Illusion*, first published in 1909. It could well take pride of place within the “they didn't see it coming” genre. What draws forth tears in the twenty-first century is that we know all too well what in fact came to pass and the profound wish that the many, many readers of Angell's book had acted on its wisdom rather than only marveling at it.

The illusion that gave Angell's book its title was that war and territorial conquest were the two main means of moral and material progress: “If a nation's wealth is really subject to military confiscation,” he wrote in his follow-up volume, *Peace Theories and the Balkan War*, then “small states should be insecure indeed,” and “the Austrian should be better off than the Switzer.” But this wasn't the case. For one example, Angell noted that “Belgian national [government bonds] stand 20 points higher than the German,” despite Belgium's much smaller size and negligible global military power. “It is such quite simple questions as these, and the quite plain facts which underlie them which will lead to sounder conceptions in this matter [of conquest for gain] on the part of the peoples.”¹

If sound conceptions were arrived at by attention to plain facts, he would have had a point.

It was, Angell rightly argued, much cheaper to make and trade for what you want than to build military power and spill the blood of your own people in order to extract it from others. Using war and empire to obtain a greater domain for the king to rule was, Angell thought, no longer a viable

strategy for anyone—and was in fact profoundly stupid in the age of destructive industrial warfare. And using empire to make people worship the right God the right way was, Angell thought, another habit that humanity had outgrown.

He was right in his belief that war could no longer make any form of economic sense. But in his belief that therefore humanity had outgrown it, he was totally, disastrously wrong.

STORIES HAVE PROTAGONISTS. THEY make most of the decisions and take most of the actions. Telling protagonist-led stories is how we think. A prime minister like Otto von Bismarck—a protagonist—maneuvers to retain power. The working class—another kind of protagonist—decides to give him the votes of their parliamentary representatives in return for national health insurance. And Germany—a third kind of protagonist—chooses, precociously, to march down the road of social insurance and social democracy.² Often this is pure metaphor: the ocean seeks to climb closer to the moon and so we feel the tides, or the lightning chooses to follow the path of least resistance to the ground. But we find it easiest to think this way. Perhaps this is the only way to think.

So at one level the history of the long twentieth century has two battling ideas as its protagonists. One is best associated with Friedrich August von Hayek—the market giveth, the market taketh; blessed be the market. The other is best associated with Karl Polanyi—the market is made for man, not man for the market. In the long twentieth century in which the *economic* and its repeated revolutionary transformations are dominant, nearly all of our other protagonists in all of our stories are profoundly shaped by at least one, perhaps both, of these ideas. This is as true for humanity as it is for Nikola Tesla or Bismarck or the German working class. What key substory protagonists made of Hayek's and Polanyi's notions, how they contorted them and imposed policies in light of them, made the difference.

Much of the time, the processes and factors of history can seem almost inevitable to us—the actions and decisions of particular individuals mostly offset one another, and if an opportunity was not seized by one person at one date it was soon enough seized by another. Or we have a sense that things could have turned out very differently, but we cannot point to a

single moment when some individual decided to turn right instead of left, and so made *the* difference. Even as decisive and important an individual as Tesla simply turned one—very important—technological clock forward by a decade. Herbert Hoover and Li Hongzhang and company are important as individuals, but they are historically decisive only to the extent that they stand for thousands, if not more, whose actions made imperialism, failed to put China on the road to rapid industrialization, and so on. But there are moments when particular individuals really do matter, and where choice and chance come to the front of the stage.

Two chapters ago we shifted our focus from economics to political economy: we needed to look not just at technology, production, organization, and exchange, but also at how people governing themselves and others tried to regulate the economy to preserve or produce a good society—or at least a society that would be good for them. In the previous chapter, we shifted our focus to imperial politics: we needed to look not just at how peoples and their elites governed themselves, but at how they governed others. Each of these shifts narrowed our narrative focus. The protagonist humanity became the protagonist nation-states, which in turn became the protagonists of the North Atlantic industrial core and the southern periphery. In this chapter we take a further step. We move to where choice and chance are dominant, into war, governance, and high politics. In this chapter, individuals matter.

The world at the start of 1914 was growing at an unprecedented pace; it was substantially peaceful, and it was more prosperous than ever before—with problems, but prosperous. It was a world in which it was not irrational to be optimistic about human civilization. After World War I, the world, especially Europe, was different. For one thing, much of it was rubble and ashes. And we cannot attribute the difference to structures evolving in a logical and predictable way.

So how are we to grasp this illogical evolution of events, this upsetting of what we economic historians want to see as the natural pattern of human progress? I think a good place to start is a decade before Angell wrote *The Great Illusion*. Beginning in 1899, Britain waged a war of choice in South Africa, the Boer War.³

That it was a war of choice is clear from the British pattern of choosing otherwise in the preceding decades. From the 1860s, the expansion of

European empires was coupled with a willingness to hand over power to locals—to white locals, that is: Canada in 1867, Australia in 1901, New Zealand in 1907. Indeed, that would be the choice with South Africa in 1910. But ten years earlier, in 1900, a different choice was made, one that eventually required Britain to send more than 250,000 soldiers to South Africa to convince 200,000 Boers that they did not want to govern themselves but rather to be ruled from London.

The Dutch were the first European settlers to colonize southern Africa, starting in 1652. The Boers were the descendants of these Dutch colonizers in the region. They came under British governance at the dawn of the nineteenth century, and, unhappy about it, founded their own republics, the Province of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This was acceptable to the British for decades until it wasn't.

The British colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain—father of 1930s prime minister Neville Chamberlain—preached the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. And in 1899, he sent an ultimatum: equal rights for British citizens in the Transvaal (with consequences for resource extraction) or war.

What, after all, did the mightiest empire the world had ever seen have to fear from two small republics populated by unindustrialized farmers, whose prosperity had been based largely on their power to exploit the land's earlier inhabitants, no matter their discovery of gold and mineral wealth? More than you would think. The Boer army attacked, besieging British garrisons in towns named Mafeking, Ladysmith, and Kimberley, and defeating British relief columns in battles at places named Spion Kop, Vaal Kranz, Magersfontein, Stormberg, and the Tugela River. Six hundred of Sir William Gatacre's 3,000 troops were captured at Stormberg as British troops fled, after being ordered up a near cliff against entrenched Boers with rifles. And 1,400 of Lord Methuen's 14,000 men were killed or wounded at Magersfontein, as they assaulted the Boer trench line. Redvers Buller's 21,000 suffered 1,200 killed and wounded to the Boers' 50 in a failed attempt to cross the Tugela River.

Short and victorious Joseph Chamberlain's war was not.

Any calculation of costs and benefits would have told the British cabinet to talk peace: it was time to stand down, in return for promises from the Boers to treat British miners and prospectors as white people should be

treated.

Instead, a quarter of a million British soldiers were sent to South Africa starting in February 1900. It was a vast number. Were the United States in 2021 to commit the proportional equivalent, it would come to two million soldiers. The choice to send over such a force gave the British overwhelming superiority: a five-to-one edge even over the entire Boer people-in-arms. And in addition the British sent a competent general—Field Marshal Lord Roberts. The Orange Free State capital, Bloemfontein, fell on March 13, 1900; Johannesburg fell on May 31; and Transvaal’s capital, Pretoria, fell on June 5.

But the war was not over. Defeated in open battle, the Boers turned to guerrilla warfare, waging an insurgency against the British for a year and a half—and at one point they captured the British second-in-command, Lord Methuen.

What does an invading military superpower do when its troops are faced with a guerrilla insurgency in a land where they do not speak the language? The British Empire invented the modern concentration camp. Are guerrillas active in an area? Round up everyone—men, women, and children—and stick them behind barbed wire. Don’t feed them too well, and don’t spend too much time worrying about sanitation. Then build small forts and construct wire fences to reduce the guerrillas’ mobility.

Roughly 30,000 Boers, most of them children under sixteen, died in the concentration camps. Nearly 100,000 people died in the Boer War. In addition to the 30,000 Boer civilians who died, perhaps 8,000 British soldiers died in battle, another 14,000 died of disease, and 10,000 Boer soldiers died. On top of that, perhaps 30,000 indigenous Africans died—which, grotesquely, nobody counted at the time.

All in all, Britain mobilized 2.5 percent of its adult male population for the war, and about one in ten of those men died.

Would it not have been better if all this could have been avoided? We might think so. Most of Britain didn’t.

The 1900 British general election was a huge political victory for the warmongering Conservatives, who were led by Lord Salisbury: it was called a “khaki election” because of the army’s uniforms, and the term has stuck to denote any election heavily influenced by war. A peace treaty was signed in 1902 annexing the two Boer republics to the British Empire. But

by 1910, when South Africa became a white self-governing dominion, with Afrikaans and English both named as official languages, it was inhabited with a voting population about as well disposed toward Westminster as, well, the population of Ireland was in 1910.⁴

What was wrong with all those voting British? Why didn't the people on the ground think a negotiated peace to a white self-governing dominion wouldn't have been better? Because they were nationalists.

What is a nationalist? Well, the venerated German social scientist and (for his day) *liberal* Max Weber, for one. In his inaugural lecture as professor at Friburg university in 1895, "The National State and Economic Policy," Weber, a German sociologist, summarized the worldview that he shared with many others:

We all consider the German character of the East as something that should be protected.... The German peasants and day-labourers of the East are not being pushed off the land in an open conflict by politically-superior opponents. Instead, they are getting the worst of it in the silent and dreary struggle of everyday economic existence, they are abandoning their homeland to a race which stands on a lower level, and moving towards a dark future in which they will sink without trace.... Our successors will not hold us responsible before history for the kind of economic organization we hand over to them, but rather for the amount of elbow-room we conquer for them in the world.⁵

Weber was a dark-haired and square-headed Caucasian male who spoke German. He greatly feared dark-haired, square-headed Caucasian males who spoke Polish. In the transparent code of nationalism, this fear led him to write, "The economic policy of a German state, and that standard of value adopted by a German economic theorist, can therefore be nothing other than a German policy and a German standard."

We know what all this points to. We will spend chapters on the consequences. But we can and should flash forward. No individuals ever make their decisions in a vacuum. No individuals ever make their decisions impelled mechanically by obvious material incentives or consequences.

“Material interests may drive the trains down the tracks,” Weber liked to say, “but ideas are the switchmen,” the ones who throw the switches that determine which track the train follows.⁶ When one individual decides he would like to turn right, not left, toward some war of choice, say, it matters if a large portion of the individuals surrounding that decision maker are enmeshed in, if not in thrall to, the same notions underlying the choice. Nationalism was a notion that could not just swamp competing beliefs but pervert them.

We see this at the level of the individual. Forty-eight years after Weber’s speech, the largest single military command of German speakers ever—Adolf Hitler’s *Heeresgruppe Sud*, Army Group South—would be fighting even larger formations of the Red Army in Ukraine in a war seeking to win “elbow-room” for the German *Volk*. Its commander would be a man who had, at birth, been named Fritz Erich Georg Eduard von Lewinski.⁷

The “von” signifies that the name is a German noble name. But “Lewinski” (Levi-ski)—is not a name that springs from the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language tree. The suffix “-ski” is Slavic: it signifies that the name is a Polish noble name—it’s the Polish analog to the German “von.” And then there is what is in between the “von” and the “ski”: “Levi.”

There is not a more Jewish surname in the world than “Levi.”

Yet Fritz Erich Georg Eduard worked diligently and enthusiastically for Adolf Hitler, skillfully and tirelessly commanding soldiers who fought fanatically for a regime most focused on killing as many Jews (and almost as focused on killing enough Poles, Russians, and other Slavic peoples to gain “elbow-room” for German farmers) as possible. The histories call him not von Lewinsky but “von Manstein.” This was because he was his mother Helene von Sperling’s tenth child and fifth son, and his mother’s sister Hedwig was childless, so Helene gave Fritz Erich Georg Eduard to Hedwig, and she and her husband von Manstein adopted him. It was under that name that he made his career in the Imperial, Weimar Republic, and Nazi armies.

Fritz Erich Georg Eduard von Manstein né von Lewinski was a nationalist. To him, just as for Max Weber and many others, the prospect of the “silent and dreary struggle” in the mixed borderlands—where some people spoke German and others looking much the same spoke Polish—was unacceptable. He, and millions like him, believed this to such an extent

that both Hayekian and Polanyian notions of any sort of peaceful market path toward utopia shrank to near invisibility. The path to his becoming a soldier was well greased: the von Lewinskys, von Sperlings, and von Mansteins had five Prussian generals among them, including both of Erich's grandparents. Helene and Hedwig's sister Gertrude married Paul von Hindenberg, which made that field marshal and right-wing Weimar Republic president Erich's uncle.

In technologically advanced German cities such as Hamburg and Essen, industrialists and merchants desperate for workers found that many potential workers were already engaged in agricultural employment in Pomerania and Prussia. The industrialists and merchants therefore offered them higher wages and a better life if they would move to the seaports and to the Rhineland, and many did exactly that. The choices of industrialists and merchants translated to choices for agricultural workers, which translated to choices for the landlords of the German East. Rather than matching the wage offers made by the iron lords of the Rhineland, but needing to replace their agricultural workers, they pulled Polish workers from the Vistula valley farther east. Win-win-win-win, no?

The Polish-speaking population remaining in the Vistula was happy: they had larger farms. The Polish-speaking population who moved to Germany was happy: they had higher wages and a better life. The German-speaking landlords were happy: they could sell their grain at a higher price to the booming German West without having to match the wages of the German West. The German-speaking workers who moved west were happy: they had higher wages and a better life. The German-speaking iron lords and other industrialists and merchants were happy: they had an expanded labor force. The aristocrats who ran the German national state were happy: they had a stronger economy, more tax revenue, less poverty, and consequently a lower level of democratic-egalitarian-socialist agitation.

Who was left to be unhappy? Max Weber, and every other blinkered German nationalist, is who.

Note that Weber was, in pre-World War I Germany, solidly in the center-left. He was no socialist, but he was otherwise a friend to political democracy, to mass education, and to economic prosperity, and a foe to parasitic aristocracies and rigid social orders.

The scary thing is that German nationalism was not exceptional in pre-

World War I Europe. Rather, if not quite the norm, it was close to it. Usually manifest, nationalism was understood as destiny in a winner-take-most (maybe all) contest in which war was viewed not as a catastrophe but as an opportunity: an opportunity for national assertion, national mobilization, and the creation of a stronger national identity—as well as an opportunity to win the spoils of war, whatever those might be.

However, suppose you refuse to fall under the spell of some particular nationalism. Suppose you do not buy into its encouragements for assertion, for mobilization, for identity, and for spoils. Then it becomes clear that all of the politicians and military officers near the apex of early decision-making were at best badly mistaken and at worst criminally insane. For it all ended badly. While the kings of the monarchies joining the “winning” Anglo-French side retained their thrones, all of the continental European emperors whose ministers made war would lose theirs. But the ironic quote marks around “winning”: those belong there. Nearly ten million people died in World War I. If we believe that the Spanish flu epidemic of 1918–1919 was made an order of magnitude greater than it would otherwise have been by the travel, disruption, and famine of the war, then the death toll approaches fifty million.

Consider that the rulers of Austria-Hungary had for a long time been worried about Serbian nationalism, or rather, the extension of Serbian nationalism northward as ideologues argued that Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, Slovenes, and others were really one nation—“Yugoslavs”—and that only alien rule by Turks from Istanbul and by Germans from Vienna had prevented the previous emergence of a glorious south-Slav nation.

Consider that eighty years separate 1914, when Serbs and Croats were blood brothers (so much so that the Serbs would risk bloody war with Europe’s great powers to rescue the Croats from oppressive foreign despotism), from 1994 (when Serbs and Croats could not live in the same village or province without the political leaders of at least one side calling for the extermination and exile of the other). And, as happened eighty years earlier, what leaders called for, their followers undertook. To fight one set of wars at the start of the twentieth century to unify Serbs and Croats, and another set of wars at the end of that century to “ethnically cleanse” Serbs of Croats, and Croats of Serbs, seems among the sickest jokes history ever played on humans, or, more causally accurate, humans ever played on

history.

A semidemocratic, constitutional monarchy like that of the Habsburg-ruled Austro-Hungarian Empire, which while ruling over various nationalities respected (most) local customs, kept the peace, and allowed freedom of commerce, belief, and speech (within limits), seems much more than halfway up the list of desirable regimes. But not to the blood-brother forebears of their genocidal Serb and Croat offspring.

In the summer of 1914, a Bosnian terrorist seeking Bosnian independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and union with Serbia assassinated the heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, Sophie. The terrorist had received some assistance from the secret police of the Kingdom of Serbia—although almost surely not with the active knowledge of the King of Serbia.⁸

For the old emperor Franz Joseph in Vienna and his advisers, the outrageous murder of his nephew (and his wife) seemed to call for action. And it would take the form of punishing the guilty, humbling Serbia, and making it plain that Austria was the great power in the Balkans. To establish this seemed worth a small risk of a large war. After all, the Balkan Wars of the early twentieth century, the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the Russo-Austro-Danish War of 1864, and the Franco-Austrian War of 1859 had all been very short. The Crimean War of 1853–1856 had been longer, but it had been a limited war: neither set of combatants had thought the stakes high enough to make it worthwhile to derange civilian society. And the American Civil War of 1861–1865, which had killed one in five and maimed another one in five of the white adult males in the arc of coastal states from Texas to Virginia—that was not seen as relevant.

It was not the only missed relevant fact.

For the not-so-old czar in St. Petersburg, Nicholas II, and his ministers, the most important priority was to demonstrate that czarist Russia was the great power in the Balkans. And this required that small Slavic-speaking nations understand that they could count on it to protect them from Viennese hegemony.

For the not-so-old German emperor in Berlin, Wilhelm II, and his ministers, the possibility of a quick, decisive victory over both France and Russia promised to secure for Germany a dominant “place in the sun”

among the great powers of Europe. The decision to back Austria to the hilt, in whatever action it chose to take in response to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, was nearly automatic. And how could it conceivably be otherwise? During the 1800s, the standing and power of the German Empire had been radically enhanced by short, victorious wars provoked and managed by the so-called Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, a German politician who had earned thunderous applause by declaring, “It is not by speeches and debates that the great issues of the day will be decided, but by Blood and Iron.”

For the politicians of the French Third Republic, a war with Germany needed to be fought someday in order to recover Alsace and Lorraine, which had been stolen by Germany in 1870. And it was, to politicians and populace alike, self-evidently worth killing a lot of people to make sure that the city of Strasbourg was not called “Strassburg,” and that its mayor spoke French, not German. For the politicians of the British Empire in London, risks of war were worth running to show that the British Empire could not be pushed around. What was more, Germany before World War I had built a battle fleet that Britain saw as an existential threat, and Britain found itself forced to spend a fortune to outmatch it. Recall Winston Churchill’s joke about the pace of pre–World War I British dreadnought battleship construction: the Liberal government was willing to budget for four new battleships a year, the navy admirals demanded six, and the press and public opinion, with their fear of imperial Germany coming to the fore, pushed them to compromise at eight.

All those who thought that war would be good, even if just for them, were wrong. The old Emperor Franz Joseph’s Habsburg dynasty would lose its throne and his empire. To uncertainly clarify the pronunciation of “Strasbourg,” the French would lose a generation of young men. The British would also lose a generation of young men on the way to a much weaker post–World War I empire, with which it would confront, again, a German-dominated Europe. The Russian czar lost his throne, his life, and his country, with his entire family slaughtered as well. Russia, too, lost a generation of young men, as well as its chance to have a less-than-totally-unhappy twentieth century.

World War I did not secure for Germany a dominant “place in the sun” among the great powers of Europe. Wilhelm lost his throne. His country

lost its political and military autonomy and a generation of young men, and took the first steps along the road to Hitler’s Third Reich, a regime that would blacken the name of Germany for millennia. And it would take more than thirty years before French politicians would realize that trying to contain Germany by using their army simply did not work, and that perhaps a better way to try to contain German power would be to integrate it economically into a wider Europe.

So why did they do it? First, there was nationalism. There was also the political logic that winning this war made it less likely that you would lose a future one, and therefore less likely that you would suffer the consequences.

But there was more. There was aristocracy. The Europe of 1914 was a Europe of national populations, of industrialists and socialists, of factory workers and technicians. But Europe’s governments in 1914—especially the defense and foreign affairs ministries—were largely populated by aristocrats, ex-aristocrats, and would-be aristocrats. This meant that the aristocratic, landlord, military elites had control of many of the levers of propaganda and power. Moreover, the aristocrats had help from industrialists and entrepreneurs who were eager to secure economic benefits, as happened with the 1879 German “marriage of iron and rye”: the imposition of tariffs on imports of British steel (to protect the positions of German manufacturers) and on imports of American grain (to protect the positions of German landlords).⁹

On the eve of World War I, these elites increasingly found themselves members of a social caste with no societal function. They could look forward only to the erosion of their influence and status, the erosion of their relative wealth, and the erosion of their self-respect. In the world of win-win-win economics, these aristocrats and wannabe aristocrats, in all their thousands, would inevitably lose. Or, to avoid that fate, they could lead their nations into war.

Power and propaganda were reinforced by ideology. Each nation decided that it had a strong interest in ensuring that its people left the most enduring imprint on all future civilizations. Enlightenment and Christian values of peace, fraternity, and charity, meanwhile, fell out of favor.

The aristocrats of Europe were at most half-conscious of how much they had to lose when they rolled the dice in 1914. But roll the dice they did.

They rallied mass support by creating a powerful echo chamber, in which propaganda and ideology reinforced each other. And the civilized masses of the West, more learned and better fed and clothed and housed than any previous generation, rallied behind them enthusiastically.

Causation and metaphors matter. That the nations of Europe fell like dominoes is one sort of explanation, encouraging one set of understandings. Because a butterfly beat its wings, a tornado touched down a continent away. Because the zeitgeist, the dialectic unfolding of History, the finger of Providence—take your pick—set one domino in motion, the rest fell.

The archduke had been killed. Serbia had rejected Austria's ultimatum. Austria had declared war on Serbia. Germany sought to convince Austria that, to demonstrate it was serious, it should attack, but then "halt in Belgrade" and negotiate. Russia began to mobilize. At that point Germany attacked Belgium. It was August 4, 1914. It was that stupid.

The laughter of the guns began as Germany's heavy artillery began destroying Belgian forts and killing Belgian soldiers and civilians. Begin a war with a surprise attack on an uninvolved, neutral power, in a way that may well add the world's preeminent superpower to your enemies when you are already outproduced, outgunned, and outnumbered. Why would it make sense for a military bureaucracy to do such a thing?

I have long thought that a large component of the answer was "Prussia."¹⁰ The German Empire on the eve of World War I was dominated by its component Kingdom of Prussia. And Prussia was dominated by its army—it was not so much a state with an army, as an army with a state, was the French witticism for centuries. Prussia's army had a dominant military tradition of attacking first, by surprise, from an unexpected direction. Why? Because it was in a region without natural defenses and surrounded by more populous and often richer potential adversaries. Any state in such a situation was very likely to lose any war it did not quickly win. So if there was going to be a strong state in the region, it would have to be one that did win wars quickly—hence the Prussian way of war. And Prussia then, by historical accident upon accident, became the nucleus around which the circa-1900 German imperial nation was formed.

Indeed, it almost worked. Had Britain stayed out of the war, the odds are that the Germans would have conquered Paris in August 1914, after which a peace of the diplomats could have been within immediate reach. But Britain

entered the war, first for the sake of its treaty commitment to Belgium, but probably more important, to prevent the creation of a hegemonic Germany on the European continent that could then easily afford to build a battle fleet that would leave Britain with no strategic options.¹¹

And so the trigger was pulled. The war would be fought by the mass-conscripted eighteen- to twenty-one-year-old boys of Europe, augmented by older reserves who had received their military training in the previous decades. These armies marched off enthusiastically, singing and taking the causes of the emperors, aristocrats, and generals for their own, and all sides expected a short, victorious war.

World War I would have been bad, but not an utterly and unutterably intolerable catastrophic disaster if it had been a short war. But the initial combatants were so evenly matched at the start that there would be no quick victory or short war. It was a long war. British assistance to France kept it from being overrun in the fall of 1914. German assistance on the eastern front kept Austria from being overrun in the fall of 1914. And then they all dug trenches. Ultimately, it became a total war, a resource-mobilization-based war of attrition that dragged on for more than four years.

Generals called for greater and greater commitments of resources to the front: if battles could not be won by strategy, perhaps they could be won by the sheer weight of men, metal, and explosives. In Britain—which attained the highest degree of mobilization—the government was sucking up more than one-third of national product (plus the time of conscripted soldiers) for the war effort by 1916.

Mobilizing economic resources for total war was not something anybody had planned for. Military plans had all assumed a short war, one that would be decisively won or lost in a matter of months, in a single battle or two. When reality set in, governments and armies turned to frantic expedients to resupply their troops and ramp up war production. Production became dictated by the representatives of industry's largest customer, the military, rather than by market forces. Yet the army could not simply pay through the nose what the industrialists wanted to charge. And so the market needed to be substantially replaced by rationing and command-and-control.¹²

Was that possible? Yes. In all cases, those who ran the industrial-materials-allocation directorates succeeded. Such success turned out to be

surprisingly easy, even though running them efficiently would have been surprisingly difficult. Nevertheless, the example of the German war economy made some, such as Vladimir Lenin, believe that a “command economy” was possible. You could run a socialist economy not through the market but by using the government as a command-and-control bureaucracy—and not just during a national emergency, but as a matter of course. The evidence was there in the example of a war that made total mobilization necessary.

There were other, better lessons to be learned: for example, the importance of the military research laboratory, combined with a bureaucracy that could exploit it at scale. As the United States was to prove throughout the twentieth century, the winners of wars tended to be those with the biggest factories.

Once German dreams of a swift victory were dashed, and everyone went to their trenches, the logic of the Prussian way of war—if you fail to win quickly, sue for peace—fell out of favor. The German officer corps’ adherence to *Totenritt*—a willingness to undertake a “death ride”—held sway, so that carrying out senseless orders to the best of one’s ability substituted for logic.

But even then, hunkering down would have been to no avail without the genius of German scientists and administrators. The scientists were men such as Fritz Haber, winner of the Nobel Prize in 1918 for his creation of the power to extract useful nitrogen compounds literally out of thin air. (Carl Bosch, who managed the operation to scale up Haber’s process to industrial size, received his prize in 1931.) This discovery was an enormous boon to those who needed fertilizers to grow crops. It was also essential to Germany’s ability to fight anything other than a very short war: without nitrogen pulled from the air by the Haber-Bosch process, Germany would have run out of explosives and ammunition within six months, and nearly ten million people would not have died. On the one hand, Haber-Bosch prevented mass starvation: factory production of fertilizers on a large scale would have been impossible had it required finding and exploiting the very limited natural deposits of ammonia available. On the other hand, Fritz Haber is sometimes called the father of chemical weapons. He traveled from his laboratory to the trench line of the western front to watch his chlorine gas deployed for the first time at the Second Battle of Ypres in

1915.

A German Jew, Haber fled Germany when Adolf Hitler took power in 1933. He died in January 1934 in Basel, Switzerland.

The administrators were people such as Walther Rathenau, who established the industrial-materials priority command-and-control system that Germany used to keep its value chains functioning, at least for the production of war matériel, after the British naval blockade had cut off international trade. “I am a German of Jewish origin. My people are the German people, my home is Germany, my faith is German faith, which stands above all denominations,” wrote Rathenau.¹³

He was assassinated by right-wing antisemitic German terrorists in 1922.

Another lesson comes courtesy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). Founded in 1875, and promptly outlawed by Bismarck, by 1914 it had a million dues-paying members. The SPD was the largest political party in the world and held 34 percent of the seats in the German Reichstag. It had been founded to bring about the overthrow of capitalism and oversee the rise of a just socialist society. Whether that would be created by revolution, evolve naturally as the contradictions of capitalism manifested themselves, or evolve and then have to be defended in the streets against a reactionary coup was left ambiguous. The SPD, indeed, had been founded to advance the international brotherhood of workers, and with that in mind, had promised to oppose militarism in all of its forms.

So what did the SPD do when Emperor Wilhelm II’s ministers asked for money to fight World War I? When the SPD’s caucus met on August 3, 1914, cochair Hugo Haase, leader of the pacifist faction, was incredulous. “You want to approve war credits for the Germany of the Hohenzollern [Emperor] and the Prussian [landlord-aristocrat-officer-bureaucrat] Junkers?” Haase asked. “No,” said his fellow cochair, Friedrich Ebert. “Not for that Germany, but for the Germany of productive labor, the Germany of the social and cultural ascent of the masses. It is a matter of saving that Germany! We cannot abandon the fatherland in its moment of need. It is a matter of protecting women and children.” Only 13 of the 110 SPD Reichstag deputies joined Haase’s position in the internal caucus vote to determine the party line.¹⁴

What were they protecting women and children from? In August it was

clear. They were protecting them from the czarist tyranny that would follow a Russian victory in the war that Germany had started by attacking Belgium. The efficiency of the innovative industrial research lab paired to modern corporations grasping for economies of scale and to well-ordered administration was immense. But that could be thrown away when principles and ideals told you that survival, or at least identity, was at risk. Economic growth is a measurable metric. Nationalism, not so much. Confronted by the powers of nationalist wars of choice, ideals such as utopia and principles of market over man, or vice versa, bend if they do not break. Yet, do the nationalist replacements truly have efficacy, utility, or value?

It would have been much better for the German people had the SPD stuck to its prewar pacifist guns and then been successful in hobbling the imperial German war effort, leading to an early peace. For Germany lost. In the end, the weight of men and metal arranged against Germany and its allies did tell. It was France, Belgium, Russia, the United Kingdom, Italy (from 1915), Romania, and the United States (from 1917) against the Austro-Hungarian, German, and Ottoman Empires and Bulgaria, and at the end of 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire's army collapsed. The generals announced that the German army in France was facing defeat. With foodstuffs stopped by British blockade, the German population at home was over the edge of starvation. And Germany sought an armistice.

If you want to know more about what happened during the war—about the battles and leaders and campaigns and casualties—you'd do well to read another book.¹⁵ I don't have the heart to write it down. There were ten million dead, ten million maimed, and ten million lightly injured out of a population of some one hundred million adult men from the major belligerents. The overwhelming share of war casualties were soldiers, not civilians. A full year's worth of the full production powers of every belligerent power was wasted. The imperial-authoritarian political orders in the Russian, Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and German Empires had collapsed. The political order in Italy was at the point of collapse. Confidence that the world was run by farsighted statesmen in a way that supported progress was gone.

From 1870 to 1914, we can see global economic history as following a logic that was, if not inevitable, at least probable, or at least explicable after

the fact. Luck and probability gave humanity an opening around 1870 in the form of a quintuple breakthrough: the ideology and policy of an open world, new forms of transportation, faster communications, and—most important—the beginnings of the research laboratory and the large corporation, which together would more than double the pace of invention and greatly speed the deployment of new technologies. From 1870 to 1914, the economic logic rolled forward: inventors became more specialized and prolific, corporations deployed more technology. An international division of labor developed, and global growth continued apace, while also spurring the creation of a low-wage periphery, as well as the concentration of industrialization and wealth in what is still the global north. Humanity, meanwhile, began to escape from the Malthusian dilemma, as the tendency for technological progress gained ground on ever-greater population numbers, and work shifted increasingly from farm to factory. All in all, the period saw the coming of sufficient (if ill-distributed) prosperity—and with it, the possibility that someday, not that far away, humanity, in the rich economies of the global north, at least, might attain something that previous eras would have judged to be a genuine utopia.

From 1870 to 1914 we can see global political-economic history as by and large following a possible, if not an overwhelmingly likely or near-necessary, path. We see the threading of the needle in the creation and maintenance of an increasingly liberal order within the economies and polities of the global north. We see expanding suffrage, growing rights, increasing prosperity, increasing inequality (accompanied by political movements to curb such inequalities), and an absence of large-scale revolution. We see the conquest of the rest of the world into formal and informal empires as the difference in power between the North Atlantic and the rest became overwhelmingly huge.

All of this could have been otherwise. But that events from 1870 to 1914 followed the course that they did is not surprising given where the world was in 1870.

This sense of history having a broad and nearly irresistible structural logic vanishes with World War I. It did not have to happen—the 1914 Bosnian crisis might have been finessed, or the war might have ended with a quick, decisive victory for one side or the other, or governments and elites might have come to their senses. Was some such catastrophe like World

War I probable? Was humanity just unlucky?

History did not, after 1918, return to its structural pattern of broad forces and tides in which individual quirks and choices averaged out. History was still one damned thing after another. Individuals' visions, choices, and actions continued to matter. And not just the individuals who became dictators of great powers.

John Maynard Keynes saw the war as a previously unimaginable horror. He saw his own participation in its planning, from his desk at the British Treasury, as contemptible. Keynes, retrospectively, scorned the naïveté of the upper-middle-class pre–World War I inhabitants of London “for whom life offered, at a low cost and with the least trouble, conveniences, comforts, and amenities beyond the compass of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages.” These Londoners had seen “this state of affairs,” he said, “as normal, certain, and permanent, except in the direction of further improvement,” and they had seen “any deviation from it... as aberrant, scandalous, and avoidable.”

He was, of course, speaking of himself. As I already quoted 50 pages ago, Keynes and his had seen “the projects and politics of militarism and imperialism, of racial and cultural rivalries, of monopolies, restrictions, and exclusion, which were to play the serpent to this paradise,” as “little more than the amusements of [the] daily newspaper.” And “they appeared to exercise almost no influence at all on the ordinary course of economic and social life.”¹⁶

They had been wrong, with awful consequences for the world. Keynes saw that he was one of the ones who had been so blind and so wrong. And so, for the rest of his life, he took on responsibility. Responsibility for what? For—don’t laugh—saving the world. The curious thing is the extent to which he succeeded, especially for someone who was only a pitiful, isolated individual, and who never held any high political office.¹⁷

6

Roaring Twenties

Was the interruption of the patterns of 1870–1914 occasioned by World War I permanent? Or was there a fork in humanity’s possible road after the guns stopped their laughter on November 11, 1918? Could history have treated World War I almost as if it had just been a bad dream? Could humanity have pursued a win-win logic of progress and prosperity after World War I, as it had broadly been doing before it—with large groups of people, acting both individually and collectively, trading, forming alliances, and making positive-sum decisions about how to rebuild, reform, and regulate their economies?

The pre–World War I pattern could not be restored completely, of course. Emperors were gone, much had been broken, and many were dead. But couldn’t humanity in some sense wind back the clock four and a half years, adjust things, and fix the flaws so that the demons of militarism, imperialism, anarchism, and nationalism would not push the world forward into a similar immediate and dire catastrophe, and resume its march, or slouch, toward utopia?

The period from 1870 to 1914 had indeed been economic El Dorado, reaching both a level and a rate of growth of world prosperity previously unseen. The proportional advance in technologies for manipulating nature and organizing humanity deployed into the world economy had proportionally been roughly as great a leap forward as the combined progress over the period from 1500 to 1870. And that was as great a leap, in turn, as all the advances in technology from 1200 BCE to 1500 CE, from the era of the biblical Exodus and the Trojan War and the end of the Bronze

Age to the beginning of the Imperial-Commercial Age.

In 1914, things had never before been so good. And it was not just the power to produce. The world in the first half of that year was much kinder and gentler than in previous ages: proportionately, there were many fewer slaves, and many more votes. Surely full consensus in favor of a rewind, and then a do-over, with the militarist-nationalists cowed by the memory of the abattoir of 1914–1918, was a complete no-brainer?

The political task of keeping the general peace, and of restoring the international division of labor, even deepening it, and deploying productive technologies ought, in some sense, to have been easy—in the wake of World War I, surely not even those of dubious sanity would want to do *that* again. Nationalism had proven a disaster. Surely its opposite, cosmopolitanism, a recognition that the nations shared a “common home” and should treat each other as housemates treat each other, was the obvious alternative?¹

Plus, there was great opportunity: one-third of the belligerents’ production—two-ninths of world production—no longer needed to be devoted to killing people, maiming people, and blowing things up. It could be turned instead to accomplish all kinds of wonderful things. The world, after all, had roughly three times the technological capability in the 1920s that it had had back in 1870. Even with a population half again as large as it had been in 1870, and even with a rising concentration of wealth at the between-country and within-country levels, that meant that the bulk of humanity had something their predecessors had never had: confidence that next year food, clothing, and shelter would be there, so that their families would not be overwhelmingly hungry, cold, and wet. The system that people were to look back on and call “classical liberalism,” although it was so recent as to be only pseudo-classical, and so built on authority inherited and ascribed as to be only semi-liberal, had been a good one, the best one the world had hitherto seen.

So wasn’t the process and system that had led the world to a better place in terms of potential material productivity in 1920 relative to 1870 worth restoring and continuing, in spite of its many and grievous flaws? Or, if it needed to be altered, surely people of goodwill could have reached rough consensus as to how.

Two currents of thought emerged after World War I that sought not just

alteration but fundamental transformation of the pseudo-classical semi-liberal order. They were to gain flesh and rule, bloodily and destructively. They were Vladimir Lenin's version of really-existing socialism and Benito Mussolini's fascism, both of which you will see later at great length.

But there were others thinking hard and trying to work to find and implement a better system. If I may digress for a moment: If my editor would allow this book to be twice as long, I would trace many of these currents of thought and the actions that flowed from them. I would trace the current for which Joseph Schumpeter, born in 1882 one hundred miles away from Vienna in the primarily Czech-speaking part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is a convenient marker: society needing to be altered to elevate the role of the entrepreneur and provide space for the "creative destruction" of economic and other patterns of organization he set in motion to counterbalance growing bureaucratization brought about by the increasing scale of capital intensity needed to deploy technological advances.² I would trace the current for which Karl Popper, born in Vienna in 1902, is a convenient marker: society needing to double down on liberalism and freedom in all their forms to create a truly "open society."³ I would trace the current for which Peter Drucker, born in Vienna in 1909, is a convenient marker: how freedom, entrepreneurship, cooperation, and organization could never be reconciled by either the laissez-faire market or the really-existing socialist plan, but instead required persuasion, in the form of *managers* and *management*, to reconcile points of view and actually get humans to, you know, work cooperatively semiefficiently.⁴

Moreover, I would trace the current for which Michael Polanyi, born in 1891 in Budapest, is a convenient marker: society needing not just the decentralized mercenary institution of the market, and definitely not needing comprehensive central planning, which can never be more than a fiction, but also needing decentralized fiduciary institutions focused on advancing knowledge about theory and practice, in which status is gained by teaching others—such as in modern science, communities of engineering practice, communities of legal interpretation, honorable journalism, evidence-based politics, and others—and in which people follow rules that have been half-constructed and that half emerged to advance not just the private interests and liberties of the participants but the broader public interest and public liberties as well.⁵

But as there is neither time nor space for all of that, in this book I can trace only two currents of thought and action: first, the current we have seen before, for which Friedrich von Hayek (born in Vienna in 1899) is a convenient marker (that all that needed to be altered was that market-economic institutions had to be purified and perfected, and supported by an antipermissive social and cultural order) and the current we have seen before for which Michael Polanyi's older brother Karl, born in Vienna in 1886, is the convenient marker (that the market presumes people only have property rights; but society is made up of humans who insist they have more rights; and society would react—left or right, sensibly or stupidly, but powerfully—against the market presumption). And I will trace how they could be shotgun married to each other, with the blesser of the wedding being John Maynard Keynes. That, I believe, is the principal grand narrative, or at least it is mine.

Could the clock have been turned back to 1914 and then set to ticking again as if World War I had just been a bad dream? Was the restoration of the pseudo-classical semi-liberal order, and a post-1918 that went again like 1870–1914, a road humanity could have taken in 1919, had just a few key decisions gone differently?

Whether or not there was a fork, and a better path that realistically could have been taken, the history of the post–World War I era tells us that it was not taken at all.

One big reason was that after 1918 the world lacked a single power to serve as what the economic historian (and my teacher) Charlie Kindleberger called the *hegemon*. General prosperity, stable financial calm, and rapid and balanced growth are what economists call *public goods*—everyone benefits from them with no one having to take individual steps to provide them. A large majority of countries tend to believe that some other country (or countries) will take care of the system as a whole. This belief allows them to concentrate on achieving their own national advantage. The state whose citizens play the largest role in the world economy—who ship the most exports, consume the most imports, and lend and borrow the most capital—winds up playing the leading role in the management of the international economy. It becomes the hegemon, often at its own citizens' encouragement. After all, its citizens have the most at stake in the successful management of the global economy. The other states “free-ride”

on the hegemon. The world economy always needs a hegemon. In 1919, however, the United States, the world's new potential hegemon, demurred. Before 1914, Britain could play this role, and it did. After 1919, "the British couldn't and the United States wouldn't," wrote Kindleberger. "When every country turned to protect its national private interest, the world public interest went down the drain, and with it the private interests of all."⁶

World War I had not left the United States unscarred—it suffered 300,000 casualties, of which 110,000 were deaths, of which half were from combat (the other half were from the Spanish flu). But World War I had not been to Americans the civilization-disrupting shock it was to Europeans. In the United States, what people afterward were to call the Belle Époque did not end in 1914 but continued in various forms—the Prohibition experiment, the Jazz Age, and Florida land speculation; the build-out of mass production factories; new high-tech industrial sectors such as radio; and stock market castles in the air built on hopes of rapid technological revolution. In other words, humanity's utopian aspirations were made flesh—or rather, steel—in the 1920s United States. So, having been among the world's free-riders, the United States shied away from becoming the hegemon. Instead, it turned inward.

Rather than take up the role of world leader, its people and politicians opted for isolationism. Though President Woodrow Wilson was in a uniquely strong position at the end of hostilities—he had moral authority as the only belligerent not to have entered the war for territorial or political advantage, and he had the only effective army—he made next to nothing of the opportunity. Instead, he accepted the lead of Britain's David Lloyd George and France's Georges Clemenceau to a degree that outran even Lloyd George's calculations, and frightened him. Wilson did try to get one thing out of the Treaty of Versailles: the League of Nations, a forum in which international agreements could be reached, and in which arguments for revisions and readjustments to those agreements could be made. But Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and his Republican peers, who ruled America in the 1920s, refused to even think about committing the country in any way to an internationalist foreign policy. The League would come into being without the United States as a member.⁷

In addition to refusing to join an international body that existed for the purpose of encouraging communication among countries, the United States

in the aftermath of World War I added new restrictions on the flow of immigrants and raised tariffs. The increases were nowhere near the avowedly protectionist levels of the early 1800s, or even the revenue-raising-cum-protectionist levels of the late nineteenth century. But they were large enough to give pause to producers outside the United States who doubted if they could rely on uninterrupted access to the US market. There was no return to normalcy. There was no lifting the locomotives of economic growth, prosperity, and human flourishing back onto their pre-World War I tracks. While structural factors and underlying trends made their influence felt, they did so very much not for the better.

At the same time, the globalization fairy had turned evil, and brought a poisoned gift.

Humanity should have been expecting it. In May 1889, people had begun dying of influenza—the Asiatic flu—in Bokhara, Uzbekistan. There was then a trans-Caspian railway, and so the disease spread to the Caspian Sea, and then via the Russian Empire’s river and rail network to Moscow, Kiev, and St. Petersburg, all by November. Half the population of Stockholm caught the flu by the end of the year. In the United States the *Evening World* newspaper in New York reported, “It is not deadly, not even necessarily dangerous, but it will afford a grand opportunity for the dealers to work off their surplus of bandanas.” Deaths in the United States peaked in January 1890.

Globalization would continue to bring plagues, and the plagues spread rapidly throughout the world. More than 1 million people each were killed by the Asian flu of 1957–1958 and the Hong Kong flu of 1968–1970. The COVID-19 pandemic that began in 2020 has so far killed an estimated 4.5 million, as of this writing, and the slow-moving plague of HIV/AIDS has to date killed around 35 million. But by far the most deadly plague in modern history remains the Spanish flu of 1918–1920, which killed perhaps 50 million people out of a world population then approaching 1.9 billion—about 2.5 percent.⁸

It was not, actually, a Spanish flu. Wartime censorship among the Allied powers suppressed flu news out of a fear that it would be bad for morale, so the newspapers focused on the flu in neutral countries where they had correspondents, which meant, mostly, Spain, where patients included King Alfonso XIII. The greatest boost to the flu’s spread may well have come

from the French base and hospital of Étaples, through which tens of thousands of soldiers passed each day. It killed not just the young and the old but also the middle-aged and the healthy. Nearly half of those who died were adults between the ages of twenty and forty. The Lord branch of my ancestral family tree fled Boston and went to rural Maine. Many of their cousins who remained in Boston did not survive.

As the plague raged, European governments tried frantically to start winding back the clock to the spring of 1914. But they could not. The first reason they could not was that, while there might have been consensus that World War I should not have been, there was no consensus about how all the losing empires were to be governed. The post–World War I settlement would give a mandate to the victorious allies Britain and France to take over and rule former German colonies and former non-Turkish Ottoman dependencies—but Turkey itself, and the territories of the former Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and German Empires, were left to their own devices, which meant “voting” with some combination of weapons and ballots how they should be governed. For after World War I all the emperors (with the exception of the British king, George V, in his persona as Kaiser-i-Hind, Emperor of India) were gone. And with them went their camarillas and their dependent aristocrats.

The Russian czar, Nicholas II Romanov, abdicated in March 1917. Vladimir I. Lenin and his Bolsheviks shot him and his family—Nicholas, Alexandra, and their five children—along with family retainers, in mid-1918. The semisocialist government of Aleksandr Kerensky that followed organized an election for a Constituent Assembly to write a constitution. Lenin sent the assembly home at bayonet point. With no claim to legitimacy by election, Lenin and his faction then had to confront the others within the country who also hoped to base their rule on the barrels of guns. The Russian Civil War ran from 1917 to 1920.⁹

The German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, abdicated in November 1918. The Social Democratic Party leader Friedrich Ebert became provisional president of a democratic republic. He did so with the support of the German army high command because he agreed to suppress revolutionaries who wanted to expropriate and nationalize property and redistribute wealth. When the German socialist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg called for not just a political but a socialist revolution, their Spartacus

League demonstrations were quickly suppressed by soldiers and ex-soldiers. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were summarily shot and dumped into a canal—without even the pretense that they were trying to escape. The left wing of the Social Democratic Party of Germany split off, never forgave, and never forgot. From then on, their principal adversary was not the monarchists, not the plutocrats, not the center-right, not the fascists, but rather Ebert’s party, the Social Democrats.

The Austro-Hungarian emperor, Karl I, likewise abdicated in November 1918. His regime was carved into individual nation-states very, very roughly following extremely blurry ethnolinguistic borders.

The last to fall was the Ottoman Empire’s Mehmed VI Vahideddin (Revelation of Faith), sultan, successor of Muhammed, Commander of the Faithful, Caesar of Rome, and Custodian of the Two Holy Places, the last wielder of the sword of imperial dynasty founder Osman (1299–1324). Power in Turkey was taken up by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the spring of 1920.

But even among the victorious and politically stable Allied powers, simple winding back did not work. The politicians did not want to be voted out of office as incompetents who had led their peoples into a pointless, destructive bloodbath. So they fell over themselves to tell their people that they had “won” World War I, and that their triumph meant they were now free to harvest the fruits of victory.

For the citizens of the Allied nations—those who survived—the prospect of extracting resources from the defeated Central Powers promised to make life even better than it had been before the war, to make the war and its sacrifices somehow worthwhile. President Woodrow Wilson, however, struck a very different tone, announcing that the peace would be “a peace without victory,” a peace that would have to be “accepted in humiliation, under duress.” Claims of victory, he continued, “would leave... a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand.” Wilson added, “Only a peace between equals can last.”¹⁰ But he let himself be ignored—“bamboozled” was John Maynard Keynes’s word for it—as he was outmaneuvered by the French and British premiers, Clemenceau and Lloyd George.¹¹ They did not seek “indemnities.” They merely demanded that Germany “repair” the damage done. But how was Germany to do this? It might be asked to ship goods to

Britain and France. But the goods that Germany could ship would substitute for the heavy industrial productions of Britain and France. Britain and France did not want them. Accepting them would cause mass unemployment, and so was a nonstarter.

There was a third reason that post–World War I Europe did not draw away from nationalism but instead doubled down on it. Woodrow Wilson had proclaimed that postwar borders should be drawn “along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality,” in order to enable the autonomous development of the resulting nations. The problem was that peoples were not divided along such lines. Every European state was left with a discontented minority. Many states’ dominant ethnicities had previously been discontented minorities. They now saw themselves as having the power and the right to do as they had been done by.

Had the politicians of the Allied nations been wise and farsighted, they would have sought to lower expectations at home. They would have sought to draw a firm line between the warmongers in the defeated Central Powers—the emperors and the army officers and the warrior-aristocrats who were now gone—and the people of the Central Powers. Those who had started the war had been, as John Maynard Keynes put it, “moved by insane delusion and reckless self-regard” when they set things in motion that “overturned the foundations on which we all lived and built.” And with their defeat, oppressed peoples could now join the Allies and build their own democracies.¹²

Keynes’s characterization of the “insane delusion” comes from the very first paragraph of his 1919 book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. But he was not describing militarists, warrior-aristocrats, or emperors; he was referring to “the German people.” Such was the attitude of even those sympathetic to the Germans among the Allies.

Though Keynes blamed “the German people” for the war and for all the destruction and death it brought, he believed that it was nevertheless essential for the Allies to immediately forget all of that. They must, he wrote at the end of the very same paragraph, let bygones be bygones. For if the spokesmen for the Allied powers sought to make Germany pay for any component of war damage and tried to keep Germany poor, “the spokesmen of the French and British peoples [would] run the risk of completing the ruin,” he said, through a peace that would “impair yet further, when it might

have restored, the delicate, complicated organization, already shaken and broken by war, through which alone the European peoples can employ themselves and live.”¹³

In this Keynes sharply diverged from both popular opinion and the overwhelming consensus of elites among the victorious Allied powers. He had been among the staff advising leaders at the Paris Peace Conference in Versailles and had watched in horror as it became clear that the object was to extract as much from Germany as possible. In his mind, this was likely to throw the whole project of post–World War I reconstruction off the rails.

South African prime minister Jan Christian Smuts was at the Versailles conference too, as leader of one of the dominions of the British Empire. He wrote a letter to his friend M. C. Gillett about what the conference was like:

Poor Keynes often sits with me at night after a good dinner and we rail against the world and the coming flood. And I tell him this is the time for the Griqua prayer (the Lord to come himself and not send his Son, as this is not a time for children). And then we laugh, and behind the laughter is Hoover’s terrible picture of 30 million people who must die unless there is some great intervention. But then again we think things are never really as bad as that; and something will turn up, and the worst will never be. And somehow all these phases of feeling are true and right in some sense. And in it all I do miss you, miss you greatly. How you and Arthur and I would talk things over if we were together.¹⁴

Herbert Hoover, again? Yes. When World War I broke out, he soon became aware that famine threatened Belgium. Britain was blockading Germany and not allowing food imports. The Germans had conquered Belgium and wrecked a good deal of it on their march through. The Germans, short of food themselves because of the blockade, put feeding Belgium at the bottom of their priorities. Somehow Hoover convinced the British that if they let him send grain ships to Belgium, it would strengthen Belgian attachment to the Allies without feeding the German army. And somehow Hoover also convinced the Germans that if they allowed the grain ships into Belgium, Germany could stop sending any grain to Belgium and

so feed its army, and this would mollify Belgians by making the consequences of German occupation less dire. Hoover was very persuasive.

After the war was over, Hoover continued in the famine-fighting business. He continued in his new career—that of “the Great Humanitarian.”¹⁵ And he did warn of thirty million famine deaths in the war’s aftermath if nothing was done in the way of relief, and he did move heaven and earth to raise money for and ship food to Europe, from Russia to France.

Hoover’s solution was to ship foodstuffs. Keynes’s attempt was to take up the pen to try to change minds. When Keynes returned to England, he exploded with the publication of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, in which he excoriated shortsighted politicians who were, he felt, more interested in victory than in peace. He outlined alternative proposals. And he prophesied doom: “If we aim deliberately at the impoverishment of Central Europe, vengeance, I dare predict, will not limp. Nothing can then delay for long that final civil war between the forces of reaction and the despairing convulsions of revolution, before which the horrors of the late German war will fade into nothing, and which will destroy... the civilization and progress of our generation.”¹⁶

If anything, he undersold what was to come.

The postwar trouble started with inflation. Market economies run off of the signals that prices give to economic decision makers about what it would be profitable to do, and if the prices are right, then what is profitable is also what advances societal well-being. But if decision makers do not understand what prices are, or if prices are systematically wrong, then accurate economic calculation becomes very difficult and growth suffers. We are not, here, talking about inflation as an upward creep of prices—1 or 2 or 5 percent per year, on average. That does not cause much trouble or confusion. But 10, 20, or 100 percent or more? Keynes commented on this very question in 1924:

Lenin is said to have declared that the best way to destroy the capitalist system was to debauch the currency. By a continuing process of inflation, governments can confiscate, secretly and unobserved, an important part of the wealth... arbitrarily.... Those to

whom the system brings windfalls, beyond their deserts and even beyond their expectations or desires, become “profiteers,” who are the object of the hatred of the bourgeoisie, whom the inflationism has impoverished.... All permanent relations between debtors and creditors, which form the ultimate foundation of capitalism, become so utterly disordered as to be almost meaningless; and the process of wealth-getting degenerates into a gamble and a lottery. Lenin was certainly right. There is no subtler, no surer means of overturning the existing basis of society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction, and does it in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose.¹⁷

SO WHY THEN WOULD any government—except Lenin’s—resort to a policy of high inflation?

Suppose that a government has made big promises, telling people they will have incomes that will allow them to purchase good things in life substantially exceeding what the government can finance through its taxes, or indeed, what the economy can produce. How can it then square that circle? One road is for the government to borrow by issuing bonds. By borrowing, it asks some to forgo purchasing the good things in life, and in return promises that they will have more social power over the good things—more money—in the future. When there is a gap between the goods and services citizens want the government to pay for, on the one hand, and, on the other, the taxes that the largely rich are willing to pay, governments have to fill that gap—and printing interest-paying bonds and selling them for cash is the obvious way.

Whether and how this works depends on the expectations of the individuals—mostly financiers—who buy and hold the bonds. How patient would they be? What kind of reward would they demand for holding and not selling the bonds? How trusting of the government would they be? And how long would their trust last? In the aftermath of World War I, financiers had limited patience and demanded healthy returns. When that is the psychology of financiers—as it was after World War I—the most likely outcome of resorting to large-scale debt finance is provided by the one-

equation model that economists call the *fiscal theory of the price level*:

$$\text{Price Level} = (\text{Nominal Debt}) \times (\text{Interest Rate}) / (\text{Real Debt Service Limit})$$

Take France in 1919 as an example. In June 1919, one French franc (F) was worth US\$0.15. In 1919, France had a nominal national debt of F200 billion, on which it owed interest at a rate of 4 percent per year, so that the annual interest France paid on its national debt was F8 billion. If France's real debt service limit—the real resources the French government and electorate could mobilize to pay the interest on its debt—were equal to F8 billion per year at average 1919 prices, the equation would have balanced and France would not have experienced inflation in the 1920s:

$$1.00 = (\text{nominal F200 billion} \times 4 \text{ percent per year}) / (\text{real F8 billion / year})$$

But it turned out that the real resources the French government and electorate could mobilize to pay the interest on its debt amounted to only F3.2 billion (at average 1919 prices). And financiers did not have sufficient confidence to accept an interest rate of 4 percent per year—instead, they demanded 6 percent. So the *fiscal theory of the price level* equation was instead

$$3.75 = (\text{nominal F200 billion} \times 6 \text{ percent per year}) / (\text{real F3.2 billion / year})$$

Equilibrium required that the average level of prices in France be 3.75 times their average level in 1919. And that would mean a value of the French franc of not F1 = US\$0.15 but rather of F1 = US\$0.04. Guess where the French franc ultimately stabilized in 1926? Yep: US\$0.04. And that meant that France would have 20 percent average inflation for seven years—enough debauching of the currency to significantly distort economic planning and hinder real growth throughout the 1920s.

Worse outcomes came when financiers' trust broke down completely. That is the limit of *hyperinflation*, in which "worth less" becomes "worthless": the money printed and the bonds sold by the government turn out to have no value at all. The first post-World War I hyperinflations took place in the successor states to the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the war, the former empire, which had been a single economic unit, was split among seven countries, each with its own currency and its own high tariffs. The regional division of labor unwound.

Before the war ended, Joseph Schumpeter, just thirty-four years old at the time, had set out the resulting problem: "The material goods needed by the armies," he said, had been provided and would continue to be provided. "After the war, we will be left... with a 'monetary problem.'" He used an analogy, saying that countries paying for the war would be "in the position of an entrepreneur whose factory burnt down and now has to enter the losses in his books."¹⁸

Joseph Schumpeter was finance minister of the new Austrian Republic by 1919. He favored an immediate and substantial wealth tax on all real, industrial, commercial, residential, and financial property to pay off the debt. The rest of the cabinet, including Minister of Foreign Affairs Otto Bauer, said yes to the wealth tax. But they wanted the proceeds to be used for "socialization": buying up large Austrian companies, making them more efficient, and then using the profits from higher efficiency to first raise workers' wages and only second to pay off the debt. Schumpeter parried that if socialization was "efficient," then it did not need to be financed by the wealth tax. It would be what we now call an LBO, a leveraged buyout, and efficient LBOs finance themselves.

Schumpeter was fired. The cabinet dissolved into squabbling. The wealth tax was never levied.

Instead, money printing presses went: "brrrrrr..." Before World War I, the Austrian crown had been worth a little less than 20 US cents. By the late summer of 1922 the crown was worth 0.01 of a cent. The League of Nations—the international organization established at the end of World War I—provided a hard-currency loan on the condition that the Austrian government surrender control over its own currency and finances. The budget was balanced by severe cuts in expenditures and higher taxes, and Austria remained depressed, with high unemployment, for half a decade.

In Germany prices rose a trillionfold: what had cost 4 Reichsmarks in 1914 cost 4 trillion by the end of 1923. After the war, with respect to Germany, financiers had next to no patience and demanded exorbitant returns. The problem was the reparations that the Allies had imposed on Germany at the Treaty of Versailles, and the fact that it was absolute electoral poison for any German politician wanting to work out a plan to actually pay them. The German situation was not helped by the fact that it was also electoral poison for French or British politicians to work out a feasible plan to actually make substantial reparations deliveries, for then they would be assisting German workers in stealing jobs from British and French workers, who were then crowded out of their own domestic markets.¹⁹

The problem could perhaps have been finessed. France and Britain could have bought ownership shares of German companies with their reparations monies and then been satisfied with the resulting income. German leaders could have induced their wealthy citizens to sell their ownership shares by levying higher taxes. But that would have required Allied governments willing to accept such a postponement, as well as transformation of short-term demands for reparations payments now into long-term ownership shares, along with a German government strong enough to levy the taxes. The German government preferred to resist over figuring out a way to pay.

And so the bulk of the reparations burden was never paid. What was paid was financed by American investors. They made loans to Germany that Germany then turned around and transferred to the Allies. The American loans were a speculation on the success of Germany's postwar Weimar Republic government. That speculation was not wise *ex post*. The German reparations burden was forgiven during the Great Depression.

The imposition of those reparations in the first place turned out to be a very costly political decision, for it set off a chain of events that ultimately led to the Depression. The weaknesses the reparations created did not lead directly to the rise of Adolf Hitler—that came later. But they were key to the destabilization of the Weimar Republic and to its pre-Hitler collapse from a parliamentary democracy into a regime of Caesarist rule by presidential decree.

How big and important was this German hyperinflation? Back in 1914, the German currency, the Reichsmark, had been worth 25 US cents. By the

end of 1919, the Reichsmark was worth just 1 cent. It then recovered somewhat, reaching a value of 2 cents by the end of 1920. But the government kept spending and printing, and by the end of 1921, the mark was back down to 0.33 of a cent, an inflation rate of 500 percent per year, 16 percent per month, 0.5 percent per day. By the end of 1922 the mark was worth only 0.0025 cents, an inflation rate of 13,000 percent per year, 50 percent per month, 1.35 percent per day.

For a while the government welcomed the inflation: it was easier to finance spending by printing money than by trying to collect taxes. Industrial and mercantile interests also benefited: they borrowed from banks and repaid them in badly depreciated marks. For a while, labor benefited too: unemployment almost vanished, and in the early stages of the inflation, at least real wages and workers' purchasing power did not fall. But in January 1923 the French government, to score domestic political points, sent in its army to occupy the Ruhr Valley and collect commodities at gunpoint. The German government and people responded with passive resistance. The inhabitants of the Ruhr went on strike. And the German government printed even more money to try to maintain the incomes of the passive resisters. By the end of 1923, the mark was worth 0.00000000025 of a cent, an inflation rate of 9,999,999,900 percent per year, averaging 364 percent per month, or 5 percent per day.

Of the countries that experienced post–World War I inflation, Germany was hit the worst, with prices increasing, as mentioned above, by a trillionfold. But a number of other countries also saw inflation climb to devastating levels. In Russia prices rose four billionfold. In Poland they rose two and a half millionfold. In Austria, prices rose two thousandfold. In France, inflation was only sevenfold, which, as we noted, meant that investors in French government debt from 1918 could, in 1927, purchase only one-seventh as much with their bonds as they could have had they spent rather than invested their money in 1918.

Driving this massive wave of inflation was the European focus on somehow appeasing those who had just lived through World War I: the maimed, the starved, and those grieving for lost brothers, fathers, husbands, and sons—in the minds of many, the fallen needed to have died for something. So political leaders tried to create a “land fit for heroes.” In practice, this meant a government commitment to social welfare and

infrastructure programs to make life better, plus extension of voting rights to the male working class, and even to women. This had consequences. In Britain, for example, less than half of adult males could vote before World War I. In the election of 1918, the socialist Labour Party multiplied its vote sevenfold.

There followed disability insurance for war veterans, unemployment insurance (so that returning soldiers did not have to beg in the street), mammoth government expenditures (to repair war damage), more mammoth government expenditures (to make up for all the infrastructure and other investments not made during the war), plus even more mammoth government expenditures (to pay off the war debts). Voters and heroes demanded that governments compensate them for their property that had been destroyed or that had lost its value from war-induced dislocations. And voters and heroes demanded anew their Polanyian rights. Old-age pensions, public housing, and public health insurance moved onto the agenda. Satisfying these demands would take vast resources. The world's governments, with their national economies, were all poorer than they had been in 1914, but the urge to spend was strong. The right did not dare resist it. The left did not have enough of an electoral mandate to make the rich pay. Financiers did not have the confidence to fill the gap by holding the resulting debt at low interest rates. The result was that the fiscal theory of the price level came into play—and inflation.

From a narrow economists' perspective, inflation is simply a tax, a rearrangement, and a confusion. It is a tax on cash, because your cash becomes worth less between when you acquire it and when you spend it. It is a rearrangement, as those who have borrowed pay back their loans in depreciated currency, while those who have lent have to accept the depreciated currency. And it is a source of confusion, because it is difficult to calculate whether what you—as a company, a household, or an individual—are doing makes economic sense when the numbers entered into your account books at different dates correspond to different amounts of real purchasing power.

All of these elements of inflation, and especially hyperinflation—the tax, the rearrangement, and the confusion—are destroyers of trust. Trust in the economy, in society, in governments. And this destruction of trust, according to Keynes, was “fast rendering impossible a continuation of the

social and economic order of the nineteenth century. But [European leaders had] no plan for replacing it.” People who were not rich but were well-off pillars of their community, who generally saw no great need to move to the political right, even as they feared the redistributionist plans of the left, were disturbed by inflation’s erosion of nominal forms of wealth. They felt cheated, and those who held government bonds felt cheated by the government. It was impossible for them to see that the market took just as it gave—and that it should, in fact, be blessed, not cursed. And no wonder—they were in the midst of seeing the abrupt revocation of their Polanyian right to stable finances and a certain standard of living.

NEARLY EVERYONE WITH POWER or property sought a return to what US president Warren G. Harding called “normalcy.” Whatever had gotten broken during World War I needed to be fixed. And for many, that meant fixing the gold standard: the half-century-long general commitment of all the largest trading countries to buy and sell their currencies for gold at a fixed price. In the immediate aftermath of World War I, countries agreed that they had to peg their currencies back to gold—and eventually they did.²⁰

That pleased the rich because it would guard against further inflation. In other words, any tendency toward inflation would generate, through capital flight or high import demand, a line of bankers at the central bank trying to turn currency into gold, unwinding inflationary pressures. Only Britain, with the Bank of England as the conductor of the international gold-standard order, got to raise and lower interest rates at home. This seemed a good system both for Britain and for world trade. After all, the pre–World War I gold standard had supported the fastest and broadest half century of economic growth of any era up until then.

During World War I, European finance ministers discovered the benefits of inflation—indeed, given governments’ unwillingness to raise taxes sufficiently to fight the Great War, they found it to be a necessity. But you could not inflate if you kept your promise to buy and sell your currency for its fixed gold parity. So countries had dropped the gold standard during the war. And afterward, countries seeking normalcy sought to return to it.

Much easier sought than done. Wartime and postwar inflation had,

roughly, tripled prices worldwide. Banks and governments made sure that their transactions stayed greased by holding a roughly constant fraction of their payments flow in the form of gold assets, gold as reserves. Triple prices and you triple the nominal value of transactions. Triple the nominal value of transactions, and you triple the gold you need to hold—unless you are willing to change the equivalency scale between gold bars and your currency.

After wartime and postwar inflations and hyperinflations, the interwar gold standard was attempting to run itself with only one-third of the gold-as-reserves ratio of asset holdings to transaction amounts that had been needed for even semismooth functioning before the war. It simply could not be expected to work.

One place where it did not work was Britain. Even though wartime and postwar inflation was smallest in Britain, Britain found itself facing a fraught situation. It had seen a currency depreciation. Instead of the pegged value of $\text{GB£}1 = \$4.86$ that had existed in July 1914, the market seemed to want to settle the value of the British pound at slightly less than \$4.00. In advising British officials on how to respond, the financiers assured them that the government would win a great deal of long-term market trust by enacting austerity measures to restore the $\text{£}1 = \$4.86$ pre–World War I parity. The result, the financiers said, would be increased stability, lower interest rates, and faster growth. All the financiers sounded confident and credible.

The ruling politicians chose to follow their financiers' advice. But in an economy where the market wanted a pound to be valued at \$3.80, the austerity measures needed to follow through on their plan required a 30 percent reduction in the average value of all wages and prices. In other words, deflation, which quickly led to high unemployment, bankruptcy driven by foreign competition, and an unrealistic exchange rate.

The decider in Britain in the mid-1920s was the finance minister—chancellor of the exchequer—Winston Churchill. His private secretary, P. J. Grigg, reports a dinner in 1924 hosted by Churchill at which supporters and opponents of returning the pound to its prewar peg argued. One diner painted a grim picture of hobbled exports, unemployment, substantial downward pressure on wages, and waves of strikes. The guest was John Maynard Keynes.

But hadn't John Maynard Keynes burned his bridges with the British establishment by denouncing the British government's negotiating position after the war in the strongest possible terms? Yes and no. By this time, he had attained a stature that meant he floated across even burned bridges.²¹

The Economic Consequences of the Peace had made Keynes famous. In the words of biographer Robert Skidelsky, the economist spoke "like an angel with the knowledge of an expert." Keynes was propelled by "passion and despair" and showed an extraordinary mastery not just of economics but also of the words that were needed to make economics persuasive. He became a power to be conciliated—and at least listened to.

For after World War I, Keynes felt compelled to use what power he could command to restore civilization. Before the war, the world had been in a good place: economically, socially, culturally, and politically. Then the ruling elites had broken it. Now a road back had to be found. But simply winding back the clock to the 1914 exchange-rate parity of GB£1 = US\$4.86 would not do the job. Fundamentals had changed profoundly. Smart adaptation was needed. Keynes's influence, however, while sufficient to be invited to Churchill's historic dinner, was not sufficient to nudge history, or, more precisely, politicians—or, more precisely still, Churchill.²²

In 1919 the economic risks of returning to the prewar parity of pound to gold and dollar seemed vague, distant, and uncertain. The benefits of setting out on a path of further experimentation seemed unnecessary. The political risks of postponing the return, of continuing the experimentation, seemed large and immediate. The political risks of returning were the same as the economic risks: vague, distant, and uncertain. The decision was made to return Britain to the gold standard.²³

Great Britain returned to the gold standard in 1925. British industries, from coal mining to textiles to chemical and steel manufacturers, found themselves facing severe competitive difficulties. This resulted in unemployment in export industries and a push for wage reductions to make domestic industry more competitive. Moreover, sterling speculators could see what the Bank of England could not: that returning to the gold standard at an overvalued parity weakened the pound sterling, creating a vulnerability. They began to pull their money out of Britain. In order to balance its payments, the Bank of England had to keep British interest rates above American interest rates. Higher interest rates depressed investment,

further increasing unemployment.

Social conflict broke out in Britain over the distribution of the adjustment burden, ultimately leading to a general strike in 1926. As a result, the British government began to subsidize its declining and uncompetitive industries. But this response simply allowed the economy not to adjust to its changed circumstances—How would it ever boom?

At the end of the 1920s, citizens and voters in Western Europe at least could look back on not one but two low and dishonest decades. Because of World War I, the 1910s had been the last gasp of the age in which emperors, aristocrats, generals, politicians, and soldiers had been in the saddle—and the result had been a near-complete human catastrophe. Then, in the aftermath of the war, came the 1920s, a decade in which calculators, economists, and politicians were in the saddle. While their policies had not killed ten million people, they had failed to bring rapid growth, stable incomes, stable prices, and full-enough employment.

AMERICAN ISOLATIONISM IN THE 1920s was not limited to avoiding foreign diplomatic and military entanglements. Commercial globalization went into reverse—and not just in the United States, either. Up until 1950, globalization went into recession and retreat worldwide.

Some of it was that in times of unemployment nations jealously guarded their markets, reserving them for their own production. Some of it was that nations and their rulers feared that interdependence could be weaponized—too interdependent an economy, that could be hobbled or crippled by an embargo, was now seen as a political and perhaps a security risk. More of it was that interests that were being outcompeted and impoverished by globalization gained a greater political voice in polities that were increasingly democratic or demagogic. But most of it was that domestic manufacturing productivity levels themselves leaped ahead so rapidly without diverging substantially across countries. Whether it pays to trade something across oceans depends on (a) how high its production cost is relative to how much it costs to transport it, and (b) how large the proportional gaps in costs of production and demand for products are in different parts of the world that fuel potential gains from the trade.²⁴ The coming of mass production and the assembly line caused (a) to shrink and

did not increase (b). All of this meant that come 1950 international trade was back to the 9 percent of global economic activity that it had been in 1800. The globalization cycle had been fully reversed.²⁵

Furthermore, many influential Americans felt that curbing immigration should be an urgent priority.

There had been resistance to free immigration and open borders long before World War I. US senator Henry Cabot Lodge—a nativist, WASPy Boston Brahmin and a Republican—had long beaten the drum, as had Progressive Woodrow Wilson, seeking to avoid social Darwinist corruption of the American race, by which they meant white people, a category they defined very narrowly.²⁶ Most Italian immigrants, Lodge had said, were good, hardworking people. But some were members of the Mafia, and so it was necessary to exclude them. Most Polish immigrants, Lodge said, were good, hardworking people, too. But there were terrorists among them—after all, it had been a second-generation Polish immigrant anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, who had murdered President McKinley. And so it was necessary to exclude Poles as well.

Most Irish, Lodge had argued, were also good people—including many who had already been in America for generations, especially those who were voters in Massachusetts, and who had elected the state representatives who had elected Lodge to the US Senate. But among the more recent immigrants were those socialist-anarchist bomb-placing Molly McGuires. And so it was no less necessary to exclude the Irish.

Anarchists were a danger—and while few Jews were anarchists, many anarchists were Jews. And Jews were generally a problem, and specifically, a political problem. The Democrats were courting the Jewish vote—witness Woodrow Wilson’s nomination to the Supreme Court of Louis Brandeis, a man Lodge declared underqualified and dangerously radical—and this would distort American politics in ways awful and conspiratorial. White people of British, German, Dutch, French, and Scandinavian descent were assets to America, in their view. Irish were on the borderline—and were quickly assimilated to “British” by politicians who had to run in districts where the Irish diaspora cast substantial votes. Others were more trouble than they were worth.

Setting aside the occasional self-serving specific instance, many voting Americans were of Lodge’s way of thinking—or worse. Between 1900 and

1930 the economic and social position of America's Black middle class—W. E. B. Du Bois's "Talented Tenth"—was reduced to rubble. Hollywood reinvigorated the Ku Klux Klan. It was the left-of-center president Woodrow Wilson, too, who segregated the federal civil service and set personnel management to downgrading Black workers. Progressive Republican president Theodore Roosevelt had invited Booker T. Washington to lunch at the White House. His cousin, Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt, had during World War I signed and transmitted the order segregating the bathrooms of what was then the State, War, and Navy building in the White House complex.²⁷

And by the mid-1920s, immigration restrictions against eastern and southern Europeans took hold. Back in 1914, more than 1.2 million immigrants had come to the United States. By the mid-1920s, however, the immigration restrictions had fixed the number of immigrants allowed in each year at only 160,000 or so. Moreover, there were fixed quotas for each nation. The quotas for northern and western Europe were more than sufficient for the demand. The far lower quotas for immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were decidedly not. By 1930, there were 7 million missing Americans—people who would have immigrated were it not for Henry Cabot Lodge and company's legislative success in 1924. But America had kept building houses as though those 7 million had arrived and were living in them. And it was valuing houses and apartment buildings as though those 7 million were purchasing them or paying rent.

Truth be told, many Americans were not alarmed by the turn inward. The United States of the 1920s had plenty to do, very much including becoming a middle-class economy of radios, consumer appliances, automobiles, and suburbs. The utopian qualities of the Jazz Age weren't even sobered by the prohibition of the sale of alcohol. Nearly thirty million motor vehicles, one for every five Americans, were on the road by 1929. Assembly lines powered by electric motors in factories arranged for the convenience of workers made the post–World War I United States the richest society the world had ever seen. The world took notice.

In the middle of the 1800s, English engineers had spied some regularities in the way Americans seemed to do things. American manufacturing industries made simpler and rougher goods. American manufactures used much less skilled labor. American manufactures used up

—the British would say “wasted”—lots of raw materials. American manufacturers paid their workers—even their unskilled workers—much better than did the British. And American manufacturers seemed to run the process of production relying on machines and organizations rather than on workers’ brains and hands.

This “American system of manufactures” was the brainchild of Eli Whitney, an inventor-promotor famous for inventing the cotton gin, which made American short-staple cotton practical as an input for textile spinning. Truth be told, Eli Whitney was one-quarter inventor, one-quarter salesman, one-quarter maniac, and one-quarter fraud. The idea born of this combination was that American manufacturers could make the pieces of their goods to better, tighter specifications in order to make parts *interchangeable*—the barrel of one firearm would fit the trigger mechanism of another. It was an idea that Eli Whitney could never quite make work, but it remained a very compelling idea.

The diffusion of American-system techniques played a substantial part in the late nineteenth-century growth of American manufacturing. Through the intermediation of the machine tool industry, companies such as Singer (making sewing machines), McCormick (making reapers and other agricultural machinery), and the Western Wheel Works (making bicycles) all adopted the strategy of trying to make their parts interchangeable, and so economize on the handling, fitting, and finishing costs that took up so much of skilled workers’ time.²⁸

Economizing costs, certainly, held the attention of nineteenth-century manufacturers. But more was needed: they aimed at also producing a higher-quality (though, note, not the highest-quality) product than would otherwise be possible, which they could then sell for a premium price.

The key difference between Henry Ford and his predecessors in using the “American system” for metalworking—and between Ford and his competitors abroad—was that Ford’s focus was not always on making a superior product (to sell to rich men with chauffeurs) but rather on making a low-priced product he could sell to as many people as possible.

How? Ford minimized his costs by building a capital-intensive plant that was very good at building automobiles, but not at building anything else. This capital intensity carried risk. The productivity and profitability of the Ford plant depended on a high rate of production. This was achieved in part

by “moving the work to the men” by means of the assembly line (which became another fundamental tenet of mass production). Ford engineers had found a method to speed up slow men. The pace of work could be increased. The monitoring of the worker could be increased. Unskilled workers could be substituted for skilled ones. The task of management was made much simpler than it had ever been before: the assembly line forced the pace of the slower workers and made it obvious where bottlenecks were occurring. Fixed overhead costs were spread out over larger and larger volumes of production, and thus lower and lower prices became possible.²⁹

Henry Ford would have been happy if he could have found qualified workers for his assembly lines at low rates of pay. But he could not. Work on Ford’s emerging assembly line was brutal. Workers paid the standard wages for unskilled labor at Ford’s Detroit factory—a little less than \$2 a day—quit at astonishing rates. In one year, 1913, Ford had an average annual labor force of 13,600, and yet 50,400 people quit or were fired. Ford’s workers—sped up, automated, short term, alienated, and about to quit—seemed like obvious fodder for recruitment into the Industrial Workers of the World, and Ford’s profits were very vulnerable to IWW-style wildcat strikes.

Ford’s solution was a massive increase in wages: to \$5 a day for unskilled workers, so long as their family circumstances and deportment satisfied Ford. By 1915, annual turnover was down from 370 percent to 16 percent. Many men who had found a Ford factory job not worth keeping at \$1.75 a day found it more than bearable for \$5 a day. Many more lined up outside the Ford factory for the chance to work at what appeared to them to be (and, for those who did not mind the pace of the assembly line much, was) an incredible boondoggle of a job.³⁰

In the highly unequal, highly stratified America of the 1910s and 1920s, the idea that a high-paid, blue-collar, semiskilled worker could be well in the upper half of the income distribution seemed radical. Yet it was happening in Detroit. And social commentators, and Ford’s imitators, envisioned the spread of mass production to the rest of the economy, making Detroit the rule rather than the exception. For all of this Ford became a celebrity, and a symbol. The extraordinary productivity of mass production, as some nameless publicist began to call it, offered the prospect of a ride to utopia via technology alone. Between the world wars, Henry

Ford was—as Aldous Huxley made him out to be in his ambiguously dystopian novel *Brave New World*—a legend, a mythical figure, a near-Moses to the world.

Not everyone was convinced, and a few were outright suspicious. The boogiemen of Lodge’s dire warnings, the anarchists and the socialists, were real, even if much of their influence over events wasn’t. And however ambiguous, Huxley’s *Brave New World* was still clearly dystopian. Fordism as fictionalized by Huxley gave rise to a world not everyone would, or should, wish to live in.

Like many of the long century’s most prominent figures, Ford managed to retain much of the world’s regard even as his ideas became wilder, crankier, crueler, and more prejudiced. His brave new world of mass production was certainly a shock to all who thought, as Polanyi had, that they deserved stability. But it brought wonderful new, visible, and tangible things, including radios, cars, and square footage. A little instability could then be dealt with, and some of the wild and cranky and cruel could then be overlooked. All in all, America’s mass-produced future looked bright.

Increasingly, America’s decision makers believed that the key to the modern business enterprise lay in creating enormous economies of scale that could be realized by a large, vertically integrated organization able to plan the flow of raw materials into the factory and the flow of finished goods out into distribution channels. The realization of these economies of scale required the highest output, as well as the lowest practicable prices to make sure that the output could be sold. But corporations like Ford’s were proving this formula to be practical, or at least practical enough.

Theodore N. Vail, president of American Telephone and Telegraph in the early twentieth century, distinguished two different strategies for generating net revenue: “by a large percentage of profit on a small business, or a small percentage of profit on a large business.” And in America, the second was best.³¹

Manufacturers of mass-produced items, however, faced a problem literally of their own creation. Once the market had been saturated, replacement demand of the same product dropped considerably. Producers needed consumers who would not simply “replace” but would “upgrade.” This was a big problem for Ford. He had adhered to changelessness for ideological as well as production-based reasons. It became an especially

knotty problem because, it turned out, consumers, unlike Ford, wanted novelty. They were (and are) willing to pay a premium to have not only a car but a car different from some, even most, of their neighbors.^{[32](#)}

Aldous Huxley had believed that it would require sophisticated psychological manipulation to persuade people to buy what mass production could produce, which is exactly what he depicts in *Brave New World*.^{[33](#)} The real world proved much simpler: make it, and tell people you've made it (with some pictures of people using it, having more fun than you will ever have in your lifetime), and the public will buy it.

What Ford wrestled with, Alfred P. Sloan, at General Motors, embraced. Make the guts of the cars the same, so as to take full advantage of economies of scale, put the guts in differently colored boxes, and rely on advertising to create different auras surrounding different lines of cars. Some psychology was certainly involved, but sophisticated? No.

It is natural to be of two minds about this surge of product differentiation. It seems wasteful and deceptive. Yet product differentiation, monopolistic competition, and even advertising are all genuinely popular. Mass production plus mass consumption is what made the creation of America as a middle-class society possible—a middle-class society made up increasingly of people living in suburban houses and using automobiles to commute and shop, with washing machines, refrigerators, electric irons, electric and gas stoves, and much more. A whole host of inventions and technologies that greatly transformed the part of economic life that takes place within the household became interwoven with the public's understanding of Polanyian rights.

Back before World War I, the United States had had the most virulent business cycle in the industrialized part of the world. A huge crash and depression occurred after the 1873 bankruptcy of Jay Cooke and Company, then the largest investment bank in the nation, when the public subsidies for the Northern Pacific Railway that it had counted on failed to materialize. Another major railroad-crash depression started in 1884. Another depression ensued in the early 1890s, when fears that the United States might abandon the gold standard set British and urban eastern capital fleeing the country—though J. P. Morgan profited handsomely from betting that Grover Cleveland would stay the gold-standard course, and lending him the cash to allow him to do so. Then there was the Panic of 1901,

generated as a byproduct of a fight between E. H. Harriman and J. P. Morgan over control of the Northern Pacific Railway. The Panic of 1907 came next, and was only kept from turning into a Great Depression-like event when J. P. Morgan decided to do what the Bank of England had been doing since the 1820s—backing banks that were in trouble until the crisis passed. The Bank of England could do so by printing banknotes that were legal tender. Morgan did so by printing “clearing house certificates” and telling everyone that if they did not accept them as if they were cash, he would ruin them after the crisis was over—and he had a good memory.³⁴

Afterward, however, politicians and bankers alike thought it was not for the best that central-banking panic-fighting functions could be carried out in the private sector by a ruthless and greedy, if highly competent, financier. The United States had not had anything like a central bank since Andrew Jackson had vetoed the Second Bank of the United States’ recharter as a threat to liberty in the 1830s. The United States got a central bank in 1913, the Federal Reserve, tasked with keeping the financial system sound and liquid so that the wheels of commerce and industry could turn smoothly. And so, after World War I, for about a decade, for most Americans, the market gaveth and rarely tooketh, so blessed be the market. And all this was achieved without the bother of taking on hegemonic responsibility for stabilizing the world as a whole. It was enough to stabilize the United States.

One substantial cheerleader and bridge builder for the rapid buildout of American industrialization in the 1920s was Herbert Hoover. Woodrow Wilson had pulled Hoover off of his Belgian relief projects and set him up as the “food czar” of America. Congress in 1919 gave Hoover \$100 million to spend—and he raised another \$100 million—to pay for postwar food relief. With the change of administration from Democrats back to Republicans in 1921, President Warren Harding made a concession to bipartisanship, or rather progressivism, and to the idea of a can-do government, by naming Hoover secretary of commerce, a job he held from 1921 to 1928.³⁵

Hoover thought the secretary of commerce ought to be the management consultant for every single company in America, and the person who drove the other departments to cooperate and aid American industry. He promoted aviation. He promoted radio. He was ringmaster for the federal aid response

to the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927. And he ran for and got the Republican presidential nomination in the summer of 1928, and then beat Democrat Al Smith in the 1928 presidential election.

At the end of 1928, in his last State of the Union message to Congress, President Calvin Coolidge began with, “No Congress of the United States ever assembled, on surveying the state of the Union, has met with a more pleasing prospect than that which appears at the present time.” All, the outgoing president declared, should “regard the present with satisfaction and anticipate the future with optimism.” And indeed, nearly everyone in America in the 1920s had good reasons to be optimistic: the United States appeared to be riding a wave of innovation and invention that was carrying the country toward higher prosperity more rapidly than any previous generation would have believed.³⁶

Automobiles and other consumer durables, especially radios, became leading sectors. The electric motor and electricity became prime movers in industrial production. The growth of the utilities sector was interlinked with these. With electrification, potential demand for the services provided by utilities was immense, rapidly growing, and predictable. Their plant costs were fixed. And nearly all utilities had near monopolies.

The clear utilities strategy was to use the underlying soundness of the industry as collateral to borrow money from banks, use that money to purchase more utilities, take advantage of engineering economies of scale to lower costs, reap the profits, and make sure the profits were shared with the right people, in order to keep potential regulators sweet on the industry. Samuel Insull, a utilities magnate based in Chicago, became a prince of infrastructure with this strategy, and he might well have dominated midcentury American capitalism had not the jealousy and greed of investment bankers led them to withdraw their support for him.

Not that there was no malcontent. In the United States the rising concentration of wealth provoked a widespread feeling that something had gone wrong. Explaining exactly what, however, was difficult, and no faction or group was able to effectively turn that malcontent into political energy. The Populists had been broken in the 1890s by a combination of anti-Black prejudice and an increased sense that inequality was regional and poverty was rural. And the Progressive tide ebbed as moderates embraced only moderate reforms. Voters, meanwhile, continued to elect Republican

presidents who were more or less satisfied with American economic and social developments, and who believed that “the business of America is business.”³⁷

Still, the managers who ran America’s firms and the politicians who got elected were not oblivious to the Progressive challenge. Scared of what unionization or a shift to left-wing politics might bring, and concerned about the welfare of their workers, American business leaders in the 1920s developed “welfare capitalism.” Social-work professionals employed by the firm provided counseling and visited workers’ homes. The businesses offered stock-purchase plans, to help workers save for retirement, and sickness, accident, and life insurance.³⁸

With welfare capitalism unevenly distributed, socialism and social democracy were deemed moot, unnecessary, and un-American. The long-run interest of American companies was to take care of their workers, a fact as obvious as Henry Ford’s \$5-a-day wage and the Pullman Company’s worker housing.

As the 1920s proceeded, Americans forgot about the deep recessions of the pre–World War I period and began to accept that they were living in a “new era” of faster economic growth and general prosperity. The recently established Federal Reserve had the tools to calm the business cycle. The systematic application of science to technology in research laboratories was generating an ever-accelerating stream of new inventions. This world was, if you looked selectively at the facts, brave and new and ambiguously utopian. Why shouldn’t people in America in the 1920s have expected prosperity to continue, and economic growth to accelerate?

One consequence of this seemingly permanent “new era” was that financial asset prices went up.

To properly value any given financial asset, first we need to take the rate of return the market requires on safe assets—for example, the bonds of the world’s most trustworthy government. Second, we add on an appropriate adjustment for the risk of the asset. Third, subtract from that adjusted rate of return the rate at which you expect the payments from the asset to grow (for a constant-coupon bond, that rate will be zero; for a stock, it will be the expected rate of earnings growth). Call this the “adjusted yield factor.” Fourth, divide the current payout of the asset—its bond coupon or stock dividend payment—by the adjusted yield factor. This gives the price the

asset should sell for. Americans in the 1920s who bothered to do all four steps did so with presumptions that told them the asset's price had to go up.

The result was widespread faith in the permanent "new era" of low risks, low-interest rates produced by successful macroeconomic stabilization, rapid growth produced by new technology, and confidence that in the future, depressions would be few and small. Concretely, this meant very high prices for financial assets, especially stocks, and especially stock in high-tech companies. Monetary economist (and Prohibition enthusiast) Irving Fisher ruined his reputation as an economic forecaster for all time with his late-1929 declaration that "stock prices have reached what looks like a permanently high plateau." True, he declared this to a near-universal sea of heads nodding in agreement.³⁹

That the US stock market did go off its rails is clear. A host of anomalies in stock market values indicate that those who were paying for stocks in the summer and early fall of 1929 had not the slightest rational clue of what they were doing.

Consider the closed-end investment fund. A closed-end investment fund is a pure holding company. Investors were supposed to pool their resources and limit their risk by buying stock in this holding company, this closed-end investment fund, which would then buy and hold for them the stock of one hundred or more individual operating companies. The theory was that the management of the fund would be better able to pick stocks and manage risk than individual investors.

In practice, this meant that the only assets of a closed-end investment fund were its financial assets: the stocks and bonds that it held. By elementary principles of rational finance, therefore, the fundamental value of a closed-end investment fund was nothing more than the current value of the stocks and bonds that made up its portfolio. Yet by the fall of 1929 closed-end investment funds were selling at a 40 percent premium relative to their net asset values.⁴⁰

According to the "rules of the game" of the gold standard, a country that receives an inflow of gold is supposed to use it to back an expansion of its money stock, which in turn triggers inflation. That inflation then encourages the country to import more and export less so trade rebalances. But neither the United States nor France was willing to tolerate domestic inflation. They squirreled the gold away in their government vaults. Both

began to view their gold reserves not as shock absorbers but rather as national treasures, to be defended and hoarded—and any outward flow would be viewed a defeat.

The United States and France held more than 60 percent of the world's monetary gold by 1929. The global price level was twice what it had been in 1914. Outside the United States and France, countries undertaking to trade did so with only a fraction of the world's gold. As a consequence, a single gold coin or gold bar had to do more than five times the work that it normally would have of cushioning shocks, providing liquidity, and creating trust.⁴¹

After the fact, economists Friedrich von Hayek and Lionel Robbins blamed the Great Depression that started in 1929 on the Federal Reserve's unwillingness to raise interest rates earlier. They pointed to the Fed's decision (at the request of the Reichsbank and the Bank of England) to cut the discount rate at which it lent to banks from 4 to 3.5 percent in the spring of 1927. They claimed that this shift in the rate was clearly inflationary, that it made money too inexpensively available to the economy, and that it ultimately drove the inflationary boom that led to the speculative mania of 1929.⁴²

We know today that this is wrong because we have the benefit of knowing what excessively inflationary monetary policy looks like: it looks like the United States between 1965 and 1973. The late 1920s were nothing of the sort: overall prices remained constant. The goods and product markets showed no sign of too much money chasing too few goods.

Economists such as Milton Friedman make a more convincing case, claiming that the Federal Reserve was not too expansionary but too contractionary in the run-up to the 1929 stock market crash. From 1928 on, Federal Reserve officials began to worry that gold might start flowing out if they did not raise interest rates. They also worried that stock prices were too high, that they might end in a crash, and that such a crash might bring on a depression. So they took measures to try to choke off both gold outflows and stock market speculation by making it more expensive to borrow money. They succeeded in the first. They failed in the second.⁴³

It seems as though the Federal Reserve's attempts to keep stock market overvaluation from growing large enough to trigger a crash were counterproductive. In fact, they triggered a crash—and then a recession—

all by themselves. The US economy entered a cyclical downturn in June 1929. By that time, the German economy had already been in recession for almost a year. The Great Depression had begun.

7

The Great Depression

Understanding the Great Depression begins by looking back at the first economists' debates early in the 1800s. Economists then saw the market economy emerging. They worried that things would not necessarily fit together smoothly. Might not the farmers be unable to sell the crops they grew to the artisans, because the artisans could not sell the products they made to the merchants, who would be unable to make money carrying artisans' products to the farmers, because the farmers would not purchase anything?

The French economist Jean-Baptiste Say wrote in 1803 that there was no cause for worry. Such a “general glut”—economy-wide “overproduction” or “under demand,” and consequent mass unemployment—was incoherent. Nobody, Say argued, would ever produce anything for sale unless they expected to use the money they earned in order to buy something else.¹ And so “by a metaphysical necessity,” as subsequent-generation economist John Stuart Mill wrote in 1829, summarizing Say’s 1803 argument, there could be no imbalance between the aggregate value of planned production for sale, the aggregate value of planned sales, and the aggregate value of planned purchases. This is “Say’s Law.”²

Now Say stressed that this equality only applied to economy-wide totals. Individual commodities could be and often were in excess demand, with buyers unsatisfied and rapidly increasing the prices they were willing to pay—or excess supply, with sellers rapidly cutting the prices at which they had planned to sell. The idea that you could have excess demand for (and therefore high profits in) scarce commodities, or excess supply of (and

therefore losses in) overabundant commodities—this was not a bug but a feature. The market provided incentives to quickly shift resources to erase such imbalances. But a deficiency of demand relative to production of well-nigh everything? That, Say said, was impossible.

Other economists questioned Say's conclusion. What if you wanted to buy before you had sold—if the artisan wanted to buy food before the merchant had come around to buy the textiles? That, said Say, was what banks and trade credit were for: “Merchants know well enough how to find substitutes for the product serving as the medium of exchange.” Karl Marx dismissed this as the “childish babble of a Say.”³ One did not just sell in order to buy: one might be forced to sell in order to pay off an old debt, if credit that had been extended by some bank was withdrawn. In that case, the demand for goods was in the past and could not in the present balance out your supply. If everyone was trying to sell in order to pay off old debts, there would indeed be a “general glut.” And if those who were calling in loans saw businesses collapsing into bankruptcy around them, they would be unlikely to provide “substitutes for the product serving as the medium of exchange.”

Say was wrong. As economist Thomas Robert Malthus had vaguely intuited in 1819, and as the young John Stuart Mill had nailed it in 1829, there can be an excess demand for money along with an excess supply of pretty much everything else.⁴

If a manufacturer has excess demand for a good, he can respond by raising its price. If it is a good you want, you can respond by being willing to pay more for it. And this, in turn, may well cause you to want to have more money with which to buy more of this good and others like it. Something similar happens when there is an excess demand for money. People who are demanding it can “buy” more money by working longer and harder. But because money is special, you can do something else as well. You can stop your spending. And when you stop spending, your counterparties lose their markets, their income, and their work.⁵

If money is in excess demand and so an increasing number of goods and services swing into excess supply, factories will be shut and workers will be jobless. That shareholders then have no dividends, lenders have no interest payments, and workers have no wages will only further widen the gap between the aggregate-supply productive potential of the economy and the

current level of aggregate demand.

Say came to recognize the point that Marx and Mill (and others) would make after the British Canal Panic of 1825.⁶ The banks and merchants of England decided in late 1825 that they had made too many loans to too many counterparties whose investments were not turning out well. So they stopped advancing cash in return for merchants' promised future earnings from customers. Thus, Say wrote, "commerce found itself deprived at a stroke of the advances on which it had counted," which ultimately led to financial and economic collapse, a true "general glut." Money and credit are, after all, liquid trust. And if there is not trust that your counterparty is solvent, the money and credit will not be there.

However, there is one organization that is almost always trusted to be good for the money. The government accepts as payment for taxes the money that it issues itself. Because of this, everybody who owes taxes will be willing to sell what they have in return for the government-issued money. Whenever the economy freezes up due to a shortage of demand and income, the government can fix it—as long as its own finances are trusted over the long term—by increasing the amount of government-issued cash in the public's hands. People then will be able to buy. Their purchases then become extra income for others. Those others will then be able to scale up their purchases. And so the economy will unwedge itself—if the government acts properly to enable it to do so.

There are a number of ways the government can get extra purchasing power into the hands of the public to cure a depression:

It can have its functionaries throw bundles of cash out of helicopters—an arresting idea first proposed by Milton Friedman (a reference to which earned former US Federal Reserve chair Ben Bernanke his nickname of "Helicopter Ben").

It can hire people, set them to work, and pay them.

It can simply buy useful stuff, and so provide the extra demand to make it profitable for employers to hire more people, set them to work, and pay them.

It can have an arm—a central bank—that trades financial assets for cash.

The last of these options is the one most favored by governments in recent history. In response to the Canal Crisis of 1825, the Bank of England took major steps to boost the cash holdings—and the spending—of the

banks, businesses, and individuals of England.⁷ As Jeremiah Harman, then one of the directors of the Bank of England, wrote, “We lent [cash] by every possible means and in modes we had never adopted before; we took in stock on security, we purchased Exchequer bills, we made advances on Exchequer bills, we not only discounted outright, but we made advances on the deposit of bills of exchange to an immense amount, in short, by every possible means consistent with the safety of the Bank, and we were not on some occasions over-nice. Seeing the dreadful state in which the public were, we rendered every assistance in our power.”⁸

Despite these efforts, there was a depression: 16 percent less cotton was spun into yarn in England in 1826 than had been spun in 1825. But the depression was short: 1827 saw 30 percent more cotton spun into yarn than 1826 had. Could it have been worse? Absolutely. Indeed, there is good reason to think that the downturn would have been considerably worse had the Bank of England behaved the same way the US Treasury and Federal Reserve did in the early 1930s.

AS THE WORLD SLID into the Great Depression from 1929 to 1933, central banks did *not* take large-scale emergency steps to put cash into the hands of the public. It is straightforward to narrate the slide. It is more complicated, however, to understand why these central banks sat on their hands.

The 1920s had seen a stock market boom in the United States that was the result of general optimism. Businessmen and economists believed that the newly born Federal Reserve would stabilize the economy, and that the pace of technological progress guaranteed rapidly rising living standards and expanding markets. The Federal Reserve feared that continued stock speculation would produce a huge number of overleveraged financial institutions that would go bankrupt at the slightest touch of an asset price drop. Such a wave of bankruptcies would then produce an enormous increase in fear, a huge flight to cash, and the excess demand for cash that is the flip side of a “general glut.” The Federal Reserve decided that it needed to curb the stock market bubble to prevent such speculation. And so it came to pass that its attempt to head off a depression in the future brought one on in the present.⁹

Previous depressions had been—and future depressions would be—far smaller than the Great Depression. In the United States, the most recent economic downturns had inflicted significantly less damage: in 1894, the unemployment rate had peaked at 12 percent; in 1908, at 6 percent; and in 1921, at 11 percent. The highest unemployment rate reached between World War II and the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 was 11 percent. In the Great Depression, the US unemployment rate peaked at 23 percent—and at 28 percent for nonfarm workers (in the family-farm sector, “unemployment” is harder to measure). Some of the greatness of the Great Depression was a result of the relative expansion of the nonfarm sector at the expense of the family-farm sector: working from the best available data, I estimate that the nonfarm unemployment rate peaked at 14 percent in 1921, and working backward in time, at 8 percent in 1908, 20 percent in 1894, and 11 percent in 1884. Depressions with large-scale unemployment are a disease of the nonfarm economy of workers and businesses, not of a yeoman farmer or even an independent craftsman economy.

But even taking the growing relative size of the industrial and nonfarm sectors into account, the Great Depression was greater and longer by far than any previous depressions or any since. Others had produced one big shock that threw people out of work and shuttered factories and businesses, after which recovery began, sometimes rapidly and sometimes slowly, as people picked themselves up, confidence returned, the excess demand for money ebbed, and people no longer wished to hoard as much cash against future emergencies.

The Great Depression was different. The start of the recession in mid-1929 was the first shock to confidence. The stock market crash of late 1929 was a consequence of both that shock and of overleverage, and was itself a second, major confidence shock that quickly reverberated around the entire world. Then, a year later, came a banking crisis in the United States. The thought that the money you had been depositing in the bank might get locked away and become inaccessible—or vanish completely—caused a run on banks. Bank deposits ceased to be fully “money” because you could not be confident they would still be there when you needed them. So people demanded more money, this time insisting that it be in the particular form of visible cash, further boosting the excess demand for money. March 1931 saw a second banking crisis. The summer and fall of 1931 saw panics in

other countries, which made the Great Depression great worldwide—and greatest in Germany.¹⁰

Up until late 1930, people continued clamoring for cash. With the Roaring Twenties over and the stock market in a pronounced bear market, demand for cash was high. But shortly thereafter, banks began to get scared and to restrict the amount of cash they were willing to provide to their customers. They called in loans and canceled lines of credit as they sought to raise the ratio of their own reserves held against the deposits they owed their customers. And households began to want to raise their currency-to-deposits ratio: to hold more cash under the mattress than in the bank.

From late 1930 into 1933, month by month, these reserves-to-deposits and currency-to-deposits ratios grew as confidence fell, and so month by month the money supply shrank. During that period, 1931 had been a year of banking and international financial crises; 1932 saw no large extra crises, but it also saw no recovery, as the situation had become so dire and so unprecedented that there was no recovery of confidence.

Conventional anti-Keynesian economic thinking would hold that any depression will be cured faster if wages and prices are encouraged—or forced—to fall in nominal terms. The same amount of spending in dollars will then buy more stuff and provide demand for more people to work. The problem is that when wages and prices fall, debts do not fall along with them. Thus, a decline in prices—deflation—during the Depression caused bankruptcies—companies unable to pay their debts—which led to further contractions in production, which triggered additional falls in prices, bankruptcies, and so on.

Banking panics and the collapse of the world monetary system cast doubt on everyone's credit and reinforced the belief that the early 1930s was a time to watch and wait. Demand for cash went up, and the excess supply of goods and services grew. And with prices falling at 10 percent per year, investors had compelling reasons to sit on the sidelines. Investing now would earn them less profit than if they waited to invest next year, when their dollars would stretch 10 percent further. The slide into the Depression, with increasing unemployment, falling production, and falling prices, continued throughout then newly elected Herbert Hoover's presidential term.

At its nadir, the Depression was collective insanity. Workers were idle

because firms would not hire them to work their machines; firms would not hire workers to work their machines because they saw no market for goods; and there was no market for goods because idle workers had no incomes to spend. Journalist and novelist George Orwell's 1936 account of the Great Depression in Britain, *The Road to Wigan Pier*, speaks of "several hundred men risk[ing] their lives and several hundred women scrabb[ing] in the mud for hours... searching eagerly for tiny chips of coal" in slag heaps so they could heat their homes. For them, this "free" coal was "more important almost than food." While they risked and scrabbled, all around them the machinery they had previously used to mine in five minutes more coal than they could now gather in a day stood idle.¹¹

There is no fully satisfactory explanation for why the Great Depression happened just when it did, and why there was only one. If such huge depressions were always a possibility in an unregulated capitalist economy, why weren't there two, three, or more of them in the years before World War II? Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz would later argue that the Depression resulted from an incredible sequence of blunders in monetary policy. But those controlling policy during the early 1930s thought they were following the same gold-standard rules that their predecessors had used. Were they wrong? If they were not wrong, why was the Great Depression the *only* Great Depression?

A number of pieces of bad luck did all come together. In the United States, the decision to cut immigration in 1924 meant that a great deal of construction undertaken in the mid-1920s was undertaken for people who, it turned out, did not exist—or, rather, existed elsewhere. The rapid expansion of financial markets, and broader participation in them, made them more vulnerable than usual to overspeculation and panic. The shortage of monetary gold to act as a shock absorber, due to France and the United States deciding to lock it in their vaults, played a role. The international monetary system's reliance not just on gold but on other assets—assets also subject to runs—played a role as well.

When I first started writing this book, I felt, as many others did, that 1929–1933 was a uniquely vulnerable time, and planned to devote considerable space to explaining why. But in 2008, we skated to the edge of another Great Depression (which we'll explore in more detail in [Chapter 17](#)), which made it painfully clear that the years 1929–1933 were not so

uniquely vulnerable after all. Rather, we had been remarkably lucky before 1929, and we had been remarkably lucky after 1929.

In the lead-up to the Great Depression, policy elites doubled down on the austerity measures to which they had committed themselves in the late 1920s. Faced with the gathering depression, the first instinct of governments and central banks was to do, well, nothing. Businessmen, economists, and politicians expected the recession of 1929–1930 to be self-limiting. They expected workers with idle hands and capitalists with idle machines to try to undersell their still at-work peers. Prices would fall. When prices fell enough, entrepreneurs would gamble that even with slack demand, production would be profitable at the new, lower wages. Production would then resume. This is how earlier recessions had come to an end.

Throughout the decline—which saw the unemployment rate rise to nearly a quarter of the US workforce, and production per worker fall to a level 40 percent below where it had been in 1929—the government did not try to prop up aggregate demand. The Federal Reserve did not use open-market operations to keep the money supply from falling. Instead, the only significant systematic use of open-market operations was in the other direction. After the United Kingdom abandoned the gold standard in the fall of 1931, the Fed raised interest rates to discourage gold outflows.¹²

The Federal Reserve thought it knew what it was doing: it was letting the private sector handle the Depression in its own fashion. And it feared that expansionary monetary policy or fiscal spending and the resulting deficits would impede the necessary private-sector process of readjustment.

The Fed's do-little-to-nothing approach was backed by a large chorus, which included some of the most eminent economists of the era.

For example, Harvard's Joseph Schumpeter argued that “depressions are not simply evils, which we might attempt to suppress, but forms of something which has to be done, namely, adjustment to change.”¹³ Friedrich von Hayek wrote, “The only way permanently to mobilize all available resources is, therefore, to leave it to time to effect a permanent cure by the slow process of adapting the structure of production.”¹⁴

Hayek and company believed that enterprises were gambles that sometimes failed. The best that could be done in such circumstances was to shut down those that turned out to have been based on faulty assumptions

about future demands. The liquidation of such investments and businesses released factors of production from unprofitable uses so that they could be redeployed. Depressions, said Hayek, were this process of liquidation and preparation for the redeployment of resources.

Schumpeter put it this way: “Any revival which is merely due to artificial stimulus leaves part of the work of depressions undone and adds, to an undigested remnant of maladjustment, new maladjustment of its own which has to be liquidated in turn, thus threatening business with another [worse] crisis ahead.”¹⁵ The market giveth, the market taketh away, and—in this case—blessed be the name of the market through gritted teeth. Except many didn’t just grit their teeth, they also cursed loudly and repeatedly.

Herbert Hoover moved from commerce secretary to president on March 4, 1929, three months before the recession began and half a year before the 1929 stock market crash. He kept Andrew Mellon on as treasury secretary. Mellon had been nominated by Warren G. Harding and confirmed on March 9, 1921, five days after Harding’s term began. Mellon stayed in his post when Harding died of a heart attack in 1923 and was succeeded by Calvin Coolidge. Mellon stayed in his post when Coolidge won a term in his own right and was inaugurated in 1925. Mellon stayed in his post when Hoover took over in 1929. Only Albert Gallatin—treasury secretary for Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe—served longer. Tax, budget, and monetary policy (for the treasury secretary was in those days the chair of the Federal Reserve Board)—all those were within Mellon’s purview. Hoover was an expert mining engineer and a manager who believed in experts. And Mellon was his expert on how to deal with the Great Depression.

Looking back from the 1950s and contemplating the wreck of his country’s economy and his own political career, Hoover cursed Mellon and his supporters in his administration who had advised inaction during the downslide:

The “leave-it-alone liquidationists” headed by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon felt that government must keep its hands off and let the slump liquidate itself. Mr. Mellon had only one formula: “Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate.” He held that even panic was not altogether a bad thing. He

said: “It will purge the rottenness out of the system. High costs of living and high living will come down. People will work harder, live a more moral life. Values will be adjusted, and enterprising people will pick up the wrecks from less competent people.”¹⁶

In his memoirs, Hoover wrote as though he had wanted to pursue more activist policies: do more than simply hand out relief and assure people that prosperity was, if not just around the corner, nearby. Hoover wrote as though Mellon had overruled him and he had no choice but to comply. But, of Hoover and Mellon, which of them was head of the executive branch? And which was merely head of one of its departments?

This ruling doctrine—that, in the long run, the Great Depression would turn out to have been good medicine for the economy, and that proponents of stimulative policies were shortsighted enemies of the public welfare—was, to put it bluntly, completely bats, simply insane. John Stuart Mill had nailed the analytical point back in 1829: an excess demand for money was what produced a “general glut,” and if the economy’s money supply were matched to money demand there would be no depression.¹⁷ Practical central bankers had developed a playbook for what to do.¹⁸ Yet it was not followed.

Why? Perhaps because in previous downturns the excess demand for money had triggered a scramble for *liquidity*: people desperate for cash immediately dumped other assets, including the government bonds they held. As government bonds fell in price, the interest rates they paid rose. Central bankers saw such sharp spikes in government bond interest rates as a signal that the economy needed more cash.

But the Great Depression was not like previous downturns.

In this downturn the excess demand for money was so broad and fear was so great that it triggered a scramble for *safety*. Yes, people were desperate for more cash, but they were also desperate for assets that they could easily turn into cash. Believing the troubles would last for quite a while, they dumped other assets on the market—speculative stocks, industrial stocks, utility stocks, bonds of all kinds, even secure railroad stocks and things like their ancestors’ furniture and their summer homes. The scramble was on for both cash and government bonds. Along with furniture left curbside, there was also no government-bond interest-rate

spike, leaving central bankers unsure as to what was going on.

For their part, governments everywhere strained their every nerve and muscle to restore competitiveness and balance their budgets, which meant, in practice, further depressing demand, and in turn reducing wages and prices. In Germany, the chancellor—the prime minister—Heinrich Brüning, decreed a 10 percent cut in prices and a 10 to 15 percent cut in wages. But every step taken in pursuit of financial orthodoxy made matters worse.

When you look at interest rates during the Great Depression you see a steadily widening gap between safe interest rates on government securities and the interest rates that companies able to borrow had to pay. Even though credit, understood as liquidity, was ample—in the sense that borrowers with perfect and unimpaired collateral could obtain loans at extremely low interest rates—the vast majority of businesses struggling to stay afloat—namely, businesses with imperfect, impaired collateral—found it next to impossible to obtain capital to finance investment because new investment expenditures on plants and equipment were risky, and the financial economy was desperately short of safety.

The banking system froze up. It no longer performed its social function of channeling purchasing power from savers to investors. Private investment collapsed; falling investment produced more unemployment, excess capacity, further falls in prices, and more deflation; and further deflation rendered investors less willing to invest and the banking system even more insolvent, deepening the freeze.

The spiral of deflation would continue to depress the economy until something was done to restore solvency to the banking system in a way that broke the expectation of further falls in prices. During the Great Depression, few economists understood this process. None of them who did walked the corridors of power.

So it was that the ruling “liquidationist” doctrine overrode the anguished cries of dissent from those less hindered by their theoretical blinders (as well as the anguished cries of the unemployed, the hungry, and the uncertainly housed, if housed at all). As the British monetary economist R. G. Hawtrey wrote, “Fantastic fears of inflation were expressed. That was to cry, Fire, Fire, in Noah’s Flood.”¹⁹ The Great Depression was the twentieth century’s greatest case of self-inflicted economic catastrophe. As John Maynard Keynes wrote at its very start, in 1930, the world was “as capable

as before of affording for every one a high standard of life.” But the outlook was nevertheless ominous: “Today,” he said, “we have involved ourselves in a colossal muddle, having blundered in the control of a delicate machine, the working of which we do not understand.” Keynes feared that “the slump” of 1930 might “pass over into a depression, accompanied by a sagging price level, which might last for years with untold damage to the material wealth and to the social stability of every country alike.” He called for resolute, coordinated monetary expansion by the major industrial economies “to restore confidence in the international long-term bond market... and to restore [raise] prices and profits, so that in due course the wheels of the world’s commerce would go round again.”²⁰ His was the croaking of a Cassandra.

But such action never emerges from committees, or from international meetings, unless it has been well prepared beforehand. It emerges, rather, from the actions of a hegemon. Such is required for a well-functioning global economy. Before World War I, everybody knew that Britain was the hegemon and adjusted their behavior to conform with the rules of the game laid down in London. After World War II, everyone would similarly know that the United States was the hegemon. America had the power to take effective action to shape the patterns of international finance all by itself, had it wished. But, during the interwar period, it didn’t. The necessary action was not forthcoming.

And so Keynes’s fears came to pass.

During World War I and after, the main belligerents, he said, had shaken “the delicate, complicated organization... through which alone the European peoples can employ themselves and live.” Broken by war, the system was shattered by the Depression. Recall what Keynes had written: that this destruction of trust was “fast rendering impossible a continuation of the social and economic order of the nineteenth century. But [European leaders had] no plan for replacing it.” Keynes warned that the consequences could be dire: “Vengeance, I dare predict, will not limp.” And he was right. For once the Great Depression began, “nothing can then delay for long that final civil war between the forces of Reaction and the despairing convulsions of Revolution, before which the horrors of the late German war [World War I] will fade into nothing, and which will destroy, whoever is victor, the civilization and progress of our generation.”²¹ Keynes was

pessimistic. As it came to pass, civilization would not be “destroyed” but rather “maimed.”

A large part of what made the Great Depression so painful was that it was not only deep but also long. There were many reasons for this. Let me pick out three:

A first reason it stretched on for so long was workers’ unwillingness to take risks. With so much instability, most were content to settle for what manner of living they could find that was most secure. The experience of long and high unemployment casts a large and deep shadow on the labor market. Risky but profitable enterprises had a difficult time attracting the workers they needed, and so investment remained depressed.

A second reason it was long was the memory of the gold standard and the belief that economies needed to get back to it. This belief dissuaded governments in the 1930s from taking many of the steps to boost production and employment that they otherwise might have pursued: the gold standard was dead by 1931, but its ghost continued to haunt the world economy. Few of these much-needed measures were undertaken. The only one that governments did take up was currency depreciation: stimulating net exports by switching demand to domestic-made goods and away from foreign-made goods. Commentators disparaged currency depreciation as “beggar-thy-neighbor.” It was. But it was the only thing generally undertaken that was effective.²²

A third reason was that the lack of a hegemon to guide coordinated action in international monetary affairs not only prevented anticipatory reforms but also blocked coordinated global policy responses. The major monetary powers of the world passed up their chances to do anything constructive together. Recovery, where it came, was national only, not global.

In general, the sooner countries went off the gold standard, and the less constrained they were thereafter by the orthodoxy of gold-standard habits, the better they fared. Thus, the Scandinavian countries that bailed first from the gold standard did best. Japan was second. Britain also abandoned the gold standard, in 1931, but Japan embraced expansionary policies more thoroughly. The United States and Germany abandoned the gold standard in 1933, but Hitler had a clearer view that success required putting people to work than FDR did with the try-everything-expediency of his New Deal.

But all of the opinions of the great and good blocked action toward “reflation,” that is, adopting policies to restore the level of prices and the flow of spending to pre-Depression 1929 levels. The consensus opinion of the powerful—the “money changers... in their high seats in the temple of our civilization,” as President Franklin Roosevelt called them in his 1933 Inaugural Address—was that what was needed was, instead, “austerity”: sound money, government spending cuts, and balanced budgets.²³ Those who proposed doing something were denounced from the right as con artists, for, as Churchill’s private secretary, P. J. Grigg, put it, “an economy could not forever by government financial legerdemain live beyond its means on its wits.”²⁴

The most incisive, if not the shrewdest, contemporary critic of Keynes, the University of Chicago’s Jacob Viner, said that such policies could work only if the “volume of employment, irrespective of quality, is considered important.” He added that the economy could avoid inflationary self-destruction only as long as “the printing press could maintain a constant lead” in an inevitable race with “the business agents of the trade unions.”²⁵

Again, it is impossible not to note the history of the Great Depression rhyming with the history of the Great Recession. “Austerity” went into eclipse after World War II, but it continued to burble underground, and would resurface to vengeful and disastrous effect in 2008. That year saw a revival of the Schumpeterian claim that mass unemployment was an essential part of the process of economic growth, and that attempts to artificially keep the unproductive from experiencing it would only store up more trouble for the future. The University of Chicago’s John Cochrane claimed in November 2009 that he welcomed the prospect of a recession because “people pounding nails in Nevada need to find something else to do”: he thought recession unemployment would be a welcome spur.

Keynes snarked back. While policies of government activism and reflation certainly violated orthodox canons of laissez-faire economics, the system would be judged on whether it managed to get people jobs. Activism and reflation were nevertheless “the only practicable means of avoiding the destruction of existing economic forms in their entirety.”²⁶

Moreover, Keynes snarked further, if his critics were even half-smart, they would have understood that successful capitalism needed the support of an activist government ensuring full employment, for without that, only

the lucky innovators would survive, and only the mad would attempt to become innovators. Growth would therefore be much slower than necessary: “If effective demand is deficient,” he said, the entrepreneur was “operating with the odds loaded against him.” The “world’s wealth” had “fallen short of... individual savings; and the difference has been made up by the losses of those whose courage and initiative have not been supplemented by exceptional skill or unusual good fortune.” Austerity and orthodoxy and laissez-faire were, in the conditions of the world after 1914, deadly destructive mistakes. And the persistence of the Great Depression, no matter how big the budget cuts, showed that Keynes was right.

In one region of the North Atlantic alone was the Great Depression shallow, short, and followed by a decade of strong economic growth: Scandinavia. In the interwar period the socialists of the Scandinavian countries won enough votes to exercise power. In sharp contrast to their counterparts in Britain and France (who had no idea of what a left-wing exercise of political power would be), these socialists pursued housing subsidies, paid holiday and maternity benefits, expanded public-sector employment, government loans to the newly married, and the like—all made possible by a monetary policy that cut loose from the gold standard earlier than other countries. Thus socialists turned into social democrats: they lost their commitment to the apocalyptic doctrines of socialism, lost their belief that all private property was inherently evil, lost their belief that only a great and sudden revolutionary transformation could bring about a better society. Democracy became a goal rather than a tactic.²⁷

Close behind Scandinavia in having a mild Great Depression was Japan, which abandoned fiscal orthodoxy and budget balancing in 1931. The Great Depression in Japan was not deep, and it was over by 1932.²⁸ This was largely thanks to Takahashi Korekiyo, not one of the “Meiji Six” but in the next rank of Japanese modernizers. In 1931, at the age of seventy-two, he became minister of finance for the third time, and he had little tolerance for European models of “sound finance.” Japan devalued its currency in order to boost demand by making its export industries hypercompetitive and generating an export boom. It also embarked on a massive program of armaments manufacturing. Industrial production in Japan in 1936 was half again what it had been in 1928. This proved an effective short-run economic policy, but turned out to be a bad long-run strategy: the

armaments boom and the loss of civilian control over the military led to Japan getting involved in a land war in Asia, and then, ultimately, to its attacks on the world's two superpowers, Britain and the United States.

Takahashi would not live to see the horrors and tragedies of World War II. He was one of three senior politicians who were assassinated on February 26, 1936, when the Imperial Way faction of the army attempted to seize power. He had not pushed the military budget high enough to please the coup plotters.

Elsewhere, the Great Depression was a long disaster. It was worst in Germany, where it brought to power Adolf Hitler—his mass support came not in the 1920s as a consequence of inflation but in the 1930s as a consequence of mass unemployment.

Once Hitler had taken power and broken adherence to monetary and fiscal orthodoxy, his Nazi Germany was able to recover. With the Gestapo in the background, and with strong demand from the government for public works and military programs, unemployment fell rapidly in Germany in the 1930s.²⁹ Hitler appears to have been focused on employment and weapons, not adding to industrial capacity and increasing national wealth. Political effectiveness and military capacity were the priorities.³⁰

Political effectiveness we understand. But weapons? Armies? Hadn't World War I taught the Germans, and even the Nazis, and even Hitler, not to do *that* again? No, it had not.³¹

Overall, the major monetary powers of the world regularly passed up their chances to do something constructive and coordinated to help the world monetary system recover. In 1933, the last chance, the London Economic Conference, collapsed in disagreement. The French believed they should try to maintain the gold standard. The British, who had long since abandoned it, were unwilling to, in economist Barry J. Eichengreen's words, "tie their policies to those of a foreign partner [the United States] of whose intentions they were unsure."³² Coordinated reflation was the first obvious strategy. But it was never tried. Fiscal expansion was the next obvious thing to try. But it was not attempted until the very end of the decade, when the threat of war made governments realize that spending public money to build weapons was more important than trying, yet again, to balance the budget.³³

Close to bringing up the rear in the race for recovery was Britain. Great

Britain had been forced off the gold standard in September 1931. But its abandonment of the gold standard was not followed by large-scale reflation. The Bank of England did its part, cutting back on its short-term discount rate. The National-Conservative government, however, did not do its part. In October, the Conservative Party swept the general election, winning 78 percent of seats in the House of Commons. Britain's recovery from the Great Depression would be slow and painful.³⁴

France, which stuck it out on the gold standard until 1937, did worst of all. Its undervalued exchange rate parity chosen after its sevenfold inflation in the 1920s made France, temporarily, an export powerhouse. So when the Great Depression began, it had little effect on France at first. But as exports dropped, country after country devalued to try to regain some foreign demand. Increasingly, countries that had not devalued found their industries uncompetitive, their payments in deficit, and their maintenance of convertibility a source of domestic unemployment, because they had to maintain higher interest rates and apply further deflation to keep foreign exchange speculators' greed in balance with their fear. A fragmented electorate produced unstable coalition governments. From the crash of 1929 to 1936, the French prime ministers were, in succession, Aristide Briand, André Tardieu, Camille Chautemps, Tardieu again, Théodore Steeg, Pierre Laval, Tardieu yet again, Édouard Herriot, Joseph Paul-Boncour, Édouard Daladier, Albert Sarraut, Chautemps again, Daladier again, Gaston Doumergue, Pierre-Étienne Flandin, Fernand Bouisson, Laval again, Sarraut again, and finally Léon Blum, the Popular Front prime minister who grasped the nettle. Finally, France and the other holdouts—the Netherlands, Switzerland—abandoned their gold parity in 1936.³⁵

Blum promised to restore pensions and public-sector wages to where they had been before the budget cuts. He also promised to greatly increase unemployment benefits, to defend the franc, to balance the budget, to cut back on military spending, and to share the work and the wealth by cutting back on working hours and supporting strikes.

It did not add up.

Blum abandoned the gold standard. But that did not mean substantial expansion of aggregate demand: the government's belief that the government *should* be trying to balance the budget led it to scale back its nonmilitary spending programs. The investing public's fear of socialism

more than offset the positive, stimulative effects of a late devaluation. France entered 1938, the last year before the beginning of World War II in Europe, with its level of industrial production still less than it had been in 1929.

That the Great Depression was long meant that the reaction to it shaped countries' politics and societies for a long time to come. George Orwell was one of the most eloquent in expressing how the system that had produced the Great Depression had failed humanity: "The thing that horrified and amazed me was to find that many were *ashamed* of being unemployed. I was very ignorant, but not so ignorant as to imagine that when the loss of foreign markets pushes two million men out of work, those two million are any more to blame than the people who draw blanks in the Calcutta Sweep."³⁶

But once unemployment is no longer seen as the fault of the unemployed, any belief that the unpleasantness of work is the result of personal responsibility becomes vulnerable as well. And so someone like Orwell could reframe coal miners not as unskilled workers with a union who were probably overpaid, but as benefactors whom the rest of us had not properly acknowledged:

Practically everything we do, from eating an ice to crossing the Atlantic, and from baking a loaf to writing a novel, involves the use of coal.... It is only because miners sweat their guts out that superior persons can remain superior. You and I and the editor of the *Times Lit. Supp.*, and the Nancy Poets and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Comrade X, author of *Marxism for Infants*—all of us really owe the comparative decency of our lives to poor drudges underground, blackened to the eyes, with their throats full of coal dust, driving their shovels forward with arms and belly muscles of steel.³⁷

Orwell's touchstone for judging a social system was a combination of honesty, decency, prosperity, and liberty, but with the accent on decency. The social and economic system had a moral obligation to treat these men well. It was not decent that they should be without work. And since the system did not live up to the obligations it had undertaken, it did not

deserve to.

With the coming of the Depression, it was impossible not to conclude that the old order was bankrupt. And as it fell, it took representative democracy down with it. By 1939, representative democracy was to be found only in Great Britain and its Dominions, in the United States, in France, and in an arc of small northwestern European countries: Switzerland, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland.

IN SCANDINAVIA, THE SUCCESS of social democratic parties in navigating through the Great Depression would put them in power for the succeeding half century. In much of continental Europe, the Depression reinforced reaction—which is to say, it reinforced the sense that Mussolini in Italy had it right, and that fascism was the way of the future and the best way to organize industrial societies. Thus, one of the gifts that the Great Depression gave the world was the victory in the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s of the man who became one of the world's longest-living fascist dictators, Generalissimo Francisco Franco. A second such gift was Germany's Adolf Hitler. Where it did not reinforce reaction, the Depression reinforced allegiance to the belief that the old system was irredeemably broken and that a revolutionary change was needed—perhaps one based on people's fantasies of what was then going on in that part of the world ruled absolutely by Joseph Stalin from Moscow's Kremlin.

More important than that the United States was going to be a laggard in recovery from the Great Depression was that the United States, under left-of-center Franklin Roosevelt, who was elected president in a landslide at the end of 1932, did learn this first principal rule about recovery—spend money and buy things—and then applied it. Roosevelt's policies worked well enough to gain him durable majority support.

That was enormously consequential. First, he was willing enough to break political norms that he is the only US president to have been elected four times. He ruled for twelve years, and his designated successor, Harry S Truman, for eight. Second, he was a conservative radical: he wanted to save what was good about America by throwing overboard everything that he saw as blocking it.

Before the 1930s, US presidential candidates had simply not appeared at the national political conventions. Candidates were supposed to remain at their homes, tending to their private affairs, until party officials informed them (a week or so after the convention) that they had been chosen. They were supposed to emulate the Roman politician Cincinnatus, who mythically remained on his small farm plowing his fields until he was told that he had been elected commander-in-chief of the Roman army and dictator of Rome. The conventional pretense was that the man did not seek the office: the office sought the man.

But in 1932, Roosevelt, who was then governor of New York, broke tradition and flew to Chicago—in part, historian William Leuchtenburg says, to disprove whispers that a polio victim with paralyzed legs was too frail to undertake a full-scale presidential campaign. Roosevelt spoke to the delegates:

I have started out... by breaking the absurd traditions that the candidate should remain in professed ignorance of what has happened for weeks....

... You have nominated me and I know it, and I am here to thank you for the honor.

... In so doing I broke traditions. Let it be from now on the task of our Party to break foolish traditions....

...

I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a New Deal for the American people.³⁸

And, indeed, the cards were thrown into the center, picked up, and redealt. Franklin Roosevelt meant what he said about a “New Deal.” In the United States, by striking contrast with so much else of the global north, the Great Depression did not empower reaction but rather far-reaching liberal and social democratic experimentation.

This is somewhat of a surprise: Why did the Great Depression not push the United States to the right, into reaction, or protofascism, or fascism, as it did in so many other countries, but instead to the left? My guess is that it was sheer luck—Herbert Hoover and the Republicans were in power when

the Great Depression started, and they were thrown out of office in 1932. That Franklin Roosevelt was center-left rather than center-right, that the length of the Great Depression meant that institutions were shaped by it in a durable sense, and that the United States was the world's rising superpower, and the only major power not crippled to some degree by World War II—all these factors made a huge difference. After World War II, the United States had the power and the will to shape the world outside the Iron Curtain. It did so. And that meant much of the world was to be reshaped in a New Deal rather than a reactionary or fascist mode.

Usually US politics is the politics of near gridlock. The elections of the 1930s would be different. Roosevelt won 59 percent of the vote in 1932—an 18 percentage-point margin over Herbert Hoover. Congress swung heavily Democratic in both houses. To an extent not seen since the Civil War, the president and his party had unshakable working majorities. But Roosevelt had little idea what he was going to do. He did have a conviction that he could do something important. And he was certain that Herbert Hoover had gotten pretty much everything wrong. What Hoover had been doing was blocking attempts to start employment-promoting public works, acting aggressively to balance the budget, raising tariffs, and maintaining the gold standard. Roosevelt decided to do the opposite. What else? If you had a half-plausible thing, you had a good chance of persuading Roosevelt to try to do it. After trying it, he would take a look and then drop and abandon things that did not seem to be working, while pushing hard the things that did.

The First New Deal was therefore made up of many things: a strong “corporatist” program of joint government-industry planning, collusive regulation, and cooperation; the entire farm sector on the federal dole indefinitely, with strong regulation of commodity prices; a program of building and operating utilities; huge amounts of public works spending; meaningful federal regulation of financial markets; insurance for small depositors’ bank deposits; mortgage relief; unemployment relief; plus promises to lower tariffs, lower working hours, and raise wages.³⁹

Some of it was very good indeed: the devaluation of the dollar and the shock effect of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933 did break the back of expectations of future deflation. The creation of deposit insurance and the reform of the banking system did make savers willing to

trust their money to the banks again and began the re-expansion of the money supply. Corporatism and farm subsidies did spread the pain. Taking budget balancing off the agenda helped. Promising unemployment and mortgage relief helped. Promising public works spending helped. All these policy moves kept things from getting worse. They certainly made things somewhat better. And things became substantially better immediately. But aside from devaluation, monetary expansion, and an end to expectations of deflation and pressure for more fiscal contraction, what was the effect of Roosevelt's "Hundred Days"? It is not clear whether the balance sheet of the rest of the First New Deal was positive or negative. Certainly it did not bring complete recovery.

Therefore Roosevelt kept trying. He launched a Second New Deal.

The Roosevelt lieutenant who had the most influence on the Second New Deal—for once again Roosevelt was calling for bold action, but did not have very strong prior beliefs about the direction that action should take—was his labor secretary, Frances Perkins. Despite the burdens she carried—being the first-ever female US cabinet member; caring for her frequently hospitalized bipolar husband, Paul Wilson; being distrusted by both unions and managers for not being fully on their respective sides; and being denounced by the right for being a communist because she did everything she could to delay and block deportation proceedings against communist West Coast longshoreman union leader Harry Bridges—she served for twelve years in the post and was one of the most effective cabinet members ever.

The most enduring and powerful accomplishment of the Second New Deal was to be her Social Security Act, which provided federal cash assistance for widows, orphans, children without fathers in the home, and the disabled, and which also set up a near-universal system of federally funded old-age pensions. And if pushing up the dollar price of gold did not work well enough, perhaps strengthening the union movement would: the Wagner Act of 1935, which set down a new set of rules for labor-management conflict, massively strengthened the union movement, so that large-scale private unionization in the United States survived for half a century after the 1930s. In the end, the programs of the Second New Deal probably did little to cure the Great Depression in the United States. But they did turn the United States into a modest European-style social

democracy.

The New Deal Order—with its near-total rejection of the idea of laissez-faire—lasted. Truth be told, laissez-faire had never been economists' consensus: it was, rather, what other people thought and wrote that governments had applied and economists had taught. Nevertheless, it had been a very powerful doctrine—up until and then well into the Great Depression.

But afterward, for a while, laissez-faire and its cousin, “austerity,” were greatly diminished. The US economy did recover from the nadir of 1933 under Roosevelt’s New Deal, albeit incompletely. By 1941, 82 percent of US households had a radio; 63 percent had a refrigerator; 55 percent had an automobile; and 49 percent had a vacuum cleaner. Nobody had had any of these back in 1914.⁴⁰

It was, in the 1950s, a Republican, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who wrote, in a letter to his brother Edgar, that the workings of the market should not be accepted as in any way “blessed,” that laissez-faire was (or ought to be) dead, and that attempts to resurrect it were simply “stupid”:

The Federal government cannot avoid or escape responsibilities which the mass of the people firmly believe should be undertaken by it.... If a rule of reason is not applied in this effort, we will lose everything—even to a possible and drastic change in the Constitution. This is what I mean by my constant insistence upon “moderation” in government. Should any political party attempt to abolish social security, unemployment insurance, and eliminate labor laws and farm programs, you would not hear of that party again in our political history. There is a tiny splinter group, of course, that believes you can do these things.... Their number is negligible and they are stupid.⁴¹

In 1930, as the Great Depression started, John Maynard Keynes distracted an audience one evening with a talk on “Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren.” Suppose the problems of managing the economy to maintain full employment; of providing incentives for technological discovery, development, and deployment; of providing incentives for

savings and investment; and of keeping people confident that society was working, in the sense that equals were not being treated too unequally and that unequals were not being treated too equally, could be solved. What, then, would be the economic problems—or rather possibilities—for humanity, or at least for the global north, come 2030?

Keynes's conclusion was that science and technology and compound interest would within a century deliver sufficient material abundance that “the economic problem” would prove not to be “the permanent problem of the human race.” Although “the struggle for subsistence” had “always... been hitherto the primary, most pressing problem,” once the economic problems were solved, humankind would “be deprived of its traditional purpose,” and instead would face the “real,... permanent problem—how to use... freedom from pressing economic cares... to live wisely and agreeably and well.”⁴²

That was indeed a very hopeful and entrancing vision. Even in the distress of the arriving Great Depression, Keynes saw an end to the tunnel and much light there.

Really-Existing Socialism

To most living through it, the Great Depression reinforced a conviction that had been building since the shock of World War I, or perhaps even earlier—a growing sense that both the global economic order and individual countries’ political orders had failed. They had failed to restore the rapid upward march of prosperity. They had failed to provide a land fit for heroes. They had failed to generate a stable and high level of employment. And by the Depression’s midpoint, the political-economic orders had clearly failed to vindicate citizens’ Polanyian rights.

They had manifestly failed to provide people with a secure place in a stable community. They had failed to provide them with a sense of job security. They had failed patently to ensure incomes that corresponded to what individuals felt that they deserved. The political-economic orders had even failed to provide the rights that a market society is supposed to protect above all: that ownership of property gives you security, prosperity, and power.

Rather, the opposite seemed true. The Great Depression had demonstrated that even property rights can become strained in a dysfunctional economy. The political insurgencies of the postwar years had demonstrated that property rights themselves could be up for grabs. And the coming of truly mass politics—reinforced by radio and the gutter press—had shown that deference to secure, prosperous elites and respect for authority were in tatters, along with the formation of societal consensus. In short, the old system did not work.

What was this old system, this Old Order—this thing that had managed

the explosion of economic growth and the expansion of human freedom from 1870 to 1914? It was, at best, pseudo-classical, for it was not old and time honored but rather newly invented by those who had held power over society before 1870, who wanted to continue to hold it, and who recognized that, as Prince Tancredi Falconeri, the nephew of the Prince of Salina, says in Lampedusa's novel *Il Gattopardo*: "If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change! Do you understand?"¹

It was only semi-liberal, for pressure to allow market forces a freer rein was resisted, and every "liberalization" of economic life from regulation was a brutal, prolonged, and only half-won struggle if such a change would adversely affect the wealth of the rich and the noble. Yes, there was pressure to judge people as equals differing only by the weight of their purses, but what this meant was that wealth could gain you entry into a hierarchical elite of social networks and superior status.

This pseudo-classical semi-liberalism remained an ideal for many in the 1920s and for a few well into the 1930s. Rolling back the changes of the World War I era and the Great Depression, and returning to this Old Order, was the express desire of a large but waning political and governmental coalition in the global north. To his last day in office, Herbert Hoover kept trying to bind his successor to balancing the budget and maintaining the gold standard.

But by the middle of the 1930s, the numbers and confidence of those who were committed to rollback had dwindled considerably. In the middle of the Great Depression, few believed that liberalizing markets could deliver enough economic growth and enough redistribution to keep society's most powerful groups from concluding that it was time to overthrow the political game board. Better, in the view of many, to get in on the winning side than to go down supporting attempts to reconstruct a system that manifestly did not work.

What were the alternatives? There was, on the one hand, fascism—freshly coined from the brains of its inventors—and, on the other, socialism—distantly descended from the idea of Marx, Engels, and company. Fascism was something visible and tangible: by its fruits you could judge it. Socialism, however, was the interpretation of a dream. All agreed that the reality as implemented on the ground fell vastly short of what ought to be—and what someday might be.

Lenin's regime was the first seizure of power by latter-day disciples of Marx who were eager to bring Marx's dream kingdom down to earth: really-existing socialism, implemented via something called the "dictatorship of the proletariat." That first word, "dictatorship," meant, for the phrase's coiner, Joseph Weydemeyer—as it meant for Marx and Engels—the temporary suspension of checks and balances, procedural impediments, and established powers so the government could make the needed changes and actually govern—violently, when necessary, to overcome reactionary opposition.² Originally it meant the same nonpermanent thing for Lenin.³

But in whose interest would it govern?

In Lenin's mind, that concentrated power would be administered for the proletariat. Why not just have a dictatorship of the people—a democracy? Because, Lenin believed, all society's nonproletariat classes had selfish interests. To allow them any political power during the initial postrevolutionary dictatorship would only retard the inevitable progress of history. Which was toward utopia. Which was true socialism.

I trust I give little away when I tell you, really-existing socialism was, in the hands of its disciples, to become the most murderous of the totalitarian ideologies of the twentieth century. Admitting this now can, and should, help focus our attention.

Until it really existed, "socialism" could mean many things—things other than the system Lenin created and Stalin solidified. In Western Europe and North America during the World War I era, most who called themselves any flavor of "socialist" held that in a good society there ought to be enormous scope for individual initiative, for diversity, for the decentralization of decision-making, for liberal values, and even for non-commanding-heights private property. True freedom was, after all, the point. Eliminating the unequal distribution of income under capitalism that kept the bulk of the formally free imprisoned in the same life of drudgery was the goal.

In price regulation and in public ownership, the question was an empirical one: private where private belongs, public where it was needed. And most people trusted representative democracy and rational argument to settle things case by case. But others took a more radical view, pushing for something beyond even a reformed, well-managed, and gentler market

economy. It wasn't until Lenin began to exercise power that people began to discover the tradeoffs that would be involved in a really-existing socialism focused on destroying the power of the market.

Lenin, his followers, and his successors began with a general article of faith: Karl Marx was right. In everything. If properly interpreted.

Marx had mocked the sober businessmen of his time. They claimed to view revolution with horror. Yet, Marx asserted, they were themselves, in a sense, the most ruthless revolutionaries the world had ever seen. The business class—what Marx called the *bourgeoisie*—was responsible for the (up to then) greatest of all revolutions, and that revolution had changed the human condition. For the better. After all, it was the business class of entrepreneurs and investors, together with the market economy that pitted them against one another, that was responsible for bringing an end to the scarcity, want, and oppression that had been human destiny theretofore.

But Marx also saw an inescapable danger: the economic system that the bourgeoisie had created would inevitably become the main obstacle to human happiness. It could, Marx thought, create wealth, but it could not distribute wealth evenly. Alongside prosperity would inevitably come increasing disparities of wealth. The rich would become richer. The poor would become poorer, and they would be kept in a poverty made all the more unbearable for being needless. The only solution was to utterly destroy the power of the market system to boss people around.

My use of “inescapable” and “inevitable” is not for dramatic effect. Inevitability was for Marx and the inheritors of his ideas the fix to a fatal flaw. Marx spent his entire life trying to make his argument simple, comprehensible, and watertight. He failed. He failed because he was wrong. It is simply not the case that market economies necessarily produce ever-rising inequality and ever-increasing immiseration in the company of ever-increasing wealth. Sometimes they do. Sometimes they do not. And whether they do or do not is within the control of the government, which has sufficiently powerful tools to narrow and widen the income and wealth distribution to fit its purposes.

But utopian, and for that matter dystopian, thinking does poorly with sometimes this and sometimes that, better or worse outcomes dependent on governments and their decisions. Inevitable was the patch for the flaw of contingent uncertainty. So Marx decided to prove that the existing system

guaranteed dystopia: “The more productive capital grows, the more the division of labor and the application of machinery expands. The more the division of labor and the application of machinery expands, the more competition among the workers expands and the more their wages contract. The forest of uplifted arms demanding work becomes thicker and thicker, while the arms themselves become thinner and thinner.”⁴ Marx was also certain that his dystopian vision of late capitalism would not be the end state of human history. For this bleak capitalist system was to be overthrown by one that nationalized and socialized the means of production. The rule of the business class, after creating a truly prosperous society, would “produce... above all... its own gravediggers.”

What would society be like after the revolution? Instead of private property, there would be “individual property based on... cooperation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production.” And this would happen easily, for socialist revolution would simply require “the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people,” who would then democratically decide upon a common plan for “extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally.” Voilà, utopia.⁵

Except, of course, Marx was wrong.

This inequality-increasing immiseration-inevitable socialist revolution simply did not happen. For one thing, immiseration did not happen, in Britain at least, beyond 1850. Inequality had increased up to a peak of 1914 in Western Europe and 1929 in North America. But the upward leap in economic growth after 1870 meant that working classes all over the globe were also becoming richer and richer than their predecessors.

That Marx got it wrong is not surprising. The fact is he was a theorist with only one example of industrialization to draw on, Britain. And in Britain, large and visible sections of the working class were worse off in 1840 than in 1790. Technological unemployment was a powerful thing. The construction of dark satanic mills in Lancashire left rural weaving skills useless and populations impoverished. There was a window of time when some of, even much of, Marx’s dark brooding seemed plausible. In 1848 the belief that market capitalism necessarily produced a distribution of income that was unbearable was not reasonable.⁶ By 1883, when Marx died, such a belief was indefensible. By 1914, the doctrine of inevitable immiseration

was indeed a *doctrine*: a matter not of human reason but of pure transcendent faith alone.

But if Marx was so wrong, why, then, spill so much ink on him? Because he became a prophet, and his writings became the sacred texts of a Major World Religion. It is hard (for me, at least) to read Marx without being reminded of the Great Voice heard by John the Theologian, inspired by the magic mushrooms of the Island of Patmos, saying, “I shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.” Socialism after the revolution was supposed to be Heaven here and now: the New Jerusalem brought down to earth.

Among Marx’s adherents were a small cadre of individuals, including Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and Joseph Stalin. There were others—rounding out the Soviet Union’s first Politburo were Lev Kamenev and Nikolai Krestinsky—but it is a small-enough group that it is plausible to wonder what would have happened if different people with differing characters and different views had shaken out on top. They didn’t, and perhaps it was because these men were not just scholars and journalists, not just the inept and hopeful, but also sufficiently capable, timely, and ruthless.

Lenin and his successors, all the way down to 1990, took the doctrines of Marx the prophet seriously. And they tried to make them real. But they were not gods. While they said, “Let there be true socialism,” what they made was, instead, *really-existing socialism*. It was *socialism* in that it claimed to have gotten as close to the hopes of Marx and other socialists as could be realized—but it was also enacted in reality, on the ground, in regimes that at their peak ruled perhaps one-third of the world’s population. It was not an intellectual utopian fantasy but a necessary compromise with the messiness of this world. Really-existing socialism was, its propagandists and apparatchiks claimed, as close to utopia as it was possible to get.

Throughout most of really-existing socialism’s career, Marx would probably have regarded it with dismay and perhaps disdain—a frequent fate of prophets. To really exist, socialism had to depart in significant ways from the predictions (and the instructions) of the prophet. For, it turns out, not only do you have to break eggs to make an omelet, but the omelet you end up making—indeed, whether what you make can be called an omelet at all—depends a good bit on the eggs you have at hand. This matters, because

Russia in the early twentieth century was not where any of the early theorists of what became really-existing socialism ever thought socialism would first really exist. And for good reason.

In 1914, Russia was perhaps half as rich as the United States and two-thirds as rich as Germany, and more unequal than both: figure \$4 a day as a typical standard of living. Life expectancy at birth was barely thirty years at a time when in Western Europe it was fifty, and in the United States fifty-five. Russia's wealthy, educated classes were dominated by aristocratic landlords who had no functional societal role. The feudal rules of lordship and vassalage governed the vast majority, rather than those of private property, proletariat, and bourgeoisie.

While sharing little of the Industrial Revolution of the West, Russia did absorb Western ideas about equality before the law, governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and meritocracy and the end of caste-status privileges. These had been flowing into Russia through St. Petersburg, the window on the West and the Baltic Sea port capital that Peter the Great had built centuries before. Included in this flow of ideas were those of Marx and Engels.

In February 1917 the czar fell. In October the provisional government was overthrown in Lenin's coup. In December Lenin dissolved the constituent assembly that was to write a democratic constitution. That left the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its political bureau in charge. And being in charge was their only asset. As British historian Eric Hobsbawm has written: "Lenin recognized [that]... all it had going for it was the fact that it was... the established government of the country. It had nothing else."⁷

A brutal civil war followed. It involved "White" supporters of the czar; local autocrats seeking effective independence; Lenin's "Red" followers; and stray other forces—including Japanese regiments, an American expeditionary force, and a Czech army of ex-prisoners of war that for a while found itself effectively in charge of Siberia. For three years the contestants, mostly White and Red—fought back and forth over much of Russia.

To stay in this fight, and to have any hope of prevailing, the communist government needed to draw on the skills of the old czarist army officers. But could they be trusted? Leon Trotsky, commissar for war, came up with

the answer: draft the officers and shadow each one with an ideologically pure political commissar who needed to sign each order and would indoctrinate the soldiers in socialism. This system of “dual administration” could be—and was—applied to everything. It was the origin of the pattern of administration that was to be common throughout Soviet society: the party watches over the technocrats to ensure their obedience (at least to the formulas of communist rule). And if the technocrats do not behave, the Gulag awaits.⁸

The first imperative Lenin’s regime faced was survival. But the first imperative the regime *thought* it faced was the elimination of capitalism by way of nationalizing private property and removing business owners from management. How, though, do you run industry and economic life in the absence of business owners—in the absence of people whose incomes and social standing depend directly on the prosperity of individual enterprises, and who have the incentives and the power to try to make and keep individual pieces of the economy productive and functioning? Lenin’s answer was that you organize the economy like an army: top down, planned, hierarchical, with under managers promoted, fired, or shot depending on how well they attained the missions that the high economic command assigned them.

It was against the desperate background of the Russian Civil War that Lenin attempted “war communism,” an effort to match the degree of military mobilization of the economy that he believed World War I-era Germany had attained.

Lenin had been impressed by what he saw of the German centrally directed war economy. He judged that the war had shown that capitalism had “fully matured for the transition to socialism.” If Germany could “direct the economic life of 66 million people from a single, central institution,” then the “nonpropertied masses” could do something similar if they were “directed by the class-conscious workers”: “Expropriate the banks and, relying on the masses, carry out in their interests the very same thing” the German wartime machine was doing.⁹ But how did this work, exactly? How could you run an economy without private property and without a market economy?

The World War I-era German war economy, as run by Walther Rathenau and company in the War Ministry’s Raw Materials Section, started with the

government selling bonds or printing money and buying things it needed for the war effort at whatever prices the market demanded. This pleased producers: they got profits.

As prices rose and as worries about debt financing burdens grew, the German government began to impose price controls: we will pay you what we paid you last month but no more. But then materials that the government wanted to buy began to be diverted to the civilian economy. So the German government imposed rationing. It prohibited the use of “strategic” materials for nonmilitary or nonpriority products and began keeping track of material balances. Analysts matched production capabilities to uses, with the money flows for purchases becoming simply an accounting device, and then had the planning authorities decide which military uses certain materials should go toward.

In Germany, war matériel, especially ammunition, especially explosives—which meant nitrogen compounds—were the first to come under the aegis of government planning. Foodstuffs followed. War expenditures rose from one-sixth of the national income to two-thirds. Soon, the government was not just managing the movement of key raw materials to and through the factories, and then off to the front in the form of finished products, but also commanding that factories be expanded and built to provide for additional war production.

So it was that Germany of World War I became an inspiration for war communism in the Soviet Union.

War communism in the Soviet Union started with the government nationalizing industries; it next commanded that the nationalized industries be supplied with raw materials at fixed prices; and then it started rationing the use of scarce materials for nonpriority projects. And with that, the Soviet Union’s centrally planned economy was launched. A few key commodities were controlled by material balances from the center, demands were issued to factory managers from the center, and the factory managers then had to make do—beg, borrow, barter, buy, and steal the resources over and above those directed to them to fulfill as much of the plan as possible. It was highly inefficient.

It was also highly corrupt. But it did focus attention on producing those commodities on which the center placed the highest priority and to which, via material balances, it devoted the key resources.

War communism was an agricultural disaster—the first of many. The do-it-yourself redistribution of land that the peasants accomplished (and the Bolshevik Party blessed) was very popular. But the government needed food for cities and towns, and, it turned out, peasant farmers living in the countryside were much less interested in delivering grain in exchange for urban luxuries than the now deposed or dead noble landlords had been. The government tried to requisition food. The peasants hid the grain. Hungry urban workers returned to their relatives' family farms, where they could get fed. Urban factories struggled with the remaining underfed workers.

It may have been inefficient, corrupt, and even disastrous, yet war communism managed to produce and control enough resources—and the Leon Trotsky-led Red Army managed to find enough weapons and win enough battles—that the Bolsheviks won the Russian Civil War.

Individual people at particular places of decision-making proved influential.

Lenin and the communists won the Civil War in part because of Trotsky's skill at organizing the Red Army; in part because, although the peasants hated the Reds (who confiscated their grain), they hated the Whites (who would bring back the landlords) even more; and in part because of Feliks Dzerzhinsky's skill at organizing the secret police. Finally, the communists won because during the Civil War their party adopted a ruthlessness that would be exercised not only against society at large but also against activists within the party itself. A “command economy” turned out to require a “command polity.”

Lenin was uniquely suited to enacting this ethos of ruthlessness. The writer Maxim Gorky reported him to have said that he liked Beethoven's music, especially the Appassionata Sonata: “I'd like to listen to it every day.... What marvelous things human beings can do!” However, music “makes you want to say stupid nice things, and stroke the heads of people who could create such beauty while living in this vile hell. And now you must not stroke anyone's head: you might get your hand bitten off. You have to strike them on the head, without any mercy, although our ideal is not to use force against anyone. Hm, hm, our duty is infernally hard.”¹⁰

Perhaps 10 million out of the 165 million people in the Russian Empire died during the Russian Civil War: roughly 1 million Red soldiers, 2 million White ones, and 7 million civilians. These casualties were on top of the

perhaps 7 million dead from the Spanish flu, 2 million dead from World War I, and 100,000 dead from the Russo-Polish War. By 1921, Russian levels of prosperity had fallen by two-thirds, industrial production was down by four-fifths, and life expectancy was down to twenty. Additionally, a large chunk of what had been the western fringe of the czarist empire had broken off. A great many of the czarist generals and officers were dead or in exile. And any liberal democratic or social democratic center had been purged, by both the Whites and the Reds. The bulk of the pre-World War I czarist empire was now Lenin's, becoming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or USSR.

The relatively small group of socialist agitators that had gathered under Lenin's banner before the revolution and cut their teeth during the years of civil war now found itself with the problem of running a country and building a utopia by way of really-existing socialism.

They began the task with a faith-based expectation of help. Because the Marxist-Engelsian sciences of dialectical and historical materialism had told them so, Lenin and his comrades confidently expected their revolution in Russia to be followed by other, similar communist revolutions in the more advanced, industrial countries of Western Europe. Once they were communist, they believed, these countries would provide aid to poor, agrarian Russia, and so make it possible for Lenin to stay in power as he guided his country to a stage of industrial development where socialism might function the way Marx had promised it would. Lenin pinned his hopes on the most industrialized country in Europe, with the largest and most active socialist political party: Germany.

A communist republic briefly held power in Hungary. Another one briefly held power in Bavaria, in southern Germany. But, in the end, the Russian Revolution was the only one that stuck. Really-existing socialism at the end of World War I found itself under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin and confined to one country—albeit a very large country—in which few had ever imagined that any form of socialism might be attempted.

Initially, the attempt required stepping back from war communism and into the “New Economic Policy,” which required letting prices rise and fall, letting people buy and sell and get richer, letting managers of government factories make profits (or be sacked), and letting a class of merchants and middlemen grow, as what Keynes called “tolerated outlaws.” It was an

expediency. Capitalism, but subject to state control; socialized state enterprises, but run on a profit basis. And while the leash was rarely tugged, it remained.

Part of the expedience was due to the fact that the centralized Soviet government had limited grasp. Even by the mid-1930s, the planners could only track material balances for about one hundred commodities. The movements of these were indeed centrally planned. Nationwide, producers of these commodities who did not fulfill their goals according to the plan were sanctioned. Otherwise, commodities were exchanged between businesses and shipped out to users either through standard market cash-on-the-barrelhead transactions or via *blat*: connections. Who you knew mattered.

When *blat*, market exchange, or central planning failed to obtain the raw materials an enterprise needed, there was another option: the *tolkachi*, or barter agents. *Tolkachi* would find out who had the goods you needed, what they were valued, and what goods you might be able to acquire given what you had to barter with.¹¹

If this sounds degrees familiar, it should.

One hidden secret of capitalist business is that most companies' internal organizations are a lot like the crude material balance calculations of the Soviet planners. Inside the firm, commodities and time are not allocated through any kind of market access process. Individuals want to accomplish the mission of the organization, please their bosses so they get promoted, or at least so they don't get fired, and assist others. They swap favors, formally or informally. They note that particular goals and benchmarks are high priorities, and that the top bosses will be displeased if they are not accomplished. They use social engineering and arm-twisting skills. They ask for permission to outsource, or dig into their own pockets for incidentals. Market, barter, *blat*, and plan—this last understood as the organization's primary purposes and people's allegiance to it—always rule, albeit in different proportions.

The key difference, perhaps, is that a standard business firm is embedded in a much larger market economy, and so is always facing the make-or-buy decision: Can this resource be acquired most efficiently from elsewhere within the firm, via social engineering or arm-twisting or *blat*, or is it better to seek budgetary authority to purchase it from outside? That

make-or-buy decision is a powerful factor keeping businesses in capitalist market economies on their toes, and more efficient. And in capitalist market economies, factory-owning firms are surrounded by clouds of middlemen. In the Soviet Union, the broad market interfaces of individual factories and the clouds of middlemen were absent. As a consequence, its economy was grossly wasteful.

Though wasteful, material balance control is an expedient that pretty much all societies adopt during wartime. Then hitting a small number of specific targets for production becomes the highest priority. In times of total mobilization, command-and-control seems the best we can do. But do we wish a society in which all times are times of total mobilization?

Lenin lived for only half a decade after his revolution. In May 1922 he suffered a stroke, but he was back on his feet and in his office by July. In December he suffered a second stroke. In March 1923 he suffered a third stroke, which temporarily affected his ability to speak. In January 1924 he fell into a coma and died. But he had had time to think about his succession —what committee or individual should follow him in guiding the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During his illness, in what is now called “Lenin’s Testament,” he wrote out what he thought of his probable successors:¹²

Joseph Stalin, he said, had “unlimited authority over personnel... which he may not be capable of always using with sufficient caution.”

Leon Trotsky was “personally perhaps the most capable man” but had “excessive self-assurance” and had “shown excessive preoccupation with the purely administrative side.”

Feliks Dzerzhinsky, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, and Joseph Stalin had all displayed “Great Russian chauvinism.”

Nikolai Bukharin’s “theoretical views,” he said, “can be classified as fully Marxist only with... great reserve, for there is something scholastic”—that is, medieval and obscurantist—“about him.”

Georgy Pyatakov “show[ed] far too much zeal for administrating and the administrative side of the work to be relied upon in a serious political matter.”

And he added a postscript, saying that Stalin was “too coarse,” which would be “intolerable in a General Secretary.” Some, he wrote, had even tried to figure out how to remove Stalin from his current post as the general

secretary of the Communist Party in favor of someone “more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc.” This “detail,” Lenin said, was of “decisive importance.”

Lenin had named Stalin general secretary after the Civil War. It was seen, by both Lenin and his inner circle, as a boring job, a simple job, a job for someone with a good work ethic who was committed to the party but otherwise without great gifts. Stalin’s control of personnel was a more powerful weapon than Lenin or any of the others had realized.

Among Lenin’s failings was that his late-in-life scribbled warnings were insufficient. In the end, Lenin failed to use his prestige to anoint a successor. He refused to set up mechanisms by which the will of the people, or even of the industrial proletariat, could be ascertained. He failed to attend to this “detail,” which would indeed prove to be of “decisive importance.”

So the party would choose Lenin’s successor. And who was the party? The party was people. And who had chosen the people? Stalin. Recruitment drives brought the party membership up to one million. It was the general secretary—Stalin—who appointed local committee secretaries. Local secretaries appointed those who screened incoming members and who chose the delegates to the Communist Party congresses—who would then do as their patron’s patron suggested.

And their patron’s patron was Stalin.

After Lenin’s death and a three-year interregnum, the party fell into line and accepted Joseph Stalin in the driver’s seat in 1927.

Before considering his character and the consequences of his decisions, let’s pause briefly to consider the state of the Soviet Union in those years. By 1927, the Soviet Union had recovered to where it had been in 1914—in terms of life expectancy, population, industrial production, and standards of living. The imperative of survival had been met. And there was no longer the deadweight of the czarist aristocracy consuming resources and thinking and behaving feudally. As long as Lenin’s successors could avoid destroying the country through their own mistakes, and as long as they could keep encouraging people to judge their management of things against a baseline of war and chaos, it would be hard for them to fall out of favor.

The recovered Soviet Union remained subject to existential threats, to be sure. Those in the upper echelons of Soviet government greatly feared that the capitalist powers of the industrial core would decide to overthrow their

regime. Someday soon, their thinking went, the really-existing socialist regime might have to fight yet another war to survive. They remembered that they had already fought two: a civil war, in which Britain and Japan had at least thought about making a serious effort to support their enemies; and a war against Poland to the west. They were desperately aware of the Soviet Union's economic and political weaknesses. To meet external threats, the Soviet leaders had ideology, a small cadre of ruthless adherents, and a bureaucracy that sort of ran an economy recovered to its 1914 level. What they didn't have was time.

They were not wrong.

I again give little away by acknowledging that on June 22, 1941, Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. Its aims were twofold: first, to exterminate Jewish Bolshevism as an idea, a political movement, and a regime; and second, to herd onto reservations, enslave, or exterminate the bulk of the inhabitants of the Soviet Union. The land they occupied was needed to provide larger farms for German farmers and more "living space"—*Lebensraum*—for the German nation.¹³

There might have been another path. It was not foreordained that the Soviet Union would turn into a terror-ridden prison camp. But Lenin's refusal to plan for succession or create mechanisms for any form of normal politics within the Communist Party meant that Russia was likely to fall back into an old political pattern. It meant that Soviet Russia was likely to acquire a czar. And in a time of turmoil and troubles, a czar was likely to behave like the Rurik dynasty's Dread Ivan IV—in modern English, "the Terrible" misses the mark. The czar they got was the Dread Joseph Stalin, born Ioseb Dzhugashvili: a paranoid psychopath, and one of the leading candidates for the greatest mass-murderer in human history.

Stalin had turned to revolutionary politics after being expelled from an Orthodox seminary. He was exiled to Siberia four times. All four times he escaped and returned to Georgia. To some this seemed suspicious. How did he escape so easily? And why was he not afterward afraid to return to his old stomping grounds? Trotsky and others would later come to claim that Stalin had spent his time before World War I as an agent provocateur who spied on the communists for the Okhrana, the czar's secret political police.

No matter. In 1912 Lenin needed somebody to stir up agitation at the fringes of the empire, and he chose Stalin. Stalin was the first major

Bolshevik to return to what was then the capital—St. Petersburg or Petrograd—after the fall of the czar in 1917. Lenin gave Stalin the post of editor of the party newspaper, *Pravda*. During the Civil War he was responsible for trying to cement the revolution among the same ethnic minorities he had agitated earlier that decade. As party general secretary, Stalin determined who would be in the party, which meant who and what would be the party. After World War II, East German playwright Bertolt Brecht observed that the ideal of his really-existing socialist masters would be if they could “dissolve the people, and elect another.” As far as the party membership was concerned, their ideal was Stalin’s reality.¹⁴ It is no surprise then that Stalin came out on top, though he acquired many enemies in the process. Nor is it surprising that a paranoid personality like Stalin with many enemies, including powerful ones, took the next steps he did.

Dzerzhinsky died of a heart attack in 1926, before Stalin had consolidated power. Stalin shot all the others whom Lenin had mentioned in his testament, save for Leon Trotsky and perhaps Sergo Ordzhonikidze. Trotsky was exiled. He was then killed by Soviet secret police in Mexico City in 1940—with an icepick. Perhaps Ordzhonikidze managed to shoot himself before the secret police could. We do not know. But, in short, Stalin silenced, and then executed, all of his former peers. And he promoted to the second rank of power people who were utterly dependent on him, and who served—and kept their lives—at his whim.

The Bolsheviks thought they were viewed by the nonsocialist powers as an existential threat. And all the Bolsheviks agreed that to survive, Russia needed to industrialize rapidly. But how were they to persuade the peasants to boost agricultural production if they had no factory-made consumer goods to trade for their grain?

Marx had interpreted the economic history of Britain as one of “primitive accumulation.” Landlords had used the political system to steal land from the peasantry and squeeze their standard of living. This forced some of the peasantry to migrate to the cities, where they became a penniless urban working class. There, manufacturers and owners of means of production used the political system to force them to build and work in factories.

For Marx, this awful outcome was one of the things that made capitalism an obstacle to human development and flourishing. The

Bolsheviks took Marx's critique of British modernization and made it their business model. Not just Stalin, but Trotsky, Yevgeni Preobrazhensky, and others among the elite had concluded that rapid industrialization was possible only if the ruling communists first waged economic war against Russia's peasants. They would squeeze their standard of living as much as possible in order to feed and populate the growing industrial cities. They would keep urban wages high enough to provide a steady stream of migrants to city jobs but no higher. This strategy was the first of what would ultimately become a series of Five-Year Plans.

The "goods famine" this policy generated shifted urban production from consumer goods to capital goods, and from light industry to heavy industry—ultimately bringing about a "grain famine." The result was a "scissors crisis": As the price of industrial goods manufactured in cities continued to rise to meet the government's investment targets, the price of farm goods fell, and on the graph, the widening gap looked like a pair of scissors. Peasants unable to buy manufactures (and increasingly uninterested in doing so) were also unable to sell farm goods. The cities struggled to be fed, threatening the Five-Year Plan and Russia's ability to industrialize, which Bolsheviks believed would determine its ability to survive.

Stalin claimed that the scissors crisis had been caused by a few bad apples: the kulaks, rich peasants who he thought were holding back their grain in order to extort unfairly high prices. The kulaks, he said, were the problem.

No kulaks, no problem.

The government determined that it would have to do something about these peasants—the ones they believed were producing a surplus of agricultural products and yet were unwilling to deliver it up to the party. The solution? Confiscate their land and animals and force them onto collective farms along with other peasants. Tighten down their standard of living, though, so it would be a little bit worse than the others. The other peasants would be happy, the party thought: only the kulaks would be upset—and their resistance could be handled. Thereafter, the entire agricultural surplus could be taken to the cities, with no need to supply the countryside with any consumer goods at all.

The government was wrong.

Some 94 percent of the Soviet Union's twenty-five million peasant

households were gathered into state and collective farms, averaging some fifty peasants per farm. Many peasants were shot; others died of famine. During the 1930s, millions were exiled to Siberian prison labor camps. Perhaps fifteen million died. Agricultural production dropped by a third. The number of farm animals in the Soviet Union dropped by half.¹⁵

Were there any benefits to the policy? Not likely. Food for the cities could have been obtained—more food on better terms—by devoting a share of urban industrial production to consumer goods that farmers would find useful and buy. Serfdom is not a very efficient way of squeezing food out of the countryside—especially if the peasants see the serfdom coming and slaughter their animals and eat them before the government bureaucrats arrive to take them. It would have been far more efficient to have kept millions of people who were killed alive (was it two million? five? fifteen?) and engaged them in trading their agricultural goods for consumer products.

That there was a better way to have obtained results doesn't mean the Bolsheviks didn't obtain results. During the First and Second Five-Year Plans, Soviet statisticians claimed that industrial production—which had stood 11 percent above its 1913 level in 1928—was some 181 percent higher by 1933, and some 558 percent higher by 1938. Heavy industry had the highest priority: coal, steel, chemicals, and electricity. Consumer goods were to come later, if at all.

The plans consisted of a series of selected objectives—finish this dam, build so many blast furnaces, open so many coal mines—to be achieved whatever the cost. The aim was to build up heavy metallurgy. The task was to acquire—by buying from abroad or making at home—the technology that American heavy industry deployed. In this spirit, a “steel city” was to be built in the Urals, at Magnitogorsk, and supplied with coal from the Chinese border. Without Magnitogorsk, it is hard to see how Stalin could have won World War II, for the factories of western Russia were under German occupation from July 1941 until late 1943. Similarly, dams, automobile factories, and tractor (or tank) factories were all built far to the east of Moscow. That there were far fewer people east of Moscow was a solvable problem.

How was Stalin to get workers to man the new heavy industrial plants—especially since he couldn't pay them much? The answer was by drafting the population. Internal passports destroyed your freedom of movement.

Access to housing and ration books depended on you keeping your job (and satisfying your employer). Satisfying your employer also helped safeguard your life. For there was always the threat of Siberian exile to a concentration camp or a bullet in the neck for those whose bosses accused them of “sabotage.” At the start of the industrialization drive, there were show trials of engineers accused of being “plan-wreckers.”

Squeezing the rural standard of living further produced a mass exodus: as unhealthy and low paid as living in the cities was, for an adult male, being a semiserf on the collective farm was worse. More than twenty-five million people moved to the cities and the factories during the 1930s. And it worked, in its way. The Soviet Union would go on to outpace Germany and Britain in war weapons production during World War II—and many of the weapons were of acceptable quality. Acceptable, however, was set to a low bar. The Soviet T-34C tank was designed to last for six months and for only twenty-four hours of intensive combat.

The claims of nearly sevenfold growth in industrial production from 1913 to 1940 were significantly exaggerated. Perhaps industrial production in 1940 was (measured using standard techniques) 3.5 times industrial production in 1913. As best as one scholar could estimate, Soviet real national product grew at some 4.5 percent per year, on average, from 1928 to 1958, which was impressive. But the butcher’s bill was immense.

Factory workers were shot or exiled to labor camps for failing to meet production targets assigned from above. Intellectuals were shot or exiled to labor camps for being insufficiently pro-Stalin, or for not keeping up. Being in favor of the policies that Stalin had advocated in the previous year, but not in the current year, could also get you killed.

Communist activists, bureaucrats, and secret policemen fared no better. More than five million government officials and party members were killed or exiled in the Great Purge of the 1930s. It is a grim historical irony that the most dangerous place to be in the Soviet Union in the 1930s was among the high cadres of the Communist Party. Of the 1,800 delegates to the party’s 17th Congress in 1934, fewer than one in ten went on to become delegates to the 18th Congress in 1939. The rest were dead, in prison, or in Siberian exile. The most prominent generals of the Red Army were shot as well. The Communist Party at the start of World War II was more than half made up of those who had been recruited in the late 1930s, and all of them

were keenly aware that they owed their jobs—and their status in Soviet society—to Stalin, Stalin's protégés, and Stalin's protégés' protégés.

Because of the poor records kept, we really do not know the full butcher's bill. We know more about how many cows and sheep died in the 1930s than about how many of Stalin's opponents, imagined enemies, and bystanders were killed. We do know that the Siberian concentration camps were filled by the millions, again and again and again. The "Gulag Archipelago" grew to encompass millions with the deportation of the kulaks during the collectivization of agriculture. It was filled again by the purges of the late 1930s. It was filled yet again by Poles, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, and Moldavians when the Soviet Union annexed those territories on the eve of World War II. Soldiers being disciplined, those critical of Stalin's wartime leadership, and members of ethnic groups thought to be pro-German were deported during World War II. After the war, perhaps four million Soviet soldiers who had been captured by the Germans and survived Hitler were sent to the Gulag. There they rotted and died.

9

Fascism and Nazism

The Russian novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote:

Macbeth's self-justifications were feeble.... Iago was a little lamb.... The imagination and the spiritual strength of Shakespeare's evildoers stopped short at a dozen corpses. Because they had no *ideology*. Ideology—that is what gives evildoing its long-sought justification and gives the evildoer the necessary steadfastness and determination. That is the social theory which helps to make his acts seem good instead of bad in his own and others' eyes, so that he won't hear reproaches and curses but will receive praise and honors.... Thanks to ideology, the twentieth century was fated to experience evildoing on a scale calculated in the millions. This cannot be denied, nor passed over, nor suppressed.¹

His examples included the Inquisition, which justified its crimes by “invoking Christianity”; conquerors, who did the same by calling upon “the grandeur of the Motherland”; and then “colonizers, by civilization; the Nazis, by race”; and the Jacobins, the most radical of the French Revolutionaries, “by equality, brotherhood, and the happiness of future generations.” To see a utopian future in your mind’s eye and think that it is almost within your grasp, and that your actions, even if severe, even if cruel and brutal, can bring it closer, out of the realm of fantasy, as a reality down here on earth—that is the curse of ideology.

Economic history is not immune to ideology. In large part, this is

because economic historians aren't immune to ideology. Numbers and indicators can support many interpretive stories. But, as Solzhenitsyn pointed out, there are limits. Intentional murder on the scale of tens of millions cannot be denied, passed over, or suppressed. Economic failures of catastrophic proportions that result in tens of millions of dead, by, say, famine, cannot be denied, passed over, or suppressed. The decades of grotesque ideologies that fall in the middle of the long twentieth century make for difficult but necessary reading. They puncture political and economic ideology—though, I am always shocked to encounter, not fatally. And in the period between the world wars, three great ideologies confronted each other, demanding fundamental reworking of economy and society.

We met one of the three overwhelming, totalizing ideologies of the twentieth century—by far the tamest of them—even before World War I: the market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of the market. And so major alterations were needed to purify the pre-World War I order so that it could be strong. Ideology rests in that word “blessed.” Crossing that word with social Darwinism has proven particularly pernicious. The words of American steelmaster and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie are telling: “The price which society pays for the law of competition... is also great,” he acknowledged. But, he added, “we cannot evade it;... and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest.”² Even the bad about what the laissez-faire market economy would grind out had to be seen as good.

We met the second of the ideologies in the preceding chapter: the really-existing socialism of Lenin and Stalin. It, too, was an ideology that prescribed pouring immense effort into reconfiguring the *economy*—in this case, to eliminate the market as a system, for that was what, ideology told them, was the root of all future evil, in that it blocked using the material abundance of industrialization to build a utopia that would really exist, and exist soon.

That Lenin and Stalin's really-existing socialism was to accumulate the largest butcher's bill of any ideology was certainly not obvious at the start of the twentieth century. Nor was it obvious by the end of World War I. And it still was not obvious during the years leading up to the start of World War II.

A great many thoughtful, observant, passionate individuals would have without hesitation put their money on the third horseman: fascism. They had good cause to do so. It indeed looked to be the most terrible and most destructive ideology. In truth, had not all others—pragmatists, socialists, market worshipers, true liberals—gathered together to stop it, it would have won that race of terror. The fifty million or so killed by fascist movements were just an appetizer-sized portion of the full meal that fascists wished to serve the world.

And fascism was also, at its root, an ideology that prescribed expending great effort to reconfigure the *economy*. The pre-fascist economy organized people into classes. It created a politics of interest-group bargaining and conflict. But, fascism said, what was needed was a unified national people and a politics of solidarity and common purpose. The market economy of rich bosses bargaining with organized groups of workers could not produce that unity. Moreover, the world economy needed a redistribution of global resources. The big problem was not that there were proletarian—poor, working, overburdened—*classes*, but rather that there were proletarian—resource- and colony- and land-deprived—*nations*. One major purpose of a fascist leader was to make the world economy work for the benefit of the people of his nation—and not for some transnational global elite of “rootless cosmopolites.”

Benito Mussolini of Italy was, up until the start of World War II in Europe, the leader of world fascism. He had started out as the editor of an Italian socialist newspaper: *Avanti!*. He had agitated Italian workers in Switzerland to start a general strike. He was arrested and deported. He had been an agitator for socialism in the mostly Italian-speaking alpine regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He had protested Italy’s imperial adventure conquering Libya. By the eve of World War I he had become one of Italy’s most prominent socialist journalist-politicians.³

On July 29, 1914, the day after the Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war on Serbia, while the armies were mobilizing for World War I, Europe’s socialist leaders were mobilizing too. They came to Brussels for a meeting of the world’s Second International. At previous meetings, in 1912 and 1907, all had agreed on the following: the working class knew no country; a threat of war should be met by a general strike; workers would put down their tools, bring the machines to a halt, stop the railroads literally on their

tracks, and force war munitions factories to shutter their doors—then diplomats could do their work and maintain the peace.

But that day in Brussels, Austrian socialist leader Victor Adler announced that the workers of Vienna were in the streets not demonstrating for peace but chanting for war. It had long been Adler's maxim that “it is better to be wrong with the working classes than right against them.”⁴ The Austrian socialists would support their kaiser. In France, the president of the Council of Ministers, René Viviani, was a socialist. Viviani called on French workers to defend their country against those whom socialism decreed were their primary comrades. Only a handful of socialist leaders in belligerent nations stood against the war: Hugo Haase, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht from Germany, and Vladimir Lenin from Russia.

The socialists of Italy were not subject to this dilemma. They did not then have to choose between their pacifist principles and a government urging war for the sake of the nation. In 1882 Italy had formed a *defensive* military alliance with Germany and Austria. The Italian government announced that Germany and Austria were not defenders but aggressors. Consequently, Italy would stay neutral. The Italian socialists applauded the government.

Mussolini, however, was profoundly shaken by what had happened in Brussels, and by what he saw in the countries around him. The Second International had come up against the forces of nationalism and had collapsed. “I see no parties, only Germans,” declared the German kaiser, Wilhelm II. And he was, for that moment, right. What did it mean that, when push came to shove, the international working class dissolved, and what crystallized instead were nations within whom class divisions receded in importance?

The Italian socialists Mussolini knew and liked landed on the side of nationalism. They began to clamor to enter the war on the Allied side, with the aim of conquering Austria’s Italian-speaking regions. “Cardi, Corridoni, la Rygier,” Mussolini called them out by name. “Apologists for war! It is a contagion that spares no one! But I want to hold the rampart to the end.”⁵ But even more, Mussolini wanted to be a leader of a mass movement. Mussolini was no George Orwell, who thought that one had a duty to go against the crowd when it was wrong, even when “to see what is in front of one’s nose needs a constant struggle.”⁶

And so, in the third month of the war, Mussolini abandoned the rampart. If the Italian workers he wanted to lead were going to be nationalists first and socialists second, he would join them. By the late fall of 1914, Mussolini had drawn a lesson from the collapse of the Second International and the mass enthusiasm of the working classes for war. Class had shattered under moderate pressure, and so could not carry the weight needed for a strong and durable mass movement. By contrast, the ethno-nation might well be strong enough.

Benito Mussolini had become convinced of the psychological inadequacy of Marxian socialism. It inspired nothing like the enormous outpouring of nationalist enthusiasm that he saw during the war. Socialism's leaders seemed incapable of fully recognizing the fact that solidarity was associated with one's national community—not with one's international class or with humanity in general.

Being a socialist seemed inconsistent with leading a mass *nationalist* movement, and that seemed to be the only kind of movement there could be. So Mussolini started his own new newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, calling for intervention on the side of France and Britain. His ex-comrades denounced him as having been bribed by the French intelligence service. (He probably had not been before his change; he almost surely was after—just what they were backing mattered less to the French than that they were backing a nascent Italian movement that wanted Italy to come into the war on France's side.) On November 24, 1914, Mussolini was expelled from the Italian Socialist Party. The bridges had been burned. He had become an ex-socialist. He had become the leader of a movement that would be different, and stronger.

But what might that movement be?

Originally, Mussolini had just a placeholder, the word “fascism.” Originally, he had just an observation: that while the working classes were hard to mobilize for a largely economic internal struggle of protests, demonstrations, strikes, and votes to obtain respect and an end to poverty, they were easy to mobilize for a bloody and destructive war to reclaim, or rather claim, Alto Adige, Trentino, Friuli, Udine, and the city of Trieste. Appeals to an ethno-nation rooted in blood and soil drove masses to act in ways that appeals to abstract ideals, moral principles, and universalist solidarity did not. Mussolini therefore felt his way forward into his doctrine.

And many have followed him since.⁷

At the core of fascism as a *movement* was a contempt for limits, especially those imposed by reason-based arguments; a belief that reality could be altered by the will; and an exaltation of the violent assertion of that will as the ultimate argument—indeed, the only kind of argument that mattered. At the core of fascism as an *ideology* was a critique: semi-liberal industrial capitalism and parliamentary government had had its chance, and had failed. The failures had become manifest in several different ways, but all were linked together. The ideology was secondary, but it was not important. Why should someone choose to submit their will to that of some fascist leader? The ideology had to resonate with them for that to happen. So let us look at the failures that fascism ascribed to the pseudo-classical semi-liberal order that establishment politicians were attempting to rebuild after World War I. And make no mistake: the failures were real.

The first was a macroeconomic failure: semi-liberal capitalism had failed to guarantee high employment and rapid economic growth.

The second was a distributional failure: either semi-liberal capitalism made the rich richer while everyone else stayed poor, or it failed to preserve an adequate income differential between the more-educated, more-respectable lower middle class and the unskilled industrial proletariat. It could not win. Depending on which aspect of income distribution was highlighted, either industrial capitalism produced an income distribution that was too unequal (rich get richer, the rest stay poor) or not unequal enough (respected lower middle classes slip into joining the unskilled proletariat). That the charge of not-unequal-enough carried an implied or explicit ethno-racial-religious distinction—too much equality with Jews, or Poles, or Slavs, or any other minority—lent it an even greater ability to inspire the national masses.

The third failure was a moral failure: the market economy reduced all human relationships—or in any event many human relationships—to arms-length market transactions—you do this for me, and I will pay you. But people are not comfortable dealing with each other as nothing but machines for transforming your money into useful commodities, or, vice versa, your labor into money. Contests and gift exchanges have more psychological resonance. It is more satisfying to receive (or give) a present, or to win a prize, than to buy the exact same thing. It is more satisfying to receive

genuine applause for your performance than to pay a claque. It is more inspiring to follow a leader than to be paid to join a crowd. By ignoring and trying to suppress these dimensions—to require that everything pass through a *cash nexus*—the market society dehumanizes much of life.

Fourth was a solidarity-recognition failure: the pseudo-classical semi-liberal order failed to acknowledge that everyone (that is, all citizens bound together by a given culture and contained within given geographical borders) was in this together—that inhabitants of an ethnic nation had common interests that were much more powerful than any one individual's interest. Thus, economic policy needed to be made in a “syndicalist” or “corporatist” mode. This meant that the state needed to mediate between employers and unions, and the state needed to crack heads when necessary to make sure that employers and unions did the right thing. Not market forces, but government regulation, would set the price of labor and the quantity of employment, for those were too important for the health of society to be determined by the distribution of property and the workings of the market.

The fifth failure was governmental: not only was the semi-liberal economy flawed—so, too, was the semi-liberal government. Parliaments were incompetent. Cretinous. They were composed either of timeservers with no initiative, corrupt distributors of favors to special interests, or ideological champions who focused not on the public interest but on what made their own narrow slice of supporters feel good. What the country needed was a strong leader who would say what he thought and do what was needed without paying attention to norms or niceties.

Many of these real and declared shortcomings resulted in simmering to boiling discontent. Giving this discontent form and direction helped decide the first two planks of fascism's platform.

Nationalist assertion became Mussolini's first plank. He demanded that Italy be “respected.” He demanded that the Italian border be moved north into the Alps and east into what would become Yugoslavia. Moved how far? As far as possible. Anti-socialism became his second plank: that is, recruiting groups of young thugs and sending them out into the streets to beat up socialists and disrupt working-class organizations.

“Corporatism,” or the replacement of the anarchy of the market by some form of government-administered planning, at least of wage levels and

incomes, became his third plank. Fascism would embrace the dignity of work and of occupations, and not value every form of work and every worker solely by what the market wanted to pay them.

And to make people sit up and behave—that is, subordinate their class interests to their ethno-national interests—there needed to be a strong leader: Mussolini. This was less plank than precondition. People did not have interests that politicians existed to satisfy. Instead, people needed to be led and given a sense of national purpose by having their leader tell them what their interests were. Rulers should not listen and obey, but speak and command.

Was this thing called “fascism” real, or was this just a con game?

Perhaps it was just a confidence trick. A normal political movement is based on interest groups who see their well-being as part of a good society, who have a view of how the world works that suggests certain policies to advance that well-being, and who then attempt to assemble coalitions to implement those policies. Fascism certainly was not a normal political movement.

To seize power, Mussolini needed to present himself as the prophet of a new ideology; he needed a doctrine in which to cloak his personal despotism; and he needed to keep his opponents divided and off balance. Fascism was opportunistic, and the leadership principle could paper over contradictions. By this point of view, fascism was always a confidence game run by con artists. The goal of the one promoting fascism was to become a leader in order to gain status, wealth, and power. In order to do that, Mussolini needed to find people who wanted to be led. And then he had to undertake a delicate psychological negotiation with them to figure out where they wanted to be led to. Only then could he enthral them, and then pick their pockets.

It is tempting to declare that the greatest trick Mussolini ever pulled was convincing the world, or at least much of Italy, that he and fascism were the real deal. Unquestionably he succeeded for a time. Initially, Italy’s elected politicians tried alternately to suppress and to ally with fascism. In 1922, after winning some electoral successes, Mussolini threatened to make Italy ungovernable through large-scale political violence—unless he was named prime minister. The king named him prime minister. From there he became dictator of Italy: Il Duce, or “The Leader.” By judicious murders,

imprisonments, and political wheeling and dealing, he remained at the top of Italy until the Western allied armies of Britain and the United States came knocking in 1943.

But while it is certainly true that “fascism” was disorganized, self-contradictory, confused, and vague, most political movements embody these qualities. In forming a coalition or a party, the goal is to maintain friendships and alliances by blurring differences and avoiding conceptual clarity. Both tend to drive wedges among your followers.

Fascism’s claim to be something real rests on another, incontrovertible fact: in the twentieth century, it had too many adherents to be only an illusionary confidence trick, even if most fascists most of the time were clearer on what they were against than what they were for. I count six elements usually found in regimes that called themselves “fascist”: a leadership commanding rather than representing; a unified community based on ties of blood and soil (and rejecting and degrading those who are not of the community); coordination and propaganda; support for at least some traditional hierarchies; hatred of socialists and liberals; and—almost always—hatred of “rootless cosmopolites,” which, in their antisemitic worldview, meant Jews and people who acted like Jews, in some form or another.

Fascism was also often considered to be the only game in town. This is certainly true if you do not approve of liberal democracy, or if you fear socialism and believe that liberal democracy will inevitably lead to socialism, once the working class realizes its voting strength. For many after World War I, it seemed clear that restoring the Old Order was impossible. For many anti-socialists, therefore, fascism appeared to them to be the only choice left standing. Monarchy was out. An aristocracy of birth and rank was out. Theocracy was out. Plutocracy had difficulties keeping a mass base. Fascism was it. And a lot of people were (and are) willing to endorse and support it.

Indeed, someone living between the world wars looking at European and Latin American governments could easily become convinced that fascism was the wave of the future. Nearly everywhere, democracy was in retreat, unable to provide answers to the economic problems of the Great Depression or to resolve social conflicts. On the eve of World War II, democracies in the world were few and far between: Great Britain and its

Dominions (Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and perhaps South Africa), the United States (if you were white), Ireland, France, the Low Countries (Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg), and Scandinavia (Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark). That was it. Everywhere else you had authoritarian, nondemocratic, or antidemocratic governments of the left or the right.

IN GERMANY AFTER WORLD War I, supporters of the German Socialist Party were called *Sozis*—the first two syllables of *Sozialist*. For some reason, urban Bavarians made fun of people named Ignatz. The name was a stand-in for a what in English is a country bumpkin: someone rural, foolish, and awkward. There was a diminutive nickname for Ignatz: Nazi. Hence the political enemies of Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist German Workers' Party in Bavaria in the 1920s began calling them a mash-up of these terms, "Nazis." The name stuck.

Once Adolf Hitler seized power in 1933 and consolidated it in 1934, he was, with reason, popular.⁸ Germany had recovered from the Great Depression relatively rapidly once Hitler had taken power and broken adherence to monetary and fiscal orthodoxy. With the Gestapo in the background to suppress agitation for higher wages, better working conditions, or the right to strike, and with strong demand from the government for public works and military programs, unemployment fell during the 1930s. The Great Depression in Germany had been the deepest in the world save for the United States. Recovery in Germany was fastest, save for Japan and Scandinavia.

Hitler in power during peacetime appears to have been focused on boosting employment and building weapons, not adding to industrial capacity and increasing national wealth. Build national highways, yes—but build them not by building individual city-to-city or resources-to-industry links but by building first where it would be seen by as many as possible. Political effectiveness and military capacity were the priorities.

Political effectiveness we understand: The Nazi movement was still a minority movement. Even at its high point it could command a majority in the Reichstag, the legislature, only with the socialist and communist deputies excluded from the room. And even then, this rump legislature was only willing to vote to give Hitler emergency and dictatorial powers in the

panic that followed the “mysterious” burning of the Reichstag’s building. In part because of their minority-majority, Hitler and his party did see building more and stronger political support as a priority—hence jobs, and at least the appearance of a government that was building large infrastructure projects.

But weapons? Armies? How do we understand these as priorities? One could order up one world war from the menu by mistake. But why in the Holy Name of the One Who Is would anyone ever, ever order up two?

Hitler disagreed. Hitler had actually rather liked World War I.

Hitler’s experiences during World War I do not seem to add up to what a normal person would regard as a “good war.” But he thought they did.⁹

He enlisted—untrained—in the Bavarian Army in August 1914, after having been rejected by his Austrian homeland as unfit for military service. In October he joined the 16th Bavarian Reserve Regiment, or List Regiment (named after its first commander), part of nine new and largely untrained infantry divisions that were thrown immediately into combat on an emergency basis. The 16th was sent to the First Battle of Ypres, where the Germans faced the British, and it was the first mauling that the 16th Bavarian Reserve Regiment underwent.

The Germans called this the *Kindermord*, the child death. That is an explicit reference to the biblical massacre of the innocent babies of Bethlehem by King Herod of Judea following the birth of Christ. Perhaps the analogy is apt: in all, 40,000 of 90,000 Germans were killed or wounded in twenty days. By the end of the battle, of the 16th’s original company of 250, only 42 men were alive, out of the hospital, and able to present for further duty.

The List Regiment, like so many others during World War I, followed a predictable pattern: inexperienced, they were sent into the fight, where they were chewed up, a decent percent were thrown away, a modest percent were regrouped, repeat. The List Regiment was sacrificed over and over again, in the Battles of the Somme (1916), Fromelles (1916), Arras (1917), and Passchendaele (1917). The casualties were horrifying—in the hundreds of thousands—in each battle. Hitler was wounded in the thigh in 1916 by a shell exploding at his dugout entrance. He was hospitalized for two months. He was then ordered to the reserves behind the line in Munich. He could not stand it. With his comrades under fire, he begged to be recalled back to the

front. His wish was granted. He was then (temporarily) blinded and struck dumb by a British gas attack in October 1918. He spent the last twenty-five days of the war in the hospital.

Yet these experiences did not put him off war.

Hitler was then demobilized and set adrift. No matter his dedication, his conduct had not been such that he was one of those soldiers the General Staff wanted to keep for the peacetime army. But Major Karl Mayr of the army's Intelligence Division picked him up as an undercover operative in mid-1919. Mayr sent him to spy on socialists. One small socialist group he was sent to spy on was Anton Drexler's German Workers' Party. Drexler found Hitler to be "an absurd little man." But he was also impressed with Hitler's ability to speak. Drexler invited Hitler to join his party in September 1919.

Drexler's party became the Nazi Party five months later, when "National" and "Socialist" were added at the front of its name, "National" with Hitler's enthusiastic support, and "Socialist" over his objection. The idea seems to have been that the full name change might lure Germans looking for a socialist meeting to wander in. Since the Nazis were, like the socialists, recruiting from the groups for whom the system was not working, such wanderers-in might stay. Later it was too late to change the name of the party. And by that point it had become the party of Hitler first and foremost, mooting the name.

A sliver, albeit a highly telling sliver, of what the party of Hitler stood for can be glimpsed in how it treated the men who gave Hitler his first legs up into it.

In 1921, Hitler would ultimately push the man who invited him into the party, and who thereafter mentored him, Anton Drexler, out of the Nazi leadership. Drexler resigned from the party in 1923. In *Mein Kampf*, published in 1925, years after Drexler had done all that he could for his mentee, Hitler described Drexler as "a simple worker, as speaker not very gifted, moreover no soldier." He added that he was "weak and uncertain"; "not a real leader"; and "not cut out to be fanatical enough to carry the movement in [his heart]" or "to use brutal means to overcome the opposition to a new idea."¹⁰ Drexler died of natural causes in the Bavarian city of Munich in 1942. He got off relatively easy.

The man who recruited Hitler to spy on Drexler's party, Karl Mayr,

started out on the German right and steadily moved left. In 1925 he joined the Socialist Party, where he led some of the socialist left-wing paramilitary street bullies. In 1933, after Hitler assumed dictatorial power, Mayr fled to France. When the Nazis conquered France in 1940, he was on the Gestapo's list. He was sent first to the Sachsenhausen and then to the Buchenwald concentration camp. There he was murdered on February 9, 1945.

Most of what Nazism stood for can be grasped by understanding Adolf Hitler's deadly serious appreciation for the work of economist Thomas Robert Malthus from the turn of the nineteenth century.

It has been chapters since we last crossed paths with Malthus, the pessimist who gloomily predicted that human populations would outrun their food supply. When people and food got out of balance, too much of the former given not enough of the latter, Malthus argued, nature or mankind would provide a corrective. It would come in the forms, one or all, of war, famine, disease, and death; or (a better alternative) "moral restraint." This would be evidenced by late marriages and infrequent sex supported by strong religious faith, practices Malthus believed allowed a small gap between the edge of starvation and average living standards.

From those earlier chapters we know Malthus as someone whose doctrines provided a good description of life before he wrote but were a bad guide to subsequent history. When looking backward, the lesson he drew was less a lesson than a trap, and an inevitable one at that: population growth checked by insufficient foodstuffs would produce poverty. But in post-Malthus history the rationalization and routinization of scientific discovery, technological innovation, and mass-scale deployment had banished the Malthusian Devil.

Hitler, however, drew different lessons from Malthus. The Malthusian trap, with more than a dash of social Darwinism, was, he argued, useful for thinking about foreign policy. "Germany," he wrote in *Mein Kampf*, "has an annual increase in population of nearly nine hundred thousand souls. The difficulty of feeding this army of new citizens must grow greater from year to year and ultimately end in catastrophe."¹¹

Hitler saw four options. One was birth control to reduce population growth. But Hitler saw any check on the number of Germans as weakening the German race. A second was to increase agricultural productivity, but he saw this endeavor as doomed for the same reason that Malthus did:

diminishing returns. A third was to purchase food from abroad by “produc[ing] for foreign needs through industry and commerce.” Hitler deemed this option “unhealthy.” Moreover, he saw it as unrealistic: Britain would never allow Germany to become the dominant industrial and mercantile power without a fight, and if it could wield the hunger weapon again—as it had with the World War I blockade—Britain would win.

What was left? The fourth way: territorial expansion. Hitler went on to write:

We must... coolly and objectively, adopt the standpoint that it can certainly not be the intention of Heaven to give one people fifty times as much land and soil in this world as another.... [W]e must not let political boundaries obscure for us the boundaries of internal justice.... The law of self-preservation goes into effect; and what is refused to amicable methods it is up to the fist to take.... If land was desired in Europe, it could be obtained by and large only at the expense of Russia, and this meant that the new Reich must again set itself on the march along the road of the Teutonic knights of old, to obtain by the German sword sod for the German plow and daily bread for the nation.¹²

Standing atop historical inaccuracies and mystical justifications, Hitler concluded that Germany must continue that barbaric, bloody quest: “We take up where we broke off six hundred years ago. We stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze toward the land in the east. At long last we break off the colonial and commercial policy of the pre-War period and shift to the soil policy of the future”¹³

But how could Germany expand to the east? Here he was certain that fate (or Heaven, or cosmic justice, or the laws of self-preservation) had already intervened on Germany’s behalf. “By handing Russia to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian nation” of the “Germanic nucleus of its upper leading strata.” That group, he said, had been “replaced by the [Bolshevik] Jew.” Drawing upon thousands of years of antisemitic hate, fear, and loathing, now cloaked in scientific-sounding social Darwinism, Hitler declared that it was “impossible for the Jew to maintain the mighty

[Russian] empire forever." Therefore, "the giant empire in the east is ripe for collapse."

All Germany had to do was make sure that it had an army large enough to be prepared when the collapse would come. Be prepared, but also be impatient. As Hitler said in June 1941, when he launched the Nazi armies into Russia, "You only have to kick in the door and the whole rotten structure will come crashing down."

Now we see the four braided assumptions at Nazism's center. First, a strong dose of German antisemitism. Second, a belief in the German nation and the "Aryan" German race as an entity with a special, heroic destiny. Third, the understanding that war was the ultimate test of national and racial strength and worth. And, fourth, the idea that conquest, which explicitly required the extermination or removal of populations, was necessary to create more "living space" for Germans, especially German farmers, who would oversee large fields yielding the agricultural production necessary to feed Germans.

Essential to this braided core were three presumptions: First, the leadership principle. This was not just the belief that an inspired leader was essential to a good political order; rather, it was an active disdain—even hatred—of any obstacle to that leader's ambitions, including, especially, parliamentary institutions, which Hitler believed engaged in ineffectual and disgraceful bargaining practices on behalf of interest groups. Second, the use of terror to obtain obedience. And third, the desire to make sure that all of society, from its citizens to its organizations, served the national cause.

There you have Nazism. Whereas really-existing socialism in the Soviet Union started with utopian expectations, only to end up mired in dystopian horrors, Nazism began with dystopian expectations, looking forward to inevitable violent contests of races and nations—and fully realized the sought-out dystopian horrors.

Hitler tested his Malthusian economics-based Aryan-racial-domination ideology, Nazism, on March 15, 1939, when he gambled by ordering German tanks to roll (unopposed) into Prague, thereby annexing Czechoslovakia. He took it more seriously yet on September 1, 1939, when he ordered German tanks to roll across the Polish border, this time meeting resistance but easily crushing the Polish army (in less than three weeks), and beginning the European phase of World War II. He then pursued his

new ideology with existential earnestness on June 22, 1941, when German tanks rolled (opposed) across the Soviet border and Germany—still engaged in a brutal war with the British Empire—took on the Soviet Union as well. The entire point of Hitler’s foreign policy, after all, was the drive to the east, to win by the sword bread for the German nation and sod for the German plow. In so doing, he sought to exterminate, expel, or enslave all the Slavic peoples across Germany’s eastern border.

And he took the braided logics of Nazism in genocidal earnestness by implementing, with millions of abettors, the Final Solution to the “Jewish Problem.”¹⁴

Perhaps fifty million people died because of Hitler’s wars. But if the Nazis had won their war—conquered Europe up to the Urals and filled the land with ethnic German landlord-farmer estates—that number would have more than tripled. And afterward, what would race-maddened victorious Nazis have done in Africa? And in Asia east and south of the Urals?

It is a question history and ideology provides an answer to.

HAVE I COMMITTED AN error by lumping fascists in with Nazis?

A great many people did (and some still do) applaud fascists, after all.

The political philosopher Leo Strauss, who had been born in Germany in 1899 to German Jewish parents, emigrated to Paris in 1932 and to the United States in 1937, where he became a professor at the University of Chicago. Teacher of some and darling of many on America’s intellectual political right, he proudly stated in 1933 that even though the Nazis were misapplying them, he remained a believer in “fascist, authoritarian and imperial” principles.¹⁵

Economist and darling of the far right Ludwig von Mises, born to Jewish parents in Austria-Hungary, in what is now Ukraine, wrote of fascism in 1927, “Fascism and similar movements aiming at the establishment of dictatorships are full of the best intentions... [and] their intervention has, for the moment, saved European civilization. The merit that Fascism has thereby won for itself will live on eternally in history.”¹⁶ True, in the same work he called it an “emergency makeshift” arrangement; warned that “view[ing] it as something more would be a fatal error”; and denounced it for “its complete faith in the decisive power of violence”—for, in his view,

ideas rather than fists and clubs were needed to decisively scotch socialism. In 1940, the Jewish-born Mises, too, emigrated to the United States (via Switzerland in 1934), acknowledging that fists trump intentions.

At the start of the 1980s, libertarian darling Friedrich von Hayek wrote a letter to Margaret Thatcher suggesting that the British hew more closely to the methods of fascistic Augusto Pinochet, whose 1973 Cold War coup overthrowing and murdering President Salvador Allende Hayek had greatly applauded as rescuing Chile from the road to serfdom. We catch his urged sympathies in her politely worded reply. Thatcher wrote, “Some of the measures adopted in Chile are quite unacceptable.... We shall achieve our reforms in our own way and in our own time.”¹⁷ All of these—save Thatcher—at least flirted with a temporary and tactical alliance with and allegiance to fascism, and some of them did much, much more: believing that representative democracy could not summon the strength to resist really-existing socialism, and believing that that disastrous threat to civilization called for desperate measures and alliances in response.

In seeing history’s fascists, as they have cropped up across continents and over decades, as part of the same species as Hitler and his company of genocidal madmen, am I illegitimately tarring their views? It is certainly true that if fascists are all of the same species, many were much tamer versions than the Nazis. Most fascists’ economic doctrines were largely negative: they were not socialists, and they did not believe that the Marxist platform of the nationalization of industry and the expropriation of the capitalist class was the right way to run an economy. But neither did they buy into the “national living space” doctrines of Hitler. They were less antisemitic, and they were less murderous than the Nazis.

But other fascists were identifiably of the same ideological genus as the Nazis. They recognized each other. It is no accident that Hitler wrote of his “profoundest admiration for the great man south of the Alps,” Benito Mussolini, the founder of fascism.¹⁸ It is also no accident that Mussolini allied with Hitler during World War II, or that both Hitler and Mussolini sent aid to Francisco Franco’s Royalist rebels in the Spanish Civil War of the late 1930s. No more accidental, in any case, than the fact that Nazis fleeing Europe after the collapse of Hitler’s Third Reich found a welcome in Juan Perón’s Argentina.

Have I committed an error by not lumping fascists in with really-

existing socialists? After all, how much light really shines between the fascist and the really-existing socialist?

A distressing number of people, starting with Mussolini himself, seem to have transited from one to the other directly. That suggests not a left-right political spectrum but rather a horseshoe, or even a color wheel. Red and blue are as far apart in terms of visual wavelengths as colors can be. Yet if you take magenta paint and add a little bit of cyan you get blue; if you take magenta and add a little bit of yellow you get red. George Orwell famously asked, “But aren’t we all socialists?”¹⁹ He was in Barcelona, it was 1937, and the Stalinist-backed socialists were exterminating the Spanish Marxist faction that he had joined when he arrived in the city (the Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification). All the while, Franco’s fascists waited outside the city.

There were important policy differences.

As Hermann Rauschning claimed Hitler had said to him, “Why need we trouble to socialize banks and factories? We socialize human beings!”²⁰ That is to say, really-existing socialism focuses first on control over institutions and commodity flows and only secondarily on control over what people think, say, and do—but we focus first on what people think, say, and do. How profound a difference was this really? And while status inequality was important to really-existing socialists, material inequality and ruling-class luxury was... embarrassing. By contrast, for fascists, if material inequality and ruling-class luxury bothered you, it only demonstrated that you were not really with the program.

But do these constitute a difference in species, or just variation within a species properly called “totalitarian”?

Let us bring in as a reference British socialist historian Eric Hobsbawm—a card-carrying communist from before World War II until 1956, thereafter becoming more moderate—who had a couple of asides in his histories that strike me as revealing. The first comes in his 1994 book *The Age of Extremes*, a history of what he called the short twentieth century, or the period from the start of World War I in 1914 to the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. Hobsbawm, writing in his old age, still believed that joining a “Moscow-aligned Communist party” was, for those who desired global revolution, “the only game in town”: “Lenin’s ‘party of a new type’... gave even small organizations disproportionate effectiveness, because the party

could command extraordinary devotion and self-sacrifice from its members, more than military discipline and cohesiveness, and a total concentration on carrying out party decisions at all costs,” he wrote. “This impressed even hostile observers profoundly.”²¹

Is there a hair’s breadth of difference between the fascists’ worship of a heroic leader and Hobsbawm’s belief that unthinking obedience to the dictator in Moscow—whatever he might be—who had murdered nearly all of his peers—was praiseworthy, and profoundly impressive? To accept that being a follower meant devotion and self-sacrifice at all costs would absolutely have earned Mussolini’s and Hitler’s approval. “This is a fascist coup” were perhaps the last words of Stalin’s peer Bolshevik Gregory Zinoviev, as Stalin’s henchmen shot him.²²

BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, *ideology*—as opposed to religion—did not kill people by the millions and tens of millions. The stakes were not thought to be worth it. Such enthusiasm for mass murder awaited the combination of aristocratic militarism, really-existing socialism, and fascism. Thus it was only in the twentieth century that utopian aspirations about how the economy should be organized led nations and global movements to build dystopias to try to bring the utopian future closer. And then they turned around and justified the dystopia: compromises must be made, and this is as good as it is going to get.

My view is that too much mental and historical energy has been spent parsing differences between movements that are justly classified as dystopian, and even totalitarian, in aspiration. Time spent on such a task is time wasted, given their commonalities—if not in formal doctrine, then at least in modes of operation. The guards of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, Dachau, and the rest were very like the guards of the Gulag Archipelago.

Rather, mental and historical energy should be focused on where these movements got their energy. Why was the world unable to offer people a society in which they could live good lives? Why was a total reconfiguration necessary? Karl Polanyi saw fascism and socialism as reactions against the market society’s inability or unwillingness to satisfy people’s Polanyian rights. It could not guarantee them a comfortable community in which to live because the use to which land was put had to

pass a profitability test. It could not offer them an income commensurate with what they deserved because the wage paid to their occupation had to pass a profitability test. And it could not offer them stable employment because the financing to support whatever value chain they were embedded in also had to pass a profitability test. These failures all gave energy to the thought that there needed to be a fundamental reconfiguration of economy and society that would respect people's Polanyian rights. And the hope of millions was that fascism and really-existing socialism would do so.

Instead, both turned out to erase, in brutal and absolute ways, people's rights, and people's lives, by the millions. So why were people so gullible? The German socialist Rosa Luxemburg in 1919 could see the path Lenin was embarked upon and called it "a brutalization of public life: attempted assassinations, shooting of hostages, etc."²³ The German liberal Max Weber, writing in 1918, could also foresee what would become of Lenin's sociological experiment, saying it would end in "a laboratory with heaps of human corpses."²⁴ Similarly, the British diplomat Eric Phipps wrote in 1935 that if Britain were to take Hitler's *Mein Kampf* seriously and literally, "we should logically be bound to adopt the policy of a 'preventive' war."²⁵

The dangers of a fascist turn were clear. The unlikelihood of success at even slouching toward a good society of those who took that turn ought to have been obvious.

Utopian faith is a helluva drug.

10

World War II

During the 1930s, while most other countries continued to stagnate in the Great Depression, Germany recovered rapidly. But Nazi ideology made plain that a recovery fueled by peaceful spending was not what Hitler's regime was about.

In March 1935, Hitler announced that Germany was breaking the shackles of the Treaty of Versailles and rearming.¹ The victorious allies of World War I faced a knotty foreign policy problem. The isolationist United States was uninterested in sending soldiers and garrisons to Europe. The British and French electorates definitely did not want to do World War I again. And Hitler's program of rearmament and national self-assertion demanded that Britain and France make a choice.

The diplomatic jostling of the 1930s was unequal, and not because Britain and France were well armed and less affected by the Great Depression, while Germany was disarmed and deeply depressed. The jostling was unequal because Britain and France did not want to get close to war, and were certain nobody else wanted to, either, as they then might fall into another one as horrible as the last. The jostling was unequal because Hitler did not share their view. Nor did the German power structure share it.

The policies of Britain and France can rightly be called strategies of *appeasement*: Give Hitler diplomatic victories. Dribble them out. Get him invested in small successes so he would honor the commitments he had made to gain them. As British ambassador Eric Phipps wrote in his diary in 1935, if they could "bind him... by an agreement bearing his signature," he might "honour it": "Agreement only partially agreeable to Great Britain and

France and not too distasteful to Italy might prevent for a time any further German shots among the International ducks,” he wrote. “Years might then pass and even Hitler might grow old.”²

If that was the strategy, it did not work.

When Hitler began his diplomatic campaign, he had a powerful array of arguments on his side. The Versailles Treaty that had ended World War I had restricted the German army to one hundred thousand soldiers. But the other nations of the world had never cut back their own armies. Was Germany to be the only great power to fear invasion from Denmark or Yugoslavia? That was not fair. And the response that Nazi Germany was a pariah nation—ruled by a cruel, oppressive dictatorship—was not a statement that made sense in the language of European diplomacy. The idea that what a duly recognized government did within its borders was of no concern to the world’s other governments was deeply ingrained.

What did make sense in the language of European diplomacy was language: the language that a majority of people in any given village spoke. The Versailles Treaty, and the other aspects of the post-World War I settlement, had tried, imperfectly, but as much as was possible, to redraw national borders along linguistic lines. Except for Germany’s. Linguistic German speakers were ruled not just from Berlin but from Rome, Vienna, Budapest, Prague, Warsaw, Vilnius, Paris, and even Bucharest.

As long as Hitler limited his foreign policy goals to removing the restrictions on German armaments that made Germany a less-than-equal nation, and to trying to “settle” national minority problems by redrawing borders to more closely match linguistic lines, it was hard for Britain, France, and others to say no.

After all, did Britain and France want to invade Germany, depose Hitler, and set up an unstable puppet government bound to further inflame German nationalism? Well yes, they did, but pretty much only Winston Churchill had the foresight to recognize that such a step was the least-bad option.³ And he was regarded as harebrained: he had been wrong in wishing to make no compromise with Indians seeking self-government, wrong in his aggressive embrace of deflation as Britain’s finance minister in 1925, wrong in his support of King Edward VII in his desire to marry the twice-divorced, social-climbing Wallis Warfield Spencer Simpson, and (they said) wrong in his plans for winning World War I not in France and Belgium but

in Turkey.⁴ Why should anyone think he was right in his fearmongering about a German threat?

In the middle of the Great Depression, French and British political leaders believed that they had bigger problems than enforcing every jot and tittle provision of the Treaty of Versailles. And some wished actively to see Germany rejoin the community of Western European nations. With Germany effectively disarmed, there was a power vacuum between the border of the Soviet Union and the Rhine River. Poland and the Soviet Union had fought one war in the early 1920s that had seen the Red Army approach Warsaw before being turned back. Wise men said a strong German army could serve as a buffer against communist Russia. In the 1930s, as the German army, navy, and air force demonstrably grew past treaty limits, Britain and France did effectively nothing.

Hitler broke yet another provision of the Treaty of Versailles in March 1936: he moved token military forces into the Rhineland, the province of Germany west of the Rhine that had been demilitarized after 1918. Britain and France faced the same choice again. And once again it seemed pointless to act. No other European country had demilitarized zones within its borders. To require that Germany maintain a demilitarized zone seemed only apt to inflame German nationalism. And, once again, to enforce the provision would presumably require an invasion of Germany, the deposition of Hitler, and the installation of a puppet government.

Hitler annexed Austria in March 1938. Austria was inhabited overwhelmingly by ethnic Germans who all spoke German. In annexing Austria, Hitler declared, he was simply gathering the German people into their proper one nation and reversing a political error committed in the late nineteenth century, when the Austrian Germans were excluded from the political boundaries of Germany. Had but the Allies applied the same national self-determination principles to the Germans that they had applied to themselves and to the rest of Europe, there would have been no error to correct. And to his point, Germany's armies crossed into Austria unopposed and were greeted, in at least some places, enthusiastically.

After the annexation of Austria, Hitler turned his attention to a second of the anomalous boundaries of post–World War I Europe: the “Sudetenland.” The northern and western boundaries of Czechoslovakia followed the boundaries of the medieval Kingdom of Bohemia, and included a

mountainous region that was the location of all the Czech frontier defenses. It was also heavily populated by German speakers. A percentage of them cried oppression and demanded annexation by Germany, which funded their campaign of complaints.

The British government had commitments to defend France; the French government had commitments to defend the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia; Czechoslovakia had no desire to surrender its mountain territories—and its frontier defenses. And yet the British and French governments had no desire to go to war to prevent the people of the Sudetenland from becoming part of Germany. The Western democracies' military advisers feared that World War II would bring the horrors of the World War I trench line to civilians located far from the front.

They would be proven right.

To avoid war, on September 29–30, 1938, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain and French prime minister Édouard Daladier went to Munich and reached an agreement with Hitler: Hitler would annex the Sudetenland and pledge to respect the independence of the rest of Czechoslovakia, and Britain and France would guarantee the independence of Czechoslovakia. The Czech representatives were not even allowed in the room where the negotiations took place.⁵

A cheering crowd applauded Chamberlain on his return to Britain. War had been averted. Irretrievably blackening his reputation for all time, Chamberlain declared he had secured “peace with honour. I believe it is peace for our time.”⁶ Churchill—shunned by the other conservative members of the British House of Commons—had a very different view: “I think we shall have to choose in the next few weeks between war and shame, and I have very little doubt what the decision will be,” he had written to ex-prime minister David Lloyd George in advance of Chamberlain’s visit to Munich.⁷

Hitler annexed all of Czechoslovakia, after first having sponsored a secessionist movement in the “Slovakia” part of the country, on March 15, 1939. Britain and France took no action. Chamberlain stated, “The effect of this declaration [of independence by the Hitler-sponsored secessionist movement] put an end by internal disruption to the state whose frontiers we had proposed to guarantee [at Munich]. His Majesty’s government cannot accordingly hold themselves any longer bound by this obligation.”⁸

But within two days, Chamberlain reversed himself. Not as regards Czechoslovakia, but as regards appeasement.

Chamberlain and company extended security guarantees to Poland and Romania. German attacks on Poland or Romania, he publicly declared, would cause declarations of war against Germany by Britain and France. Chamberlain appeared to believe that this commitment would deter Hitler from further adventures.

But why should it? How could British troops and warships help Poland in a war with the nation, Nazi Germany, that separated the two? Hitler concluded that the British and French were bluffing. And he wanted to get himself ready for the attack east to do to the Slavic populations of European Russia what the United States had done to the Indigenous peoples who lived in North America. Just as had happened in America, Hitler's hope was that Germany would come into ownership of a huge breadbasket, in this case Ukraine, which, after many different trials of tears, would be populated by ethnic Germans managing large, mechanized farms.

In the spring of 1939 Hitler again demanded the redrawing of borders, this time to reclaim ethnolinguistic Germans trapped in a "Polish corridor" dividing Germany and the province of East Prussia.

Had the British and French diplomatic policy makers been flint-eyed realists, they would have shrugged their shoulders: Hitler wants to go east? Let him go east. They would have concluded that a Hitler fighting a series of wars to his east was unlikely to cause them trouble, at least for a while. And that if Hitler at some point turned west, then that would be the time to deal with him.

But they did not do this. They had guaranteed Poland and Romania. They doubled down, betting on deterrence.

Chamberlain and his foreign minister, Lord Halifax, appear to have given little thought to what would happen if deterrence failed. They knew they did not want war. They were sure Hitler felt similarly. Which meant Hitler must be bluffing too, mustn't he? Nobody wanted a repeat of World War I, right?

On one side were participants who were willing to come close to war, but who still held to the belief that nobody wanted one. They had, they thought, given Hitler enough diplomatic victories. Drawing a line would prevent a war from actually starting. On the other side were participants

confident that war was inevitable, preferable to the status quo, and necessary to secure manifestly destined “living space.” Moreover, the British and French politicians had folded when their cards were strong. Why should they not fold when their cards were weak? Neither was in a position to help Poland militarily.

If they didn’t, however, Germany might face a war on its western border, and it was for this reason that Hitler became interested in a—temporary—alliance with Stalin and the Soviet Union.

Over the years, even while pursuing a “Popular Front” and “collective security” among nonfascist states to counter fascism in the mid-1930s, Stalin had put out feelers to Hitler. Hitler was not interested. Hitler became interested in a deal with Stalin only in 1939, when he recognized how useful Soviet neutrality would be for his conquest of Poland. Or at least half of it, for now. He and Stalin agreed to split Poland down the middle at the Bug River. Additionally, the Soviet Union got a green light from Germany to annex the three Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Stalin had made the mother of all miscalculations. The pact allowed Hitler to fight three one-front wars in succession—one against Poland, one against Britain and France, and then one against the Soviet Union. Only by the skin of its teeth did the Soviet Union survive until the United States entered the war. US factories and logistical support kept the Soviet Red Army fed, fueled, wheeled, and moving, and the US Army and Air Force made it possible for an Anglo-American force to reenter the main theaters of the war. Much better for the Soviet Union to have fought Germany in 1939 with powerful British and French allies fielding armies on the continent than to face Germany’s undivided attention in 1941, 1942, and the first half of 1943.

It is always difficult to understand Stalin, or indeed anything about the Stalin-ruled Soviet Union. “A riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma,” Churchill called it.⁹ It is possible, however, to guess at what the thinking inside Moscow’s Kremlin palace-fortress was:

Q: What is Hitler, comrade?

A: Hitler is a tool of the capitalists, comrade.

Q: Why might Hitler wish to wage an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, comrade?

A: To gain cheap access to our raw materials, comrade, so that his big-business capitalist backers can earn higher profits.

Q: So what happens if we offer him as many of our raw materials as possible at an incredibly cheap price, comrade?

A: Then he will not seek to invade, comrade. He will have no reason to do so.

Q: What will happen then, comrade?

A: What always happens in the highest stage of capitalism, comrade. The big capitalist powers become imperialists, and then they fight terrible wars over markets.

Q: Correct. And after the war is over?

A: We will do what we did at the end of World War I, comrade. We move in and expand the socialist camp.

Q: Therefore our goal, comrade, is?

A: To appease Hitler by providing him with all the raw materials he wants. And then wait for our moment, comrade.

Perhaps Stalin wrongly anticipated a replay of World War I: trench warfare that would lead to a prolonged stalemate on the Franco-German border, during which another generation of young men would be slaughtered, another set of bourgeois countries would exhaust themselves, and another group of countries would become ripe for a Moscow-led communist revolution. What is certain is that Stalin did not recognize the danger of even a temporary alliance with Hitler.

On one side were participants convinced that market-capitalist nations were doomed to violently compete among themselves and fail, ultimately hastening the arrival of a proletarian paradise; on the other side were participants convinced that a Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy was an existential threat standing between them and the land destined to become their breadbasket.

In September 1939, Hitler and Stalin moved their armies in and partitioned Poland.

And it turned out that Britain and France were not bluffing.

They carried out their commitments. Hitler and the Nazi army attacked the Poles at dawn on September 1. That afternoon, the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, invited his principal critic, Winston Churchill, to join the War Cabinet. He then ignored Churchill for two full days. I do not think anyone alive knows the decision-making process, but fifty hours after the Nazi attack—at 9:00 a.m. on September 3—the British government demanded that the German army withdraw from Poland. And at 11:00 a.m., Britain declared war. France followed. But their forces were not ready and were far from Poland, which fell to Hitler and Stalin in a month.

And while they had not been bluffing, they had not precisely been preparing, either. They had no plans for waging a war against Germany. And they did not develop any. And so for eight months after the fall of Poland all was quiet on the western front.

It is conventional to damn Chamberlain and Daladier and the other politicians who ruled Britain and France in the 1930s for their actions and inactions. They had not destroyed Hitler when he was weak. They had not prepared their countries to fight Hitler when he was strong. They had not even constructed a grand alliance, calling on the United States and the Soviet Union in an antifascist coalition. That all evidence suggests that neither country's decision makers wished to be so enlisted doesn't moot the failure of not bothering to try.

But there is another point of view. Only one country with a land border with Nazi Germany, Daladier's France, declared war on it. Everybody else waited until Hitler declared war on them—or, more often, just attacked. In the case of Stalin's Russia, being attacked had been preceded by the Soviet's signing, and mostly adhering to, a nonaggression pact. Only one other country in the 1930s, albeit one without a land border with Nazi Germany, ever declared war on it. That country was Chamberlain's Britain. Admittedly, the British declared war only when they saw no other option, and thought (correctly) that their political survival was at stake. And they had no idea how to fight the war that they declared. But they were willing to put their empire and its people in harm's way in an attempt to stamp out

the greatest tyranny the world had ever seen. Spare a moment for the limited virtue that Édouard Daladier and Neville Chamberlain exhibited: it was more than anybody else.

Their virtue was not rewarded.

In six weeks starting on May 10, 1940, France fell.¹⁰ The Nazis then enforced the surrender of France and chased the British army off the continent at the port of Dunkirk, where it left all its equipment behind. To everyone's surprise, however, Britain—by then led by Winston Churchill—did not then negotiate a peace. It kept fighting, daring Hitler to try an invasion across the English Channel. Hitler did not try. He sent fleets of bombers by day in 1940, and afterward sent fleets of bombers by night. He aggressively funded Wernher von Braun's rocket-building program, producing the "V" series of terror-vengeance weapons in 1944.¹¹

But after the fall of France he turned his armies east, as he had always intended he would. On June 22, 1941, Hitler launched the Nazi army against the Soviet Union. But he had not fully mobilized the economy and society for a total war. He attacked with what he had on hand.

Stalin's first instinct was to tell his troops not to fire back, for fear of "provoking" the Nazis. As a result, the Soviet air force was destroyed on the ground in the first day of the war. And the Soviet armies on the border died (or were taken prisoner) where they stood. Stalin's vices proved costly.

Stalin had purged and repurged the army of anyone he thought might be a threat. He had built a system in which it was a career- and often a life-threatening move to be the bearer of disappointing tidings. When the Nazis attacked, the Red Army deployed out of the defenses it had constructed before 1939. It had not yet fully deployed its defenses for the border after the partition of Poland. And so the USSR lost an entire army, as large as and as well equipped (but not nearly as well trained or capable) as the army the Nazis had attacked with in late June, July, and early August 1941 in battles around Riga, Brest-Litovsk, Lvov, and elsewhere near the border.

By August 1941, however, the Nazis had outrun their supply lines and paused their advance. Stalin and the USSR's high command (the *Stavka*) misjudged the situation and lost a second army, as large and as well equipped (but not nearly as well trained or capable) as the army the Nazis had attacked with in late August, September, and early October in the battles around Smolensk and Kiev, as they tried to push forward in

counterattacks, refusing to withdraw. Thus, in the four months after the Nazi invasion of Russia, nearly four million Soviet troops were captured. And the Nazis attacked again. By December 7, 1941, coinciding with America's entry into World War II, Nazi armies were at the gates of the cities of Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, and Rostov, an average of 620 miles east of the 1941 Nazi-Soviet border.

But the USSR had a third army, as large as, but this time not as well equipped as, the one the Nazis had attacked with. This army held, and counterattacked, and fought the battles of the fall and winter of 1941–1942.¹²

WHEN THE UNITED STATES entered World War II—rather, when it was pushed into it (for, remember, no countries save Daladier's France and Chamberlain's Britain deliberately entered the war against Hitler), on December 7, 1941, by the Imperial Japanese Navy's *Kido Butai*, its six large-carrier mobile strike force, and its attack on Pearl Harbor on the Hawaiian island of Oahu—the War in the Pacific was already in its fifth year. It had commenced with Japan's 1937 invasion of China.

World War II in Europe is hard to imagine without World War I. This is so at the macro level: World War I's economic, political, and human devastation rent the fabric of European stability and prosperity. It is also so at the micro level: the normal peacetime course of human events would never have given a Stalin and a Hitler the opportunities they seized. The same was true for the other side of the globe. World War I and the Great Depression gave powerful nudges to Japan in its turn to imperialism.

World War I was a powerful indirect stimulus to Japanese industrialization. During hostilities, exports from Europe to Asia effectively ceased. Where were the countries of Asia to purchase the manufactures they had previously received from Europe? The growing and industrializing Japanese Empire was an obvious source. Industrial production and manufactured exports from Japan nearly quadrupled during World War I. Strong demand for Japanese goods provoked inflation: prices more than doubled during the European conflict.

After the war, European economies once again began to export to Asia, and the newly expanded Japanese industries faced heavy competition. The

Japanese economy was also badly affected by the disastrous 1923 Tokyo earthquake, in which between fifty thousand and one hundred thousand people died. But despite all this, Japanese industrialization continued. In the 1920s, manufacturing surpassed agriculture in value-added products.

Japanese manufacturing originally relied—as had manufacturing in other countries—on unmarried young women. From the employers' point of view, the main problem with this workforce was its relative lack of experience and high rate of turnover. So, over the first half of the twentieth century, Japanese manufacturers worked to balance their short-term labor pool of unmarried female workers with a longer-term cadre of experienced male workers.

What evolved was what is now called the “permanent employment system.” Japanese male workers were recruited on leaving school, or as apprentices, and promised lifetime employment, with wage increases, medical care, and pension benefits, in return for loyal service to the company. It is possible that this permanent employment system flourished in Japan because it fitted Japanese society well. It is also possible that by avoiding deep recessions, the Japanese economy avoided conditions that might have given manufacturing firms cause to fire workers.

Cotton textiles, furniture manufacturing, apparel, and a relatively small heavy industrial sector were the heart of the Japanese economy by the 1930s. This modern manufacturing sector was dominated by the *zaibatsu*: associations of businesses that exchanged executives, cooperated, owned each other's stock, and relied on the same banking and insurance companies for finance. Japan's form of financial capitalism seemed to mimic Germany's to a large degree.

The Great Depression came to Japan in an attenuated form in 1930. Its exports, especially of silk, fell dramatically. Adhering to the gold standard applied pressure that deflated the Japanese economy. Japan responded by cutting loose from the gold standard and by expanding government spending—especially military spending. The Great Depression touched but did not stun the Japanese economy. More important, perhaps, the Great Depression revealed that the European imperialist powers were in crisis.

So, in 1931, the Japanese government turned expansionist. The extension of Japanese influence into Manchuria was followed by a Manchurian declaration of “independence” as the Japanese client state of

Manchukuo. Expansion was followed by rearmament. Rearmament was followed by a full-scale attack on China in 1937. Government orders for war material and for capital goods to construct infrastructure in Manchuria provided a strong boost to Japanese industrial production. Japan embraced a war economy from 1937 on, building warships, airplanes, engines, radios, tanks, and machine guns.

But in order to continue its war against China, it needed oil, which would have to come either from the United States or from what was to become Indonesia (it was then the Dutch East Indies). President Franklin Roosevelt was anxious to exert what pressure he could to contain the expanding Japanese Empire. So, on July 25, 1941, the day after the Japanese army occupied the southern half of Indochina, Roosevelt directed that all known Japanese financial assets in the United States be frozen.

The Japanese government obtained bureaucratic licenses to buy oil in the United States and ship it to Japan. But how were they to pay? Their assets were blocked by the freeze. Requests from the Japanese government for the release of funds to pay for the oil went into Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson's office, but nothing ever came out. Bureaucracy? Policy? And, if policy, whose? It is unclear whether Roosevelt or the Army and Navy Departments were ever told before December 7 that the asset freeze had turned into a de facto oil embargo—one that extended to oil from what is now Indonesia as well, as the Dutch colonial authorities insisted on being paid in dollars.

So the United States, with its asset freeze, had essentially embargoed exports of oil to Japan—all oil, not just oil from the United States. Without imports of oil Japan's military machine could not run. The embargo offered Japan a choice between acquiescing to the United States' demands or starting a war to, at the very least, seize the oil fields of the Dutch East Indies. That was predictable, and should have been predicted, and then responded to. The response should have been a much higher level of alert in the Pacific than was in fact adopted by the US Army and Navy.

Faced with a choice that its leaders perceived as no choice at all, the Japanese military elected to strike first and strike hard. On December 7, 1941, attacks began on British, Dutch, and US forces and possessions in the Pacific. Most famous was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor sinking the battleships of the US Pacific Fleet. But most damaging was the attack on

the US air base of Clark Field in the Philippines, which destroyed the B-17 bomber force that might have blocked Japanese seaborne invasions.

If not for the Imperial Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, followed immediately by Adolf Hitler's declaration of war against the United States, it is very difficult to see how the United States would have entered World War II. US public opinion in late 1941 favored giving Britain and the Soviets enough weapons to fight Hitler to the last man but keeping American boys out of the fray. If that opinion had continued to take precedence in US policy, history might have turned out very differently indeed,

The range of World War II belligerents expanded and contracted. In Europe the war began as France, Britain, and Poland against Nazi Germany. Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia conquered Poland by the end of September 1939. The Soviets attacked Finland, which in the winter and spring of 1940 fought it to a draw and a peace. The spring of 1940 also saw Germany attack and occupy Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and France, with Italy joining in on Germany's side. By the summer of 1940 only Britain was fighting Nazi Germany. In late 1940 and early 1941 Britain acquired Greece and Yugoslavia as allies. But they were conquered by Nazi Germany by the spring of 1941. In the summer of 1941 Nazi Germany attacked Soviet Russia. And on December 7, 1941, the Japanese navy attacked a wide range of US, British, and Dutch territories in the Pacific. Nazi Germany declared war on the United States a day later. (But, curiously enough, Japan remained at peace with Soviet Russia.) At that point, the war was truly global.

It was a "total war." At its peak, some 40 percent of the US gross domestic product was being devoted to the war. Some 60 percent of British GDP was devoted to the war. Some sixty million—plus or minus ten million—people died in, during, and as a result of the war.

How are we to understand World War II?

Consider death only.

When World War II ended, perhaps forty-five million in Europe and fifteen million in Asia were dead by violence or starvation. More than half of that number were inhabitants of the Soviet Union. But even west of the post-World War II Soviet border, perhaps one in twenty were killed. In Central Europe that number was close to one in twelve. During World War

I, the overwhelming proportion of those killed had been soldiers. During World War II, well under half of those killed were soldiers. Raw numbers do no justice, but carry the point with the following tally of deaths:

European Jews: 6 million (70 percent) (one-third of them Poles)
Poland: 6 million (16 percent) (one-third of them Jews)
Soviet Union: 26 million (13 percent)
Germany: 8 million (10 percent)
Japan: 2.7 million (4 percent)
China: 10 million (2 percent)
France: 600,000 (1 percent)
Italy: 500,000 (1 percent)
Britain: 400,000 (1 percent)
United States: 400,000 (0.3 percent)

To help explain the course of the war, we can first look at it tactically and operationally. Consider the first three major campaigns—the Polish campaign of September 1939, the French campaign of May and June 1940, and the first six months of the Russian campaign, from June 22 to the end of 1941.

In the 1939 Polish campaign, the Nazis lost 40,000 soldiers killed and wounded. The Poles lost 200,000 killed and wounded. The Poles also lost about 1 million taken prisoner. In the 1940 French campaign, the Nazis lost 160,000 soldiers killed and wounded. The Allies lost 360,000 soldiers killed and wounded. And the Allies also lost 2 million soldiers taken prisoner. In the first six months of the 1941 Russian campaign, the Nazis lost 1 million soldiers killed and wounded. The Russians lost 4 million soldiers killed and wounded. And the Russians lost 4 million soldiers taken prisoner.

The Nazis were simply better, tactically, at the business of war than any of their enemies. They understood dive bombers, they understood tank columns, and they understood surprise and flank attacks and digging in. The interwar German army on which the Nazis had built had had only 100,000 soldiers. But those 100,000 soldiers had learned and developed their business to a terrifying degree of tactical superiority. That is the first lesson of World War II: fight the Nazis and expect to be tactically outclassed.

Expect to lose between two and five times as many soldiers on the battlefield as the Nazi armies do. That was true for everyone at the start of the war, and it was still true remarkably late into the war—even though the Allies did learn.

Moreover, the Nazis' opponents were operationally outclassed. Hence the second lesson of World War II: fight the Nazis and expect periodically to find large groups of your soldiers overwhelmed, surrounded, cut off, out of supplies, fleeing in panic, and forced to surrender in large numbers. The last such episode took place in December 1944, less than five months before the collapse of the Nazi regime, when the Nazi Fifth Panzer Army surrounded nearly the entire 106th Infantry Division of the US Army in the Snowy Mountains of the Ardennes Forest on the Belgian-German border, forcing it to surrender.

Simply put, tactical and operational superiority matters immensely.

Consider again the French campaign of 1940. The French were expecting the Nazis to attack through Belgium north of the Ardennes Forest. Instead, the Nazis made their main attack through the Ardennes Forest itself, against the weak French Ninth Army—weak because the French command thought that the forest, the poor road network, and the Meuse River would be sufficient additional defenses.

Three days into the 1940 battle it was clear that a major Nazi attack was coming through the Ardennes, and the French began to respond. According to Ernest May's *Strange Victory*, they did so robustly. He reported that at 3:00 p.m. on May 12, the French general Charles Huntziger ordered "strong reinforcements to repel a prospective German attack." What May called "three of the strongest elements in the general reserve" then joined Huntziger's Second Army: the Third Armored, the Third Motorized Infantry, and the Fourteenth Infantry Divisions. "The infantry division was a crack unit," May wrote.¹³

By May 15, these three divisions had been further reinforced: The French First Armored Division had been switched from the Belgian plain to the Ninth Army sector to its south; infantry formations had been ordered to assemble behind the Ninth Army to form a new Sixth Army; and the Second Armored Division had been ordered to assemble behind the Ninth Army as well. Charles de Gaulle, placed in command of the newly formed Fourth Armored Division, was ordered to attack the southern flank of the

incipient Nazi German breakthrough.

So what happened to all these forces—four heavy armored divisions, with perhaps eight hundred tanks between them, plus a large chunk of the sixteen infantry divisions that were in the French strategic reserve? Before hearing the answer, consider that the French had as many tanks in their four armored divisions as the Nazis had in the seven panzer divisions that were in the Nazi main thrust.

Here's what happened.

The French First Armored Division simply ran out of gas. While it was waiting for the fuel trucks to replenish its tanks, General Erwin Rommel's Seventh Panzer Division came down the road. Seizing the opportunity, Rommel attacked and destroyed the French First Armored. For want of fuel, it was wiped off the board as a fighting unit.

The French Second Armored Division was ineffective because its assembly areas had been overrun by the Nazis before it could even begin to fight. According to William L. Shirer's *The Collapse of the Third Republic*, "orders for the [Second Armored] Division to move... did not come until noon of May 13," and "the trains with the tanks and artillery were not able to start until the afternoon of the 14th." Then, "the wheeled vehicles with the supplies ran into the panzers" and had to withdraw, as they had "no combat elements." By the time the tanks and tracked artillery were ready, "between Saint Quentin and Hirson," they were "hopelessly dispersed over a large triangle."¹⁴

Huntziger ordered the French Third Armored Division to retreat to the south, judging that its principal task should be to guard the left flank against an attack if the Nazis turned south after crossing the Meuse River. The infantry formations of the French Sixth Army, like the French Second Armored Division, were overrun by General Georg-Hans Reinhardt's Sixth Panzer Division on May 15 and 16 while they were trying to organize themselves.

By May 16, as Shirer put it, France's three heavy armored divisions, "all of which on May 10 had been stationed... within 50 miles of the Meuse at Sedan and Mezieres, which they could have reached by road overnight, had thus been squandered.... Not one had been properly deployed." They were now out of the action.

When the Nazis had attacked on May 10, the French had had only three

armored divisions. On May 11, the French high command ordered an annoying and arrogant colonel, Charles de Gaulle, to form and take command of the Fourth Armored Division. On May 17 he led what troops he had in an attack that at least caused the Nazi spearheads some hours of uncertainty. De Gaulle's Fourth Armored Division did make its weight felt on the battlefield. But, as Shirer noted, that division "was below strength and without divisional training."¹⁵ When France fell, de Gaulle did not surrender, but instead declared that he himself was the leader of France—Free France: "The flame of French resistance must not be extinguished and will not be extinguished."¹⁶ Somehow, he made it stick, and the "Free French," armed with American weapons, fought with the Allies until 1945.

The French failed in tactics—the comparative battlefield casualties make that clear. The French failed in strategy—by opposing the main Nazi attack with the weak Ninth Army while leaving the stronger formations to the north, where they were vulnerable to encirclement. And the French failed in operations.

On May 10, Churchill had left his job as First Lord of the Admiralty, kissed the hands of the king, and taken over as First Lord of the Treasury, replacing Chamberlain as leader of the British Empire. Five days later he received a phone call from the French prime minister, Paul Reynaud: "We have been defeated. We are beaten. We have lost the battle. The road to Paris is open. We are defeated," Reynaud told him.

On May 16, Churchill crossed the English Channel. The flight to the Paris airport took just over an hour. It became immediately clear that the situation was dire, far more dire than he had understood before boarding the flight. The French general Maurice Gamelin explained the situation in simple, stark terms, which Churchill recorded in his memoir:

North and south of Sedan, on a front of fifty or sixty miles, the Germans had broken through. The French army in front of them was destroyed or scattered. A heavy onrush of armoured vehicles was advancing with unheard-of speed.... Behind the armour, he said, eight or ten German divisions, all motorized, were driving onwards, making flanks for themselves as they advanced against the two disconnected French armies on either side.¹⁷

The Germans, General Gamelin stated, were expected in Paris in a few days. Gobsmacked, Churchill asked, in clear English and poor French, about the French Army's strategic reserve:

General Gamelin turned to me and, with a shake of the head and a shrug, said "Aucune" [None].... I was dumbfounded. What were we to think of the great French Army and its highest chiefs?... One can have, one must always have, a mass of divisions which marches up in vehement counter-attack at the moment when the first fury of the offensive has spent its force.... I admit this was one of the greatest surprises I have had in my life.... Presently I asked General Gamelin when and where he proposed to attack.... His reply was "Inferiority of numbers, inferiority of equipment, inferiority of method"—and then a hopeless shrug of the shoulders.¹⁸

Churchill was wrong: the French had possessed a strategic reserve. It had been committed, and it had been ground up in a week. Systemic failures in tactics, strategy, and operations had rendered it ineffective in combat, dooming France.

Before we scorn the French army of 1940 as cheese-eating surrender monkeys, remember what happened to the US 106th Infantry Division when Hitler's Third Reich was on its very last legs. The same had happened to Major General Lloyd Fredendall's US II Corps at Kasserine Pass in Tunisia, in the US forces' first encounter with the Nazi army on the attack. Everybody—the Poles, the Dutch, the Belgians, the French, the Yugoslavs, the Greeks, the British, the Americans, and the Russians—who faced the Nazis failed more or less equally, both tactically and operationally, at least in their initial encounters, and in no small number of subsequent encounters.

The tactical and operational superiority of the Nazi armies was a powerful force multiplier. Fortunately for the world and for the Allies, it was offset by equally large strategic deficits. Consider the high-water mark of Nazi conquest in Europe, November 1942. The Nazis had thirteen of their field army formations in Russia, between the Baltic Sea to the northwest and the Black and Caspian Seas to the south and southeast. Eight

of those were spread out in a line extending from what was then Leningrad on the Baltic Sea south-southeast to the city of Voronezh on the Don, the middle one of European Russia's three great southern rivers, three-fifths of the way from the Baltic Sea (on which Leningrad sat) to the Caspian Sea. Then there was a gap. Then there were two armies where the Don and Volga Rivers nearly touched, halfway from Voronezh to the Caspian. That is where the city then called Stalingrad was located. And there were three more armies much farther to the southeast, in the Caucasus Mountains.

Why were those five armies in the southeast—the two grinding the city of Stalingrad to rubble and the three in the Caucasus—extended so far from the rest? What were they doing? And what was the gap between them and the rest of the Nazi German army? The answer for the three southernmost is that they were trying to conquer the Caucasus oil fields. Hitler and his staff were convinced that Nazi Germany could not continue the war unless they controlled more oil fields than the Romanian ones around Ploesti.

As it happens, they were wrong. Subordinates were lying to superiors about how much fuel they had and how much they were using. One of the defects of command-and-control central planning is that you are increasingly beholden to the honesty of subordinates, who are increasingly encouraged to fall on the side of conservative speculation, rather than being called out for failing to plan adequately. In any case, Hitler was convinced that everything must be risked to conquer the oil fields.

The two armies, the German Sixth Army and the German Fourth Panzer Army, near the banks of the Don and Volga Rivers, were guarding the left flank of the three armies committed to the Caucasus. Both were also expending men and materials and precious time trying to capture the bombed-out wreckage that had been the city of Stalingrad.

It's unclear why—other than that the city was named after the Soviet Russian dictator. Capture of Stalingrad and the Volga River banks on which it sat would not provide better flank protection for the armies farther south than a position back at Kalach on the Don River. And the Sixth Army and Fourth Panzer Army ought to have been worrying about their own flanks, for between them and Voronezh were only badly trained and poorly equipped soldiers from Italy and Germany's less-than-enthusiastic allies in the Balkans.

The USSR had avoided losing the third tranche of the Red Army—that

which had fought in the late fall and winter of 1941–1942, plus reinforcements—in the summer and fall of 1942. They had been mauled. They had fallen back—unwillingly—in front of the Nazi offensive. They had, however, avoided destruction via mass encirclements and surrenders, like those of 1941. And, meanwhile, scraping the bottom of their manpower barrel—and relying on a combination of Lend-Lease supplies and the armaments factories that Aleksei Kosygin’s team had evacuated from in front of the Nazi advance and moved to safety in the east¹⁹—they had built a fourth tranche of their army with which to launch winter offensives.

The Soviets attempted two great offensives in the winter of 1942–1943. Operation Mars was directed against the center of the Nazi line, near Moscow. It was a failure, with heavy casualties. Operation Uranus was directed against the long exposed Nazi flanks near Stalingrad. It was a total and overwhelming success, pulling off a grand encirclement and a grand surrender by surrounding and capturing the entire German Sixth Army (and large chunks of the Fourth Panzer Army as well) and forcing a precipitous withdrawal of the Nazi forces farther south away from the oil fields and back toward Germany. It was an extraordinary victory, and one made possible only by the extraordinary strategic lapses that had ordered the Nazi eastern front forces to their dispersed positions in late 1942.

The Red Army might thus have grasped the last chance for the Allies to win a victory in World War II that did not require reducing Germany to a radioactive wasteland. If Operation Uranus at Stalingrad had failed as did Operation Mars in front of Moscow, and if the fourth tranche of the Red Army had, like its three predecessors, also been ground up into ineffectiveness in the months after its deployment, would Stalin have been able to raise a fifth? Or would that have been the end of the Soviet Union?

Whereas the Allies could afford strategic lapses, in the sense of paying the butcher’s bill and keeping in the fight, the Nazis could not. Not while they were fighting a total war on several fronts across an entire continent (and to varying degrees across several of the planet’s oceans). Consider the number of German troops killed or missing month by month from the start of 1941 to the end of 1944. From the start of Russian theater operations in June 1941 on, with occasional pauses, the Nazis lost, killed or missing, about 50,000 German soldiers every month. At the start of the war, Nazi Germany had an ethnic German population of about 60 million, with

perhaps 15 million men of military age. Half of those could be mobilized. The other half were needed for war work, though these men could have been moved to various fronts if the Nazis had been willing to go against their ideology and mobilize women on a large scale, which they were not. With a maximum potential army strength of only 7.5 million, steadily losing 50,000 each month is a heavy drain.

Then comes a 250,000 spike in December 1942 through February 1943. This mass loss of manpower caused the surrender of the Sixth Army at Stalingrad. A smaller spike in late spring followed, causing the surrender of the Nazi army group in Tunisia. A year later, in the summer of 1944, there was a 1-million-soldier spike during the collapse and surrender of the Nazi Army Group Center under the impact of Soviet Russia's offensive Operation Bagration.

Better Nazi strategy that did not undermine Germany's tactical and operational edge would have prolonged the war. Perhaps it would have allowed Germany to win it: a Germany that picked its enemies sequentially and fought each until it was defeated would have been much more dangerous than a Germany that attacked Soviet Russia while still fighting a war with Britain, and that then declared war on the United States on December 8, 1941.

But Germany probably would still not have won the war. Even the best strategy, coupled with Germany's operational and tactical advantages, would have been unlikely to make up for the logistical and productivity differentials. They were just too great.

Set war production of the United States in 1944 equal to 100. By this metric, in 1940 Britain's production was 7 and Nazi Germany's and Japan's were 11. In 1942, all the Allies together were producing 92, and Germany and Japan were producing 16. And by 1944, it was 150 to 24.

From 1942 on, once the war had become truly global, Hitler's defeat was nearly inevitable. Even Britain alone was matching Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe in war production. Throw in the United States and the Soviet Union, and Nazi Germany was outproduced more than eight to one. Nazi Germany and Japan together were outproduced more than six to one.

A three-to-one tactical-operational advantage in casualties does not help when you are outnumbered in tanks and aircraft eight to one and

outnumbered in potential military manpower ten to one. Starting in the fall of 1942, a large number of important battles went against Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan: The Battle of Midway northwest of Hawaii. The Battle of Guadalcanal. The Battle of El Alamein in Egypt. The years-long Battle of the Atlantic. And most of all, the Battle of Stalingrad and Operation Uranus. By the end of all this it was very clear who would win the war, if the Nazis elected to keep on fighting. Ideology dictated that they must, so they did. It was not, said Churchill in November 1942, the end. It was not even, said Churchill, the beginning of the end. But it was the end of the beginning. He was right.

In the spring of 1945, US, British, and Russian forces met in the rubble that had been Germany. In his bunker in Berlin Adolf Hitler committed suicide as the Russians closed in on his command post. And even if the armies of these nations had not proven victorious on the battlefield, there was the Manhattan Project and the atomic bomb. Japan, atom bombed, firebombed, blockaded, and threatened with invasion, surrendered in the summer of 1945.

Might science have offered the Nazis an escape hatch? No. When Hitler took power, Germany had the best atomic physicists in the world. But what they did was dismissed as “Jewish science.” The lucky were able to flee into exile, some making their way to the United States and England, where they lent their knowledge to defeating the Nazis.

The Nazis had no atom bombs; nor did they know how to build any. In contrast, starting in August 1945, the United States had the power to turn cities, starting at two for the first month, into radioactive wastelands. And the United States would have used that power until unconditional surrender was offered. We know this because that is what it did.

World War II was, in an utterly insufficient word, horrid. A number of scholars have observed that it was all avoidable. Had the British and French governments been willing to use force to remove Hitler when he occupied the Rhineland in 1936, or when he threatened Czechoslovakia in 1938, there would have been no World War II in Europe. Had Stalin allied with Britain and France and declared war on Nazi Germany when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, in all probability Hitler would have been crushed much sooner, and World War II in Europe would have ended by the end of 1941.

Perhaps. Such speculation turns more on individuals than underlying

facts, either of ideology or of economy.

Or suppose Franklin D. Roosevelt had decided, in the spring of 1941, that with Europe ablaze it was unwise to try to use an economic embargo of militarily necessary oil to pressure Japan to withdraw from China. Perhaps even by 1945 the United States and Japan would have been at peace, the coastal provinces of China would have been Japanese-occupied colonies, anarchy would have reigned in China's interior, and the Japanese military would have enjoyed great prestige for establishing this co-prosperity.

Had anyone other than Winston Churchill become British prime minister in 1940—had Neville Chamberlain remained, or had Lord Halifax assumed the post—then the British government would almost surely have negotiated a separate peace with Nazi Germany in 1940. When Nazi Germany attacked Soviet Russia in 1941, it would have done so with its full strength. Stalin's regime might well have collapsed, and European Russia up to the Urals (and perhaps beyond) could have become a Nazi German territory, colony, or puppet state.

It is not likely that Hitler would have refrained from attacking Russia in any possible universe. The need to do so was buried too deeply in his ideological worldview. It is only slightly more plausible to think that Hitler might not have declared war on the United States in 1941.

Except Roosevelt, and Churchill, and Stalin, and Hitler, and Emperor Hirohito, were who they were, and that made a difference—perhaps *the* difference.

We do know that most of the alternative ways that World War II might have gone would trade a postwar period with a communist evil empire, centered in Moscow and dominant over Eastern Europe, for a postwar period with a Nazi evil empire, centered in Berlin and dominant over all of Europe, or perhaps Eurasia. Not an improvement.

What the world confronted after the surrenders were accepted was very different from those alternatives: a defeated, ruined Germany; a victorious, ruined Russia; a defeated, ruined, and in places radioactive Japan; various paths of destruction crisscrossing Europe; a victorious, but exhausted, British Empire; and a victorious, territorially unscathed, economically dominant, and newly confident United States. The world was thus very different from what anyone could have forecast back in 1933, or even 1938.

The Cold War of Hostile Yet Coexisting Systems

Militarism and imperialism, racial and cultural rivalries—those had played the serpent to the pre-1914 Belle Époque era of largely peaceful progressive prosperity. After World War II these serpents were still out there slithering, and they soon took huge and nightmarish shape in the form of the US-Soviet Cold War.

Yet, paradoxically, the Cold War did not block or even hobble human progress toward prosperity and utopia. Rather, the Cold War seems more likely to have accelerated it.

Why isn't obvious. Indeed, on several occasions the Cold War veered toward a decidedly worse outcome. It teetered and tottered toward various brinksmanship, including *the* brink. The Cold War blossomed violently on occasion. It expended vast resources on developing means of annihilation and extinction. It could have gone very badly.¹

But it also kept other sources of conflict from themselves hobbling growth and progress.

The surreal character of the Cold War is neatly captured in the fact that, in one sense, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, one of Stalin's more bloody-handed henchmen in the 1930s and 1940s, who ran the Soviet Union from 1956 to 1964, could be declared among its *winners*. In 1959 he wrote about competition and the need for peaceful coexistence, central themes of US-Soviet rivalries:

Peaceful coexistence does not mean merely living side by side... with the constantly remaining threat of [war] breaking out in the future. Peaceful coexistence can and should develop into peaceful competition for the purpose of satisfying man's needs in the best possible way.... Let us try out in practice whose system is better, let us compete without war. This is much better than competing in who will produce more arms and who will smash whom. We stand and always will stand for such competition as will help to raise the well-being of the people to a higher level.... We may argue, we may disagree with one another. The main thing is to keep to the positions of ideological struggle, without resorting to arms in order to prove that one is right.... Ultimately that system will be victorious on the globe which will offer the nations greater opportunities for improving their material and spiritual life.²

Khrushchev—who had also been quoted as declaring that Soviet Russia would “bury” the world’s capitalist states—would have been surprised that, by 1990, it was clear even to his successors sitting in the Kremlin that really-existing socialism was a dead end for humanity.³ It wasn’t the case that the capitalist states had managed to bury the socialist states; they hadn’t. While the Cold War briefly flared hot—for example, in Korea and Vietnam—it was kept from becoming a global conflagration. What was more, the Cold War ended sort of the way Khrushchev had hoped: with one system offering clearly greater opportunities for improving material and spiritual life.

There was not supposed to be a Cold War.⁴ The Allied powers—they called themselves the United Nations—had cooperated to destroy the greatest and most dangerous tyranny the world had ever seen. Why could they not continue to cooperate to build a better world? The post–World War II world was a great place for new global cooperative organizations. Chief among them was the broadening of this wartime United Nations alliance into the UNO—the United Nations Organization—with its Security Council, its General Assembly, and all of its branches.

And again, there was not supposed to be a Cold War. Marxist-Leninist theory was very clear on what was to come if World War II was followed by

a genuine peace. Capitalism, in Lenin's view, needed imperialism.⁵ Imperialism produced militarization, with its enormous demand for weapons and colonies, which offered captive markets. These were essential to preserve near-full employment, and so stave off the catastrophic economic crises—like the Great Depression—that would otherwise produce communist revolution. But imperialism also produced war. Thus, capitalism was staving off revolution due to economic catastrophe by courting revolution due to political-military catastrophe. And in Lenin's opinion, such staving off could only last so long.

As Lenin's successors saw it, the capitalist-imperialist powers had successfully delayed revolution from the late 1890s through imperialism and militarism, but they had then fallen into the catastrophe of World War I. And that brought Lenin to power in Russia and led to the creation of the first really-existing socialist country: the USSR. The revolution had greatly marched forward because of and in the aftermath of World War I.

After World War I, Lenin's successors believed, the capitalists had concluded that representative institutions were no longer compatible with their continued rule, so they swung their support behind fascists: Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Franco in Spain, Philippe Pétain in France, Hideki Tojo in Japan. This did not remove the need for imperialism and militarism but rather sharpened it. The second great imperialist war, World War II, had been worse than the first.

Stalin and his subordinates saw, after the post-World War II consolidation, that there were five tasks they needed to carry out:

First, they had to build the USSR up militarily to defend the territories of really-existing socialism because the fascist-militarist capitalists might well try once again to destroy world socialism by military means. That was a reasonable notion, given that there were American generals—George Patton most prominent among them—who had wanted to start World War III the day after World War II ended, and ex-president Hoover thought that the United States had quite possibly fought on the wrong side in World War II. Although Hoover deeply regretted that the war had advanced the development of weapons of unbearable power, a president who thought like him might well use those weapons. From the Soviet point of view, more war in the not-so-distant future was a legitimate worry.

Second, Stalin and his followers thought, they had to extend the really-

existing socialist order to new territories.

Third, the USSR had to advance economically, so as to realize the promise of socialism and demonstrate to the capitalist world how good life could be.

Fourth, they should stand ready to assist socialist movements in capitalist countries when they decided they were strong enough to attempt a revolution.

Fifth, they should lie low.

If they accomplished those tasks, then, they thought—and their faith assured them—that the logic of imperialist-militarist capitalism would do the rest of the work. The capitalist powers would clash again, in another catastrophic world war. And, provided the really-existing socialist bloc could keep its head down and survive, in the aftermath it would expand again. That was the Soviet Union's strategy: defend, rebuild, and wait, for history was on their side. Waging a cold war was not part of the plan.

Generals like Patton and ex-presidents like Hoover aside, there was little appetite for confrontation in the West, either. Isolationist currents in the United States were not as strong as they had been after World War I, but they were strong. Western Europe was exhausted. Rather than wishing to roll back really-existing socialism, Britain was seeking to find a role for its diminished (and diminishing) empire. General George Patton in the United States might muse about taking his Third Army's tanks and driving to Moscow, but that was far beyond the pale for any sane politician (and most others) in the North Atlantic. After four years of bloodshed and sacrifice (for Americans, that is—it had been years longer for the populations of Europe and Asia), the prospect of sending millions more to die at the front was in bad odor.

The whiff of which was even detectable by Joseph Stalin. Stalin did have a very strong taste for brutally snatching up territory when he thought it could be taken cheaply—starting with the suppression of the Mensheviks in Georgia at the end of the Russian Civil War. But after World War II, he curbed his appetite. He did not impose a really-existing socialist government on Finland but let it remain democratic, as long as it was disarmed and joined to no potentially anti-Soviet alliances—and as long as its government was riddled with Soviet agents. He cut off support to the Communist Party of Greece—largely. He counseled Mao Zedong in China

to join a coalition with Chiang Kai-shek and wait. Marx had promised and prophesied that the *internal* contradictions of capitalism would destroy it. So there was no need for immediate action, and, indeed, action before the time was ripe might well be counterproductive.

Remember: the memory of the Great Depression was very fresh. It was not just communists who thought that countries relying on the market were likely to lapse into a period of underemployment and stagnation. A not uncommon judgment was that history would dramatically reveal the superiority of central planning. The feeling, as Marxist economist Paul Sweezy wrote in 1942, was that “the socialist sector of the world would [after World War II] quickly stabilize itself and push forward to higher standards of living, while the imperialist sector would flounder in difficulties.”⁶ Likewise, the British historian A. J. P. Taylor spoke in 1945 of how “nobody in Europe believes in the American way of life—that is, in private enterprise; or rather those who believe in it are a defeated party and a party which seems to have no more future.”⁷

But Stalin could not resist grabbing the marshmallow. In 1948, he snatched up Czechoslovakia in a coup d'état. Moreover, Mao Zedong ignored Josef Stalin’s cautions, defeated Chiang Kai-shek, and chased him and his Kuomintang to Taiwan. No doubt Stalin heard whispers that he was being overly cautious, perhaps that he had lost his nerve as a result of the shocks of World War II. West of what was to become the Iron Curtain, really-existing socialism was viewed with concern, disdain, and animus. Cadres had been decimated at the start of World War II by the departure of all those who could not stomach the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Really-existing socialism became more unattractive the more outsiders were able to scrutinize it closely. Plus it ran into the buzzsaw of nationalism, again. Rather than any universalizing creed binding the proletariat regardless of borders, it became clearer and clearer that allegiance to really-existing socialism required submission to or absorption into the latest incarnation of Russian Empire. Waiting for the contradictions of capitalism to emerge did not seem to be working, at least not quickly.

And so the post–World War II Soviet Union began to march toward further expansion rather than consolidation. And the United States felt compelled to respond. The Truman administration, which came into power in 1945 after Franklin Roosevelt’s death, believed—as many members of

Congress did—that the US withdrawal from international engagement after World War I had been one of the major triggers of World War II. Both the Truman administration and Congress wanted to make different mistakes, their own mistakes, rather than duplicate those of the past.

The view from Washington, DC, saw a Western Europe that might well run into the arms of really-existing socialism. In the aftermath of World War II, it was not clear that Western Europe would utilize market mechanisms to coordinate economic activity to any significant degree. Belief in the market had been severely shaken by the Great Depression. Wartime controls and plans, while implemented as extraordinary measures for extraordinary times, had created a governmental habit of control and regulation. Seduced by the very high economic growth rates reported by Stalin's Soviet Union, and awed by its war effort, many expected centrally planned economies to reconstruct faster and grow more rapidly than market economies.

Had European political economy taken a different turn, post–World War II European recovery might have been stagnant. Governments might have been slow to dismantle wartime allocation controls, and so have severely constrained the market mechanism. Europe after World War II was in worse economic shape than it had been after World War I. Another episode of financial and political chaos like that which had plagued the continent following World War I appeared likely. Politicians were predisposed toward intervention and regulation: no matter how damaging “government failure” might be to the economy, it had to be better than the “market failure” of the Depression.

One can imagine an alternative scenario in which European governments maintained and expanded wartime controls in order to guard against substantial shifts in income distribution. In such a case, the late 1940s and early 1950s might have seen the creation in Western Europe of allocative bureaucracies to ration scarce foreign exchange. It might have seen the imposition of price controls on exports to keep some of home production in the country, in order to protect the living standards of the urban working classes—as happened in various countries of Latin America, which nearly stagnated in the two decades after World War II. Consider Argentina, for example. In 1913, Buenos Aires was among the top twenty cities of the world in telephones per capita. In 1929 Argentina had been perhaps fourth in density of motor vehicles per capita, with approximately

the same number of vehicles per person as France or Germany. Yet after World War II it rapidly fell from the ranks of the First World to the Third, with politics no more poisonous than Western European politics had typically been before World War II. From the perspective of 1947, the political economy of Western Europe would lead one to think that it was at least as vulnerable as Argentina.⁸

Indeed, in 1946–1947, US State Department officials wondered whether Europe might be dying—like a wounded soldier who bleeds to death after the fighting. State Department memoranda presented an apocalyptic vision of a complete breakdown in Europe of the division of labor—between city and country, industry and agriculture, and different industries themselves. The war had given Europe more experience than Argentina with economic planning and rationing. Militant urban working classes calling for wealth redistribution voted in such numbers as to make communists plausibly part of a permanent ruling political coalition in France and Italy. Economic nationalism had been nurtured by a decade and a half of depression, autarky, and war. European political parties had been divided brutally along economic class lines for two generations.

Certainly after World War I Western European growth had proceeded poorly—even more poorly than Argentinian growth after World War II. The recovery of coal production after World War I was erratic, and actually declined from 1920 to 1921, falling to 72 percent of 1913’s level. This drop was a result of the deflation imposed on the European economy by central banks, which sought the restoration of pre–World War I gold-standard parities. Coal production fell again in 1923–1924, when the French army occupied Germany’s Ruhr Valley because reparations were not being delivered fast enough. And coal production fell once more in 1925–1926, when austerity’s pressure to lower wages on Britain’s coal producers triggered first a coal and then a brief general strike.

Post–World War I Europe had seen the recovery of output repeatedly interrupted by political and economic “wars of attrition” between different classes and interests. So after World War II, European political leaders were intently focused on the question of how these difficulties could be avoided and political compromise attained. Indeed, if it had happened that such difficulties proved unavoidable, it seemed likely that Western Europe would vote to join Stalin’s empire.

Yet Europe avoided these traps. By 1949, national income per capita in Britain, France, and Germany had recovered to within a hair of prewar levels. By 1951, six years after the war, as the US-led Marshall Plan to offer foreign aid to Europe came to an end, national incomes per capita were more than 10 percent above prewar levels. Measured by the admittedly imperfect yardstick of the national product estimates, the three major economies of Western Europe had achieved a degree of recovery that post-World War I Europe had not reached in the eleven years between World War I and the Great Depression.

Western Europe's mixed economies built substantial systems for redistribution. But they built these systems on top of—and not as replacements for—market allocations of consumer and producer goods and the factors of production. Though there was support for the restoration of a market economy in Western Europe, it was far from universal. Wartime controls were viewed as exceptional policies for exceptional times, but it was not clear what was to replace them. Communist and some socialist ministers opposed a return to the market. It was not clear when, or even if, the transition would take place. Yet it did.

Post-World War II Europe was very far indeed from laissez-faire. Government ownership of utilities and heavy industry was substantial. Government redistributions of income were large. The magnitude of the “safety nets” and social insurance programs provided by the post-World War II welfare states were far beyond anything that had been thought possible before World War I. But these large welfare states were accompanied by financial stability and by substantial reliance on market processes for allocation and exchange.

Why did things go so well for Western Europe after World War II?

It is easy to conclude that Western Europe's success came thanks to the US administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S Truman. Hobbled inside the United States by a sometimes recalcitrant Congress, the US executive branch from 1945 to 1952 somewhat strangely found itself with more power outside. First, it ran the occupations of Japan and the bulk of West Germany. It also extended a wide array of assistance—direct relief, offers of military support against potential Soviet expansion, large-scale loans, and access to US markets—to Western European countries, and these programs shaped their post-World War II policies in ways that gave the US

administration confidence.

Within two years of the end of the war, it became US policy to build up Western Europe politically, economically, and militarily. The Truman Doctrine inaugurated the policy of “containment” of the Soviet Union. Included was a declaration that containment required steps to quickly regenerate economic prosperity in Western Europe. And as columnist Richard Strout wrote, “One way of combating Communism is to give western Europe a full dinner pail.”⁹

Outflanking isolationist and antispending opposition, the Truman administration maneuvered the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and then the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for the defense of Europe through Congress. To do so, it employed every weapon at its disposal, including Secretary of State George C. Marshall’s reputation as the architect of military victory in World War II, conservative fears of the further extension of Stalin’s empire, and a political alliance with influential Republican senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan.

Why was the plan named not for the US president, Truman, but for his secretary of state, Marshall? Truman put it best: “Can you imagine [the plan’s] chances of passage in an election year in a Republican [majority] congress if it is named for Truman and not Marshall?”¹⁰

The Marshall Plan was a large multiyear commitment. From 1948 to 1951, the United States contributed \$13.2 billion to European recovery. Of this total, \$3.2 billion went to the United Kingdom, \$2.7 billion to France, \$1.5 billion to Italy, and \$1.4 billion to the Western-occupied zones of Germany that would become the post–World War II *Bundesrepublik*. Figure 1 percent of the US national income over the years the program ran. Figure 3 percent of Western European national income.

Marshall Plan dollars did affect the level of investment: countries that received large amounts of Marshall Plan aid invested more. Barry Eichengreen and Marc Uzan calculated that out of each dollar of Marshall Plan aid some 65 cents went to increased consumption and 35 cents to increased investment. The returns to new investment were high: an extra dollar of investment raised national product by 50 cents in the subsequent year. Another way that Marshall Plan aid stimulated growth was by relaxing foreign exchange constraints. Marshall Plan funds were hard currency in a dollar-scarce world. After the war, coal, cotton, petroleum, and other

materials were in short supply.¹¹

But these direct effects were small potatoes. Marshall Plan aid plausibly boosted investment by only 1 percent of GDP. Even if it was concentrated on relieving the tightest bottleneck, such a commitment over three years can hardly be thought to have boosted Western Europe's productive potential by more than 1 percent. Yet Western Europe's post–World War II growth exceeded expectations by at least ten times that, and did so for three decades in a row.

It is most likely that the political-economic effects dominated, for after World War II the United States enthusiastically stepped into its role as the hegemon. Here the game theory matters: simply having an acknowledged hegemon made some things possible, made other things more possible, and amplified still other things that were accomplished because everyone understood how to coordinate and fell into line. Marshall Plan aid was preconditioned on successful financial stabilization. Each recipient had to sign a bilateral pact with the United States. Countries had to agree to balance government budgets, restore internal financial stability, and stabilize exchange rates at realistic levels.

Financial stabilization required balanced budgets. Balanced budgets required successful resolution of distributional conflicts. Here the Marshall Plan provided a very strong incentive. It gave European countries a pool of resources that could be used to cushion the wealth losses sustained in restructuring—and to soothe disappointed expectations from groups of labor and capitalists and landlords who thought they were not getting their proper shares of the pie. Marshall Plan administrators with one hand pressured European governments and interest groups to compromise, and to liberalize their economies in a more “American” mold. With the other hand they offered resources.

The resources did not obviate the need for sacrifice. But they increased the size of the pie available for division among interest groups.

And there were other institutions as well, besides the Marshall Plan's Economic Cooperation Administration, pushing in a positive and positive-sum direction. In the mid-1950s Western Europe created its own European Coal and Steel Community for free trade in those commodities, an initiative that grew into today's European Union. The dominant United States had bet heavily on international trade as an enabler of international peace as well as

of domestic prosperity. At the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference, US Treasury Department official Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes from Britain had designed a system to try to make increased globalization work for good. There was to be a World Bank—an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—to finance, via loans (on nonusurious terms), the reconstruction of those parts of the world that had been ruined by war and to develop those parts of the world that had not yet grasped the productive opportunities of modern machine and industrial technologies. There was also to be an International Monetary Fund (IMF), to manage the values of currencies and the net flow of financial resources across borders, to help countries to reset the terms on which they traded to do so, and to be the bad guy to urge, and perhaps command, countries to live up to their obligations, and reorient how they managed their economies in order to do so. The fact that Western Europe and the United States were together tied into alliance by the Cold War gave these institutions life and energy. Plus, the post–World War II global north was very lucky in its statesmen.

There was supposed to be an International Trade Organization (ITO) as well, to negotiate mutually beneficial reductions in tariffs to low or zero levels and to referee trading disputes. But although the Truman administration had pushed the United Nations, the World Bank, and the IMF through Congress, it decided at the end of 1950 that the ITO was too heavy a lift to even submit to Congress, given that by the end of that year the administration needed Congress to fund the Korean War and build out the long-run Cold War military structure. By 1950, too, openhanded international benevolent cooperation was out, and cash-on-the-barrelhead demands for assistance in the long twilight struggle between the free world and global communism were in. Instead of an organization with at least some teeth to enforce its judgments, there was to be an agreement—a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—under the aegis of which multiple rounds of multilateral tariff reductions were to be gradually negotiated over decades.

And so a sizable part of the credit for Europe’s successful post–World War II reconstruction belongs to these acts of cooperative international statesmanship: the Marshall Plan and other initiatives that sped Western European growth by altering the environment in which political and

economic policy was made. The Marshall Plan era saw the creation of the social democratic “mixed economy”: the restoration of price freedom and exchange rate stability, reliance on market forces within the context of a large social insurance state, some public ownership of industry and utilities, and a great deal of public demand management.

There was one additional very important factor making for post-World War II social democracy. The totalitarian threat from Stalin’s Soviet Union across the Iron Curtain became very real. Many observers, such as the historian A. J. P. Taylor, simply did not believe “in the American way of life —that is, in private enterprise.” But on close inspection, really-existing socialism was something they could believe in even less. The higher standards of living in the really-existing socialist Eastern Bloc did not emerge. The Great Depression did not return to Western Europe. Western Europeans came to fear a Soviet takeover. They wanted a US presence in Europe to deter such aggression. Hence they created the North Atlantic alliance and were willing to follow America’s lead, and to drag America into leadership if necessary. What America wanted, they were eager to provide.

There is a story that when the Belgian statesman Paul-Henri Spaak was asked if it wouldn’t be a good idea to set up a bunch of statues to the founders of the European Union, he answered: “What a wonderful idea! We should erect a 50-foot tall statue in front of the Berlaymont [Palace in Brussels]! Of Joseph Stalin!”¹² It was the group of Soviet forces in Germany and the presence of the tanks of the Red Army at the Fulda Gap that most concentrated everyone’s mind on how much they wanted NATO, the Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community, and then the European Union to succeed.

BY 1948, THE US government had drawn up plans to wage a real cold war: plans for boosting defense spending to 10 percent of national income and deploying US armies all across the globe. But those plans remained fantasies for unimaginable contingencies—until the Korean War.

In 1950, the strongman Kim Il-Sung, whom Stalin had installed in North Korea at the end of World War II, begged him for tanks and support to take over the south. Split at the 38th parallel, a somewhat arbitrary line of

latitude, Korea was divided between the Soviet-overseen north and the US-overseen south.

But when Kim Il-Sung put his request to Stalin, there were no US garrisons in the south. At the start of 1950, Dean Acheson—now secretary of state for President Truman—announced that the day of “old relationships between east and west are gone.” “At their worst,” he said, they had been “exploitation,” and “at their best... paternalism.” Now those relationships had come to an end, and the United States had a “defense perimeter” in the Pacific that ran from “the Aleutians to Japan and then... to the Ryukyus [south of Japan],” and finally to the Philippines. Defense outside that perimeter was for “the entire civilized world under the Charter of the United Nations.” For the United States to guarantee that it would come to the aid of any country outside of that area was “hardly sensible.” Moreover, even within the defense perimeter in the Pacific, US strategists concluded, it made most sense to wield US power by air and sea rather than by land.¹³

Moreover, the United States was in favor of decolonization—getting the British out of India, the Dutch out of Indonesia, and other global powers out of the territories they had held for years. While the United States was happy to provide logistical support to the French, who were fighting a war against the communist Vietminh in Southeast Asia, it wanted the French to promise independence rather than further colonial rule as the end point.

Acheson’s speech, however, did not specifically mention Korea or say how it fit into the defense perimeter in the Pacific. Did this omission tip the balance in Stalin’s mind? It may have. In June 1950, Stalin let slip the dog of war that was Kim Il-Sung and his Soviet-trained and supplied army. The Korean War began. The United States surprised Kim Il-Sung, Stalin, Mao, and itself by rallying the United Nations to send an army. That army was largely made up of US troops but formally was a force of the United Nations, and its mission was to defend the order that had been established in the US-controlled zone of occupation that was to become South Korea—and perhaps to create a single unified Korea as well.

Fighting raged all across the Korean Peninsula, from near the Yalu River in the north to the Port of Pusan in the south. South Koreans and North Koreans fought on land; Americans fought on land, in the sea, and in the air; Chinese fought on land; Russians fought in the air (350 of their planes were shot down). In three years, somewhere between 1 million and 2

million Korean civilians died, 5 to 10 percent of the population, and perhaps 400,000 South Koreans were abducted from their homes and taken to North Korea. The military dead and missing amounted to roughly 500,000 Chinese, 300,000 North Koreans, 150,000 South Koreans, 50,000 Americans, and 4,400 others who fought to defend South Korea. The US Air Force dropped half a million tons of bombs during the war, which works out to 40 pounds for every North Korean then alive.

The United States did not use its nuclear weapons. It was a war, but it was a limited war. US theater of operations commander General Douglas MacArthur asked for their use at the end of 1950, when the Chinese People's Liberation Army forced the United Nations' army to retreat from near the Yalu River back to south of Seoul. The Pentagon and President Harry Truman refused.

Nonnuclear arms proved sufficient, and starting in March 1951, the battlefield stabilized near the 38th parallel, the original divide between north and south. The Pentagon and Truman began to seek a cease-fire and a return to the *status quo ante*—leaving neither victor nor vanquished.

On March 5, 1953, as the war dragged on, Joseph Stalin died of a stroke. Stalin's heirs decided that the Korean War was pointless and should end. Mao's negotiators accepted the United Nations' prisoner-of-war position: repatriation would not be forced. As a consequence, 10,000 of 15,000 Chinese prisoners of war decided not to return to China; 5,000 of 70,000 North Korean prisoners of war decided not to return to North Korea; and 327 South Korean prisoners of war decided to stay in North Korea, as did 21 Americans and 1 Briton. (Eventually, 18 of these 22 returned to the Western Bloc.)¹⁴

And so began the state of affairs that would continue for decades, even past the end of the long twentieth century—with North Korea still under the autocratic rule of the Kim dynasty, which presided over one of the worst famines of the post–World War II period, and with South Korea independent—a rich industrial power and a democracy.

But the Korean War was important not just for Korea. The Korean War was one of those butterfly-wing flaps that changed the world, for it turned the United States and its national security apparatus onto a new path, one defined by spending five times the previous level of annual military expenditure and by establishing a truly global reach. Put succinctly, in the

aftermath of the Korean War the United States took up a new role.

To start with, Germany looked analogous to Korea—a country divided by what had been intended to be a temporary, postwar military occupation boundary.

Stalin's successors were largely unknown. The only certain thing about them was that they had flourished—which often meant managed to survive—under Stalin, and that they proved willing to shoot a couple of their own number in the struggle that followed Stalin's death.

Thus, by the middle of the 1950s, there was a full US army sitting in West Germany waiting for Stalin's successors to attempt in Germany what Stalin, Mao, and Kim Il-Sung had attempted in Korea: the reunification by force of a country that had been divided by the armistice that ended World War II.

What had before June 1950 been the fantasies of national security staffers and planners became reality: they were able to push US national security spending up to 10 percent of national income. The weapons were, by and large, not used. But the fact that the government was buying them made a return of anything like the Great Depression all but impossible. It provided a strong floor to demand and employment in the United States—for the government bought, and those it bought from put people to work and had the revenue to buy other things, and so to put still other people to work.

This spending was in large part intended as a way of allowing the United States to project its Cold War military might far beyond its borders. The United States deployed troops and established permanent military bases on every continent save Antarctica. Roughly three-quarters of a percent of the US national product in the mid-1950s was “net military transactions”—expenditures abroad by the US military that generated no dollar inflow. In Europe, the increase in net US military transactions did much to offset the winding-down of the Marshall Plan. In short, NATO provided more than shock troops to thwart a Soviet invasion. It also provided one more secure source of demand for European production during Europe's booms in the 1950s and 1960s.

Which brings us to nuclear weaponry.

From 1956, the formal policy of the Soviet Union was “peaceful coexistence.” The Russians would, of course, continue to support just revolts against colonialism and capitalism. But war between the

superpowers? Off the table. The United States and the USSR would coexist. The priority would be to lie low and demonstrate really-existing socialism's advantages—which would lead to triumph in the end, of course.

From 1954, the US policy became one of “massive retaliation.” In a speech that year, Secretary of State Allen Dulles made clear that the strategy would be to “contain the mighty landpower of the Communist world”: “The way to deter aggression,” he said, was for “the free community to be willing and able to respond vigorously at places and with means of its own choosing.”¹⁵ This policy, pointedly, did not take a nuclear-weapon response to a conventional provocation off the table; nor did it restrict retaliation and deterrence to the particular theater of conflict.

Each side viewed the other as a potential existential threat, which led to both sides becoming existential threats in fact.

Nuclear forces that US planners regarded as perhaps inadequate to deter a Russian nuclear strike or conventional-force invasion of Western Europe struck Russian planners as dangerously close to a level of force that could devastate the Soviet Union and support a conventional occupation of their territory. They remembered the burning of Moscow by the Crimean Tartars in 1571, the occupation of Moscow by the Poles in 1610, the invasion by the Swedes in 1709, the occupation of Moscow by the French in 1812, the German-dictated Peace of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, and Hitler’s invasion in 1941.

But the key word in Dulles’s 1954 speech detailing America’s strategy of massive resistance was “contain”: the US policy, and indeed the NATO alliance’s policy, for the Cold War was one of *containment*. As US diplomat George Kennan put it, the right strategy was one of “holding the line and hoping for the best.” Because “ideology convinces the rulers of Russia that truth is on their side and they can therefore afford to wait,” he went on, “Soviet pressure” could be “contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points.”

And there was more: “The issue of Soviet-American relations is in essence a test of the overall worth of the United States as a nation among nations,” Kennan wrote:

The thoughtful observer of Russian-American relations will find no cause for complaint in the Kremlin's challenge to American society. He will rather experience a certain gratitude to a Providence which, by providing the American people with this implacable challenge, has made their entire security as a nation dependent on their pulling themselves together and accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear.¹⁶

It was American Exceptionalism with a capital "E" taken to the max. If only the United States could, Kennan believed, truly be a City upon a Hill—if only it could, as John Winthrop had preached back in 1630, "follow the counsel of Micah, to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God," so that "he shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'may the Lord make it like that of New-England'"—if only it could behave thusly, then the United States and the NATO alliance would have nothing to fear from the Cold War.

The Americans who ran foreign policy overwhelmingly agreed. Nevertheless, the menace of totalitarianism loomed large. It was true that one, the greater, totalitarian power had been scotched—Nazi Germany. But another, if lesser, version—Stalin's and Mao's systems of really-existing socialism—was growing. The nations that it comprised were materially weak, and poor. But they were populous. And their governments had a disturbing ability to get people to endorse and fight for their cause by telling implausible lies.

For the majority of the United States' political leaders and their military and diplomatic staffs, however, there was no reason to panic. Deterrence would control the nuclear threat. The Kremlin was run by colorless apparatchiks who liked their standard of living and position. Bureaucratic ossification was the destiny of really-existing socialism, if only it could be contained and outwaited. They were right to think so.

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev also saw no reason to panic, and every reason to wait for the verdict of history. "Whether you like it or not, history is on our side," he said in 1956.¹⁷ More ominously, he added, "We will bury you." But this translation could use further explanation. Probably the Russian, "Мы вас похороним," meant something like "We will outlast

you.” Later on, Khrushchev clarified what he had meant: “I once said, ‘We will bury you,’ and I got into trouble with it. Of course, we will not bury you with a shovel. Your own working class will bury you.” Russia had lost twenty-seven million people in World War II—including those who starved to death. Nobody in Russia wanted World War III.

And so the world entered a stable, well-shy-of-utopia equilibrium, though you had to squint hard to see it.

There were reasons for Khrushchev to have confidence, reasons derivable not from the excellences of really-existing socialism’s central-planning mechanisms but from the deficiencies of market economies. After all, market economies can and do go horribly wrong. Markets carry out their implicitly assigned tasks with ruthless efficiency. The key to managing systems of markets is to determine what instructions the market is being implicitly given and how to alter those instructions. A market economy can only produce good results if it defines the general welfare appropriately—if it weights the material well-being and utility of each individual in an appropriate manner as it adds up and makes tradeoffs. And the problem is that the value that a market economy gives an individual depends on his or her wealth.

Suppose each doubling of material consumption adds an equal amount to individual utility—that the first dollar of income is more valuable than the second, the second more valuable than the third, and so on. Then theoretical economists’ formulas and theorems take on a particularly simple form: the market maximizes the general welfare if and only if the general welfare weights each person’s well-being by the market value of his or her wealth. With unequal distribution, a market economy will generate extraordinarily cruel outcomes. If my wealth consists entirely of my ability to work with my hands in someone else’s field, and if the rains do not come, so that my ability to work with my hands has no productive market value, then the market will starve me to death—as it did to millions of people in Bengal in 1942 and 1943.

The market could fail.

And central planning could succeed. The Soviet economy had, after all, proven itself very effective in building the most cost-effective tanks of World War II, the T-34C and the T-34/85. American tank production was more efficient. But the centrally planned economy mobilized more

resources. And as long as there is just one overwhelming goal, or a few, to be accomplished, inefficiencies from overenthusiastic and overrigid plans are of second-order importance.

A centrally planned economy has an easier time persuading those who would otherwise divert resources from investment to consumption not to do so. US economists in the 1950s and 1960s speculated about a future in which the USSR's higher share of national income devoted to investment would give it, in the long run, a much greater capital intensity. The added production from that capital intensity might then outweigh the efficiencies of central planning and provide Soviet citizens with a high material standard of living in spite of planned inefficiency.

And there was never any terribly good reason to believe that market economies were by any theoretical necessity superior in the discovery, development, and deployment of technology. The Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik, the first satellite, was an especially loud wake-up call to any who did not see Kennan's call to fight the Cold War by making America into its best self as a serious challenge requiring serious effort.

WAS THIS NONUTOPIA STABLE? The post–World War II world stood under the shadow of nuclear war. The nuclear weapons strategists embraced “MAD” strategies, which seemed to be not just an acronym for “mutual assured destruction” but also accurate shorthand for “insane.”

And the world was not free from other serpents in the garden—other forms of militarism and imperialism, of national, cultural, and economic rivalries.

For example, in the same letter in which Truman's successor, President Dwight Eisenhower, admonished his brother Edgar for imagining that his administration could, or should, roll back the New Deal, he boasted about how the CIA under his administration had led the coup that had entrenched Mohammed Reza Pahlavi as shah and dictator in Iran, thus keeping the oil-rich states of the Middle East from going commie. Eisenhower was certain that the Truman administration would have allowed just that—and so he believed he had largely removed the greatest “threat that has in recent years overhung the free world.”¹⁸ But no rational person saw the Iranian prime minister, Mohammad Mosaddegh, as a little Stalin, or even a Lenin.

Two decades later, rational believers in peaceful coexistence would have watched the elected Chilean president, Salvador Allende, with interest, though perhaps not enthusiasm. If his attempts to manage a peaceful transition to a more attractive form of really-existing socialism failed to produce prosperity and liberty, it would be a useful warning to other nations, as something it would be better not to do. If Allende succeeded, it might be a model that other countries could draw on to make themselves better. But that was not the logic of Cold Warriors: they sought the military coup by general-turned-dictator Augusto Pinochet, along with mass executions, and right-wing ideologues proclaimed the necessity of Pinochet taking on a role analogous to that of the mythical classical Greek lawmaker Lykourgos of Sparta. On the other side of the Iron Curtain, rational believers in peaceful coexistence would have welcomed the attempts of Czechoslovakia's Alexander Dubček to build "socialism with a human face," but instead, the reaction of Leonid Brezhnev in the Kremlin was to send in the tanks: really-existing socialism did not and could not be allowed to have a human face.

And yet, for some other colonized nations during the first post-World War II generation, the Cold War might be a blessing. Before independence, they could push for decolonization by arguing that if it was delayed, the Russians and the Chinese would use the grievances justly felt by the colonized to build support for insurgencies, which would risk that nation joining the communist bloc. After independence, they could declare themselves "nonaligned," taking their cue from the movement that started at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, spearheaded by Indonesian strongman Sukarno and Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Nonaligned nations could then call for bids of support from both sides in the Cold War. The more important the nonaligned state was to the Cold War's dueling contestants, the more both sides would be willing to spend to support a nonaligned government that was trying to decide what its political and economic system, or at least its allegiances, should be.

Of course, the hotter the Cold War became, the more likely it was that a government or a popular movement trying to steer its own course would be pulled up short by the choke chain of one of the superpowers, and that people would die. Yugoslavia and Finland managed to pursue their own paths—but the Red Army stepped in to enforce the party line and discipline

in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and in Afghanistan in 1978. The United States sponsored coups or sent troops to overthrow governments in Iran and Guatemala in 1954, Cuba in 1961, Chile in 1973, the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua in 1981, and Grenada in 1983. And there were the cases where the Cold War turned genuinely hot: Korea (5 million dead), Vietnam (2.5 million dead), Ethiopia (1.5 million dead), Angola (500,000 dead), and more.

There were governments as well that attacked their own societies: somewhere between 100,000 and 500,000 of Indonesia's population of 100 million were murdered in 1965, "the year of living dangerously." Strongman Indonesian leader Suharto used an attempted communist coup as a pretext to sideline the previous strongman leader, Sukarno, and then slaughter every Indonesian whom anyone said might be a communist. The Khmer Rouge in 1975–1979 killed perhaps 2 million of Cambodia's 8 million people for no reason whatsoever—and still China and the United States backed the Khmer Rouge against the Cambodian government that the Vietnamese installed in 1979. There were more—many more—such instances.

As bad as these large-scale butcheries were, there was always the potential for even more disastrous outcomes, and every now and then, the stability of this nonutopia teetered toward Armageddon.

For example, humanity perched on the edge of thermonuclear war during the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. Nikita Khrushchev was somewhat surprised by the bellicose reaction of US president John F. Kennedy to Russia's deployment in Cuba of missiles like those the United States had previously deployed in Turkey, next to Russia's border. In the end, the United States promised not to overthrow the Cuban communist dictator, Fidel Castro, by force, and Russia withdrew its missiles from Cuba. More quietly, the United States withdrew its missiles from Turkey.

It has gone down in American political historical lore that, eyeball to eyeball, Russia blinked. Perhaps. But it should also be noted that Russia was the reasonable one, willing to lose "face," for both sides agreed to keep the US withdrawal from Turkey a secret. A lot of grossly misleading histories were written over the next two decades based on those bad-faith reports—some by Kennedy administration insiders—before that secret was revealed.

There were other teeters.

In 1960, the moonrise was mistaken by NATO radar for a nuclear attack—and the United States went on high alert, even though Khrushchev was in New York City at the United Nations at the time. In 1967, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) thought a solar flare was Soviet radar jamming, and nearly launched its bombers. In 1979, the loading of a training scenario onto an operational computer led NORAD to call the White House, claiming that the USSR had launched 250 missiles against the United States, and that the president had only between three and seven minutes to decide whether to retaliate. In 1983, the Soviet Union's Lieutenant Colonel Stanislav Petrov refused to classify an early warning system missile sighting as an attack, dismissing it (correctly) as an error, and thereby preventing a worse error.

That same year, the Soviet air force mistook an off-course Korean airliner carrying 100 people for one of the United States' RC-135 spy planes that routinely violated Russian air space and shot it down. In 1988, the US Navy cruiser *Vincennes*—at the time in Iranian territorial waters without Iran's permission—shot down an Iranian airliner carrying 290 people.

Sometimes, the Cold War went badly. Sometimes very badly. And sometimes it threatened to go very, very badly indeed.

It is salutary to admit that the Cold War could have ended otherwise. It could have ended horribly. It could have ended with an Eastern Bloc victory, or a more permanent stasis that might still be going on. Why didn't it? People could and did make a difference. Those who made the greatest difference, I think, were those who kept the Cold War from getting hot, those who persuaded many who wanted to keep fighting it that it was over, and those who worked hardest to make the social democratic Western alliance its best self.

There was, after all, a deadly serious underlying contest. Two systems were purporting to have their people's interests, perhaps even their best interests, in mind. And in 1990 it was unambiguously the case that one of those two was better, or perhaps just less bad. But be not proud: in many ways, it is less the case that the "West" categorically proved its system to be the best than that it categorically proved its system not to be worse. Not more utopian so much as less dystopian. For by that time, the Soviet Union

had set a rather low bar by which to judge better and worse.

12

False (and True) Starts to Economic Development in the Global South

For many, many pages now the focus has been on the global north. That is fair. It, for the most part, led the world in the causal dance of economic history. And the struggle over systems was—China a very important aside—carried out in and near the global north. But now it is time to survey what was happening in the meantime in the poorer and less industrialized and deindustrialized parts of the world, addressing the era between the fall of China’s Qing dynasty in 1911 and the end of the Cold War in 1990.

As economist W. Arthur Lewis warned in 1978, the history of the global south is so varied that you can find in it at least one example of any interpretive position you might wish to assert.¹ For my purposes, this means acknowledging that it is where grand narratives risk running aground, again and again and again. Still, I hold to their virtue—that is, to the ability of grand narratives to help us think—and it is in that spirit that I undertake this grand narrative. The five themes—economic history, the technological cornucopia, government mismanagement, world globalization, and intensive tyranny—remain the same in my analysis of the global south as they were for the global north. And it is with these in mind that I freely admit, with scholarly wincing, that my plan for this chapter is to briefly give an overview and then zoom in to particular vignettes.

In 1870, when the long twentieth century began, British industry stood at the leading edge of economic and technological progress, and the nation’s real income per capita had reached perhaps \$6,000 a year. However, that was already at least double what was found anywhere outside

the charmed area of Britain (in the circle centered on Dover), its overseas settler colonies, and the United States, its ex-colony. Outside this nascent global north, our standard estimates show annual income per capita levels with a spread of a factor of five, ranging from \$600 in the poorer parts of Africa to \$3,000 in those European economies about to join the global north. The curve is heavily weighted toward the lower end, because China and India were then in the down-phase of the Malthusian cycle. The average per capita annual income level within the global south alone was perhaps \$1,300.

By 1911 the world had grown—largely together. Global-south incomes were now spread by a factor of almost six, ranging from \$700 to \$4,000—with Russia, fueled by French loan capital to build its railways, in the lead. The global-south center of gravity had inched up to perhaps \$1,500. That's not bad growth measured against previous eras. But the technological frontier of the global north was growing at a much faster pace.

Then, over the years when the global north writhed—world war, Great Depression, world war, Cold War—the global south diverged even more substantially, falling further behind. As the end of the Cold War neared in 1990, the United States (which by that time had replaced Britain as the leading edge of technological and economic progress) reached an average per capita income level of \$35,000. That was still twice the high end of the average income range in the global south, which now stretched from \$600 to \$17,000, a factor of about twenty-eight. And the center of gravity of the global south was at perhaps \$2,500, largely because China and India were still desperately poor. Many global-south economies had managed to take some advantage of technologies from the global north in their domestic production. Others had benefited substantially from enhanced and richer markets for their exports. But the results were strikingly at variance with the expectations of neoclassical, neoliberal, and neoliberal-adjacent economists like myself, who hold that discovery is—or should be—more difficult than development, that development is more difficult than deployment, and so that the world economy should “converge” over time. Between 1911 and 1990 that did not happen. The opposite did: the world economy *diverged* to a stunning degree.²

How to make sense of this? Economic historian Robert Allen had a checklist that countries needed to work through in order to step onto the

escalator to prosperity that was post-1870 economic growth. It included having a stable, market-promoting government; building railroads, canals, and ports; chartering banks for commerce and investment; establishing systems of mass education; and imposing tariffs to protect industries and the communities of engineering practice that support them, and in which their long-run comparative advantage lay. Then, in addition, there needed to be a “Big Push” to set all the virtuous circles of economic development in motion.³

For most of the economies in the global south, it simply did not happen. They did not catch up to, or even keep pace with, the fast runners of economic growth and development. The reason? The pre–World War II colonial masters did next to nothing to prepare the colonized nations of Asia and Africa for independent prosperity. Before World War II, these colonizers had little interest in bringing about a Big Push to jumpstart the economies and aid the populations of their colonial subjects. Compounding their problems, the workers of the colonized nations of Asia and Africa faced stiff competition from the workers of extremely low-wage India and China, which hindered their ability to build the sort of middle class that could have driven demand and spurred industry.

Similar patterns held elsewhere in the global south. Consider Latin America, which had achieved independence from Spain and Portugal early in the 1800s. Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Brazil, and the others suffered, by and large, from what one might call “internal colonialists”: a landed elite privileged by property ownership and Iberian descent that feared an educated proletariat, loved foreign-made manufactures, and had Iberian-derived legal systems that did not mesh well with the needs of commerce and industry.⁴

After World War II, the now dominant United States would not bless the aging colonial empires. The “winds of change” would bring independence to Asia and Africa.⁵ And in one of the more bitter ironies of colonization, the false claim of a civilizing mission that had justified empires was dropped right when acting on it in fact would have made a difference. After generations of providing to the colonizers, the ex-colonized needed help. Yet back in the colonial masters’ home offices there was little appetite for meeting the needs of reconstruction and financing. Instead, Britain, France, and the others withdrew bit by bit.

Newly decolonized nations tried to follow the plan the wise men of the global north had laid out for them. Many of them began with bureaucracies and structures of government typical of the industrial north: representative parliamentary institutions, independent judiciaries, laws establishing freedom of speech and of assembly, and a formally apolitical civil service bureaucracy. The goal was to achieve typical liberal democratic politics. Power would alternate among parties somewhat to the left and somewhat to the right of some sober median voter center. And, it was presumed, economic prosperity would follow.

But it was not to be. These ex-colonized nations could build the railroads, canals, and ports. They could charter the banks for commerce and investment. They could establish educational systems and impose tariffs to nurture modern industries and the communities of engineering practice in which their long-run comparative advantage lay. But taking these steps did not automatically put them onto the escalator to prosperity. Something else, the Big Push, was necessary.

In much of the global south, the political aftermath of decolonization turned out to be a long-run disappointment. The hoped-for liberal democratic politics became rare exceptions rather than the norm. This was a problem for economic development because so much of the checklist of prosperity was predicated on Westminster-style parliamentary politics, independent judiciaries, and the like—but these took root rarely and shallowly. The important exception was India.⁶ Elsewhere, regimes emerged that derived their authority not from electoral competition among different groups, but from the army and the police, whose authority came from suppressing dissent with varying levels of brutality, or—in the best case—from populist attachment to a charismatic nation-symbolizing reforming leader. Throughout much of the newly decolonized third world, political democracy collapsed with disheartening speed. One of the very first democratically-elected decolonized African political leaders to fall victim—to be assassinated by members of his own army—was the first prime minister of independent Nigeria, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

The disheartened had been, quite likely, delusional in their optimism. There was no historical reason to suppose that representative democracy and liberal freedom would be durable in the global south, or, for that matter, in the global north. Indeed, there was recent history to suggest the opposite

was true. The country of Goethe and Schiller could not maintain them, after all. The “mother of parliaments” in Britain’s Palace of Westminster took centuries to grow its procedures, gain its powers, and work its way toward a workable approximation of representative democracy. And the democratizing phase of the great French Revolution had lasted for less than four years. Why should anyone expect it to be different elsewhere?

Still, even if the recently decolonized countries were unsuccessful in implementing political democracy and freedom, it seemed inevitable that they would reap some economic benefits. After all, the storehouse of industrial technologies that had been developed since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution was open to all. The forms of knowledge and technologies that made the global north so rich were public goods. The benefits from tapping this storehouse were enormous and had the potential to multiply the wealth of all social groups and classes—property owners and nonproperty owners, politically powerful and politically powerless alike—manyfold. It stands to reason that all developing economies ought to have experienced not just substantial growth in absolute living standards and productivity levels in the years following their independence, but ought to have closed some of the prosperity gap vis-à-vis the world’s industrial leaders.

The global south did grow, by and large. But it did not catch up. Latin America lost a decade of development in the 1980s. As of the early 2020s, Chile and Panama are the only Latin American countries that are better off than China, while Mexico, Costa Rica, and Brazil are China’s rough equals. In Africa, only Botswana. In Asia, only Japan, the Four Tigers (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore), Malaysia, and Thailand. The gap between China and the global north is still a factor of about 3.5 to 1. It was not all disappointing: progress in education and health was rapid and extremely heartening. But that did not hide the disappointing growth in material production.

And Africa has fallen way, way behind: South Africa, Kenya, Zambia, Ghana, and Nigeria—all those for which in the 1960s there were great expectations for economic development—have fallen well short of their promise. Perhaps most discouraging, during the generation after independence, was the fall in the production and export of crops that had been the staples of African exports. As scholar Robert Bates wrote as early

as the start of the 1980s, “Palm oil in Nigeria, groundnuts in Senegal, cotton in Uganda, and cocoa in Ghana were once among the most prosperous industries in Africa. But in recent years, farmers of these crops have produced less, exported less, and earned less.” The only continent in which farmers still made up a plurality of the workforce was spending an ever-increasing portion of its export earnings on imported food.⁷

In 1950, more than half the world’s population still lived in extreme poverty: at the living standard of our typical preindustrial ancestors. By 1990 it was down to a quarter. By 2010 it would be less than 12 percent. And in 1950, most of this extreme poverty was spread throughout the global south. Thereafter it would become concentrated in Africa, where, by 2010, some three-fifths of the world’s extreme poor would reside. This concentration came as a surprise: there had been few signs back in the late colonial days of palm oil, groundnuts, cotton, and cocoa exports—the days when Zambia was more industrialized than, and almost as rich as, Portugal—that Africa south of the Sahara would fall further and further behind, and not just behind the global north, but behind the rest of the global south as well. From 1950 to 2000, Egypt and the other countries of North Africa grew along with the world at about 2 percent per year in average incomes. But—to pick three countries from south of the Sahara—Ethiopia, Ghana, and Zambia grew at only 0.3 percent per year.

Thinkers like Nathan Nunn grappled with this data and concluded that this retardation had something to do with the massive slave trades that had afflicted Africa in previous years.⁸ There had been other massive slave trades: the armies and elite citizens of classical Greece and Rome had stolen 30 million people over the span of a millennium and moved them around the Mediterranean. The Vikings had stolen perhaps 1 million—moving slaves from Russia to western Europe or down to the Aegean, and moving Irish and Britons to Russia. Over the millennium before 1800, perhaps 1.5 million Europeans were kidnapped and taken as slaves to North Africa. Between 1400 and 1800, some 3 million people were enslaved in what is now southern Russia and Ukraine and sold south of the Black Sea.

But the African slave trades were bigger, by most estimates: 13 million were carried across the Atlantic over the period from 1600 to 1850; 5 million were carried across the Indian Ocean between 1000 and 1900; 3 million were carried north across the Sahara from 1200 to 1900, and an

unknown number were taken in internal African slave trades—which did not stop when the transoceanic trades did: even if Europeans and Middle Easterners would no longer buy slaves, the slaves could be put to work on plantations producing crops that they would buy. Compare these numbers to a population in Africa in 1700 of perhaps 60 million, and to perhaps 360 million people born in Africa and surviving to age five over the years from 1500 to 1800.

Being subjected to millennium-spanning slave raiding as a major part of life created a long-lasting durable culture of social distrust. In a well-functioning market economy you begin nearly every meeting you have with a stranger thinking that this person might become a counterpart in some form of win-win economic, social, or cultural exchange. This is not the case if you think there is even a small chance that the stranger is in fact a scout for people with weapons over the next hill who will seek to enslave you, and perhaps kill you or your family in the process. This background assumption of distrust did not matter much as long as the trading and commercial infrastructure of the colonizers governed economic activity. But after the colonizers left, the distrust came to the forefront, and it led people to grab for weapons more quickly and more often than they would have in a more trusting society.

Remember assassinated Nigerian prime minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa? He had been born in the north of the British colony of Nigeria in 1912 and had been sent to boarding school at Katsina College. There, he was student number 145, to be slotted into the imperial bureaucracy as a teacher of English. He did very well. By 1941 he was a headmaster. In 1944 he was sent to University College London to be trained to become a schools inspector for the colonial administration.

But earlier, back when he was twenty-two, in 1934, a colonial official named Rupert East had commissioned five novellas, to be written in Hausa, in an attempt to spread literacy. East had wanted to build up an “indigenous literature” that was more or less secular—that would not be “purely religious or written with a strong religious motive.” Abubakar Tafawa Balewa contributed, and he chose to write about slavery.

In his short novel *Shaihu Umar* (Elder Umar), the protagonist’s students distract him from teaching them the Quran by asking him how he came to be a teacher. The story that follows is of his enslavement and its

consequences: large-scale slave raids, kidnappings, adoptions by childless slavers, and more kidnappings. The protagonist finally meets up with his mother (she has been kidnapped and enslaved too, by the guards she had hired) in Tripoli. She sees that he is pious and prosperous, and then she promptly dies. The vibe is that “people really will do terrible things for money” and that “the world is a Hobbesian war of all against all, but if you read the Quran really well, then you’ll probably prosper, maybe.”⁹

Balewa used his post as a traveling schools inspector to enter politics in Nigeria in the 1940s. He was one of the founders of the Northern People’s Congress. By 1952 he was colonial Nigeria’s minister of works. By 1957 he was prime minister. In 1960 he became prime minister of an independent and sovereign Nigeria. He was reelected in 1964. And then in January 1966 he was murdered in the military coup led by the Young Majors—Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu and company—whose troops slaughtered senior politicians and their generals and their wives, and then were themselves suppressed by a countercoup led by army commander Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi.

Aguiyi-Ironsi was assassinated six months later in a July counter-countercoup led by Yakuba Gowon. A year later the Igbo people declared the independent republic of Biafra, which was suppressed after a three-year war causing some four million deaths (out of a population of about fifty-five million), the overwhelming majority of them Igbo dead of starvation. Yakuba Gowon was overthrown by Murtala Muhammed in July 1975. And Murtala was then assassinated in February 1976. A return to civilian rule in 1979 lasted only until 1983, when the next military coup took place in Nigeria.

WAS THE GLOBAL SOUTH richer in the 1990s than it had been in 1911? Yes, much richer. Was the world more integrated in terms of trade, technology, and communication? Yes, by impressive degrees. But was the world more unequal? Yes, vastly so.

Who, or what, is to blame?

Some insights emerge. Low savings rates and the high cost of capital investment meant that the yield from a given savings effort in the global south was low. Because poor countries are by definition those in which

labor is cheap and machines are expensive, and all the more so when governments made foreign-produced machines hard to obtain, prices on most manufactured goods remained high. An incomplete demographic transition to low fertility (because fear of poverty translates into more children, in the hopes that some of them will look after the aged) meant high rates of population growth, which meant, in turn, that investment went to equip a growing labor force with all the basic tools they needed, rather than to the higher-quality tools that would make a shrinking labor force productive. All of this brought about a general lack of education and entrepreneurship.

Vicious cycles abounded and were easily triggered. Virtuous cycles were rare and difficult to set in motion. Economic growth was held back by what the economist Michael Kremer has called the “O-ring theory”: the more modern and the more potentially productive the division of labor and the value chain, the more nearly everything had to go right for things to work. And if everything didn’t go right, substantial amounts of capital, resources, and labor would be idle.

But what triggered the vicious cycles that opened and then widened the gap between the global north and the global south?

One short and too-simple answer is that the fault lies with governments—specifically, with governmental institutions that were “extractive” rather than “developmental,” in the currently fashionable jargon of growth economists. We are talking here about kleptocracy: government not by one ruler (monarchy), or by the self-proclaimed best (aristocracy), or by the people (democracy), or by the rich (plutocracy)—but, rather, rule by thieves.

Yet kleptocracy is nothing new. Perhaps the major drawback to the invention of agriculture was that you had to be around to harvest the fields that you planted. This meant that you could not run away when thugs with spears came by to demand the lion’s share of your crops. And as this practice became general, people got into the business of supplying spears for the thugs, and the thugs began to organize hierarchically: we call the people at the top of the thug hierarchies “kings.” Thus, to fault the governments of the global south ignores history. Most governments at most times in most places have followed policies that show little interest in nurturing sustained increases in productivity.

After all, the first priority of governments must be to prevent food riots in the capital. Regimes rule peacefully in part because they control the visible centers of sovereignty: those buildings in the capital from which members of the bureaucracy expect to receive their orders, and the centrally located radio and television broadcast sites through which rulers speak to their nations. If an urban riot overruns the president's palace, the ministries, or the television stations, the government's rule is in serious danger. Conversely, bread, circuses, and a well-supplied and compliant police force keep riots at bay. The second priority of governments is to keep the army well fed, well paid, and equipped with lots of new weapons to play with. Rulers can only rule so long as the army tolerates them. The third priority is to keep the bureaucrats and the political operatives content, and any potential opposition quiet or disorganized.

For insecure rulers, pursuing these aims almost always takes precedence over policy. All rulers believe they are the best people for the job. Their rivals are at best incompetent, most likely wrongheaded and corrupt, and at worst amoral and destructive. As these insecure rulers see it, nothing good will be achieved for the country or the people unless they maintain their grip on power. Only after the government's seat is secure will debates about development policy take place. But the pursuit of a secure hold on power almost always takes up all the rulers' time, energy, and resources. The life span of the average government is often too short for any reasonable historian-critic to expect it to focus on long-run economic development.

And, as Niccolò Machiavelli wrote in his little book about new princes back in the early 1500s, things are even worse with a new regime, in which the first task is currying supporters, who are unlikely to remain supporters unless they benefit.¹⁰ So, job number one in building a state is to seize control of and redirect benefits, tangible and otherwise, to the most influential of one's supporters. And that process of seizure and redirection follows a different logic—a very different logic—than that of channeling resources to produce rapid economic growth.

When we wonder over the vast inequality between global north and global south, perhaps the most pressing question isn't who is to blame, or even what is to blame. It is more pragmatic: What needs to happen for growth to take place? For selfish and selfless reasons, most rulers would be benevolent if they thought they could be. Believing they could be requires

stability and security, and increasing prosperity can be a powerful source of increased stability and security.

But why don't potential entrepreneurs—those who would benefit most from prodevelopment policies, and whose enterprises would in turn benefit many others—work to overthrow an antidevelopment ruling regime? Political scientist Robert Bates asked this question of a cocoa farmer in Ghana. Bates was seeking to learn why farmers did not agitate for a reduction in the huge gap between the (very low) price the government paid them for cocoa and the (higher) price at which the government sold the cocoa on the world market. The farmer “went to his strongbox,” Bates reported, “and produced a packet of documents: licenses for his vehicles, import permits for spare parts, titles to his real property and improvements, and the articles of incorporation that exempted him from a major portion of his income taxes. ‘If I tried to organize resistance to the government’s policies on farm prices,’ he said while exhibiting these documents, ‘I would be called an enemy of the state, and would lose all these.’”¹¹

This isn't always or only an accident of “overregulation.” From an economic development perspective, potential future entrants into industries produce the most social benefit. Yet because they have no existing businesses or clients, they also have no resources with which to lobby the influential. Therefore, from the perspective of those in power who wish to remain so, restricting future entrants into industries is a way of doing existing businesses a favor at a very low political cost. Since the overvalued exchange rate has made foreign currency a scarce good, competition from manufacturers abroad can also be easily strangled in select sectors as a favor to key existing businesses.

There is so much in addition that has driven the divergence between the global north and the global south that the responsibility-attributing answers to “why?” and “what?” questions can only be unsatisfactory: strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto prosperity in the global south. The “who?” question has a more straightforward answer: the global north, collectively, had the wealth and power to take steps to arrange things more favorably for the global south, and it did not do so.

Successful economic development depends on a strong but limited government. Strong in the sense that its judgments of property rights are obeyed, that its functionaries obey instructions from the center, and that the

infrastructure it pays for is built. And limited in the sense that it can do relatively little to help or hurt individual enterprises, and that political power does not become the only effective road to wealth and status.

Vignettes tell parts of a very few of the tales.

ONE OF THE MORE heartbreaking cases in the global south over the period from 1911 to 1990 is Argentina. In a very strong sense, Argentina has no business being a member of the global south today. In 1913 Buenos Aires was in the top twenty cities of the world in the likelihood that a typical resident had a telephone. In 1929 Argentina was in the top five economies in the world in the likelihood that a typical citizen owned an automobile. Of the countries that were its peers in the 1930s, most were overrun by or caught up in the turmoil of World War II. Argentinian politics in the 1930s was rough-and-tumble, with strong antidemocratic currents. But it was no worse than politics almost anywhere else, and better than politics in most other places. Strait was the gate.

Argentina's leaders responded to the social and economic upheavals by adopting new policies aimed at stimulating demand and redistributing wealth. At the same time, Argentina's leaders became more distrustful of foreign trade and capital, and more inclined to use controls instead of prices as mechanisms to allocate goods.¹² What followed were spurts of growth that ended in monetary chaos and deep depression. Politics was nasty—"nasty" not in the sense of people arrested but in the sense of people simply "disappeared," and "disappeared" in the sense of some of them murdered by being thrown out of helicopters.¹³

Such was the persistent environment in which charismatic leaders could gain mass political support. One such, at the end of World War II, was Juan Perón. Perón's policies were broadly popular: his government increased taxes, created agricultural marketing boards, supported unions, and regulated international trade. Perón sought to generate rapid growth and full employment through government spending; he wanted to twist terms of trade against exporters, agricultural oligarchs, foreigners, and entrepreneurs; and he wanted to redistribute wealth to urban workers, his most ardent supporters. After all, Argentina was a rich country: it could afford to treat its urban working class well.

Perón's program produced almost half a decade of rapid growth. Then exports fell sharply. The international business cycle has ups and downs, and it hit Argentina heavily, with a fall in demand for its exports. Reductions in prices of rural exportables then made themselves felt in reduced supply. Agricultural production fell because of low prices offered by the government for agricultural goods. Domestic consumption rose. The rural sector found itself short of fertilizer and tractors. By the first half of the 1950s, the real value of Argentine exports dropped to only 60 percent of the already low levels they had reached during the Depression, and only 40 percent of 1920s levels. And because Perón had twisted the terms of trade so drastically against agriculture and exportables, when the network of world trade was put back together in the 1950s, Argentina was no longer thickly connected.

The consequent foreign exchange shortage presented Perón with unattractive options. First, he could attempt to balance foreign payments by devaluing to bring imports and exports back into balance in the long run (and in the short run by borrowing from abroad). But effective devaluation would have entailed raising the real price of imported goods, and therefore cutting the living standards of the urban workers who made up his political base. Foreign borrowing would have meant a betrayal of his strong nationalist position. Second, he could contract the economy, raising unemployment and reducing consumption, and expand incentives to produce for export by easing controls on agricultural prices. But, once again, this would have required a reversal of the distributional shifts that had been his central aim.

The remaining option was one of controlling and rationing imports by government command. Not surprisingly, Perón and his advisers believed that a dash for growth and a reduction in dependence on the world economy was good for Argentina. It wasn't. It wasn't even good for Perón, who was deposed by the army (although he did retain high popularity among many, and did return as president in the years before his death in 1974). Subsequent governments did not fully reverse these policies, for the political forces that Perón had mobilized still had to be appeased. Post-World War II Argentina saw foreign exchange allocated by the central government in order to, first, keep existing factories running and, second, keep home consumption high. Its third and last priority went to imports of

capital goods for investment and capacity expansion.

One way to think about early post–World War II Argentina is that its mixed economy was poorly oriented: the government allocated goods, especially imports, among alternative uses; the controlled market redistributed income. Neither the private nor the public sector was used to its comparative advantage. As a result, the early 1950s saw a huge rise in the price of capital goods. Each percentage point of total product saved led to less than half a percentage point’s worth of investment. Unable to invest at scale, the Argentine economy fell behind the countries of Western Europe. As the economy fell behind, discontent grew, and the government oscillated between overpromising politicians and undercompetent, murderous generals.

But could it be the case that Argentina’s slow-growth path was not an exception but the natural course? Could it be that Europe should view Argentina in the spirit of, “There but for the grace of America and the Marshall Plan go we?” With a noninternationalist United States not so interested in fighting the Cold War, in restructuring Western Europe in general, or in a program of sustained support like the Marshall Plan, might Western Europe have followed a post–World War II trajectory similar to Argentina’s?¹⁴

Conversely, much of the global south would be justified in asking: What about us? In the presence of a global-north foreign-aid effort on the scale of the Marshall Plan, might the same virtuous circles that lifted Western Europe likewise give life to the global economy’s periphery?

THE EXTREME DIFFICULTY OF mounting any substantial catch-up to the global north is reinforced by the case of Reza Shah Pahlavi and the Iranian Revolution.¹⁵ From the 1950s through the 1970s, Iran and Reza Shah were the darling of many who thought they were playing the Great Game of international politics: Reza Shah was strongly anticommunist and anti-Russian and eager to “modernize” Iran; he listened to global-north experts, especially with respect to the importance of land reform and engineers; and although he spent some of his oil revenues on luxuries, and more on the military, he channeled an even more substantial portion back into the economy of Iran.

Yes, pre-1979, the imperial Iranian government was, to put it bluntly, a tyranny. Yes, it had a fierce and justifiably dreaded secret police. But what precipitated the Iranian Revolution and led to the overthrow of the shah was not so much opposition to police or military strength. Religious ideology played a role, but not as large a role as many have assumed: afterward, most Iranians were quite surprised at the fundamentalist religious-ideological revolution they had helped make. The causes of the revolution had much more to do with the wealth and poverty created by the oil- and land-reform-based economic transformations that were put into place, who that wealth flowed to, who the poverty was inflicted upon, and the obstacles to successful economic development that followed from those stresses.

In 1973, world oil prices tripled, and with the revenue from the bonanza, Reza Shah hoped to turn Iran into an industrial country in one generation. This meant, first, land reform: distributing land to turn tenants and sharecroppers into independent farmers, and compensating landlords with government oil revenues. But rapid population growth and a desire not to offend rich landlords *too* much meant that the plots distributed were small. At the same time, the boom in oil exports and the rise in oil prices together pushed up Iran's exchange rate by a wide margin, and with an overvalued exchange rate it became profitable to import food. So newly propertied peasant farmers found themselves with small plots selling their crops for declining prices.

They were supposed to become bulwarks of the regime, grateful to it for distributing land. Instead, they scratched what they saw as an inadequate living off of too-small plots, or moved to the cities. While many Iranians saw their incomes growing rapidly in the years leading up to 1979, many others did not. Karl Polanyi would not have been surprised that the latter—those for whom things had not worked out as they had expected—were angrier than those who benefited from the windfalls, who were pleased by the changes that Reza Shah's "White Revolution" had wrought. Certainly few in the street were willing to demonstrate or fight for it, however, or for him.

Moreover, as the world became smaller through advances in transportation and communications, the people of Iran could see further into what was happening in other countries. For one thing, rich and arrogant Russians and Britons and Americans were showing up to walk their streets

and their corridors of power and influence. Iranians had been used to seeing themselves at the center of an Islamic civilization that had been preeminent among world civilizations. They were now exposed to daily reminders that this was no longer the case. How were people to make sense of such a world?

Reza Shah Pahlavi's answer was to try to turn Iranians into Europeans—that is, to follow an authoritarian state-led development road reminiscent of pre-World War I Imperial Germany. But this left scant place for Islam. And the state that resulted was highly corrupt. Reza Shah's reforms quickly proved problematic. Steps to emancipate women were unpopular among influential traditionalists. And although the shah was truly committed to turning Iran into a literate, educated, technologically proficient country, steps to boost education had the unintended consequence of producing a large body of students and intellectuals attracted to revolutionary politics.

From exile, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini—a former opponent of land reform, who had thought it was un-Islamic to dispossess landlords and free peasants from debt bondage—lit the fuse, calling on the Islamic clergy and the people to seize power from the despot and carry out an Islamic revolution. A forty-day cycle of demonstrations began, during which young religious activists would be shot by the police, triggering another demonstration to mourn their deaths.

In January 1979 Reza Shah Pahlavi fled into exile.

Thereafter, Iran's economy stagnated. First a catastrophic decade-long war with Iraq—not started by Iran's ayatollahs but continued by them, as they believed God was on their side, that their cause was just, and that they could not but prevail—absorbed tremendous resources. And the newly dominant religious government had little interest in economic development: its leaders were interested in paradise in heaven, not utopia here on earth. The Iranian people had not made the Islamic Revolution to lower the price of watermelons—which was what Ayatollah Khomeini was reputed to have said in dismissal of the concerns of those of his advisers who wanted policies to bring material prosperity to Iran.

IF ALL THESE OBSTACLES to rapid and successful catch-up growth were not enough, there were also the pitfalls produced by *ideology*: those

seeking to create a utopia in a relatively short time by means of a complete societal transformation. The lure of such a transformation led many newly independent decolonized governments in the 1950s and 1960s to follow the advice of intellectuals from the global north's left—ultimately leading to prolonged difficulties.

This was only natural: the left had been, to its great credit, anticolonial, while the center and the right, before World War II, and even today, have been imperialist. This had a very large influence on global-south development policy in the first post–World War II generation. Marx had looked forward to a utopia of free speech, democratic governments with equal political voice for all, great freedom of occupational and residential choice, and immense material wealth. The really-existing socialist governments that the political left found itself associated with, the products of the Bolshevik revolution, had relatively little of any of these. Intellectuals on the left in the global north kept finding excuses to throw them over the side, one by one. And governments in the global south found themselves being told that the absence of these was a virtue: No freedom of speech? You could not mobilize the population to achieve the national purpose of development with conflicted caterwauling confusing the people, could you?

The core freedoms of Western society were always promised in the abstract. There would be free speech, government with equal political voice, freedom to choose your job and your residence, and great wealth—someday. But those commitments were easily delayed because of the exigencies of the moment. There was a need to shed the last vestiges of old colonial orders. There was a need for stability first. There was a need for authoritarian command for national mobilization. And the delays became permanent. The era of transition was never-ending. There was a constant emergency.

Until an educated and informed socialist electorate could be created, a centralized party was necessary in its place. It was—mistakenly—thought by many in the newly decolonized nations, and by those who wished them well, that to rank representative institutions high on any list of the criteria of a good society was implicitly to attack decolonization and to defend the late colonial order. Nation building required unity, and in new nations that unity could be fragile. If politicians and newspapers could whistle different tunes

and criticize the government, this would disrupt that fragile unity. Then advocacy of private economic freedoms would disappear: all of the resources of society had to be mobilized according to a single plan for rapid industrialization. Eggs would be broken. And as time pressed on, the habit of breaking them on whim grew. But no omelet appeared.

We see this dynamic most strikingly, most powerfully, and most destructively at work in the years after World War II in the really-existing socialist regimes of Asia, led by Maoist China.

Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had unexpectedly won the Chinese Civil War in 1949. Its plan had been simple: arrive at a village, shoot the landlords, distribute the land. The peasants would then be richer than they had ever imagined—and would support the CCP. The victory of the CCP then looks not inevitable but understandable: the promise of release from dire material poverty and from landlord tyranny was attractive, and in its initial years the People's Republic of China made good on this promise.

By the mid-1950s, however, a downward spiral had begun. Mao and company were predisposed to take advice from their Soviet comrades. And so it was that as Stalin had reensered the Russian peasants by collectivizing agriculture, Mao did the same. When Stalin brutally suppressed dissent and discussion within and without the party, Mao quickly followed suit. However, when Stalin made heavy industrialization a priority by hiring technical advisers from outside and copying plans from US and German factories, Mao took a slightly different route. Being more suspicious of foreigners and less patient, he decreed that there would be a "Great Leap Forward." To address China's underdeveloped industrial and human resources, the party would replace the "material" factor with a "spiritual" one. What technocratic "experts" said could not be done, citing material limitations, the "Red" revolutionaries would do by force of conviction. China would industrialize village by village, without imports of foreign capital goods or the advice of foreign engineers.¹⁶

Of course it was a disaster. To command—from the center—that peasant farmers go out and build backyard blast furnaces to produce steel guarantees that you will get little steel and less grain. Worse, when the command comes directly from the dictator, you are guaranteed not to learn the truth. Because it was Mao himself who set out this policy, everyone

reported back to him that the Great Leap Forward was proceeding magnificently. In reality, perhaps forty million people died in the ensuing famine.

This was, note, an even worse disaster than the standard disaster that really-existing socialism turned out to be. If you walked along the edge of the Iron Curtain and then the Bamboo Curtain from Leningrad to Odessa, along the Caucasus, and then from Yunnan up to the Sea of Japan—or if you looked from really-existing socialist Cuba across the Caribbean to Costa Rica or Mexico—you would see that those countries where the armies of Stalin or Mao or Kim Il-Sung or Ho Chi Minh or (shudder) Pol Pot had marched were, on average, only one-fifth as well-off when 1990 came and the curtains were raised as those that had been just beyond those armies' reach. But Maoist China in the throes of the Great Leap Forward was worse than average.

As the extent of the disaster became known, Mao's principal lieutenants moved slowly and cautiously against him. In December 1958, Mao was replaced by Liu Shaoqi as head of state, with Deng Xiaoping at Liu's right hand. At a conference in July 1959, Peng Dehuai, minister of defense, criticized Mao's policies, and Mao threatened to split the party. The majority of the party members remained "loyal" to Mao. Peng Dehuai was condemned and dismissed from the party and the government. But Mao Zedong was also sidelined: the near-consensus of his deputies and their deputies was that Mao's role should thereafter be ceremonial and symbolic. Mao did not agree.

Nevertheless, it took six years before Mao could arrange a counterstrike. Eventually he managed to use his power as a symbol of the regime, particularly with lower-level cadres and the young, to return to command. His political counteroffensive was a call to "bombard the headquarters"—that is, to destroy anyone whose loyalty or revolutionary commitment he doubted within the leadership of the Communist Party, to wage a Cultural Revolution.¹⁷ Liu Shaoqi, now the second-ranking member of the Politburo Standing Committee, was killed. Deng Xiaoping was purged from the party and lost his leadership post for the heresy of claiming that it was more important to be competent than to be politically correct—"A good cat is not a cat that is black or white, a good cat is a cat that catches mice" (Mao feared that Deng meant his listeners to hear not "black" but "red"—

revolutionary—and “white”—counterrevolutionary). Perhaps Deng Xiaoping escaped with his life by sheer luck. Mao’s Red Guards threw Deng Xiaoping’s son, Deng Pufang, out of a window, and his back was broken, causing permanent paraplegia. During the Cultural Revolution, universities were closed so that curricula could be revised to better reflect Mao Zedong’s ideology. Engineers were sent to the countryside so they could learn how to perform agricultural labor. Technocrats of all kinds were dismissed from their jobs for similar reasons. The Cultural Revolution followed a strongly anti-intellectual ideology. Mao turned on his own tools next, purging the leftist ideologue-intellectuals. In 1971, the new second-ranking member of the Chinese Communist Party’s Politburo Standing Committee, Lin Biao, fled before Mao could purge him, dying in a plane crash.

Mao’s Cultural Revolution, much like his Great Leap Forward, continued until his death in 1976. We do not know its human cost—perhaps as many as 1.5 or 2 million people were killed, and perhaps tens of millions of others were purged and/or imprisoned. We can also estimate that in 1970—after the first phase of the Cultural Revolution—China’s level of material prosperity was perhaps half that of India’s, having become the rough equivalent of today’s level of material well-being in the very poorest countries on earth. In the end, Deng Xiaoping returned from his purge and exile to take up the reins. He was the only person able to govern with credibility among both the bureaucratic cadres and the military, for many of them still knew him well.¹⁸ Only then he was purged again. And this time, his only shield against the wrath of the Gang of Four, the Maoist political faction that implemented his policies, was either his military allies or Mao himself, before their overthrow after Mao’s death.

Only two things ultimately rescued China and its economy. The first was twofold: the failure of Mao’s armies to conquer Taiwan, and his unwillingness in 1949 to pick a fight with Great Britain to attack Hong Kong. Taiwan and Hong Kong subsequently provided China with the entrepreneurs and the mobilizers of finance for industrial development that it needed to grow after 1978. The second was Deng Xiaoping. Deng had certainly not been an advocate of a return to the market economy when he was purged in 1966—indeed, he was not at all what Mao’s Red Guards called him: the “number 2 person in authority taking the capitalist road.”

But he certainly was the number-one person in authority taking the capitalist road after his accession to paramountcy in 1978. And that was to make a huge difference. Once in power, he gave the baton to Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Xi Zhongzun, and other reformers to find a way forward to restore and then develop China's economy. And so the government of China found its way forward after Mao's death. Mao claimed that he had made China stand up, but that was false. It was Deng who did the job.

FROM A CYNICAL PERSPECTIVE, perhaps the most interesting question about emerging economies is not why they have so frequently stagnated or experienced precipitous declines, but why they have sometimes experienced rapid growth. Chile, Mexico, southern Brazil, and Panama in Latin America; Algeria in Saharan and Botswana in sub-Saharan Africa; and Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and now, of course, post-Mao China in Asia have all made impressive strides toward closing the relative material prosperity gap vis-à-vis the global north in the post–World War II era. How have they managed to do this? What have been the key factors separating successful from unsuccessful episodes of economic development?

So we now turn in a more hopeful and positive direction. There were two groups of countries that did manage to catch up to global-north norms in the years after 1950. The first comprised the countries that were the original members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), now thought of as a rich-country club but not so much at its beginning—the member countries were largely Marshall Plan aid recipients and British settler dominions, along with Japan and the United States. The other group comprised the countries of the East Asian Pacific Rim. It is on these that we'll now focus our attention.

The speed of Japan's recovery after 1950 surprised many.¹⁹ Immediately after World War II, it remained unclear whether its economy would successfully surmount the shock of defeat. With its factories leveled, without oil or iron, starting from ground zero and having to purchase from abroad nearly every input needed for industrial civilization, save rice and coal, what were Japan's chances? Things changed when the Korean War, starting in 1950, made Japanese industry a valuable hot-war resource,

which in turn made Japanese economic success an important Cold War goal. It became a keystone of US policy that Japan become a prosperous, democratic, and unsinkable ally in the troubled regions of East Asia. By 1955, the Japanese economy was as strong as it had been on December 7, 1941. And growth thereafter was the fastest the world had hitherto seen.

From 1960 to 1973, the Japanese economy grew at an average rate of 10 percent annually, quadrupling the economy in a short sprint and raising GDP per capita from the equivalent of 25 percent of the US economy to 57 percent. In the next period, 1973 to 1990, the country's GDP grew at an average rate of 4.5 percent annually, doubling the economy again and bringing Japanese per capita GDP up to the equivalent of 78 percent of the US economy.

How did Japan achieve such a stunning period of sustained growth? A significant part of the plan was a policy of strong domestic protectionism through an intricate network of non-tariff economic and social network barriers. Economists generally oppose protectionism because it hurts consumers (by increasing prices) while benefiting producers (who have done nothing productive to earn it). An economy of protectionism produces firms that are good at getting what they want out of the capital but inefficient and often bad at developing new technologies. It is true that Japan's protectionism did have some such elements—but Japanese protection was, it seemed, smart policy. Over time it appears that producers gained enough to offset the static losses. Overpaying, they grew rich.

After the fact, global-north observers rationalized continuance of the policy. Japan, they thought, was very special: it had entered the modern age with a strong, functional government, an elite that rapidly saw the need for westernization, a population expanding at a modest-enough rate that it was not in danger of going hungry, a deep respect for commerce and industry, and an enthusiasm for mass education. But Japan seemed to be the only East Asian country where all of these conditions were present. The societal transformation undertaken during the Meiji Restoration of the mid-1800s had no parallel elsewhere in what the global north saw as a culturally static and bureaucratically and hierarchically ossified region.

Back in 1945, most outside observers regarded East Asia, with the exception of Japan, the way observers today regard Africa: as the part of the globe facing the biggest development challenges, and most likely to stay

poor. The rest of the region seemed to face incredibly long odds. So the Pacific Rim's rapid economic growth in the latter half of the long twentieth century was nothing short of miraculous. Many countries have attempted to grow their economies rapidly under the aegis of a "developmental state." Yet, most of the time, these efforts have failed.

Why were East Asian countries any different? One reason is that other "developmental states," including those in Latin America, and to some extent those in the Soviet bloc, were designed, above all else, to achieve independence and self-sufficiency. They walled their economies off from world market prices and, indeed, from prices altogether. East Asia started with the assumption that it would have to export—and export big-time—if only because its resources were thin and scarce.

The goal was not to forge a new economic path; the goal was simply to catch up. The global north believed it possessed the secret sauce to running an efficient, growing, and innovative technological frontier economy, but there is no *a priori* reason to think that the economic organization best suited to inventing the industrial future should be the same as the one best suited to catching up to a known target.

The king of England did not call a meeting of barons, bishops, bankers, and a few mechanics and say, "Let's have an Industrial Revolution." But that is pretty much what Japan did at the beginning of the long twentieth century with its reforms under the Meiji Restoration. This strategy succeeded. And Japan then provided a model for how its ex-colonies, South Korea and Taiwan, should attempt to play catch-up under their dictators (Park Chung-Hee and Chiang Kai-shek, respectively), which then provided models for Malaysia, Thailand, and others. The verdict is very clear: for catch-up development, whatever it is that the "Pacific Rim development model" is, it works.

What defines this model? First, trade, but managed trade. Undervalue the exchange rate, so that you can export manufactures that are not, initially at least, up to global-north quality standards. And then channel subsidies to companies that have successfully exported—the ones to which global-north middle-class consumers award the prizes. Those same Japanese firms that were protected against imports from abroad were, in international markets, forced to hone their competitive abilities and match international standards of innovation, quality, and price. Very patient cheap capital helped. And by

the 1980s it was clear that protectionism had yielded incredible results. Indeed, something remarkable was going on with Kawasaki and Nippon in steel; Toyota, Nissan, and Honda in automobiles; eventually Bridgestone in tires; Komatsu in construction equipment; and Toshiba, Matsushita (Panasonic), and Nikon, Fujitsu, Sharp, Sony, and Canon in electronics.

In Latin America, an overvalued exchange rate would see a lot of society's wealth spent on the purchase of foreign luxuries, as the upper class preferred to live well rather than channel its resources into national development. In these instances, the strategy that Latin American leaders chose was to use high tariffs and nontariff barriers to restrict imports of intermediate goods and capital machines needed, at a heavy cost to production and for economic development.

But back to Japan: Add a high rate of savings, sustained year after year, coming from an equal post-land-reform income distribution and channels—such as a postal savings system, where post offices across the country were used as consumer banks with the ability to accept deposits, make loans, and provide a variety of other financial services—that made savings easy, in an environment where people could be confident that their savings would not disappear. Ensure that the sellers of machines to the firms that took out loans from these banks charged low prices—so that buyers did not have to pay high prices to domestic machine producers, or higher prices to those lucky enough, and politically well-connected enough, to have scrounged scarce import licenses, and so had foreign-made machines to sell. Tilt the economy's price structure so that machines that embodied modern technological knowledge were cheap and foreign-made and luxurious consumption goods were expensive.

Taking these steps would mean, of course, heavy, hidden taxes on labor, and especially on skilled labor. They would also mean financial repression relative to what “free-market” prices would have been: squeezing returns to savers, and shifting those returns to the industrial companies that accessed the savings, and to those who ended up owning them. And they would mean export surpluses via undervalued exchange rates—subsidies relative to Smithian prices to foreigners who purchased the exports—in the hope that the human- and organizational-capital gains, via learning by doing from producing exports successfully, would outweigh the cost of the implicit subsidies.

The lesson of history throughout the Pacific Rim is that as long as exports earn enough dollars for domestic businesses to obtain access to the global-north-produced machines they need, and the global-north-invented technologies they embody, and as long as the machines go to firms that are efficient and effective, this formula enables a country to advance.

And this is why it is important that subsidies go to companies that successfully export—pass a market-efficiency test, albeit a market-efficiency test applied not in some home free-market economy but among the import-purchasing middle classes of the global north.

Ultimately, the East Asian developmental model is predicated on other nations—cough, the United States of America—being able to absorb exports and run trade deficits because they are operating on a different, open economy model. Could the United States have absorbed everyone's exports, had everyone attempted this? No. The model could only ever have worked for a small handful of countries.

Yet it did work. Consider South Korea, now home to one of the two most efficient high-tech microprocessor-building factory complexes of the world, Samsung. As noted above, no one watching South Korea in the 1950s anticipated that it would become one of the world's fastest-growing economies. At the time, it had just been devastated by a bitter war, during which its capital and major industrial center, Seoul, had changed hands four times. Its savings rate was low. Its exports were low. More than half of its imports in the late 1950s were paid for by US assistance, either in the form of foreign aid or expenditures to support the US military presence in South Korea.

The government of President Syngman Rhee in 1948–1960 sought to control the flow of foreign affairs and imports. It overvalued Korea's currency (so as to charge the United States as much as possible for support of its military), imposed high tariffs, and implemented stringent quantitative import restrictions. The results were slow and erratic growth and continued dependence on the United States. With the takeover of the government by Park Chung-Hee in 1961, everything changed. Park was brutal (although not extraordinarily so by the standards of the twentieth century) but remarkably effective. The shift of Korea's development strategy from one of import substitution to one of export-led industrialization was very rapid. The consequences were astounding. Exports grew from 3 percent of GDP to

40 percent of GDP. The growth rate of income per capita averaged more than 7 percent of GDP for the three decades after 1960.

Even where rapid growth would seem to have been swimming against the regional political-economic tide, it was possible. The shining beacon is Botswana, with an annual real income per capita estimated at \$900 in 1960 and \$14,000 in 2010. Then it had the highest Human Development Index in sub-Saharan Africa, despite being landlocked, despite being severely affected by HIV/AIDS, and despite being in a regional neighborhood that has done very poorly in terms of economic growth.²⁰ Its neighbor Zambia's income per capita went from \$2,800 in 1960 to \$3,500 in 2010, from three times Botswana's to one-fourth of Botswana's. In Botswana, an independent and uncorrupt judicial system, a lack of tariffs on machinery imports (to encourage technology transfer), a banking system that encouraged savings, and a policy of plowing back government revenues into infrastructure investment all helped. So did the luck and the skill of the Tswana chiefs in the late 1800s in managing to guide the British Empire into ruling with a very light hand, which made postindependence state-building very easy. And the fact that Botswana's population was about 80 percent Tswana, as was the leader of the independence movement and the first president of independent Botswana (1966–1980), Seretse Khama, *kgosi* ("king" or "chief") of the Ngwato, one of the eight principal Tswana chieftaincies. Not to mention that Botswana negotiated a 50 percent ownership interest in the country's De Beers mining subsidiary, plus a 15 percent ownership stake in the overall De Beers corporation. Any country, anywhere, could have done it if Botswana could.

RECALL ROBERT ALLEN'S CHECKLIST for successful development: promote markets, build railroads and canals and ports, charter banks, teach children, teach engineers, impose tariffs on commodities, and nurture the creation of communities of engineering practice. Finally, once all those conditions are met, provide, from somewhere, a Big Push, to create expectations that there will be growth. The Pacific Rim added its own special sauces—but nevertheless, the key gap between the Pacific Rim and the rest of the global south was due to its successful implementation of the obvious. Carl von Clausewitz wrote, famously, about war: "Everything is

very simple in war, but the simplest thing is difficult. These difficulties accumulate and produce a friction, which no man can imagine exactly who has not seen it.”²¹ The same has held true of economic development nearly everywhere in the global south.

Moreover, the logic of politics is that of favors performed, wealth redistributed, influence exercised, and taxes collected. That is very different from the logic of economic growth. A state that is still emerging and establishing itself cannot successfully midwife economic development. Only a state that is limited in the amount of damage it can do to the economy, or a state that is secure enough, independent enough, and committed enough to rapid economic growth, can avoid these political survival traps. Therefore, what is needed is either a stringently limited government—one incapable of redistributing resources to favored clients because its economy is so integrated into the global economy and so governed by its norms, laws, and treaties—or a functioning developmental state. Either “neoliberal”-style international market-led development or Pacific Rim-style governance and growth. And attempting the latter is very risky. As economist Lant Pritchett likes to say, “There are few things in the world that are worse than state-led development led by an anti-development state.”²²

That was what too many postindependence Asian and African states, and too many post–World War II Latin American states, turned out to be.

So suppose that a global-south economy does not want to risk trying, and failing, to follow the Pacific Rim model. Is there another approach it could follow? What if you simply cannot create a government bureaucracy whose first goal is development?

For many what remains as the only viable option—and this is a counsel of despair—is “neoliberalism.” What this means in practice is less clear than what it means in desired consequence: the goal, at least, is to insulate the economy from the (semi-predatory) government, so that the government’s attempts to tilt the distribution of income in favor of the politically powerful are relatively ineffective and so do little harm. Starting in the 1980s, hopes for development did indeed shift in the direction of this “neoliberalism.” Because it seemed like the state’s interventions were more likely to be destructive than constructive, people who thought themselves wise deemed it better to try to limit the state’s involvement in the process of

development. Rely instead, they advised, on the world market as a source of demand, and on the requirements for integration into the world market as a source of good-enough governance.

These pressures, taking the post–World War II period as a whole, at least, have been strong enough to counteract the natural tendency for poor countries to learn rapidly about technology and catch up to rich ones. There is no clear reason on the horizon for these pressures to diminish. Optimists hope that the record of economic failure provided by much third world experience in the past generation will lead to the creation of intellectual pressures for reform strong enough to overcome the bias for stagnation. And if ideas truly are the decisive forces making history in the long run, perhaps the optimists are right.

If the optimists are wrong, then we are all in big trouble. Successful handling of global warming and other future global environmental problems, and successful long-run stabilization of human populations, hinges on successful industrialization in the global south and their consequent—rapid—passage through the demographic transition, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and in much of the Islamic world, where it is currently semistalled. “Neoliberalism” in the global south has thus been the strategy of pessimistic optimists. Having grown pessimistic about the ability of developing states to attain enough security, stability, and independence to pursue economic growth, they optimistically expect evidence of economic failure to generate ideas, constituencies, and pressures that will reform states toward economic growth. Pessimism in the short run—but optimism in the long.

13

Inclusion

As we have seen, in the years before the beginning of the long twentieth century, from roughly 1800 to 1870, new developments in technology and organization seemed to be opening the door to a better world, one in which humanity would not be kept desperately poor by the Malthusian trap. As the long twentieth century began, humanity started to walk through that door, along the path to the utopia beyond. But in the following years, 1914–1949 or so, the utopia beyond the door proved elusive as humanity grappled with a world war, a major depression, and another world war. There were also civil and revolutionary wars—and the last of these, China's, which did not come to an end until 1949, brought with it a famine in which between fifty million and one hundred million people died throughout the country. Technology and organization, rather than acting as forces to free and enrich, were increasingly used to kill and oppress.

If one looked only at the ideological challenges, the political mechanisms, and the dilemmas of growth and distribution during this period, one would not have found much of a basis for optimism in the immediate aftermath of World War II.

And yet, after World War II, the world, or at least the global north, picked up its mat and walked—nay, ran—forward toward true utopia. High taxes to fight wars had fallen most heavily upon the rich, who had also seen their wealth substantially reduced by the Great Depression. In the United States, an enormous demand for workers to build capacity for the war had driven up wages—and compressed them, too. The wages of the “unskilled” rose more than the wages of the “skilled,” both because the War Labor

Board decreed it so and because those running the factories were under immense pressure to get the job done, and it turned out to be not that difficult to teach skills if you really needed to. And in the aftermath of World War II, strong unions everywhere made it economically risky for bosses to claim or boards to approve extraordinary compensation packages for high executives. Growth was faster than ever before, unemployment was low, incomes were not too unequally distributed—at least if you were a white guy who had been born in the United States or some other country of the global north—and the boom-bust business cycle was very moderate. It was closer to material utopia for white guys in the global north than ever before, and rapidly getting closer still.

But still, this was only true for white guys. For everyone else? In most places, for most people, it's true that things were better than in the times of their predecessors. As the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe wrote, putting himself in the place of his colonized Igbo ancestors, “The white man had indeed brought a lunatic religion, but he had also built a trading store and for the first time palm-oil and kernel became things of great price, and much money flowed into Umoafia.”¹ But close to utopia? Not so much. And yet, although huge gaps remained between the white guys who were full citizens of the global north and other guys who were not, the derivative was in the right direction: things did get somewhat better for those who were not.

W. Arthur Lewis was born on the British-ruled island of Saint Lucia in 1915. He was a gifted student who finished high school at the age of fourteen. He wanted to become an engineer, but, as he later wrote, “This seemed pointless since neither the government nor the white firms would employ a black engineer.”² He decided to go into business administration and won a scholarship that enabled him to become the first African-heritage student at the London School of Economics in 1933. The economists at the LSE recognized immense talent. In 1953 he was promoted to full professor at the University of Manchester and was considered perhaps the leading development economist in the world. In 1959 he was appointed vice chancellor of the University of the West Indies and returned to the Americas. But Lewis did not see his success as in any way validating the system. He was a strident advocate for reparations and always sought to bring the issue of “underdevelopment” to the forefront. Underdevelopment,

he said, was not a lack of economic change but rather a form of economic change—one imposed on the global south by how the market economy had globalized.³

For a long, long time, reaching back into human history, it was the case that a person could have social power only if he was male, and even then only if he was special—from the right tribe, the right caste, the right lineage, or the right social order, or had enough property, or enough education. This was how people expected it would always be—unless, as Aristotle theorized, humans obtained the fantasy technologies of the Golden Age, by which he meant something akin to utopia. To quote Aristotle, “Chief workmen would not want servants, nor masters slaves,” once “every instrument could accomplish its own work, obeying or anticipating the will of others, like the [blacksmithing] statues of Daidalos, or the three-wheeled catering serving-carts of Hephaistos.”⁴ Until then, Malthusian demographic pressure along with an anemic pace of invention would keep productivity low. If some were to have the leisure to, as John Adams put it, study philosophy, painting, poetry, and music, others—most—would have to be degraded and deprived of social power, and a good chunk of what they produced would be taken from them.

Gross inequality did not mean that status was fixed across generations. For much of Agrarian Age history, in many places, such status was malleable: you or your father could change it—if you were or he was lucky. The centurion stops, turns to the tribune, and says, “This man is a Roman citizen,” and the beating that Saint Paul is about to receive is immediately prevented—never mind that he has citizenship because his father did some favor for or paid some bribe to a Roman magistrate, and that none of his ancestors had ever seen Rome.

As time passed, and the Imperial-Commercial Age progressed, Europe increasingly chose violence: the Atlantic slave trade grew, and perhaps seventeen million people were kidnapped from Africa and brought to the Americas to be enslaved and, mostly, to be worked to death or near death. We think life expectancy for a Black slave in the Caribbean before 1800 was perhaps seven years once they arrived and were put to work. Guilt grew in Europe: this was a crime—a very profitable crime—unless there was some reason that Africans *deserved* to be enslaved. W. E. B. Du Bois lamented this history in his 1910 essay “The Souls of White Folk”:

The discovery of personal whiteness among the world's peoples is a very modern thing.... Even the sweeter souls of the dominant world as they discourse with me... are continually playing above their actual words an obligato of tune and tone, saying:

"My poor, un-white thing! Weep not nor rage. I know, too well, that the curse of God lies heavy on you. Why? That is not for me to say, but be brave! Do your work in your lowly sphere, praying the good Lord that into heaven above, where all is love, you may, one day, be born—white!"⁵

As a matter of genetic fact, the overwhelming bulk of the human race's genes passed through a very narrow bottleneck some 75,000 years ago, so much so that the overwhelming bulk of us receive the overwhelming bulk of our genes from a few thousands alive then.⁶ They are all of our great-(multiply that word by 3,000) grandparents. Do the math, and discover that the number of slots in each of our family trees divided by the number of ancestral people alive back then is a number that begins 153,778,990,270 and then continues with another 888 digits, approximately 1.5×10^{99} . The average person alive 75,000 years ago who is among our collective ancestors—who has any living descendants today—thus fills not only more slots in that generation of each of our ancestral family trees than there are particles in the universe but more than there are particles in a billion billion universes. Which means that if a human from 75,000 years ago has living descendants today, the odds are overwhelming that we are all descended from that individual, and descended through myriads upon myriads upon myriads of lines. Thus all humans are close cousins: there is reputed to be more genetic variation in a typical baboon troop than in the entire human race.

Yes, humans have coevolved with culture and geography. Those of us whose ancestors moved far from the equator are descended only from those among the migrants who developed mutations disrupting their melanin-production genes so that enough sunlight could get through the outer layers of the skin to turn cholesterol into Vitamin D. It looks as though lactose tolerance has evolved six times in the past 6,000 years. Yes, we wish right now that whatever founder effects produced Tay-Sachs disease had not

occurred.

Some believe that there are important genetic differences between the sociological group divisions that we draw between different groups of our very close cousins—and that these differences explain other differences in social, political, cultural, and, yes, economic outcomes among genders and ethnicities. As the right-wing economist Thomas Sowell pointed out long ago, to no effect in the corridors of the Hoover Institution, “Progressive” Anglo-Saxons in 1900 thought it was extremely important to restrict immigration to keep the feeble-minded Jews of Eastern Europe from coming to America.⁷

It is exhausting, indeed debasing, to many, to have to expend effort refuting claims that, for example, Black Americans living in relative poverty today face those circumstances because, as a group, they have inherited genes for dumbness. As a rule, those who are “just asking questions” are not doing so because they wish to learn about inheritance, population genetics, and the intergenerational transmission of inequality. Perversely, any effort to rebut such claims tends to trigger a “where there is smoke, there must be fire” reaction, rather than exposing the emptiness of the idea. It is a hard problem, how to conduct rational public discourse in a twenty-first century in which communications channels such as Facebook and Twitter are run by those whose business model it is to scare and outrage their readers in order to glue their eyeballs to a screen so they can then be sold fake diabetes cures and cryptocurrencies.⁸

Perhaps these views are so persistent because they have such deep roots in US history. Abraham Lincoln—a politician and statesman much more committed to the dignity of labor and to the equality of humanity than most—spoke to the issue in an 1858 campaign speech: “I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.”⁹

As a matter of economic history, this meant that after World War II, when the global north picked up its mat and ran toward utopia, white men were given a vast head start vis-à-vis all other men and all women. But, for

Lincoln, full-throated assertions that he meant to protect white supremacy were, in context, more anticipatory concessive throat clearing than a line in the sand. They were the lead-up to a “but.” The core meaning of his speech came later, after the “but.” In Lincoln’s view, Black Americans deserved—and more importantly, had inalienable rights to—a much better deal than they were getting: “There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.... In the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man.”¹⁰ The record then shows that from the white audience of the citizens of Illinois who were seeking entertainment and information about their state’s Senate race on that summer Saturday afternoon, there came “Great Applause.”

Whatever inequalities might exist in society, the right for you to make somebody else your slave was not one of them, Lincoln was saying. You only had a right to eat what you had earned by the work of your hands. That was part of your rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To keep others from taking the bread that you had earned was the point of government. Moreover, any such government was legitimate only through your consent.

That was the theory. But, as Martin Luther King Jr. would later put it in his famous 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech, the writers of the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution had signed a “promissory note” to Black Americans that was still in arrears then, and is still in arrears today.¹¹ Think of it: one-half of US states currently have election laws crafted to diminish the voting power of Black people and to make it disproportionately burdensome and inconvenient for them to exercise their franchise. And, no, you cannot make a society that keeps Blacks poor and enact policies that make them prefer to vote for Democratic candidates and then claim that there is no racial animus in the disparate impact of vote suppression.¹²

Nevertheless, Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation was a mighty blow that made visible a glacial creep toward what we now call “inclusion.” And throughout the long twentieth century, things have at least started to change. As the century advanced, being a male and being of the right tribe, the right

caste, the right lineage, or a member of the right social order became less and less essential for social power.

But having property and education (and the right amounts and kinds of both) remained crucial. Where a person was born continued to be decisive in shaping what their opportunities would be. Throughout the long twentieth century, in other words, “inclusion” continued to be more goal than reality.

In the long twentieth century’s social movement toward inclusion, the United States was once more, to a substantial degree, the furnace where the future was being forged. It was not that the United States did better than other countries. But the combination of its global hegemonic power and the larger gap between its aspirations and its reality generated a great deal of high-tension energy. Or so it had been since the United States decided that it would be defined by Thomas Jefferson’s declaration—that “all men are created equal” and “endowed... with certain unalienable Rights”—rather than Roger B. Taney’s—that Black people were “so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.”¹³

AT THE END OF World War II, all indications were that a combination of de jure and de facto discrimination against Black Americans would continue indefinitely to prevent them from attaining education, climbing out of poverty, and building wealth. The economist and sociologist Gunnar Myrdal entitled his 1944 book on race and America *An American Dilemma*—the dilemma being the inconsistency between an “American creed” of equality of opportunity and the actual position of Blacks in America. There seemed to be no reason why the country could not live with this dilemma indefinitely.

The Republican Party retained a vestigial commitment to Black uplift as part of its belief in “free labor.” But the American aspiration to equality managed to coexist with official state-sanctioned discrimination and disenfranchisement for another full century after the Emancipation Proclamation. In the South, Black disenfranchisement was settled policy, overwhelmingly popular among whites. Eight Blacks from the South served in Congress between 1875 and 1877, but then there would be no southern Black representatives from 1901 to 1973, when Barbara Jordan from Texas

and Andrew Young from Georgia took office.

In the North, up until the beginning of the first Great Migration in the 1910s, there were too few Blacks in the population for the election of a Black representative to be likely, and so there were none. Even after the migration was underway, there were very few Black congressmen from the North. Indeed, the first northern Black congressman did not take office until 1929, when a Republican, Oscar Stanton De Priest, was elected from a majority-minority district in Southside Chicago. A second Black congressman, Adam Clayton Powell Jr. from Harlem, took office in 1945. Then came Charles Diggs from Michigan in 1955, Robert Nix from Pennsylvania in 1959, Augustus Hawkins from California in 1963, and John Conyers from Michigan in 1965. In short, there were only four Black congressmen, all Democrats, in the last Congress before the passage of the landmark 1965 Voting Rights Act, which finally provided a meaningful set of protections for Black voters.

And yet, today, nearly half of the states have voting restrictions targeted at reducing the share of Black votes. A majority of US Supreme Court justices pretend to believe that these are partisan restrictions imposed by Republican Party legislators to give them an edge over the Democratic Party in the next election, rather than racist restrictions to keep Black men and women down. But considering the ugly reality of American political history even in the later decades of the long twentieth century, this is not that surprising; this was a time, after all, when a Republican Party standard-bearer (Ronald Reagan) referred to diplomats from Tanzania as “monkeys from those African countries,” and an economic policy standard-bearer (the University of Chicago’s George Stigler) damned Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders for their “growing insolence.”¹⁴ Plus there is the question that Republican-appointed Supreme Court justices do not ask: If a political party goes all-in to attract bigots, is it then unbigoted to attempt to suppress the votes of those who are repelled by that political strategy?

What is a political party that seeks to widen and reinforce hierarchies and differentials of wealth and income to do in a democracy?¹⁵ It needs to provide at least some potential majority with reasons to vote for it. Such a party can claim that it is superior at generating economic growth: that although it will give you a smaller piece of the economic pie, the pie will be bigger by more than enough to compensate. Sometimes this approach can

lead to good governance, particularly in the context of a two-party system in which power alternates as median voters swing back and forth between the priorities of delivering faster growth and providing fairer distributions and less insecurity. But eventually, it requires more than just saying that the conservative policies will grow the economic pie faster—it requires actually delivering on that promise.

Failing that, the party can seek to make economic cleavages and inequalities of wealth less salient. That requires making other issues more salient: in other words, highlighting non-economic political cleavages and exploiting them. It can play the nationalism card: the nation is in danger, under threat, and since defense is more important than opulence, you cannot afford to vote for your lunch-pail interests. Or it can find some enemy not external but internal, against whom a majority of the electorate can be rallied. And since the founding of the United States, political parties have found that the most effective way to deploy this strategy has been to declare rhetorical (and often all-too-deadly real) war against its Black population. Note that it is not always the Republicans—it was, up until the 1940s, the Democrats. Back then, with respect to the American creed of equality of opportunity, the Democrats had an edge on the equality part *among white men*, and the Republicans on the opportunity part. But a large part of making white men feel equal to each other was making them feel superior to Black men.¹⁶ And so a large chunk of the appeal of the Democratic piece of America’s “Progressive” moment was its white supremacy.

The damage done during the Progressive Era by the rollback of freedoms for Black Americans has often been underestimated. Emancipation was followed by Reconstruction, which was then rolled back, and that political-economic-societal equilibrium was then further rolled back by Jim Crow, which devastated the then rising Black middle class.

As of 1940, the average Black worker in the United States had three fewer years of education than the average white worker. A substantial majority of white Americans approved of discrimination—in employment, in housing, in education, and in voting. Black men were concentrated in unskilled agricultural labor, primarily in the low-productivity and low-income South; Black women were concentrated in unskilled agriculture and in domestic service. Both were extremely low-paid occupations: Black men and women earned an average weekly wage some 45 percent that of their

white counterparts. Black male college graduates earned some \$280 a week (in today's dollars); white high school graduates earned some \$560 a week. In 1940, some 48 percent of white families fell below today's "poverty line" according to official statistics; meanwhile, some 81 percent of Black families were in poverty.

These disparities, along with a wide variety of other factors, converged to keep Black men and women subordinate. By the later decades of the long twentieth century much had changed. Virtually all whites publicly espoused the principle of equal employment opportunity for Black Americans. Educational attainment by race was almost identical for those finishing school in the late 1980s and 1990s. Black men's average weekly wages were two-thirds those of whites; Black women's average weekly wages were more than 95 percent those of white women's wages, on average.

It is impossible not to credit the change to the wise leadership and skillful use of moral force by the Black community. Civil rights leaders played a weak hand with immense skill and patience and achieved extraordinary long-run success. They are among the greatest of the heroes of the long twentieth century.

Three factors in particular played a major role in bringing about the gains that were realized between 1940 and 1970: the end of formal, legal, state-sanctioned discrimination; the migration of Black Americans from the rural South to the urban North during the Second Great Migration; and the associated shift from low-paid, low-skill agricultural employment to industrial and service industries. The period was accompanied by large increases in the educational levels attained by Black Americans and high rates of employment and productivity growth in the rest of the economy. A fourth very significant factor came in 1964, when Title VII of the Civil Rights Act made employment discrimination illegal. There is every reason to think that without it the economic advancement of Black Americans would have been considerably slower.

If the period from 1940 to 1970 was one of substantial relative advance, the picture after 1970 was more mixed. By the end of the 1980s, at least one in five Black men between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-four in the United States were reporting no annual earnings at all. And even today, real per capita family income for Black Americans is still only some 60 percent of what it is for whites: almost exactly what it had been at the end of the

1960s. The majority of white Americans believe there is no more personal racism—that white animus against Blacks was a thing in previous generations but is no longer. And yet what keeps the relative incomes of Blacks so far down, except for racism? Much of this racism, indeed, is now recognized as “structural racism”: the frictions, institutions, and legacies of the past in their current shape of wealth and social network access performing the functions that personal racial animus used to perform.

Most important in stalling progress toward economic equality for Black people, in my judgment, was a general, economy-wide factor: the growth in income inequality as employers’ relative demands for less-skilled and less-educated workers diminished. Also important were changes in family structure: a rise in divorce, a rise in births outside of marriage, and the consequent rise in single-parent households (almost inevitably female headed). By the later decades of the twentieth century, the poverty rate for two-parent Black families with children was 12.5 percent. The poverty rate for single-parent Black families with children was 40 percent. And a full half of Black children spent at least half their childhood below the poverty line.

The right-wing explanation for the decline in the number of Black two-parent families—the explanation provided by the likes of Charles Murray¹⁷ and George Gilder¹⁸—was that more generous welfare payments triggered a collapse by disincentivizing work and removing the material economic benefits of keeping adult couples together. The seminal work out of which Murray and Gilder and similar thinkers constructed their interpretation was a mid-1960s document written by a Johnson administration policy maker, Daniel Patrick Moynihan. But Moynihan’s *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* was shaped in part by his own tendency to look inward rather than outward, by memories of his own Irish American family dynamics under material pressure. It was more his own personal psychodrama than an analysis of the circumstances facing Black families. He did see powerful parallels between his own experience and what he imagined to be the experience of Black children growing up in dire circumstances—parallels that he felt called for a national commitment, so that in America’s future no child would have to grow up as he had, running with gangs in Hell’s Kitchen, Manhattan, or as he saw so many Black children growing up in the 1960s.¹⁹

Indeed, it is hard to escape the conclusion that Murray and Gilder simply had not done their arithmetic. Welfare and food stamp payments for a mother with three children rose by one-third between 1960 and 1970, but then declined. By the mid-1990s, welfare payments were lower in inflation-adjusted terms than they had been in 1960; real wages were some one-third higher—some 50 percent higher for Black males. Maintaining a two-parent household was, in material terms, a much more advantageous option in the 1990s relative to splitting up and collecting welfare than it had been in the 1950s and 1960s.

A better explanation was that Black families were caught in the backwash of broader, society-wide changes—but were especially vulnerable to them. The tide of inclusion may have carried with it a declining significance of *race*, but the post-1980 future was to bring with it a rising significance of *class* in the coming of a Second Gilded Age, and an explosion of income and wealth inequality even among white guys. To a degree, for Black Americans, the gains in social inclusion came not just too little but at least half a generation too late.

LET US RETURN, FOR a moment, to the immediate post–World War II period. Again, growth was faster than ever before, unemployment was low, incomes were not too unequally distributed—at least if you were a white guy in the global north—and the boom-bust business cycle was very moderate. It was closer to material utopia for white guys than ever before, and rapidly getting closer still. But what about the women?

Plato’s Socrates, in the *Republic*, posited that there would be women among the ideal city’s Guardians, for the souls of men and women were fundamentally the same. Writing a generation after that, in 340 BCE or so, his pupil Aristotle begged to differ—he thought there were significant differences:

Although there may be exceptions to the order of nature, the male is by nature fitter for command than the female, just as the elder and full-grown is superior to the younger and more immature.... The relation of the male to the female is of this kind, but there the inequality is permanent.... The slave has no deliberative faculty at

all; the woman has, but it is without authority.... The courage and justice of a man and of a woman, are not, as Socrates maintained, the same; the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying.²⁰

We do need to look at the bigger picture. Why male supremacy became so firmly established millennia ago, back in the Agrarian Age, is not obvious. Yes, it was of the utmost importance to have surviving descendants so that someone would be there to take care of you in your old age. Yes, in order to maximize their chances of having surviving descendants to take care of them, it was important for men and women to have a lot of children. Thus the typical woman spent twenty years eating for two: pregnant and breastfeeding. And yes, eating for two is an enormous energy drain, especially in populations near subsistence level (and Agrarian Age populations were near subsistence level). Yes, breastfeeding required women to remain physically close to their children, and this helped enforce a concentration of female labor on activities that made it easy to do so: gardening and other forms of within-and-near-the-dwelling labor, especially textiles.

But, even given all that, men did derive tangible benefits from further oppressing women far above what one might argue were the limitations imposed by necessity in the form of mammalian biology under Malthusian conditions—especially if women could be convinced that they deserved it: “Unto the woman he said, ‘I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband; and he shall rule over thee.’”

But for how long this high patriarchy has been a major piece of human culture is not something that we know. There are at least some signs in our genes of a big change about five thousand years ago: a sudden drop in humanity’s “effective” male population—that is, the number of men living then who have descendants now. There was no such drop in humanity’s “effective” female population. About five thousand years ago, even as nearly all women who survived past menarche had children, a substantial proportion of men who survived past puberty did not.²¹ How much societal pressure was required for it to become more or less the rule for women to

share husbands, or to accept a much older one, and for a substantial proportion of men to remain unmarried? What institutions applied this pressure, and how? About three thousand years ago the situation rebalanced: one-to-one in the household again became dominant. Was the origin of high patriarchy responsible for this rebalancing? Is this what we see in Aristotle's statement that "the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying"? (Do note that Aristotle maintains this conviction over strong disagreement from Socrates—and Plato—for whom the souls of men and women were fundamentally the same.) Or was it present in human societies before?

If I were female, would I see the remarkable change in the position of women as central to history? Would I see the shift from a typical experience in those ancient times—of eight or more pregnancies, twenty years of eating for two, and a one-in-seven chance of dying in childbirth—to the modern experience of one or two pregnancies—along with a much reduced chance of dying in childbirth, depending on where you live—as one of the biggest changes? Is the rise of feminism the biggest news of the long twentieth century? Will historians a thousand or so years hence see it as more consequential than—although interlinked with—the end of Malthusian poverty?

Let us jump back in time for a moment. In 1900, in the United States, paid male workers outnumbered paid female workers by a margin of about four to one. The imbalance was perhaps not quite that high—census procedures undercounted the number of women whose work products were in fact sold on the market, and economists' measures have traditionally undervalued within-the-household production. Nevertheless, the difference was striking. By the end of the century, however, the paid labor force was nearly half female.²²

In 1900, the bulk of female workers in the census-counted, formally paid segment of the labor force were unmarried. Some 43.5 percent of single women fifteen years old and up were in the officially counted labor force—41.5 percent of white and 60.5 percent of nonwhite women. By contrast, only 3.2 percent of married white women (and 26 percent of married nonwhite women, for a national average of 5.6 percent) participated in the labor force. In 1920 only 4 percent of married white women around the age of thirty worked; by 1980 nearly 60 percent of married white women near

thirty worked. Labor force participation by married nonwhite women near thirty rose less, but from a higher base and to a greater level: from approximately 33 percent in 1920 to 72 percent by 1980.

But this gives us an incomplete picture. Consider, for instance, the difference between women born around 1920 and those born around 1960. The earlier cohort reached adulthood around 1940 and were sixty years old in 1980. The labor force participation rate of those who were married rose from roughly 15 percent when they were twenty to approximately 45 percent when they were fifty. Women born forty years later, around 1960, already had a 60 percent labor participation rate (among those who were married) when they were twenty—and every sign is that married women's labor force participation rises with age.

However, the large increase in female labor force participation over the course of the twentieth century, while encouraging, was not accompanied by any rapid closing of the earnings gap between male and female workers. Although various sources report substantial rises in female-relative-to-male wages over the course of the nineteenth century, and some continued gains up until 1930, for most of the twentieth century female wages remained roughly 60 percent of male wages.

One reason female relative earnings failed to rise throughout the middle years of the twentieth century is the rapidity with which women expanded into the labor force. This rapid expansion in labor force participation meant that at any moment a relatively low share of the female labor force had a high level of experience. And because firms pay more for experienced workers—both because experienced workers are more productive and because the promise of regular pay increases along a well-established career track can serve as a powerful way to motivate employees—that relative lack of experience kept women's relative wages low.

A second factor keeping relative female earnings low was the persistence of occupational segregation by sex. Between 1900 and 1960, roughly two-thirds of the female labor force would have had to change occupations in order to produce the same distribution across occupations as the male labor force. Occupational segregation has fallen somewhat since the end of the 1960s, but it is still the case that women are concentrated in occupations that are relatively low paid.

A third factor keeping women's relative earnings low has been their

inability to attain the qualifications that employers value. Women back at the start of the twentieth century had little opportunity for formal education. Nor did they have, for the most part, opportunities to gain economically valuable skills through informal education and on-the-job training. By and large, women were employed only in tasks that were relatively easily and quickly learned, and in which the benefits of experience on productivity were slim. The economist Claudia Goldin has estimated that if we compensate for all three factors, we will see that the gap between what women and men with similar experience and education were paid at the start of the twenty-first century was relatively small.

Today the pay gap is less attributable to differences in women's and men's experience, education, and other job-relevant characteristics than to what is apparently simply wage discrimination: paying women less than men because they are women. Goldin traced the emergence of such wage discrimination to the development of the large modern firm, with its personnel department. Before the development of the large, bureaucratic firm, the market provided substantial insulation against discrimination to women. With many small employers, should any one firm begin to discriminate—to pay women less than men for the same work—women would have the opportunity to vote with their feet for some other, less discriminatory employer.

As Goldin wrote, once firms had established personnel departments with centralized human resource policies, they discovered that many women would not remain on the job long enough to take advantage of the regular wage increases that come with efficient, strong performance and loyalty to the firm. Then why reward the atypical woman who did remain on the job with those increases? This is not to say that all pay discrimination has been in service of firms' profit maximizing. Naked prejudice certainly played a role—prejudice on the part of male workers, employers, and customers. Male workers, for example, fearing competition, tried to bar women from their occupations.

From today's perspective, the most surprising thing about the transformation of the role of women in the economy is how long it took. This despite the fact that after World War II, the birth rate had fallen; a large clerical and retail sector, in which physical strength was completely irrelevant, had emerged; and female education had taken hold. Barriers to

women's employment persisted, such as jobs that assumed workers must work full time; pervasive discrimination; social attitudes that deemed certain occupations inappropriate for women; and personnel policies that restricted or even prohibited the employment of married women.

In the long run, it took action on the part of the federal government to erode the framework of restrictions and customs that kept women's economic roles from expanding. The action came in the form of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or *sex*. When the House Rules Committee chair during the debates over the bill, Howard Smith (D-VA), proposed the amendment adding "sex" to the list of protected categories, he was at least half-joking, and it was not liberal Democrats but southern Democrats and Republicans who approved it, 168–133. Courts decided that the "sex" part of the prohibition could not have been intended to stand on an equal footing with the others, and did not require that possible discrimination be scrutinized as strictly as in cases where race, color, or religion was at issue. Nevertheless, it was subject to more scrutiny than "here: we just thought up this reason." Thus the legal environment mattered.²³ And so Claudia Goldin could conclude her book on the gender gap by pointing to the possibility of a future near death of gender discrimination. Encouraged by "the convergence between men and women in the percentage graduating from college," she wrote that "we can forecast the future by observing the experiences of young cohorts today, and these experiences give us ample ground for optimism."²⁴

But surely, even in the Agrarian Age, a shift to a society with less male supremacy would have been a positive-sum change. Women as equal participants in society, rather than just chattels—classified as only a rung above slaves and cattle—could have done, and contributed, much more than they were able to do and contribute under the conditions of male supremacy that existed. Optimistic economists like me have a strong bias toward believing that people in groups will become more inclusive, will find ways to share, will become, collectively, more productive, and then will distribute the fruits of that productivity to make their social order more sustainable. Productivity depends on the division of labor. And if you invite more people into your tent, your division of labor can be finer and hence more productive. But apparently that is not how people saw it in the Agrarian

Age or for many years thereafter.

The underpinnings of male supremacy did begin to erode before 1870. But it was over the long twentieth century that these underpinnings dissolved more completely. Reductions in infant mortality, the advancing average age of marriage, and the increasing costs of child-rearing all contributed to a decrease in fertility. The number of years the typical woman spent eating for two fell from twenty down to four as better sanitation, much better nutrition, and more knowledge about disease made many pregnancies less necessary for leaving surviving descendants, and as birth control technology made it easier to plan families. And, after exploding in the Industrial Age, the rate of population growth in the industrial core slowed drastically. The population explosion turned out to be a relatively short-run thing. Humanity appears to be rapidly moving toward zero long-run population growth.

The path of within-the-household technological advance also worked to the benefit of the typical woman over the course of the long twentieth century: dishwashers, dryers, vacuum cleaners, improved chemical cleansing products, other electrical and natural gas appliances, and especially clothes-washing machines—all these made the tasks of keeping the household clean, ordered, and functioning much easier. Maintaining a high-fertility household in the nineteenth century was much more than a full-time job. Doing so in the late twentieth century could become more like a part-time job. Thus a great deal of female labor that had previously been tied to full-time work within the household could now be redirected to other purposes. And, as Betty Friedan wrote in the early 1960s, women who sought something like equal status could find it only if they found “identity... in work... for which, usually, our society pays.”²⁵ As long as women were confined to separate, domestic occupations that the market did not reward with cash, it was easy for men to denigrate and minimize their labor.

While it is undeniably true that the explosion of wealth begun in 1870 was a multiplier of this century’s brutal and barbaric tyrannies, two more enduring tyrannies—racism and sexism—gave ground, slowly, reluctantly, and partially. On the one hand, this progress, even if its speed was deliberate, raised the bar as to how fast humanity should be slouching toward utopia, and how much of a slowdown in progress would generate

strong calls for change. On the other hand, status in society is, if not zero-sum, close to zero-sum. How were those whose gender, ethnicity, and caste privileges were being eroded by the tide of inclusion to reconcile themselves with what was *dérogeance*? The answer, for the first post–World War II generation in the global north, was through unprecedented rapid income growth, opportunity, and upward mobility.

14

Thirty Glorious Years of Social Democracy

History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme—oddly. As of 1870, the then 1.3 billion people on earth had an average income of about \$1,300 of today's dollars per year. By 1938 the population had perhaps doubled from 1870, and the average income had grown a bit more than 2.5-fold. Things were much better. Before 1870, things had been rocky for the world. Remember John Stuart Mill's pessimism, let alone Karl Marx's, about how few of the potential gains from technological advance had been trickling down? Before 1938, things had been rocky for the world in World War I and then again in the Great Depression, and they were about to get rockier still. The world was about to fall into the immense destruction of World War II, along with its more than 50 million deaths, a devastating interruption of the slouching progress upward. Yet 1870–1914 also brought with it an extraordinary era of prosperity, a never-before-seen economic El Dorado, and 1938–1973—for the World War II mobilization brought a powerful spurt of growth to those countries lucky enough not to be battlefields, most notably the United States—was to bring with it another such glorious age.

Thus from 1938 to 1973 the world economy leaped ahead once again—and once again at an unprecedented pace. And the core of the global north, the countries we now call the G-7 (the United States, Canada, Japan, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy) raced forward: not at the 0.7 percent per year pace of 1913–1938, or even the 1.42 percent per year pace of 1870–1913, but—in spite of all the destruction wrought by World War II—at an average pace of 3 percent per year. That means the material wealth of

those countries was increasing fast enough to double every twenty-three years—in the space of less than a generation. The G-7 was thus three times as well-off in material terms by 1973 as it had been in 1938.

The poorest of them, Japan, grew the fastest: at a previously unseen rate of 4.7 percent per year—in spite of the extensive damage it sustained during the war, including the atomic bombs that incinerated two Japanese cities in 1945. Canada and Italy grew at rates of more than 3 percent per year. And the G-7 countries were not alone: Mexico, Spain, and many others achieved similar rates of growth.

The French call this period the Thirty Glorious Years: the *Trente Glorieuses*.¹ So much good luck in one package was unexpected. It is still to marvel at—if you are a political economist.

If you are a neoclassical economist, however, you shrug your shoulders. The market economy delivered, as it should, full employment, proper infrastructure, and protection of contracts and private property. Modern science delivered, too, in the form of a host of fundamental technological breakthroughs. Moreover, there was a large backlog of previous discoveries that had been left undeveloped and undeployed during the chaos of the Great Depression. So it was profitable for businesses to provide their industrial research labs with generous funding and then to deploy the labs' new innovations at scale. In doing so, companies were able to build their knowledge and pull previously untrained and unskilled workers from farms and craft workshops into “Fordist” assembly lines.² This was, for us neoclassical economists, the normal and natural way things work, or should work, in the Modern Economic Growth Age. Never mind that for economic progress to follow this natural course was, in the long twentieth century, unusual, to say the least.

It was, come to full life and power, Friedrich von Hayek’s positive vision of the power of the market. The market giveth, and giveth, and giveth yet more. There were those who questioned Hayek’s conclusions. The economist Herbert Simon liked to point out that what Hayek called a “market economy” was not a field of green market exchanges, in which were scattered red dots of small individual firms, but instead red areas of firm command-and-control organization connected by green lines of market exchange. Harvard economist Martin Weitzman liked to point out that there was no deep theoretical reason why providing the information that firms

needed via a price target—produce if you can make it for a fully amortized unit cost of less than \$X—should be more efficient than via a quantity target—produce Y units.³ But Hayek’s colleague Ronald Coase, at the University of Chicago, pointed out that one of the market economy’s great strengths was that it allowed firms to decide whether to use a bureaucratic command-and-control-style system or a system based on transaction costs (of buying and selling) to make decisions: the fact that firms could *choose* was key.⁴ Plus the fact that firms were always subject to the discipline of the marketplace, with those that lost money shrinking and vanishing in a way that state-run bureaucracies that lost money did not.⁵

But before Friedrich von Hayek’s word could become flesh, and dwell among us, there were three prerequisites. First, Hayek had to be divorced from theories and philosophies such as those of the novelist Ayn Rand. A functional market required *competition*—not monopolies bossed by technological and organizational visionaries.⁶

Second, Hayek had to be blessed by the ideas of John Maynard Keynes. The market economy could only work properly—could only direct resources to their “best” uses—if the spending was there to make enterprise profitable.

John Maynard Keynes had written in 1936, with more than a hint of sarcasm, that his proposals for the “enlargement of the functions of government” that were required in order to adjust “the propensity to consume and the inducement to invest” might seem “a terrific encroachment” on freedom “to a nineteenth-century publicist or... contemporary American financier.” But, in fact, they were “the condition of the successful functioning of individual initiative.” And “if effective demand is deficient,” he added, a businessperson was “operating with the odds loaded against him. The game of hazard which he plays is furnished with many zeros, so that the players as a whole will lose.” Only “exceptional skill or unusual good fortune” would then allow entrepreneurship and enterprise to be rewarded, and economic growth to continue. But with Keynes’s policies in place, “effective demand [would be] adequate, [and] average skill and average good fortune will be enough.” In the Thirty Glorious Years, wise business leaders recognized that Keynes and his full-employment policies were not their enemies but their best friends.⁷

Third, Friedrich von Hayek had to be married to Karl Polanyi. One of the foundation stones of Hayek's worldview was that the market economy was the only way to generate growth and prosperity, but that it could never, and should never, be asked to produce fairness and social justice. Fairness and social justice required distributing good things to people who had acted well and deserved them. The market economy distributed things to people lucky enough to control resources that produced things for which the rich had a serious jones.

In Polanyi's worldview, people and communities believed extremely strongly that they had the right to demand certain things—among them stable land-use patterns that they deemed fair, income levels commensurate with their effort and merit, and the ability to keep their jobs, or at least find new ones without too much trouble. But the market economy would deliver those essentials only if they passed a maximum-profitability test. Some violations of Polanyian rights could be overlooked if economic growth was fast enough: I am not getting the slice of the pie I deserve, but at least I am getting a bigger slice than my mother and father got. The fiscal dividend the government received from growing tax revenues could, in a time of rapid economic growth, allow the government to do something to protect and vindicate Polanyian rights as well. A social democratic government needed to enable the market economy in order to generate growth and prosperity. But it also needed to check the market and keep the “market economy” from turning into a “market society” that people might reject, a society where employment was not stable, incomes were not commensurate with what people deserved, and communities were being continually upended and transformed by market fluctuations.

It was a balancing act. In some sense, the balancing act was made more complex by the swiftness of the tide toward greater inclusion. On the one hand, the tide extended not just to gender, race, and ethnicity but also to class: it no longer made as much sense to working-class males that they were in their subordinate place for a good reason. On the other hand, they found themselves losing some part of the deference from others that they had taken as their due and that had softened the perceived slope of the class pyramid. Both of these factors magnified the chances that they would see violations of this expected order—of what they saw as what they deserved —large enough to become calls for action.

But rapid growth in incomes and perceived opportunities for yourself and your children made up for much of the disruption of whatever old-order patterns supported you in what you saw as your proper place in society, the place you thought you deserved. So the global north was able to keep the balance through the 1960s and into the 1970s. And by 1975, the deployed technological capability of humanity stood at nine times what it had been in 1870. The population explosion meant that there were then 4 billion people, compared to 1.3 billion in 1870. But that population explosion, and the pressure it placed on the resource base, merely meant that material productivity was only five times what it had been in 1870—and as of 1975 it was astonishingly unequally distributed across countries, and also unequally (although less so, markedly, than it had been over 1870–1930) distributed within countries.

Things had worked. The Great Depression, in the United States at least, had convinced many that these divorces and marriages had to happen. The Gilded Age oligarchy of the robber barons had failed, and had in fact brought on the Great Depression—how was not quite clear, but, as Franklin Roosevelt put it, there was near consensus that the oligarchs and the plutocratic financiers needed to be cast down “from their high seats in the temple of our civilization.”⁸ Competition needed to rule. The Great Depression had also convinced the private sector that it needed the help of an active government to manage the economy in order to attain at least an approximation of full employment. Perhaps, more importantly, the Depression convinced the middle class that it had powerful interests in common with the working class—and from then on, both would demand social insurance and full employment from politicians. Adding to all of this, the totalitarian threat from Stalin’s Soviet Union played a large role in convincing the nascent North Atlantic alliance to follow America’s lead in both security policy and political-economic restructuring. And those were topics on which America had strong ideas.

Between the two world wars, the governments of rich countries had been badly hobbled by their doctrines of orthodoxy and austerity, by their insistence on pure laissez-faire, that the government should simply leave the economy alone. That doctrine had started out as a weapon to dismantle aristocratic mercantilism and then turned into a weapon to fight progressive taxes, social insurance programs, and “socialism” more generally.

We can mark the sea change in ideas that enabled these by looking at American right-wing economist Milton Friedman, who saw himself as—and sold himself as—the apostle of laissez-faire. Right-wingers trying to hold tight to their belief that the market could not fail but could only be failed, claimed that the Great Depression had been caused by government interference with the natural order. Economists such as Lionel Robbins, Joseph Schumpeter, and Friedrich von Hayek claimed that central banks had set interest rates too low in the run-up to 1929. Others claimed that central banks had set interest rates too high. Whatever. What they agreed on was that the central banks of the world had failed to follow a properly “neutral” monetary policy, and so had destabilized what, if left alone, would have been a stable market system. Milton Friedman was chief among them.

But dig into Friedman’s thesis that the Great Depression was a failure of *government* and not of *market*, and things become interesting. For how could you tell whether interest rates were too high, too low, or just right? According to Friedman, too-high interest rates would lead to high unemployment. Too-low interest rates would lead to high inflation. Just-right interest rates—those that corresponded to a “neutral” monetary policy—would keep the macroeconomy balanced and the economy smoothly growing. Thus theory became tautology.⁹

It is an insult to the ghost of the astronomer Claudius Ptolemy, who developed some brilliant insights, to call this exercise Ptolemaic: that is to say, saving the phenomenon by redefining terms and adding complications, rather than admitting that you are looking at things upside down to preserve your intellectual commitments. But this, from Friedman, was positively Ptolemaic. Strip away the camouflage and the underlying message is Keynes’s: the government needs to intervene on as large a scale as needed in order to shape the flow of economy-wide spending and keep it stable, and, in doing so successfully, guard the economy against depressions while preserving the benefits of the market system, along with human economic liberty and political and intellectual freedom.

The only substantive difference between Keynes and Friedman was that Friedman thought that central banks could do all this alone, via monetary policy, by keeping interest rates properly “neutral.” Keynes thought more would be required: the government would probably need its own spending and taxing incentives to encourage businesses to invest and households to

save. But the incentives alone would not be enough: “I conceive,” he wrote, “that a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment will prove the only means of securing an approximation to full employment, though this need not exclude all manner of compromises and of devices by which public authority will co-operate with private initiative.”¹⁰

And a large majority of people agreed with him. The magnitude of unemployment during the Great Depression had shifted politicians’, industrialists’, and bankers’ beliefs about the key goals of economic policy. Before the Depression, a stable currency and exchange rate were key. But afterward, even the bankers recognized that a high overall level of employment was more important than avoiding inflation: universal bankruptcy and mass unemployment were not only bad for workers but bad for capitalists and bankers.

Thus, entrepreneurs, the owners and managers of industry, and even the bankers found that they gained, not lost, by committing to maintain high employment. High employment meant high-capacity utilization. Rather than seeing tight labor markets erode profits by raising wages, owners saw high demand spread fixed costs out over more commodities, and so increase profitability.

In the United States, the consolidation of the mixed-economy Keynesian social democratic order was straightforward. The United States had always been committed to a market economy. Yet it had also always been committed to a functional and pragmatic government. It had had a Progressive movement that had set out plans for the management of the market economy in the interests of equitable growth at the start of the 1900s. And it was the beneficiary of the fortunate accident that the right-wing party had been in power up until 1932, and hence took the lion’s share of the blame for the Depression. All of this together made its path relatively smooth. Roosevelt picked up the reins, and in 1945, when he died, Truman picked them up again. The electorate ratified the New Deal order by giving Truman his own full term in 1948. And in 1953, the new Republican president, Dwight Eisenhower, saw his task not as rolling back his Democratic predecessors’ programs but rather as containing the further expansion of what he muttered under his breath was “collectivism.”

The 1946 Employment Act declared that it was the “continuing policy and responsibility” of the federal government to “coordinate and utilize all

its plans, functions, and resources... to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare; conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment for those able, willing, and seeking to work; and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.”¹¹ Laws that establish goals can and do serve as markers of changes in opinions, perceptions, and aims. The largest shift in policy marked by the Employment Act was the post–World War II practice of allowing the government’s fiscal automatic stabilizers to function.

We have already noted Eisenhower’s letter to his brother Edgar in the 1950s, in which he argued that laissez-faire was dead, and that attempts to resurrect it were simply “stupid.” Milton Friedman and Eisenhower saw the same escape hatch that John Maynard Keynes had seen, and were just as eager to open and crawl through it. Indeed, the government programs that Eisenhower pointed to in his letter and their analogues in other advanced industrial countries have been remarkably successful in uniting political coalitions. As Eisenhower put it, “Should any political party attempt to abolish social security, unemployment insurance, and eliminate labor laws and farm programs, you would not hear of that party again in our political history.”¹² Voters, in other words, distrusted politicians who sought to cut these programs back, and tended to find taxes earmarked to support social insurance programs less distasteful than other taxes. Outside of the United States, right-of-center parties have seldom made any serious attempt to take a stand against social democracy.

Eisenhower’s vision was a consensus, not in the sense that overwhelming majorities agreed with it in their hearts of hearts, but in the sense that overwhelming majorities believed that it would be impolitic to call for a return to Calvin Coolidge’s or Herbert Hoover’s America.

The result was big government and then some. Federal spending under Eisenhower was 18 percent of GDP—twice what it had been in peacetime even at the height of the New Deal. And state and local government spending raised total government spending to over 30 percent. In pre–New Deal 1931, federal spending had been just 3.5 percent of GDP, and a full half of all federal employees were in the Post Office. By 1962, the federal government directly employed some 5,354,000 workers. And that was in a nation of some 180 million people. In 2010, that number was down to 4,443,000—with a population of over 300 million. This very large flow of

government cash immune to the vagaries of the business cycle enabled vigorous and profitable private initiative. And high taxes, not high borrowings, paid for big government: federal deficits averaged less than 1 percent of GDP from 1950 to 1970.

Although there was no major reshuffling of class and wealth, median incomes steadily rose, creating a strong middle class. Cars, houses, appliances, and good schools had previously been reserved for the top 10 percent—by 1970, they became the property of, or at least within the grasp of, the majority.

Federal government efforts to promote home building and homeownership by making mortgage financing more flexible actually began under Herbert Hoover, who in August 1932 signed the Federal Home Loan Bank Act to provide government credit for mortgages on houses. It set out what was to become the United States' approach to government promotion and assistance for housing. Instead of directly providing housing (which became the norm in Europe), the government would offer substantial support for the financing of the private development and ownership of houses. The Home Owners' Loan Corporation, created around the same time, financed over one million mortgages between August 1933 and August 1935, and set in place what would become the enduring mechanisms of US mortgage financing: long terms, fixed rates, low down payments, and amortization—backstopped by a government guarantee, which was necessary to persuade banks that it was good business to lend at a fixed rate for thirty years to borrowers who always had the option to pay off their loan at any instant.

Single-family houses on lots of even one-fifth or one-tenth of an acre meant automobiles. At scale, the older model, of suburbs connected to urban centers by streetcars or commuter trains, would not work. What took their place were the stupendous, omnipresent circulatory systems of limited-access highways. The National Interstate and Defense Highways Act of 1956 called for forty-one thousand miles of high-speed highways with the federal government paying 90 percent of the costs. Transportation money was even more sharply skewed to the suburbs (and away from the needs of the cities) than Federal Housing Administration insurance: only about 1 percent of federal transportation funding went to mass transit. And two-thirds of the highway lane miles were built within the boundaries of

metropolitan areas: the Interstate Highway System should have been named the Suburban Highway System.

Indeed, the migration to the suburbs brought with it a new kind of built-in democratization, a homogenization of consumption patterns. All but the lower ranks—and the Blacker ranks—of American families found their place and felt it to be much the same place: middle-class America. They repeatedly told this to survey takers. Social scientists had difficulty understanding how and why three-fourths of Americans persisted in saying that they were middle class. White middle-class Americans did not: they happily marched, or rather drove, out to take possession of their new suburban homes. Suburban development was an extreme form of segregation by class and, of course, by race. But the divide was not all-important. There was still just one nation—middle-class America—even as some got more than others.

In 1944, with the end of the war in sight, the government was worried about how sixteen million GIs returning home would find jobs. It passed the GI Bill providing, in place of a traditional veterans' bonus, a generous program of support for GIs wishing to go to college—it would keep them out of the labor force for a little while—plus a major mortgage-assistance program for returning soldiers, with the valuable extra kicker of possibly zero down payment.

The post-Great Depression, postwar consensus that was forming in the United States included a place for labor unions, too: they would be an essential part of the marriage of Hayek and Polanyi. In 1919, union membership in the United States had amounted to some five million. Membership fell into a trough of perhaps three million by the time of FDR's inauguration in 1933, grew to nine million by the end of 1941, and took advantage of the tight labor market of World War II to grow to some seventeen million or so by the time Eisenhower was inaugurated in 1953.

From 1933 to 1937, organizing unions became easier—in spite of high unemployment—because of the solid swing of the political system in favor of the increasingly liberal Democrats. The federal government was no longer an anti-, but a pro-union force. The Wagner Act gave workers the right to engage in collective bargaining. A National Labor Relations Board monitored and greatly limited the ability of anti-union employers to punish union organizers and members. Employers in large mass-production

industries learned to value the mediation between bosses and employees that unions could provide. And workers learned to value the above-market wages that unions could negotiate.

Along with the 1930s rise and institutional entrenchment of the union movement, there came the great compression of America's wages and salaries. In the late 1920s and 1930s, the top 10 percent, the top 1 percent, and the top 0.01 percent of the US population held 45 percent, 20 percent, and 3 percent of the nation's wealth, respectively. By the 1950s, those shares were down to about 35 percent, 12 percent, and 1 percent. (By 2010 they would be back up, rising to 50 percent, 20 percent, and 5 percent.)¹³ To some degree, this was because education had won its race with technology, temporarily making usually poorly paid "unskilled" workers relatively scarce—and hence valued. To some degree, too, it was because closing down immigration had similar effects on the supply of workers with shaky (or no) English. But that this "great compression" is found all across the North Atlantic economies suggests that the political-economic factors played a greater role than the supply-and-demand factors. Unions also contributed to compressing the wage distribution. And minimum wage laws and other regulations played a role, too. Finally, there was the strongly progressive tax system instituted to fight World War II—which disincentivized the wealthy from trying too hard to enrich themselves at the expense of others. If a CEO rewarding himself with a much larger share of the company's total profits incited the ire of the union, it might not have been worthwhile for him to try.

Walter Reuther was born in 1907 in Wheeling, West Virginia, to German immigrant socialist parents.¹⁴ His father took him to visit imprisoned socialist-pacifist Eugene V. Debs during World War I. And he learned "the philosophy of trade unionism," and heard about "the struggles, hopes, and aspirations of working people," every day he spent in his parents' house. At the age of nineteen he left Wheeling to become a mechanic at the Ford Motor Company in Detroit, making the tools that the assembly-line workers would use. In 1932 he was fired from Ford for organizing a rally for Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party candidate for president. He spent 1932 through 1935 traveling the world. During this time, he trained Russian workers in Gorky—Nizhny Novgorod—to work the Model T production-line machines that Ford had sold to Stalin when he replaced the Model T

with the Model A in 1927. Back in Detroit, he joined the United Auto Workers (UAW), and in December 1936 he launched a sit-down strike against Ford's brake supplier, Kelsey-Hayes. Thousands of sympathizers came out to block management's attempts to move the machines elsewhere so they could restart production with scabs.

Democrat Frank Murphy had just narrowly defeated incumbent Republican Frank Fitzgerald for the post of Michigan governor. In an earlier decade, the police—or, as in the Pullman strike forty years earlier, the army—would have shown up to enforce the owners' and managers' property rights. Not in 1936. After ten days, under very strong pressure from Ford, which needed those brakes, Kelsey-Hayes gave in. Membership in Reuther's UAW Local 174 grew from two hundred at the start of December 1936 to thirty-five thousand by the end of 1937. In 1937 Reuther and his brothers launched a sit-down strike against General Motors, then the largest corporation in the world, in its production center of Flint, Michigan. The striking workers gained control of the only plant that made engines for GM's best-selling brand, Chevrolet. This time, the new governor, Murphy, did send in the police, but not to evict the strikers; rather, they were told to "keep the peace."

By 1946 Reuther was head of the UAW, following a strategy of using the union's power not just to win higher wages and better working conditions for its members, but to "fight for the welfare of the public at large... as an instrument of social change." The UAW was one; the auto companies were many—the big three, GM, Ford, and Chrysler, and a number of smaller producers that shrank over time. Reuther's tactic was, each year, to threaten to strike one of the three and then to carry through on the threat: the struck company would lose money while it was shut down, and UAW members working for other companies would support the strikers, but the other companies would neither lock out workers nor support their struck competitor with cash. After four post–World War II years of annual strike threats, in 1950 GM CEO Charlie Wilson proposed a five-year no-strike contract. Reuther negotiated not just higher wages but also company-financed health care and retirement programs plus cost-of-living increases. This was the "Treaty of Detroit." It meant that autoworkers now had not just a fair income but also the stability to think about buying a detached house, moving to the suburbs, and commuting in the cars they

built: the upper levels of the working class were now middle class.

In 1970, Reuther along with his wife, May, and four others were killed when the plane they were in crashed in the fog on final approach to the Pellston Regional Airport in Michigan. The plane's altimeter had both missing parts and incorrect parts, some of which had been installed upside down. Reuther had previously survived at least two assassination attempts.

The third component of the postwar Keynesian consensus in the United States was the welfare, or social insurance, state. But the United States' social insurance state turned out to be significantly less generous than the typical European iteration. From a Western European perspective, the US version was anemic. Even the conservative Margaret Thatcher in Britain found the absence of state-sponsored medical care in the United States appalling, and even barbarous. And across the board, means-tested social insurance programs in the United States did less to level the playing field than similar European programs did. US efforts to give the poor additional purchasing power in the first post–World War II generation included initiatives such as food stamps to subsidize diet, Aid to Families with Dependent Children to provide single mothers with some cash, and a small and rationed amount of low-quality public housing.

At the same time, social democracy in a broader sense in the United States encompassed a vast array of initiatives and organizations, which included, among many others, the Interstate Highway System, airport construction, air traffic control, the US Coast Guard, the National Park Service, and government support for research and development through agencies such as the National Institute of Standards and Technology, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the National Institutes of Health. It also included the antitrust lawyers of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, the financial regulators in the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve, and the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation. And it included a promise by the federal government to insure small bank depositors against bank failures, and big bankers—systemically important financial institutions—against collapse, as well as Social Security and all of its cousins—Supplemental Security Income, Head Start, and the Earned Income Tax Credit. None of these programs would be seen as a proper use of the government by even the weakest-tea sympathizer with

libertarianism.

That the Great Depression was a major impetus for America's leftward shift from a laissez-faire system to a more managed, "mixed" economy had an impact on the form of the post-World War II welfare state. In Europe, the mixed economy had a somewhat egalitarian bent: it was to level the income distribution and insure citizens against the market. In the United States, the major welfare state programs were sold as "insurance" in which individuals, on average, got what they paid for. They were not tools to shift the distribution of income. Social Security made payments proportional to earlier contributions. The pro-labor Wagner Act framework was of most use to relatively skilled and well-paid workers with secure job attachments who could use the legal machinery to share in their industries' profits. And the degree of progressiveness in the income tax was always limited.

The goals of social democracy were notably different from the high socialist goal of making it the state's responsibility to provide necessities such as food and shelter as entitlements of citizenship, or comradeship, rather than things that had to be earned by the sweat of one's brow. Social democracy instead focused on providing income supports and progressive taxes to redistribute income in a more egalitarian direction. Whereas high socialism's system of public provision could often be inefficient, a system that simply distributed income in a more egalitarian way avoided waste by providing only for those in need, and by harnessing the magical efficiencies of the market to societal goals.

In something like a shotgun marriage, Hayek and Polanyi awkwardly kept house under social democracy for decades—as long as the country was blessed with Keynes's full employment—more inclusively than before, and with sufficient, if wary, cordiality.

IT WAS NOT A given that Western Europe would become more social democratic than the United States in the post-World War II period. Its internal politics had by and large swung to the right during the Great Depression. And its commitments to both political democracy and market institutions had been weaker than such commitments in the United States for generations. Yet somehow, in total, Western Europe's social safety net and welfare state policies drastically exceeded those of the United States.

And as we have observed in previous chapters, Western Europe's commitment to social democracy paid off: the Western European economies boomed in the 1950s and 1960s. What post–World War II Europe accomplished in six years had taken post–World War I Europe sixteen. The growth rate of the Western European GDP, which had been hovering between 2 and 2.5 percent per year since the beginning of the long twentieth century, accelerated to an astonishing 4.8 percent per year between 1953 and 1973. The boom carried total production per capita to unprecedented levels—and in both France and West Germany, labor productivity had outstripped their pre-1913 trends by 1955.¹⁵

Part of what drove Europe's rapid growth was its exceptionally high rate of investment, nearly twice as high as it had been in the last decade before World War I.

Another part of what drove the growth was the European labor market, which achieved a remarkable combination of full employment and very little upward pressure on wages in excess of productivity gains.

As economic historian Charles Kindleberger explained, this stability in the labor market was caused by elastic supplies of underemployed labor from rural sectors within the advanced countries and from Europe's southern and eastern fringe. Elastic supplies of labor disciplined labor unions, which otherwise might have pushed aggressively for untenable wages. But the situation was surely also a result of the shadow cast by recent history. Memory of high unemployment and strife between the wars served to moderate labor-market conflict. Conservatives remembered that attempts to roll back interwar welfare states had led to polarization and a lack of stability—and had ultimately set the stage for fascism. Left-wingers, meanwhile, could recall the other side of the same story. Both could reflect on the stagnation of the interwar period and blame it on political deadlock. For all, the better strategy seemed to be to push for productivity improvements first and defer redistributions later.¹⁶

As the first post–World War II generation turned into the second, and as industries in the industrial core became more and more mechanized, they should have become more and more vulnerable to foreign competition from other, lower-wage countries. If Henry Ford could redesign production so that unskilled assembly-line workers did what skilled craftsmen used to do, what was stopping Ford—or anyone else, for that matter—from redesigning

production so that it could be carried out by low-wage workers from outside the North Atlantic region?

Industries did indeed begin to migrate from the rich industrial core to the poor periphery. But in the first post–World War II generation or two, they did so slowly. One reason was added risk of political instability: investors tend to be wary of committing their money in places where it is easy to imagine significant political disruptions. Moreover, there were substantial advantages for a firm in keeping production in the industrial core, near other machines and other factories making similar products. Doing so meant both access to a reliable electric power grid and proximity to the specialists needed to fix the many things that could go wrong with complex machinery.

These factors were an order of magnitude more important for industries in technological flux than they were for industries centered on a settled, relatively unchanging technology. Companies tended to choose locations near the firms that made their machines in large part because of the significant advantages stemming from the interchange and feedback of users and producers—feedback that is especially valuable if designs are still evolving. Doing so also meant being able to take advantage of a well-educated labor force familiar with machinery and able to adapt to using slightly different machines in somewhat different ways. As industries reached technological maturity, their production processes tended to settle into static patterns, and their business models became ones in which sales were made on the basis of the lowest price. It was at this level of maturity that industries and companies tended to migrate to the periphery of the world economy.

BECAUSE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY WAS democracy, people could choose at the ballot box how much income and wealth inequality they were willing to accept. They could vote for more or less progressive taxes. They could opt to either expand or contract the set of public and semipublic goods and of benefits offered to all citizens. And they could expand or contract the benefits offered to the poor. But fundamentally, social democracy as a system was built on the premise that universal redistribution was desirable because all citizens wanted to be insured against the risk of

poverty. Incentives for maximizing production were fine, too. However, the trick was the question of how to balance insurance against risk and incentives for production, a matter of both judgment and politics. Wherever it took root, social democracy strove for programs that leaked small amounts of redistributed income, all while aiming for the utilitarian greatest good of the greatest number.

For these reasons, social democracy was a powerful force. But there was a problem. It would in the end, perhaps, bring about the demise of social democracy and the rise of what became known as “neoliberalism”: there remained, in the shadows, a memory of the belief that the market economy was not society’s servant, but its master—that social democratic attempts to vindicate Polanyian rights would impose a crushing burden that would severely hobble long-run economic growth, and would not produce social justice because universalist provision of benefits would make equals of people who should not be equals.

Perhaps there was, at bottom, a near-innate human aversion to even semicentralized redistributive arrangements that take from some and give to others. Humans, at least we humans, see society as a network of reciprocal gift-exchange relationships. As a general principle, we agree that all of us do much better if we do things for one another rather than requiring that individuals do everything for themselves. We do not always want to be the receiver: it makes us feel small and inadequate. We do not always want to be the giver: that makes us feel exploited and grifted. And as a matter of principle and practice, we tend to disapprove whenever we spy a situation in which somebody else seems to be following a life strategy of always being the receiver.¹⁷

Moreover, what it means to be a “giver” or a “receiver” is contested. Are mothers raising children without a partner performing the hard and incredibly valuable work of raising the next generation, whose Social Security taxes will fund our Social Security checks? Or are they “welfare queens,” who are milking a system because it is easier, as their critics confidently declare, than getting and holding a job? Is a moneylender a giver when he forgives you half of the interest you owe, but holds you to the principal sum and the other half of the interest?

The logic of social democracy is that we are all equals as citizens, and equals should not be treated unequally without good cause. In a market

economy, the good cause that justifies inequality is that we need to incentivize economic growth by rewarding skill, industry, and foresight, even if doing so inevitably involves rewarding good luck as well.

But what happens when some citizens think that they—because of birth, education, skin color, religious affiliation, or some other characteristic—are more equal than others? And what of those who, in the case of means-tested programs, seem to be receiving not because they have bad luck, but simply because they never contribute?

These dilemmas can be papered over as long as employment stays high and growth stays strong. But when growth slows and employment becomes less certain, the fear that the “moochers” are taking advantage gains ever-greater sway. And this fear of moochers was a significant part of what prompted the downfall of social democracy and the turn toward neoliberalism.

At the same time that social democracies were striving to treat their citizens equally through redistributive programs, they embarked on another, stranger endeavor. All over the world, in industrialized and developing areas alike, social democratic governments—even the most anticommunist among them—got it into their heads that they should run and operate businesses.

Consider the case of Britain’s government under Prime Minister Clement Attlee, Winston Churchill’s immediate successor after World War II. In the late 1940s, the Attlee government nationalized the Bank of England, the railways, the airlines, telephones, coal mining, electric power generation, long-distance trucking, iron and steel, and natural gas provision. Officially, management policy did not change once industries were nationalized: commercial profitability remained the official objective (although it was pursued with less vigor, especially when the pursuit of profitability might involve, say, closing plants and factories).

In retrospect, the social democratic insistence on government production of goods and services is puzzling. Governments were not merely demanding, nor distributing, nor regulating prices and quality. They were engaged in *production*. All over the world, the belief that large chunks of productive industry ought to be publicly owned and managed dominated the mid-twentieth century. Even today, in the twenty-first century, there are still immense state-owned and state-managed enterprises: railroads, hospitals,

schools, power-generating facilities, steelworks, chemical factories, coal mines, and others.

None of which have ever been part of governments' core competence. Organizations such as hospitals and railroads ought to be run with an eye on efficiency: getting the most produced with the resources available. But the logic that shapes how governments operate is different: it is the logic of the adjustments made in light of conflicting interests. As a result, government-managed enterprises—whether the coal mines of Britain or the telecommunications monopolies of Western Europe or the oil-production monopolies of developing nations—have tended to be inefficient and wasteful.

Some of the organizations and industries being nationalized were ones for which you do not want “efficiency” over all else. There are times when you want “soft” rather than “hard” incentives: a health clinic that is paid by insurance companies should not be replacing antibiotic solutions with colored water in order to decrease its costs. A company running an electricity distribution network should not skimp on maintenance in order to boost its current profits.

But the cases in which “soft” incentives are desirable are not that many: only when consumers are poor judges of quality, or when they are unable to vote with their feet by switching to alternative suppliers. Almost everywhere else the hard material incentives that motivate for-profit enterprise are more appropriate.

So why did social democratic states, all to varying degrees, do it? There seem to have been three main reasons:

The first was an inordinate fear of monopolies. The leaders of these governments believed that economies of scale would ultimately lead to the domination of a single firm in most industries, which would then exploit the public mercilessly unless it was owned by the state. The second was a fear of attendant corruption, or the fear that the monopoly bosses would simply buy off the regulators. And third, the push for nationalization was motivated by a resurgence of the classical Marxist belief that the market was inherently exploitative—and that such exploitation could be avoided by eliminating the private ownership of the means of production.

All of these beliefs seem naïve to us now. If the market is inherently corrupted by exploitation, what do we think of bureaucratic hierarchies?

Yes, monopoly is to be feared. Yes, there are grave problems in a world in which much economic life depends on increasing returns to scale for the controlling monopoly. But a publicly managed monopoly is still a monopoly. Ultimately, the efforts on the part of social democracies to operate the “commanding heights” of their economies ended in disappointment, which hurt the long-term political support for the project of social democracy.

This problem, however, was small beer compared to damage that would be wrought by the inflation crises of the 1970s in the United States. For much of that decade, the US rate of inflation bounced between 5 percent and 10 percent annually, an unprecedented pace, as unemployment also reached painful and unsustainable levels. How did it happen?

In the 1960s, the administration of President Lyndon Johnson was unwilling to accept a floor or even an average of around 5 percent or so unemployment, and so set its sights on pushing that number lower. As Johnson economic adviser Walter Heller put it, “The government must step in to provide the essential stability [of the economy] at high levels of employment and growth that the market mechanism, left alone, cannot deliver.” The task was no longer just to avoid depressions but to attain *high levels* of employment—and growth.

This ambitious new mission raised an important question: Would it be possible to maintain the balance of supply and demand while pushing the unemployment rate below 5 percent? In other words, could the unemployment rate stay this low without accelerating inflation? By 1969 the answer was reasonably clear: no.

Average nonfarm nominal wage growth in the United States had fluctuated around or below 4 percent per year between the end of the Korean War and the mid-1960s. It had jumped to more than 6 percent in 1968. Moreover, a half decade of slowly rising inflation had led people to begin to pay attention to what was happening. People make all sorts of decisions based on their expectations of what next year’s price level will be: decisions about how much to demand, in terms of cash to hold on to and of prices and wages to charge. An episodic excess supply of money can cause *unexpected* inflation. But when people look back on the past half decade or so and see that there has been an excess supply of money during that time, they will expect inflation in the years ahead. This can become doubly

damning. The price level will jump in part as expected and in part as unexpected. And the total inflation rate—expected plus unexpected—will accelerate upward.

The sharp rise in inflation came as a surprise to the Johnson administration. Macroeconomist Robert Gordon later reminisced on the analytical framework that had been reliable before and that they had been using, saying it “collapsed with amazing speed after 1967.” He and his economist peers, who had recently all obtained their graduate degrees and started their first jobs, “were acutely aware of the timing of this turn of the tide,... and almost immediately found our graduate school education incapable of explaining the evolution of the economy.”¹⁸

Economic advisers to both Johnson and, before him, President John F. Kennedy had argued that a substantial reduction in unemployment could be achieved with only a moderate increase in inflation. But expectations of inflation became “unanchored.” Prices and wages were not set to an expectation of price stability, or even to a slow upward creep in inflation, but rather to last year’s inflation, which had become the new normal. Over the four years from 1965 to 1969, the Federal Reserve accommodated President Johnson’s desire to reduce unemployment by expanding the money supply, to keep interest rates low, and then Vietnam War spending unbalanced by higher taxes overheated the economy further. By 1969, the United States was not a 2 percent but a 5 percent per year inflation economy.

President Richard Nixon took office in 1969, and the economists of the incoming Republican administration planned to ease inflation with only a small increase in unemployment by reducing government spending and encouraging the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates. Their plan only half worked: unemployment did indeed rise—from 3.5 percent to almost 6 percent between 1969 and 1971, but inflation barely budged.

This outcome presented a great mystery. Up until this point, it looked as though the US economy had been sliding back and forth along a stable inflation-unemployment “Phillips curve” (named after economist A. William Phillips). Democratic governments tended to spend more time at the left end of the curve, with relatively low unemployment. Republican governments tended to spend more time at the right end, with relatively low inflation and higher unemployment. But by both absolute standards and

historical standards, both inflation and unemployment were low. Nixon's economists had intended to move the economy from the left to the right side of the curve, but now they found that it would not go.

Their attempts to fight inflation by marginally increasing unemployment no longer worked because no one believed that the administration would have the fortitude to continue those efforts for very long. Autoworkers, for example, believed that the government would not allow widespread unemployment in the automobile industry—and would step in to help by pumping up nominal demand, and giving people enough liquidity to buy cars if ever the industry's sales began to drop. This left the United Auto Workers without any incentive to moderate its wage demands—and automobile manufacturers without any incentive to resist those demands: they could simply pass the increased costs on to consumers in higher prices.

This unexpected result of their efforts left Nixon's economists in a difficult situation. One possible "solution" was to create a truly massive recession: to make it painfully clear that even if inflation rose to painful levels, the government would not accommodate, and would keep unemployment high until inflation came down. No president wanted to think about this possibility. It was, in the end, the road the United States took, but largely by accident and after many stopgaps.

Confronted with an unemployment rate of 6 percent, an inflation rate of 5 percent, and a loud chorus of complaints that he had mismanaged the economy, Nixon could see the political winds shifting against him. Arthur Burns, the president's former counselor, newly installed as chair of the Federal Reserve, gloomily predicted that it would take a large recession to reduce inflationary expectations via market mechanisms, and that enacting such a plan would put him out of a job. Congress, he surmised, would vote overwhelmingly to fire a Federal Reserve chair who created such a large recession. To Nixon, the political situation was painfully familiar: back in 1960, as a vice president running for president, he and then Eisenhower aide Arthur Burns had begged their boss, President Eisenhower, not to let unemployment rise during the 1960 election year. Eisenhower had turned them down, and Nixon had narrowly lost the 1960 election to Kennedy.¹⁹

This time, Nixon decided on a version of "shock therapy": suspend the pegged-but-flexible exchange-rate system put in place back during Bretton Woods (the suspension would eventually become permanent), impose wage

and price controls to reduce inflation, and make sure that Arthur Burns, his Fed chair, understood that unemployment needed to be lower and declining as the election of 1972 approached. Nixon's political calculations, however, were not entirely to blame for the upward burst in inflation. Many economists, including Johnson adviser Walter Heller, believed that Nixon's policies were not nearly stimulative and inflationary enough.

In practice, the supply of money greatly outran demand, and as Nixon's price controls were lifted, inflation accelerated ever upward.

In retrospect, we might wonder if there was any way Nixon could have reduced inflation back to a "normal" rate of 3 percent or so, or at least contained it at less than 6 percent. On a technical level, of course, he could have. It was around the same time that West Germany became the first economy to undertake a "disinflation." The peak of German inflation came in 1971: thereafter the Bundesbank pursued policies that did not tend to accommodate supply shocks or other upward pressures on inflation. By the early 1980s, West German inflation was invisible. Japan began a similar disinflation effort in the mid-1970s, while Britain and France waited until later to begin their disinflations. France's last year of double-digit inflation was 1980; Britain's was 1981.²⁰

Given these examples, there were no "technical" obstacles to making the burst of moderate inflation the United States experienced in the late 1960s a quickly reversed anomaly. But Arthur Burns did not dare.

Burns lacked confidence that he could reduce inflation without driving up unemployment to unacceptable levels. In 1959, as president of the American Economic Association, he delivered an annual address that he called "Progress Towards Economic Stability."²¹ Burns spent the bulk of his speech detailing how automatic stabilizers and monetary policy based on a better sense of the workings of the banking system had made episodes like the Great Depression of the past extremely unlikely. Toward the end of his talk, he spoke of what he saw as an unresolved problem created by the progress toward economic stability: "a future of secular inflation." Workers had hesitated to demand wage increases in excess of productivity growth during booms when they had the market power to do so because they feared the consequences of being too expensive to their employers in the depressions to come. But what if there were no depressions to come?

Then, after 1972, came the oil shocks. First, world oil prices tripled in

response to the Yom Kippur War of 1973, and they tripled again in the wake of the Iranian Revolution of 1979, as the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) realized how much market power it had.

It is possible that the first tripling was a not regretted result of US foreign policy. Back in the early 1970s, Nixon's chief foreign policy adviser, Henry Kissinger, wanted to strengthen the shah of Iran as a possible counterweight to Soviet influence in the Middle East. With the oil price tripled, the shah was indeed immensely strengthened—at the price of enormous economic damage to the industrial West and to the rest of the developing world, which saw its oil bill multiply many times over. It is certain that the economic repercussions of the oil price rise came as a surprise to the Nixon administration—Kissinger always thought economic matters were boring and unimportant, in spite of the fact that the military and diplomatic strength of the United States depended on them. It is most likely that the rise in oil prices struck the administration as not worthy of concern, and certainly not worth the trouble of combatting—it did, after all, strengthen the shah. Few had any conception of the economic damage it might do, and those few were not listened to by the US government.

Because oil was the key energy input in the world economy, the shock of these price increases reverberated throughout the world, and eventually they would lead to the double-digit annual inflation of the late 1970s.

The first of the inflation spikes, the one triggered by the Yom Kippur War oil price increases, sent the world economy into one of the deepest recessions of the post–World War II period, leaving the US economy with high inflation that would eventually lead to another recession in 1980–1982, the deepest of the post–World War II era. Each surge in inflation was preceded by or coincided with a sharp increase in unemployment. And throughout the late 1960s and the 1970s, each cycle was larger than the one before it: in 1971, unemployment peaked at around 6 percent; in 1975, at about 8.5 percent; and in 1982–1983 at nearly 11 percent.

By the time the 1975 recession had hit its worst point, people were ready to try something new. In that year, Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), a former presidential contender, cosponsored a bill with Congressman Augustus Hawkins (D-CA) that would have required the government to reduce unemployment to 3 percent within four years and offer employment to anyone who wanted it at the same “prevailing wage” paid for

government construction projects. In its House version, the bill also granted individuals the right to sue in federal court for their Humphrey-Hawkins jobs if the federal government failed to provide them. In early 1976, observers felt the bill had a high probability of passing, though President Gerald Ford, a Republican, was likely to veto it. Indeed, many assumed that Humphrey and Hawkins's primary intention was to bait Ford into vetoing the bill, thereby creating an issue for his challenger, Jimmy Carter, to campaign on during the upcoming 1976 election.

What happened in fact was that the Humphrey-Hawkins bill was watered down, and watered down, and watered down again until it was essentially a set of declarations that the Federal Reserve should try to do good things—completely without teeth as far as shaping actual policy was concerned. Ultimately, Jimmy Carter prevailed in the 1976 election. And the most important long-term effect of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill was, perhaps, to make it difficult in the late 1970s to propose policies to reduce inflation. Any measure that risked at least a temporary rise in unemployment was deemed a nonstarter.

By the end of the 1970s, inflation was perceived to be out of control.

From an economist's perspective, an inflationary episode like what happened in the United States in the 1970s might not seem to matter much. Prices go up. But wages and profits go up as well. In other words, economists might argue, inflation is a zero-sum redistribution. Some lose, but others gain as much. With no strong reason to think that the losers are in any sense more deserving than the gainers, economists might ask, why should anyone, including economists, care very much?

This view is profoundly misguided. To understand why, we need only return to John Maynard Keynes's assessment of the consequences of inflation during and after World War I: "There is no subtler, no surer means of overturning the existing basis of society than to debauch the currency. The process engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction, and does it in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose." Keynes was speaking of high inflation: enough to take "all permanent relations between debtors and creditors, which form the ultimate foundation of capitalism," and make them "utterly disordered"—and the inflation of the 1970s, while severe, was nothing of the sort.²²

But woven through this passage is another effect of inflation: one can

usually pretend that there is a logic to the distribution of wealth—that behind a person's prosperity lies some rational basis, whether it is that person's hard work, skill, and farsightedness, or some ancestor's. Inflation—even moderate inflation—strips the mask. There is no rational basis. Rather, “those to whom the system brings windfalls... become profiteers,” Keynes wrote, and “the process of wealth-getting degenerates into a gamble and a lottery.”²³

And a government that generates such inflation is obviously not competent. By the late 1970s, all critics of social democracy had to do was point at the inflation and ask: Would a well-functioning political-economic system have produced this? And the answer was no.

15

The Neoliberal Turn

History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme—oddly. The period from 1945 to 1975 was an economic El Dorado that rhymed with the previous years of economic El Dorado, 1870–1914. And the post-1975 breakdown of that second golden age had some rhymes with the failure to stitch the first golden age back together after the end of World War I.

The period after the American Civil War, 1870–1914, the first economic El Dorado, had been an age of a swift jog or even a run along the path toward utopia at a pace previously unseen in any historical era. For the poor majority, it delivered greatly lessened pressures for necessity and material want. For the rich, it brought a near utopia of material abundance: by 1914, life offered, “at a low cost and with the least trouble, conveniences, comforts, and amenities beyond the compass of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages.” Moreover, civilization’s confidence as of 1914 was great. For the well-thinking, any idea that this progressive economic system of rapidly increasing prosperity might break down was, as Keynes put it, “aberrant [and] scandalous.”¹ Yet then came World War I, and the failures of economic management after World War I to restore stability, confidence in the system, and the prewar rate of rapidly advancing prosperity. And so things fell apart. The center did not hold.

Here I need to issue a warning: The time since the beginning of the neoliberal turn overlaps my career. In it I have played, in a very small way, the roles of intellectual, commentator, thought leader, technocrat, functionary, and Cassandra. I have been deeply and emotionally engaged throughout, as I have worked to advance policies for good and for ill, and as

my engagement has alternately sharpened and blurred my judgment. From this point on this book becomes, in part, an argument I am having with my younger selves and with various voices in my head. The historian's ideal is to see and understand, not advocate and judge. In dealing with post-1980, I try but I do not think I fully succeed.

After World War II, or, to be more precise, 1938–1973 in North America and 1945–1973 in Western Europe, came another economic El Dorado, an age of a swift jog or even a run along the path toward utopia at a pace previously unseen in any historical era—including 1870–1914. For the poor majority, it delivered relief from the pressures of dire necessity and access to considerable amounts of at least the most basic conveniences of life. For the rich, it delivered a cornucopia of material abundance not just beyond the compass but beyond the wild imaginings of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages. Social democracy was delivering. Creative destruction might eliminate your job, but there would be another one as good or better because of full employment. And because of rapid productivity growth, your income would certainly be higher than that of the typical person of your accomplishments and position in any previous generation. And if you did not like what your neighborhood was or was becoming, you could buy a car and change your residence to the suburbs without disrupting the other parts of your life—at least if you were a white guy with a family in the global north.

Still, civilization's confidence as of 1973 was great, fears of the ongoing Cold War turning hot notwithstanding. For the well-thinking, any idea that this progressive economic system of rapidly increasing prosperity might break down was once again aberrant and scandalous. In the global north, on average, people in 1973 had between two and four times the material abundance that their parents had had a generation before. In the United States, especially, the talk was about how to deal with the end state seen in Keynes's “Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren”—the civilization of material abundance, in which humanity's problem was not how to produce enough to escape from the kingdom of necessity and have some useful conveniences, but rather “how to use... freedom from pressing economic cares... to live wisely and agreeably and well”²—fifty years before Keynes had predicted it might come to pass. Smokestacks and fog were no longer seen as welcome harbingers of prosperity but as nuisances

that needed to be squashed so we could have clean air. It was the time of *The Greening of America* and of the expansion of human consciousness. It was a time to question the bourgeois virtues of hard, regular work and thrift in pursuit of material abundance and instead to turn on, tune in, drop out.

And if things did not fall apart, precisely, the center did not hold. There was a sharp neoliberal turn away from the previous order—social democracy—of 1945–1973. By 1979 the cultural and political energy was on the right. Social democracy was broadly seen to have failed, to have overreached itself. A course correction was called for.

Why? In my view, the greatest cause was the extraordinary pace of rising prosperity during the Thirty Glorious Years, which raised the bar that a political-economic order had to surpass in order to generate broad acceptance. People in the global north had come to expect to see incomes relatively equally distributed (for white guys at least), doubling every generation, and they expected economic uncertainty to be very low, particularly with respect to prices and employment—except on the upside. And people then for some reason required that growth in their incomes be at least as fast as they had expected and that it be stable, or else they would seek reform.

Karl Polanyi died in 1964, in Toronto.³ Had he been more listened to, he could have warned the well-thinking who discoursed in the years of rapid economic growth about how successful management had brought about the end of bitter ideological struggles. People, he would have said—and did say—want their rights respected. While delivering increasing prosperity year by year can substitute for respect to a degree, it is only to a degree. And egalitarian distribution was a sword with at least two edges. People seek to *earn*, or to feel that they have earned, what they receive—not to be given it out of somebody’s *grace*, for that is not respectful. Moreover, many people don’t want those who are ranked lower than them to be treated as their equals, and may even see this as the greatest of all violations of their Polanyian societal rights.

As generations became accustomed to very rapid growth, the amount of increasing prosperity required to quiet the worries and concerns thrown up by market capitalism’s creative destruction grew as well. The bar was raised. The polities and economies of the late 1970s did not clear that bar. And so people looked around, searching for ideas about how to reform.

Say what you like about Benito Mussolini, Vladimir Lenin, and others who proposed all kinds of ideas about how to reform after, and indeed before, World War I, at least they were intellectually creative. Very creative. But the things that were displayed in the shop windows in the marketplaces of ideas in the global north in the late 1970s were rather shopworn. On the left, there were declamations that what was going on behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains in Brezhnev's Russia and immediate post-Mao China was in fact glorious, and not just glorious—but successful!⁴ On the right, there were declamations that everything had in fact been about to go fine when Hoover was defeated in 1932, and that the entire New Deal and all of social democracy were big mistakes.

But still, the late 1970s saw the generation of a rough consensus that the global-north political economy needed substantial reform, at the very least: that something in the shop window needed to be purchased.

One very powerful factor contributing to this consensus was that after 1973, in Europe and in the United States and in Japan, there was a very sharp slowdown in the rate of productivity and real income growth.⁵ Some of it was a consequence of the decision to shift from an economy that polluted more to an economy that attempted to begin the process of environmental cleanup. Cleanup, however, would take decades to make a real difference in people's lives. Energy diverted away from producing more and into producing cleaner would quickly show up in lower wage increases and profits. And some of it was a consequence of the upward oil price shocks of 1973 and 1979—energy that had been devoted to raising labor productivity was now devoted to figuring out how to produce in a more energy-efficient manner, and how to produce in a flexible manner that could cope with either high or low relative energy prices. Some of it was also due to running out of the backlog stock of undeployed useful ideas that had been discovered and partially developed. Especially in Western Europe and in Japan, the easy days of post–World War II “catch-up” were over. As the postwar baby boom generation entered the workforce, making them fully productive proved a difficult task, and the failure to fully accomplish it was one source of drag.⁶ But it is difficult to gauge how much each of these sources contributed to the slowdown. It remains a mystery even today. The important thing was that the social democratic promise of ever-increasing prosperity was not kept in the 1970s.

The irritation of markedly slowed economic growth was amplified by inflation. Not, admittedly, the doubling or septupling inflation of the post-World War I period. Rather, 5 to 10 percent a year. The productivity slowdown meant that if nominal wages were to keep rising at their previous pace, prices would have to rise faster. The decade starting in 1966, of having, almost every year, surprise upward shocks to the rate of growth of money prices on average, convinced businesses, unions, workers, and consumers that (a) inflation needed to be paid attention to, and (b) it was likely to be the same as or a bit more than it had been last year—so you needed (c) to build into your planning the expectation that, over the next year, your wages and other people's wages, and your prices and other people's prices, would rise by at least as much as, and probably more than, they had last year. This then produced *stagflation*. If inflation were to stay constant, then employment would have to fall below full employment to put pressure on workers to accept wage increases lower than they had expected. If the economy were to be at full employment, then the rate of inflation would have to creep upward.

The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries imposed an oil embargo against the United States and the Netherlands in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, and this deranged the oil market. OPEC woke up to its market power, and its maintenance of high oil prices sent the world economy into a major recession.⁷ Moreover, high oil prices pushed the world economy to shift its direction, from focusing on raising labor productivity to focusing on energy conservation. That meant that many people's incomes and jobs disappeared—permanently—and that many others' future jobs would fail to appear. And it meant an acceleration of the inflation that had already been in progress before 1973.

The tripling of world oil prices worked its way through the economy like a wave, which then reflected and passed through the economy again and again—not a one-time rise in the price level, but a permanent upward ratchet of the inflation rate. The rising rate of inflation from 1965 to 1973 predisposed people to take last year's inflation as a signal of what next year's inflation would be.⁸ And no one in a position to make anti-inflation policy cared enough about stopping inflation, given the likely high cost of doing so in terms of idled factories and unemployed workers. Other goals took precedence: solving the energy crisis, or maintaining a high-pressure

economy, or making certain that the current recession did not get any worse.

This inflation was an annoyance that governments found it damably hard to deal with. The only way to offset these expectations was to scare workers and businesses: to make labor demand weak enough that workers would not dare demand wage increases in accordance with expected inflation, out of the fear that they would lose their jobs, and to make spending in the economy as a whole weak enough that businesses would not dare raise prices in accordance with expected inflation, either. To hold inflation constant required a weak, low-profit, elevated-unemployment economy.

Inflation of 5 to 10 percent per year is not the trillionfold inflation of Weimar Germany. And productivity-growth slowdown is not productivity-growth stop. From 1973 to 2010, worker productivity in the global north grew at an average rate of 1.6 percent per year. That is a significant drop from the 3 percent rate sustained between 1938 and 1973. But from a long-term historical perspective, it was still a lot: 1.6 percent per year is essentially the same as the productivity growth rate over the period 1870–1914, that original economic El Dorado to which economists after 1918 desperately wanted to return.

But after expectations had been set so high by the prosperity of 1945–1973, 1.6 percent didn't look so impressive. Moreover, post-1973 growth was accompanied by rising inequality. At the top, the average pace of real income growth continued at its 1945–1973 pace, 3 percent per year, or even more. For the middle and the working classes of the global north, who were paying for continued steady growth for the upper-middle class and the explosion of plutocrat wealth, it has meant inflation-adjusted paychecks growing at only 0.5 to 1 percent per year. Plus there were the effects of inclusion: if you were of the “right” ethnicity and gender in 1973, whatever satisfaction you got from your position in the pyramid leaked away as Blacks and women got “uppity.” And with at least some closing of race, ethnic, and gender income gaps, white male earnings, especially for those of relatively low education, had to, on average, lag behind the lower-middle and working-class average of 0.5 to 1 percent per year.

Inflation creating at least the appearance of great instability in incomes, oil shocks producing the first noticeable economic recessions since World

War II, sociological turmoil and income stagnation—all of this makes some change likely. Still, the neoliberal turn, accomplished in little more than half a decade in the 1970s, was remarkably rapid.

In the United States, the Vietnam War did not help. President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger had blocked the ending of the war in late 1968, promising South Vietnamese president Nguyễn Văn Thiệu that they would get him a better deal and a better chance of long-term political survival than Lyndon Johnson's administration was offering.⁹ They lied. After an additional 1.5 million Vietnamese and 30,000 American deaths after 1968, North Vietnam conquered South Vietnam in mid-1975—and promptly began an ethnic cleansing campaign against Vietnamese of Chinese ancestral descent. Domestic discontent with the war was, for Nixon, a political plus: his strategy had always been one of ramping up culture-war divisions, in the belief that if he could break the country in two, the larger half would support him.

Yet even with all of the inflation, with the productivity slowdown, and with the quagmire land war in Asia and Nixon's crimes, things were still very good in terms of the rate of economic growth and the indicia of societal progress, at least compared to what had gone on between the world wars, or even in any decade between 1870 and 1914. Why, then, did the 1970s see such a powerful swing against the social democratic political-economic order that had managed its successful balancing act since World War II? True, the US death toll in the Vietnam War was high. But inflation, save for the somewhat elevated unemployment level, which turned out to be required to keep it from rising further, was a zero-sum redistribution, with the gainers matching the losers. The productivity slowdown was a disappointment, but it still left wages growing faster than in any previous era of human history.

Those economists who minimized the downside of inflation should have listened more closely to Karl Polanyi. People do not just seek to have good things materially; they like to pretend that there is a logic to the distribution of the good things, and especially its distribution to them in particular—that their prosperity has some rational and deserved basis. Inflation—even the moderate inflation of the 1970s—stripped the mask away.

There were, in right-wing eyes, additional problems with social democracy. Social democratic governments were simply trying to do too

many things. Too much of what they were attempting was technocratically stupid, and bound to be unsuccessful, and many of the apparent defects they were trying to repair were not real defects but actually necessary to incentivize good and proper behavior. Reagan's future chief economist (and my brilliant, charismatic, and superb teacher) Martin Feldstein claimed that expansionary policies "adopted in the hope of lowering... unemployment" produced inflation: "Retirement benefits were increased without considering the subsequent impact on investment and saving. Regulations were imposed to protect health and safety without evaluating the reduction in productivity," he wrote. Moreover, "unemployment benefits would encourage layoffs," and welfare would "weaken family structures."¹⁰

Marty, dedicated to trying as hard as he could to nail the empirics right, and devoted to honest academic and scholarly debate, believed all this to the core of his being. We have seen this before. It is the conviction that authority and order are of overwhelming importance, and that "permissiveness" is fatal. It is the opinion that, again in the words of Churchill's private secretary, P. J. Grigg, an economy and polity cannot perpetually "live beyond its means on its wits." It is the idea that the market economy has a logic of its own, and does what it does for reasons that are beyond feeble mortal comprehension, and that need to be respected, or else. It is the belief that believing you can rearrange and govern the market is *hubris*, and that it will bring about *nemesis*.

Yet Marty's take was also not completely false. Why, in Britain, did social democratic education policy turn out to give children of doctors and lawyers and landowners the right to go to Oxford for free? Why did social democracies that had nationalized the "commanding heights" of their economies use that power not to accelerate technological progress, and keep employment high, but rather to prop up increasingly obsolete "sunset" industries? When judged by a technocratic logic of efficiency, all politically popular arrangements will turn out to be lacking to some degree. It is the broadness of the discontent and the rapidity of its reemergence after a decade that, compared to the Great Recession of 2008, or the COVID-19 plague of 2020–2022, does not appear to have been that large a shock—it is *that* that strikes me as interesting. A tripling of global-north living standards between 1938 and 1973 had not brought about utopia. Growth gets interrupted and slowed. And in less than a decade, all of this was felt to

indicate that social democracy needed to be replaced.

One touchstone, again, is British left-wing historian Eric Hobsbawm. Hobsbawm saw the late 1970s and the subsequent discontent with the social democratic order as justified, writing, “There were good grounds for some of the disillusion with state-managed industries and public administration.” He denounced the “rigidities, inefficiencies and economic wastages so often sheltering under Golden Age government policies.” And he declared that “there was considerable scope for applying the neoliberal cleansing-agent to the encrusted hull of many a good ship ‘Mixed Economy’ with beneficial results.” He went on with the clincher, saying that neoliberal Thatcherism had been necessary, and that there was a near consensus about this after the fact: “Even the British Left was eventually to admit that some of the ruthless shocks imposed on the British economy by Mrs. Thatcher had probably been necessary.”¹¹

Hobsbawm was a lifelong communist. To the end of his days, he would continue to stubbornly maintain, while drinking tea with his respectful interviewers, that the murderous careers of Lenin and Stalin (but perhaps not Mao?) had been worth undertaking, because they indeed might, had things turned out differently, have unlocked the gate and opened the road to a true utopia.¹² Yet he also eagerly attended the Church of the Thatcherite Dispensation, where he heard and then himself preached the Lesson: the market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of the market.

So what was the global north going to purchase in the marketplace of ideas as its reform program? On the left there was very little. Really-existing socialism had proven a bust, yet too much energy on the left was still devoted to explaining away its failures. On the right there were real ideas. Never mind that to the historically minded they seemed to be largely retreads from before 1930. After all, many of the ideas of the New Deal had been retreads from the Progressive Era of the first decade of the 1900s. The right wing’s ideas were backed by lots of money. The memory of the Great Depression, and of austerity’s failures in the Great Depression, was old and fading. Once again cries for sound finance orthodoxy and austerity—even for the gold standard—were heard. Once again the standard answer—that everything that went wrong was somehow an over-mighty government’s fault—was trotted out. It was, after all, for true believers a metaphysical necessity that it was government intervention that had caused the Great

Depression to be so deep and to last so long. The market could not fail: it could only be failed.

The fading memory of the Great Depression led to the fading of the middle class's belief, or rather recognition, that they, as well as the working class, needed social insurance. In an environment of economic stability and growth, the successful not only prospered materially but could convince themselves that they prospered morally as well, for they were the authors of their own prosperity—and government existed merely to tax them unfairly and then to give what was rightfully theirs to poorer, deviant people who lacked their industry and their moral worth.

From this point, the right-wing critique spread out to sweep up much more than a faltering economy. For the right wing also embraced a cultural critique, one squarely aimed at the very advances in racial and gender equality sketched above. Social democracy, conservatives declared in a Polanyian backlash, was flawed because it treated unequals equally. Remember University of Chicago economics professor and Nobel laureate George Stigler, who wrote in 1962—before the Civil Rights Act, before the Voting Rights Act, before affirmative action—in his essay “The Problem of the Negro” that, as he saw it, Blacks *deserved* to be poor, to be disliked, and to be treated with disrespect: “The problem is that on average,” Stigler wrote, “he lacks a desire to improve himself, and lacks a willingness to discipline himself to this end.” And although prejudice might be part of the problem, “the Negro boy,” as Stigler put it, “is excluded from more occupations by his own inferiority as a worker”: “Lacking education, lacking a tenacity of purpose, lacking a willingness to work hard, he will not be an object of employers’ competition.” And the “Negro family,” he said, was, “on average, a loose, morally lax, group,” and brought into neighborhoods “a rapid rise in crime and vandalism.” “No statutes, no sermons, no demonstrations,” he concluded, would “obtain for the Negro the liking and respect that sober virtues commend.”¹³

Social democracy set up a benchmark of treating everyone as equals. Blacks, knowing that American society had dishonored the promissory note they had been passed, demonstrated, protesting that America had written them a bad check. And those demonstrations, “growing in size and insolence,” as Stigler characterized them, were a sign of things going wrong. Social democracy was, to Stigler and company, economically

inefficient. But it was also, in their eyes, profoundly unfair in its universalistic distribution of benefits. The word “insolence” is truly the tell.

Geopolitical and geo-economic instability comes and goes. The memory of the Great Depression was bound to fade. Could social democracy have held itself together if the inflation rate of the 1970s had not served as a convenient index of the incompetence of “Keynesian” and social democratic governments, and as a focal point for calls for a return to more “orthodox” policies? Or was the deeper logic of the morality play saying that Keynesian social democrats had tried to create prosperity out of thin air, and so had gotten their comeuppance, bound to dominate eventually, somehow, someday? That morality-play version did become generally accepted in the corridors of influence and power. Might social democracy have survived, regrouped, and staggered onward? Here again is a place where a great deal of the course of history might, or might not, have evolved differently had a relatively small number of influential groups of people thought different thoughts. But along this branch of the universe’s quantum wave function, at least, the world made a neoliberal turn.

FED CHAIR ARTHUR BURNS HAD ALWAYS BEEN VERY RELUCTANT to use tools of tight monetary policy to reduce inflation at the risk of inducing a recession.¹⁴ When Jimmy Carter replaced Burns with G. William Miller, Miller likewise balked; he was uninterested in causing (and likely being blamed for) a significant recession. Inflation continued. So things stood in 1979. Then Jimmy Carter found himself disappointed with the state of his government, as well as of the economy. He decided, suddenly, to fire five cabinet members, including his treasury secretary, Michael Blumenthal.

Carter’s aides told him that he couldn’t just fire the treasury secretary without naming a replacement—it would look like he was running a disorganized White House. But Carter *was* running a disorganized White House. There was no obvious replacement at hand. To placate his aides, and the press, Carter decided to move G. William Miller over from the Fed to the Treasury.

Carter’s aides then told him that he couldn’t just leave a vacancy as Fed chair without naming a replacement—it would look like he was running a

disorganized White House. But Carter *was* running a disorganized White House. There was no obvious replacement at hand. So Carter grabbed the most senior career Treasury Department and Federal Reserve official—New York Federal Reserve Bank president Paul Volcker—and made him Federal Reserve chair.¹⁵

As best as I can determine, there was no more than a cursory inquiry into what Volcker’s policy preferences might turn out to be.

One thing soon became clear, however: Volcker believed that there was now a mandate to fight inflation even at the cost of inducing a significant recession. And he was ready to use that mandate to bring inflation under control. By raising interest rates high enough and keeping them high long enough, he hoped to convince the economy that things were different, and that inflation would stay below 5 percent per year indefinitely. In 1982 the unemployment rate kissed 11 percent. The United States, and the world, for the first time since the Great Depression, experienced an economic downturn for which the word “recession” seems too mild a description.

Many observers would say that the costs of the Volcker disinflation of the early 1980s were worth paying. After 1984, the United States boasted an economy with relatively stable prices and—up until 2009—relatively moderate unemployment; without Volcker’s push, inflation would have likely continued to slowly creep upward over the 1980s, from just under 10 percent to perhaps as high as 20 percent per year. Others insist there must have been a better way. Perhaps inflation could have been brought under control more cheaply if government, business, and labor had been able to strike a deal to restrain nominal wage growth. Or perhaps if the Federal Reserve had done a better job of communicating its expectations and targets. Perhaps “gradualism” rather than “shock therapy” would have worked. Or is “gradualism” inherently noncredible and ineffective, and the shock of a discrete “regime shift” necessary to reanchor expectations?¹⁶

For those on the right, there is no question that the Volcker disinflation was necessary—indeed, long delayed past its proper time. One of the charges that right-wingers leveled at social democracy was that it led people to expect that life would be easy, that there would be full employment, that jobs would be plentiful. This, in turn, encouraged workers to be insufficiently differential, and to demand too-high wages, spurring inflation, which kept profits too low to justify investment. And since it promised to

reward even those who had not pleased previous employers with jobs, it undermined public virtue.

The government and Federal Reserve needed to impose discipline by focusing on price stability, the right-wingers insisted, and then let the unemployment rate go wherever it needed to go. Government couldn't be a "nanny state" offering everybody a bottle when they cried. Monetary policy needed to be turned over to strongly anti-inflationary policy makers—as Jimmy Carter had already done, half- or unwittingly, in turning the Federal Reserve over to Paul Volcker. And if the Fed was strong enough and disciplined enough, conservatives argued, inflation could be stopped with only a small and temporary rise in unemployment. And, stated and unstated, without upending the conservative cultural hierarchies.

But it was not just in the United States. Union wage demands and strikes in Britain—especially public-sector strikes—convinced the center of the electorate that union power needed to be curbed, and that only the Conservatives would have the necessary resolve. Labour governments just were not working. Margaret Thatcher's Tories promised a restoration of order and discipline, and also promised that they would produce full employment and low inflation, and make Britain work again. In France, newly installed socialist president François Mitterrand turned on a dime and embraced the neoliberal turn to inflation control and orthodox austerity. Volcker disinflation policies in the United States raised unemployment throughout the North Atlantic, putting the project of social democracy in even more of a difficult position, as many social democracies now could not even keep their own commitments to full employment.

Such were the circumstances in which Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher came to power. They would remain at the top of their respective countries' political establishments for much of the 1980s, and their shadows would dominate the thinking of the political right—and the center, and the center-left—in their countries thereafter for much longer.

Yet the curious thing is that the domestic policies of both Reagan and Thatcher were, judged from any rational perspective, unsuccessful. There was a larger than usual gap between their promises and their accomplishments. They sought to raise employment and wages by removing debilitating regulations. They sought to end inflation by stabilizing money. They sought to boost investment, enterprise, and growth

by cutting taxes—especially for the rich. And they sought to reduce the size of the government by using their tax cuts to force government spending onto a diet. The world could have been such that these were all, by and large, good ideas that would have advanced general prosperity.

Many politicians and strategists predicted that Reagan’s and Thatcher’s policies would be extremely popular and successful. Tax cuts would please electorates. They would also substantially weaken opposition to subsequent spending cuts: any proposal to maintain spending would then necessarily include large budget deficits. Moreover, tax cuts would have the added benefit of tilting income distribution in favor of the rich, correcting the excesses of social democracy by reversing its equal treatment of unequals. The tax cuts would ensure that industry was rewarded and sloth punished. The logics of Stigler et al. would be appeased.

Yet the predicted good things did not happen—except for the end of inflation, enforced at heavy cost in people made unemployed and people made poor by Paul Volcker.¹⁷ And except for the large tax cuts for the rich, which began the process of destabilizing the distribution of income in a way that has led to our Second Gilded Age. Recovery toward full employment was unimpressive both in Western Europe and in the United States. Indeed, unemployment remained scarily high in Western Europe. Rapid wage growth did not resume. Government did not shrink—instead, it dealt with lower tax revenues by running up budget deficits. Investment, enterprise, and growth did not accelerate, in part because the big budget deficits soaked up financing that otherwise could have added to the capital stock. The value of the dollar became excessively high and deranged as a consequence of the large government appetite for finance, and so the market sent a false “shrink and shutdown” signal to American Midwestern manufacturing.¹⁸ The gap between promise and accomplishment was largest in the United States. Thatcher did accomplish her goal of curbing the British union movement. And she had promised less than Reagan had.

The Reagan administration also planned a massive military buildup—an expansion, not a contraction, of the size of the government. How was greater spending to be reconciled with lower taxes and balanced budgets? Policy elites assured each other that their candidate would say a lot of silly things before the election, but that he and his principal advisers understood the important issue. Tax cuts were to be followed by a ruthless attack

against programs such as farm subsidies, subsidized student loans, the exemption from taxation of Social Security income, the subsidization of the Southwest's water projects, and so forth. The "weak claims" to the federal government's money would get their just deserts. But those who had weak claims on a technocratic level, and yet benefited from government subsidies, did so because they had, and were good at exercising, political power.

To reduce anxiety, Reagan and his allies increasingly pushed the idea that no spending cuts at all would be required: lifting the hand of regulation from the economy, combined with tax cuts, would spur economic growth enough to quickly reverse the deficits. It would be "morning in America."

No one with a quantitative grasp of the government's budget and its pattern of change ever meant this story to be taken seriously. But the broader administration welcomed its dissemination. In fact, the tax cuts, the expansion of the military budget, and the disarray over spending cuts left the United States with large budget deficits throughout the 1980s. Previous decades had seen one year, or perhaps two, of large budget deficits, and only during deep recessions. But the 1980s saw large budget deficits persist throughout years of prosperity and low unemployment as well. This was a bitter outcome for those who had worked hard to elect a Republican administration because they thought Democrats would impoverish America's future by pursuing shortsighted, antigrowth policies.

After the US economy reattained the neighborhood of full employment in the mid-1980s, the Reagan deficits diverted about 4 percent of national income from investment into consumption spending: instead of flowing out of savers' pockets through banks to companies that would buy and install machines, finance flowed out of savers' pockets through banks into the government, where it funded the tax cuts for the rich, so the rich could then spend their windfalls on luxury consumption. Such large and previously unseen deficits in a near-full employment economy would by themselves typically have inflicted a 0.4 percent per year negative drag on productivity and income growth. Plus there was the substantial indirect harm done to US economic growth by the Reagan deficit cycle. For more than half of the 1980s the US dollar was substantially overvalued as the US budget deficit sucked in capital from outside and raised the exchange rate. When a domestic industry's costs are greater than the prices at which foreign firms

can sell, the market is sending the domestic industry a signal that it should shrink: foreigners are producing with more relative efficiency, and the resources used in the domestic industry would be put to better use in some other sector, where domestic producers have more of a comparative advantage. This was the signal that the market system sent to all US manufacturing industries in the 1980s: that they should cut back on investment and shrink. In this case, it was a false signal—sent not by the market’s interpretation of the logic of comparative advantage but by the extraordinary short-run demand of cash to borrow from the US government. But firms responded nevertheless. The US sectors producing tradable goods shrank. And some of the ground lost would never be recovered. The Reagan tax cuts hammered manufacturing in the Midwest, starting the creation of what is now known as the “Rust Belt.”

Thus the neoliberal turn, in the form it took during the Reagan administration, did not end the slowdown in productivity growth but reinforced it. Moreover, the size of the government relative to the economy was not improved. The technocratic quality of public regulation was not raised. The major effect was to set the distribution of income on a trend of sharply increasing inequality.

The root problem was that the world just did not seem to work as those advocating for the neoliberal turn had predicted.

Back in 1979, a year before Reagan’s election, Milton and Rose Friedman wrote their classic book *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*, in which they set out to defend their brand of small-government libertarianism. In the book, they made three powerful factual claims—claims that seemed true, or maybe true, at the time, but that we now know to be pretty clearly false. And their case for small-government libertarianism rested largely on those claims.¹⁹

The first claim was that macroeconomic distress is caused by governments, not by the instability of private markets, because the macroeconomic policy required to produce stability with low inflation and full-as-possible employment is straightforward, and easily achieved by a competent government that knows its limits. It is only because governments try to do too much that we experience difficult fluctuations. The second claim was that externalities (such as pollution) were relatively small and better dealt with via contract and tort law than through government

regulation. Their third and most important claim was that, in the absence of government-mandated discrimination, the market economy would produce a sufficiently egalitarian distribution of income. The equality of equals would be achieved, and the equality of unequals would be avoided. Slashing the safety net and eliminating all legal barriers to equality of opportunity, the Friedmans argued, would lead to a more equitable outcome than the social democratic approach of monkeying with taxes and subsidies.

Alas, each of these claims turned out to be wrong, a fact that wouldn't become clear to (almost) everyone until the Great Recession began after 2007.

The story as I have told it so far is one of a social democratic system of governance that ran into bad luck in the 1970s. A combination of that bad luck, built-in flaws, and the high expectations for prosperity that had been set during the Thirty Glorious Years caused it to lose support. This gave right-wingers their opening. But was it really chance and contingency? Or were there structural reasons why the social democratic balancing act would become increasingly hard to maintain as the societal memory of the Great Depression ended and the perceived really-existing socialist threat to the bourgeoisie of the global north declined in intensity?

Neoliberal policies, once enacted, were no more successful than social democratic ones had been—save in reducing inflation. Rapid growth did not resume. Indeed, median incomes declined under Reagan and Thatcher, as the era's meager productivity growth was funneled into the pockets of the rich, and a Second Gilded Age drew near. By the end of the 1980s, it was clear that the neoliberal project of rolling back social democracy had failed to surpass the bar of high expectations set by the Thirty Glorious Years, just as social democracy itself had failed.

But the failure of the neoliberal project to boost income growth in the 1980s did not lead to renewed calls for a further revolution in policy and in political economy. Somehow, the neoliberal project became accepted, conventional wisdom—so much so that in the following decades it gained support from the center-left. It was not Ronald Reagan but Bill Clinton who announced, in one of his State of the Union speeches, that “the era of big government is over.”²⁰ It was not Margaret Thatcher but Barack Obama who called for austerity when the unemployment rate was above 9 percent: “Families across the country are tightening their belts and making tough

decisions,” he said. “The federal government should do the same.”²¹ It was Bill Clinton who made his major social-insurance commitment one to “end welfare as we know it.”²² It was Prime Minister Tony Blair, from the Labour Party, who validated Margaret Thatcher’s strong allergy to British Labour’s union-centered cultural politics.²³ In the United States, Democrats and Republicans fenced over what form partial Social Security privatization would take—Would your private plan be an add-on or a carve-out?²⁴ Both sides called for the market rather than the government to guide industrial development. US public investment fell from 7 percent to 3 percent of national income. Rather than ramping up the government role via large-scale increases in R&D funding at the back end and guarantees of procurement at the front end, financial deregulation was trusted to create venture capital and other pools of private investment to fund technological revolutions. Not pollution-control mandates but, rather, methods of marketing rights to pollute. Not welfare programs but—notionally, as implementation was always lacking—education programs to eliminate the need for welfare. To do more would be to return to outdated social democratic command-and-control planning initiatives that had supposedly demonstrated their failure.

But social democracy had worked in the 1960s and 1970s. And—except on the inflation-control front—neoliberalism had done no better in the 1980s at generating growth, and a lot worse at generating equitable growth, than social democracy had in the 1970s. What gives?

Centrist and left neoliberals understood themselves as advocates for achieving social democratic ends through more efficient, market-oriented means. Markets—as Friedrich von Hayek had rightly stressed throughout his career—crowdsource the brainstorming and then the implementation of solutions that the market economy sets itself, and the market economy sets itself the task of making things tagged as valuable. Left-neoliberals understood themselves as advocating for this crowdsourcing and the carrot, where it would be more effective.

Besides, there was still Big Government, even if Bill Clinton had thrown rhetorical red meat to working-class white men who felt somehow wounded by inclusion by claiming that Big Government’s era was over. There were powerful government interventions and policies that appear to have been powerful boosters of growth: education (especially female secondary

education) in accelerating the demographic transition; policies making it easy for domestic producers to acquire industrial core technology (embodied in capital goods or not); administrative simplicity and transparency; transportation and communication infrastructure—all things that made government effective and that only the government could provide. Relying on the market and rightsizing an efficient government could, left-neoliberals hoped, both restore rapid economic growth and attract a durable, centrist governing coalition. Then attention could be turned to trying to reverse the growing perception that treating people equally and generously was unfair, because some people received things they had not merited and did not deserve.

Rightist neoliberalism was much harder edged. A much steeper slope in the distribution of income and wealth was not a bug but a feature. The top 0.01 percent—the job creators, the entrepreneurs—deserved to receive not 1 percent but 5 percent of national income.²⁵ They deserved to have societal power, in the form of the salience given to their preferences in the market’s semiutilitarianism, over the direction of human beings’ time and effort that gave them not 100 to 1,000 times but 500 to 250,000 times the national average income.²⁶ And to tax them even after they died was not only impolitic but immoral: theft. This revived and restored form of pseudo-classical semi-liberalism was earnestly supported by a plutocrat-funded network of think tanks and “astroturf” interest groups. (“Don’t tell me that you are speaking for the people,” I heard Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen once say. “I am old enough to know the difference between the grassroots and astroturf.”) This network’s central claim was that social democracy was one huge mistake, and if only the governments of the world got rid of it, we could move swiftly to a utopia. The makers wouldn’t have to carry the takers on their backs, and the takers would shape up—and if they did not, they would suffer the consequences, and it would serve them right!

That this did not seem to actually work was not much of an obstacle to belief.

From my perspective, this pattern of empirical failure followed by ideological doubling down was reminiscent of what we are told of religious politics in the Jerusalem-centered Kingdom of Judah late in the First Temple era. The Kingdom of Israel to the north had already been conquered by the Assyrians, its cities leveled, its elite carried off to subjection in

Nineveh. The kings of Judah in Jerusalem sought foreign alliances, especially with the only other great power in the neighborhood interested in resisting Assyria, Egypt. The prophets said: No! Trust not in your own swords, and especially not in those of foreign allies who worship strange and false Gods! Trust in YHWH! His strong arm will protect you! And when armies returned defeated, the prophets said: Your problem was that you did not enforce the worship of YHWH strongly enough! You allowed women to dance in the streets making cakes for the Queen of Heaven! Worship YHWH *harder!*²⁷

And, truth to tell, the neoliberal turn was very successful in restoring the growth rate—and more than restoring the growth rate—of the incomes and wealth of those at the top. The rich had the largest megaphones, and they trumpeted the fact that their incomes were growing rapidly. And those lower down, who voted for candidates and politicians who had turned the wheel and made the neoliberal turn? They were told that if only they were sufficiently worthy, the unleashed market would give to them too, and they more than half believed it.

THE ERA OF THE neoliberal turn did deliver one thing out of what its salesmen had promised: it delivered a rapidly rising share of the rich in the distribution of national income.

We already noted that America's true upper class, the top 0.01 percent of households, went from 100 to 500 times the average in terms of their incomes. The next 0.99 percent, the rest of the top 1 percent, went from 8 to 17 times the average. The next 4 percent, the rest of the top 5 percent, went from 3.25 to 4.25 times the average. The next 5 percent, the rest of the top 10 percent, treaded water in their share of income. And all the niches lower down saw their shares of national income fall.

These are the incomes associated with the ranked slots in the income distribution, not the incomes of tagged individuals or households. And as people age, moreover, their incomes rise. And the pie, per capita, was greater in 2010 than it had been in 1979. In real per capita terms, the measured US income average was nearly twice as much in 2010 as it had been in 1979. And a great many things of substantial use value were available in 2010 really cheaply. That mattered. As a general rule, a

standard physical good—a blender, say—sold in the market has an average use-value to consumers of perhaps twice its market value: half of the wealth from production and distribution of a physical good comes from the resources, natural and human, used in production—that is, its cost of production—and half is consumer surplus, which has to do with how much consumers are willing to pay for the product, which is based on getting the good to the right user in the right place at the right time. For information age nonphysical commodities, the ratio may well be greater—perhaps five to one, maybe more.

Rising inequality begs caveats. Such as that 55 percent of US households had home air-conditioning in 1979, rising to 90 percent by 2010. Washing machines rose from 70 percent to 80 percent, and dryers from 50 percent to 80 percent. Five percent of US households had microwave ovens in 1979, and 92 percent had them by 2010. Computers or tablets went from 0 percent to 70 percent, cell phones to more than 95 percent, and smartphones to more than 75 percent.²⁸ The American working and middle classes were richer in 2010 than their counterparts had been in 1979. In the neoliberal era, the United States was no longer rapidly increasing the educational level attained by the young, no longer aggressively investing in public infrastructure, and no longer keeping the government from partially draining the pool of savings that would have otherwise flowed to finance private investment. Productivity growth was only half the rate it had been during the Thirty Glorious Years. Equitable growth was no longer being delivered. But there was still growth—and growth in typical incomes at a pace that came close to matching that of 1870–1914, and that people over 1913–1938 would have wept to see.

Still, many things that people had taken, and do take, to be indicia of middle-class status—of having made it—such as an easy commute; a detached house in a good neighborhood; the ability to get their children into what they think is a good college, *and then to pay for it*; good-enough employer-sponsored health insurance that won't bankrupt them and allow them to lose their homes to pay for a heart attack—these seemed more difficult to attain in the America of 2010 than they had been, at least in memory, back in 1979. Plus, there was a person's relative status. A successful middle-class American in the age of social democracy could meet American Motors CEO and future Michigan governor and Housing

and Urban Development (HUD) secretary George Romney and know that he lived in a normal house—albeit a relatively large one—in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, and drove a compact car, a Rambler American (admittedly, because American Motors made it). A successful middle-class American in the age of neoliberalism would meet Bain CEO and future Massachusetts governor and US senator (R-UT) Mitt Romney and know that he had seven houses, some of them mansions, scattered around the country and, well, I do not know what models of cars he has driven, but I have been told that the house in La Jolla, California, near the beach, has a car elevator. Even when people have more material wealth at their disposal in absolute terms than their parents did, a proportional gulf that large that is growing that rapidly can make them feel small.

French economist Thomas Piketty popularized an understanding of the striking differences between how the economy had functioned in the global north before World War I and how it functioned after World War II.²⁹ In the First Gilded Age, before World War I, wealth was predominantly inherited, the rich dominated politics, and economic (as well as race and gender) inequality were extreme. After the upheaval of World War II, everything changed. Income growth accelerated, wealth was predominantly earned (justly or unjustly), politics became dominated by the middle class, and economic inequality was modest (even if race and gender equality remained a long way off). The global north seemed to have entered a new era.

And then things shifted back.

Piketty's central point was that we shouldn't have been surprised. In a capitalist economy, it is normal for a large proportion of the wealth to be inherited. It is normal for its distribution to be highly unequal. It is normal for a plutocratic elite, once formed, to use its political power to shape the economy to its own advantages. And it is normal for this to put a drag on economic growth. Rapid growth like that which occurred between 1945 and 1973, after all, requires creative destruction; and, because it is the plutocrats' wealth that is being destroyed, they are unlikely to encourage it.

Why, then, did the neoliberal era last? It had pointed out that social democracy was no longer delivering the rapid progress toward utopia that it had delivered in the first post–World War II generation. It promised to do better. Yet it did not do better—save for curbing the union movement in Britain, and providing income gains for the rich through tax cuts, as well as

through the side effects of wage stagnation, which were truly staggering in magnitude. Why didn't discontent with neoliberalism's failure to deliver cause another turn of the political-economic societal-organizational wheel?

I believe it lasted because Ronald Reagan won the Cold War. Or, rather, I believe it was because soon after Ronald Reagan's presidency came to an end, the Cold War came to an end, and he was given credit for it. And the manifest failure of ideas in the shop window of possibilities weren't uniquely being sold by the right.

Looking back from today, or from the 1990s, or even from the late 1970s, on the phenomenon of really-existing socialism, perhaps the most striking feature is how inevitable the decay and decline of the system was. German sociologist Max Weber did not have to see what happened from 1917 to 1991 to understand how the history of the Bolshevik regime installed by Lenin and his comrades was going to go. He looked back before 1917, at previous history, at episodes in which entrepreneurship and enterprise had been replaced with bureaucracy, and he wrote that wherever "bureaucracy gained the upper hand, as in China and Egypt, it did not disappear": there was going to be no Marxist "withering away" but rather a hypertrophy of a state issuing commands.

German-Polish activist and moral philosopher Rosa Luxemburg, writing in 1918, was even more clear-eyed (and pessimistic):

Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion, life dies out in every public institution.... Only the bureaucracy remains.... A few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless experience direct and rule.... An elite of the working class is invited from time to time to meetings where they are to applaud the speeches of the leaders, and to approve proposed resolutions unanimously—[it is] at bottom, then, a clique affair.... Such conditions must inevitably cause a brutalization of public life: attempted assassinations, shooting of hostages, etc.³⁰

Both Weber and Luxemburg, however, thought that the bureaucracy would be efficient, even if anti-entrepreneurial. Weber thought really-

existing socialism would be regimented and organized. Luxemburg thought it would be brutal and dictatorial. Neither predicted the waste, the bread lines, the irrationality of economic organization, and the centrality of corruption, influence, and networks: *blat*. Neither predicted that when the Iron Curtain fell at the end of the 1980s, it would turn out that the countries where Stalin's (or Ho Chi Minh's, or Kim Il-Sung's, or Fidel Castro's) armies had marched would be but one-fifth as prosperous in material terms as the countries just next door that they had not conquered.

Many outside the USSR—for example, the left-wing Marxist economist Paul Sweezy—had confidently predicted that Leninist socialism and government planning would deliver a more efficient allocation of productive forces and a faster rate of economic growth than any other possible system. Even many who feared the destructive potential of Leninist socialism agreed that the USSR and its satellites were likely to forge ahead in total and per capita production. Paul Samuelson—no Leninist—wrote the leading post–World War II American economics textbook. Up until the late 1960s, its forecasts showed the USSR economy surpassing the US economy in production per head well before 2000. That the Soviet Union might produce superior production and equality, if not prosperity, even if it remained inferior as to freedom and choice, seemed a possibility even into the 1960s.

Yet all this turned out to be wrong. The Soviet Union and its satellites turned out, when the Iron Curtain fell, to be poor indeed. Gross inefficiency in consumer goods allocation turned out to be generated by forces that also produced gross inefficiency in investment allocation, and so the lands that were to be studded with automated factories were not. The Soviet Union had enjoyed some successes. By 1960, it had by and large attained a global-north level of health, education, and life expectancy. In the 1970s it appeared to have created a military at least as strong as that of the United States—but it did so by devoting 40 percent of its national income, rather than the United States' 8 percent, to building it up.

And the economic failures were massive. Increased output was limited, mostly, to steel, machinery, and military equipment. The collectivization of agriculture ended in ruin: we do not know how many died. We think it was in the mid seven figures. It might have been eight figures. And the Soviet growth rate was not impressively high when seen in a world context.

The late Yegor Gaidar, a Soviet economist and politician, liked to tell the story of the failure of Soviet industrialization through the lenses of grain and oil. As he put it, the prominent communist economist Nikolay Bukharin and Soviet official Aleksey Rykov “essentially told Stalin: ‘In a peasant country, it is impossible to extract grain by force. There will be civil war.’ Stalin answered, ‘I will do it nonetheless.’” As of the 1950s, Nikita Khrushchev was dealing with the consequences of the backward, enserfed agricultural sector Stalin had created. As of 1950, he wrote, “In the last fifteen years, we have not increased the collection of grain. Meanwhile, we are experiencing a radical increase of urban population. How can we resolve this problem?” He ultimately decided to throw resources at the problem and undertook large-scale projects to put more land under grain cultivation. In the end, the plan failed. In 1963, the USSR informed its allies that it would no longer be able to ship them grain, and then started buying grain on the world market.³¹

It may be that the collapse of the Soviet economy and the Soviet model was delayed for a decade by the more-than-tripling of world real oil prices during the OPEC decade of the 1970s. According to Gaidar, the beginning of the end came when Saudi Arabia decided at the end of 1985 to resume pumping oil at capacity, and to crash the price of oil, largely to curb the ambitions of Iran’s theocrats. This put the Soviet Union in the extremely difficult position of being unable to earn enough to buy grain to feed its massive population. As Gaidar assessed the situation, the Soviets were left without any other option and started borrowing to cover the difference in 1986. But by 1989, when a Soviet effort “to create a consortium of 300 banks to provide a large loan” collapsed, they were forced “to start negotiations directly with Western governments about so-called politically motivated credits.”

That was the ultimate revelation of the industrial bankruptcy of the Soviet Union: in a time of low oil prices, the regime could only feed its people by bargaining away political concessions in return for concessionary loans with which to purchase wheat from abroad.

Ronald Reagan and his team had decided to amp up the Cold War in Latin America by hiring soldiers from Argentina’s fascist dictatorship to be the core cadres of what they hoped would become a right-wing guerrilla insurgency against the left-wing “Sandinista” government of Nicaragua.

The Argentine generals in their junta thought—did high officials in the Reagan administration, such as UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, tell them so?—that in return the United States would stay neutral if there was any conflict between Argentina and Britain over the Falkland Islands, which lay three hundred miles off the coast of Argentina, and which Britain had colonized centuries before. So, seeking to boost their domestic political standing via a short, victorious war, the Argentine generals conquered the Falklands. Margaret Thatcher sent the British navy—with ample American logistical support—to retake them. This was the lift beneath her wings to win her reelection as prime minister in 1983. Rather than a failed four-year experiment, neoliberalism thus cemented the neoliberal turn in Britain.

In the United States, the economy came roaring back in time to win reelection for Ronald Reagan in 1984—plus, he was superb at being a head-of-state-type president, even if rather bad and underqualified as a policy-analyst-type president. His wife, Nancy, persuaded him to see Mikhail Gorbachev as a potential friend in his second term. And it was the end of the Cold War that was the wind beneath neoliberalism’s wings in the United States.

The hopes and claims at the start of the neoliberal turn in 1980 had been that the post–World War II golden-age pace of economic growth in the global north could be restored by governments and societies turning (at least partway) to serve the imperatives of the market, rather than the social democratic practice of managing, supplementing, and controlling the market economy. These hopes and claims were dashed. Growth continued, but at a much slower pace than during 1938–1973—albeit at a slightly faster pace than 1870–1914, and a much faster pace than 1914–1938.

Distribution had shifted. Inclusion, especially for women, but also, to some degree, for minorities, meant that the incomes of white men did not keep pace with the average. More important, however, was that the neoliberal turn accomplished its explicit goal of transferring income and wealth to the top of the distribution. The claim had been that thus incentivizing the rich and the superrich would induce them to work harder and unleash waves of entrepreneurial energy. That claim proved false. But the income and wealth was transferred up nevertheless.

This was disturbing to the established male ethnomajority working and middle classes. After 1980 they found the growth in their real incomes to be

small and, in their minds, at least, neutralized by the fact that they no longer received the respect from women, minorities, and foreigners—or from the plutocrats growing in wealth and salience in their mental pictures of the world—that was their expectation, and that they saw as their due. Somehow, things had been rigged against them. The rich got richer, the unworthy and minority poor got handouts. Hardworking white men who deserved more of the good things (according to this view) did not get them. Thus a critical mass of the electorate grew to distrust the system—a system that did not seem to be providing them with better lives in the early aughts than their predecessors had seen thirty years earlier—and the system’s rulers.

When the Great Recession came along, and when recovery from the Great Recession was delayed and hesitant, the government and the political system barely seemed to care. A reason was that the rich dominated public discourse. And for the rich, there was no crisis. But everyone else—roughly 90 percent of the US population—continued to lose ground. And for them, the economy since 2007 has proved gravely disappointing. They seek an explanation, and something to change, and often, someone to blame. They are right to do so.

16

Reglobalization, Information Technology, and Hyperglobalization

The world began to take the neoliberal turn in the 1970s. The turn was all but complete by 2000. Neoliberalism in its various forms had ascended, and was providing the world's political-economy governance default presumptions and practices.

This ascent is a puzzle. The neoliberal turn had failed to deliver higher investment, greater entrepreneurship, faster productivity growth, or the restoration of middle-class wage and income growth. The new policies had delivered massively greater income and wealth inequality. What was the appeal? The neoliberal order hung on because it took credit for victory in the Cold War, because it took credit for making sure the undeserving didn't get anything they did not deserve, and because the powerful used their megaphones to loudly and repeatedly tell others that they deserved the credit for whatever they claimed neoliberal policies had achieved. And so the hand that had been dealt was played out.

Four forces in particular led to things playing out the way they did. The first was post–World War II *reglobalization*: the reversal of the step backward away from the 1870–1914 globalization that had taken place over the period 1914–1950. The second was a big shift in technology: starting in the mid-1950s, the steel-box shipping container conquered the world. The third was another big shift in technology: the nearly ethereal zeros and ones of information technology conquered the world. The fourth consisted of the neoliberal policies themselves and how they interacted with the other three. Together these four forces turned *reglobalization* into *hyperglobalization*.

It should now be obvious that this chapter's story is not a simple one. Making it even more complex, the story of reglobalization, information technology, and hyperglobalization in the age in which the world took the neoliberal turn has two threads. One thread follows the consequences of reglobalization, the rise of information technology, and then hyperglobalization for the global south. The second focuses on the consequences for the global north. And what bottom line you ultimately draw—Was it great, good, or something else?—very much depends on whether your patron saint is Hayek or Polanyi.

Global south countries that managed to use neoliberal ideas to make their own societies less corrupt (and that escaped being hammered by any blowback consequences of neoliberal policies in the global north) found themselves able to use, rather than be used by, the global world market. For the first time since 1870, these economies were no longer forced to diverge from the trajectory of the global north, growing relatively poorer even as they grew absolutely richer. From 1990 on, in very broad strokes, the global south began to see real income growth faster than the global north.¹ And so it looked as if the market's workings might in fact be for the benefit of humankind.

For global-north countries, there were gains from increasing world trade and the spread of information technology. But these gains wound up concentrated among those at the top of global-north societies, further enriching the rich. Having a union job in a factory in the same region as the corporate headquarters no longer meant that you got a healthy share of that concentrating wealth. Re- and hyperglobalization plus infotech in the context of the neoliberal turn meant that bosses and engineers now found that they could put their factories elsewhere in the world. The greatly accelerated flow of information meant they no longer needed to drive to the factory to see what was going on, manage it, and improve it. Elegies for Polanyian rights were sounded in regions of the global north that for the first time experienced the deindustrialization that the global south had been experiencing since before 1870.

But elegiac hillbillies were just one piece of the global north: one theme of squares in a more complicated quilted arrangement. Infotech's realization of critical mass at the start of the 1990s meant that the global north attained productivity growth equivalent to that of the Thirty Glorious Years for a

decade and a half. And while the workings of the Second Gilded Age kept that productivity growth from fully trickling down to wages, it also meant that the violation of people's expectations and Polanyian rights was likewise quilted—here, but not there, and not in equal measure. One result was profound changes in the underpinnings of how political economic decisions were made.

As late as 2007, neoliberals at the top were able to congratulate themselves, believing that things were going not unreasonably well, and that they would continue to go not unreasonably well.² Productivity growth seemed back, and, they told themselves, when the income distribution stabilized, broad-based waves of growth would resume and pockets of populist discontent would ebb. At the top it looked, again, as if the market's workings might actually be for the benefit of humankind.

But that belief missed much of what was really going on underneath. After 2007, the financial crisis and the Great Recession, subjects a chapter away, were both thoroughgoing disasters in their own right. Useful to know for this chapter, however, is that these disasters would pull back the curtain to reveal that neoliberal hubris had truly brought forth nemesis.

POST-WORLD WAR II REGLOBALIZATION was history rhyming the post-1870 pattern: the establishment of an international economic order under a hegemon plus a transportation technology revolution, once again advancing globalization at a rapid pace. But after 1870, Britain-as-hegemon had gone it alone, laying down a pattern in splendid isolation to which others had to accommodate themselves. The United States after World War II built institutions, and so the post-World War II era became a great time for new global cooperative organizations. On the political side, of course, there was the UN—the United Nations—with its Security Council, its General Assembly, and all of its branches.

On the economic side, there would be three more organizations. Or at least that was the plan—only two and a half actually came into existence. The newly dominant United States wagered that international trade would soon become an enabler of both international peace and domestic prosperity. Western Europe joined in on this wager, most prominently with the creation in the mid-1950s of the European Coal and Steel Community

for free trade in those commodities, an initiative that grew into today's European Union. And at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference, Harry Dexter White from the United States and John Maynard Keynes from Britain designed a system to try to make increased globalization work for good.

The three planned organizations to promote global economic cooperation were the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and—the one that failed to fully come into existence—the International Trade Organization (ITO). The World Bank began as what was called the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and was created for the dual purpose of financing reconstruction in the wake of the war's destruction and developing those parts of the world that had not yet grasped the productive opportunities of industrial technology. The IMF was created to manage the values of currencies and the net flow of financial resources across borders, to enable countries that needed to reset the terms on which they traded, and to coerce certain countries into living up to their economic obligations. And the planned-for ITO was going to negotiate mutually beneficial reductions in tariffs and referee trading disputes.

But while the Truman administration pushed the UN, the World Bank, and the IMF through the US Congress, it decided at the end of 1950 that ratifying the ITO would be one international organization too many. It was, the administration decided, too much to ask of Congress. By that time, the tides had shifted against the ethos of open-handed international cooperation that had dominated in the immediate postwar years; the long twilight struggle between the free world and global communism known as the Cold War was beginning. The demise of the ITO was a result. And so, instead of an organization with teeth intended to enforce resolutions to trade disputes, there was to be an agreement—a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), under the aegis of which multiple rounds of multilateral tariff reductions would be negotiated over decades. Thus even at the start of this reglobalization push, there were countercurrents, of which this was the chief: while the ITO would have required countries and sectors and classes to eat whatever the market set before them in response to automatic tariff reductions, the GATT required that a domestic political coalition be put together in every signatory country before a GATT tariff-reduction round could be completed and come into effect.

Such coalitions were put together. Eight rounds of tariff reductions were

negotiated and implemented between 1947 and 1994: Geneva (completed in 1947), Annecy (1949), Torquay (1950–1951), Geneva II (1956), Geneva III (1962, more commonly called the Dillon Round, as it was proposed by C. Douglas Dillon when he was undersecretary of state for Republican president Eisenhower and concluded by C. Douglas Dillon when he was secretary of the treasury for Democratic president Kennedy), the Kennedy (Memorial) Round (1967), the Tokyo Round (1979), and the Uruguay Round (1994). By the 1990s each round was taking nearly a decade to negotiate, with nearly a decade of exhaustion between rounds.

But that was only part of the story. Improvements in domestic production had raced ahead of productivity improvements in long-distance transportation from 1914 to 1950. Then the paces reversed, with revolutions in ocean transport, the most impressive of which was the coming of containerization.³

The cargo container: it is 20 or 40 feet long, 8.5 or 9.5 feet high, and 8 feet wide. It carries up to 29 tons in its 2,000 cubic feet of recommended available space—goods worth roughly \$500,000 (or more) when sold at retail. It can be transported in a month anywhere in the world where there are suitable harbors, railways, locomotives, flatcars, truck tractors, and roads. It can be moved carrying nonfragile, nonperishable goods from any modern factory with a loading dock to any modern warehouse anywhere in the world for perhaps 1 percent of the goods' retail value. Before 1960, costs of international transoceanic shipment for most commodities could easily amount to 15 percent of retail value. Back in the 1950s, the city of San Francisco held eight hundred thousand people, and fifty thousand of them were longshoremen, at least part time. By 1980 there were less than one-fifth as many.

When my family bought a German-made washing machine from a warehouse store in San Leandro, California, just on the south side of the city of Oakland as we here in Berkeley are on the north side, it cost us eight times as much to get the machine from the warehouse to our basement as it had cost to get it from the factory where it was made, in Schorndorf, to the warehouse.

And so reglobalization proceeded during the Thirty Glorious Years after World War II. A great deal of the force for expansion came from the political-economic side, especially as the United States came to see access

to its markets as an important tool in fighting the Cold War. And then the virtuous trade circle set in: rising productivity drove demand for goods ever higher, and so expanded capacity was met by expanded demand. By 1975 world trade as a share of global economic activity was back to its 1914 peak of 25 percent—about one-eighth of what a typical region spent on goods and services was for imported goods and services, and about one-eighth of a typical region’s earnings came from exporting goods and services.

This virtuous circle was strongest by far in the global north. That 1800–1914 had concentrated industry and knowledge about industry in the global north’s industrial districts had consequences, since ideas creation builds on the ideas stock. Previous global-north industrialization accelerated global-north growth, while previous global-south deindustrialization held back global-south growth. The generation of new ideas, after all, depends on the density and magnitude of the stock of already deployed ideas in use in the region. The global north’s industrial districts thus drove growth forward. This virtuous circle was much less evident in the global south, which, remember, had been relatively deindustrialized by the workings of the earlier wave of globalization.

Without vibrant manufacturing districts and deep and dense communities of engineering practice of its own, how could the global south benefit from this reglobalization? The only way was by further entrenching itself into its slot in the world division of labor. That meant taking advantage of the valuable resources it owned, such as minerals and tropical agricultural products, where relative prices continued to decline. And so, while the global south did get richer during the post–World War II decade of reglobalization, it got richer more slowly, and the relative income gap continued to grow up to at least 1990.

In the first post–World War II generation, in a nutshell, you could understand who benefited from reglobalization by talking of the “frown curve.” At the start, the left side, the frown curve is low: there is relatively little wealth to be gained by providing raw materials, as elastic supply and inelastic demand means that primary-product producers, who as a group work hard to increase their productivity, can do little more than to reduce the prices at which they can sell as productivity increases; and thus there is relatively little wealth to be gained in design, as competitors can quickly reverse-engineer something that’s already in existence and visible. There is,

however, a great deal of wealth to be gained in the middle, where the frown curve is high. There, the know-how and the know-what of the industrial districts of the global north brought about the enormous efficiencies of mid- and late-1900s mass production. And there is relatively little wealth to be gained at the end, the right side, where the frown curve is once again low: marketing and distribution—matching commodities to the particular needs of individuals, or at least convincing individuals it is worth paying you to do so—is also not where the bulk of the action is.

But the story of reglobalization via political economy and containerization is only the first third of the story of this chapter. In the 1980s there was another huge technological shift gathering force that would have powerful influences on world trade and far beyond: information technology. There came a true revolution in the cost of transporting not goods but bits, not material objects but *information*. The communication and data global internet—and the massive fiberoptic submarine and subsurface cables, plus the narrowcast and broadcast transmitters, receivers, and satellites, on which it rides—transformed the world again starting in the 1990s.

I HAVE NOT WRITTEN much in this book about precisely how new technologies have advanced human collective powers over nature, about how they allowed us to organize ourselves in new ways, and what they were and did. I have simply written about their rate of growth: for example, the 2 percent per year in ideas growth after 1870. To have focused on what they were and what they did would have been a very different book, one that needs more of an engineer and less of a political economist. Let me hasten to add that that different book, competently executed, would be a great book about things of vital, perhaps overwhelming, importance. My late teacher David Landes's *The Unbound Prometheus* accomplished this task for Europe from 1750 to 1965, and it remains a classic. And Robert Gordon has written a new classic covering the United States since 1870 in the same vein.⁴

But right here and now it is, I think, appropriate to bring some features of these technologies to center stage. Consider the idea of General Purpose Technologies (GPTs): those technologies where advances change, if not

everything, nearly everything, as they ramify across sector upon sector.⁵ Steam power in the early 1800s was the first. Early machine tools—embodying in their design and construction so much technological knowledge about how to shape materials—in the mid-1800s were the second. Then after 1870 came telecommunications, materials science, organic chemistry, internal combustion engines, the assembly line, subsequent machine-tool generations, and electricity—the technologies the flowering of which make up Robert Gordon’s “one big wave” of technological advance, and which he sees as transforming the global north over the period 1870–1980 and then ebbing. Starting in the 1950s and reaching critical mass in the 1990s, there came another GPT: microelectronics. Electrons were now made to dance not in the service of providing power but rather to assist and amplify calculation—and communication. And it turned out that microelectronics as microcontrollers could allow the construction of materials that could perform much better and that were cheaper and lighter than relying on dumb matter arranged in ways that linked mechanically.⁶

Take the quartz components of common sand. Purify and liquefy them by heating them to more than 1,700°C (3,100°F). Add carbon to pull the oxygen atoms out of the quartz, leaving behind pure molten liquid silicon. Cool the silicon, and, just before it solidifies, drop a small seed crystal into it. Then pull up the seed crystal and the surrounding silicon attaching itself to it.

If you have done this right, you will then have a monocrystalline silicon cylinder. Slice it finely and thinly into “wafers.” These wafers of pure silicon crystal do not conduct electricity. Why not? Because of a silicon atom’s fourteen electrons, ten cannot move to become currents because they are locked to the nucleus in what chemists call their 1s and 2sp “orbitals.” (“Orbital” is a misnomer: they do not really “orbit.” Niels Bohr a century and more ago thought they did, but he did not have it right. Erwin Schrödinger put him straight.) Only the outermost four electrons, in the 3sp orbitals, might ever get energized and then move around to become electric currents. But in pure silicon they cannot ever do so because they are locked between their atom’s nucleus and the nuclei of its four neighbors in the crystal. Enough energy to knock them out of the 3sp orbitals and into the “conduction band” orbitals would break the crystal.

But suppose you were to replace a few of the silicon atoms in the crystal—1 in every 10,000 atoms is more than enough—with phosphorus atoms, which have not fourteen but fifteen electrons each. Fourteen of each phosphorus atom's electrons will act like the silicon atom's electrons: locked into place, tightly bound in their 1s and 2sp orbitals to their home nucleus, and the outer four bound in their 3sp orbital to both their home nucleus and to the four neighboring nuclei. But the fifteenth electron cannot fit. It finds a higher energy orbital state, in which it is only loosely bound to any one nucleus. It can and does move about in response to small gradients in the local electric field. And so the region of your silicon crystal that you have “doped” with phosphorus becomes a conductor of electricity. But if you were to do something that pulled those fifteenth electrons away to someplace else, that region would then also become a nonconductive insulator like the rest of the crystal. A doped region of a silicon crystal is thus like the on-off switch on your wall that controls your ceiling light. By applying or removing small voltages of electrical current and electromagnetic pressure, we can flip that switch on and off as we choose, and so let the current flow or not as we choose.

Right now, in the semiconductor fabricators of the Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC), the machines that it has bought (from ASML Holding in the Netherlands and Applied Materials in Silicon Valley) and installed and programmed are carving thirteen billion such semiconductor solid-state switches with attached current and control paths onto a piece of a wafer that will become a crystal silicon “chip” about two-fifths of an inch wide and two-fifths of an inch tall. TSMC’s marketing materials imply that the smallest of the carved features is only twenty-five silicon atoms wide. (In actual fact, the features are more like ten times that size.) If the thirteen billion component switches of this small chip of crystal rock made from sand were carved correctly, and it passes its tests, which require that its current pathways switch on and off accurately and synchronously 3.2 billion times a second, the chip will wind up at the heart of a machine like the one connected to the keyboard on which were typed these words. It will be an Apple M1 microprocessor, a very large-scale integration (VLSI) circuit made up of these tiny switches of doped silicon crystal, which we call *transistors*.

William Shockley, John Bardeen, and Walter Brattain are the three

credited with building the first transistor at Bell Telephone Laboratories in 1947. Dawon Kahng and Mohamed Atalla are credited with building the first metal-oxide semiconductor field effect transistor. Jay Last's group, building on the ideas of Robert Noyce and Jean Hoerni of Fairchild Semiconductor, built the first operational solid-state integrated circuit made up of more than one transistor. By 1964 General Microelectronics was making and selling a 120-transistor integrated circuit. Previous vacuum-tube electronic switching elements were four inches long—one hundred millimeters. Transistors in 1964 were packed one-twenty-fifth of an inch, one millimeter apart: they were one hundred times smaller, enabling ten thousand times as much computation power to be packed into the same space, with orders of magnitude less power consumption.

Gordon Moore, then also working at Fairchild Semiconductor, observed in 1965 that the number of solid-state microelectronic transistors in frontier integrated circuits had grown from one to one hundred in the seven years since 1958. He made a bold and highly speculative prediction that we could look forward to a future of “component-crammed equipment,” projecting that in 1975, which was just ten years away, a one-hundred-square-millimeter silicon chip would hold sixty-five thousand components. That would allow for “electronic techniques more generally available throughout all of society, performing many functions that presently are done inadequately by other techniques or not done at all,” he said. He predicted “home computers—or at least terminals connected to a central computer, automatic controls for automobiles, and personal portable communications.” He said there would be “integrated circuits in digital filters [to] separate channels on multiplex equipment,” and forecast advances in telephone circuits and data processing. “Computers will be more powerful, and will be organized in completely different ways,” he concluded.⁷

By 1971, integrated-circuit semiconductor fabricators had taken four steps downward to a finer process for inscribing patterns on the crystal. The first microprocessor, the Intel 4004, packed twenty thousand transistors into a square millimeter—features were two hundred microns, two hundred millionths of a meter, apart. By 2016 the feature-plus-separation distance was down to two hundred nanometers, two hundred billionths of a meter. (And by 2021, there would be a further shrinkage, by more than half, and

the feature-plus-separation distances would be only ninety nanometers—450 silicon atoms—across). Back in 1979, to execute one MIPS—a million instructions per second—required one watt of power. By 2015, one watt could drive more than one million MIPS. As components became smaller, they became faster. Halve the size of the feature, and you can run it twice as fast—up to a point. Before 1986, microprocessor speed quadrupled every seven years. Then, with the coming of the simplicity of reduced instruction sets, came seventeen years in which each quadrupling of speed took three years rather than seven. Then, after 2003, the quadrupling time went back to seven years, until further speed improvements hit a wall in around 2013.

But the packing of more and more smaller and smaller transistors into VLSI chips continued through what I can only call Deep Magic, albeit at a slower pace than with the original “Moore’s Law.” I can read that the ASML TWINSCAN NXE:3400C machine uses extreme ultraviolet light with a wavelength of 13.5 nanometers and think: that machine is keeping itself aligned and carving twenty million lines with its lasers into the silicon crystal of a three-hundred-millimeter (twelve-inch) wafer without erring in positioning any one of those lines by as much as one-thirty-thousandth of a human hair. And I cannot grasp how this could possibly be done, regularly and reliably, for a variable cost of only \$50 per microprocessor.⁸

At its most rapid pace during the information-technology revolution, the company at the heart of the innovation economy, microprocessor designer and manufacturer Intel, was ticktocking—tick, improving the microarchitectural details of its microprocessors so programs could run faster; tock, improving the fine resolution of its manufacturing so that it could make the features, and thus the entire microprocessor, smaller—and completing a full cycle in under three years. With microprocessors doubling in speed every two years, and with the information-technology sector taking full advantage, measured economy-wide productivity growth after 1995 rose again—coming close to its golden-age immediate post–World War II pace—until the Great Recession disruption came at the end of 2007. The wealth created was spread widely and diffused among users, who gained remarkable capabilities to learn, communicate, and be entertained at an astonishingly low price, and the technoprinces of Silicon Valley and those who assisted them. There were economic disruptions: losers. There were half a million women in the United States staffing telephone switchboards

in phone companies and at reception desks in 1960. There are less than two thousand today. But, for the most part, and on the domestic level, the coming of information technology to critical mass changed the tasks that had to be done in order to make up the occupation, rather than destroying occupations themselves.

As infotech spread through the economy, the nature of work changed. We East African plains apes have long had strong backs and thighs with which to move heavy objects, nimble fingers to do fine work, mouths and ears with which to communicate, and brains with which to think and manipulate symbols. Starting with the domestication of the horse and continuing with the steam engine, the place of backs and thighs in human work had been greatly reduced by 1870, but there was still plenty of fine manipulation to do. With the coming of electricity and its machinery, human fingers began to be replaced by machines also, but there was still a huge amount of complex design to be done, along with brainstorming and routine accounting and informing, all work to be done by brains, mouths, and ears. Every machine required a microcontroller, and the human brain was by far the best one available. So technology had so far complemented labor rather than substituting for it: more machines and more information technology made human beings more valuable and more productive, rather than less so. But to many, the new work seemed less like the type of thing that a high-status master craftsman might do and more like the tasks required of a servant—either of the customer, or of the increasingly autonomous-looking machine itself.

On the international scale, information technology plus ongoing reglobalization turned, in the 1990s when infotech reached critical mass, into hyperglobalization.⁹

The international economist Richard Baldwin put his finger on the pulse of what he calls the “second unbundling”: that of intra-firm communication. With the coming of the internet, it was no longer necessary for a firm’s sophisticated industrial division of labor to be geographically concentrated. You no longer had to be able to walk or drive to your supplier’s offices and factories to show them how what they had was not quite what you needed. You could, first, in the 1980s, draw a picture and send a fax. Then, in the 1990s, you could send an email. By the late 2000s you could send multimegabyte data files around the globe.

And for those—many—cases in which words-on-paper or words-and-pictures-on-screen were not enough? After 1990, increasingly, you could hop onto an overnight transoceanic nonstop jet. The word is that Apple Computer had fifty first-class seats a day back and forth between San Francisco and China in the months before the coming of the COVID-19 plague. And for those cases in which the limits of the division of labor were not so much the communication of knowledge but the face-to-face, looking-in-the-eye establishment of trust and its limits? The transoceanic airplane flight worked there as well.

Thus, after 1990, manufacturing, which had been increasingly concentrating itself in the global north since 1800, began to spread out away from the global north at tremendous speed. Not just better—but revolutionarily and superlatively better—communications made it possible to spread out what had been regional concentrations of firms into globe-spanning value chains. The extraordinary wage gaps that a century of economic divergence had created between global north and global south made all of this immensely profitable. In the space of a generation, with the spreading-out of production into globe-spanning value-chain networks, much of global manufacturing became both high tech and low wage.

As Baldwin put it, the logic of global production after 1990 was increasingly driven by the “smile curve”: low in the middle, high at the beginning and the end. Great value was earned at the beginning by providing raw materials and resources and, more important, *industrial design*. Little value was added in the middle by increasingly routinized manufacturing and assembly. And great value was added at the end by marketing, branding, and distribution—providing information (and misinformation) to consumers about what they might want from the enormous variety of types and qualities of goods that could be churned out from the expanding capacity of factories. And it was, again, a quilt. Very good things happened in selected places. Other places, nearby in culture, political allegiances, and attitudes, got left behind—either their industries that they drew on for relatively high-value and high-income niches in the world’s division of good things packed up and moved away, or they never arrived.

Although I have said that this “second unbundling” process transferred manufacturing to the global south, that is not quite right. High-tech global

manufacturing went to Korea, so much so that Korea is now a full member of the global north, alongside Japan, as well as Taiwan. It went, above all, to parts of China—but specifically to the growth-pole megacities of the Pearl River Delta, Shanghai, and Beijing, and secondarily to the coasts, but not to the interior. It also went to India—but overwhelmingly to Maharashtra and Karnataka, not to Uttar Pradesh. It went to Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia, and is now going to Vietnam. It went to Poland, next door to the manufacturing powerhouse of Germany, whose firms found enormous benefits in spreading out their value chains to make use of the low-wage labor found next door. It went to Mexico, but much less so than those of us who had high hopes for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the early 1990s expected. Elsewhere? By and large, not. It is a quilt. The opportunity to grasp a substantial place in global value-chain production networks opened only to a few in the global south. Firms had to invite local producers to join their value networks. And while knowledge can be broadcast via the internet, trust still requires face-to-face interaction. It may have been the transoceanic nonstop jet flight and the international hotel chains that were the key link in this second unbundling.

The ongoing contests over who would benefit and how much produced enormous gains for the world. More than 80 percent of the world's population lived on less than US\$2 per day in 1870. That fraction was down to 72 percent by 1914, 64 percent by 1950, and 40 percent by 1984. That extreme fraction was down to 9 percent by 2010—in large part because of the spillovers from hyperglobalization.

But half the world's population still lived on less than US\$6 per day. It was not the case that the whole world was flat. Lack the necessary infrastructure for containers, transport vehicles, and forklifts, and you were still far away from the global trading system that carried high-end German manufactured washing machines from Westphalian factories to California warehouses for just a penny a pound, and far from the global trade network. If your electricity is unreliable, so that you can't count on being able to pump diesel into a truck tractor; if the volume of your production is too small to fill two thousand cubic feet of space; if the money to fix your roads was embezzled; if your courts function so badly that few outsiders are confident that what you say is theirs really is theirs; if nobody has yet noticed what your workers can produce; if your entrepreneurs cannot build

organizations at container-scale without attracting politically well-connected extortionists—then you are not attached to the network. Attaching to the global trade network is an immense opportunity, but it requires that everything, or nearly everything—infrastructure, scale, public administration, governance, and foreign knowledge of your production capabilities—be working just right. And to fully participate in hyperglobalization, a region needs the international airline connections and the hotels required by the firms that orchestrate globally distributed value chains to incorporate them.

Still, by 2010 the world’s deployed technological capability stood at more than twenty times what it had been in 1870, and more than twice what it had been in 1975. Yes, the population explosion had continued—the world was on a track that could lead to a stable population of between nine and ten billion after 2050—but in many places the forces slowing population growth were not yet that visible. And, yes, the population explosion meant that resources were scarce: thus average productivity was not twenty but nine times what it had been in 1870. And, yes, the creation had been accompanied by a lot of creative destruction, and many people felt that the market had taken away from them, or that it had not given them their fair share, while giving an overabundance, in undeserved measure, to others.

THIS LAST, ESPECIALLY. WHILE hyperglobalization may have meant the arrival of much manufacturing production in parts of the global south, it also meant the departure of a large share of manufacturing production from the global north. This did not mean that manufacturing production in the global north fell—with total production increasing, a smaller share of the total was still a larger absolute amount. It did mean that the share of jobs in manufacturing in the global north declined—relatively slowly at first, but more precipitously as the end of the twentieth century neared.

In the decades after 1970, it was primarily the so-called less-skilled manufacturing jobs that decreased as a share of employment in the global north. Along with this shrinkage, general demand for lesser-skilled workers—well proxied as those without college educations—also decreased. This drop in demand manifested differently in different parts of the global north.

In Western Europe, it showed up as a rise in unemployment (especially among men), while in the United States it manifested as falling real wages for “lesser-skilled” workers (again, especially men).

Both the left and the right reacted to these developments by claiming they were primarily the result of hyperglobalization—especially increasing imports from developing economies. And yet that could not have been the case. Consider, for example, the United States over the years from 1970 to 1990, when the argument that imports were costing Americans good jobs first became influential. Over the course of those two decades, imports increased from about 6 percent of GDP to 12 percent. But the relative average wage of a country selling imports to the United States rose from 60 percent to 80 percent of the US level. Each typical import, therefore, came from a country where the relative income gap was only half as large, and so the pressure put on America by the fact that imports came from countries with lower wages remained about the same.

Individual regions’ employment levels were decimated by competition from elsewhere, yes. But that had always been the case since 1870, and before—it was the creative destruction of the growing market economy at work. Those in the crosshairs of “the market taketh away” regarded this instability as a violation of their Polanyian rights. But for losers there were gainers, and—at least before 1980—this did not bring about any pronounced class skew within the global north.

Consider the career of my grandfather, William Walcott Lord, who was born in New England early in the twentieth century. When the Lord Brothers Leather Company, in Brockton, Massachusetts, faced imminent bankruptcy during the Great Depression in 1933, he and his brothers relocated to South Paris, Maine, where wages were lower. The Brockton workers were out of a job and had few prospects for finding a new one, given the widespread destruction of relatively high-paying blue-collar factory jobs across southern New England. But in the aggregate statistics, their loss was offset by a bonanza for the rural workers of South Paris, who went from slaving away in near-subsistence agriculture to holding seemingly steady jobs in a shoe factory (until that shoe factory became uneconomic to run in 1946, with competition from the Carolinas and the end of the World War II boom).

We tend to think of the post–World War II period as a time of relative

stability, but in fact large numbers of manufacturing and construction jobs were churning in this way—not disappearing, but moving en masse from one region to another. In 1943, 38 percent of the US nonfarm labor force was in manufacturing, owing to high demand for bombs and tanks at the time. After the war, that number decreased to around 30 percent. Had the United States been a normal postwar industrial powerhouse like Germany or Japan, technological innovation would have continued to bring it down over the course of 1950–1990 to around 17 percent as of 1990. But Ronald Reagan’s decision to run big budget deficits and turn the United States from a country that saved more than it invested to one that invested more than it saved led it to decline even further, down to 13 percent as of 1990.

Then, in the final part of the long twentieth century, from 1990 to 2010, the relative wage of the country from which the average nonoil import came to the United States fell sharply. This was driven largely by China, which was contributing an ever-larger share of manufactured imports even as its wages remained extremely low. Yet the pace of decline in US manufacturing employment did not accelerate. And the share of jobs that were regarded as suitable for blue-collar men—in manufacturing, construction, distribution, and transportation—held steady. American consumers bought Chinese manufactures, and an assembly-line job that had been in Dayton, Ohio, moved to Shenzhen. But there were distribution jobs moving the goods from Long Beach to their final destination. And dollars earned by Chinese manufacturers were recycled through China’s financial system and invested in the United States, where they funded housing construction. Blue-collar manufacturing assembly-line jobs shrank in relative numbers. Blue-collar distribution and blue-collar construction jobs rose in relative numbers.

Meanwhile, rapidly increasing manufacturing productivity and incompetent macroeconomic management drove the blue-collar job share down even further. Hyperglobalization’s principal effect was to cause not a decline in blue-collar jobs but a roll of the wheel from one type of blue-collar job to another—from assembly-line production to truck-driving and pallet-moving distribution, plus, for a while, construction. And yet it was hyperglobalization that entered the public sphere as the principal cause of blue-collar economic distress in the world’s richest economies.

Why is this?

Harvard University economist Dani Rodrik has observed that as trade barriers decline, the benefits of increased trade diminish: that is, more and more trade is required to generate a smaller and smaller reward for participants. The volume of trade thus becomes very large relative to the net gains—and as jobs move at a faster pace, even if they’re being replaced, there’s still a greater number of people caught up in the churn. It’s not hard to see why they might blame globalization for their plight. Moreover, some demographic groups have been particularly susceptible. The shift in US employment from assembly-line manufacturing to construction, services, and caretaking had very little impact on the overall distribution of income. But it did have a large effect on the distribution by gender: the jobs closing down were overwhelmingly male jobs, and those opening up were not. Moreover, the jobs that were closing down—whether by trade, technology, regional shift, or otherwise—were those that had historically been good paths to upward mobility for those with less education, paths from which minorities, especially Blacks, had been excluded by segregation before. To those groups whose jobs were closing down or who were seeing gates slam shut for paths that previous generations had used for upward mobility, it’s no wonder that globalization seemed like a plausible explanation for their misfortune.¹⁰

Furthermore, China’s economic rise coincided with a period when the United States and other industrialized countries were struggling to reach full employment. Successful economic readjustments do not happen when bankruptcies force labor and capital out of low-productivity, low-demand industries, but rather when booms pull labor and capital into high-productivity, high-demand industries. That the “China shock” hit a shaky economy made it much more likely that it would be substantially destructive.

So if hyperglobalization has not impoverished the workers of major industrial economies, what has it done? The question can be sharpened by thinking back to the pre–World War I Belle Époque. In pre–World War I Britain, industry after industry saw its share of exports decline as competition from German and American producers picked up. My wheat-farming great grandparents in Illinois, whose prices hinged on European demand for grain, would have been astonished to have been told that they were not part of an integrated economy.

So what is the difference? Are financial flows stronger or more important today? Probably not. Is trade stronger and more important? Maybe: world trade as a share of world product is a bit larger. But the net embodied factor content of trade as a share of world product appears smaller, and that is presumably what matters most for trade's effect on, say, unskilled workers' wages. Trade is just swapping: what you had produced before at home you now import, and you pay for it by producing something else. Trade affects wages because that shift in production from "what you had produced before" to the "something else" changes the supply-and-demand balance for different kinds of workers with different skills. But if the workers who had produced the "what... before" have the same skills as the workers who now produce the "something else," it is hard to see where a big effect on average wages could come from.

Has international labor migration become a more important factor? Certainly not: between 1850 and 1920, one in every ten people in the world moved from one continent to another. Post–World War II, post-1973, or even post-1990 world population flows are a far smaller share of world population than in the old days.

So what is different? Why did "globalization" become such a powerful red cape to elicit rage at the end of the long twentieth century?

One possibility that I favor: back before the Belle Époque, what you could transfer across national boundaries was pretty much limited to commodities and securities. You could really only transfer something if you could pack it in a crate or an envelope and send it across the sea (or over the telegraph lines). International transactions that required more in the form of cross-border linkages were very hard to accomplish. Think of the Ford Motor Company's early post–World War I attempts to transfer its assembly-line productivity to Britain; of British and Japanese attempts to use Lancashire-manufactured textile machinery to achieve high productivity in factories in India or China; or of the frantic attempts of British investors—who had never imagined how easily Jay Gould would be able to buy the courts of New York—to extract bond coupons and dividends from the Erie Railroad that their debenture and share certificates said they "owned." Goods and payments flowed across borders. Control was exercised within countries by countries' own nationals.

But in hyperglobalization, the breadth of cross-national links, especially

people in other countries controlling what goes on in yours, has vastly increased. Back then you could not effectively exercise corporate control across national borders. Now you can. Back then you could not transfer forms of organization to achieve home-country productivity in foreign production operations. Now you can. Back then you could not integrate design and specification in one country with production in another. Now you can. In this environment, transnational or multinational corporations are going to be a good candidate for someone to blame.

And with the coming of the Great Recession after 2007, there was going to be a great deal of demand for somebody to blame.

Great Recession and Anemic Recovery

As of the spring of 2007, the well-thinking, at least in the United States, did not recognize that the long twentieth century of American exceptionalism—indeed, of North Atlantic dominance—was already over.

The heart of the innovation economy, microprocessor designer and manufacturer Intel, was still ticktocking, with the microprocessors at the heart of the information sector doubling in speed and computational power every three years, and with the information-technology sector taking full advantage of that. Measured economy-wide productivity growth over the preceding decade was close to its golden-age post–World War II pace.¹ Inflation high enough and recessions deep enough to be major disturbances had last been seen twenty-five years before: this was the “Great Moderation” of the business cycle.² Plus the neoliberal turn appeared to have delivered benefits in the global south: its growth had been the fastest ever.

Yes, there had been a generation of rapidly growing income and wealth inequality. But voters did not seem to care much. Tax cuts, the lion’s share of which went to the rich, were enacted more often than reversed. Center-left parties believed they had to make concessions to the right to be electorally competitive. Right-wing parties by and large did not feel they had to make concessions to the left. Unhappiness with the neoliberal turn was not showing itself in solid, long-lasting majorities for parties that wanted to soften—let alone possibly reverse—at least parts of it. And center-left parties in the North Atlantic remained conflicted: ideas and interests both sang the sirens’ song that left-neoliberalism might work, that

market mechanisms might be used to attain social democratic ends, and that a reinvigorated economic growth rate would make the political lift to reverse the coming of the Second Gilded Age easier.

The well-thinking should have known better. The deep structural supports were breaking. In 1993, then US congressman Newt Gingrich (R-GA) and press lord Rupert Murdoch had begun the process of constructing, around the globe, via direct-mail, cable television, and eventually internet, an easily grafted right-wing base that would freely open their pocketbooks because they were easily convinced that center-left political adversaries were not just wrong but evil and immoral—running pedophile rings out of pizza parlors.³ The center-left kept hoping for political detente: its leaders kept saying that they saw not red (right wing) and blue (left wing) but purple.⁴ But the right said nope: were they to dial down the urgency, the base’s eyeballs would no longer be so glued to their screens for the selling of ads, and their pocketbooks would no longer be so open.

In 2003, the era in which the United States was the trusted leader of the global-north “Western alliance” came to an end. At the end of the 1980s, after the end of the Cold War, the George H.W. Bush administration had reassured the nations of the world that US military supremacy was benign, because the US military would be deployed only in support of an overwhelming majority vote of a country’s people, or according to the will of the UN Security Council. The Clinton administration had changed this to “according to the will of the NATO alliance”; and then the George W. Bush administration had changed it to “more or less at random, according to false and misleadingly interpreted intelligence, against countries that do not possess nuclear weapons.” Countries took note.

In 2007 the era in which high-tech advances gave measured global-north productivity growth a materially significant boost was at an end. The ticktock ran into a so-far insuperable technological barrier: before 2007, shrink a component to half its size and you could run it twice as fast without generating too much heat to be dissipated; after 2007, this “Dennard scaling” began to break down because of increased current leakages at extremely small sizes.

Moreover, the focus shifted from providing information to capturing attention—and capturing attention in ways that played on human psychological weaknesses and biases. The commodity-economy market had

served the interests of the rich and so raised their utility, a goal that at least a utilitarian philosopher could approve. The attention-economy market threatened simply to grab their attention in ways that might or might not raise even their utility.

Plus, there had been a sequence of financial crises—Mexico in 1994, East Asia in 1997–1998, Argentina in 1998–2002—that had not been handled well, either in the run-up or the workout. Japan had been mired in, if not depression, at least stagnation, with inadequate total spending for fifteen years. Yet among policy makers the dominant feeling was that financial regulation should not be tightened to guard against overleverage, and against bubbles that might threaten to cause crisis and depression, but rather loosened. The Clinton administration had refused to regulate derivative markets when they were small, on the grounds that business-model and asset-type experimentation was needed in finance, in order to figure out ways to make investors as a group more comfortable with their risk-bearing role.

When derivative markets became large and incomprehensible in the 2000s, the George W. Bush administration doubled down on deregulation. And the Federal Reserve—with the honorable exception of the wise Board of Governors member Ned Gramlich—agreed. The Fed, after all, had stopped any serious depression from happening after the stock market crash of 1987, after the S&L overleverage crash of 1990, and after the Mexican financial crisis of 1994, the East Asian crisis of 1997, the Russian state and Long-Term Capital Management hedge-fund bankruptcies of 1998, the dot-com crash of 2000, and the 2001 terrorist attacks.

Surely all this lent confidence that the Federal Reserve could handle whatever shocks the finance sector could throw at it. In a world that still had a very large gap between average returns on safe and risky assets, was it not worthwhile to encourage financial experimentation, to explore what mechanisms might induce more risk-bearing on the part of investors, even if it led to some cowboy-finance excesses?⁵

“It is only when the tide goes out,” long-term investor Warren Buffett always likes to say, “that you discover who has been swimming naked.”⁶ Central banks’ confidence that they could manage whatever problems arose, and center-right governments’ enthusiasm for financial nonregulation, meant that a relatively small shock to the global financial

system came appallingly close to delivering a repeat of the Great Depression in the years after 2007, and did deliver a lost half decade as far as global north economic progress was concerned.

By 2007, very few of the great and good in the global north expected any serious risk of a major financial crisis and threatening depression. The last such *in the global north* had been in the Great Depression itself. Since the 1930s, the memory of the financial losses had kept financiers and investors from borrowing and leveraging on a scale that would make systems vulnerable to a chain of bankruptcies—and thus to a mass panic followed by a rush to sell at fire-sale prices all the financial assets suddenly deemed risky. Not until those who remembered, or whose immediate mentors had remembered, the Great Depression had retired would that leash on the financial system be slipped.

As a result, economic crises had in fact been very rare in the global north in the years after World War II. Governments that prioritized full employment kept recessions modest to stave off the losses that might trigger the initial bankruptcies that would potentially set off such a downward spiral. One of the two substantial postwar recessions in the global north, in 1974–1975, was caused by war, a tumultuous Middle East, and disruptions in the oil market. The second substantial global-north recession, from 1979 to 1982, was deliberately self-inflicted: the price paid for Volcker’s Fed breaking the inflationary spiral of prices that had arisen in the 1970s.

Yes, Western Europe had a stubbornly high rate of unemployment for decades after 1982, but in the judgment of the neoliberal consensus, it was because Western Europe was still too social democratic for the market system to work properly.⁷ And, yes, Japan fell into a permanent deflationary crisis after 1990, but the consensus had long been that Japan was a special case, that it was a self-inflicted problem, and that more general lessons should not be drawn from it.⁸ Both within the US government and among the public, confidence remained that the neoliberal turn had been the right call, that the foundations of prosperity were sound, and that risks were low and could be easily managed. And as of 2007 there was no inflation, no war in the Middle East of large-enough scale to trigger any prolonged supply shortage. In any event the dominance of Middle Eastern oil in the energy sector of the economy had been greatly attenuated.

There were Cassandras. In 2005, at the US Federal Reserve system's annual conference in Wyoming, held in the shadow of the Grand Tetons, economist and future Reserve Bank of India governor Raghuram Rajan presented a paper warning not so much of a chain-of-bankruptcies crisis and a potential depression as of "uncertainty" in the sense of University of Chicago economist Frank Knight.⁹ The financial system had grown so opaque that nobody knew what the systemic risks were, and nobody could even calculate reasonable probabilities. Everyone commenting on Rajan's paper said they had enjoyed reading it. Almost everyone (there was one exception, economist and former Fed vice chair Alan Blinder) also subjected Rajan to "unremitting attack." Rajan, they said, was being Chicken Little. Things were at least as robust and as sound as ever before. Not only was there no need to worry, Rajan's worrying was to be lamented.

They were, of course, grotesquely wrong. The emergence and rapid growth of financial derivatives meant that nobody could now tell where any losses that flowed into the financial system would ultimately come to rest. That meant that, should a crisis come, everyone would have to regard all their counterparties with great suspicion, as institutions that might be insolvent and might not pay. It was the equivalent of painting the windshield of a car black. And so the world economy drove into a wall, with those at the wheel only belatedly hoping the air bags would deploy and prove adequate.

Axel Weber, who had been at the helm of Germany's central bank, the Deutsche Bundesbank, in the mid-2000s, told a rueful story in 2013.¹⁰ There was a bank, the Deutsche Bank, that had for nearly 150 years been one of the world's largest commercial banks, with a wide scope of business interests. Since "Deutsche Bundesbank" sounded like "Deutsche Bank," he wound up by accident on a panel alongside a number of CEOs of large commercial banks. At the panel, they talked about what marvelously profitable things they were doing with derivatives: buying mortgages, bundling them together, chopping up the financial flows from them into pieces they judged risky and pieces they judged safe, and then selling them off—the risky pieces to those investors willing to run risks for higher return, the safe pieces to those willing to sacrifice return for safety. Profit! They reassured the audience: yes, this strategy would work only as long as their financial modeling was good enough to actually determine which

tranches of the financial flows were risky and which were safe. But the commercial banks' stockholders should not worry: they sold off *all* of the derivative financial instruments they created.

Then, at the panel, Axel Weber got up and said that as the German central bank was one of their regulators, he could see that while the twenty largest commercial banks were the largest creators and sellers and suppliers of securitization products, they were also the largest buyers. He told them: "As a system [you] have not diversified." Each individual bank was not exposed to the risk that its own financial models were wrong. It had, after all, sold off all of the financial instruments it had created using its models. The risk that the models were wrong thus lay on the purchasers. But some of those—many of those—assets were being purchased by the other major banks. Each of them gave its own models some scrutiny. But each of them did not give the models of the banks whose created securities they were buying any scrutiny, for the assets they were buying were rated AAA.

They were not set up, bureaucratically, to wonder: Are these things we are buying really ultra-high-quality AAA? We know that when we create derivative securities, we play games in order to get them the AAA seal of approval.

The banking industry, Axel Weber said, "was not aware at the time that while its treasury department was reporting that it bought all these [high-yielding] products its credit department was reporting that it had sold off all the risk."¹¹ Indeed, Bob Rubin—who took over as head of Citigroup in November 2007, just in time to be in charge when all the chickens came home to roost—confessed that month that the previous July was the first time he had ever heard of a feature of Citigroup-created securities, called a "liquidity put," that was going to wind up costing Citigroup perhaps \$20 billion.¹²

Now comes the rueful part: Axel Weber said he had viewed this as an issue that was potentially important for bank CEOs and bank stockholders who did not understand how risky banks' portfolios of assets actually were. He did not view it as any of his business as a central banker, however, as a potential source of *systemic* risk, or as a problem that might give rise to a serious depression. It was a reasonable calculation. It is reasonable to suppose that, had the Great Recession been avoided, the total unexpected losses of those holding mortgage-backed derivative securities would have

been only \$500 billion. In a world economy with \$80 trillion in assets, that should not have been a big deal. The dot-com crash of 2000 had carried with it \$4 trillion in losses, yet had not brought the financial economy near to a serious crisis. Plus, Weber had shared the great confidence that central banks could handle whatever shocks the financial system might throw at them. Recall that during US Federal Reserve chair Alan Greenspan's eighteen-year tenure (1987–2005), the US financial system avoided a serious depression despite a string of five major financial crises. And behind it all was the confident neoliberal consensus that markets were smarter than governments: that the market had a wisdom and a will, and knew what it was doing.

All this was hubris, overweening self-confidence. And it bred nemesis, or retributive comeuppance. But because the former is heady fun and the latter unpleasant, few have had the patience to linger over the better lessons. After 2009, neoliberal technocrats were unable to explain why they had been so sanguine. The evidence of an impending crisis had been visible. There had been crises in Mexico in 1994–1995, East Asia in 1997–1998, Russia in 1998, and then Brazil, Turkey, and Argentina. All of them knew that a chain-of-bankruptcies crisis might have a catastrophic outcome—that countries hit by financial crisis suffered not only a short-run depression but often a sharp and sometimes longer-run slowdown in growth as well. Global current account imbalances, unusually low interest rates, and bubble-like asset prices—they were there to see.¹³ And yet in the wake of the neoliberal turn, financial markets were more lightly regulated than ever. The principal fear was always that an overly intrusive government might hobble the market.

After the crisis, many argued that both the Great Recession and the housing bubble of the mid-2000s that preceded it had been inevitable—or in some sense necessary. “We should have a recession. People who spend their lives pounding nails in Nevada need something else to do,” said University of Chicago economist John Cochrane in November 2008.¹⁴ He was but one of many trained professional economists who really should have known better, but who adhered to this Hayekian line: there could not be a big depression unless the economy somehow needed to generate one, and so when they saw a depression coming they looked around for the need. The case seemed very plausible, for it fell into the template of hubris and

nemesis. Housing prices had been too high, housing construction had been too rapid, and housing stock had grown to excess. Housing construction needed to be drastically cut back. Workers in the construction sector would be put out of work, but they would then also have an incentive to find other jobs in sectors where their work would be socially useful.

In point of fact, Cochrane was 100 percent wrong. By November 2008 there was no sense in which construction employment “needed” to fall. It had managed to make its adjustment from its boom-bubble 2005 high back to normal and even subnormal levels in 2006 and 2007 without a recession. By November 2008, employment in construction nationwide—and in Nevada—was well below its normal and average share of the US workforce. Rather than having to be pushed into unemployment, adjustment had already taken place. It had taken place via workers being pulled into export and investment manufacturing—without a recession.

You simply do not need a recession for structural adjustment to take place. Indeed, it is hard to see how pushing people out of low-productivity occupations into the zero productivity of unemployment is a constructive “adjustment” when the alternative of having high demand to pull them out of low- and into high-productivity occupations is available.

But the attraction of “the market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of the market” is very strong. Economies do need, sometimes, structural adjustment to rebalance workers to where future demand will be. There are, sometimes, big depressions. Therefore, said Hayek and Schumpeter—and a host of others as well, from Andrew Mellon and Herbert Hoover and John Cochrane and Eugene Fama to even Karl Marx—big depressions are this adjustment.

The story was very tempting. And telling the story that way pushed blame back from those in charge of the world economy from 2005 on to other, earlier policy makers no longer on the scene. So they pushed the chain of argument backward: Why was the housing stock too high? Because construction had been too rapid. Why was construction too rapid? Because housing prices were too high. Why were prices too high? Because of too-low interest rates and too-available financing. Why were interest rates so low and financing so readily available? That question had several different answers.

After the dot-com bubble burst in 2000, investors were left with fewer

productive places in which to put their savings. At the same time, the industrializing countries of Asia were running large trade surpluses with the North Atlantic and accumulating large stockpiles of cash, with which they hoped to buy assets (primarily bonds) in North Atlantic economies (primarily the United States). For China, especially, this became a development strategy: maintain full employment in Shanghai by (indirectly) lending America's consumers the renminbi they need to keep their purchases up. The result was what future Federal Reserve chair Ben Bernanke called a “global savings glut,” or an excess demand for savings vehicles worldwide.¹⁵

This glut threatened to turn the small global economic downturn of 2000–2002 into a big downturn. To fend that off, the number of bonds being issued by businesses needed to be ramped up to satisfy the worldwide demand for savings vehicles. Globally, central banks responded to the savings glut by flooding the world with liquidity—buying bonds for cash and promising to continue such easy money policies in the future. The intent was to lower interest rates and therefore the cost of capital to firms, thereby motivating firms to scale up their operations and build future capacity. To some degree this worked: corporate investment did rise. But it had unintended and severe consequences: lower interest rates generated a mortgage and a financial engineering boom, which generated a housing boom, which returned the United States and the other global-north economies to full employment.¹⁶

Home prices, however, rose much more than they should have, given how low mortgage rates were. To understand why, we need to understand the drastic changes made to mortgage financing and financial engineering during the 2000s. By now the litany is familiar: the old model of banking, in which banks held on to the loans they made, was replaced by the practice of originate and distribute. Mortgage originators—firms that in many cases had no traditional banking business—made loans to buy houses, then quickly sold those loans off to other firms. These firms then repackaged the loans by pooling them and selling shares of these pools. Rating agencies were then willing to bestow their seal of approval, the AAA rating, on the more senior of these securities, those that had first claim on interest and principal repayment.

In the United States, housing prices would ultimately shoot up by 75

percent between 1997 and 2005, but the bubble wasn't limited to the States. Throughout the North Atlantic region, real estate prices soared, more than doubling in Britain and nearly doubling in Spain. Everyone ignored the risks, and the bubble continued to inflate. And when the bust came, much of that claimed-AAA paper turned out to be worth less than twenty-five cents on the dollar.

Everyone agreed that there were lessons to be learned in all of this, but specifying exactly what those lessons were required identifying the correct underlying problems—and there was far less agreement about that.

For some, the problem was overregulation: the Federal Reserve and other government agencies had been forcing banks to lend to financially unsound and unworthy—read, minority—buyers because of things like the Community Reinvestment Act. It was impious interference with the market, the last ebbing remnants of social democracy in government interfering to give lazy and unproductive minorities *good things they did not deserve*, that had broken the system and caused the catastrophe. Except there was never a shred of evidence supporting this argument. But that did not matter for its advocates: they had faith that the market could not fail unless it was perverted by social democracy, and faith is assurance and certainty about things that we do not see.

Others, along similar but less racist lines, felt the problem was that the US government simply had no business subsidizing housing lending in the first place. For this there *was* a convincing rationale, but the overall assessment was still faulty. Programs that provided subsidies to mortgage lenders and borrowers, such as the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA, or “Fannie Mae”), did drive up prices. But during the 2000s, Fannie Mae played no role in the additional jump in prices, for its price pressure was there at the start and did not grow during the housing boom. The lending that allowed buyers to purchase houses at higher and higher prices was primarily made by private specialized mortgage lenders such as the infamously bankrupt Countrywide, not Fannie Mae or any other government-sponsored enterprise.

Another theory was that the problem was the Federal Reserve's insistence on keeping interest rates so low. The Federal Reserve did reduce the overnight rate on loans between banks, from 6.5 percent per year in 2000 to 1 percent per year in 2003. But the European Central Bank (ECB)

reduced interest rates by only half as much as the Federal Reserve did, so, according to this theory, we would expect Europe to have experienced a smaller bubble. Europe's housing bubbles, however, were, if anything, larger than those in the United States. Overlooking this inconvenient fact, many argued that the Federal Reserve should have started raising interest rates in the spring of 2002, a year before the unemployment rate peak of the early 2000s, rather than waiting until the year after. But keeping interest rates 2.5 percentage points below the optimal path for two years only pushed up warranted housing values by 5 percent—much too little to drive any significant amount of overbuilding or any significant part of the spike in housing prices.

A final explanation of what drove the housing bubble was that it was not too much regulation, but too little. Down-payment requirements and the standards by which creditworthy home buyers were matched to homes they could afford were rendered a joke. This was a fair assessment but requires a caveat: it doesn't explain the jump-the-rail moment in 2008. By 2005, establishment concern about financial stability had shifted from America's enormous trade deficit with Asia to its surging property markets, which had unmistakably become a bubble. Could an obviously overheating market be cooled without sending the United States, and its main trading partners around the world, into an economic tailspin?

The answer was that it could be and it was.

Mark this, for it is important: the whole premise that the Great Recession was in some way a necessary adjustment after the housing boom is wrong. Housing prices had begun to fall early in 2005. By the end of 2007, the massive migration of workers into the housing sector had been reversed, and housing construction fell back below its average share of total economic activity. Had Cochrane said there were too many people pounding nails in Nevada in late 2005, he would have been correct—although the claim that a recession was “needed” would still have been false. But by 2008, the claim that there were too many people pounding nails in Nevada was simply and completely false—and obviously so to anyone who even glanced at Bureau of Labor Statistics counts of workers employed in construction. For by early 2008 the US economy had already found other things to occupy all the extra construction workers, and a recession wasn't necessary to accomplish this. In a properly dynamic

economy, the reallocation of workers from shrinking to growing sectors takes place because of incentives and need not involve unemployment benefits: workers are happy to leave their current jobs and move into growing sectors if those industries can offer them higher wages.

The idea that the Great Recession was inevitable, or in some sense necessary, or even wise, given the housing boom, fits our narrative expectations of transgression and retribution, of hubris and nemesis. And there was hubris. And there was nemesis. There is something exculpatory to faith in a market that gives, takes, and is blessed either way. What is given and what taken is never the acolytes' fault. And it was for those with the purest faith in a Hayekian market that the Great Recession was declared inevitable, or in some sense necessary, or even wise. For them, the housing boom fit a narrative expectation of transgression and retribution, of hubris and nemesis.

But it did not take that form.

Understanding the form that nemesis took in the global north after 2007 requires patience. The simple, short path of blameless faith in a wiser-than-thou market is insufficient. Understanding requires a reminder of the root causes of high-unemployment recessions and depressions. It is then possible to see why the particular chain-of-bankruptcies type of downturn that was the Great Recession of 2007–2009 came as such a surprise.

Recall what was cutting-edge macroeconomic theory back in 1829, when John Stuart Mill pointed out that a “general glut”—an excess supply of produced commodities and workers, not in one sector but pretty much everywhere in the economy—emerged whenever there was an excess demand for whatever served that economy as *cash*. That is to say, assets that everyone was confident would hold their value and that were “liquid,” in the sense that people would be eager to accept them in payment for commodities or to discharge debts.¹⁷

Cash in an economy is very special because it serves as a means of payment. If you have a demand for anything else, you satisfy that demand by going out and buying more of it. But if you have a demand for cash, you can either sell stuff (for cash, naturally), or you can stop buying stuff. Keep your cash income the same and reduce your cash outflow, and your normal cash inflows will pile up. Your demand for cash will be satisfied. Simple.¹⁸

This principle is at the root of high-unemployment recessions and

depressions. This way of satisfying your demand for cash by buying less works for individuals, but it cannot work for the entire economy. One person's cash inflows are another's cash outflows, after all. When everyone tries to push their cash outflow below their cash inflow, each individual's cash inflow drops along with their outflow. The excess demand for cash remains unsatisfied. All that happens is that the total sum of incomes in the economy amounts to less, and so people buy less stuff and fewer people are employed.

Such an excess demand for cash can happen in three different ways:

The first I call a *monetarist depression*. A good example is the United States during 1982. Paul Volcker's Federal Reserve had sought to reduce inflation by reducing the total flow of spending in the economy. It did so by selling bonds to banks and investors, requiring as payment that banks reduce their balances in their Federal Reserve accounts. This left the banks with less cash than they would have preferred to have in their reserve account balances. In order to build those balances back up, they reduced their spending, which meant giving out fewer loans to businesses. Because of this, fewer businesses opened or expanded—and ultimately, unemployment kissed 11 percent by the time I graduated from college in the summer of 1982.

You can tell when the economy is in a monetarist depression because the interest rates that bonds pay are high. Here's how that happens. When many players in the economy are trying to build up their liquid cash balances by selling bonds, bond prices go down. To induce purchases, the interest rates that bonds pay are high. Consider that from the summer of 1979 to the fall of 1981 the interest rate on the US government's ten-year Treasury bond rose from 8.8 percent per year to 15.8 percent per year. That was the Federal Reserve setting the Volcker disinflation, and its associated monetarist depression, in motion.

The cure for a monetarist depression is straightforward: have the central bank increase the economy's money stock. When Volcker's Federal Reserve decided that spending had fallen enough to bring inflation under control, it bought back bonds for cash. Voilà. The excess demand for cash in the economy evaporated almost overnight, and over 1983–1985 the economy roared back with very rapid growth in production and employment.

A second scenario that triggers excess demand for cash is what I call a

Keynesian depression. People in general divide their cash outflows into three streams: cash spent on goods and services, cash for paying taxes, and cash for buying investments. One way that people can invest their cash is in business-issued stocks, which raise the money a business uses to fund growth. But suppose businesses get fearful, are depressed, and decide not to issue stock in order to expand their operations. Then the price of the other financial investment vehicles the economy is creating will go up, and the rate of profit offered on them will go down—they will become very much like cash, save that they will also be risky should the company that backs them dry up and blow away.

In such circumstances, people will decide that they would rather hold extra cash instead of expensive and dubious investment vehicles. These decisions, in turn, will lead to an economy-wide excess demand for cash. With it comes the “general glut” of commodities, idle factories, and the high unemployment of a depression. The depressed state of the world economy during the 2020–2022 coronavirus pandemic—not the initial panic shutdown, but later—was such a Keynesian depression. People were willing to pay for financial investment vehicles, and so bond and stock prices were high and bond yields and stock earnings yields were low. But businesses were waiting for the pandemic to pass before they would begin to expand again. And so people demanded excess cash to hold as a substitute for normal financial investment vehicles.

The central bank cannot cure a Keynesian depression by increasing the money stock. The way the central bank increases the money stock is by buying bonds for cash. But in so doing, it gives firms cash to hold while taking other financial investment vehicles off of the private sector’s balance sheet. The one neutralizes the other: the shortage of total financial investment vehicles—cash held plus others—remains. The cure for a Keynesian depression is for the government to either incentivize businesses to expand, and in so doing create the financial investment vehicles the economy lacks, or sell its own bonds and then return the cash to the private sector by spending it, to satisfy the demand for financial investment vehicles. The latter translates into a larger-than-usual deficit, for the government then needs to spend the cash it has earned in order to keep it circulating in the economy.

But what happened over 2007–2009 was neither a monetarist depression

nor a Keynesian depression. It was, rather, what I call a *Minskyite depression*, after St. Louis economist Hyman Minsky.¹⁹

In this type of downturn, what there is a shortage of—what there is an excess demand for—is *safe stores of value*: assets that are either cash or can be quickly turned into cash at little or no discount to their face value. Safe is the operative word.²⁰ Over 2007–2009, the world was not short of means-of-payment cash or financial investment vehicles. You could buy risky savings vehicles—private debt that was not AAA rated, and the stocks of companies that faced some market and growth risk—for an absolute song. And central banks, in their attempts to stem the onrushing downturn, worked hard to make the world absolutely awash in cash. But over 2007–2009 a great many “safe” assets that had been issued by investment banks as AAA rated turned out not to be so safe. And people scrambled to sell them and shift their portfolios into cash instead.

Where did this safe-asset shortage come from? It emerged in the second half of 2007. Too many financiers had bet too heavily on a continued boom in housing prices, leveraging themselves precariously. Thus the real estate bust created a crisis of confidence in much of the world’s financial system and eventually paralyzed crucial parts of it. Signs of strain had already begun appearing in the late summer of 2007. The Federal Reserve reacted by standing ready to provide liquidity at normal market rates to institutions that found themselves momentarily embarrassed. But it showed little willingness to take broader action—to substantially ease monetary conditions or begin acting as a lender of last resort. It feared encouraging more imprudent lending in the future.

At the end of 2007, Federal Reserve vice chair Donald Kohn was nervous. “We should not hold the economy hostage to teach a small segment of the population a lesson,” he warned.²¹ But his view was a minority one back then, and so it remained until it was too late. And that is why the Great Recession of 2007–2009 came as such a surprise.

In March 2008 I myself had reasoned that the problem was manageable.²² Perhaps five million houses had been built in the desert between Los Angeles and Albuquerque that should never have been built. On average, each carried \$100,000 in mortgage debt that would never be paid and that somebody would have to eat. So, I figured, there was a \$500 billion financial loss from the housing crash that holders of financial

securities would have to bear, one way or another. But, the dot-com crash involved an even greater financial loss—and the dot-com crash only pushed unemployment up by about 1.5 percent. The housing crisis, I concluded, was unlikely to have large effects on the economy. But the market reasoned differently.

As a large swath of those with money who move financial markets saw things, there were \$500 billion in known losses somewhere. But maybe that was just the tip of an iceberg. Maybe the trained professionals who had told us that owning tranches of millions of houses between Los Angeles and Albuquerque was safe had lied, or were profoundly misinformed. The desire on the part of investors to dump risky assets—at any price—and buy safer ones—at any price—became an imperative.

The desire on the part of the Fed and the Treasury to prevent Wall Street from profiting from the crisis drove their decisions in September 2008. Previously, equity shareholders had been severely punished when their firms were judged too big to fail—the shareholders of Bear Stearns, AIG, Fannie Mae, and Freddie Mac essentially had all their wealth confiscated. But this was not true of bondholders and counterparties, who were paid in full.

The Fed and Treasury feared that a bad lesson was being taught. To unteach that lesson required, at some point, allowing a bank to fail. Hubris, after all, needed its comeuppance. And so they decided to let the Lehman Brothers investment bank collapse in an uncontrolled bankruptcy without oversight, supervision, or guarantees. In retrospect, this was the major mistake.

All hell broke loose. Investors dumped assets they had thought were safe only to discover an extremely limited supply of truly safe assets. Panic selling set in as investors urgently sought to avoid being the ones left holding on to unsellable risky assets. The result was that financial losses were magnified by a factor of forty: what would have been a \$500 billion destruction of wealth became the destruction of somewhere between \$60 trillion and \$80 trillion. During the winter of 2008–2009, borrowing costs for almost everyone except governments soared, and the world economy looked dangerously close to a complete meltdown.

How do you cure such a safe-asset shortage?

What will not work is the central bank expanding the money supply via

its so-called open-market operations—in other words, buying bonds for cash. Yes, this provides cash, a safe asset, but only by taking another safe asset, short-term government bonds, off the table. The result is a continued shortage of safe assets. What will also not work is incentivizing businesses to expand by issuing stock. There is no shortage of risky assets to hold, just a shortage of safe assets. Stocks don't meet the need.

There are, however, a number of things that can be done. In fact, a standard playbook has been in existence ever since the British journalist Walter Bagehot, the editor of *The Economist*, wrote his book about financial crises, *Lombard Street*, in the 1870s. Call it the Bagehot-Minsky playbook.²³ In a Minskyite depression, such as the one that followed the collapse of Lehman Brothers, a government's best bet is to immediately combat the shortage of safe assets by *lending freely* on collateral that is *good in normal times*, but to do so at a *penalty rate*. The “lending freely” part means to create enough safe assets that they are no longer in short supply. The “good in normal times” part means to try to distinguish institutions that are in trouble and face bankruptcy only because of the financial crisis from institutions that are permanently insolvent and need to be put into receivership. The “penalty rate” part means to discourage opportunistic financiers from exploiting the situation.

A number of the things that could be done were tried over 2007–2009. Central banks took risk off of the private sector’s balance sheet and put it onto their own by buying up long-term risky assets for cash, and so increasing the supply of safe assets. This *quantitative easing* was a good idea, but central banks suffered from sticker shock. They balked at spending what was needed, and so this effort was only marginally effective. Governments also increased the supply of safe assets by running bigger deficits, issuing bonds, and using the resulting purchasing power to put people to work directly. This strategy was generally effective, but worked only in cases where the government’s debts were perceived as safe assets.

Governments also offered loan guarantees and asset swaps, transforming unsafe savings vehicles into safe ones—by far the cheapest and most effective method of combatting a Minskyite depression. However, to do this effectively, governments needed expertise in pricing these guarantees and swaps. Too high, and no one would buy them and the economy would crash. Too low, and financiers would take the government—and the public

—to the cleaners. Moreover, such loan guarantees and asset swaps treat unequals equally: those who have been financially imprudent and bear some responsibility for the crisis get bailed out along with those whose only fault was getting caught in the unexpected financial whirlwind.

The safest play for governments would have been to boost purchases and let the short-run deficit go where it needed to go to preserve full employment. That's what China did, starting its massive fiscal-stimulus and job-creation policies in the middle of 2008. Only China's government grasped that the key task was to do whatever it took to keep the flow of spending through the economy high enough to avoid mass unemployment. And only China avoided the Great Recession. The proof? China continued to grow. The United States and Europe did not.

The most imprudent play was to assume that things would not get worse. Yet that is what the governments of the global north and their central banks did. Spending and employment collapsed. The US unemployment rate would ultimately rise to a peak of 10 percent in late 2009, and would not even begin to recover until 2012. In fact, US unemployment could have risen much higher. According to the economists Alan Blinder and Mark Zandi, if the government had followed the cold-turkey policies advocated by Republicans during the early years of the Obama administration, unemployment would have been driven to 16 percent, about halfway between the actual peak and the peak unemployment rate of the Great Depression.²⁴

In September 2008, I had been confident that the world's governments were capable of keeping the world economy out of a deep and long depression. By March 2009 it was clear that I had been wrong and that they had failed. The problem was not that economists who were reality based were unsure about what to do and how to apply the Bagehot-Minsky playbook—the problem was that assembling the political coalition to do it was judged impossible. Put differently, governments and politicians found there was no political will to dole out nemesis in useful measure to hubris in ways that would provide a net benefit to the recovering economy. And so many governments, instead of taking drastic and immediate action, decided simply to wait and see what would happen.

In Blinder and Zandi's judgment—and mine—the alphabet soup of interventions by the Federal Reserve to guarantee loans, expand the money

supply, and take risk off of the private sector's balance sheet was quite effective. The TARP and the TALF and the HAMP and the Federal Reserve's quantitative-easing policies and extra deficit spending via the ARRA—and all the other government interventions—together accomplished 6 of the 10 percentage-point reduction-in-unemployment-relative-to-where-it-would-otherwise-have-been job that the government should have carried out when the crisis hit.²⁵ That is three-fifths of the job—and a glass three-fifths full is not empty. On the other hand, the glass remained two-fifths empty. And forecasts in 2011 that the restoration of full employment would take a long time turned out to be accurate. There was no “bounce back” rapid recovery. Indeed, for the first four years of the recovery, workers' ability to find jobs barely improved.

Recall the Bagehot-Minsky playbook: *lend freely* at a *penalty rate* on collateral that is *good in normal times*. Policy makers did rush in. Financial institutions were bailed out at taxpayer expense. Guarantees were extended to restore confidence—Ireland, for example, took the extraordinary step of guaranteeing all Irish bank debt. Central banks and government agencies stepped in as “lenders of last resort,” providing credit where banks could or would not. These measures were successful in stemming the panic—by the early summer of 2009, most measures of financial stress had subsided to more or less normal levels, and the world economy ended its headlong plunge. But that was just the “lend freely” part. Governments neglected to implement the “good in normal times” part of the Bagehot-Minsky playbook. Not even too-big-to-fail Citigroup was put into receivership. Worse still, governments completely ignored the “penalty rate” part: bankers and investors, even or perhaps especially those whose actions had created the systemic risks that caused the crisis, profited handsomely.

Financial bailouts are always unfair because they reward those who made bad bets on risky assets. But the alternative would be a policy that destroys the web of finance—and thus a policy that shuts down dynamism in the real economy. A crash in prices of risky financial assets sends a message: shut down risky production activities and don't undertake any new activities that might be risky. That is a recipe for a deep, prolonged depression. The political problems that spring from financial bailouts can be finessed. The fallout from a major depression cannot. Thus, financial rescue operations that benefit even the unworthy can be accepted if they are seen

as benefiting all. In 2007–2009, for instance, teaching a few thousand feckless financiers not to overspeculate was ultimately far less important than securing the jobs of millions of Americans and tens of millions around the globe.

When vice presidential candidate Jack Kemp attacked Vice President Al Gore in 1996 for the Clinton administration’s decision to bail out Mexico’s feckless government during the 1994–1995 financial crisis, Gore responded that they had charged Mexico a penalty rate and so the United States had made \$1.5 billion on the deal.²⁶ In 1997–1998, Clinton’s treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, and IMF managing director Michel Camdessus were attacked for committing public money to bail out New York banks that had loaned to feckless East Asian countries. They responded that they had “bailed in” the banks, rather than bailing them out, by requiring them to cough up additional money to support South Korea’s economy, and that everyone had benefited massively because a global recession was avoided. In 2009, however, the US government could say none of these things. What was readily apparent, however, was that bankers continued to receive bonuses even as the real economy continued to shed jobs.

Perhaps there was a rationale. Perhaps policy makers recognized that assembling a political coalition in the United States or in Western Europe to do what China was doing—have the government borrow and spend on the scale needed to preserve or promote a rapid return to full employment—was not going to happen. Given that reality, policy makers would have realized that the only way to generate enough spending and investing to drive a rapid recovery was to restore the confidence of businesses and investors. And decapitating banks and depositing bank executives, placing banks into receivership, and confiscating bonuses would do the opposite.

But I think the most likely explanation is that policy makers simply did not understand the situation—nor did they understand the Bagehot-Minsky playbook.

In any event, the situation was on its face outrageous: bankers were getting bailed out while unemployment hit 10 percent and huge numbers of people faced foreclosure. If policy makers had focused more on the “penalty rate” part of the Bagehot-Minsky playbook, they might at least have moderated that perception of unfairness—and potentially built more of a political base for further action. But they did not, and so there was very

little public trust in governments to take the steps necessary to spur recovery.

But this is not the only reason the much-touted effort to restore the “confidence” of financiers and investors failed to produce much of a recovery after 2009. The global north’s economy was still hamstrung with too much risky debt.

At the macro level, the story of the post-2008 decade is almost always understood as a failure of economic analysis and communication. We economists supposedly failed to convey to politicians and bureaucrats what needed to be done because we hadn’t analyzed the situation fully and properly in real time. But many of us did understand.

For example, consider Greece: When the Greek debt crisis erupted in 2010, it seemed to me that the lessons of history were so obvious that the path to a resolution would be straightforward. The logic was clear. Had Greece not been a member of the euro zone, its best option would have been to default, restructure its debt, and depreciate its currency. But because the European Union did not want Greece to exit the euro zone (which would have been a major setback for Europe as a political project), it made sense that it would offer Greece enough aid, debt forgiveness, and assistance with payments to offset any advantages it might gain by exiting the monetary union. But this did not come to pass. Instead, Greece’s creditors unexpectedly chose to tighten the screws. As a result, Greece is likely much worse off today than it would have been had it abandoned the euro in 2010. Iceland, which was hit by a financial crisis in 2008, provides the counterfactual. Whereas Greece remained mired in depression, Iceland—not in the euro zone—recovered, and recovered quickly.

In the United States, as well, policy makers lifted their foot off the gas pedal in the early 2010s. Future historians will find least comprehensible the unwillingness of governments at that moment to borrow and spend. Starting in the mid-2000s, there came an era of what the economist Larry Summers has named “secular stagnation”: a time of very low interest rates on safe bonds, driven by a shortage of risk-bearing capacity and a hunger for safe assets on the part of insecure private investors.²⁷ As long as these circumstances held, governments could truly borrow for free. By now most economists agree that in such situations, governments should take advantage and borrow. I always found it hard to believe—and still do—that

anybody could or can take exception to this.²⁸

And yet, at the start of 2010, in his State of the Union Address, President Barack Obama said that “just as families and companies have had to be cautious about spending, government must tighten its belt as well.” And he called for a federal spending freeze, making clear that he would pursue it at all costs, saying, “If I have to enforce this freeze by veto, I will.” Watching, my first reaction was that issuing a veto threat against his two chief lieutenants, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, was a unique way of building intraparty comity.²⁹ It was a previously unheard-of way of maintaining a functioning governing coalition. In the space of a moment, it changed the policy discussion from “What should we do?” to “I am the boss!” Here we reached the limits of my mental horizons as a neoliberal, as a technocrat, and as a mainstream neoclassical economist. The global economy was suffering from a *grand mal* seizure of slack demand and high unemployment. We knew the cures. Yet we seemed determined to inflict further suffering on the patient.

Obama’s former economic policy staffers say that he was the global north’s most rational and best-behaved ruling politician in the first half of the 2010s. And they are right. But it is nevertheless disturbing that Obama’s address—delivered when the US unemployment rate was still 9.7 percent—went so strongly against John Maynard Keynes’s 1937 observation that “the boom, not the slump, is the right time for austerity at the Treasury.”³⁰ The arithmetic always seemed clear to me. Starting in 2009, the US government could borrow for thirty years at a real interest rate of 1 percent per year—or less. Given this, an additional \$500 billion in infrastructure spending would yield enormous benefits to the government and the country—at no cost. Investors would have effectively been willing to pay the United States to be the custodian of their wealth because they were so desperate to hold safe assets. Yet Obama seemed completely uninterested.

He was not alone. In the summer of 2011, Federal Reserve chair Ben Bernanke offered a rosy assessment: “We expect a moderate recovery to continue and indeed to strengthen,” he proclaimed, because “households also have made some progress in repairing their balance sheets—saving more, borrowing less, and reducing their burdens of interest payments and debt.” Moreover, deflation in commodity prices would “help increase household purchasing power.” And perhaps most promising of all, he

continued, “the growth fundamentals of the United States do not appear to have been permanently altered by the shocks of the past four years.”³¹ But at that very moment state and local budget cutting had slowed America’s pace of investment in human capital and infrastructure, bringing the country’s long-term growth trajectory down by a third percentage point on top of the two it had already suffered.

After the Great Depression of the 1930s, the vast wave of investment in industrial capacity during World War II made up the shortfall of the lost decade. As a result, the Depression did not cast a shadow on future growth. There was no analogous set of floodlights deployed to erase the shadow that was cast by 2008–2010. On the contrary, the shadow lengthened with each passing day of stalled recovery. And whereas Franklin Roosevelt had inspired confidence that full employment would be rapidly reattained, because reattaining it was the government’s highest priority, in the early 2010s the public was rightfully skeptical of the government’s commitment to reattaining full employment. The result was a half-lost decade of economic growth in the United States, when the magnitude of the downturn and the sluggishness of the recovery are both taken into account, and in much of Western Europe, a full lost decade.

Contrast this with China, where it was certainly not the case that blessed be the market whatever it happened to do. China in 2007 and after knew not so much that the market was made for man, but that the market was made for the purpose of serving the goals of the Chinese Communist Party. One of those goals was maintaining full employment. And so full employment was maintained. Were “ghost cities” built and lots of people put to work building infrastructure that would decay and degrade before anybody could use it? Yes. Were unstable financial structures constructed that would not be fully accepted by banks without government arm-twisting? Yes. But those costs were trivial relative to the damage avoided by maintaining full employment and growth through what was, elsewhere, the Great Recession. During the Great Recession, China gained from five to ten extra years in its race to catch up to the global north.

We can begin to theorize explanations for such irrationality. Some highly capable and competent economists, such as Carmen M. Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff, saw the dangers of the financial crisis but greatly exaggerated the risks of public spending to boost employment in its

aftermath.³² Other highly capable and competent economists, including Federal Reserve chair Bernanke, understood the importance of keeping interest rates low but overestimated the effectiveness of additional monetary-policy tools such as quantitative easing.³³ Still others, perhaps less capable and competent, like me, understood that expansionary monetary policies would not be enough but, because we had looked at global imbalances the wrong way, missed the principal source of risk—US financial misregulation—and found ourselves still trying to catch up to the situation in order to give accurate policy advice in real time.³⁴

In hindsight, technocrats' errors of judgment and failures of communication seem to me a large part of how events unfolded so disastrously—if we economists had spoken up sooner about what we knew about depressions and their cure, had been more convincing on the issues where we were right, and had been better at recognizing where we were wrong, the situation today might be considerably better. Columbia University historian Adam Tooze has little use for such a group-action contingency narrative; for him, the calamity of the post-2008 decade was a result of deep historical currents. Financial deregulation and tax cuts for the rich became idols for the right—to a greater extent even than they already were.³⁵ The fallout from the George W. Bush administration's ill-advised war against Iraq effectively squandered America's credibility to lead the North Atlantic through the crisis years. And the Republican Party began to suffer its nervous breakdown, eventually embracing a brutish, race-baiting reality-TV star.

Yet where Tooze sees tides and structures, I see contingency and bad luck. I think back to the Great Depression: to, in Japan, Takahashi Korekiyo's rapid devaluation and reflation; to, in Germany, the economic success of reflation (which was ultimately absolutely catastrophic because it cemented the hold of Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime); and to, in the United States, FDR's New Deal. All had much weaker hands to play than Barack Obama and his administration in the United States and their counterparts in Europe had in 2009. All had much better excuses for not grokking the essentials of the situation. All reacted better.

There is a striking contrast between the two US presidents Roosevelt and Obama that reinforces my confidence in the view that it was contingent luck and choice rather than structural necessity. Obama could see what was

coming. Indeed, he warned against it. Back in 2004, when he was still a rising star in the Democratic Party, Obama had warned that failing to build a “purple America” that supported the working and middle classes would lead to nativism and political breakdown. In the Great Depression, Roosevelt knew what to do to address problems of such magnitude. “The country needs... bold persistent experimentation,” he said in 1932, at the height of the Great Depression. “It is common sense to take a method and try it; if it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something.”³⁶ Obama was unwilling to follow in Roosevelt’s footsteps.

Had the Obama administration been more aggressive, would things have been very different? Professional economists could not convince those in power of what needed to be done because those in power were operating in a context of political breakdown and lost American credibility. With policy-making having been subjected to the malign influence of a rising plutocracy, economists calling for “bold persistent experimentation” were swimming against the tide—even though well-founded economic theories justified precisely that course of action.

But then, nobody expected very much from Roosevelt, who in the 1920s was considered a second-class intellect who had jumped up beyond his station because of his family’s wealth and his uncle Teddy’s reputation.³⁷

Fed policy makers still insist that they did the best they could, considering the fiscal headwinds at the time. Obama administration policy makers pat themselves on the back for preventing a second Great Depression and say they did the best they could, given the recalcitrant Republican majority in the House of Representatives that came to power after the 2010 midterms and promptly turned off the spigot of fiscal stimulus. And somehow, these Obama officials fail to mention that their boss had already turned it off with his talk of how “the government must tighten its belt as well.”³⁸

Right-leaning economists, for their part, still busy themselves arguing that the Obama administration’s fiscal policies and Fed chair Bernanke’s monetary policies were dangerously inflationary. If we are to believe them, we should consider ourselves lucky to have escaped an economically disastrous fate like Zimbabwe’s hyperinflation.³⁹

In the 2050s, when economic historians compare the “Great Recession” that started in 2007 with the Great Depression that started in 1929, they will

surely praise early twenty-first-century policy makers for keeping the later one from becoming a repeat of the earlier one. On the other hand, these future historians will be left profoundly puzzled by our failure to remember the lessons of 1933. The forceful policies of the New Deal era laid the foundations for the rapid and equitable growth of the long postwar boom. In the face of such a precedent, how could we have failed to see the benefits of a more aggressive stance?

From 1980 on, left-neoliberals had, when they were at the wheel, made the neoliberal turn, believing that market-incentive-utilizing policies were often a much better road to social democratic ends than directives and commands and controls from on high were. Markets, after all—when properly managed to preserve competition and correct for Pigouvian externalities—were extraordinarily effective at crowdsourcing solutions, and so using the brainpower of all humanity as an anthology intelligence. And excessive reliance on command-and-control would be highly inefficient, and you could not ask voters to be generous to those whom the market economy did not give opportunity unless growth was rapid. From 1980 on, right-neoliberals had, when they were at the wheel, made the neoliberal turn as well, believing that the apparent success of social democracy in rapid growth from 1945–1973 had been borrowed from the past and from the future, and that only renewed submission to the logic of the market could produce fast growth again. And if that free-market growth produced a greatly unequal income and wealth distribution? Then that was good, because that was what was deserved.

As of 2007, dogmatic neoliberals could still explain the situation away. Hyperglobalization and neoliberalism looked to have been superior to the previous era of too much state-led development led by antidevelopmental states in the global south. The high income and wealth inequality of the Second Gilded Age could be sold as a feature rather than a bug for those who wished to buy it. The information-technology revolution—and a visible future biotechnology revolution—could be sold as a permanent return to the golden-age growth pace. The Great Moderation of the business cycle—low inflation without periodic shocks of high unemployment—looked to prove the excellence and competence of neoliberal technocrats. And voters were, if not happy, unwilling to provide majorities for politicians with positions far to the left or far to the right of the neoliberal

center.

By 2016 it was clear that 2007–2010 had not been a simple backfire, after which forward motion resumed as normal. It was even clear that things had fallen apart even before 2007: it was simply that people had not noticed. The analogy that comes to mind is of the old Warner Bros. “Road Runner” cartoons, in which the Road Runner’s hapless and helpless nemesis Wile E. Coyote often runs off of cliffs but remains suspended in midair until he looks down and recognizes his predicament—only then does he plummet into the canyon.

Back at the end of [Chapter 2](#) I noted that US income per capita growth was only 0.6 percent per year over the decade from 2006 to 2016, contrasted with 2.1 percent per year (driven by information technology, albeit unequally distributed) over 1976–2006 and 3.4 percent per year over 1946–1976. In Western Europe the 2006–2016 falloff was worse: 0.6 percent per year in Britain, 0.3 percent per year in France, –0.9 percent per year in Italy, and 1.1 percent per year in Germany.

Whatever you had thought of neoliberalism in 2007, its creation of an intellectual and policy-making climate that produced this massively subpar response to a relatively small macroeconomic shock, that brought on first the Great Recession and then an anemic recovery, weighed very heavily in the negative in the balance. And this poor performance had been purchased at the price of a strengthening and intensification of income and wealth inequality.

People noticed. But this did not produce, among global-north electorates, solid, long-lasting majorities for politicians to the left of left-neoliberalism, who wanted to soften and possibly reverse at least parts of the neoliberal turn. Instead, voters increasingly began looking for somebody to blame, and for some leader who would punish whoever the scapegoats turned out to be. Plus, the United States was no longer leading. The politics of opposition had transformed itself into an agenda where job number one was to make the president of the opposing party a failure. “What are you in America going to do to fix your broken system?” senior Chinese Communist Party cadre and IMF deputy managing director Min Zhu asked me in 2015. I had no answer.

As I noted early in [Chapter 15](#), the time since the beginning of the neoliberal turn overlaps my career, and so memories of my personal

engagement alternately sharpen and blur my judgment. I have a hard time believing that I can even approach the historian's ideal of telling the narratives *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, as they essentially came to pass, or viewing things *sine ira et studio*, without anger or bias, seeing and understanding rather than advocating and judging.⁴⁰

The way to bet, however, is that I personally cannot but overestimate the degree to which bad luck and bad choices by powerful and crucial individuals produced the rather sorry state of the global north as of 2010.

I do now think that bad luck and bad choices—hanging chads in ballots in Florida voting machines in 2000, George H.W. Bush giving the astonishingly unqualified-for-the-job George W. Bush his Rolodex and his full support, and what followed that—plus the weaknesses and errors of neoliberalism are what cracked the system from 2000 to 2007. I do now think that things were so badly cracked as of 2007 that the shattering of the system by 2010 was likely, if not inevitable. With skill and luck, could things have been glued back together? In the United States, the Obama administration, the leaders of the Republican Party, and the American people were not up to the job, as 2016 showed. In Western Europe things were worse.

But others see not contingency but necessity. They see not choice but structure in what I call the end of the long twentieth century. They agree that the years after 2000 saw the end of the era in which what we call the global north, and especially the United States, were—in a more good than bad way—the furnaces where the future was being forged.

And I also think that future historians' judgment will probably be in accord with theirs, rather than mine.

CONCLUSION

Are We Still Slouching Towards Utopia?

In 1870 a major shift took place for humanity. With the coming of the industrial research lab, the modern corporation, and truly cheap ocean and land transport and communication, we went from a world in which economic patterns formed a semistable backdrop of grinding mass poverty to one where the economy was constantly revolutionizing itself, entering into states of increasing prosperity via the discovery, development, and deployment of new technologies. This Schumpeterian process of creative destruction doubled humanity's potential productive power in each generation. And in the years that followed, the foundations and underpinnings of society were repeatedly shaken and fractured. Long centuries like the one from 1870 to 2010 are, obviously, made up of many, many moments. The twentieth century's important moments were set in motion by this creative destruction and the corresponding shaking and fracturing. Here are two moments I see as important. Both come from about the long twentieth century's midpoint:

The first moment occurred in 1930 when John Maynard Keynes gave his speech "Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren" (quoted in [Chapter 7](#)), in which he concluded that economic problems were not humanity's most "permanent problem," but that instead, once our economic problems were solved, the real difficulty would be "how to use... freedom from pressing economic cares... to live wisely and agreeably and well." I will address the significance of these comments later in this conclusion.

The second important moment was nearly contemporaneous. It was when Franklin Delano Roosevelt took hold of the US government, broke

the gridlock in US politics, and started to experiment with ways to solve the economic problem of the Great Depression.

The day after his inauguration in March 1933, FDR forbade the export of gold and declared a bank holiday. Within four days the House and Senate had convened, and the House unanimously passed Roosevelt's first bill, a banking reform bill called the Emergency Banking Act that arranged for the reopening of solvent banks, as well as the reorganization of other banks, and gave Roosevelt complete control over gold movements. The second bill Roosevelt submitted to Congress also passed immediately. It was the Economy Act, cutting federal spending and bringing the budget closer to balance. The third was the Beer and Wine Revenue Act, a precursor to an end to Prohibition—the repeal of the constitutional amendment banning the sale of alcohol. On March 29 he called on Congress to regulate financial markets. On March 30 Congress established Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps. On April 19 Roosevelt took the United States off of the gold standard. On May 12 Congress passed Roosevelt's Agricultural Adjustment Act. On May 18 Roosevelt signed the Tennessee Valley Authority Act creating the first large government-owned utility corporation in the United States. Also on May 18, he submitted to Congress the centerpiece of his first hundred days: the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). All factions within the newly constituted administration won something in the legislation: Businesses won the ability to collude—to draft “codes of conduct” that would make it easy to maintain relatively high prices, and to “plan” to match capacity to demand. Socialist-leaning planners won the requirement that the government—through the National Recovery Administration (NRA)—approve the industry-drafted plans. Labor won the right to collective bargaining and the right to have minimum wages and maximum hours incorporated into the industry-level plans. Spenders won some \$3.3 billion in public works.

And so the First New Deal entailed a strong “corporatist” program of joint government-industry planning, collusive regulation, and cooperation; strong regulation of commodity prices for the farm sector and other permanent federal benefits; a program of building and operating utilities; huge amounts of other public works spending; meaningful federal regulation of financial markets; insurance for small depositors' bank deposits along with mortgage relief and unemployment relief; a

commitment to lowering working hours and raising wages (resulting in the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, or Wagner Act); and a promise to lower tariffs (fulfilled in the Reciprocal Tariff Act of 1935).

The NIRA, plus the devaluation of the dollar, did break the back of expectations of future deflation. The creation of deposit insurance and the reform of the banking system did make savers willing to trust their money to the banks again and began the re-expansion of the money supply. Corporatism and farm subsidies did spread the pain. Taking budget balance off the agenda helped. Promising unemployment and mortgage relief helped. Promising public works spending helped. All these policy moves kept things from getting worse. They certainly made things somewhat better immediately and substantially better soon thereafter.

But aside from devaluation, monetary expansion, an end to expectations of deflation, and an end to pressure for more fiscal contraction, what was the effect of the rest of Roosevelt's "first one hundred days"? It is not clear whether the balance sheet of the rest of that period is positive or negative. A full-fledged policy of monetary inflation and mammoth fiscal deficits that might have pulled the country out of the Great Depression quickly—that did pull Hitler's Germany out of the Great Depression quickly—was not really tried. Consumers complained that the National Recovery Administration raised prices. Workers complained that it gave them insufficient voice. Businessmen complained that the government was telling them what to do. Progressives complained that the NRA created monopoly. Spenders worried that collusion among businesses raised prices, reduced production, and increased unemployment. Hoover and his ilk declared that if FDR had only done as Hoover had been doing, everything would have been better sooner.

In the face of such criticism Roosevelt kept trying different things. If business-labor-government "corporatism" did not work—and was blocked by the mostly Republican-appointed Supreme Court—perhaps a safety net would. The most enduring and powerful accomplishment of the New Deal was to be the Social Security Act of 1935, which provided federal cash assistance for widows, orphans, children without fathers in the home, and the disabled and established a near-universal system of federally funded old-age pensions. If pushing up the dollar price of gold did not work well enough, perhaps strengthening the union movement would: the Wagner Act

set down a new set of rules for labor-management conflict and strengthened the union movement, paving the way for a wave of unionization in the United States that survived for half a century. Massive public works and public employment programs restored some self-esteem to workers and transferred money to households without private-sector jobs—but at the probable price of some delay in recovery, as firms and workers saw higher taxes.

Other policies were tried: Antitrust policy and the breaking-up of utility monopolies. A more progressive income tax. A hesitant embrace of deficit spending—not just as an unavoidable temporary evil but as a positive good. As the decade came to an end, Roosevelt's concerns necessarily shifted to the forthcoming war in Europe and to the Japanese invasion of China. Dr. New Deal was replaced by Dr. Win the War. In the end the programs of the Second New Deal probably did little to cure the Great Depression in the United States.¹ But they did turn the United States into a modest European-style social democracy.

Much followed of consequence. That Franklin Roosevelt was center-left rather than center-right, that the length of the Great Depression meant that institutions were shaped by it in a durable sense, and that the United States was the world's rising superpower, and the only major power not crippled to some degree by World War II—all these factors made a huge difference. After World War II, the United States had the power and the will to shape the world outside the Iron Curtain. It did so. And that meant the world was to be reshaped in a New Deal rather than a reactionary or fascist mode.

Keynes and Roosevelt are useful reminders that the fact of individuals acting in particular ways at precise moments, not just thinking thoughts but finding themselves with opportunities to make those thoughts influential, matters profoundly. Even in grand narratives.

MANY—MOST PROMINENTLY British communist historian Eric Hobsbawm²—take Lenin's Bolshevik coup and Stalin's subsequent construction of really-existing socialism as the axis on which twentieth-century history turns. Under this interpretation, the main thread of twentieth-century history covers the period 1917–1990 and recounts the three-cornered struggle of liberal quasi-democratic capitalism, fascism, and

really-existing socialism. Perhaps this story is an epic: the good guys win. But for Hobsbawm, this story is tragic: really-existing socialism was humanity's last best hope; though crippled by the circumstances of its birth, still it grew strong enough to rescue the world from fascism, but then it decayed, and its dissolution closed off the true road to a socialist utopia. In short, the bad—but not the worst—guys win.

I do not take this view.

In some sense, I am more optimistic. I see the build-out of technology and organization and the development of better ways to manage modern economies as more important things to focus on than faction fights within the post-1917 Kremlin. But as nearly everyone in the world today is keenly aware, the struggle for human liberty and prosperity has not been decisively and permanently won.

Thus I see the history of the long twentieth century as primarily the history of four things—technology-fueled growth, globalization, an exceptional America, and confidence that humanity could at least *slouch* toward utopia as governments solved political-economic problems. And even that slouch was going to be done at uneven, unequal, and unfair rates, depending on skin tone and gender. Still, twice in that long century, 1870–1914 and 1945–1975, something every preceding generation would have called near utopia came nearer, rapidly. But these generation-long episodes of economic El Dorados were not sustained. Individuals, ideas, and opportunities help explain why.

Before 1870, only wild optimists had any confidence that humanity might have a path to utopia—and even for them, the path was a rugged road requiring massive transformations of human society and psychology.

One such utopian was Karl Marx. He and his close associate Friedrich Engels, writing in 1848, theorized that they were in the midst of what they called the *bourgeois epoch*—a time when private property and market exchange served as fundamental organizing principles in human society, creating powerful incentives for scientific research and engineering development and spurring business investment to deploy marvels of technology to amplify human productivity beyond previous imaginings. Marx and Engels saw the interrelated phenomena that defined this bourgeois epoch as both Redeemer and Satan. They were Redeemer insofar as they created the possibility of a wealthy society in which people could,

cooperatively, do what they wanted to live full lives. But at the same time, their Satanic workings kept impoverished and even further impoverished the overwhelming majority of humanity, and would in the end force them into a more bitter state of slavery than before. For Marx the path to utopia required the descent of humanity into an industrial inferno, for only that could trigger it to call forth the descent from Heaven of a New Jerusalem, in the form of a communist revolution and the total overthrow of the existing order of society. But to believe that that path was there, and that humanity was certain to walk it—that required great confidence that things hoped for had solid substance, and that things not seen were truly in evidence.³

Another relative optimist, John Stuart Mill, anticipated a lesser utopia that would require less of an overthrow. Mill was an ardent believer in freedom, individual initiative, science, and technology—but he was also deeply fearful of the Malthusian dilemma. The inventions of science and the deployment of technology would create fortunes for the rich and expand the numbers of comforts of the middle class, but the great majority of humanity would remain working class and continue to live lives of drudgery and imprisonment. Mill saw only one out: government would have to control human fertility via mandatory birth control.⁴ Then all could be well.

But Marx's and Mill's rather odd optimisms made them somewhat outliers in their day, not in that their optimisms were odd but in that they were optimistic at all. Back in 1870, there was great reason to doubt that social equality, individual liberty, political democracy, and general, let alone abundant, prosperity lay in humanity's future. The United States had just narrowly survived a bloody civil war that had killed 750,000 men, one-twelfth of its adult white male population. Typical standards of living were still gravely impoverished. Most people were stunted, by our standards, and often hungry and illiterate.

Did Marx and Mill see the trends of their day more clearly than others? Or were they simply lucky in seeing something of the magnitude of forthcoming material wealth and the possibilities that material wealth might deliver for humanity? Humanity had been shaking the portcullis before 1870. And in 1870 a few major changes broke the lock. The coming of the industrial research lab, of the modern corporation, and of globalization opened up, for the first time in human history, the opportunity to solve our

problems of material want. Moreover, at that moment, humanity was lucky enough to have an about-to-be-global market economy. As the genius Friedrich von Hayek keenly observed, the market economy crowdsources— incentivizes and coordinates—solutions to the problems that it sets itself. After 1870 it could solve the problem of providing those with control over valuable property resources with an abundance of the necessities, conveniences, and luxuries they wanted and believed they needed.

Thus the trail to human material abundance, and to utopia, became visible and walkable—or runnable. And everything else should have followed from that. Much has. By 1914 the prevailing pessimism of 1870 appeared old-fashioned, if not completely wrong. The intervening years had truly been, for the world, an extraordinary episode in the economic progress of humanity. And there was every reason to think it would continue: it seemed we could look forward to a genuine utopia of abundance, a future in which further scientific discoveries would be developed in the world's industrial research laboratories and then spread worldwide into the globalized economy by modern corporations.

But then World War I came. And afterward it was clear that what the optimistic had regarded as aberrant and scandalous was the rule, and that deep trouble could not be avoided. People were not satisfied with what the market economy offered them. Governments proved incapable of managing economies to preserve stability and guarantee year-to-year growth. Sometimes populations with democracy threw it away to authoritarian demagogues. Other times, the rich and the top military professionals of the world decided that domination was in fact worth trying. Technology and organization enabled tyrannies of unprecedented magnitude, and economic disparities—both between and within countries—grew and grew. The demographic transition to low fertility and low population growth was rapid, but not rapid enough to prevent the twentieth-century population explosion, with its additional stresses on and transformations of societal order.

Throughout this process, the global south was falling further and further behind—growing, on average, but not catching up, as decade upon decade saw it with less manufacturing and thus less in relative terms of an engineering and science community on which to build up its economy's productive-knowledge stock. Outside of two charmed circles—the group of

Marshall Plan aid recipients, and those clinging to the Pacific Rim of Asia—the global south did not even begin to right itself, in the sense of starting to grow faster than the global north, and thereby even taking the first step toward catching up, rather than falling further behind, until more than a decade after the 1979 neoliberal turn. Those that did worst were unlucky enough to be ensorcelled by the spell of Lenin and thus took the really-existing socialist road from 1917 to 1990.

The global north was lucky enough to refind after World War II what it thought was the path to utopia. The pace of economic growth during the Thirty Glorious Years that followed made, by its end in the 1970s, people dizzy with success: expecting more and tremendously upset at what seem in retrospect to be relatively minor speedbumps and roadblocks. But mere rapid growth did not satisfy those of a right-wing temperament, who felt that a prosperity that was shared too equally was unfair and degrading. And mere rapid growth did not satisfy those of a left-wing temperament, either, for they felt that the problems that the market, even tweaked and managed by social democrats, solved did not produce even a partial version of the utopia they sought. And so the world took its neoliberal turn. But the neoliberal policy prescriptions did not produce a slouching toward utopia that was more rapid in any sense.

From 1870 to 2010 was 140 years. Who back in 1870, poor as humanity was then, would have thought that by 2010 humanity would have the ability to provide each person with more material resources than could have been imagined in 1870? And who would have thought that with those resources humanity would be unable to use them to build a close approximation to a true utopia?

Recall that, back at the beginning of this book and of the long twentieth century, Edward Bellamy had thought that the power to dial up any one of four live orchestras and put it on the speakerphone would carry us to “the limit of human felicity.” There was only one person in Britain in the early 1600s who could watch a theatrical entertainment about witches in his home: King James I—and that was only if Shakespeare and company currently had *Macbeth* in repertory. There was one thing that Nathan Mayer Rothschild, the richest man in the first half of the 1800s, wanted in 1836: a dose of antibiotics, so that he would not die in his fifties of an infected abscess. Today we can not only thereby produce the sorts of things that

were produced in 1870 with remarkably less human effort but easily produce conveniences (that we now regard as necessities), former luxuries (that we now regard as conveniences), and things that previously could not have been produced at any price. Does saying that we are more than ten times richer than our 1870 predecessors really capture that sea change in a satisfactory way?

Yet we found as of 2010 that we had not run to the utopian trail's end. Moreover, for us the end of the utopian trail was no longer visible, even if we had previously thought that it was.

Driving it all, always in the background and often in the foreground, were the industrial research labs discovering and developing things, the large corporations developing and deploying them, and the globalized market economy coordinating it all. But in some ways the market economy was more problem than solution. It recognized only property rights, and people wanted Polanyian rights: rights to a community that gave them support, to an income that gave them the resources they deserved, and to economic stability that gave them consistent work. And for all the economic progress that was achieved during the long twentieth century, its history teaches us that material wealth is of limited use in building utopia. It is an essential prerequisite but far from sufficient. And this is where Keynes's comment about the most permanent problem being how "to live wisely and agreeably and well" comes in once again. His speech was an important moment because he perfectly expressed what the essential difficulty has proved to be.

Of the four freedoms that Franklin Roosevelt thought ought to be every person's birthright—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear⁵—only freedom from want is secured by material wealth. The others remain to be secured by other means. What the market taketh and giveth can, and often is, overshadowed by hopes and fears arising out of other wants and needs.

The shotgun marriage of Friedrich von Hayek and Karl Polanyi, blessed by John Maynard Keynes, that helped raise the post–World War II North Atlantic developmental social democracy was as good as we have so far gotten. But it failed its own sustainability test, partly because a single generation of rapid growth raised the bar high, and partly because Polanyian rights required stability, the treating of equals equally, and the

treating of perceived unequals unequally in ways that neither the Hayekian-Schumpeterian market economy of creative destruction nor the Polanyian social democratic society of universal egalitarian social insurance rights could ever deliver.

In the decades around 2000, there were four developments that together brought to an end the time span of the long twentieth century, and that together might mark the end of humanity's time slouching toward utopia. The first came in 1990, when the highly innovative and productive industries of Germany and Japan successfully challenged the United States' technological edge, undermining the underpinnings of American exceptionalism. The second was 2001, when forms of fanatic religious violence that we all thought had been in retreat for centuries flamed up again, and pundits scratched their chins and opined about a "war of civilizations"—but there was no such thing. The third was the Great Recession, which began in 2008, when it became clear that we had forgotten the Keynesian lessons of the 1930s and lacked either the capacity or the will to do what was necessary. The fourth was the world's failure during the period from roughly 1989 (when the science became clear) to the present to act decisively to combat global warming. History after the confluence of these events looks notably distinct from history before, as if it requires a new and different grand narrative to make sense of it.

That the long twentieth century was over by 2010 and would not be revivified was confirmed by the rupture that came next, on November 8, 2016, when Donald Trump won that year's presidential election. In that moment, it became clear that each of the four defining developments of the long twentieth century could not be restored. Economic growth in the North Atlantic had slipped substantially—if not all the way to the pre-1870 slower pace, a substantial part of the way. Globalization was definitely in reverse: it had few public advocates, and many enemies.

Plus, people elsewhere—rightly—no longer saw the United States as an exceptional country, or the US government as a trustworthy leader on the world stage. Those judgments were massively strengthened when more than the counted 345,323 Americans died in the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 alone, as the only virus-containment reaction the Trump administration could muster was to spin in circles and whisper *sotto voce* that the deaths weren't their fault, for how could they have been expected to anticipate an

unleashed Chinese bioweapon? Science and technology produced marvels in terms of the extremely rapid and successful development of powerful vaccines. US-led global governance, however, proved inept by failing to vaccinate the world before the pandemic spread widely and developed new variants.

In addition, confidence in the future was also, if not gone, greatly attenuated. The threat of global warming was the Devil of Malthus taking, if not yet flesh, at least a form of shadow. The only place where confidence in the future was strong was among the cadres of the Chinese Communist Party, who saw themselves leading humanity forward holding high the banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and guided by Mao Zedong-Deng Xiaoping-Xi Jinping Thought. But to all outside, that seemed more like corrupt authoritarian state surveillance capitalism with Chinese characteristics (although paying lip service, and perhaps someday more, to egalitarian-utopian “common prosperity” aspirations). So China’s ascendance seemed to outsiders unlikely to promise forward steps on the path to utopia. Instead, it seemed to signal a return—albeit at a much higher level of general prosperity—to history’s Wheel of Fortune, to a cycle of rulers and ruled, the strong grabbing what they wished and the weak suffering what they must.

To the extent that the Trump administration had a worldview, it was one of suspicion, premised on the idea that internal and external enemies, especially nonwhite and non-English-speaking people, were taking advantage of America’s values of freedom and opportunity. To the extent that there were policies, they consisted of, first and most of all, tax cuts for the rich. Second, there was climate change denial. Third, there were random regulatory rollbacks, largely uninformed by technocratic calculation of benefits and costs. And, behind everything, cruelty—which often seemed to be the sole point.⁶ And then there were raving denunciations of the administration’s own public health officials, whom Trump nevertheless did not seek to replace: “But Fauci’s a disaster. If I listened to him we’d have 500,000 deaths”; “Dr. Fauci and Dr. Birx... [are] self-promoters trying to reinvent history to cover for their bad instincts and faulty recommendations, which I fortunately almost always overturned”; and—after a rally crowd chanted “Fire Fauci!”—“Don’t tell anybody, but let me wait until a little bit after the election. I appreciate the advice, I appreciate it!”⁷ The plague was,

in the end, to kill more than one million Americans, spreading across the country during the last year of his presidency in 2020 and concentrated in regions where local election-winning politicians pledged allegiance to Donald Trump thereafter. It killed only one-fourth as large a fraction of the population in Canada.

With the 2016 presidential election, even as Americans divided into two opposing camps that agreed on virtually nothing, nearly everyone shared a sense that the nation was in big trouble. Depending on who you asked, Donald Trump was either a symptom of this decline or its only potential “Flight 93” cure.⁸ Either case saw a transformation to a very different America. Either it had already happened, and had brought the story of American exceptionalism to an end, or it was necessary to make an America that had lost its compass great again. And the United States was not alone in its unhappy circumstances. Both America and the world faced a constellation of new and worsening problems that seemed certain to challenge, and perhaps to threaten, civilization’s many accomplishments over the course of the long twentieth century.

President Trump did not just put a period to the long twentieth century’s exhaustion but served as a reminder that pessimism, fear, and panic can animate individuals, ideas, and events as readily as optimism, hope, and confidence.

What went wrong? Well, Hayek and his followers were not only Dr. Jekyll-side geniuses but also Mr. Hyde-side idiots. They thought the market could do the whole job and commanded humanity to believe in “the market giveth, the market taketh away; blessed be the name of the market.” But humanity objected: the market manifestly did not do the job, and the job that the market economy did do was rejected and marked “return to sender.”

Throughout the long twentieth century, many others—Karl Polanyi, John Maynard Keynes, Benito Mussolini, Vladimir Lenin, and many others—tried to think up solutions. They dissented from “the market giveth...” constructively and destructively, demanding that the market do less, or do something different, and that other institutions do more. Perhaps the closest humanity got to a successful “something different” was the shotgun marriage of Hayek and Polanyi, blessed by Keynes, in the form of post-World War II global north developmental-state social democracy. But that

social democratic institutional setup had failed its own sustainability test. And while subsequent neoliberalism fulfilled many of the promises it had made to the global-north elite, it was in no wise progress toward any desirable utopia.

Thus the world found itself in a position analogous to the one that John Maynard Keynes had described in 1924, when he critiqued Leon Trotsky's assumption "that the moral and intellectual problems of the transformation of society have already been solved—that a plan exists, and that nothing remains except to put it into operation." Because, Keynes said, this was not true: "We lack more than usual a coherent scheme of progress, a tangible ideal. All the political parties alike have their origins in past ideas and not in new ideas—and none more conspicuously so than the Marxists. It is not necessary to debate the subtleties of what justifies a man in promoting his gospel by force; for no one has a gospel. The next move is with the head, and fists must wait."⁹

Economic improvement, attained by slouch or gallop, matters. The attainment of more than enough—more than enough calories, shelter, clothing, material goods—matters. Once attained, even pessimists are reluctant to give them up. And certain thoughts, once thought, are hard to forget. This is an unsung benefit of the quantitative index of the global value of useful human knowledge. It compounds. Among these thoughts are "the market giveth, the market taketh; blessed be the name of the market"; and, equally, "the market is made for man, not man for the market"; and also, I would add: because often demand creates supply, governments must manage, and manage competently, at times with a heavy touch.

Humans' ideas and visions of utopia have been widely disparate: the Holy Kingdom of the Heavens brought down to earth; the harmonious and natural leisured life of Arcadia; the luxurious sensual pleasures and ecstasies of Sybaris; the disciplined excellence of Sparta; the cacophonous free speech and action of Athens; the collective purpose and good order of Rome and its Pax. Material scarcity, it was largely agreed, kept and would keep those (except for the theological ones) out of humanity's permanent grasp. The golden age was almost always seen as in the past, or at least in some distant and semimythical elsewhere, where resources were much more abundant, not in any likely future.¹⁰

It was in 1870 that things began to change. As early as 1919, Keynes

had emphasized that humanity had already attained the power to produce “conveniences, comforts, and amenities beyond the compass of the richest and most powerful monarchs of other ages,” even though the enjoyment of such was still confined to an upper class.¹¹ Aristotle in 350 BCE had his asides about how it was fantasy to imagine that the authority of masters and the bondage of slaves could be superseded, for that would require humans to have the godlike powers to make and then command servitors—the robot blacksmiths of Daidalos and the self-aware, self-propelled serving vessels that Hephaistos made for the gods’ banquets on Mount Olympos.¹² We humans had, as of 2010, wildly outstripped their dreams and imaginings.

Is there anybody in any previous century who would not be amazed and incredulous at seeing humanity’s technological and organizational powers as of 2010? Yet they would then go on to the next question: Why, with such godlike powers to command nature and organize ourselves, have we done so little to build a truly human world, to approach within sight of any of our utopias?

By 2010 distrust in America’s hegemonic role had been cemented by Middle Eastern misadventures. Discontent had grown with exploding income and wealth inequality that few associated with any boost to economic growth. The Great Recession of 2008–2010 had revealed the emptiness of claims that the neoliberal technocrats had finally gotten the problems of economic management right. The political institutions of the global north did not even begin to grapple with the problem of global warming. The underlying engine of productivity growth had begun to stall. And the great and good of the global north were about to fail to prioritize a rapid restoration of full employment, and to fail to understand and manage the discontents that would bring neofascist and fascist-adjacent politicians to prominence worldwide in the 2010s.

Thus the long twentieth century’s story was over.

Perhaps it did not have to end then, in 2010. Perhaps the bright future that many of us had envisioned during the Clinton administration—the idea that if its policies could be continued, they would start to work to restore rapid equitable growth as the information-technology boom roared ahead—was always illusory. Or perhaps the opportunity could have been grasped, had chance and contingency turned out otherwise. Perhaps if in 2008 the

United States had elected an FDR, he (or she) could have worked a miracle —as the original FDR had unexpectedly done in 1933 and after. Perhaps even in 2016 the dry bones of the long twentieth century's pattern of rapid productivity growth, governments that could manage the creative-destruction transformations that such growth brought to the world, and American exceptionalism could have been made to live again.

But it turned out that post-2010 America would instead elect Donald Trump, and Western Europe would do little better, ending possibilities of revivification.

A new story, which needs a new grand narrative that we do not yet know, has begun.

Acknowledgments

My debts in writing this book are vast: my wife, Ann Marie Marciarille, and children, Michael and Gianna, have made the long process of writing it a very joyous one. My development editor, Thomas Lebien, and my editor at Basic, Brian Distelberg, have been essential: much of this book might be better framed as a Platonic dialogue with them, and it would not exist without them. My intellectual debts are so great, and there are very many who deserve to be thanked (without implicating any of them in the many, many mistakes I am sure I have committed in this book). But let me cheat and thank only ten more. First of all, let me thank Andrei Shleifer and Larry Summers: whenever I have been able to think thoughts worth recording and disseminating, more often than not my train of thought has begun with “What would Larry say here?” or “What would Andrei think about this?” Then there is the huge amount of my intellectual formation that springs from the Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, most importantly Jeff Weintraub and Shannon Stimson. The senior faculty of the Harvard Economic History Seminar must also belong: Peter Temin, Jeffrey Williamson, Claudia Goldin, and the late David Landes. Paul Krugman has been an immense influence, albeit mostly at a distance: the person who I think comes closest to wearing the mantle of John Maynard Keynes in our generation. For the tenth, let me cheat again: my colleagues at the University of California at Berkeley, the finest collection of colleagues anywhere in economics at the end of the twentieth century, and—collectively, for the whole is much greater than the sum of its parts—the best teachers I can imagine. And to all those I have not mentioned, be assured that I try hard to remember my intellectual debts, and to at least pay them forward.

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BASIC BOOKS



GENEVIEVE SCHIFFRAR

J. BRADFORD DELONG is a professor of economics at the University of California at Berkeley. He was born in 1960 in Boston and lives in Berkeley. Google says that he is best known, on the internet at least, for his studies of irrational “noise traders” in financial markets and of the shift from the commodity to the information-attention economy; for his belief that times of low interest rates are times when a large national debt is indeed, in Alexander Hamilton’s words, a national blessing; and for having worked for the Clinton administration as a deputy assistant secretary of the US Treasury. He tries to balance himself between economics and history.

Notes

A few words about notes:

I have limited the endnotes in this volume to direct quotations, close paraphrases, markers for where my thought and knowledge has been predominantly shaped by a single source, and places where I think a reference for “what to read next to go more deeply” is appropriate.

I have done so even though I am well aware that they are grossly inadequate. Nearly every single paragraph needs to be substantially buttressed, for each certainly could be—and, I hope, will be—fiercely disputed by at least one person of great intelligence and knowledge. Moreover, where I am swimming with (or against) a current, I have not dropped a note to any of the people who make up that current, save where I think I can recommend a best entry point into the literature. And even where I think I am original... put it this way: Keynes wrote of the madmen in authority who thought they were hearing voices in the air when actually academic scribblers had insinuated themselves into their minds. Machiavelli wrote of how his books were his friends who he spoke to, and they answered—as he spun up from black marks on white pages sub-Turing instantiations of the minds of the authors which he then ran on his wetware. Even where I think that I am most original, I am almost surely simply repeating something that my internal model of some wiser person’s mind has said to me in my internal dialogue.

So there should for justice’s sake be many more notes. But there are stringent limits to how effective lengthy footnotes can possibly be. And there are even more stringent limits to how effective endnotes can be.

So this book also has a supporting- and contradicting-arguments website at <https://braddelong.substack.com/s/slouching-towards-utopia-long-notes>. Come on over, and read and comment, please.

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London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1948 [1916].

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8. J. Bradford DeLong and Barry Eichengreen, “The Marshall Plan: History’s Most Successful Structural Adjustment Program,” in *Postwar Economic Reconstruction and Its Lessons for the East Today*, ed. Rüdiger Dornbusch, Willem Nolling, and Richard Layard, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003, 189–230.

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12. False (and True) Starts to Economic Development in the Global South

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11. Bates, *Markets and States*, 131.
12. Carlos Diaz-Alejandro, *Essays on the Economic History of the Argentine Republic*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970; Gerardo della Paolera and Alan M. Taylor, *A New Economic History of Argentina*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
13. Paul H. Lewis, *Guerrillas and Generals: The “Dirty War” in Argentina*, Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002. Lewis’s fundamental view is that “what lay at the bottom of Argentina’s... decline was the refusal of its entrenched elites... to accept the age of mass politics” (p. 4).
14. J. Bradford DeLong and Barry Eichengreen, “The Marshall Plan: History’s Most Successful Structural Adjustment Program,” in *Postwar Economic Reconstruction and Its Lessons for the East Today*, ed. Rüdiger Dornbusch, Willem Nolling, and Richard Layard, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.
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13. Inclusion

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2. W. Arthur Lewis, “Biographical,” in *Nobel Lectures: Economics, 1969–1980*, ed. Assar Lindbeck, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company, 1992 [1979], 395, reprinted at NobelPrize.org, www.nobelprize.org/prizes/economic-sciences/1979/lewis/biographical.
3. W. Arthur Lewis, *The Evolution of the International Economic Order*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978.
4. Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. B. Jowett, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885 [350 BCE], 6.
5. W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Souls of White Folk,” *The Collected Works of Du Bois*, e-artnow, 2018 [1903], n.p.
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7. Thomas Sowell and Lynn D. Collins, *Essays and Data on American Ethnic Groups*, Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1978, 208.
8. Sheera Frenkel and Cecilia Kang, *An Ugly Truth: Inside Facebook’s Battle for Domination*, New York: HarperCollins, 2021. In my view, those who think that authors like Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray are just “asking questions” and “presenting data” (see Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), which then lead them to assert that there are important and fundamental genetically driven racial differences in intelligence, should reflect. They should reflect that Charles Murray burned a cross to try to terrify the two Black families living in the Midwestern suburb where he grew up—and then has the cheek to claim that “there wouldn’t have been a racist thought in our simple-minded minds. That’s how unaware we were.” See Jason DeParle, “Daring

Research or ‘Social Science Pornography’? Charles Murray,” *New York Times*, October 9, 1994,
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1994/10/09/397547.html>. They should reflect on the sources of their own gullibility, and on the sources of their need to believe that Blacks are relatively poor in America today not because of past and present discrimination but because of unchangeable elements of nature.

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www.nps.gov/liho/learn/historyculture/debate1.htm.

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Conclusion: Are We Still Slouching Towards Utopia?

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PERCEPTIONS OF A RENEGADE MIND

DAVID DICKIE

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DAVID ICKE

**PERCEPTIONS
OF A
RENEGADE
MIND**

ickonic
publishing

First published in July 2021.



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Cover Design: Gareth Icke
Book Design: Neil Hague

**British Library Cataloguing-in
Publication Data**
A catalogue record for this book is
available from the British Library

eISBN 978-18384153-1-0

**PERCEPTIONS
OF A
RENEGADE
MIND**

DAVID ICKE

Dedication:

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Renegade:

Adjective

'Having rejected tradition: Unconventional.'

Merriam-Webster Dictionary

Acquiescence to tyranny is the death of the spirit

You may be 38 years old, as I happen to be. And one day, some great opportunity stands before you and calls you to stand up for some great principle, some great issue, some great cause. And you refuse to do it because you are afraid

... You refuse to do it because you want to live longer ...

You're afraid that you will lose your job, or you are afraid that you will be criticised or that you will lose your popularity, or you're afraid that somebody will stab you, or shoot at you or bomb your house; so you refuse to take the stand.

Well, you may go on and live until you are 90, but you're just as dead at 38 as you would be at 90. And the cessation of breathing in your life is but the belated announcement of an earlier death of the spirit.

Martin Luther King

**How the few control the many and always have – the many do
whatever they're told**

'Forward, the Light Brigade!'
Was there a man dismayed?
Not though the soldier knew
 Someone had blundered.
Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die.
 Into the valley of Death
 Rode the six hundred.

Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Cannon in front of them
 Volleyed and thundered;
Stormed at with shot and shell,
 Boldly they rode and well,
 Into the jaws of Death,
 Into the mouth of hell
 Rode the six hundred

Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-1892)

The mist is lifting slowly
I can see the way ahead
And I've left behind the empty streets
That once inspired my life
And the strength of the emotion
Is like thunder in the air
'Cos the promise that we made each other
Haunts me to the end

The secret of your beauty
And the mystery of your soul
I've been searching for in everyone I meet
And the times I've been mistaken
It's impossible to say
And the grass is growing
Underneath our feet

The words that I remember
From my childhood still are true
That there's none so blind
As those who will not see
And to those who lack the courage
And say it's dangerous to try
Well they just don't know
That love eternal will not be denied

I know you're out there somewhere
Somewhere, somewhere
I know you're out there somewhere

Somewhere you can hear my voice
I know I'll find you somehow
Somehow, somehow
I know I'll find you somehow
And somehow I'll return again to you

The Moody Blues

Are you a gutless wonder - or a Renegade Mind?

Monuments put from pen to paper,
Turns me into a gutless wonder,
And if you tolerate this,
Then your children will be next.
Gravity keeps my head down,
Or is it maybe shame ...

Manic Street Preachers

Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number.
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep have fallen on you.
Ye are many – they are few.

Percy Shelley

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CHAPTER ONE

I'm thinking' – Oh, but are you?

Think for yourself and let others enjoy the privilege of doing so too
Voltaire

French-born philosopher, mathematician and scientist René Descartes became famous for his statement in Latin in the 17th century which translates into English as: 'I think, therefore I am.'

On the face of it that is true. Thought reflects perception and perception leads to both behaviour and self-identity. In that sense 'we' are what we think. But who or what is doing the thinking and is thinking the only route to perception? Clearly, as we shall see, 'we' are not always the source of 'our' perception, indeed with regard to humanity as a whole this is rarely the case; and thinking is far from the only means of perception. Thought is the village idiot compared with other expressions of consciousness that we all have the potential to access and tap into. This has to be true when we *are* those other expressions of consciousness which are infinite in nature. We have forgotten this, or, more to the point, been manipulated to forget.

These are not just the esoteric musings of the navel. The whole foundation of human control and oppression is control of perception. Once perception is hijacked then so is behaviour which is dictated by perception. Collective perception becomes collective behaviour and collective behaviour is what we call human society. Perception is all and those behind human control know that which is

why perception is the target 24/7 of the psychopathic manipulators that I call the Global Cult. They know that if they dictate perception they will dictate behaviour and collectively dictate the nature of human society. They are further aware that perception is formed from information received and if they control the circulation of information they will to a vast extent direct human behaviour.

Censorship of information and opinion has become globally Nazi-like in recent years and never more blatantly than since the illusory ‘virus pandemic’ was triggered out of China in 2019 and across the world in 2020. Why have billions submitted to house arrest and accepted fascistic societies in a way they would have never believed possible? Those controlling the information spewing from government, mainstream media and Silicon Valley (all controlled by the same Global Cult networks) told them they were in danger from a ‘deadly virus’ and only by submitting to house arrest and conceding their most basic of freedoms could they and their families be protected. This monumental and provable lie became the *perception* of the billions and therefore the *behaviour* of the billions. In those few words you have the whole structure and modus operandi of human control. Fear is a perception – False Emotion Appearing Real – and fear is the currency of control. In short ... get them by the balls (or give them the impression that you have) and their hearts and minds will follow. Nothing grips the dangly bits and freezes the rear-end more comprehensively than fear.

World number 1

There are two ‘worlds’ in what appears to be one ‘world’ and the prime difference between them is knowledge. First we have the mass of human society in which the population is maintained in coldly-calculated ignorance through control of information and the ‘education’ (indoctrination) system. That’s all you really need to control to enslave billions in a perceptual delusion in which what are perceived to be *their* thoughts and opinions are ever-repeated mantras that the system has been downloading all their lives through ‘education’, media, science, medicine, politics and academia

in which the personnel and advocates are themselves overwhelmingly the perceptual products of the same repetition. Teachers and academics in general are processed by the same programming machine as everyone else, but unlike the great majority they never leave the ‘education’ program. It gripped them as students and continues to grip them as programmers of subsequent generations of students. The programmed become the programmers – the programmed programmers. The same can largely be said for scientists, doctors and politicians and not least because as the American writer Upton Sinclair said: ‘It is difficult to get a man to understand something when his salary depends upon his not understanding it.’ If your career and income depend on thinking the way the system demands then you will – bar a few free-minded exceptions – concede your mind to the Perceptual Mainframe that I call the Postage Stamp Consensus. This is a tiny band of perceived knowledge and possibility ‘taught’ (downloaded) in the schools and universities, pounded out by the mainstream media and on which all government policy is founded. Try thinking, and especially speaking and acting, outside of the ‘box’ of consensus and see what that does for your career in the Mainstream Everything which bullies, harasses, intimidates and ridicules the population into compliance. Here we have the simple structure which enslaves most of humanity in a perceptual prison cell for an entire lifetime and I’ll go deeper into this process shortly. Most of what humanity is taught as fact is nothing more than programmed belief. American science fiction author Frank Herbert was right when he said: ‘Belief can be manipulated. Only knowledge is dangerous.’ In the ‘Covid’ age belief is promoted and knowledge is censored. It was always so, but never to the extreme of today.

World number 2

A ‘number 2’ is slang for ‘doing a poo’ and how appropriate that is when this other ‘world’ is doing just that on humanity every minute of every day. World number 2 is a global network of secret societies and semi-secret groups dictating the direction of society via

governments, corporations and authorities of every kind. I have spent more than 30 years uncovering and exposing this network that I call the Global Cult and knowing its agenda is what has made my books so accurate in predicting current and past events. Secret societies are secret for a reason. They want to keep their hoarded knowledge to themselves and their chosen initiates and to hide it from the population which they seek through ignorance to control and subdue. The whole foundation of the division between World 1 and World 2 is *knowledge*. What number 1 knows number 2 must not. Knowledge they have worked so hard to keep secret includes (a) the agenda to enslave humanity in a centrally-controlled global dictatorship, and (b) the nature of reality and life itself. The latter (b) must be suppressed to allow the former (a) to prevail as I shall be explaining. The way the Cult manipulates and interacts with the population can be likened to a spider's web. The 'spider' sits at the centre in the shadows and imposes its will through the web with each strand represented in World number 2 by a secret society, satanic or semi-secret group, and in World number 1 – the world of the seen – by governments, agencies of government, law enforcement, corporations, the banking system, media conglomerates and Silicon Valley ([Fig 1](#) overleaf). The spider and the web connect and coordinate all these organisations to pursue the same global outcome while the population sees them as individual entities working randomly and independently. At the level of the web governments *are* the banking system *are* the corporations *are* the media *are* Silicon Valley *are* the World Health Organization working from their inner cores as one unit. Apparently unconnected countries, corporations, institutions, organisations and people are on the *same team* pursuing the same global outcome. Strands in the web immediately around the spider are the most secretive and exclusive secret societies and their membership is emphatically restricted to the Cult inner-circle emerging through the generations from particular bloodlines for reasons I will come to. At the core of the core you would get them in a single room. That's how many people are dictating the direction of human society and its transformation

through the ‘Covid’ hoax and other means. As the web expands out from the spider we meet the secret societies that many people will be aware of – the Freemasons, Knights Templar, Knights of Malta, Opus Dei, the inner sanctum of the Jesuit Order, and such like. Note how many are connected to the Church of Rome and there is a reason for that. The Roman Church was established as a revamp, a rebranding, of the relocated ‘Church’ of Babylon and the Cult imposing global tyranny today can be tracked back to Babylon and Sumer in what is now Iraq.



Figure 1: The global web through which the few control the many. (Image Neil Hague.)

Inner levels of the web operate in the unseen away from the public eye and then we have what I call the cusp organisations located at the point where the hidden meets the seen. They include a series of satellite organisations answering to a secret society founded in London in the late 19th century called the Round Table and among them are the Royal Institute of International Affairs (UK, founded in 1920); Council on Foreign Relations (US, 1921); Bilderberg Group (worldwide, 1954); Trilateral Commission (US/worldwide, 1972); and the Club of Rome (worldwide, 1968) which was created to exploit environmental concerns to justify the centralisation of global power to ‘save the planet’. The Club of Rome instigated with others the human-caused climate change hoax which has led to all the ‘green

new deals' demanding that very centralisation of control. Cusp organisations, which include endless 'think tanks' all over the world, are designed to coordinate a single global policy between political and business leaders, intelligence personnel, media organisations and anyone who can influence the direction of policy in their own sphere of operation. Major players and regular attenders will know what is happening – or some of it – while others come and go and are kept overwhelmingly in the dark about the big picture. I refer to these cusp groupings as semi-secret in that they can be publicly identified, but what goes on at the inner-core is kept very much 'in house' even from most of their members and participants through a fiercely-imposed system of compartmentalisation. Only let them know what they need to know to serve your interests and no more. The structure of secret societies serves as a perfect example of this principle. Most Freemasons never get higher than the bottom three levels of 'degree' (degree of knowledge) when there are 33 official degrees of the Scottish Rite. Initiates only qualify for the next higher 'compartment' or degree if those at that level choose to allow them. Knowledge can be carefully assigned only to those considered 'safe'. I went to my local Freemason's lodge a few years ago when they were having an 'open day' to show how cuddly they were and when I chatted to some of them I was astonished at how little the rank and file knew even about the most ubiquitous symbols they use. The mushroom technique – keep them in the dark and feed them bullshit – applies to most people in the web as well as the population as a whole. Sub-divisions of the web mirror in theme and structure transnational corporations which have a headquarters somewhere in the world dictating to all their subsidiaries in different countries. Subsidiaries operate in their methodology and branding to the same centrally-dictated plan and policy in pursuit of particular ends. The Cult web functions in the same way. Each country has its own web as a subsidiary of the global one. They consist of networks of secret societies, semi-secret groups and bloodline families and their job is to impose the will of the spider and the global web in their particular country. Subsidiary networks control and manipulate the national political system, finance, corporations, media, medicine, etc. to

ensure that they follow the globally-dictated Cult agenda. These networks were the means through which the ‘Covid’ hoax could be played out with almost every country responding in the same way.

The ‘Yessir’ pyramid

Compartmentalisation is the key to understanding how a tiny few can dictate the lives of billions when combined with a top-down sequence of imposition and acquiescence. The inner core of the Cult sits at the peak of the pyramidal hierarchy of human society ([Fig 2](#) overleaf). It imposes its will – its agenda for the world – on the level immediately below which acquiesces to that imposition. This level then imposes the Cult will on the level below them which acquiesces and imposes on the next level. Very quickly we meet levels in the hierarchy that have no idea there even is a Cult, but the sequence of imposition and acquiescence continues down the pyramid in just the same way. ‘I don’t know why we are doing this but the order came from “on-high” and so we better just do it.’ Alfred Lord Tennyson said of the cannon fodder levels in his poem *The Charge of the Light Brigade*: ‘Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die.’ The next line says that ‘into the valley of death rode the six hundred’ and they died because they obeyed without question what their perceived ‘superiors’ told them to do. In the same way the population capitulated to ‘Covid’. The whole hierarchical pyramid functions like this to allow the very few to direct the enormous many.

Eventually imposition-acquiescence-imposition-acquiescence comes down to the mass of the population at the foot of the pyramid. If they acquiesce to those levels of the hierarchy imposing on them (governments/law enforcement/doctors/media) a circuit is completed between the population and the handful of super-psychopaths in the Cult inner core at the top of the pyramid. Without a circuit-breaking refusal to obey, the sequence of imposition and acquiescence allows a staggeringly few people to impose their will upon the entirety of humankind. We are looking at the very sequence that has subjugated billions since the start of 2020. Our freedom has not been taken from us. Humanity has given it

away. Fascists do not impose fascism because there are not enough of them. Fascism is imposed by the population acquiescing to fascism. Put another way allowing their perceptions to be programmed to the extent that leads to the population giving their freedom away by giving their perceptions – their mind – away. If this circuit is not broken by humanity ceasing to cooperate with their own enslavement then nothing can change. For that to happen people have to critically think and see through the lies and window dressing and then summon the backbone to act upon what they see. The Cult spends its days working to stop either happening and its methodology is systematic and highly detailed, but it can be overcome and that is what this book is all about.

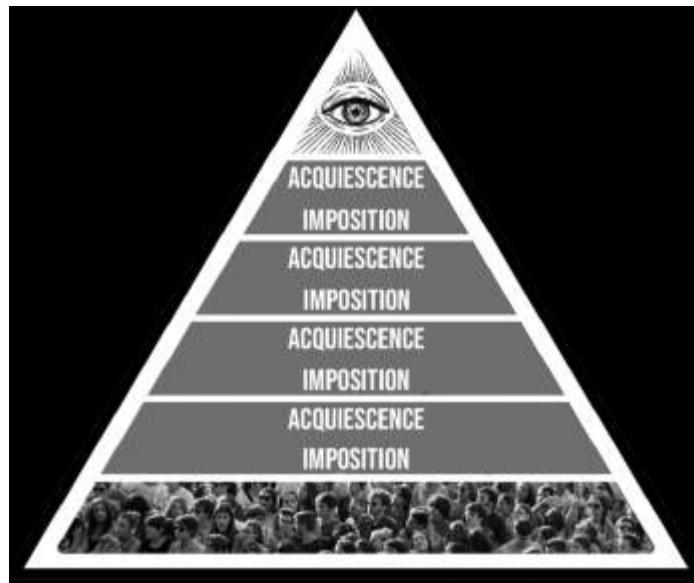


Figure 2: The simple sequence of imposition and compliance that allows a handful of people at the peak of the pyramid to dictate the lives of billions.

The Life Program

Okay, back to world number 1 or the world of the ‘masses’. Observe the process of what we call ‘life’ and it is a perceptual download from cradle to grave. The Cult has created a global structure in which perception can be programmed and the program continually topped-up with what appears to be constant confirmation that the program is indeed true reality. The important word here is ‘appears’.

This is the structure, the fly-trap, the Postage Stamp Consensus or Perceptual Mainframe, which represents that incredibly narrow band of perceived possibility delivered by the ‘education’ system, mainstream media, science and medicine. From the earliest age the download begins with parents who have themselves succumbed to the very programming their children are about to go through. Most parents don’t do this out of malevolence and mostly it is quite the opposite. They do what they believe is best for their children and that is what the program has told them is best. Within three or four years comes the major transition from parental programming to full-blown state (Cult) programming in school, college and university where perceptually-programmed teachers and academics pass on their programming to the next generations. Teachers who resist are soon marginalised and their careers ended while children who resist are called a problem child for whom Ritalin may need to be prescribed. A few years after entering the ‘world’ children are under the control of authority figures representing the state telling them when they have to be there, when they can leave and when they can speak, eat, even go to the toilet. This is calculated preparation for a lifetime of obeying authority in all its forms. Reflex-action fear of authority is instilled by authority from the start. Children soon learn the carrot and stick consequences of obeying or defying authority which is underpinned daily for the rest of their life. Fortunately I daydreamed through this crap and never obeyed authority simply because it told me to. This approach to my alleged ‘bettters’ continues to this day. There can be consequences of pursuing open-minded freedom in a world of closed-minded conformity. I spent a lot of time in school corridors after being ejected from the classroom for not taking some of it seriously and now I spend a lot of time being ejected from Facebook, YouTube and Twitter. But I can tell you that being true to yourself and not compromising your self-respect is far more exhilarating than bowing to authority for authority’s sake. You don’t have to be a sheep to the shepherd (authority) and the sheep dog (fear of not obeying authority).

The perceptual download continues throughout the formative years in school, college and university while script-reading ‘teachers’, ‘academics’ ‘scientists’, ‘doctors’ and ‘journalists’ insist that ongoing generations must be as programmed as they are. Accept the program or you will not pass your ‘exams’ which confirm your ‘degree’ of programming. It is tragic to think that many parents pressure their offspring to work hard at school to download the program and qualify for the next stage at college and university. The late, great, American comedian George Carlin said: ‘Here’s a bumper sticker I’d like to see: We are proud parents of a child who has resisted his teachers’ attempts to break his spirit and bend him to the will of his corporate masters.’ Well, the best of luck finding many of those, George. Then comes the moment to leave the formal programming years in academia and enter the ‘adult’ world of work. There you meet others in your chosen or prescribed arena who went through the same Postage Stamp Consensus program before you did. There is therefore overwhelming agreement between almost everyone on the basic foundations of Postage Stamp reality and the rejection, even contempt, of the few who have a mind of their own and are prepared to use it. This has two major effects. Firstly, the consensus confirms to the programmed that their download is really how things are. I mean, everyone knows that, right? Secondly, the arrogance and ignorance of Postage Stamp adherents ensure that anyone questioning the program will have unpleasant consequences for seeking their own truth and not picking their perceptions from the shelf marked: ‘Things you must believe without question and if you don’t you’re a dangerous lunatic conspiracy theorist and a harebrained nutter’.

Every government, agency and corporation is founded on the same Postage Stamp prison cell and you can see why so many people believe the same thing while calling it their own ‘opinion’. Fusion of governments and corporations in pursuit of the same agenda was the definition of fascism described by Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. The pressure to conform to perceptual norms downloaded for a lifetime is incessant and infiltrates society right

down to family groups that become censors and condemners of their own ‘black sheep’ for not, ironically, being sheep. We have seen an explosion of that in the ‘Covid’ era. Cult-owned global media unleashes its propaganda all day every day in support of the Postage Stamp and targets with abuse and ridicule anyone in the public eye who won’t bend their mind to the will of the tyranny. Any response to this is denied (certainly in my case). They don’t want to give a platform to expose official lies. Cult-owned-and-created Internet giants like Facebook, Google, YouTube and Twitter delete you for having an unapproved opinion. Facebook boasts that its AI censors delete 97-percent of ‘hate speech’ before anyone even reports it. Much of that ‘hate speech’ will simply be an opinion that Facebook and its masters don’t want people to see. Such perceptual oppression is widely known as fascism. Even Facebook executive Benny Thomas, a ‘CEO Global Planning Lead’, said in comments secretly recorded by investigative journalism operation Project Veritas that Facebook is ‘too powerful’ and should be broken up:

I mean, no king in history has been the ruler of two billion people, but Mark Zuckerberg is ... And he's 36. That's too much for a 36-year-old ... You should not have power over two billion people. I just think that's wrong.

Thomas said Facebook-owned platforms like Instagram, Oculus, and WhatsApp needed to be separate companies. ‘It’s too much power when they’re all one together’. That’s the way the Cult likes it, however. We have an executive of a Cult organisation in Benny Thomas that doesn’t know there is a Cult such is the compartmentalisation. Thomas said that Facebook and Google ‘are no longer companies, they’re countries’. Actually they are more powerful than countries on the basis that if you control information you control perception and control human society.

I love my oppressor

Another expression of this psychological trickery is for those who realise they are being pressured into compliance to eventually

convince themselves to believe the official narratives to protect their self-respect from accepting the truth that they have succumbed to meek and subservient compliance. Such people become some of the most vehement defenders of the system. You can see them everywhere screaming abuse at those who prefer to think for themselves and by doing so reminding the compliers of their own capitulation to conformity. ‘You are talking dangerous nonsense you Covidiot!!’ Are you trying to convince me or yourself? It is a potent form of Stockholm syndrome which is defined as: ‘A psychological condition that occurs when a victim of abuse identifies and attaches, or bonds, positively with their abuser.’ An example is hostages bonding and even ‘falling in love’ with their kidnappers. The syndrome has been observed in domestic violence, abused children, concentration camp inmates, prisoners of war and many and various Satanic cults. These are some traits of Stockholm syndrome listed at goodtherapy.org:

- Positive regard towards perpetrators of abuse or captor [see ‘Covid’].
- Failure to cooperate with police and other government authorities when it comes to holding perpetrators of abuse or kidnapping accountable [or in the case of ‘Covid’ cooperating with the police to enforce and defend their captors’ demands].
- Little or no effort to escape [see ‘Covid’].
- Belief in the goodness of the perpetrators or kidnappers [see ‘Covid’].
- Appeasement of captors. This is a manipulative strategy for maintaining one’s safety. As victims get rewarded – perhaps with less abuse or even with life itself – their appeasing behaviours are reinforced [see ‘Covid’].
- Learned helplessness. This can be akin to ‘if you can’t beat ‘em, join ‘em’. As the victims fail to escape the abuse or captivity, they may start giving up and soon realize it’s just easier for everyone if they acquiesce all their power to their captors [see ‘Covid’].

- Feelings of pity toward the abusers, believing they are actually victims themselves. Because of this, victims may go on a crusade or mission to 'save' [protect] their abuser [see the venom unleashed on those challenging the official 'Covid' narrative].
- Unwillingness to learn to detach from their perpetrators and heal. In essence, victims may tend to be less loyal to themselves than to their abuser [*definitely* see 'Covid'].

Ponder on those traits and compare them with the behaviour of great swathes of the global population who have defended governments and authorities which have spent every minute destroying their lives and livelihoods and those of their children and grandchildren since early 2020 with fascistic lockdowns, house arrest and employment deletion to 'protect' them from a 'deadly virus' that their abusers' perceptually created to bring about this very outcome. We are looking at mass Stockholm syndrome. All those that agree to concede their freedom will believe those perceptions are originating in their own independent 'mind' when in fact by conceding their reality to Stockholm syndrome they have by definition conceded any independence of mind. Listen to the 'opinions' of the acquiescing masses in this 'Covid' era and what gushes forth is the repetition of the official version of everything delivered unprocessed, unfiltered and unquestioned. The whole programming dynamic works this way. I must be free because I'm told that I am and so I think that I am.

You can see what I mean with the chapter theme of 'I'm thinking – Oh, but *are you?*' The great majority are not thinking, let alone for themselves. They are repeating what authority has told them to believe which allows them to be controlled. Weaving through this mentality is the fear that the 'conspiracy theorists' are right and this again explains the often hysterical abuse that ensues when you dare to contest the official narrative of anything. Denial is the mechanism of hiding from yourself what you don't want to be true. Telling people what they want to hear is easy, but it's an infinitely greater challenge to tell them what they would rather not be happening.

One is akin to pushing against an open door while the other is met with vehement resistance no matter what the scale of evidence. I don't want it to be true so I'll convince myself that it's not. Examples are everywhere from the denial that a partner is cheating despite all the signs to the reflex-action rejection of any idea that world events in which country after country act in exactly the same way are centrally coordinated. To accept the latter is to accept that a force of unspeakable evil is working to destroy your life and the lives of your children with nothing too horrific to achieve that end. Who the heck wants that to be true? But if we don't face reality the end is duly achieved and the consequences are far worse and ongoing than breaking through the walls of denial today with the courage to make a stand against tyranny.

Connect the dots – but how?

A crucial aspect of perceptual programming is to portray a world in which everything is random and almost nothing is connected to anything else. Randomness cannot be coordinated by its very nature and once you perceive events as random the idea they could be connected is waved away as the rantings of the tinfoil-hat brigade. You can't plan and coordinate random you idiot! No, you can't, but you can hide the coldly-calculated and long-planned behind the *illusion* of randomness. A foundation manifestation of the Renegade Mind is to scan reality for patterns that connect the apparently random and turn pixels and dots into pictures. This is the way I work and have done so for more than 30 years. You look for similarities in people, modus operandi and desired outcomes and slowly, then ever quicker, the picture forms. For instance: There would seem to be no connection between the 'Covid pandemic' hoax and the human-caused global-warming hoax and yet they are masks (appropriately) on the same face seeking the same outcome. Those pushing the global warming myth through the Club of Rome and other Cult agencies are driving the lies about 'Covid' – Bill Gates is an obvious one, but they are endless. Why would the same people be involved in both when they are clearly not connected? Oh, but they

are. Common themes with personnel are matched by common goals. The ‘solutions’ to both ‘problems’ are centralisation of global power to impose the will of the few on the many to ‘save’ humanity from ‘Covid’ and save the planet from an ‘existential threat’ (we need ‘zero Covid’ and ‘zero carbon emissions’). These, in turn, connect with the ‘dot’ of globalisation which was coined to describe the centralisation of global power in every area of life through incessant political and corporate expansion, trading blocks and superstates like the European Union. If you are the few and you want to control the many you have to centralise power and decision-making. The more you centralise power the more power the few at the centre will have over the many; and the more that power is centralised the more power those at the centre have to centralise even quicker. The momentum of centralisation gets faster and faster which is exactly the process we have witnessed. In this way the hoaxed ‘pandemic’ and the fakery of human-caused global warming serve the interests of globalisation and the seizure of global power in the hands of the Cult inner-circle which is behind ‘Covid’, ‘climate change’ and globalisation. At this point random ‘dots’ become a clear and obvious picture or pattern.

Klaus Schwab, the classic Bond villain who founded the Cult’s Gates-funded World Economic Forum, published a book in 2020, *The Great Reset*, in which he used the ‘problem’ of ‘Covid’ to justify a total transformation of human society to ‘save’ humanity from ‘climate change’. Schwab said: ‘The pandemic represents a rare but narrow window of opportunity to reflect, reimagine, and reset our world.’ What he didn’t mention is that the Cult he serves is behind both hoaxes as I show in my book *The Answer*. He and the Cult don’t have to reimagine the world. They know precisely what they want and that’s why they destroyed human society with ‘Covid’ to ‘build back better’ in their grand design. Their job is not to imagine, but to get humanity to imagine and agree with their plans while believing it’s all random. It must be pure coincidence that ‘The Great Reset’ has long been the Cult’s code name for the global imposition of fascism and replaced previous code-names of the ‘New World

'Order' used by Cult frontmen like Father George Bush and the 'New Order of the Ages' which emerged from Freemasonry and much older secret societies. New Order of the Ages appears on the reverse of the Great Seal of the United States as 'Novus ordo seclorum' underneath the Cult symbol used since way back of the pyramid and all seeing-eye ([Fig 3](#)). The pyramid is the hierarchy of human control headed by the illuminated eye that symbolises the force behind the Cult which I will expose in later chapters. The term 'Annuit Coeptis' translates as 'He favours our undertaking'. We are told the 'He' is the Christian god, but 'He' is not as I will be explaining.



Figure 3: The all-seeing eye of the Cult 'god' on the Freemason-designed Great Seal of the United States and also on the dollar bill.

Having you on

Two major Cult techniques of perceptual manipulation that relate to all this are what I have called since the 1990s Problem-Reaction-Solution (PRS) and the Totalitarian Tiptoe (TT). They can be uncovered by the inquiring mind with a simple question: Who benefits? The answer usually identifies the perpetrators of a given action or happening through the concept of 'he who most benefits from a crime is the one most likely to have committed it'. The Latin 'Cue bono?' – Who benefits? – is widely attributed to the Roman orator and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero. No wonder it goes back so far when the concept has been relevant to human behaviour since

history was recorded. Problem-Reaction-Solution is the technique used to manipulate us every day by covertly creating a problem (or the illusion of one) and offering the solution to the problem (or the illusion of one). In the first phase you create the problem and blame someone or something else for why it has happened. This may relate to a financial collapse, terrorist attack, war, global warming or pandemic, anything in fact that will allow you to impose the ‘solution’ to change society in the way you desire at that time. The ‘problem’ doesn’t have to be real. PRS is manipulation of perception and all you need is the population to believe the problem is real. Human-caused global warming and the ‘Covid pandemic’ only have to be *perceived* to be real for the population to accept the ‘solutions’ of authority. I refer to this technique as NO-Problem-Reaction-Solution. Billions did not meekly accept house arrest from early 2020 because there was a real deadly ‘Covid pandemic’ but because they perceived – believed – that to be the case. The antidote to Problem-Reaction-Solution is to ask who benefits from the proposed solution. Invariably it will be anyone who wants to justify more control through deletion of freedom and centralisation of power and decision-making.

The two world wars were Problem-Reaction-Solutions that transformed and realigned global society. Both were manipulated into being by the Cult as I have detailed in books since the mid-1990s. They dramatically centralised global power, especially World War Two, which led to the United Nations and other global bodies thanks to the overt and covert manipulations of the Rockefeller family and other Cult bloodlines like the Rothschilds. The UN is a stalking horse for full-blown world government that I will come to shortly. The land on which the UN building stands in New York was donated by the Rockefellers and the same Cult family was behind Big Pharma scalpel and drug ‘medicine’ and the creation of the World Health Organization as part of the UN. They have been stalwarts of the eugenics movement and funded Hitler’s race-purity expert Ernst Rudin. The human-caused global warming hoax has been orchestrated by the Club of Rome through the UN which is

manufacturing both the ‘problem’ through its Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and imposing the ‘solution’ through its Agenda 21 and Agenda 2030 which demand the total centralisation of global power to ‘save the world’ from a climate hoax the United Nations is itself perpetrating. What a small world the Cult can be seen to be particularly among the inner circles. The bedfellow of Problem-Reaction-Solution is the Totalitarian Tiptoe which became the Totalitarian Sprint in 2020. The technique is fashioned to hide the carefully-coordinated behind the cover of apparently random events. You start the sequence at ‘A’ and you know you are heading for ‘Z’. You don’t want people to know that and each step on the journey is presented as a random happening while all the steps strung together lead in the same direction. The speed may have quickened dramatically in recent times, but you can still see the incremental approach of the Tiptoe in the case of ‘Covid’ as each new imposition takes us deeper into fascism. Tell people they have to do this or that to get back to ‘normal’, then this and this and this. With each new demand adding to the ones that went before the population’s freedom is deleted until it disappears. The spider wraps its web around the flies more comprehensively with each new diktat. I’ll highlight this in more detail when I get to the ‘Covid’ hoax and how it has been pulled off. Another prime example of the Totalitarian Tiptoe is how the Cult-created European Union went from a ‘free-trade zone’ to a centralised bureaucratic dictatorship through the Tiptoe of incremental centralisation of power until nations became mere administrative units for Cult-owned dark suits in Brussels.

The antidote to ignorance is knowledge which the Cult seeks vehemently to deny us, but despite the systematic censorship to that end the Renegade Mind can overcome this by vociferously seeking out the facts no matter the impediments put in the way. There is also a method of thinking and perceiving – *knowing* – that doesn’t even need names, dates, place-type facts to identify the patterns that reveal the story. I’ll get to that in the final chapter. All you need to know about the manipulation of human society and to what end is still out there – *at the time of writing* – in the form of books, videos

and websites for those that really want to breach the walls of programmed perception. To access this knowledge requires the abandonment of the mainstream media as a source of information in the awareness that this is owned and controlled by the Cult and therefore promotes mass perceptions that suit the Cult. Mainstream media lies all day, every day. That is its function and very reason for being. Where it does tell the truth, here and there, is only because the truth and the Cult agenda very occasionally coincide. If you look for fact and insight to the BBC, CNN and virtually all the rest of them you are asking to be conned and perceptually programmed.

Know the outcome and you'll see the journey

Events seem random when you have no idea where the world is being taken. Once you do the random becomes the carefully planned. Know the outcome and you'll see the journey is a phrase I have been using for a long time to give context to daily happenings that appear unconnected. Does a problem, or illusion of a problem, trigger a proposed 'solution' that further drives society in the direction of the outcome? Invariably the answer will be yes and the random – *abracadabra* – becomes the clearly coordinated. So what is this outcome that unlocks the door to a massively expanded understanding of daily events? I will summarise its major aspects – the fine detail is in my other books – and those new to this information will see that the world they thought they were living in is a very different place. The foundation of the Cult agenda is the incessant centralisation of power and all such centralisation is ultimately in pursuit of Cult control on a global level. I have described for a long time the planned world structure of top-down dictatorship as the Hunger Games Society. The term obviously comes from the movie series which portrayed a world in which a few living in military-protected hi-tech luxury were the overlords of a population condemned to abject poverty in isolated 'sectors' that were not allowed to interact. 'Covid' lockdowns and travel bans anyone? The 'Hunger Games' pyramid of structural control has the inner circle of the Cult at the top with pretty much the entire

population at the bottom under their control through dependency for survival on the Cult. The whole structure is planned to be protected and enforced by a military-police state ([Fig 4](#)).

Here you have the reason for the global lockdowns of the fake pandemic to coldly destroy independent incomes and livelihoods and make everyone dependent on the ‘state’ (the Cult that controls the ‘states’). I have warned in my books for many years about the plan to introduce a ‘guaranteed income’ – a barely survivable pittance – designed to impose dependency when employment was destroyed by AI technology and now even more comprehensively at great speed by the ‘Covid’ scam. Once the pandemic was played and lockdown consequences began to delete independent income the authorities began to talk right on cue about the need for a guaranteed income and a ‘Great Reset’. Guaranteed income will be presented as benevolent governments seeking to help a desperate people – desperate as a direct result of actions of the same governments. The truth is that such payments are a trap. You will only get them if you do exactly what the authorities demand including mass vaccination (genetic manipulation). We have seen this theme already in Australia where those dependent on government benefits have them reduced if parents don’t agree to have their children vaccinated according to an insane health-destroying government-dictated schedule. Calculated economic collapse applies to governments as well as people. The Cult wants rid of countries through the creation of a world state with countries broken up into regions ruled by a world government and super states like the European Union. Countries must be bankrupted, too, to this end and it’s being achieved by the trillions in ‘rescue packages’ and furlough payments, trillions in lost taxation, and money-no-object spending on ‘Covid’ including constant all-medium advertising (programming) which has made the media dependent on government for much of its income. The day of reckoning is coming – as planned – for government spending and given that it has been made possible by printing money and not by production/taxation there is inflation on the way that has the

potential to wipe out monetary value. In that case there will be no need for the Cult to steal your money. It just won't be worth anything (see the German Weimar Republic before the Nazis took over). Many have been okay with lockdowns while getting a percentage of their income from so-called furlough payments without having to work. Those payments are dependent, however, on people having at least a theoretical job with a business considered non-essential and ordered to close. As these business go under because they are closed by lockdown after lockdown the furlough stops and it will for everyone eventually. Then what? The 'then what?' is precisely the idea.



Figure 4: The Hunger Games Society structure I have long warned was planned and now the 'Covid' hoax has made it possible. This is the real reason for lockdowns.

Hired hands

Between the Hunger Games Cult elite and the dependent population is planned to be a vicious military-police state (a fusion of the two into one force). This has been in the making for a long time with police looking ever more like the military and carrying weapons to match. The pandemic scam has seen this process accelerate so fast as

lockdown house arrest is brutally enforced by carefully recruited fascist minds and gormless system-servers. The police and military are planned to merge into a centrally-directed world army in a global structure headed by a world government which wouldn't be elected even by the election fixes now in place. The world army is not planned even to be human and instead wars would be fought, primarily against the population, using robot technology controlled by artificial intelligence. I have been warning about this for decades and now militaries around the world are being transformed by this very AI technology. The global regime that I describe is a particular form of fascism known as a technocracy in which decisions are not made by clueless and co-opted politicians but by unelected technocrats – scientists, engineers, technologists and bureaucrats. Cult-owned-and-controlled Silicon Valley giants are examples of technocracy and they already have far more power to direct world events than governments. They are with their censorship *selecting* governments. I know that some are calling the 'Great Reset' a Marxist communist takeover, but fascism and Marxism are different labels for the same tyranny. Tell those who lived in fascist Germany and Stalinist Russia that there was a difference in the way their freedom was deleted and their lives controlled. I could call it a fascist technocracy or a Marxist technocracy and they would be equally accurate. The Hunger Games society with its world government structure would oversee a world army, world central bank and single world cashless currency imposing its will on a microchipped population ([Fig 5](#)). Scan its different elements and see how the illusory pandemic is forcing society in this very direction at great speed. Leaders of 23 countries and the World Health Organization (WHO) backed the idea in March, 2021, of a global treaty for 'international cooperation' in 'health emergencies' and nations should 'come together as a global community for peaceful cooperation that extends beyond this crisis'. Cut the Orwellian bullshit and this means another step towards global government. The plan includes a cashless digital money system that I first warned about in 1993. Right at the start of 'Covid' the deeply corrupt Tedros

Adhanom Ghebreyesus, the crooked and merely gofer ‘head’ of the World Health Organization, said it was possible to catch the ‘virus’ by touching cash and it was better to use cashless means. The claim was ridiculous nonsense and like the whole ‘Covid’ mind-trick it was nothing to do with ‘health’ and everything to do with pushing every aspect of the Cult agenda. As a result of the Tedros lie the use of cash has plummeted. The Cult script involves a single world digital currency that would eventually be technologically embedded in the body. China is a massive global centre for the Cult and if you watch what is happening there you will know what is planned for everywhere. The Chinese government is developing a digital currency which would allow fines to be deducted immediately via AI for anyone caught on camera breaking its fantastic list of laws and the money is going to be programmable with an expiry date to ensure that no one can accrue wealth except the Cult and its operatives.



Figure 5: The structure of global control the Cult has been working towards for so long and this has been enormously advanced by the ‘Covid’ illusion.

Serfdom is so smart

The Cult plan is far wider, extreme, and more comprehensive than even most conspiracy researchers appreciate and I will come to the true depths of deceit and control in the chapters ‘Who controls the

Cult?' and 'Escaping Wetiko'. Even the world that we know is crazy enough. We are being deluged with ever more sophisticated and controlling technology under the heading of 'smart'. We have smart televisions, smart meters, smart cards, smart cars, smart driving, smart roads, smart pills, smart patches, smart watches, smart skin, smart borders, smart pavements, smart streets, smart cities, smart communities, smart environments, smart growth, smart planet ... smart *everything* around us. Smart technologies and methods of operation are designed to interlock to create a global Smart Grid connecting the entirety of human society including human minds to create a centrally-dictated 'hive' mind. 'Smart cities' is code for densely-occupied megacities of total surveillance and control through AI. Ever more destructive frequency communication systems like 5G have been rolled out without any official testing for health and psychological effects (colossal). 5G/6G/7G systems are needed to run the Smart Grid and each one becomes more destructive of body and mind. Deleting independent income is crucial to forcing people into these AI-policed prisons by ending private property ownership (except for the Cult elite). The Cult's Great Reset now openly foresees a global society in which no one will own any possessions and everything will be rented while the Cult would own literally everything under the guise of government and corporations. The aim has been to use the lockdowns to destroy sources of income on a mass scale and when the people are destitute and in unrepayable amounts of debt (problem) Cult assets come forward with the pledge to write-off debt in return for handing over all property and possessions (solution). Everything – literally everything including people – would be connected to the Internet via AI. I was warning years ago about the coming Internet of Things (IoT) in which all devices and technology from your car to your fridge would be plugged into the Internet and controlled by AI. Now we are already there with much more to come. The next stage is the Internet of Everything (IoE) which is planned to include the connection of AI to the human brain and body to replace the human mind with a centrally-controlled AI mind. Instead of perceptions

being manipulated through control of information and censorship those perceptions would come direct from the Cult through AI. What do you think? You think whatever AI decides that you think. In human terms there would be no individual 'think' any longer. Too incredible? The ravings of a lunatic? Not at all. Cult-owned crazies in Silicon Valley have been telling us the plan for years without explaining the real motivation and calculated implications. These include Google executive and 'futurist' Ray Kurzweil who highlights the year 2030 for when this would be underway. He said:

Our thinking ... will be a hybrid of biological and non-biological thinking ... humans will be able to extend their limitations and 'think in the cloud' ... We're going to put gateways to the cloud in our brains ... We're going to gradually merge and enhance ourselves ... In my view, that's the nature of being human – we transcend our limitations.

As the technology becomes vastly superior to what we are then the small proportion that is still human gets smaller and smaller and smaller until it's just utterly negligible.

The sales-pitch of Kurzweil and Cult-owned Silicon Valley is that this would make us 'super-human' when the real aim is to make us post-human and no longer 'human' in the sense that we have come to know. The entire global population would be connected to AI and become the centrally-controlled 'hive-mind' of externally-delivered perceptions. The Smart Grid being installed to impose the Cult's will on the world is being constructed to allow particular locations – even one location – to control the whole global system. From these prime control centres, which absolutely include China and Israel, anything connected to the Internet would be switched on or off and manipulated at will. Energy systems could be cut, communication via the Internet taken down, computer-controlled driverless autonomous vehicles driven off the road, medical devices switched off, the potential is limitless given how much AI and Internet connections now run human society. We have seen nothing yet if we allow this to continue. Autonomous vehicle makers are working with law enforcement to produce cars designed to automatically pull over if they detect a police or emergency vehicle flashing from up to 100 feet away. At a police stop the car would be unlocked and the

window rolled down automatically. Vehicles would only take you where the computer (the state) allowed. The end of petrol vehicles and speed limiters on all new cars in the UK and EU from 2022 are steps leading to electric computerised transport over which ultimately you have no control. The picture is far bigger even than the Cult global network or web and that will become clear when I get to the nature of the ‘spider’. There is a connection between all these happenings and the instigation of DNA-manipulating ‘vaccines’ (which aren’t ‘vaccines’) justified by the ‘Covid’ hoax. That connection is the unfolding plan to transform the human body from a biological to a synthetic biological state and this is why synthetic biology is such a fast-emerging discipline of mainstream science. ‘Covid vaccines’ are infusing self-replicating synthetic genetic material into the cells to cumulatively take us on the Totalitarian Tiptoe from Human 1.0 to the synthetic biological Human 2.0 which will be physically and perceptually attached to the Smart Grid to one hundred percent control every thought, perception and deed.

Humanity needs to wake up and *fast*.

This is the barest explanation of where the ‘outcome’ is planned to go but it’s enough to see the journey happening all around us. Those new to this information will already see ‘Covid’ in a whole new context. I will add much more detail as we go along, but for the minutiae evidence see my mega-works, *The Answer*, *The Trigger* and *Everything You Need to Know But Have Never Been Told*.

Now – how does a Renegade Mind see the ‘world’?

CHAPTER TWO

Renegade Perception

It is one thing to be clever and another to be wise

George R.R. Martin

A simple definition of the difference between a programmed mind and a Renegade Mind would be that one sees only dots while the other connects them to see the picture. Reading reality with accuracy requires the observer to (a) know the planned outcome and (b) realise that everything, but *everything*, is connected.

The entirety of infinite reality is connected – that's its very nature – and with human society an expression of infinite reality the same must apply. Simple cause and effect is a connection. The effect is triggered by the cause and the effect then becomes the cause of another effect. Nothing happens in isolation because it *can't*. Life in whatever reality is simple choice and consequence. We make choices and these lead to consequences. If we don't like the consequences we can make different choices and get different consequences which lead to other choices and consequences. The choice and the consequence are not only connected they are indivisible. You can't have one without the other as an old song goes. A few cannot control the world unless those being controlled allow that to happen – cause and effect, choice and consequence. Control – who has it and who doesn't – is a two-way process, a symbiotic relationship, involving the controller and controlled. 'They took my freedom away!!' Well, yes, but you also gave it to them. Humanity is

subjected to mass control because humanity has acquiesced to that control. This is all cause and effect and literally a case of give and take. In the same way world events of every kind are connected and the Cult works incessantly to sell the illusion of the random and coincidental to maintain the essential (to them) perception of dots that hide the picture. Renegade Minds know this and constantly scan the world for patterns of connection. This is absolutely pivotal in understanding the happenings in the world and without that perspective clarity is impossible. First you know the planned outcome and then you identify the steps on the journey – the day-by-day apparently random which, when connected in relation to the outcome, no longer appear as individual events, but as the proverbial *chain* of events leading in the same direction. I'll give you some examples:

Political puppet show

We are told to believe that politics is 'adversarial' in that different parties with different beliefs engage in an endless tussle for power. There may have been some truth in that up to a point – and only a point – but today divisions between 'different' parties are rhetorical not ideological. Even the rhetorical is fusing into one-speak as the parties eject any remaining free thinkers while others succumb to the ever-gathering intimidation of anyone with the 'wrong' opinion. The Cult is not a new phenomenon and can be traced back thousands of years as my books have documented. Its intergenerational initiates have been manipulating events with increasing effect the more that global power has been centralised. In ancient times the Cult secured control through the system of monarchy in which 'special' bloodlines (of which more later) demanded the right to rule as kings and queens simply by birthright and by vanquishing others who claimed the same birthright. There came a time, however, when people had matured enough to see the unfairness of such tyranny and demanded a say in who governed them. Note the word – *governed* them. Not served them – *governed* them, hence government defined as 'the political direction and control exercised over the

actions of the members, citizens, or inhabitants of communities, societies, and states; direction of the affairs of a state, community, etc.' Governments exercise control over rather than serve just like the monarchies before them. Bizarrely there are still countries like the United Kingdom which are ruled by a monarch *and* a government that officially answers to the monarch. The UK head of state and that of Commonwealth countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand is 'selected' by who in a *single family* had unprotected sex with whom and in what order. Pinch me it can't be true. Ouch! Shit, it is. The demise of monarchies in most countries offered a potential vacuum in which some form of free and fair society could arise and the Cult had that base covered. Monarchies had served its interests but they couldn't continue in the face of such widespread opposition and, anyway, replacing a 'royal' dictatorship that people could see with a dictatorship 'of the people' hiding behind the concept of 'democracy' presented far greater manipulative possibilities and ways of hiding coordinated tyranny behind the illusion of 'freedom'.

Democracy is quite wrongly defined as government selected by the population. This is not the case at all. It is government selected by *some* of the population (and then only in theory). This 'some' doesn't even have to be the majority as we have seen so often in first-past-the-post elections in which the so-called majority party wins fewer votes than the 'losing' parties combined. Democracy can give total power to a party in government from a minority of the votes cast. It's a sleight of hand to sell tyranny as freedom. Seventy-four million Trump-supporting Americans didn't vote for the 'Democratic' Party of Joe Biden in the distinctly dodgy election in 2020 and yet far from acknowledging the wishes and feelings of that great percentage of American society the Cult-owned Biden government set out from day one to destroy them and their right to a voice and opinion. Empty shell Biden and his Cult handlers said they were doing this to 'protect democracy'. Such is the level of lunacy and sickness to which politics has descended. Connect the dots and relate them to the desired outcome – a world government run by self-appointed technocrats and no longer even elected

politicians. While operating through its political agents in government the Cult is at the same time encouraging public distain for politicians by putting idiots and incompetents in theoretical power on the road to deleting them. The idea is to instil a public reaction that says of the technocrats: 'Well, they couldn't do any worse than the pathetic politicians.' It's all about controlling perception and Renegade Minds can see through that while programmed minds cannot when they are ignorant of both the planned outcome and the manipulation techniques employed to secure that end. This knowledge can be learned, however, and fast if people choose to get informed.

Politics may at first sight appear very difficult to control from a central point. I mean look at the 'different' parties and how would you be able to oversee them all and their constituent parts? In truth, it's very straightforward because of their structure. We are back to the pyramid of imposition and acquiescence. Organisations are structured in the same way as the system as a whole. Political parties are not open forums of free expression. They are hierarchies. I was a national spokesman for the British Green Party which claimed to be a different kind of politics in which influence and power was devolved; but I can tell you from direct experience – and it's far worse now – that Green parties are run as hierarchies like all the others however much they may try to hide that fact or kid themselves that it's not true. A very few at the top of all political parties are directing policy and personnel. They decide if you are elevated in the party or serve as a government minister and to do that you have to be a yes man or woman. Look at all the maverick political thinkers who never ascended the greasy pole. If you want to progress within the party or reach 'high-office' you need to fall into line and conform. Exceptions to this are rare indeed. Should you want to run for parliament or Congress you have to persuade the local or state level of the party to select you and for that you need to play the game as dictated by the hierarchy. If you secure election and wish to progress within the greater structure you need to go on conforming to what is acceptable to those running the hierarchy

from the peak of the pyramid. Political parties are perceptual gulags and the very fact that there are party 'Whips' appointed to 'whip' politicians into voting the way the hierarchy demands exposes the ridiculous idea that politicians are elected to serve the people they are supposed to represent. Cult operatives and manipulation has long seized control of major parties that have any chance of forming a government and at least most of those that haven't. A new party forms and the Cult goes to work to infiltrate and direct. This has reached such a level today that you see video compilations of 'leaders' of all parties whether Democrats, Republicans, Conservative, Labour and Green parroting the same Cult mantra of 'Build Back Better' and the 'Great Reset' which are straight off the Cult song-sheet to describe the transformation of global society in response to the Cult-instigated hoaxes of the 'Covid pandemic' and human-caused 'climate change'. To see Caroline Lucas, the Green Party MP that I knew when I was in the party in the 1980s, speaking in support of plans proposed by Cult operative Klaus Schwab representing the billionaire global elite is a real head-shaker.

Many parties – one master

The party system is another mind-trick and was instigated to change the nature of the dictatorship by swapping 'royalty' for dark suits that people believed – though now ever less so – represented their interests. Understanding this trick is to realise that a single force (the Cult) controls all parties either directly in terms of the major ones or through manipulation of perception and ideology with others. You don't need to manipulate Green parties to demand your transformation of society in the name of 'climate change' when they are obsessed with the lie that this is essential to 'save the planet'. You just give them a platform and away they go serving your interests while believing they are being environmentally virtuous. America's political structure is a perfect blueprint for how the two or multi-party system is really a one-party state. The Republican Party is controlled from one step back in the shadows by a group made up of billionaires and their gofers known as neoconservatives or Neocons.

I have exposed them in fine detail in my books and they were the driving force behind the policies of the imbecilic presidency of Boy George Bush which included 9/11 (see *The Trigger* for a comprehensive demolition of the official story), the subsequent ‘war on terror’ (war of terror) and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. The latter was a No-Problem-Reaction-Solution based on claims by Cult operatives, including Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair, about Saddam Hussein’s ‘weapons of mass destruction’ which did not exist as war criminals Bush and Blair well knew.

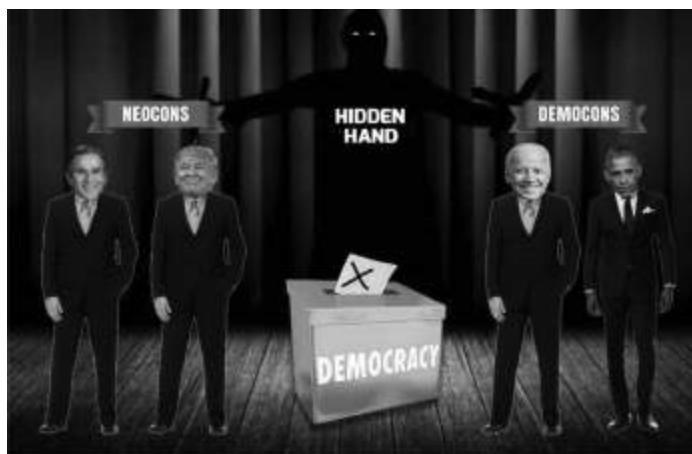


Figure 6: Different front people, different parties – same control system.

The Democratic Party has its own ‘Neocon’ group controlling from the background which I call the ‘Democons’ and here’s the penny-drop – the Neocons and Democons answer to the same masters one step further back into the shadows (Fig 6). At that level of the Cult the Republican and Democrat parties are controlled by the same people and no matter which is in power the Cult is in power. This is how it works in almost every country and certainly in Britain with Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat and Green parties now all on the same page whatever the rhetoric may be in their feeble attempts to appear different. Neocons operated at the time of Bush through a think tank called The Project for the New American Century which in September, 2000, published a document entitled *Rebuilding America’s Defenses: Strategies, Forces, and Resources*

For a New Century demanding that America fight ‘multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars’ as a ‘core mission’ to force regime-change in countries including Iraq, Libya and Syria. Neocons arranged for Bush (‘Republican’) and Blair (‘Labour Party’) to front-up the invasion of Iraq and when they departed the Democons orchestrated the targeting of Libya and Syria through Barack Obama (‘Democrat’) and British Prime Minister David Cameron (‘Conservative Party’). We have ‘different’ parties and ‘different’ people, but the same unfolding script. The more the Cult has seized the reigns of parties and personnel the more their policies have transparently pursued the same agenda to the point where the fascist ‘Covid’ impositions of the Conservative junta of Jackboot Johnson in Britain were opposed by the Labour Party because they were not fascist enough. The Labour Party is likened to the US Democrats while the Conservative Party is akin to a British version of the Republicans and on both sides of the Atlantic they all speak the same language and support the direction demanded by the Cult although some more enthusiastically than others. It’s a similar story in country after country because it’s all centrally controlled. Oh, but what about Trump? I’ll come to him shortly. Political ‘choice’ in the ‘party’ system goes like this: You vote for Party A and they get into government. You don’t like what they do so next time you vote for Party B and they get into government. You don’t like what they do when it’s pretty much the same as Party A and why wouldn’t that be with both controlled by the same force? Given that only two, sometimes three, parties have any chance of forming a government to get rid of Party B that you don’t like you have to vote again for Party A which ... you don’t like. This, ladies and gentlemen, is what they call ‘democracy’ which we are told – wrongly – is a term interchangeable with ‘freedom’.

The cult of cults

At this point I need to introduce a major expression of the Global Cult known as Sabbatian-Frankism. Sabbatian is also spelt as Sabbatean. I will summarise here. I have published major exposés

and detailed background in other works. Sabbatian-Frankism combines the names of two frauds posing as 'Jewish' men, Sabbatai Zevi (1626-1676), a rabbi, black magician and occultist who proclaimed he was the Jewish messiah; and Jacob Frank (1726-1791), the Polish 'Jew', black magician and occultist who said he was the reincarnation of 'messiah' Zevi and biblical patriarch Jacob. They worked across two centuries to establish the Sabbatian-Frankist cult that plays a major, indeed central, role in the manipulation of human society by the Global Cult which has its origins much further back in history than Sabbatai Zevi. I should emphasise two points here in response to the shrill voices that will scream 'anti-Semitism': (1) Sabbatian-Frankists are NOT Jewish and only pose as such to hide their cult behind a Jewish façade; and (2) my information about this cult has come from Jewish sources who have long realised that their society and community has been infiltrated and taken over by interloper Sabbatian-Frankists. Infiltration has been the foundation technique of Sabbatian-Frankism from its official origin in the 17th century. Zevi's Sabbatian sect attracted a massive following described as the biggest messianic movement in Jewish history, spreading as far as Africa and Asia, and he promised a return for the Jews to the 'Promised Land' of Israel. Sabbatianism was not Judaism but an inversion of everything that mainstream Judaism stood for. So much so that this sinister cult would have a feast day when Judaism had a fast day and whatever was forbidden in Judaism the Sabbatians were encouraged and even commanded to do. This included incest and what would be today called Satanism. Members were forbidden to marry outside the sect and there was a system of keeping their children ignorant of what they were part of until they were old enough to be trusted not to unknowingly reveal anything to outsiders. The same system is employed to this day by the Global Cult in general which Sabbatian-Frankism has enormously influenced and now largely controls.

Zevi and his Sabbatians suffered a setback with the intervention by the Sultan of the Islamic Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and what is now the Republic of Turkey where Zevi was located. The

Sultan gave him the choice of proving his ‘divinity’, converting to Islam or facing torture and death. Funnily enough Zevi chose to convert or at least appear to. Some of his supporters were disillusioned and drifted away, but many did not with 300 families also converting – only in theory – to Islam. They continued behind this Islamic smokescreen to follow the goals, rules and rituals of Sabbatianism and became known as ‘crypto-Jews’ or the ‘Dönmeh’ which means ‘to turn’. This is rather ironic because they didn’t ‘turn’ and instead hid behind a fake Islamic persona. The process of appearing to be one thing while being very much another would become the calling card of Sabbatianism especially after Zevi’s death and the arrival of the Satanist Jacob Frank in the 18th century when the cult became Sabbatian-Frankism and plumbed still new depths of depravity and infiltration which included – still includes – human sacrifice and sex with children. Wherever Sabbatians go paedophilia and Satanism follow and is it really a surprise that Hollywood is so infested with child abuse and Satanism when it was established by Sabbatian-Frankists and is still controlled by them? Hollywood has been one of the prime vehicles for global perceptual programming and manipulation. How many believe the version of ‘history’ portrayed in movies when it is a travesty and inversion (again) of the truth? Rabbi Marvin Antelman describes Frankism in his book, *To Eliminate the Opiate*, as ‘a movement of complete evil’ while Jewish professor Gershom Scholem said of Frank in *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*: ‘In all his actions [he was] a truly corrupt and degenerate individual ... one of the most frightening phenomena in the whole of Jewish history.’ Frank was excommunicated by traditional rabbis, as was Zevi, but Frank was undeterred and enjoyed vital support from the House of Rothschild, the infamous banking dynasty whose inner-core are Sabbatian-Frankists and not Jews. Infiltration of the Roman Church and Vatican was instigated by Frank with many Dönmeh ‘turning’ again to convert to Roman Catholicism with a view to hijacking the reins of power. This was the ever-repeating modus operandi and continues to be so. Pose as an advocate of the religion, culture or country that you want to control and then

manipulate your people into the positions of authority and influence largely as advisers, administrators and Svengalis for those that appear to be in power. They did this with Judaism, Christianity (Christian Zionism is part of this), Islam and other religions and nations until Sabbatian-Frankism spanned the world as it does today.

Sabbatian Saudis and the terror network

One expression of the Sabbatian-Frankist Dönme within Islam is the ruling family of Saudi Arabia, the House of Saud, through which came the vile distortion of Islam known as Wahhabism. This is the violent creed followed by terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS or Islamic State. Wahhabism is the hand-chopping, head-chopping ‘religion’ of Saudi Arabia which is used to keep the people in a constant state of fear so the interloper House of Saud can continue to rule. Al-Qaeda and Islamic State were lavishly funded by the House of Saud while being created and directed by the Sabbatian-Frankist network in the United States that operates through the Pentagon, CIA and the government in general of whichever ‘party’. The front man for the establishment of Wahhabism in the middle of the 18th century was a Sabbatian-Frankist ‘crypto-Jew’ posing as Islamic called Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. His daughter would marry the son of Muhammad bin Saud who established the first Saudi state before his death in 1765 with support from the British Empire. Bin Saud’s successors would establish modern Saudi Arabia in league with the British and Americans in 1932 which allowed them to seize control of Islam’s major shrines in Mecca and Medina. They have dictated the direction of Sunni Islam ever since while Iran is the major centre of the Shiite version and here we have the source of at least the public conflict between them. The Sabbatian network has used its Wahhabi extremists to carry out Problem-Reaction-Solution terrorist attacks in the name of ‘Al-Qaeda’ and ‘Islamic State’ to justify a devastating ‘war on terror’, ever-increasing surveillance of the population and to terrify people into compliance. Another insight of the Renegade Mind is the streetwise understanding that

just because a country, location or people are attacked doesn't mean that those apparently representing that country, location or people are not behind the attackers. Often they are *orchestrating* the attacks because of the societal changes that can be then justified in the name of 'saving the population from terrorists'.

I show in great detail in *The Trigger* how Sabbatian-Frankists were the real perpetrators of 9/11 and not '19 Arab hijackers' who were blamed for what happened. Observe what was justified in the name of 9/11 alone in terms of Middle East invasions, mass surveillance and control that fulfilled the demands of the Project for the New American Century document published by the Sabbatian Neocons. What appear to be enemies are on the deep inside players on the same Sabbatian team. Israel and Arab 'royal' dictatorships are all ruled by Sabbatians and the recent peace agreements between Israel and Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and others are only making formal what has always been the case behind the scenes. Palestinians who have been subjected to grotesque tyranny since Israel was bombed and terrorised into existence in 1948 have never stood a chance. Sabbatian-Frankists have controlled Israel (so the constant theme of violence and war which Sabbatians love) and they have controlled the Arab countries that Palestinians have looked to for real support that never comes. 'Royal families' of the Arab world in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE, etc., are all Sabbatians with allegiance to the aims of the cult and not what is best for their Arabic populations. They have stolen the oil and financial resources from their people by false claims to be 'royal dynasties' with a genetic right to rule and by employing vicious militaries to impose their will.

Satanic 'illumination'

The Satanist Jacob Frank formed an alliance in 1773 with two other Sabbatians, Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744-1812), founder of the Rothschild banking dynasty, and Jesuit-educated fraudulent Jew, Adam Weishaupt, and this led to the formation of the Bavarian Illuminati, firstly under another name, in 1776. The Illuminati would

be the manipulating force behind the French Revolution (1789-1799) and was also involved in the American Revolution (1775-1783) before and after the Illuminati's official creation. Weishaupt would later become (in public) a Protestant Christian in archetypal Sabbatian style. I read that his name can be decoded as Adam-Weishaupt or 'the first man to lead those who know'. He wasn't a leader in the sense that he was a subordinate, but he did lead those below him in a crusade of transforming human society that still continues today. The theme was confirmed as early as 1785 when a horseman courier called Lanz was reported to be struck by lighting and extensive Illuminati documents were found in his saddlebags. They made the link to Weishaupt and detailed the plan for world takeover. Current events with 'Covid' fascism have been in the making for a very long time. Jacob Frank was jailed for 13 years by the Catholic Inquisition after his arrest in 1760 and on his release he headed for Frankfurt, Germany, home city and headquarters of the House of Rothschild where the alliance was struck with Mayer Amschel Rothschild and Weishaupt. Rothschild arranged for Frank to be given the title of Baron and he became a wealthy nobleman with a big following of Jews in Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and other European countries. Most of them would have believed he was on their side.

The name 'Illuminati' came from the Zohar which is a body of works in the Jewish mystical 'bible' called the Kabbalah. 'Zohar' is the foundation of Sabbatian-Frankist belief and in Hebrew 'Zohar' means 'splendour', 'radiance', 'illuminated', and so we have 'Illuminati'. They claim to be the 'Illuminated Ones' from their knowledge systematically hidden from the human population and passed on through generations of carefully-chosen initiates in the global secret society network or Cult. Hidden knowledge includes an awareness of the Cult agenda for the world and the nature of our collective reality that I will explore later. Cult 'illumination' is symbolised by the torch held by the Statue of Liberty which was gifted to New York by French Freemasons in Paris who knew exactly what it represents. 'Liberty' symbolises the goddess worshipped in

Babylon as Queen Semiramis or Ishtar. The significance of this will become clear. Notice again the ubiquitous theme of inversion with the Statue of 'Liberty' really symbolising mass control ([Fig 7](#)). A mirror-image statute stands on an island in the River Seine in Paris from where New York Liberty originated ([Fig 8](#)). A large replica of the Liberty flame stands on top of the Pont de l'Alma tunnel in Paris where Princess Diana died in a Cult ritual described in *The Biggest Secret*. Lucifer 'the light bringer' is related to all this (and much more as we'll see) and 'Lucifer' is a central figure in Sabbatian-Frankism and its associated Satanism. Sabbatians reject the Jewish Torah, or Pentateuch, the 'five books of Moses' in the Old Testament known as Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy which are claimed by Judaism and Christianity to have been dictated by 'God' to Moses on Mount Sinai. Sabbatians say these do not apply to them and they seek to replace them with the Zohar to absorb Judaism and its followers into their inversion which is an expression of a much greater global inversion. They want to delete all religions and force humanity to worship a one-world religion – Sabbatian Satanism that also includes worship of the Earth goddess. Satanic themes are being more and more introduced into mainstream society and while Christianity is currently the foremost target for destruction the others are planned to follow.



Figure 7: The Cult goddess of Babylon disguised as the Statue of Liberty holding the flame of Lucifer the 'light bringer'.



Figure 8: Liberty's mirror image in Paris where the New York version originated.

Marx brothers

Rabbi Marvin Antelman connects the Illuminati to the Jacobins in *To Eliminate the Opiate* and Jacobins were the force behind the French Revolution. He links both to the Bund der Gerechten, or League of the Just, which was the network that inflicted communism/Marxism on the world. Antelman wrote:

The original inner circle of the Bund der Gerechten consisted of born Catholics, Protestants and Jews [Sabbatian-Frankist infiltrators], and those representatives of respective subdivisions formulated schemes for the ultimate destruction of their faiths. The heretical Catholics laid plans which they felt would take a century or more for the ultimate destruction of the church; the apostate Jews for the ultimate destruction of the Jewish religion.

Sabbatian-created communism connects into this anti-religion agenda in that communism does not allow for the free practice of religion. The Sabbatian 'Bund' became the International Communist Party and Communist League and in 1848 'Marxism' was born with the Communist Manifesto of Sabbatian assets Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It is absolutely no coincidence that Marxism, just a different name for fascist and other centrally-controlled tyrannies, is being imposed worldwide as a result of the 'Covid' hoax and nor that Marxist/fascist China was the place where the hoax originated. The reason for this will become very clear in the chapter 'Covid: The calculated catastrophe'. The so-called 'Woke' mentality has hijacked

traditional beliefs of the political left and replaced them with far-right make-believe ‘social justice’ better known as Marxism. Woke will, however, be swallowed by its own perceived ‘revolution’ which is really the work of billionaires and billionaire corporations feigning being ‘Woke’. Marxism is being touted by Wokers as a replacement for ‘capitalism’ when we don’t have ‘capitalism’. We have cartelism in which the market is stitched up by the very Cult billionaires and corporations bankrolling Woke. Billionaires love Marxism which keeps the people in servitude while they control from the top.

Terminally naïve Wokers think they are ‘changing the world’ when it’s the Cult that is doing the changing and when they have played their vital part and become surplus to requirements they, too, will be targeted. The Illuminati-Jacobins were behind the period known as ‘The Terror’ in the French Revolution in 1793 and 1794 when Jacobin Maximillian de Robespierre and his Orwellian ‘Committee of Public Safety’ killed 17,000 ‘enemies of the Revolution’ who had once been ‘friends of the Revolution’. Karl Marx (1818-1883), whose Sabbatian creed of Marxism has cost the lives of at least 100 million people, is a hero once again to Wokers who have been systematically kept ignorant of real history by their ‘education’ programming. As a result they now promote a Sabbatian ‘Marxist’ abomination destined at some point to consume them. Rabbi Antelman, who spent decades researching the Sabbatian plot, said of the League of the Just and Karl Marx:

Contrary to popular opinion Karl Marx did not originate the Communist Manifesto. He was paid for his services by the League of the Just, which was known in its country of origin, Germany, as the Bund der Gaeachteten.

Antelman said the text attributed to Marx was the work of other people and Marx ‘was only repeating what others already said’. Marx was ‘a hired hack – lackey of the wealthy Illuminists’. Marx famously said that religion was the ‘opium of the people’ (part of the Sabbatian plan to demonise religion) and Antelman called his books, *To Eliminate the Opiate*. Marx was born Jewish, but his family converted to Christianity (Sabbatian modus operandi) and he

attacked Jews, not least in his book, *A World Without Jews*. In doing so he supported the Sabbatian plan to destroy traditional Jewishness and Judaism which we are clearly seeing today with the vindictive targeting of orthodox Jews by the Sabbatian government of Israel over 'Covid' laws. I don't follow any religion and it has done much damage to the world over centuries and acted as a perceptual straightjacket. Renegade Minds, however, are always asking *why* something is being done. It doesn't matter if they agree or disagree with what is happening – *why* is it happening is the question. The 'why?' can be answered with regard to religion in that religions create interacting communities of believers when the Cult wants to dismantle all discourse, unity and interaction (see 'Covid' lockdowns) and the ultimate goal is to delete all religions for a one-world religion of Cult Satanism worshipping their 'god' of which more later. We see the same 'why?' with gun control in America. I don't have guns and don't want them, but why is the Cult seeking to disarm the population at the same time that law enforcement agencies are armed to their molars and why has every tyrant in history sought to disarm people before launching the final takeover? They include Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot and Mao who followed confiscation with violent seizing of power. You know it's a Cult agenda by the people who immediately race to the microphones to exploit dead people in multiple shootings. Ultra-Zionist Cult lackey Senator Chuck Schumer was straight on the case after ten people were killed in Boulder, Colorado in March, 2021. Simple rule ... if Schumer wants it the Cult wants it and the same with his ultra-Zionist mate the wild-eyed Senator Adam Schiff. At the same time they were calling for the disarmament of Americans, many of whom live a long way from a police response, Schumer, Schiff and the rest of these pampered clowns were sitting on Capitol Hill behind a razor-wired security fence protected by thousands of armed troops in addition to their own armed bodyguards. Mom and pop in an isolated home? They're just potential mass shooters.

Zion Mainframe

Sabbatian-Frankists and most importantly the Rothschilds were behind the creation of 'Zionism', a political movement that demanded a Jewish homeland in Israel as promised by Sabbatai Zevi. The very symbol of Israel comes from the German meaning of the name Rothschild. Dynasty founder Mayer Amschel Rothschild changed the family name from Bauer to Rothschild, or 'Red-Shield' in German, in deference to the six-pointed 'Star of David' hexagram displayed on the family's home in Frankfurt. The symbol later appeared on the flag of Israel after the Rothschilds were centrally involved in its creation. Hexagrams are not a uniquely Jewish symbol and are widely used in occult ('hidden') networks often as a symbol for Saturn (see my other books for why). Neither are Zionism and Jewishness interchangeable. Zionism is a political movement and philosophy and not a 'race' or a people. Many Jews oppose Zionism and many non-Jews, including US President Joe Biden, call themselves Zionists as does Israel-centric Donald Trump. America's support for the Israel government is pretty much a gimme with ultra-Zionist billionaires and corporations providing fantastic and dominant funding for both political parties. Former Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney has told how she was approached immediately she ran for office to 'sign the pledge' to Israel and confirm that she would always vote in that country's best interests. All American politicians are approached in this way. Anyone who refuses will get no support or funding from the enormous and all-powerful Zionist lobby that includes organisations like mega-lobby group AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Trump's biggest funder was ultra-Zionist casino and media billionaire Sheldon Adelson while major funders of the Democratic Party include ultra-Zionist George Soros and ultra-Zionist financial and media mogul, Haim Saban. Some may reel back at the suggestion that Soros is an Israel-firster (Sabbatian-controlled Israel-firster), but Renegade Minds watch the actions not the words and everywhere Soros donates his billions the Sabbatian agenda benefits. In the spirit of Sabbatian inversion Soros pledged \$1 billion for a new university network to promote 'liberal values and tackle intolerance'. He made the announcement during his annual speech

at the Cult-owned World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in January, 2020, after his ‘harsh criticism’ of ‘authoritarian rulers’ around the world. You can only laugh at such brazen mendacity. How *he* doesn’t laugh is the mystery. Translated from the Orwellian ‘liberal values and tackle intolerance’ means teaching non-white people to hate white people and for white people to loathe themselves for being born white. The reason for that will become clear.

The ‘Anti-Semitism’ fraud

Zionists support the Jewish homeland in the land of Palestine which has been the Sabbatian-Rothschild goal for so long, but not for the benefit of Jews. Sabbatians and their global Anti-Semitism Industry have skewed public and political opinion to equate opposing the violent extremes of Zionism to be a blanket attack and condemnation of all Jewish people. Sabbatians and their global Anti-Semitism Industry have skewed public and political opinion to equate opposing the violent extremes of Zionism to be a blanket attack and condemnation of all Jewish people. This is nothing more than a Sabbatian protection racket to stop legitimate investigation and exposure of their agendas and activities. The official definition of ‘anti-Semitism’ has more recently been expanded to include criticism of Zionism – a *political movement* – and this was done to further stop exposure of Sabbatian infiltrators who created Zionism as we know it today in the 19th century. Renegade Minds will talk about these subjects when they know the shit that will come their way. People must decide if they want to know the truth or just cower in the corner in fear of what others will say. Sabbatians have been trying to label me as ‘anti-Semitic’ since the 1990s as I have uncovered more and more about their background and agendas. Useless, gutless, fraudulent ‘journalists’ then just repeat the smears without question and on the day I was writing this section a pair of unquestioning repeaters called Ben Quinn and Archie Bland (how appropriate) outright called me an ‘anti-Semite’ in the establishment propaganda sheet, the London *Guardian*, with no supporting evidence. The

Sabbatian Anti-Semitism Industry said so and who are they to question that? They wouldn't dare. Ironically 'Semitic' refers to a group of languages in the Middle East that are almost entirely Arabic. 'Anti-Semitism' becomes 'anti-Arab' which if the consequences of this misunderstanding were not so grave would be hilarious. Don't bother telling Quinn and Bland. I don't want to confuse them, bless 'em. One reason I am dubbed 'anti-Semitic' is that I wrote in the 1990s that Jewish operatives (Sabbatians) were heavily involved in the Russian Revolution when Sabbatians overthrew the Romanov dynasty. This apparently made me 'anti-Semitic'. Oh, really? Here is a section from *The Trigger*:

British journalist Robert Wilton confirmed these themes in his 1920 book *The Last Days of the Romanovs* when he studied official documents from the Russian government to identify the members of the Bolshevik ruling elite between 1917 and 1919. The Central Committee included 41 Jews among 62 members; the Council of the People's Commissars had 17 Jews out of 22 members; and 458 of the 556 most important Bolshevik positions between 1918 and 1919 were occupied by Jewish people. Only 17 were Russian. Then there were the 23 Jews among the 36 members of the vicious Cheka Soviet secret police established in 1917 who would soon appear all across the country.

Professor Robert Service of Oxford University, an expert on 20th century Russian history, found evidence that ['Jewish'] Leon Trotsky had sought to make sure that Jews were enrolled in the Red Army and were disproportionately represented in the Soviet civil bureaucracy that included the Cheka which performed mass arrests, imprisonment and executions of 'enemies of the people'. A US State Department Decimal File (861.00/5339) dated November 13th, 1918, names [Rothschild banking agent in America] Jacob Schiff and a list of ultra-Zionists as funders of the Russian Revolution leading to claims of a 'Jewish plot', but the key point missed by all is they were not 'Jews' – they were Sabbatian-Frankists.

Britain's Winston Churchill made the same error by mistake or otherwise. He wrote in a 1920 edition of the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* that those behind the Russian revolution were part of a 'worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilisation and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality' (see 'Woke' today because that has been created by the same network). Churchill said there was no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian

Revolution 'by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews' ['atheistical Jews' = Sabbatians]. Churchill said it is certainly a very great one and probably outweighs all others: 'With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews.' He went on to describe, knowingly or not, the Sabbatian modus operandi of placing puppet leaders nominally in power while they control from the background:

Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate, Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd), or of Krassin or Radek – all Jews. In the Soviet institutions the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combatting Counter-Revolution has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses.

What I said about seriously disproportionate involvement in the Russian Revolution by Jewish 'revolutionaries' (Sabbatians) is provable fact, but truth is no defence against the Sabbatian Anti-Semitism Industry, its repeater parrots like Quinn and Bland, and the now breathtaking network of so-called 'Woke' 'anti-hate' groups with interlocking leaderships and funding which have the role of discrediting and silencing anyone who gets too close to exposing the Sabbatians. We have seen 'truth is no defence' confirmed in legal judgements with the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission in Canada decreeing this: 'Truthful statements can be presented in a manner that would meet the definition of hate speech, and not all truthful statements must be free from restriction.' Most 'anti-hate' activists, who are themselves consumed by hatred, are too stupid and ignorant of the world to know how they are being used. They are far too far up their own virtue-signalling arses and it's far too dark for them to see anything.

The 'revolution' game

The background and methods of the 'Russian' Revolution are straight from the Sabbatian playbook seen in the French Revolution

and endless others around the world that appear to start as a revolution of the people against tyrannical rule and end up with a regime change to more tyrannical rule overtly or covertly. Wars, terror attacks and regime overthrows follow the Sabbatian cult through history with its agents creating them as Problem-Reaction-Solutions to remove opposition on the road to world domination. Sabbatian dots connect the Rothschilds with the Illuminati, Jacobins of the French Revolution, the 'Bund' or League of the Just, the International Communist Party, Communist League and the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that would lead to the Rothschild-funded Russian Revolution. The sequence comes under the heading of 'creative destruction' when you advance to your global goal by continually destroying the status quo to install a new status quo which you then also destroy. The two world wars come to mind. With each new status quo you move closer to your planned outcome. Wars and mass murder are to Sabbatians a collective blood sacrifice ritual. They are obsessed with death for many reasons and one is that death is an inversion of life. Satanists and Sabbatians are obsessed with death and often target churches and churchyards for their rituals. Inversion-obsessed Sabbatians explain the use of inverted symbolism including the *inverted* pentagram and *inverted* cross. The inversion of the cross has been related to targeting Christianity, but the cross was a religious symbol long before Christianity and its inversion is a statement about the Sabbatian mentality and goals more than any single religion.

Sabbatians operating in Germany were behind the rise of the occult-obsessed Nazis and the subsequent Jewish exodus from Germany and Europe to Palestine and the United States after World War Two. The Rothschild dynasty was at the forefront of this both as political manipulators and by funding the operation. Why would Sabbatians help to orchestrate the horrors inflicted on Jews by the Nazis and by Stalin after they organised the Russian Revolution? Sabbatians hate Jews and their religion, that's why. They pose as Jews and secure positions of control within Jewish society and play the 'anti-Semitism' card to protect themselves from exposure

through a global network of organisations answering to the Sabbatian-created-and-controlled globe-spanning intelligence network that involves a stunning web of military-intelligence operatives and operations for a tiny country of just nine million. Among them are Jewish assets who are not Sabbatians but have been convinced by them that what they are doing is for the good of Israel and the Jewish community to protect them from what they have been programmed since childhood to believe is a Jew-hating hostile world. The Jewish community is just a highly convenient cover to hide the true nature of Sabbatians. Anyone getting close to exposing their game is accused by Sabbatian place-people and gofers of 'anti-Semitism' and claiming that all Jews are part of a plot to take over the world. I am not saying that. I am saying that Sabbatians – the *real* Jew-haters – have infiltrated the Jewish community to use them both as a cover and an 'anti-Semitic' defence against exposure. Thus we have the Anti-Semitism Industry targeted researchers in this way and most Jewish people think this is justified and genuine. They don't know that their 'Jewish' leaders and institutions of state, intelligence and military are not controlled by Jews at all, but cultists and stooges of Sabbatian-Frankism. I once added my name to a pro-Jewish freedom petition online and the next time I looked my name was gone and text had been added to the petition blurb to attack me as an 'anti-Semite' such is the scale of perceptual programming.

Moving on America

I tell the story in *The Trigger* and a chapter called 'Atlantic Crossing' how particularly after Israel was established the Sabbatians moved in on the United States and eventually grasped control of government administration, the political system via both Democrats and Republicans, the intelligence community like the CIA and National Security Agency (NSA), the Pentagon and mass media. Through this seriously compartmentalised network Sabbatians and their operatives in Mossad, Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and US agencies pulled off 9/11 and blamed it on 19 'Al-Qaeda hijackers' dominated by men from, or connected to, Sabbatian-ruled Saudi

Arabia. The '19' were not even on the planes let alone flew those big passenger jets into buildings while being largely incompetent at piloting one-engine light aircraft. 'Hijacker' Hani Hanjour who is said to have flown American Airlines Flight 77 into the Pentagon with a turn and manoeuvre most professional pilots said they would have struggled to do was banned from renting a small plane by instructors at the Freeway Airport in Bowie, Maryland, just *six weeks* earlier on the grounds that he was an incompetent pilot. The Jewish population of the world is just 0.2 percent with even that almost entirely concentrated in Israel (75 percent Jewish) and the United States (around two percent). This two percent and globally 0.2 percent refers to *Jewish* people and not Sabbatian interlopers who are a fraction of that fraction. What a sobering thought when you think of the fantastic influence on world affairs of tiny Israel and that the Project for the New America Century (PNAC) which laid out the blueprint in September, 2000, for America's war on terror and regime change wars in Iraq, Libya and Syria was founded and dominated by Sabbatians known as 'Neocons'. The document conceded that this plan would not be supported politically or publicly without a major attack on American soil and a Problem-Reaction-Solution excuse to send troops to war across the Middle East. Sabbatian Neocons said:

... [The] process of transformation ... [war and regime change] ... is likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalysing event – like a new Pearl Harbor.

Four months later many of those who produced that document came to power with their inane puppet George Bush from the long-time Sabbatian Bush family. They included Sabbatian Dick Cheney who was officially vice-president, but really de-facto president for the entirety of the 'Bush' government. Nine months after the 'Bush' inauguration came what Bush called at the time 'the Pearl Harbor of the 21st century' and with typical Sabbatian timing and symbolism 2001 was the 60th anniversary of the attack in 1941 by the Japanese Air Force on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, which allowed President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to take the United States into a Sabbatian-

instigated Second World War that he said in his election campaign that he never would. The evidence is overwhelming that Roosevelt and his military and intelligence networks knew the attack was coming and did nothing to stop it, but they did make sure that America's most essential naval ships were not in Hawaii at the time. Three thousand Americans died in the Pearl Harbor attacks as they did on September 11th. By the 9/11 year of 2001 Sabbatians had widely infiltrated the US government, military and intelligence operations and used their compartmentalised assets to pull off the 'Al-Qaeda' attacks. If you read *The Trigger* it will blow your mind to see the utterly staggering concentration of 'Jewish' operatives (Sabbatian infiltrators) in essential positions of political, security, legal, law enforcement, financial and business power before, during, and after the attacks to make them happen, carry them out, and then cover their tracks – and I do mean *staggering* when you think of that 0.2 percent of the world population and two percent of Americans which are Jewish while Sabbatian infiltrators are a fraction of that. A central foundation of the 9/11 conspiracy was the hijacking of government, military, Air Force and intelligence computer systems in real time through 'back-door' access made possible by Israeli (Sabbatian) 'cyber security' software. Sabbatian-controlled Israel is on the way to rivalling Silicon Valley for domination of cyberspace and is becoming the dominant force in cyber-security which gives them access to entire computer systems and their passcodes across the world. Then add to this that Zionists head (officially) Silicon Valley giants like Google (Larry Page and Sergey Brin), Google-owned YouTube (Susan Wojcicki), Facebook (Mark Zuckerberg and Sheryl Sandberg), and Apple (Chairman Arthur D. Levinson), and that ultra-Zionist hedge fund billionaire Paul Singer has a \$1 billion stake in Twitter which is only nominally headed by 'CEO' pothead Jack Dorsey. As cable news host Tucker Carlson said of Dorsey: 'There used to be debate in the medical community whether dropping a ton of acid had permanent effects and I think that debate has now ended.' Carlson made the comment after Dorsey told a hearing on Capitol Hill (if you cut through his bullshit) that he

believed in free speech so long as he got to decide what you can hear and see. These 'big names' of Silicon Valley are only front men and women for the Global Cult, not least the Sabbatians, who are the true controllers of these corporations. Does anyone still wonder why these same people and companies have been ferociously censoring and banning people (like me) for exposing any aspect of the Cult agenda and especially the truth about the 'Covid' hoax which Sabbatians have orchestrated?

The Jeffrey Epstein paedophile ring was a Sabbatian operation. He was officially 'Jewish' but he was a Sabbatian and women abused by the ring have told me about the high number of 'Jewish' people involved. The Epstein horror has Sabbatian written all over it and matches perfectly their modus operandi and obsession with sex and ritual. Epstein was running a Sabbatian blackmail ring in which famous people with political and other influence were provided with young girls for sex while everything was being filmed and recorded on hidden cameras and microphones at his New York house, Caribbean island and other properties. Epstein survivors have described this surveillance system to me and some have gone public. Once the famous politician or other figure knew he or she was on video they tended to do whatever they were told. Here we go again ...when you've got them by the balls their hearts and minds will follow. Sabbatians use this blackmail technique on a wide scale across the world to entrap politicians and others they need to act as demanded. Epstein's private plane, the infamous 'Lolita Express', had many well-known passengers including Bill Clinton while Bill Gates has flown on an Epstein plane and met with him four years after Epstein had been jailed for paedophilia. They subsequently met many times at Epstein's home in New York according to a witness who was there. Epstein's infamous side-kick was Ghislaine Maxwell, daughter of Mossad agent and ultra-Zionist mega-crooked British businessman, Bob Maxwell, who at one time owned the *Daily Mirror* newspaper. Maxwell was murdered at sea on his boat in 1991 by Sabbatian-controlled Mossad when he became a liability with his

business empire collapsing as a former Mossad operative has confirmed (see *The Trigger*).

Money, money, money, funny money ...

Before I come to the Sabbatian connection with the last three US presidents I will lay out the crucial importance to Sabbatians of controlling banking and finance. Sabbatian Mayer Amschel Rothschild set out to dominate this arena in his family's quest for total global control. What is freedom? It is, in effect, choice. The more choices you have the freer you are and the fewer your choices the more you are enslaved. In the global structure created over centuries by Sabbatians the biggest decider and restrictor of choice is ... money. Across the world if you ask people what they would like to do with their lives and why they are not doing that they will reply 'I don't have the money'. This is the idea. A global elite of multi-billionaires are described as 'greedy' and that is true on one level; but control of money – who has it and who doesn't – is not primarily about greed. It's about control. Sabbatians have seized ever more control of finance and sucked the wealth of the world out of the hands of the population. We talk now, after all, about the 'One-percent' and even then the wealthiest are a lot fewer even than that. This has been made possible by a money scam so outrageous and so vast it could rightly be called the scam of scams founded on creating 'money' out of nothing and 'loaning' that with interest to the population. Money out of nothing is called 'credit'. Sabbatians have asserted control over governments and banking ever more completely through the centuries and secured financial laws that allow banks to lend hugely more than they have on deposit in a confidence trick known as fractional reserve lending. Imagine if you could lend money that doesn't exist and charge the recipient interest for doing so. You would end up in jail. Bankers by contrast end up in mansions, private jets, Malibu and Monaco.

Banks are only required to keep a fraction of their deposits and wealth in their vaults and they are allowed to lend 'money' they don't have called 'credit'. Go into a bank for a loan and if you succeed

the banker will not move any real wealth into your account. They will type into your account the amount of the agreed 'loan' – say £100,000. This is not wealth that really exists; it is non-existent, fresh-air, created-out-of-nothing 'credit' which has never, does not, and will never exist except in theory. Credit is backed by nothing except wind and only has buying power because people think that it has buying power and accept it in return for property, goods and services. I have described this situation as like those cartoon characters you see chasing each other and when they run over the edge of a cliff they keep running forward on fresh air until one of them looks down, realises what's happened, and they all crash into the ravine. The whole foundation of the Sabbatian financial system is to stop people looking down except for periodic moments when they want to crash the system (as in 2008 and 2020 ongoing) and reap the rewards from all the property, businesses and wealth their borrowers had signed over as 'collateral' in return for a 'loan' of fresh air. Most people think that money is somehow created by governments when it comes into existence from the start as a debt through banks 'lending' illusory money called credit. Yes, the very currency of exchange is a *debt* from day one issued as an interest-bearing loan. Why don't governments create money interest-free and lend it to their people interest-free? Governments are controlled by Sabbatians and the financial system is controlled by Sabbatians for whom interest-free money would be a nightmare come true. Sabbatians underpin their financial domination through their global network of central banks, including the privately-owned US Federal Reserve and Britain's Bank of England, and this is orchestrated by a privately-owned central bank coordination body called the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, Switzerland, created by the usual suspects including the Rockefellers and Rothschilds. Central bank chiefs don't answer to governments or the people. They answer to the Bank for International Settlements or, in other words, the Global Cult which is dominated today by Sabbatians.

Built-in disaster

There are so many constituent scams within the overall banking scam. When you take out a loan of thin-air credit only the amount of that loan is theoretically brought into circulation to add to the amount in circulation; but you are paying back the principle plus interest. The additional interest is not created and this means that with every 'loan' there is a shortfall in the money in circulation between what is borrowed and what has to be paid back. There is never even close to enough money in circulation to repay all outstanding public and private debt including interest. Coldly weaved in the very fabric of the system is the certainty that some will lose their homes, businesses and possessions to the banking 'lender'. This is less obvious in times of 'boom' when the amount of money in circulation (and the debt) is expanding through more people wanting and getting loans. When a downturn comes and the money supply contracts it becomes painfully obvious that there is not enough money to service all debt and interest. This is less obvious in times of 'boom' when the amount of money in circulation (and the debt) is expanding through more people wanting and getting loans. When a downturn comes and the money supply contracts and it becomes painfully obvious – as in 2008 and currently – that there is not enough money to service all debt and interest.

Sabbatian banksters have been leading the human population through a calculated series of booms (more debt incurred) and busts (when the debt can't be repaid and the banks get the debtor's tangible wealth in exchange for non-existent 'credit'). With each 'bust' Sabbatian bankers have absorbed more of the world's tangible wealth and we end up with the One-percent. Governments are in bankruptcy levels of debt to the same system and are therefore owned by a system they do not control. The Federal Reserve, 'America's central bank', is privately-owned and American presidents only nominally appoint its chairman or woman to maintain the illusion that it's an arm of government. It's not. The 'Fed' is a cartel of private banks which handed billions to its associates and friends after the crash of 2008 and has been Sabbatian-controlled since it was manipulated into being in 1913 through the covert trickery of Rothschild banking agents Jacob Schiff and Paul

Warburg, and the Sabbatian Rockefeller family. Somehow from a Jewish population of two-percent and globally 0.2 percent (Sabbatian interlopers remember are far smaller) ultra-Zionists headed the Federal Reserve for 31 years between 1987 and 2018 in the form of Alan Greenspan, Bernard Bernanke and Janet Yellen (now Biden's Treasury Secretary) with Yellen's deputy chairman a Israeli-American dual citizen and ultra-Zionist Stanley Fischer, a former governor of the Bank of Israel. Ultra-Zionist Fed chiefs spanned the presidencies of Ronald Reagan ('Republican'), Father George Bush ('Republican'), Bill Clinton ('Democrat'), Boy George Bush ('Republican') and Barack Obama ('Democrat'). We should really add the pre-Greenspan chairman, Paul Adolph Volcker, 'appointed' by Jimmy Carter ('Democrat') who ran the Fed between 1979 and 1987 during the Carter and Reagan administrations before Greenspan took over. Volcker was a long-time associate and business partner of the Rothschilds. No matter what the 'party' officially in power the United States economy was directed by the same force. Here are members of the Obama, Trump and Biden administrations and see if you can make out a common theme.

Barack Obama ('Democrat')

Ultra-Zionists Robert Rubin, Larry Summers, and Timothy Geithner ran the US Treasury in the Clinton administration and two of them reappeared with Obama. Ultra-Zionist Fed chairman Alan Greenspan had manipulated the crash of 2008 through deregulation and jumped ship just before the disaster to make way for ultra-Zionist Bernard Bernanke to hand out trillions to Sabbatian 'too big to fail' banks and businesses, including the ubiquitous ultra-Zionist Goldman Sachs which has an ongoing staff revolving door operation between itself and major financial positions in government worldwide. Obama inherited the fallout of the crash when he took office in January, 2009, and fortunately he had the support of his ultra-Zionist White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emmanuel, son of a terrorist who helped to bomb Israel into being in 1948, and his ultra-Zionist senior adviser David Axelrod, chief strategist in Obama's two

successful presidential campaigns. Emmanuel, later mayor of Chicago and former senior fundraiser and strategist for Bill Clinton, is an example of the Sabbatian policy after Israel was established of migrating insider families to America so their children would be born American citizens. ‘Obama’ chose this financial team throughout his administration to respond to the Sabbatian-instigated crisis:

Timothy Geithner (ultra-Zionist) Treasury Secretary; Jacob J. Lew, Treasury Secretary; Larry Summers (ultra-Zionist), director of the White House National Economic Council; Paul Adolph Volcker (Rothschild business partner), chairman of the Economic Recovery Advisory Board; Peter Orszag (ultra-Zionist), director of the Office of Management and Budget overseeing all government spending; Penny Pritzker (ultra-Zionist), Commerce Secretary; Jared Bernstein (ultra-Zionist), chief economist and economic policy adviser to Vice President Joe Biden; Mary Schapiro (ultra-Zionist), chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC); Gary Gensler (ultra-Zionist), chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC); Sheila Bair (ultra-Zionist), chair of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC); Karen Mills (ultra-Zionist), head of the Small Business Administration (SBA); Kenneth Feinberg (ultra-Zionist), Special Master for Executive [bail-out] Compensation. Feinberg would be appointed to oversee compensation (with strings) to 9/11 victims and families in a campaign to stop them having their day in court to question the official story. At the same time ultra-Zionist Bernard Bernanke was chairman of the Federal Reserve and these are only some of the ultra-Zionists with allegiance to Sabbatian-controlled Israel in the Obama government. Obama’s biggest corporate donor was ultra-Zionist Goldman Sachs which had employed many in his administration.

Donald Trump ('Republican')

Trump claimed to be an outsider (he wasn’t) who had come to ‘drain the swamp’. He embarked on this goal by immediately appointing ultra-Zionist Steve Mnuchin, a Goldman Sachs employee for 17

years, as his Treasury Secretary. Others included Gary Cohn (ultra-Zionist), chief operating officer of Goldman Sachs, his first Director of the National Economic Council and chief economic adviser, who was later replaced by Larry Kudlow (ultra-Zionist). Trump's senior adviser throughout his four years in the White House was his sinister son-in-law Jared Kushner, a life-long friend of Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Kushner is the son of a convicted crook who was pardoned by Trump in his last days in office. Other ultra-Zionists in the Trump administration included: Stephen Miller, Senior Policy Adviser; Avrahm Berkowitz, Deputy Adviser to Trump and his Senior Adviser Jared Kushner; Ivanka Trump, Adviser to the President, who converted to Judaism when she married Jared Kushner; David Friedman, Trump lawyer and Ambassador to Israel; Jason Greenblatt, Trump Organization executive vice president and chief legal officer, who was made Special Representative for International Negotiations and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict; Rod Rosenstein, Deputy Attorney General; Elliot Abrams, Special Representative for Venezuela, then Iran; John Eisenberg, National Security Council Legal Adviser and Deputy Council to the President for National Security Affairs; Anne Neuberger, Deputy National Manager, National Security Agency; Ezra Cohen-Watnick, Acting Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence; Elan Carr, Special Envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism; Len Khodorkovsky, Deputy Special Envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism; Reed Cordish, Assistant to the President, Intragovernmental and Technology Initiatives. Trump Vice President Mike Pence and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, both Christian Zionists, were also vehement supporters of Israel and its goals and ambitions.

Donald 'free-speech believer' Trump pardoned a number of financial and violent criminals while ignoring calls to pardon Julian Assange and Edward Snowden whose crimes are revealing highly relevant information about government manipulation and corruption and the widespread illegal surveillance of the American people by US 'security' agencies. It's so good to know that Trump is on the side of freedom and justice and not mega-criminals with

allegiance to Sabbatian-controlled Israel. These included a pardon for Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard who was jailed for life in 1987 under the Espionage Act. Aviem Sella, the Mossad agent who recruited Pollard, was also pardoned by Trump while Assange sat in jail and Snowden remained in exile in Russia. Sella had 'fled' (was helped to escape) to Israel in 1987 and was never extradited despite being charged under the Espionage Act. A Trump White House statement said that Sella's clemency had been 'supported by Benjamin Netanyahu, Ron Dermer, Israel's US Ambassador, David Friedman, US Ambassador to Israel and Miriam Adelson, wife of leading Trump donor Sheldon Adelson who died shortly before. Other friends of Jared Kushner were pardoned along with Sholom Weiss who was believed to be serving the longest-ever white-collar prison sentence of more than 800 years in 2000. The sentence was commuted of Ponzi-schemer Eliyahu Weinstein who defrauded Jews and others out of \$200 million. I did mention that Assange and Snowden were ignored, right? Trump gave Sabbatians almost everything they asked for in military and political support, moving the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem with its critical symbolic and literal implications for Palestinian statehood, and the 'deal of the Century' designed by Jared Kushner and David Friedman which gave the Sabbatian Israeli government the green light to substantially expand its already widespread program of building illegal Jewish-only settlements in the occupied land of the West Bank. This made a two-state 'solution' impossible by seizing all the land of a potential Palestinian homeland and that had been the plan since 1948 and then 1967 when the Arab-controlled Gaza Strip, West Bank, Sinai Peninsula and Syrian Golan Heights were occupied by Israel. All the talks about talks and road maps and delays have been buying time until the West Bank was physically occupied by Israeli real estate. Trump would have to be a monumentally ill-informed idiot not to see that this was the plan he was helping to complete. The Trump administration was in so many ways the Kushner administration which means the Netanyahu administration which means the Sabbatian administration. I understand why many opposing Cult fascism in all its forms gravitated to Trump, but he

was a crucial part of the Sabbatian plan and I will deal with this in the next chapter.

Joe Biden ('Democrat')

A barely cognitive Joe Biden took over the presidency in January, 2021, along with his fellow empty shell, Vice-President Kamala Harris, as the latest Sabbatian gofers to enter the White House. Names on the door may have changed and the 'party' – the force behind them remained the same as Zionists were appointed to a stream of pivotal areas relating to Sabbatian plans and policy. They included: Janet Yellen, Treasury Secretary, former head of the Federal Reserve, and still another ultra-Zionist running the US Treasury after Mnuchin (Trump), Lew and Geithner (Obama), and Summers and Rubin (Clinton); Anthony Blinken, Secretary of State; Wendy Sherman, Deputy Secretary of State (so that's 'Biden's' Sabbatian foreign policy sorted); Jeff Zients, White House coronavirus coordinator; Rochelle Walensky, head of the Centers for Disease Control; Rachel Levine, transgender deputy health secretary (that's 'Covid' hoax policy under control); Merrick Garland, Attorney General; Alejandro Mayorkas, Secretary of Homeland Security; Cass Sunstein, Homeland Security with responsibility for new immigration laws; Avril Haines, Director of National Intelligence; Anne Neuberger, National Security Agency cybersecurity director (note, cybersecurity); David Cohen, CIA Deputy Director; Ronald Klain, Biden's Chief of Staff (see Rahm Emanuel); Eric Lander, a 'leading geneticist', Office of Science and Technology Policy director (see Smart Grid, synthetic biology agenda); Jessica Rosenworcel, acting head of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) which controls Smart Grid technology policy and electromagnetic communication systems including 5G. How can it be that so many pivotal positions are held by two-percent of the American population and 0.2 percent of the world population administration after administration no matter who is the president and what is the party? It's a coincidence? Of course it's not and this is why Sabbatians have built their colossal global web of interlocking 'anti-

hate' hate groups to condemn anyone who asks these glaring questions as an 'anti-Semite'. The way that Jewish people horrifically abused in Sabbatian-backed Nazi Germany are exploited to this end is stomach-turning and disgusting beyond words.

Political fusion

Sabbatian manipulation has reversed the roles of Republicans and Democrats and the same has happened in Britain with the Conservative and Labour Parties. Republicans and Conservatives were always labelled the 'right' and Democrats and Labour the 'left', but look at the policy positions now and the Democrat-Labour 'left' has moved further to the 'right' than Republicans and Conservatives under the banner of 'Woke', the Cult-created far-right tyranny. Where once the Democrat-Labour 'left' defended free speech and human rights they now seek to delete them and as I said earlier despite the 'Covid' fascism of the Jackboot Johnson Conservative government in the UK the Labour Party of leader Keir Starmer demanded even more extreme measures. The Labour Party has been very publicly absorbed by Sabbatians after a political and media onslaught against the previous leader, the weak and inept Jeremy Corbyn, over made-up allegations of 'anti-Semitism' both by him and his party. The plan was clear with this 'anti-Semite' propaganda and what was required in response was a swift and decisive 'fuck off' from Corbyn and a statement to expose the Anti-Semitism Industry (Sabbatian) attempt to silence Labour criticism of the Israeli government (Sabbatians) and purge the party of all dissent against the extremes of ultra-Zionism (Sabbatians). Instead Corbyn and his party fell to their knees and appeased the abusers which, by definition, is impossible. Appeasing one demand leads only to a new demand to be appeased until takeover is complete. Like I say – 'fuck off' would have been a much more effective policy and I have used it myself with great effect over the years when Sabbatians are on my case which is most of the time. I consider that fact a great compliment, by the way. The outcome of the Labour Party capitulation is that we now have a Sabbatian-controlled

Conservative Party ‘opposed’ by a Sabbatian-controlled Labour Party in a one-party Sabbatian state that hurtles towards the extremes of tyranny (the Sabbatian cult agenda). In America the situation is the same. Labour’s Keir Starmer spends his days on his knees with his tongue out pointing to Tel Aviv, or I guess now Jerusalem, while Boris Johnson has an ‘anti-Semitism czar’ in the form of former Labour MP John Mann who keeps Starmer company on his prayer mat.

Sabbatian influence can be seen in Jewish members of the Labour Party who have been ejected for criticism of Israel including those from families that suffered in Nazi Germany. Sabbatians despise real Jewish people and target them even more harshly because it is so much more difficult to dub them ‘anti-Semitic’ although in their desperation they do try.

CHAPTER THREE

The Pushbacker sting

Until you realize how easy it is for your mind to be manipulated, you remain the puppet of someone else's game

Evita Ochel

I will use the presidencies of Trump and Biden to show how the manipulation of the one-party state plays out behind the illusion of political choice across the world. No two presidencies could – on the face of it – be more different and apparently at odds in terms of direction and policy.

A Renegade Mind sees beyond the obvious and focuses on outcomes and consequences and not image, words and waffle. The Cult embarked on a campaign to divide America between those who blindly support its agenda (the mentality known as 'Woke') and those who are pushing back on where the Cult and its Sabbatians want to go. This presents infinite possibilities for dividing and ruling the population by setting them at war with each other and allows a perceptual ring fence of demonisation to encircle the Pushbackers in a modern version of the Little Big Horn in 1876 when American cavalry led by Lieutenant Colonel George Custer were drawn into a trap, surrounded and killed by Native American tribes defending their land of thousands of years from being seized by the government. In this modern version the roles are reversed and it's those defending themselves from the Sabbatian government who are surrounded and the government that's seeking to destroy them. This trap was set years ago and to explain how we must return to 2016

and the emergence of Donald Trump as a candidate to be President of the United States. He set out to overcome the best part of 20 other candidates in the Republican Party before and during the primaries and was not considered by many in those early stages to have a prayer of living in the White House. The Republican Party was said to have great reservations about Trump and yet somehow he won the nomination. When you know how American politics works – politics in general – there is no way that Trump could have become the party's candidate unless the Sabbatian-controlled 'Neocons' that run the Republican Party wanted that to happen. We saw the proof in emails and documents made public by WikiLeaks that the Democratic Party hierarchy, or Democons, systematically undermined the campaign of Bernie Sanders to make sure that Sabbatian gofer Hillary Clinton won the nomination to be their presidential candidate. If the Democons could do that then the Neocons in the Republican Party could have derailed Trump in the same way. But they didn't and at that stage I began to conclude that Trump could well be the one chosen to be president. If that was the case the 'why' was pretty clear to see – the goal of dividing America between Cult agenda-supporting Wokers and Pushbackers who gravitated to Trump because he was telling them what they wanted to hear. His constituency of support had been increasingly ignored and voiceless for decades and profoundly through the eight years of Sabbatian puppet Barack Obama. Now here was someone speaking their language of pulling back from the incessant globalisation of political and economic power, the exporting of American jobs to China and elsewhere by 'American' (Sabbatian) corporations, the deletion of free speech, and the mass immigration policies that had further devastated job opportunities for the urban working class of all races and the once American heartlands of the Midwest.

Beware the forked tongue

Those people collectively sighed with relief that at last a political leader was apparently on their side, but another trait of the Renegade Mind is that you look even harder at people telling you

what you want to hear than those who are telling you otherwise. Obviously as I said earlier people wish what they want to hear to be true and genuine and they are much more likely to believe that than someone saying what they don't want to here and don't want to be true. Sales people are taught to be skilled in eliciting by calculated questioning what their customers want to hear and repeating that back to them as their own opinion to get their targets to like and trust them. Assets of the Cult are also sales people in the sense of selling perception. To read Cult manipulation you have to play the long and expanded game and not fall for the Vaudeville show of party politics. Both American parties are vehicles for the Cult and they exploit them in different ways depending on what the agenda requires at that moment. Trump and the Republicans were used to be the focus of dividing America and isolating Pushbackers to open the way for a Biden presidency to become the most extreme in American history by advancing the full-blown Woke (Cult) agenda with the aim of destroying and silencing Pushbackers now labelled Nazi Trump supporters and white supremacists.

Sabbatians wanted Trump in office for the reasons described by ultra-Zionist Saul Alinsky (1909-1972) who was promoting the Woke philosophy through 'community organising' long before anyone had heard of it. In those days it still went by its traditional name of Marxism. The reason for the manipulated Trump phenomenon was laid out in Alinsky's 1971 book, *Rules for Radicals*, which was his blueprint for overthrowing democratic and other regimes and replacing them with Sabbatian Marxism. Not surprisingly his to-do list was evident in the Sabbatian French and Russian 'Revolutions' and that in China which will become very relevant in the next chapter about the 'Covid' hoax. Among Alinsky's followers have been the deeply corrupt Barack Obama, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Hillary Clinton who described him as a 'hero'. All three are Sabbatian stooges with Pelosi personifying the arrogant corrupt idiocy that so widely fronts up for the Cult inner core. Predictably as a Sabbatian advocate of the 'light-bringer' Alinsky features Lucifer on the dedication page of his book as the original radical who gained

his own kingdom ('Earth' as we shall see). One of Alinsky's golden radical rules was to pick an individual and focus all attention, hatred and blame on them and not to target faceless bureaucracies and corporations. *Rules for Radicals* is really a Sabbatian handbook with its contents repeatedly employed all over the world for centuries and why wouldn't Sabbatians bring to power their designer-villain to be used as the individual on which all attention, hatred and blame was bestowed? This is what they did and the only question for me is how much Trump knew that and how much he was manipulated. A bit of both, I suspect. This was Alinsky's Trump technique from a man who died in 1972. The technique has spanned history:

Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, polarize it. Don't try to attack abstract corporations or bureaucracies. Identify a responsible individual. Ignore attempts to shift or spread the blame.

From the moment Trump came to illusory power everything was about him. It wasn't about Republican policy or opinion, but all about Trump. Everything he did was presented in negative, derogatory and abusive terms by the Sabbatian-dominated media led by Cult operations such as CNN, MSNBC, *The New York Times* and the Jeff Bezos-owned *Washington Post* – 'Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, polarize it.' Trump was turned into a demon to be vilified by those who hated him and a demi-god loved by those who worshipped him. This, in turn, had his supporters, too, presented as equally demonic in preparation for the punchline later down the line when Biden was about to take office. It was here's a Trump, there's a Trump, everywhere a Trump, Trump. Virtually every news story or happening was filtered through the lens of 'The Donald'. You loved him or hated him and which one you chose was said to define you as Satan's spawn or a paragon of virtue. Even supporting some Trump policies or statements and not others was enough for an assault on your character. No shades of grey were or are allowed. Everything is black and white (literally and figuratively). A Californian I knew had her head utterly scrambled by her hatred for Trump while telling people they should love each other. She was so totally consumed by

Trump Derangement Syndrome as it became to be known that this glaring contradiction would never have occurred to her. By definition anyone who criticised Trump or praised his opponents was a hero and this lady described Joe Biden as 'a kind, honest gentleman' when he's a provable liar, mega-crook and vicious piece of work to boot. Sabbatians had indeed divided America using Trump as the fall-guy and all along the clock was ticking on the consequences for his supporters.

In hock to his masters

Trump gave Sabbatians via Israel almost everything they wanted in his four years. Ask and you shall receive was the dynamic between himself and Benjamin Netanyahu orchestrated by Trump's ultra-Zionist son-in-law Jared Kushner, his ultra-Zionist Ambassador to Israel, David Friedman, and ultra-Zionist 'Israel adviser', Jason Greenblatt. The last two were central to the running and protecting from collapse of his business empire, the Trump Organisation, and colossal business failures made him forever beholden to Sabbatian networks that bailed him out. By the start of the 1990s Trump owed \$4 billion to banks that he couldn't pay and almost \$1 billion of that was down to him personally and not his companies. This mega-disaster was the result of building two new casinos in Atlantic City and buying the enormous Taj Mahal operation which led to crippling debt payments. He had borrowed fantastic sums from 72 banks with major Sabbatian connections and although the scale of debt should have had him living in a tent alongside the highway they never foreclosed. A plan was devised to lift Trump from the mire by BT Securities Corporation and Rothschild Inc. and the case was handled by Wilber Ross who had worked for the Rothschilds for 27 years. Ross would be named US Commerce Secretary after Trump's election. Another crucial figure in saving Trump was ultra-Zionist 'investor' Carl Icahn who bought the Taj Mahal casino. Icahn was made special economic adviser on financial regulation in the Trump administration. He didn't stay long but still managed to find time to make a tidy sum of a reported \$31.3 million when he sold his

holdings affected by the price of steel three days before Trump imposed a 235 percent tariff on steel imports. What amazing bits of luck these people have. Trump and Sabbatian operatives have long had a close association and his mentor and legal adviser from the early 1970s until 1986 was the dark and genetically corrupt ultra-Zionist Roy Cohn who was chief counsel to Senator Joseph McCarthy's 'communist' witch-hunt in the 1950s. *Esquire* magazine published an article about Cohn with the headline 'Don't mess with Roy Cohn'. He was described as the most feared lawyer in New York and 'a ruthless master of dirty tricks ... [with] ... more than one Mafia Don on speed dial'. Cohn's influence, contacts, support and protection made Trump a front man for Sabbatians in New York with their connections to one of Cohn's many criminal employers, the 'Russian' Sabbatian Mafia. Israel-centric media mogul Rupert Murdoch was introduced to Trump by Cohn and they started a long friendship. Cohn died in 1986 weeks after being disbarred for unethical conduct by the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court. The wheels of justice do indeed run slow given the length of Cohn's crooked career.

QAnon-sense

We are asked to believe that Donald Trump with his fundamental connections to Sabbatian networks and operatives has been leading the fight to stop the Sabbatian agenda for the fascistic control of America and the world. Sure he has. A man entrapped during his years in the White House by Sabbatian operatives and whose biggest financial donor was casino billionaire Sheldon Adelson who was Sabbatian to his DNA?? Oh, do come on. Trump has been used to divide America and isolate Pushbackers on the Cult agenda under the heading of 'Trump supporters', 'insurrectionists' and 'white supremacists'. The US Intelligence/Mossad Psyop or psychological operation known as QAnon emerged during the Trump years as a central pillar in the Sabbatian campaign to lead Pushbackers into the trap set by those that wished to destroy them. I knew from the start that QAnon was a scam because I had seen the same scenario many

times before over 30 years under different names and I had written about one in particular in the books. ‘Not again’ was my reaction when QAnon came to the fore. The same script is pulled out every few years and a new name added to the letterhead. The story always takes the same form: ‘Insiders’ or ‘the good guys’ in the government-intelligence-military ‘Deep State’ apparatus were going to instigate mass arrests of the ‘bad guys’ which would include the Rockefellers, Rothschilds, Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, George Soros, etc., etc. Dates are given for when the ‘good guys’ are going to move in, but the dates pass without incident and new dates are given which pass without incident. The central message to Pushbackers in each case is that they don’t have to do anything because there is ‘a plan’ and it is all going to be sorted by the ‘good guys’ on the inside. ‘Trust the plan’ was a QAnon mantra when the only plan was to misdirect Pushbackers into putting their trust in a Psyop they believed to be real. Beware, beware, those who tell you what you want to hear and always check it out. Right up to Biden’s inauguration QAnon was still claiming that ‘the Storm’ was coming and Trump would stay on as president when Biden and his cronies were arrested and jailed. It was never going to happen and of course it didn’t, but what did happen as a result provided that punchline to the Sabbatian Trump/QAnon Psyop.

On January 6th, 2021, a very big crowd of Trump supporters gathered in the National Mall in Washington DC down from the Capitol Building to protest at what they believed to be widespread corruption and vote fraud that stopped Trump being re-elected for a second term as president in November, 2020. I say as someone that does not support Trump or Biden that the evidence is clear that major vote-fixing went on to favour Biden, a man with cognitive problems so advanced he can often hardly string a sentence together without reading the words written for him on the Teleprompter. Glaring ballot discrepancies included serious questions about electronic voting machines that make vote rigging a comparative cinch and hundreds of thousands of paper votes that suddenly appeared during already advanced vote counts and virtually all of

them for Biden. Early Trump leads in crucial swing states suddenly began to close and disappear. The pandemic hoax was used as the excuse to issue almost limitless numbers of mail-in ballots with no checks to establish that the recipients were still alive or lived at that address. They were sent to streams of people who had not even asked for them. Private organisations were employed to gather these ballots and who knows what they did with them before they turned up at the counts. The American election system has been manipulated over decades to become a sick joke with more holes than a Swiss cheese for the express purpose of dictating the results. Then there was the criminal manipulation of information by Sabbatian tech giants like Facebook, Twitter and Google-owned YouTube which deleted pro-Trump, anti-Biden accounts and posts while everything in support of Biden was left alone. Sabbatians wanted Biden to win because after the dividing of America it was time for full-on Woke and every aspect of the Cult agenda to be unleashed.

Hunter gatherer

Extreme Silicon Valley bias included blocking information by the *New York Post* exposing a Biden scandal that should have ended his bid for president in the final weeks of the campaign. Hunter Biden, his monumentally corrupt son, is reported to have sent a laptop to be repaired at a local store and failed to return for it. Time passed until the laptop became the property of the store for non-payment of the bill. When the owner saw what was on the hard drive he gave a copy to the FBI who did nothing even though it confirmed widespread corruption in which the Joe Biden family were using his political position, especially when he was vice president to Obama, to make multiple millions in countries around the world and most notably Ukraine and China. Hunter Biden's one-time business partner Tony Bobulinski went public when the story broke in the *New York Post* to confirm the corruption he saw and that Joe Biden not only knew what was going on he also profited from the spoils. Millions were handed over by a Chinese company with close

connections – like all major businesses in China – to the Chinese communist party of President Xi Jinping. Joe Biden even boasted at a meeting of the Cult's World Economic Forum that as vice president he had ordered the government of Ukraine to fire a prosecutor. What he didn't mention was that the same man just happened to be investigating an energy company which was part of Hunter Biden's corrupt portfolio. The company was paying him big bucks for no other reason than the influence his father had. Overnight Biden's presidential campaign should have been over given that he had lied publicly about not knowing what his son was doing. Instead almost the entire Sabbatian-owned mainstream media and Sabbatian-owned Silicon Valley suppressed circulation of the story. This alone went a mighty way to rigging the election of 2020. Cult assets like Mark Zuckerberg at Facebook also spent hundreds of millions to be used in support of Biden and vote 'administration'.

The Cult had used Trump as the focus to divide America and was now desperate to bring in moronic, pliable, corrupt Biden to complete the double-whammy. No way were they going to let little things like the will of the people thwart their plan. Silicon Valley widely censored claims that the election was rigged because it *was* rigged. For the same reason anyone claiming it was rigged was denounced as a 'white supremacist' including the pathetically few Republican politicians willing to say so. Right across the media where the claim was mentioned it was described as a 'false claim' even though these excuses for 'journalists' would have done no research into the subject whatsoever. Trump won seven million more votes than any sitting president had ever achieved while somehow a cognitively-challenged soon to be 78-year-old who was hidden away from the public for most of the campaign managed to win more votes than any presidential candidate in history. It makes no sense. You only had to see election rallies for both candidates to witness the enthusiasm for Trump and the apathy for Biden. Tens of thousands would attend Trump events while Biden was speaking in empty car parks with often only television crews attending and framing their shots to hide the fact that no one was there. It was pathetic to see

footage come to light of Biden standing at a podium making speeches only to TV crews and party fixers while reading the words written for him on massive Teleprompter screens. So, yes, those protestors on January 6th had a point about election rigging, but some were about to walk into a trap laid for them in Washington by the Cult Deep State and its QAnon Psyop. This was the Capitol Hill riot ludicrously dubbed an ‘insurrection’.

The spider and the fly

Renegade Minds know there are not two ‘sides’ in politics, only one side, the Cult, working through all ‘sides’. It’s a stage show, a puppet show, to direct the perceptions of the population into focusing on diversions like parties and candidates while missing the puppeteers with their hands holding all the strings. The Capitol Hill ‘insurrection’ brings us back to the Little Big Horn. Having created two distinct opposing groupings – Woke and Pushbackers – the trap was about to be sprung. Pushbackers were to be encircled and isolated by associating them all in the public mind with Trump and then labelling Trump as some sort of Confederate leader. I knew immediately that the Capitol riot was a set-up because of two things. One was how easy the rioters got into the building with virtually no credible resistance and secondly I could see – as with the ‘Covid’ hoax in the West at the start of 2020 – how the Cult could exploit the situation to move its agenda forward with great speed. My experience of Cult techniques and activities over more than 30 years has showed me that while they do exploit situations they haven’t themselves created this never happens with events of fundamental agenda significance. Every time major events giving cultists the excuse to rapidly advance their plan you find they are manipulated into being for the specific reason of providing that excuse – Problem-Reaction-Solution. Only a tiny minority of the huge crowd of Washington protestors sought to gain entry to the Capitol by smashing windows and breaching doors. That didn’t matter. The whole crowd and all Pushbackers, even if they did not support Trump, were going to be lumped together as dangerous

insurrectionists and conspiracy theorists. The latter term came into widespread use through a CIA memo in the 1960s aimed at discrediting those questioning the nonsensical official story of the Kennedy assassination and it subsequently became widely employed by the media. It's still being used by inept 'journalists' with no idea of its origin to discredit anyone questioning anything that authority claims to be true. When you are perpetrating a conspiracy you need to discredit the very word itself even though the dictionary definition of conspiracy is merely 'the activity of secretly planning with other people to do something bad or illegal' and 'a general agreement to keep silent about a subject for the purpose of keeping it secret'. On that basis there are conspiracies almost wherever you look. For obvious reasons the Cult and its lapdog media have to claim there are no conspiracies even though the word appears in state laws as with conspiracy to defraud, to murder, and to corrupt public morals.

Agent provocateurs are widely used by the Cult Deep State to manipulate genuine people into acting in ways that suit the desired outcome. By genuine in this case I mean protestors genuinely supporting Trump and claims that the election was stolen. In among them, however, were agents of the state wearing the garb of Trump supporters and QAnon to pump-prime the Capitol riot which some genuine Trump supporters naively fell for. I described the situation as 'Come into my parlour said the spider to the fly'. Leaflets appeared through the Woke paramilitary arm Antifa, the anti-fascist fascists, calling on supporters to turn up in Washington looking like Trump supporters even though they hated him. Some of those arrested for breaching the Capitol Building were sourced to Antifa and its stable mate Black Lives Matter. Both organisations are funded by Cult billionaires and corporations. One man charged for the riot was according to his lawyer a former FBI agent who had held top secret security clearance for 40 years. Attorney Thomas Plofchan said of his client, 66-year-old Thomas Edward Caldwell:

He has held a Top Secret Security Clearance since 1979 and has undergone multiple Special Background Investigations in support of his clearances. After retiring from the Navy, he

worked as a section chief for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 2009-2010 as a GS-12 [mid-level employee].

He also formed and operated a consulting firm performing work, often classified, for U.S government customers including the US Drug Enforcement Agency, Department of Housing and Urban Development, the US Coast Guard, and the US Army Personnel Command.

A judge later released Caldwell pending trial in the absence of evidence about a conspiracy or that he tried to force his way into the building. *The New York Post* reported a 'law enforcement source' as saying that 'at least two known Antifa members were spotted' on camera among Trump supporters during the riot while one of the rioters arrested was John Earle Sullivan, a seriously extreme Black Lives Matter Trump-hater from Utah who was previously arrested and charged in July, 2020, over a BLM-Antifa riot in which drivers were threatened and one was shot. Sullivan is the founder of Utah-based Insurgence USA which is an affiliate of the Cult-created-and-funded Black Lives Matter movement. Footage appeared and was then deleted by Twitter of Trump supporters calling out Antifa infiltrators and a group was filmed changing into pro-Trump clothing before the riot. Security at the building was *pathetic* – as planned. Colonel Leroy Fletcher Prouty, a man with long experience in covert operations working with the US security apparatus, once described the tell-tale sign to identify who is involved in an assassination. He said:

No one has to direct an assassination – it happens. The active role is played secretly by permitting it to happen. This is the greatest single clue. Who has the power to call off or reduce the usual security precautions?

This principle applies to many other situations and certainly to the Capitol riot of January 6th, 2021.

The sting

With such a big and potentially angry crowd known to be gathering near the Capitol the security apparatus would have had a major police detail to defend the building with National Guard troops on

standby given the strength of feeling among people arriving from all over America encouraged by the QAnon Psyop and statements by Donald Trump. Instead Capitol Police ‘security’ was flimsy, weak, and easily breached. The same number of officers was deployed as on a regular day and that is a blatant red flag. They were not staffed or equipped for a possible riot that had been an obvious possibility in the circumstances. No protective and effective fencing worth the name was put in place and there were no contingency plans. The whole thing was basically a case of standing aside and waving people in. Once inside police mostly backed off apart from one Capitol police officer who ridiculously shot dead unarmed Air Force veteran protestor Ashli Babbitt without a warning as she climbed through a broken window. The ‘investigation’ refused to name or charge the officer after what must surely be considered a murder in the circumstances. They just lifted a carpet and swept. The story was endlessly repeated about five people dying in the ‘armed insurrection’ when there was no report of rioters using weapons. Apart from Babbitt the other four died from a heart attack, strokes and apparently a drug overdose. Capitol police officer Brian Sicknick was reported to have died after being bludgeoned with a fire extinguisher when he was alive after the riot was over and died later of what the Washington Medical Examiner’s Office said was a stroke. Sicknick had no external injuries. The lies were delivered like rapid fire. There was a narrative to build with incessant repetition of the lie until the lie became the accepted ‘everybody knows that’ truth. The ‘Big Lie’ technique of Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels is constantly used by the Cult which was behind the Nazis and is today behind the ‘Covid’ and ‘climate change’ hoaxes. Goebbels said:

If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it. The lie can be maintained only for such time as the State can shield the people from the political, economic and/or military consequences of the lie. It thus becomes vitally important for the State to use all of its powers to repress dissent, for the truth is the mortal enemy of the lie, and thus by extension, the truth is the greatest enemy of the State.

Most protestors had a free run of the Capitol Building. This allowed pictures to be taken of rioters in iconic parts of the building including the Senate chamber which could be used as propaganda images against all Pushbackers. One Congresswoman described the scene as ‘the worst kind of non-security anybody could ever imagine’. Well, the first part was true, but someone obviously did imagine it and made sure it happened. Some photographs most widely circulated featured people wearing QAnon symbols and now the Psyop would be used to dub all QAnon followers with the ubiquitous fit-all label of ‘white supremacist’ and ‘insurrectionists’. When a Muslim extremist called Noah Green drove his car at two police officers at the Capitol Building killing one in April, 2021, there was no such political and media hysteria. They were just disappointed he wasn’t white.

The witch-hunt

Government prosecutor Michael Sherwin, an aggressive, dark-eyed, professional Rottweiler led the ‘investigation’ and to call it over the top would be to underestimate reality a thousand fold. Hundreds were tracked down and arrested for the crime of having the wrong political views and people were jailed who had done nothing more than walk in the building, committed no violence or damage to property, took a few pictures and left. They were labelled a ‘threat to the Republic’ while Biden sat in the White House signing executive orders written for him that were dismantling ‘the Republic’. Even when judges ruled that a mother and son should not be in jail the government kept them there. Some of those arrested have been badly beaten by prison guards in Washington and lawyers for one man said he suffered a fractured skull and was made blind in one eye. Meanwhile a woman is shot dead for no reason by a Capitol Police officer and we are not allowed to know who he is never mind what has happened to him although that will be *nothing*. The Cult’s QAnon/Trump sting to identify and isolate Pushbackers and then target them on the road to crushing and deleting them was a resounding success. You would have thought the Russians had

invaded the building at gunpoint and lined up senators for a firing squad to see the political and media reaction. Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is a child in a woman's body, a terrible-twins, me, me, me, Woker narcissist of such proportions that words have no meaning. She said she thought she was going to die when 'insurrectionists' banged on her office door. It turned out she wasn't even in the Capitol Building when the riot was happening and the 'banging' was a Capitol Police officer. She referred to herself as a 'survivor' which is an insult to all those true survivors of violent and sexual abuse while she lives her pampered and privileged life talking drivel for a living. Her Woke colleague and fellow mega-narcissist Rashida Tlaib broke down describing the devastating effect on her, too, of *not being* in the building when the rioters were there. Ocasio-Cortez and Tlaib are members of a fully-Woke group of Congresswomen known as 'The Squad' along with Ilhan Omar and Ayanna Pressley. The Squad from what I can see can be identified by its vehement anti-white racism, anti-white men agenda, and, as always in these cases, the absence of brain cells on active duty.

The usual suspects were on the riot case immediately in the form of Democrat ultra-Zionist senators and operatives Chuck Schumer and Adam Schiff demanding that Trump be impeached for 'his part in the insurrection'. The same pair of prats had led the failed impeachment of Trump over the invented 'Russia collusion' nonsense which claimed Russia had helped Trump win the 2016 election. I didn't realise that Tel Aviv had been relocated just outside Moscow. I must find an up-to-date map. The Russia hoax was a Sabbatian operation to keep Trump occupied and impotent and to stop any rapport with Russia which the Cult wants to retain as a perceptual enemy to be pulled out at will. Puppet Biden began attacking Russia when he came to office as the Cult seeks more upheaval, division and war across the world. A two-year stage show 'Russia collusion inquiry' headed by the not-very-bright former 9/11 FBI chief Robert Mueller, with support from 19 lawyers, 40 FBI agents plus intelligence analysts, forensic accountants and other

staff, devoured tens of millions of dollars and found no evidence of Russia collusion which a ten-year-old could have told them on day one. Now the same moronic Schumer and Schiff wanted a second impeachment of Trump over the Capitol ‘insurrection’ (riot) which the arrested development of Schumer called another ‘Pearl Harbor’ while others compared it with 9/11 in which 3,000 died and, in the case of CNN, with the Rwandan genocide in the 1990s in which an estimated 500,000 to 600,000 were murdered, between 250, 000 and 500,000 women were raped, and populations of whole towns were hacked to death with machetes. To make those comparisons purely for Cult political reasons is beyond insulting to those that suffered and lost their lives and confirms yet again the callous inhumanity that we are dealing with. Schumer is a monumental idiot and so is Schiff, but they serve the Cult agenda and do whatever they’re told so they get looked after. Talking of idiots – another inane man who spanned the Russia and Capitol impeachment attempts was Senator Eric Swalwell who had the nerve to accuse Trump of collusion with the Russians while sleeping with a Chinese spy called Christine Fang or ‘Fang Fang’ which is straight out of a Bond film no doubt starring Klaus Schwab as the bloke living on a secret island and controlling laser weapons positioned in space and pointing at world capitals. Fang Fang plays the part of Bond’s infiltrator girlfriend which I’m sure she would enjoy rather more than sharing a bed with the brainless Swalwell, lying back and thinking of China. The FBI eventually warned Swalwell about Fang Fang which gave her time to escape back to the Chinese dictatorship. How very thoughtful of them. The second Trump impeachment also failed and hardly surprising when an impeachment is supposed to remove a sitting president and by the time it happened Trump was no longer president. These people are running your country America, well, officially anyway. Terrifying isn’t it?

Outcomes tell the story - always

The outcome of all this – and it’s the *outcome* on which Renegade Minds focus, not the words – was that a vicious, hysterical and

obviously pre-planned assault was launched on Pushbackers to censor, silence and discredit them and even targeted their right to earn a living. They have since been condemned as 'domestic terrorists' that need to be treated like Al-Qaeda and Islamic State. 'Domestic terrorists' is a label the Cult has been trying to make stick since the period of the Oklahoma bombing in 1995 which was blamed on 'far-right domestic terrorists'. If you read *The Trigger* you will see that the bombing was clearly a Problem-Reaction-Solution carried out by the Deep State during a Bill Clinton administration so corrupt that no dictionary definition of the term would even nearly suffice. Nearly 30,000 troops were deployed from all over America to the empty streets of Washington for Biden's inauguration. Ten thousand of them stayed on with the pretext of protecting the capital from insurrectionists when it was more psychological programming to normalise the use of the military in domestic law enforcement in support of the Cult plan for a police-military state. Biden's fascist administration began a purge of 'wrong-thinkers' in the military which means anyone that is not on board with Woke. The Capitol Building was surrounded by a fence with razor wire and the Land of the Free was further symbolically and literally dismantled. The circle was completed with the installation of Biden and the exploitation of the QAnon Psyop.

America had never been so divided since the civil war of the 19th century, Pushbackers were isolated and dubbed terrorists and now, as was always going to happen, the Cult immediately set about deleting what little was left of freedom and transforming American society through a swish of the hand of the most controlled 'president' in American history leading (officially at least) the most extreme regime since the country was declared an independent state on July 4th, 1776. Biden issued undebated, dictatorial executive orders almost by the hour in his opening days in office across the whole spectrum of the Cult wish-list including diluting controls on the border with Mexico allowing thousands of migrants to illegally enter the United States to transform the demographics of America and import an election-changing number of perceived Democrat

voters. Then there were Biden deportation amnesties for the already illegally resident (estimated to be as high as 20 or even 30 million). A bill before Congress awarded American citizenship to anyone who could prove they had worked in agriculture for just 180 days in the previous two years as 'Big Ag' secured its slave labour long-term. There were the plans to add new states to the union such as Puerto Rico and making Washington DC a state. They are all parts of a plan to ensure that the Cult-owned Woke Democrats would be permanently in power.

Border – what border?

I have exposed in detail in other books how mass immigration into the United States and Europe is the work of Cult networks fuelled by the tens of billions spent to this and other ends by George Soros and his global Open Society (open borders) Foundations. The impact can be seen in America alone where the population has increased by *100 million* in little more than 30 years mostly through immigration. I wrote in *The Answer* that the plan was to have so many people crossing the southern border that the numbers become unstoppable and we are now there under Cult-owned Biden. El Salvador in Central America puts the scale of what is happening into context. A third of the population now lives in the United States, much of it illegally, and many more are on the way. The methodology is to crush Central and South American countries economically and spread violence through machete-wielding psychopathic gangs like MS-13 based in El Salvador and now operating in many American cities. Biden-imposed lax security at the southern border means that it is all but open. He said before his 'election' that he wanted to see a surge towards the border if he became president and that was the green light for people to do just that after election day to create the human disaster that followed for both America and the migrants. When that surge came the imbecilic Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez said it wasn't a 'surge' because they are 'children, not insurgents' and the term 'surge' (used by Biden) was a claim of 'white supremacists'.

This disingenuous lady may one day enter the realm of the most basic intelligence, but it won't be any time soon.

Sabbatians and the Cult are in the process of destroying America by importing violent people and gangs in among the genuine to terrorise American cities and by overwhelming services that cannot cope with the sheer volume of new arrivals. Something similar is happening in Europe as Western society in general is targeted for demographic and cultural transformation and upheaval. The plan demands violence and crime to create an environment of intimidation, fear and division and Soros has been funding the election of district attorneys across America who then stop prosecuting many crimes, reduce sentences for violent crimes and free as many violent criminals as they can. Sabbatians are creating the chaos from which order – their order – can respond in a classic Problem-Reaction-Solution. A Freemasonic moto says ‘Ordo Ab Chao’ (Order out of Chaos) and this is why the Cult is constantly creating chaos to impose a new ‘order’. Here you have the reason the Cult is constantly creating chaos. The ‘Covid’ hoax can be seen with those entering the United States by plane being forced to take a ‘Covid’ test while migrants flooding through southern border processing facilities do not. Nothing is put in the way of mass migration and if that means ignoring the government’s own ‘Covid’ rules then so be it. They know it’s all bullshit anyway. Any pushback on this is denounced as ‘racist’ by Wokers and Sabbatian fronts like the ultra-Zionist Anti-Defamation League headed by the appalling Jonathan Greenblatt which at the same time argues that Israel should not give citizenship and voting rights to more Palestinian Arabs or the ‘Jewish population’ (in truth the Sabbatian network) will lose control of the country.

Society-changing numbers

Biden’s masters have declared that countries like El Salvador are so dangerous that their people must be allowed into the United States for humanitarian reasons when there are fewer murders in large parts of many Central American countries than in US cities like

Baltimore. That is not to say Central America cannot be a dangerous place and Cult-controlled American governments have been making it so since way back, along with the dismantling of economies, in a long-term plan to drive people north into the United States. Parts of Central America are very dangerous, but in other areas the story is being greatly exaggerated to justify relaxing immigration criteria. Migrants are being offered free healthcare and education in the United States as another incentive to head for the border and there is no requirement to be financially independent before you can enter to prevent the resources of America being drained. You can't blame migrants for seeking what they believe will be a better life, but they are being played by the Cult for dark and nefarious ends. The numbers since Biden took office are huge. In February, 2021, more than 100,000 people were known to have tried to enter the US illegally through the southern border (it was 34,000 in the same month in 2020) and in March it was 170,000 – a 418 percent increase on March, 2020. These numbers are only known people, not the ones who get in unseen. The true figure for migrants illegally crossing the border in a single month was estimated by one congressman at 250,000 and that number will only rise under Biden's current policy. Gangs of murdering drug-running thugs that control the Mexican side of the border demand money – thousands of dollars – to let migrants cross the Rio Grande into America. At the same time gun battles are breaking out on the border several times a week between rival Mexican drug gangs (which now operate globally) who are equipped with sophisticated military-grade weapons, grenades and armoured vehicles. While the Capitol Building was being 'protected' from a non-existent 'threat' by thousands of troops, and others were still deployed at the time in the Cult Neocon war in Afghanistan, the southern border of America was left to its fate. This is not incompetence, it is cold calculation.

By March, 2021, there were 17,000 unaccompanied children held at border facilities and many of them are ensnared by people traffickers for paedophile rings and raped on their journey north to America. This is not conjecture – this is fact. Many of those designated

children are in reality teenage boys or older. Meanwhile Wokers posture their self-purity for encouraging poor and tragic people to come to America and face this nightmare both on the journey and at the border with the disgusting figure of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi giving disingenuous speeches about caring for migrants. The woman's evil. Wokers condemned Trump for having children in cages at the border (so did Obama, *Shhhh*), but now they are sleeping on the floor without access to a shower with one border facility 729 percent over capacity. The Biden insanity even proposed flying migrants from the southern border to the northern border with Canada for 'processing'. The whole shambles is being overseen by ultra-Zionist Secretary of Homeland Security, the moronic liar Alejandro Mayorkas, who banned news cameras at border facilities to stop Americans seeing what was happening. Mayorkas said there was not a ban on news crews; it was just that they were not allowed to film. Alongside him at Homeland Security is another ultra-Zionist Cass Sunstein appointed by Biden to oversee new immigration laws. Sunstein despises conspiracy researchers to the point where he suggests they should be banned or *taxed* for having such views. The man is not bonkers or anything. He's perfectly well-adjusted, but adjusted to what is the question. Criticise what is happening and you are a 'white supremacist' when earlier non-white immigrants also oppose the numbers which effect their lives and opportunities. Black people in poor areas are particularly damaged by uncontrolled immigration and the increased competition for work opportunities with those who will work for less. They are also losing voting power as Hispanics become more dominant in former black areas. It's a downward spiral for them while the billionaires behind the policy drone on about how much they care about black people and 'racism'. None of this is about compassion for migrants or black people – that's just wind and air. Migrants are instead being mercilessly exploited to transform America while the countries they leave are losing their future and the same is true in Europe. Mass immigration may now be the work of Woke Democrats, but it can be traced back to the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (it

wasn't) signed into law by Republican hero President Ronald Reagan which gave amnesty to millions living in the United States illegally and other incentives for people to head for the southern border. Here we have the one-party state at work again.

Save me syndrome

Almost every aspect of what I have been exposing as the Cult agenda was on display in even the first days of 'Biden' with silencing of Pushbackers at the forefront of everything. A Renegade Mind will view the Trump years and QAnon in a very different light to their supporters and advocates as the dots are connected. The QAnon/Trump Psyop has given the Cult all it was looking for. We may not know how much, or little, that Trump realised he was being used, but that's a side issue. This pincer movement produced the desired outcome of dividing America and having Pushbackers isolated. To turn this around we have to look at new routes to empowerment which do not include handing our power to other people and groups through what I will call the 'Save Me Syndrome' – 'I want someone else to do it so that I don't have to'. We have seen this at work throughout human history and the QAnon/Trump Psyop is only the latest incarnation alongside all the others. Religion is an obvious expression of this when people look to a 'god' or priest to save them or tell them how to be saved and then there are 'save me' politicians like Trump. Politics is a diversion and not a 'saviour'. It is a means to block positive change, not make it possible.

Save Me Syndrome always comes with the same repeating theme of handing your power to whom or what you believe will save you while your real 'saviour' stares back from the mirror every morning. Renegade Minds are constantly vigilant in this regard and always asking the question 'What can I do?' rather than 'What can someone else do for me?' Gandhi was right when he said: 'You must be the change you want to see in the world.' We are indeed the people we have been waiting for. We are presented with a constant raft of reasons to concede that power to others and forget where the real power is. Humanity has the numbers and the Cult does not. It has to

use diversion and division to target the unstoppable power that comes from unity. Religions, governments, politicians, corporations, media, QAnon, are all different manifestations of this power-diversion and dilution. Refusing to give your power to governments and instead handing it to Trump and QAnon is not to take a new direction, but merely to recycle the old one with new names on the posters. I will explore this phenomenon as we proceed and how to break the cycles and recycles that got us here through the mists of repeating perception and so repeating history.

For now we shall turn to the most potent example in the entire human story of the consequences that follow when you give your power away. I am talking, of course, of the 'Covid' hoax.

CHAPTER FOUR

'Covid': Calculated catastrophe

Facts are threatening to those invested in fraud
DaShanne Stokes

We can easily unravel the real reason for the 'Covid pandemic' hoax by employing the Renegade Mind methodology that I have outlined this far. We'll start by comparing the long-planned Cult outcome with the 'Covid pandemic' outcome. Know the outcome and you'll see the journey.

I have highlighted the plan for the Hunger Games Society which has been in my books for so many years with the very few controlling the very many through ongoing dependency. To create this dependency it is essential to destroy independent livelihoods, businesses and employment to make the population reliant on the state (the Cult) for even the basics of life through a guaranteed pittance income. While independence of income remained these Cult ambitions would be thwarted. With this knowledge it was easy to see where the 'pandemic' hoax was going once talk of 'lockdowns' began and the closing of all but perceived 'essential' businesses to 'save' us from an alleged 'deadly virus'. Cult corporations like Amazon and Walmart were naturally considered 'essential' while mom and pop shops and stores had their doors closed by fascist decree. As a result with every new lockdown and new regulation more small and medium, even large businesses not owned by the Cult, went to the wall while Cult giants and their frontmen and women grew financially fatter by the second. Mom and pop were

denied an income and the right to earn a living and the wealth of people like Jeff Bezos (Amazon), Mark Zuckerberg (Facebook) and Sergei Brin and Larry Page (Google/Alphabet) have reached record levels. The Cult was increasing its own power through further dramatic concentrations of wealth while the competition was being destroyed and brought into a state of dependency. Lockdowns have been instigated to secure that very end and were never anything to do with health. My brother Paul spent 45 years building up a bus repair business, but lockdowns meant buses were running at a fraction of normal levels for months on end. Similar stories can told in their hundreds of millions worldwide. Efforts of a lifetime coldly destroyed by Cult multi-billionaires and their lackeys in government and law enforcement who continued to earn their living from the taxation of the people while denying the right of the same people to earn theirs. How different it would have been if those making and enforcing these decisions had to face the same financial hardships of those they affected, but they never do.

Gates of Hell

Behind it all in the full knowledge of what he is doing and why is the psychopathic figure of Cult operative Bill Gates. His puppet Tedros at the World Health Organization declared 'Covid' a pandemic in March, 2020. The WHO had changed the definition of a 'pandemic' in 2009 just a month before declaring the 'swine flu pandemic' which would not have been so under the previous definition. The same applies to 'Covid'. The definition had included... 'an infection by an infectious agent, occurring simultaneously in different countries, with a significant mortality rate relative to the proportion of the population infected'. The new definition removed the need for 'significant mortality'. The 'pandemic' has been fraudulent even down to the definition, but Gates demanded economy-destroying lockdowns, school closures, social distancing, mandatory masks, a 'vaccination' for every man, woman and child on the planet and severe consequences and restrictions for those that refused. Who gave him this power? The

Cult did which he serves like a little boy in short trousers doing what his daddy tells him. He and his psychopathic missus even smiled when they said that much worse was to come (what they knew was planned to come). Gates responded in the matter-of-fact way of all psychopaths to a question about the effect on the world economy of what he was doing:

Well, it won't go to zero but it will shrink. Global GDP is probably going to take the biggest hit ever [Gates was smiling as he said this] ... in my lifetime this will be the greatest economic hit. But you don't have a choice. People act as if you have a choice. People don't feel like going to the stadium when they might get infected ... People are deeply affected by seeing these stats, by knowing they could be part of the transmission chain, old people, their parents and grandparents, could be affected by this, and so you don't get to say ignore what is going on here.

There will be the ability to open up, particularly in rich countries, if things are done well over the next few months, but for the world at large normalcy only returns when we have largely vaccinated the entire population.

The man has no compassion or empathy. How could he when he's a psychopath like all Cult players? My own view is that even beyond that he is very seriously mentally ill. Look in his eyes and you can see this along with his crazy flailing arms. You don't do what he has done to the world population since the start of 2020 unless you are mentally ill and at the most extreme end of psychopathic. You especially don't do it when to you know, as we shall see, that cases and deaths from 'Covid' are fakery and a product of monumental figure massaging. 'These stats' that Gates referred to are based on a 'test' that's not testing for the 'virus' as he has known all along. He made his fortune with big Cult support as an infamously ruthless software salesman and now buys global control of 'health' (death) policy without the population he affects having any say. It's a breathtaking outrage. Gates talked about people being deeply affected by fear of 'Covid' when that was because of *him* and his global network lying to them minute-by-minute supported by a lying media that he seriously influences and funds to the tune of hundreds of millions. He's handed big sums to media operations including the BBC, NBC, Al Jazeera, Univision, *PBS NewsHour*,

ProPublica, National Journal, The Guardian, The Financial Times, The Atlantic, Texas Tribune, USA Today publisher Gannett, Washington Monthly, Le Monde, Center for Investigative Reporting, Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, National Press Foundation, International Center for Journalists, Solutions Journalism Network, the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, and many more. Gates is everywhere in the ‘Covid’ hoax and the man must go to prison – or a mental facility – for the rest of his life and his money distributed to those he has taken such enormous psychopathic pleasure in crushing.

The Muscle

The Hunger Games global structure demands a police-military state – a fusion of the two into one force – which viciously imposes the will of the Cult on the population and protects the Cult from public rebellion. In that regard, too, the ‘Covid’ hoax just keeps on giving. Often unlawful, ridiculous and contradictory ‘Covid’ rules and regulations have been policed across the world by moronic automatons and psychopaths made faceless by face-nappy masks and acting like the Nazi SS and fascist blackshirts and brownshirts of Hitler and Mussolini. The smallest departure from the rules decreed by the psychos in government and their clueless gofers were jumped upon by the face-nappy fascists. Brutality against public protestors soon became commonplace even on girls, women and old people as the brave men with the batons – the Face-Nappies as I call them – broke up peaceful protests and handed out fines like confetti to people who couldn’t earn a living let alone pay hundreds of pounds for what was once an accepted human right. Robot Face-Nappies of Nottingham police in the English East Midlands fined one group £11,000 for attending a child’s birthday party. For decades I charted the transformation of law enforcement as genuine, decent officers were replaced with psychopaths and the brain dead who would happily and brutally do whatever their masters told them. Now they were let loose on the public and I would emphasise the point that none of this just happened. The step-by-step change in the dynamic between police and public was orchestrated from the shadows by

those who knew where this was all going and the same with the perceptual reframing of those in all levels of authority and official administration through ‘training courses’ by organisations such as Common Purpose which was created in the late 1980s and given a massive boost in Blair era Britain until it became a global phenomenon. Supposed public ‘servants’ began to view the population as the enemy and the same was true of the police. This was the start of the explosion of behaviour manipulation organisations and networks preparing for the all-war on the human psyche unleashed with the dawn of 2020. I will go into more detail about this later in the book because it is a core part of what is happening.

Police desecrated beauty spots to deter people gathering and arrested women for walking in the countryside alone ‘too far’ from their homes. We had arrogant, clueless sergeants in the Isle of Wight police where I live posting on Facebook what they insisted the population must do or else. A schoolmaster sergeant called Radford looked young enough for me to ask if his mother knew he was out, but he was posting what he *expected* people to do while a Sergeant Wilkinson boasted about fining lads for meeting in a McDonald’s car park where they went to get a lockdown takeaway. Wilkinson added that he had even cancelled their order. What a pair of prats these people are and yet they have increasingly become the norm among Jackboot Johnson’s Yellowshirts once known as the British police. This was the theme all over the world with police savagery common during lockdown protests in the United States, the Netherlands, and the fascist state of Victoria in Australia under its tyrannical and again moronic premier Daniel Andrews. Amazing how tyrannical and moronic tend to work as a team and the same combination could be seen across America as arrogant, narcissistic Woke governors and mayors such as Gavin Newsom (California), Andrew Cuomo (New York), Gretchen Whitmer (Michigan), Lori Lightfoot (Chicago) and Eric Garcetti (Los Angeles) did their Nazi and Stalin impressions with the full support of the compliant brutality of their enforcers in uniform as they arrested small business owners defying

fascist shutdown orders and took them to jail in ankle shackles and handcuffs. This happened to bistro owner Marlena Pavlos-Hackney in Gretchen Whitmer's fascist state of Michigan when police arrived to enforce an order by a state-owned judge for 'putting the community at risk' at a time when other states like Texas were dropping restrictions and migrants were pouring across the southern border without any 'Covid' questions at all. I'm sure there are many officers appalled by what they are ordered to do, but not nearly enough of them. If they were truly appalled they would not do it. As the months passed every opportunity was taken to have the military involved to make their presence on the streets ever more familiar and 'normal' for the longer-term goal of police-military fusion.

Another crucial element to the Hunger Games enforcement network has been encouraging the public to report neighbours and others for 'breaking the lockdown rules'. The group faced with £11,000 in fines at the child's birthday party would have been dobbed-in by a neighbour with a brain the size of a pea. The technique was most famously employed by the Stasi secret police in communist East Germany who had public informants placed throughout the population. A police chief in the UK says his force doesn't need to carry out 'Covid' patrols when they are flooded with so many calls from the public reporting other people for visiting the beach. Dorset police chief James Vaughan said people were so enthusiastic about snitching on their fellow humans they were now operating as an auxiliary arm of the police: 'We are still getting around 400 reports a week from the public, so we will respond to reports ... We won't need to be doing hotspot patrols because people are very quick to pick the phone up and tell us.' Vaughan didn't say that this is a pillar of all tyrannies of whatever complexion and the means to hugely extend the reach of enforcement while spreading distrust among the people and making them wary of doing anything that might get them reported. Those narcissistic Isle of Wight sergeants Radford and Wilkinson never fail to add a link to their Facebook posts where the public can inform on their fellow slaves.

Neither would be self-aware enough to realise they were imitating the Stasi which they might well never have heard of. Government psychologists that I will expose later laid out a policy to turn communities against each other in the same way.

A coincidence? Yep, and I can knit fog

I knew from the start of the alleged pandemic that this was a Cult operation. It presented limitless potential to rapidly advance the Cult agenda and exploit manipulated fear to demand that every man, woman and child on the planet was ‘vaccinated’ in a process never used on humans before which infuses self-replicating *synthetic* material into human cells. Remember the plan to transform the human body from a biological to a synthetic biological state. I’ll deal with the ‘vaccine’ (that’s not actually a vaccine) when I focus on the genetic agenda. Enough to say here that mass global ‘vaccination’ justified by this ‘new virus’ set alarms ringing after 30 years of tracking these people and their methods. The ‘Covid’ hoax officially beginning in China was also a big red flag for reasons I will be explaining. The agenda potential was so enormous that I could dismiss any idea that the ‘virus’ appeared naturally. Major happenings with major agenda implications never occur without Cult involvement in making them happen. My questions were twofold in early 2020 as the media began its campaign to induce global fear and hysteria: Was this alleged infectious agent released on purpose by the Cult or did it even exist at all? I then did what I always do in these situations. I sat, observed and waited to see where the evidence and information would take me. By March and early April synchronicity was strongly – and ever more so since then – pointing me in the direction of *there is no ‘virus’*. I went public on that with derision even from swathes of the alternative media that voiced a scenario that the Chinese government released the ‘virus’ in league with Deep State elements in the United States from a top-level bio-lab in Wuhan where the ‘virus’ is said to have first appeared. I looked at that possibility, but I didn’t buy it for several reasons. Deaths from the ‘virus’ did not in any way match what they

would have been with a ‘deadly bioweapon’ and it is much more effective if you sell the *illusion* of an infectious agent rather than having a real one unless you can control through injection who has it and who doesn’t. Otherwise you lose control of events. A made-up ‘virus’ gives you a blank sheet of paper on which you can make it do whatever you like and have any symptoms or mutant ‘variants’ you choose to add while a real infectious agent would limit you to what it actually does. A phantom disease allows you to have endless ludicrous ‘studies’ on the ‘Covid’ dollar to widen the perceived impact by inventing ever more ‘at risk’ groups including one study which said those who walk slowly may be almost four times more likely to die from the ‘virus’. People are in psychiatric wards for less.

A real ‘deadly bioweapon’ can take out people in the hierarchy that are not part of the Cult, but essential to its operation. Obviously they don’t want that. Releasing a real disease means you immediately lose control of it. Releasing an illusory one means you don’t. Again it’s vital that people are extra careful when dealing with what they want to hear. A bioweapon unleashed from a Chinese laboratory in collusion with the American Deep State may fit a conspiracy narrative, but is it true? Would it not be far more effective to use the excuse of a ‘virus’ to justify the real bioweapon – the ‘vaccine’? That way your disease agent does not have to be transmitted and arrives directly through a syringe. I saw a French virologist Luc Montagnier quoted in the alternative media as saying he had discovered that the alleged ‘new’ severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus , or SARS-CoV-2, was made artificially and included elements of the human immunodeficiency ‘virus’ (HIV) and a parasite that causes malaria. SARS-CoV-2 is alleged to trigger an alleged illness called Covid-19. I remembered Montagnier’s name from my research years before into claims that an HIV ‘retrovirus’ causes AIDS – claims that were demolished by Berkeley virologist Peter Duesberg who showed that no one had ever proved that HIV causes acquired immunodeficiency syndrome or AIDS. Claims that become accepted as fact, publicly and medically, with no proof whatsoever are an ever-recurring story that profoundly applies to

'Covid'. Nevertheless, despite the lack of proof, Montagnier's team at the Pasteur Institute in Paris had a long dispute with American researcher Robert Gallo over which of them discovered and isolated the HIV 'virus' and with *no evidence* found it to cause AIDS. You will see later that there is also no evidence that any 'virus' causes any disease or that there is even such a thing as a 'virus' in the way it is said to exist. The claim to have 'isolated' the HIV 'virus' will be presented in its real context as we come to the shocking story – and it is a story – of SARS-CoV-2 and so will Montagnier's assertion that he identified the full SARS-CoV-2 genome.

Hoax in the making

We can pick up the 'Covid' story in 2010 and the publication by the Rockefeller Foundation of a document called 'Scenarios for the Future of Technology and International Development'. The inner circle of the Rockefeller family has been serving the Cult since John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937) made his fortune with Standard Oil. It is less well known that the same Rockefeller – the Bill Gates of his day – was responsible for establishing what is now referred to as 'Big Pharma', the global network of pharmaceutical companies that make outrageous profits dispensing scalpel and drug 'medicine' and are obsessed with pumping vaccines in ever-increasing number into as many human arms and backsides as possible. John D. Rockefeller was the driving force behind the creation of the 'education' system in the United States and elsewhere specifically designed to program the perceptions of generations thereafter. The Rockefeller family donated exceptionally valuable land in New York for the United Nations building and were central in establishing the World Health Organization in 1948 as an agency of the UN which was created from the start as a Trojan horse and stalking horse for world government. Now enter Bill Gates. His family and the Rockefellers have long been extremely close and I have seen genealogy which claims that if you go back far enough the two families fuse into the same bloodline. Gates has said that the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation was inspired by the Rockefeller Foundation and why not

when both are serving the same Cult? Major tax-exempt foundations are overwhelmingly criminal enterprises in which Cult assets fund the Cult agenda in the guise of 'philanthropy' while avoiding tax in the process. Cult operatives can become mega-rich in their role of front men and women for the psychopaths at the inner core and they, too, have to be psychopaths to knowingly serve such evil. Part of the deal is that a big percentage of the wealth gleaned from representing the Cult has to be spent advancing the ambitions of the Cult and hence you have the Rockefeller Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (and so many more) and people like George Soros with his global Open Society Foundations spending their billions in pursuit of global Cult control. Gates is a global public face of the Cult with his interventions in world affairs including Big Tech influence; a central role in the 'Covid' and 'vaccine' scam; promotion of the climate change shakedown; manipulation of education; geoengineering of the skies; and his food-control agenda as the biggest owner of farmland in America, his GMO promotion and through other means. As one writer said: 'Gates monopolizes or wields disproportionate influence over the tech industry, global health and vaccines, agriculture and food policy (including biopiracy and fake food), weather modification and other climate technologies, surveillance, education and media.' The almost limitless wealth secured through Microsoft and other not-allowed-to-fail ventures (including vaccines) has been ploughed into a long, long list of Cult projects designed to enslave the entire human race. Gates and the Rockefellers have been working as one unit with the Rockefeller-established World Health Organization leading global 'Covid' policy controlled by Gates through his mouth-piece Tedros. Gates became the WHO's biggest funder when Trump announced that the American government would cease its donations, but Biden immediately said he would restore the money when he took office in January, 2021. The Gates Foundation (the Cult) owns through limitless funding the world health system and the major players across the globe in the 'Covid' hoax.

Okay, with that background we return to that Rockefeller Foundation document of 2010 headed ‘Scenarios for the Future of Technology and International Development’ and its ‘imaginary’ epidemic of a virulent and deadly influenza strain which infected 20 percent of the global population and killed eight million in seven months. The Rockefeller scenario was that the epidemic destroyed economies, closed shops, offices and other businesses and led to governments imposing fierce rules and restrictions that included mandatory wearing of face masks and body-temperature checks to enter communal spaces like railway stations and supermarkets. The document predicted that even after the height of the Rockefeller-envisioned epidemic the authoritarian rule would continue to deal with further pandemics, transnational terrorism, environmental crises and rising poverty. Now you may think that the Rockefellers are our modern-day seers or alternatively, and rather more likely, that they well knew what was planned a few years further on. Fascism had to be imposed, you see, to ‘protect citizens from risk and exposure’. The Rockefeller scenario document said:

During the pandemic, national leaders around the world flexed their authority and imposed airtight rules and restrictions, from the mandatory wearing of face masks to body-temperature checks at the entries to communal spaces like train stations and supermarkets. Even after the pandemic faded, this more authoritarian control and oversight of citizens and their activities stuck and even intensified. In order to protect themselves from the spread of increasingly global problems – from pandemics and transnational terrorism to environmental crises and rising poverty – leaders around the world took a firmer grip on power.

At first, the notion of a more controlled world gained wide acceptance and approval. Citizens willingly gave up some of their sovereignty – and their privacy – to more paternalistic states in exchange for greater safety and stability. Citizens were more tolerant, and even eager, for top-down direction and oversight, and national leaders had more latitude to impose order in the ways they saw fit.

In developed countries, this heightened oversight took many forms: biometric IDs for all citizens, for example, and tighter regulation of key industries whose stability was deemed vital to national interests. In many developed countries, enforced cooperation with a suite of new regulations and agreements slowly but steadily restored both order and, importantly, economic growth.

There we have the prophetic Rockefellers in 2010 and three years later came their paper for the Global Health Summit in Beijing, China, when government representatives, the private sector, international organisations and groups met to discuss the next 100 years of 'global health'. The Rockefeller Foundation-funded paper was called 'Dreaming the Future of Health for the Next 100 Years' and more prophecy ensued as it described a dystopian future: 'The abundance of data, digitally tracking and linking people may mean the 'death of privacy' and may replace physical interaction with transient, virtual connection, generating isolation and raising questions of how values are shaped in virtual networks.' Next in the 'Covid' hoax preparation sequence came a 'table top' simulation in 2018 for another 'imaginary' pandemic of a disease called Clade X which was said to kill 900 million people. The exercise was organised by the Gates-funded Johns Hopkins University's Center for Health Security in the United States and this is the very same university that has been compiling the disgustingly and systematically erroneous global figures for 'Covid' cases and deaths. Similar Johns Hopkins health crisis scenarios have included the Dark Winter exercise in 2001 and Atlantic Storm in 2005.

Nostradamus 201

For sheer predictive genius look no further prophecy-watchers than the Bill Gates-funded Event 201 held only six weeks before the 'coronavirus pandemic' is supposed to have broken out in China and Event 201 was based on a scenario of a global 'coronavirus pandemic'. Melinda Gates, the great man's missus, told the BBC that he had 'prepared for years' for a coronavirus pandemic which told us what we already knew. Nostradamugates had predicted in a TED talk in 2015 that a pandemic was coming that would kill a lot of people and demolish the world economy. My god, the man is a machine – possibly even literally. Now here he was only weeks before the real thing funding just such a simulated scenario and involving his friends and associates at Johns Hopkins, the World Economic Forum Cult-front of Klaus Schwab, the United Nations,

Johnson & Johnson, major banks, and officials from China and the Centers for Disease Control in the United States. What synchronicity – Johns Hopkins would go on to compile the fraudulent ‘Covid’ figures, the World Economic Forum and Schwab would push the ‘Great Reset’ in response to ‘Covid’, the Centers for Disease Control would be at the forefront of ‘Covid’ policy in the United States, Johnson & Johnson would produce a ‘Covid vaccine’, and everything would officially start just weeks later in China. Spooky, eh? They were even accurate in creating a simulation of a ‘virus’ pandemic because the ‘real thing’ would also be a simulation. Event 201 was not an exercise preparing for something that might happen; it was a rehearsal for what those in control knew was *going* to happen and very shortly. Hours of this simulation were posted on the Internet and the various themes and responses mirrored what would soon be imposed to transform human society. News stories were inserted and what they said would be commonplace a few weeks later with still more prophecy perfection. Much discussion focused on the need to deal with misinformation and the ‘anti-vax movement’ which is exactly what happened when the ‘virus’ arrived – was said to have arrived – in the West.

Cult-owned social media banned criticism and exposure of the official ‘virus’ narrative and when I said there *was* no ‘virus’ in early April, 2020, I was banned by one platform after another including YouTube, Facebook and later Twitter. The mainstream broadcast media in Britain was in effect banned from interviewing me by the Tony-Blair-created government broadcasting censor Ofcom headed by career government bureaucrat Melanie Dawes who was appointed just as the ‘virus’ hoax was about to play out in January, 2020. At the same time the Ickonic media platform was using Vimeo, another ultra-Zionist-owned operation, while our own player was being created and they deleted in an instant hundreds of videos, documentaries, series and shows to confirm their unbelievable vindictiveness. We had copies, of course, and they had to be restored one by one when our player was ready. These people have no class. Sabbatian Facebook promised free advertisements for the Gates-

controlled World Health Organization narrative while deleting ‘false claims and conspiracy theories’ to stop ‘misinformation’ about the alleged coronavirus. All these responses could be seen just a short while earlier in the scenarios of Event 201. Extreme censorship was absolutely crucial for the Cult because the official story was so ridiculous and unsupportable by the evidence that it could never survive open debate and the free-flow of information and opinion. If you can’t win a debate then don’t have one is the Cult’s approach throughout history. Facebook’s little boy front man – front boy – Mark Zuckerberg equated ‘credible and accurate information’ with official sources and exposing their lies with ‘misinformation’.

Silencing those that can see

The censorship dynamic of Event 201 is now the norm with an army of narrative-supporting ‘fact-checker’ organisations whose entire reason for being is to tell the public that official narratives are true and those exposing them are lying. One of the most appalling of these ‘fact-checkers’ is called NewsGuard founded by ultra-Zionist Americans Gordon Crovitz and Steven Brill. Crovitz is a former publisher of *The Wall Street Journal*, former Executive Vice President of Dow Jones, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and on the board of the American Association of Rhodes Scholars. The CFR and Rhodes Scholarships, named after Rothschild agent Cecil Rhodes who plundered the gold and diamonds of South Africa for his masters and the Cult, have featured widely in my books. NewsGuard don’t seem to like me for some reason – I really can’t think why – and they have done all they can to have me censored and discredited which is, to quote an old British politician, like being savaged by a dead sheep. They are, however, like all in the censorship network, very well connected and funded by organisations themselves funded by, or connected to, Bill Gates. As you would expect with anything associated with Gates NewsGuard has an offshoot called HealthGuard which ‘fights online health care hoaxes’. How very kind. Somehow the NewsGuard European Managing Director Anna-Sophie Harling, a remarkably young-

looking woman with no broadcasting experience and little hands-on work in journalism, has somehow secured a position on the ‘Content Board’ of UK government broadcast censor Ofcom. An executive of an organisation seeking to discredit dissidents of the official narratives is making decisions for the government broadcast ‘regulator’ about content?? Another appalling ‘fact-checker’ is Full Fact funded by George Soros and global censors Google and Facebook.

It’s amazing how many activists in the ‘fact-checking’, ‘anti-hate’, arena turn up in government-related positions – people like UK Labour Party activist Imran Ahmed who heads the Center for Countering Digital Hate founded by people like Morgan McSweeney, now chief of staff to the Labour Party’s hapless and useless ‘leader’ Keir Starmer. Digital Hate – which is what it really is – uses the American spelling of Center to betray its connection to a transatlantic network of similar organisations which in 2020 shapeshifted from attacking people for ‘hate’ to attacking them for questioning the ‘Covid’ hoax and the dangers of the ‘Covid vaccine’. It’s just a coincidence, you understand. This is one of Imran Ahmed’s hysterical statements: ‘I would go beyond calling anti-vaxxers conspiracy theorists to say they are an extremist group that pose a national security risk.’ No one could ever accuse this prat of understatement and he’s including in that those parents who are now against vaccines after their children were damaged for life or killed by them. He’s such a nice man. Ahmed does the rounds of the Woke media getting soft-ball questions from spineless ‘journalists’ who never ask what right he has to campaign to destroy the freedom of speech of others while he demands it for himself. There also seems to be an overrepresentation in Ofcom of people connected to the narrative-worshipping BBC. This incredible global network of narrative-support was super-vital when the ‘Covid’ hoax was played in the light of the mega-whopper lies that have to be defended from the spotlight cast by the most basic intelligence.

Setting the scene

The Cult plays the long game and proceeds step-by-step ensuring that everything is in place before major cards are played and they don't come any bigger than the 'Covid' hoax. The psychopaths can't handle events where the outcome isn't certain and as little as possible – preferably nothing – is left to chance. Politicians, government and medical officials who would follow direction were brought to illusory power in advance by the Cult web whether on the national stage or others like state governors and mayors of America. For decades the dynamic between officialdom, law enforcement and the public was changed from one of service to one of control and dictatorship. Behaviour manipulation networks established within government were waiting to impose the coming 'Covid' rules and regulations specifically designed to subdue and rewire the psyche of the people in the guise of protecting health. These included in the UK the Behavioural Insights Team part-owned by the British government Cabinet Office; the Scientific Pandemic Insights Group on Behaviours (SPI-B); and a whole web of intelligence and military groups seeking to direct the conversation on social media and control the narrative. Among them are the cyberwarfare (on the people) 77th Brigade of the British military which is also coordinated through the Cabinet Office as civilian and military leadership continues to combine in what they call the Fusion Doctrine. The 77th Brigade is a British equivalent of the infamous Israeli (Sabbatian) military cyberwarfare and Internet manipulation operation Unit 8200 which I expose at length in *The Trigger*. Also carefully in place were the medical and science advisers to government – many on the payroll past or present of Bill Gates – and a whole alternative structure of unelected government stood by to take control when elected parliaments were effectively closed down once the 'Covid' card was slammed on the table. The structure I have described here and so much more was installed in every major country through the Cult networks. The top-down control hierarchy looks like this: The Cult – Cult-owned Gates – the World Health Organization and Tedros – Gates-funded or controlled chief medical officers and science 'advisers' (dictators) in each country –

political ‘leaders’ – law enforcement – The People. Through this simple global communication and enforcement structure the policy of the Cult could be imposed on virtually the entire human population so long as they acquiesced to the fascism. With everything in place it was time for the button to be pressed in late 2019/early 2020.

These were the prime goals the Cult had to secure for its will to prevail:

- 1) Locking down economies, closing all but designated ‘essential’ businesses (Cult-owned corporations were ‘essential’), and putting the population under house arrest was an imperative to destroy independent income and employment and ensure dependency on the Cult-controlled state in the Hunger Games Society. Lockdowns had to be established as the global blueprint from the start to respond to the ‘virus’ and followed by pretty much the entire world.
- 2) The global population had to be terrified into believing in a deadly ‘virus’ that didn’t actually exist so they would unquestioningly obey authority in the belief that authority must know how best to protect them and their families. Software salesman Gates would suddenly morph into the world’s health expert and be promoted as such by the Cult-owned media.
- 3) A method of testing that wasn’t testing for the ‘virus’, but was only claimed to be, had to be in place to provide the illusion of ‘cases’ and subsequent ‘deaths’ that had a very different cause to the ‘Covid-19’ that would be scribbled on the death certificate.
- 4) Because there was no ‘virus’ and the great majority testing positive with a test not testing for the ‘virus’ would have no symptoms of anything the lie had to be sold that people without symptoms (without the ‘virus’) could still pass it on to others. This was crucial to justify for the first time quarantining – house arresting – healthy people. Without this the economy-destroying lockdown of *everybody* could not have been credibly sold.
- 5) The ‘saviour’ had to be seen as a vaccine which beyond evil drug companies were working like angels of mercy to develop as quickly as possible, with all corners cut, to save the day. The public must absolutely not know that the ‘vaccine’ had nothing to do with a ‘virus’ or that the contents were ready and waiting with a very different motive long before the ‘Covid’ card was even lifted from the pack.

I said in March, 2020, that the ‘vaccine’ would have been created way ahead of the ‘Covid’ hoax which justified its use and the following December an article in the New York *Intelligencer* magazine said the Moderna ‘vaccine’ had been ‘designed’ by

January, 2020. This was ‘before China had even acknowledged that the disease could be transmitted from human to human, more than a week before the first confirmed coronavirus case in the United States’. The article said that by the time the first American death was announced a month later ‘the vaccine had already been manufactured and shipped to the National Institutes of Health for the beginning of its Phase I clinical trial’. The ‘vaccine’ was actually ‘designed’ long before that although even with this timescale you would expect the article to ask how on earth it could have been done that quickly. Instead it asked why the ‘vaccine’ had not been rolled out then and not months later. Journalism in the mainstream is truly dead. I am going to detail in the next chapter why the ‘virus’ has never existed and how a hoax on that scale was possible, but first the foundation on which the Big Lie of ‘Covid’ was built.

The test that doesn’t test

Fraudulent ‘testing’ is the bottom line of the whole ‘Covid’ hoax and was the means by which a ‘virus’ that did not exist *appeared* to exist. They could only achieve this magic trick by using a test not testing for the ‘virus’. To use a test that *was* testing for the ‘virus’ would mean that every test would come back negative given there was no ‘virus’. They chose to exploit something called the RT-PCR test invented by American biochemist Kary Mullis in the 1980s who said publicly that his PCR test … *cannot detect infectious disease*. Yes, the ‘test’ used worldwide to detect infectious ‘Covid’ to produce all the illusory ‘cases’ and ‘deaths’ compiled by Johns Hopkins and others *cannot detect infectious disease*. This fact came from the mouth of the man who invented PCR and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1993 for doing so. Sadly, and incredibly conveniently for the Cult, Mullis died in August, 2019, at the age of 74 just before his test would be fraudulently used to unleash fascism on the world. He was said to have died from pneumonia which was an irony in itself. A few months later he would have had ‘Covid-19’ on his death certificate. I say the timing of his death was convenient because had he lived Mullis, a brilliant, honest and decent man, would have been

vociferously speaking out against the use of his test to detect 'Covid' when it was never designed, or able, to do that. I know that to be true given that Mullis made the same point when his test was used to 'detect' – not detect – HIV. He had been seriously critical of the Gallo/Montagnier claim to have isolated the HIV 'virus' and shown it to cause AIDS for which Mullis said there was no evidence. AIDS is actually not a disease but a series of diseases from which people die all the time. When they die from those *same diseases* after a positive 'test' for HIV then AIDS goes on their death certificate. I think I've heard that before somewhere. Countries instigated a policy with 'Covid' that anyone who tested positive with a test not testing for the 'virus' and died of any other cause within 28 days and even longer 'Covid-19' had to go on the death certificate. Cases have come from the test that can't test for infectious disease and the deaths are those who have died of *anything* after testing positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'. I'll have much more later about the death certificate scandal.

Mullis was deeply dismissive of the now US 'Covid' star Anthony Fauci who he said was a liar who didn't know anything about anything – 'and I would say that to his face – nothing.' He said of Fauci: 'The man thinks he can take a blood sample, put it in an electron microscope and if it's got a virus in there you'll know it – he doesn't understand electron microscopy and he doesn't understand medicine and shouldn't be in a position like he's in.' That position, terrifyingly, has made him the decider of 'Covid' fascism policy on behalf of the Cult in his role as director since 1984 of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) while his record of being wrong is laughable; but being wrong, so long as it's the *right kind* of wrong, is why the Cult loves him. He'll say anything the Cult tells him to say. Fauci was made Chief Medical Adviser to the President immediately Biden took office. Biden was installed in the White House by Cult manipulation and one of his first decisions was to elevate Fauci to a position of even more control. This is a coincidence? Yes, and I identify as a flamenco dancer called Lola. How does such an incompetent criminal like Fauci remain in that

pivotal position in American health since *the 1980s*? When you serve the Cult it looks after you until you are surplus to requirements. Kary Mullis said prophetically of Fauci and his like: ‘Those guys have an agenda and it’s not an agenda we would like them to have ... they make their own rules, they change them when they want to, and Tony Fauci does not mind going on television in front of the people who pay his salary and lie directly into the camera.’ Fauci has done that almost daily since the ‘Covid’ hoax began. Lying is in Fauci’s DNA. To make the situation crystal clear about the PCR test this is a direct quote from its inventor Kary Mullis:

It [the PCR test] doesn’t tell you that you’re sick and doesn’t tell you that the thing you ended up with was really going to hurt you ...’

Ask yourself why governments and medical systems the world over have been using this very test to decide who is ‘infected’ with the SARS-CoV-2 ‘virus’ and the alleged disease it allegedly causes, ‘Covid-19’. The answer to that question will tell you what has been going on. By the way, here’s a little show-stopper – the ‘new’ SARS-CoV-2 ‘virus’ was ‘identified’ as such right from the start using ... *the PCR test not testing for the ‘virus’*. If you are new to this and find that shocking then stick around. I have hardly started yet. Even worse, other ‘tests’, like the ‘Lateral Flow Device’ (LFD), are considered so useless that they have to be *confirmed* by the PCR test! Leaked emails written by Ben Dyson, adviser to UK ‘Health’ Secretary Matt Hancock, said they were ‘dangerously unreliable’. Dyson, executive director of strategy at the Department of Health, wrote: ‘As of today, someone who gets a positive LFD result in (say) London has at best a 25 per cent chance of it being a true positive, but if it is a self-reported test potentially as low as 10 per cent (on an optimistic assumption about specificity) or as low as 2 per cent (on a more pessimistic assumption).’ These are the ‘tests’ that schoolchildren and the public are being urged to have twice a week or more and have to isolate if they get a positive. Each fake positive goes in the statistics as a ‘case’ no matter how ludicrously inaccurate and the

'cases' drive lockdown, masks and the pressure to 'vaccinate'. The government said in response to the email leak that the 'tests' were accurate which confirmed yet again what shocking bloody liars they are. The real false positive rate is *100 percent* as we'll see. In another 'you couldn't make it up' the UK government agreed to pay £2.8 billion to California's Innova Medical Group to supply the irrelevant lateral flow tests. The company's primary test-making centre is in China. Innova Medical Group, established in March, 2020, is owned by Pasaca Capital Inc, chaired by Chinese-American millionaire Charles Huang who was born in Wuhan.

How it works – and how it doesn't

The RT-PCR test, known by its full title of Polymerase chain reaction, is used across the world to make millions, even billions, of copies of a DNA/RNA genetic information sample. The process is called 'amplification' and means that a tiny sample of genetic material is amplified to bring out the detailed content. I stress that it is not testing for an infectious disease. It is simply amplifying a sample of genetic material. In the words of Kary Mullis: 'PCR is ... just a process that's used to make a whole lot of something out of something.' To emphasise the point companies that make the PCR tests circulated around the world to 'test' for 'Covid' warn on the box that it can't be used to detect 'Covid' or infectious disease and is for research purposes only. It's okay, rest for a minute and you'll be fine. This is the test that produces the 'cases' and 'deaths' that have been used to destroy human society. All those global and national medical and scientific 'experts' demanding this destruction to 'save us' KNOW that the test is not testing for the 'virus' and the cases and deaths they claim to be real are an almost unimaginable fraud. Every one of them and so many others including politicians and psychopaths like Gates and Tedros must be brought before Nuremberg-type trials and jailed for the rest of their lives. The more the genetic sample is amplified by PCR the more elements of that material become sensitive to the test and by that I don't mean sensitive for a 'virus' but for elements of the genetic material which

is naturally in the body or relates to remnants of old conditions of various kinds lying dormant and causing no disease. Once the amplification of the PCR reaches a certain level *everyone* will test positive. So much of the material has been made sensitive to the test that everyone will have some part of it in their body. Even lying criminals like Fauci have said that once PCR amplifications pass 35 cycles everything will be a false positive that cannot be trusted for the reasons I have described. I say, like many proper doctors and scientists, that 100 percent of the ‘positives’ are false, but let’s just go with Fauci for a moment.

He says that any amplification over 35 cycles will produce false positives and yet the US Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and Food and Drug Administration (FDA) have recommended up to 40 cycles and the National Health Service (NHS) in Britain admitted in an internal document for staff that it was using 45 cycles of amplification. A long list of other countries has been doing the same and at least one ‘testing’ laboratory has been using 50 cycles. Have you ever heard a doctor, medical ‘expert’ or the media ask what level of amplification has been used to claim a ‘positive’. The ‘test’ comes back ‘positive’ and so you have the ‘virus’, end of story. Now we can see how the government in Tanzania could send off samples from a goat and a pawpaw fruit under human names and both came back positive for ‘Covid-19’. Tanzania president John Magufuli mocked the ‘Covid’ hysteria, the PCR test and masks and refused to import the DNA-manipulating ‘vaccine’. The Cult hated him and an article sponsored by the Bill Gates Foundation appeared in the London *Guardian* in February, 2021, headed ‘It’s time for Africa to rein in Tanzania’s anti-vaxxer president’. Well, ‘reined in’ he shortly was. Magufuli appeared in good health, but then, in March, 2021, he was dead at 61 from ‘heart failure’. He was replaced by Samia Hassan Suhulu who is connected to Klaus Schwab’s World Economic Forum and she immediately reversed Magufuli’s ‘Covid’ policy. A sample of cola tested positive for ‘Covid’ with the PCR test in Germany while American actress and singer-songwriter Erykah Badu tested positive in one nostril and negative in the other. Footballer Ronaldo called

the PCR test ‘bullshit’ after testing positive three times and being forced to quarantine and miss matches when there was nothing wrong with him. The mantra from Tedros at the World Health Organization and national governments (same thing) has been test, test, test. They know that the more tests they can generate the more fake ‘cases’ they have which go on to become ‘deaths’ in ways I am coming to. The UK government has its Operation Moonshot planned to test multiple millions every day in workplaces and schools with free tests for everyone to use twice a week at home in line with the Cult plan from the start to make testing part of life. A government advertisement for an ‘Interim Head of Asymptomatic Testing Communication’ said the job included responsibility for delivering a ‘communications strategy’ (propaganda) ‘to support the expansion of asymptomatic testing that *“normalises testing as part of everyday life”*. More tests means more fake ‘cases’, ‘deaths’ and fascism. I have heard of, and from, many people who booked a test, couldn’t turn up, and yet got a positive result through the post for a test they’d never even had. The whole thing is crazy, but for the Cult there’s method in the madness. Controlling and manipulating the level of amplification of the test means the authorities can control whenever they want the number of apparent ‘cases’ and ‘deaths’. If they want to justify more fascist lockdown and destruction of livelihoods they keep the amplification high. If they want to give the illusion that lockdowns and the ‘vaccine’ are working then they lower the amplification and ‘cases’ and ‘deaths’ will appear to fall. In January, 2021, the Cult-owned World Health Organization suddenly warned laboratories about over-amplification of the test and to lower the threshold. Suddenly headlines began appearing such as: ‘Why ARE “Covid” cases plummeting?’ This was just when the vaccine rollout was underway and I had predicted months before they would make cases appear to fall through amplification tampering when the ‘vaccine’ came. These people are so predictable.

Cow vaccines?

The question must be asked of what is on the test swabs being poked far up the nose of the population to the base of the brain? A nasal swab punctured one woman's brain and caused it to leak fluid. Most of these procedures are being done by people with little training or medical knowledge. Dr Lorraine Day, former orthopaedic trauma surgeon and Chief of Orthopaedic Surgery at San Francisco General Hospital, says the tests are really a '*vaccine*'. Cows have long been vaccinated this way. She points out that masks have to cover the nose and the mouth where it is claimed the 'virus' exists in saliva. Why then don't they take saliva from the mouth as they do with a DNA test instead of pushing a long swab up the nose towards the brain? The ethmoid bone separates the nasal cavity from the brain and within that bone is the cribriform plate. Dr Day says that when the swab is pushed up against this plate and twisted the procedure is 'depositing things back there'. She claims that among these 'things' are nanoparticles that can enter the brain. Researchers have noted that a team at the Gates-funded Johns Hopkins have designed tiny, star-shaped micro-devices that can latch onto intestinal mucosa and release drugs into the body. Mucosa is the thin skin that covers the inside surface of parts of the body such as *the nose* and mouth and produces mucus to protect them. The Johns Hopkins micro-devices are called 'theragrippers' and were 'inspired' by a parasitic worm that digs its sharp teeth into a host's intestines. Nasal swabs are also coated in the sterilisation agent ethylene oxide. The US National Cancer Institute posts this explanation on its website:

At room temperature, ethylene oxide is a flammable colorless gas with a sweet odor. It is used primarily to produce other chemicals, including antifreeze. In smaller amounts, ethylene oxide is used as a pesticide and a sterilizing agent. The ability of ethylene oxide to damage DNA makes it an effective sterilizing agent but also accounts for its cancer-causing activity.

The Institute mentions lymphoma and leukaemia as cancers most frequently reported to be associated with occupational exposure to ethylene oxide along with stomach and breast cancers. How does anyone think this is going to work out with the constant testing

regime being inflicted on adults and children at home and at school that will accumulate in the body anything that's on the swab?

Doctors know best

It is vital for people to realise that 'hero' doctors 'know' only what the Big Pharma-dominated medical authorities tell them to 'know' and if they refuse to 'know' what they are told to 'know' they are out the door. They are mostly not physicians or healers, but repeaters of the official narrative – or else. I have seen alleged professional doctors on British television make shocking statements that we are supposed to take seriously. One called 'Dr' Amir Khan, who is actually telling patients how to respond to illness, said that men could take the birth pill to 'help slow down the effects of Covid-19'. In March, 2021, another ridiculous 'Covid study' by an American doctor proposed injecting men with the female sex hormone progesterone as a 'Covid' treatment. British doctor Nighat Arif told the BBC that face coverings were now going to be part of ongoing normal. Yes, the vaccine protects you, she said (evidence?) ... but the way to deal with viruses in the community was always going to come down to hand washing, face covering and keeping a physical distance. That's not what we were told before the 'vaccine' was circulating. Arif said she couldn't imagine ever again going on the underground or in a lift without a mask. I was just thanking my good luck that she was not my doctor when she said – in March, 2021 – that if 'we are *behaving* and we are doing all the right things' she thought we could 'have our nearest and dearest around us at home ... around *Christmas* and *New Year!*' Her patronising delivery was the usual school teacher talking to six-year-olds as she repeated every government talking point and probably believed them all. If we have learned anything from the 'Covid' experience surely it must be that humanity's perception of doctors needs a fundamental rethink. NHS 'doctor' Sara Kayat told her television audience that the 'Covid vaccine' would '100 percent prevent hospitalisation and death'. Not even Big Pharma claimed that. We have to stop taking 'experts' at their word without question when so many of them are

clueless and only repeating the party line on which their careers depend. That is not to say there are not brilliant doctors – there are and I have spoken to many of them since all this began – but you won't see them in the mainstream media or quoted by the psychopaths and yes-people in government.

Remember the name – Christian Drosten

German virologist Christian Drosten, Director of Charité Institute of Virology in Berlin, became a national star after the pandemic hoax began. He was feted on television and advised the German government on 'Covid' policy. Most importantly to the wider world Drosten led a group that produced the 'Covid' testing protocol for the PCR test. What a remarkable feat given the PCR cannot test for infectious disease and even more so when you think that Drosten said that his method of testing for SARS-CoV-2 was developed 'without having virus material available'. *He developed a test for a 'virus' that he didn't have and had never seen.* Let that sink in as you survey the global devastation that came from what he did. The whole catastrophe of Drosten's 'test' was based on the alleged genetic sequence published by Chinese scientists on the Internet. We will see in the next chapter that this alleged 'genetic sequence' has never been produced by China or anyone and cannot be when there is no SARS-CoV-2. Drosten, however, doesn't seem to let little details like that get in the way. He was the lead author with Victor Corman from the same Charité Hospital of the paper 'Detection of 2019 novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV) by real-time PCR' published in a magazine called *Eurosurveillance*. This became known as the Corman-Drosten paper. In November, 2020, with human society devastated by the effects of the Corman-Drosten test baloney, the protocol was publicly challenged by 22 international scientists and independent researchers from Europe, the United States, and Japan. Among them were senior molecular geneticists, biochemists, immunologists, and microbiologists. They produced a document headed 'External peer review of the RTPCR test to detect SARS-Cov-2 Reveals 10 Major Flaws At The Molecular and Methodological Level: Consequences

For False-Positive Results'. The flaws in the Corman-Drosten test included the following:

- The test is non-specific because of erroneous design
- Results are enormously variable
- The test is unable to discriminate between the whole 'virus' and viral fragments
- It doesn't have positive or negative controls
- The test lacks a standard operating procedure
- It is unsupported by proper peer view

The scientists said the PCR 'Covid' testing protocol was not founded on science and they demanded the Corman-Drosten paper be retracted by *Eurosurveillance*. They said all present and previous Covid deaths, cases, and 'infection rates' should be subject to a massive retroactive inquiry. Lockdowns and travel restrictions should be reviewed and relaxed and those diagnosed through PCR to have 'Covid-19' should not be forced to isolate. Dr Kevin Corbett, a health researcher and nurse educator with a long academic career producing a stream of peer-reviewed publications at many UK universities, made the same point about the PCR test debacle. He said of the scientists' conclusions: 'Every scientific rationale for the development of that test has been totally destroyed by this paper. It's like Hiroshima/Nagasaki to the Covid test.' He said that China hadn't given them an isolated 'virus' when Drosten developed the test. Instead they had developed the test from *a sequence in a gene bank.*' Put another way ... *they made it up!* The scientists were supported in this contention by a Portuguese appeals court which ruled in November, 2020, that PCR tests are unreliable and it is unlawful to quarantine people based solely on a PCR test. The point about China not providing an isolated virus must be true when the 'virus' has never been isolated to this day and the consequences of that will become clear. Drosten and company produced this useless 'protocol' right on cue in January, 2020, just as the 'virus' was said to

be moving westward and it somehow managed to successfully pass a peer-review in 24 hours. In other words there was no peer-review for a test that would be used to decide who had 'Covid' and who didn't across the world. The Cult-created, Gates-controlled World Health Organization immediately recommended all its nearly 200 member countries to use the Drosten PCR protocol to detect 'cases' and 'deaths'. The sting was underway and it continues to this day.

So who is this Christian Drosten that produced the means through which death, destruction and economic catastrophe would be justified? His education background, including his doctoral thesis, would appear to be somewhat shrouded in mystery and his track record is dire as with another essential player in the 'Covid' hoax, the Gates-funded Professor Neil Ferguson at the Gates-funded Imperial College in London of whom more shortly. Drosten predicted in 2003 that the alleged original SARS 'virus' (SARS-1') was an epidemic that could have serious effects on economies and an effective vaccine would take at least two years to produce. Drosten's answer to every alleged 'outbreak' is a vaccine which you won't be shocked to know. What followed were just 774 official deaths worldwide and none in Germany where there were only nine cases. That is even if you believe there ever was a SARS 'virus' when the evidence is zilch and I will expand on this in the next chapter. Drosten claims to be co-discoverer of 'SARS-1' and developed a test for it in 2003. He was screaming warnings about 'swine flu' in 2009 and how it was a widespread infection far more severe than any dangers from a vaccine could be and people should get vaccinated. It would be helpful for Drosten's vocal chords if he simply recorded the words 'the virus is deadly and you need to get vaccinated' and copies could be handed out whenever the latest made-up threat comes along. Drosten's swine flu epidemic never happened, but Big Pharma didn't mind with governments spending hundreds of millions on vaccines that hardly anyone bothered to use and many who did wished they hadn't. A study in 2010 revealed that the risk of dying from swine flu, or H1N1, was no higher than that of the annual seasonal flu which is what at least most of 'it' really was as in

the case of 'Covid-19'. A media investigation into Drosten asked how with such a record of inaccuracy he could be *the* government adviser on these issues. The answer to that question is the same with Drosten, Ferguson and Fauci – they keep on giving the authorities the 'conclusions' and 'advice' they want to hear. Drosten certainly produced the goods for them in January, 2020, with his PCR protocol garbage and provided the foundation of what German internal medicine specialist Dr Claus Köhnlein, co-author of *Virus Mania*, called the 'test pandemic'. The 22 scientists in the *Eurosurveillance* challenge called out conflicts of interest within the Drosten 'protocol' group and with good reason. Olfert Landt, a regular co-author of Drosten 'studies', owns the biotech company TIB Molbiol Syntheselabor GmbH in Berlin which manufactures and sells the tests that Drosten and his mates come up with. They have done this with SARS, Enterotoxigenic E. coli (ETEC), MERS, Zika 'virus', yellow fever, and now 'Covid'. Landt told the *Berliner Zeitung* newspaper:

The testing, design and development came from the Charité [Drosten and Corman]. We simply implemented it immediately in the form of a kit. And if we don't have the virus, which originally only existed in Wuhan, we can make a synthetic gene to simulate the genome of the virus. That's what we did very quickly.

This is more confirmation that the Drosten test was designed without access to the 'virus' and only a synthetic simulation which is what SARS-CoV-2 really is – a computer-generated synthetic fiction. It's quite an enterprise they have going here. A Drosten team decides what the test for something should be and Landt's biotech company flogs it to governments and medical systems across the world. His company must have made an absolute fortune since the 'Covid' hoax began. Dr Reiner Fuellmich, a prominent German consumer protection trial lawyer in Germany and California, is on Drosten's case and that of Tedros at the World Health Organization for crimes against humanity with a class-action lawsuit being prepared in the United States and other legal action in Germany.

Why China?

Scamming the world with a ‘virus’ that doesn’t exist would seem impossible on the face of it, but not if you have control of the relatively few people that make policy decisions and the great majority of the global media. Remember it’s not about changing ‘real’ reality it’s about controlling *perception* of reality. You don’t have to make something happen you only have to make people *believe* that it’s happening. Renegade Minds understand this and are therefore much harder to swindle. ‘Covid-19’ is not a ‘real’ ‘virus’. It’s a mind virus, like a computer virus, which has infected the minds, not the bodies, of billions. It all started, publically at least, in China and that alone is of central significance. The Cult was behind the revolution led by its asset Mao Zedong, or Chairman Mao, which established the People’s Republic of China on October 1st, 1949. It should have been called The Cult’s Republic of China, but the name had to reflect the recurring illusion that vicious dictatorships are run by and for the people (see all the ‘Democratic Republics’ controlled by tyrants). In the same way we have the ‘Biden’ Democratic Republic of America officially ruled by a puppet tyrant (at least temporarily) on behalf of Cult tyrants. The creation of Mao’s merciless communist/fascist dictatorship was part of a frenzy of activity by the Cult at the conclusion of World War Two which, like the First World War, it had instigated through its assets in Germany, Britain, France, the United States and elsewhere. Israel was formed in 1948; the Soviet Union expanded its ‘Iron Curtain’ control, influence and military power with the Warsaw Pact communist alliance in 1955; the United Nations was formed in 1945 as a Cult precursor to world government; and a long list of world bodies would be established including the World Health Organization (1948), World Trade Organization (1948 under another name until 1995), International Monetary Fund (1945) and World Bank (1944). Human society was redrawn and hugely centralised in the global Problem-Reaction-Solution that was World War Two. All these changes were significant. Israel would become the headquarters of the Sabbatians

and the revolution in China would prepare the ground and control system for the events of 2019/2020.

Renegade Minds know there are no borders except for public consumption. The Cult is a seamless, borderless global entity and to understand the game we need to put aside labels like borders, nations, countries, communism, fascism and democracy. These delude the population into believing that countries are ruled within their borders by a government of whatever shade when these are mere agencies of a global power. America's illusion of democracy and China's communism/fascism are subsidiaries – vehicles – for the same agenda. We may hear about conflict and competition between America and China and on the lower levels that will be true; but at the Cult level they are branches of the same company in the way of the McDonald's example I gave earlier. I have tracked in the books over the years support by US governments of both parties for Chinese Communist Party infiltration of American society through allowing the sale of land, even military facilities, and the acquisition of American business and university influence. All this is underpinned by the infamous stealing of intellectual property and technological know-how. Cult-owned Silicon Valley corporations waive their fraudulent 'morality' to do business with human-rights-free China; Cult-controlled Disney has become China's PR department; and China in effect owns 'American' sports such as basketball which depends for much of its income on Chinese audiences. As a result any sports player, coach or official speaking out against China's horrific human rights record is immediately condemned or fired by the China-worshipping National Basketball Association. One of the first acts of China-controlled Biden was to issue an executive order telling federal agencies to stop making references to the 'virus' by the 'geographic location of its origin'. Long-time Congressman Jerry Nadler warned that criticising China, America's biggest rival, leads to hate crimes against Asian people in the United States. So shut up you bigot. China is fast closing in on Israel as a country that must not be criticised which is apt, really, given that Sabbatians control them both. The two countries have

developed close economic, military, technological and strategic ties which include involvement in China's 'Silk Road' transport and economic initiative to connect China with Europe. Israel was the first country in the Middle East to recognise the establishment of Mao's tyranny in 1950 months after it was established.

Project Wuhan – the 'Covid' Psyop

I emphasise again that the Cult plays the long game and what is happening to the world today is the result of centuries of calculated manipulation following a script to take control step-by-step of every aspect of human society. I will discuss later the common force behind all this that has spanned those centuries and thousands of years if the truth be told. Instigating the Mao revolution in China in 1949 with a 2020 'pandemic' in mind is not only how they work – the 71 years between them is really quite short by the Cult's standards of manipulation preparation. The reason for the Cult's Chinese revolution was to create a fiercely-controlled environment within which an extreme structure for human control could be incubated to eventually be unleashed across the world. We have seen this happen since the 'pandemic' emerged from China with the Chinese control-structure founded on AI technology and tyrannical enforcement sweep across the West. Until the moment when the Cult went for broke in the West and put its fascism on public display Western governments had to pay some lip-service to freedom and democracy to not alert too many people to the tyranny-in-the-making. Freedoms were more subtly eroded and power centralised with covert government structures put in place waiting for the arrival of 2020 when that smokescreen of 'freedom' could be dispensed with. The West was not able to move towards tyranny before 2020 anything like as fast as China which was created as a tyranny and had no limits on how fast it could construct the Cult's blueprint for global control. When the time came to impose that structure on the world it was the same Cult-owned Chinese communist/fascist government that provided the excuse – the 'Covid pandemic'. It was absolutely crucial to the Cult plan for the Chinese response to the 'pandemic' –

draconian lockdowns of the entire population – to become the blueprint that Western countries would follow to destroy the livelihoods and freedom of their people. This is why the Cult-owned, Gates-owned, WHO Director-General Tedros said early on:

The Chinese government is to be congratulated for the extraordinary measures it has taken to contain the outbreak. China is actually setting a new standard for outbreak response and it is not an exaggeration.

Forbes magazine said of China: ‘... those measures protected untold millions from getting the disease’. The Rockefeller Foundation ‘epidemic scenario’ document in 2010 said ‘prophetically’:

However, a few countries did fare better – China in particular. The Chinese government’s quick imposition and enforcement of mandatory quarantine for all citizens, as well as its instant and near-hermetic sealing off of all borders, saved millions of lives, stopping the spread of the virus far earlier than in other countries and enabling a swifter post-pandemic recovery.

Once again – *spooky*.

The first official story was the ‘bat theory’ or rather the bat diversion. The source of the ‘virus outbreak’ we were told was a “wet market” in Wuhan where bats and other animals are bought and eaten in horrifically unhygienic conditions. Then another story emerged through the alternative media that the ‘virus’ had been released on purpose or by accident from a BSL-4 (biosafety level 4) laboratory in Wuhan not far from the wet market. The lab was reported to create and work with lethal concoctions and bioweapons. Biosafety level 4 is the highest in the World Health Organization system of safety and containment. Renegade Minds are aware of what I call designer manipulation. The ideal for the Cult is for people to buy its prime narrative which in the opening salvos of the ‘pandemic’ was the wet market story. It knows, however, that there is now a considerable worldwide alternative media of researchers sceptical of anything governments say and they are often given a version of events in a form they can perceive as credible while misdirecting them from the real truth. In this case let them

think that the conspiracy involved is a ‘bioweapon virus’ released from the Wuhan lab to keep them from the real conspiracy – *there is no ‘virus’*. The WHO’s current position on the source of the outbreak at the time of writing appears to be: ‘We haven’t got a clue, mate.’ This is a good position to maintain mystery and bewilderment. The inner circle will know where the ‘virus’ came from – *nowhere*. The bottom line was to ensure the public believed there *was* a ‘virus’ and it didn’t much matter if they thought it was natural or had been released from a lab. The belief that there was a ‘deadly virus’ was all that was needed to trigger global panic and fear. The population was terrified into handing their power to authority and doing what they were told. They had to or they were ‘all gonna die’.

In March, 2020, information began to come my way from real doctors and scientists and my own additional research which had my intuition screaming: ‘Yes, that’s it! *There is no virus.*’ The ‘bioweapon’ was not the ‘virus’; it was the ‘vaccine’ already being talked about that would be the bioweapon. My conclusion was further enhanced by happenings in Wuhan. The ‘virus’ was said to be sweeping the city and news footage circulated of people collapsing in the street (which they’ve never done in the West with the same ‘virus’). The Chinese government was building ‘new hospitals’ in a matter of ten days to ‘cope with demand’ such was the virulent nature of the ‘virus’. Yet in what seemed like no time the ‘new hospitals’ closed – even if they even opened – and China declared itself ‘virus-free’. It was back to business as usual. This was more propaganda to promote the Chinese draconian lockdowns in the West as the way to ‘beat the virus’. Trouble was that we subsequently had lockdown after lockdown, but never business as usual. As the people of the West and most of the rest of the world were caught in an ever-worsening spiral of lockdown, social distancing, masks, isolated old people, families forced apart, and livelihood destruction, it was party-time in Wuhan. Pictures emerged of thousands of people enjoying pool parties and concerts. It made no sense until you realised there never was a ‘virus’ and the

whole thing was a Cult set-up to transform human society out of one its major global strongholds – China.

How is it possible to deceive virtually the entire world population into believing there is a deadly virus when there is not even a ‘virus’ let alone a deadly one? It’s nothing like as difficult as you would think and that’s clearly true because it happened.

Postscript: See end of book Postscript for more on the ‘Wuhan lab virus release’ story which the authorities and media were pushing heavily in the summer of 2021 to divert attention from the truth that the ‘Covid virus’ is pure invention.

CHAPTER FIVE

There is no ‘virus’

You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time

Abraham Lincoln

The greatest form of mind control is repetition. The more you repeat the same mantra of alleged ‘facts’ the more will accept them to be true. It becomes an ‘everyone knows that, mate’. If you can also censor any other version or alternative to your alleged ‘facts’ you are pretty much home and cooking.

By the start of 2020 the Cult owned the global mainstream media almost in its entirety to spew out its ‘Covid’ propaganda and ignore or discredit any other information and view. Cult-owned social media platforms in Cult-owned Silicon Valley were poised and ready to unleash a campaign of ferocious censorship to obliterate all but the official narrative. To complete the circle many demands for censorship by Silicon Valley were led by the mainstream media as ‘journalists’ became full-out enforcers for the Cult both as propagandists and censors. Part of this has been the influx of young people straight out of university who have become ‘journalists’ in significant positions. They have no experience and a headful of programmed perceptions from their years at school and university at a time when today’s young are the most perceptually-targeted generations in known human history given the insidious impact of technology. They enter the media perceptually prepared and ready to repeat the narratives of the system that programmed them to

repeat its narratives. The BBC has a truly pathetic ‘specialist disinformation reporter’ called Marianna Spring who fits this bill perfectly. She is clueless about the world, how it works and what is really going on. Her role is to discredit anyone doing the job that a proper journalist would do and system-serving hacks like Spring wouldn’t dare to do or even see the need to do. They are too busy licking the arse of authority which can never be wrong and, in the case of the BBC propaganda programme, *Panorama*, contacting payments systems such as PayPal to have a donations page taken down for a film company making documentaries questioning vaccines. Even the BBC soap opera *EastEnders* included a disgracefully biased scene in which an inarticulate white working class woman was made to look foolish for questioning the ‘vaccine’ while a well-spoken black man and Asian woman promoted the government narrative. It ticked every BBC box and the fact that the black and minority community was resisting the ‘vaccine’ had nothing to do with the way the scene was written. The BBC has become a disgusting tyrannical propaganda and censorship operation that should be defunded and disbanded and a free media take its place with a brief to stop censorship instead of demanding it. A BBC ‘interview’ with Gates goes something like: ‘Mr Gates, sir, if I can call you sir, would you like to tell our audience why you are such a great man, a wonderful humanitarian philanthropist, and why you should absolutely be allowed as a software salesman to decide health policy for approaching eight billion people? Thank you, sir, please sir.’ Propaganda programming has been incessant and merciless and when all you hear is the same story from the media, repeated by those around you who have only heard the same story, is it any wonder that people on a grand scale believe absolute mendacious garbage to be true? You are about to see, too, why this level of information control is necessary when the official ‘Covid’ narrative is so nonsensical and unsupportable by the evidence.

Structure of Deceit

The pyramid structure through which the ‘Covid’ hoax has been manifested is very simple and has to be to work. As few people as possible have to be involved with full knowledge of what they are doing – and why – or the real story would get out. At the top of the pyramid are the inner core of the Cult which controls Bill Gates who, in turn, controls the World Health Organization through his pivotal funding and his puppet Director-General mouthpiece, Tedros.

Before he was appointed Tedros was chair of the Gates-founded Global Fund to ‘fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria’, a board member of the Gates-funded ‘vaccine alliance’ GAVI, and on the board of another Gates-funded organisation. Gates owns him and picked him for a specific reason – Tedros is a crook and worse. ‘Dr’ Tedros (he’s not a medical doctor, the first WHO chief not to be) was a member of the tyrannical Marxist government of Ethiopia for decades with all its human rights abuses. He has faced allegations of corruption and misappropriation of funds and was exposed three times for covering up cholera epidemics while Ethiopia’s health minister. Tedros appointed the mass-murdering genocidal Zimbabwe dictator Robert Mugabe as a WHO goodwill ambassador for public health which, as with Tedros, is like appointing a psychopath to run a peace and love campaign. The move was so ridiculous that he had to drop Mugabe in the face of widespread condemnation. American economist David Steinman, a Nobel peace prize nominee, lodged a complaint with the International Criminal Court in The Hague over alleged genocide by Tedros when he was Ethiopia’s foreign minister. Steinman says Tedros was a ‘crucial decision maker’ who directed the actions of Ethiopia’s security forces from 2013 to 2015 and one of three officials in charge when those security services embarked on the ‘killing’ and ‘torturing’ of Ethiopians. You can see where Tedros is coming from and it’s sobering to think that he has been the vehicle for Gates and the Cult to direct the global response to ‘Covid’. Think about that. A psychopathic Cult dictates to psychopath Gates who dictates to psychopath Tedros who dictates how countries of the world must respond to a ‘Covid virus’ never scientifically shown to exist. At the same time psychopathic Cult-owned Silicon Valley information

giants like Google, YouTube, Facebook and Twitter announced very early on that they would give the Cult/Gates/Tedros/WHO version of the narrative free advertising and censor those who challenged their intelligence-insulting, mendacious story.

The next layer in the global ‘medical’ structure below the Cult, Gates and Tedros are the chief medical officers and science ‘advisers’ in each of the WHO member countries which means virtually all of them. Medical officers and arbiters of science (they’re not) then take the WHO policy and recommended responses and impose them on their country’s population while the political ‘leaders’ say they are deciding policy (they’re clearly not) by ‘following the science’ on the advice of the ‘experts’ – the same medical officers and science ‘advisers’ (dictators). In this way with the rarest of exceptions the entire world followed the same policy of lockdown, people distancing, masks and ‘vaccines’ dictated by the psychopathic Cult, psychopathic Gates and psychopathic Tedros who we are supposed to believe give a damn about the health of the world population they are seeking to enslave. That, amazingly, is all there is to it in terms of crucial decision-making. Medical staff in each country then follow like sheep the dictates of the shepherds at the top of the national medical hierarchies – chief medical officers and science ‘advisers’ who themselves follow like sheep the shepherds of the World Health Organization and the Cult. Shepherds at the national level often have major funding and other connections to Gates and his Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation which carefully hands out money like confetti at a wedding to control the entire global medical system from the WHO down.

Follow the money

Christopher Whitty, Chief Medical Adviser to the UK Government at the centre of ‘virus’ policy, a senior adviser to the government’s Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE), and Executive Board member of the World Health Organization, was gifted a grant of \$40 million by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation for malaria research in Africa. The BBC described the unelected Whitty as ‘the

official who will probably have the greatest impact on our everyday lives of any individual policymaker in modern times' and so it turned out. What Gates and Tedros have said Whitty has done like his equivalents around the world. Patrick Vallance, co-chair of SAGE and the government's Chief Scientific Adviser, is a former executive of Big Pharma giant GlaxoSmithKline with its fundamental financial and business connections to Bill Gates. In September, 2020, it was revealed that Vallance owned a deferred bonus of shares in GlaxoSmithKline worth £600,000 while the company was 'developing' a 'Covid vaccine'. Move along now – nothing to see here – what could possibly be wrong with that? Imperial College in London, a major player in 'Covid' policy in Britain and elsewhere with its 'Covid-19' Response Team, is funded by Gates and has big connections to China while the now infamous Professor Neil Ferguson, the useless 'computer modeller' at Imperial College is also funded by Gates. Ferguson delivered the dramatically inaccurate excuse for the first lockdowns (much more in the next chapter). The Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME) in the United States, another source of outrageously false 'Covid' computer models to justify lockdowns, is bankrolled by Gates who is a vehement promotor of lockdowns. America's version of Whitty and Vallance, the again now infamous Anthony Fauci, has connections to 'Covid vaccine' maker Moderna as does Bill Gates through funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Fauci is director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), a major recipient of Gates money, and they are very close. Deborah Birx who was appointed White House Coronavirus Response Coordinator in February, 2020, is yet another with ties to Gates. Everywhere you look at the different elements around the world behind the coordination and decision making of the 'Covid' hoax there is Bill Gates and his money. They include the World Health Organization; Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in the United States; National Institutes of Health (NIH) of Anthony Fauci; Imperial College and Neil Ferguson; the London School of Hygiene where Chris Whitty worked; Regulatory agencies like the UK Medicines & Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA)

which gave emergency approval for ‘Covid vaccines’; Wellcome Trust; GAVI, the Vaccine Alliance; the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI); Johns Hopkins University which has compiled the false ‘Covid’ figures; and the World Economic Forum. A [Nationalfile.com](#) article said:

Gates has a lot of pull in the medical world, he has a multi-million dollar relationship with Dr. Fauci, and Fauci originally took the Gates line supporting vaccines and casting doubt on [the drug hydroxychloroquine]. Coronavirus response team member Dr. Deborah Birx, appointed by former president Obama to serve as United States Global AIDS Coordinator, also sits on the board of a group that has received billions from Gates’ foundation, and Birx reportedly used a disputed Bill Gates-funded model for the White House’s Coronavirus effort. Gates is a big proponent for a population lockdown scenario for the Coronavirus outbreak.

Another funder of Moderna is the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the technology-development arm of the Pentagon and one of the most sinister organisations on earth. DARPA had a major role with the CIA covert technology-funding operation In-Q-Tel in the development of Google and social media which is now at the centre of global censorship. Fauci and Gates are extremely close and openly admit to talking regularly about ‘Covid’ policy, but then why wouldn’t Gates have a seat at every national ‘Covid’ table after his Foundation committed \$1.75 billion to the ‘fight against Covid-19’. When passed through our Orwellian Translation Unit this means that he has bought and paid for the Cult-driven ‘Covid’ response worldwide. Research the major ‘Covid’ response personnel in your own country and you will find the same Gates funding and other connections again and again. Medical and science chiefs following World Health Organization ‘policy’ sit atop a medical hierarchy in their country of administrators, doctors and nursing staff. These ‘subordinates’ are told they must work and behave in accordance with the policy delivered from the ‘top’ of the national ‘health’ pyramid which is largely the policy delivered by the WHO which is the policy delivered by Gates and the Cult. The whole ‘Covid’ narrative has been imposed on medical staff by a climate of fear although great numbers don’t even need that to comply. They do so through breathtaking levels of ignorance and

include doctors who go through life simply repeating what Big Pharma and their hierarchical masters tell them to say and believe. No wonder Big Pharma ‘medicine’ is one of the biggest killers on Planet Earth.

The same top-down system of intimidation operates with regard to the Cult Big Pharma cartel which also dictates policy through national and global medical systems in this way. The Cult and Big Pharma agendas are the same because the former controls and owns the latter. ‘Health’ administrators, doctors, and nursing staff are told to support and parrot the dictated policy or they will face consequences which can include being fired. How sad it’s been to see medical staff meekly repeating and imposing Cult policy without question and most of those who can see through the deceit are only willing to speak anonymously off the record. They know what will happen if their identity is known. This has left the courageous few to expose the lies about the ‘virus’, face masks, overwhelmed hospitals that aren’t, and the dangers of the ‘vaccine’ that isn’t a vaccine. When these medical professionals and scientists, some renowned in their field, have taken to the Internet to expose the truth their articles, comments and videos have been deleted by Cult-owned Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. What a real head-shaker to see YouTube videos with leading world scientists and highly qualified medical specialists with an added link underneath to the notorious Cult propaganda website *Wikipedia* to find the ‘facts’ about the same subject.

HIV – the ‘Covid’ trial-run

I’ll give you an example of the consequences for health and truth that come from censorship and unquestioning belief in official narratives. The story was told by PCR inventor Kary Mullis in his book *Dancing Naked in the Mind Field*. He said that in 1984 he accepted as just another scientific fact that Luc Montagnier of France’s Pasteur Institute and Robert Gallo of America’s National Institutes of Health had independently discovered that a ‘retrovirus’ dubbed HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) caused AIDS. They

were, after all, Mullis writes, specialists in retroviruses. This is how the medical and science pyramids work. Something is announced or *assumed* and then becomes an everybody-knows-that purely through repetition of the assumption as if it is fact. Complete crap becomes accepted truth with no supporting evidence and only repetition of the crap. This is how a 'virus' that doesn't exist became the 'virus' that changed the world. The HIV-AIDS fairy story became a multi-billion pound industry and the media poured out propaganda terrifying the world about the deadly HIV 'virus' that caused the lethal AIDS. By then Mullis was working at a lab in Santa Monica, California, to detect retroviruses with his PCR test in blood donations received by the Red Cross. In doing so he asked a virologist where he could find a reference for HIV being the cause of AIDS. 'You don't need a reference,' the virologist said ... '*Everybody knows it.*' Mullis said he wanted to quote a reference in the report he was doing and he said he felt a little funny about not knowing the source of such an important discovery when everyone else seemed to. The virologist suggested he cite a report by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) on morbidity and mortality. Mullis read the report, but it only said that an organism had been identified and did not say how. The report did not identify the original scientific work. Physicians, however, *assumed* (key recurring theme) that if the CDC was convinced that HIV caused AIDS then proof must exist. Mullis continues:

I did computer searches. Neither Montagnier, Gallo, nor anyone else had published papers describing experiments which led to the conclusion that HIV probably caused AIDS. I read the papers in Science for which they had become well known as AIDS doctors, but all they had said there was that they had found evidence of a past infection by something which was probably HIV in some AIDS patients.

They found antibodies. Antibodies to viruses had always been considered evidence of past disease, not present disease. Antibodies signaled that the virus had been defeated. The patient had saved himself. There was no indication in these papers that this virus caused a disease. They didn't show that everybody with the antibodies had the disease. In fact they found some healthy people with antibodies.

Mullis asked why their work had been published if Montagnier and Gallo hadn't really found this evidence, and why had they been fighting so hard to get credit for the discovery? He says he was hesitant to write 'HIV is the probable cause of AIDS' until he found published evidence to support that. 'Tens of thousands of scientists and researchers were spending billions of dollars a year doing research based on this idea,' Mullis writes. 'The reason had to be there somewhere; otherwise these people would not have allowed their research to settle into one narrow channel of investigation.' He said he lectured about PCR at numerous meetings where people were always talking about HIV and he asked them how they knew that HIV was the cause of AIDS:

Everyone said something. Everyone had the answer at home, in the office, in some drawer. They all knew, and they would send me the papers as soon as they got back. But I never got any papers. Nobody ever sent me the news about how AIDS was caused by HIV.

Eventually Mullis was able to ask Montagnier himself about the reference proof when he lectured in San Diego at the grand opening of the University of California AIDS Research Center. Mullis says this was the last time he would ask his question without showing anger. Montagnier said he should reference the CDC report. 'I read it', Mullis said, and it didn't answer the question. 'If Montagnier didn't know the answer who the hell did?' Then one night Mullis was driving when an interview came on National Public Radio with Peter Duesberg, a prominent virologist at Berkeley and a California Scientist of the Year. Mullis says he finally understood why he could not find references that connected HIV to AIDS – *there weren't any!* No one had ever proved that HIV causes AIDS even though it had spawned a multi-billion pound global industry and the media was repeating this as fact every day in their articles and broadcasts terrifying the shit out of people about AIDS and giving the impression that a positive test for HIV (see 'Covid') was a death sentence. Duesberg was a threat to the AIDS gravy train and the agenda that underpinned it. He was therefore abused and castigated after he told the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences

there was no good evidence implicating the new ‘virus’. Editors rejected his manuscripts and his research funds were deleted. Mullis points out that the CDC has defined AIDS as one of more than 30 diseases *if accompanied* by a positive result on a test that detects antibodies to HIV; but those same diseases are not defined as AIDS cases when antibodies are not detected:

If an HIV-positive woman develops uterine cancer, for example, she is considered to have AIDS. If she is not HIV positive, she simply has uterine cancer. An HIV-positive man with tuberculosis has AIDS; if he tests negative he simply has tuberculosis. If he lives in Kenya or Colombia, where the test for HIV antibodies is too expensive, he is simply presumed to have the antibodies and therefore AIDS, and therefore he can be treated in the World Health Organization’s clinic. It’s the only medical help available in some places. And it’s free, because the countries that support WHO are worried about AIDS.

Mullis accuses the CDC of continually adding new diseases (see ever more ‘Covid symptoms’) to the grand AIDS definition and of virtually doctoring the books to make it appear as if the disease continued to spread. He cites how in 1993 the CDC enormously broadened its AIDS definition and county health authorities were delighted because they received \$2,500 per year from the Federal government for every reported AIDS case. Ladies and gentlemen, I have just described, via Kary Mullis, the ‘Covid pandemic’ of 2020 and beyond. Every element is the same and it’s been pulled off in the same way by the same networks.

The ‘Covid virus’ exists? Okay – prove it. Er ... still waiting

What Kary Mullis described with regard to ‘HIV’ has been repeated with ‘Covid’. A claim is made that a new, or ‘novel’, infection has been found and the entire medical system of the world repeats that as fact exactly as they did with HIV and AIDS. No one in the mainstream asks rather relevant questions such as ‘How do you know?’ and ‘Where is your proof?’ The SARS-CoV-2 ‘virus’ and the ‘Covid-19 disease’ became an overnight ‘everybody-knows-that’. The origin could be debated and mulled over, but what you could not suggest was that ‘SARS-CoV-2’ didn’t exist. That would be

ridiculous. ‘Everybody knows’ the ‘virus’ exists. Well, I didn’t for one along with American proper doctors like Andrew Kaufman and Tom Cowan and long-time American proper journalist Jon Rappaport. We dared to pursue the obvious and simple question: ‘Where’s the evidence?’ The overwhelming majority in medicine, journalism and the general public did not think to ask that. After all, *everyone knew* there was a new ‘virus’. Everyone was saying so and I heard it on the BBC. Some would eventually argue that the ‘deadly virus’ was nothing like as deadly as claimed, but few would venture into the realms of its very existence. Had they done so they would have found that the evidence for that claim had gone AWOL as with HIV causes AIDS. In fact, not even that. For something to go AWOL it has to exist in the first place and scientific proof for a ‘SARS-Cov-2’ can be filed under nothing, nowhere and zilch.

Dr Andrew Kaufman is a board-certified forensic psychiatrist in New York State, a Doctor of Medicine and former Assistant Professor and Medical Director of Psychiatry at SUNY Upstate Medical University, and Medical Instructor of Hematology and Oncology at the Medical School of South Carolina. He also studied biology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and trained in Psychiatry at Duke University. Kaufman is retired from allopathic medicine, but remains a consultant and educator on natural healing, I saw a video of his very early on in the ‘Covid’ hoax in which he questioned claims about the ‘virus’ in the absence of any supporting evidence and with plenty pointing the other way. I did everything I could to circulate his work which I felt was asking the pivotal questions that needed an answer. I can recommend an excellent pull-together interview he did with the website The Last Vagabond entitled *Dr Andrew Kaufman: Virus Isolation, Terrain Theory and Covid-19* and his website is andrewkaufmanmd.com. Kaufman is not only a forensic psychiatrist; he is forensic in all that he does. He always reads original scientific papers, experiments and studies instead of second-third-fourth-hand reports about the ‘virus’ in the media which are repeating the repeated repetition of the narrative. When he did so with the original Chinese ‘virus’ papers Kaufman

realised that there was no evidence of a ‘SARS-Cov-2’. They had never – from the start – shown it to exist and every repeat of this claim worldwide was based on the accepted existence of proof that was nowhere to be found – see Kary Mullis and HIV. Here we go again.

Let's postulate

Kaufman discovered that the Chinese authorities immediately concluded that the cause of an illness that broke out among about 200 initial patients in Wuhan was a ‘new virus’ when there were no grounds to make that conclusion. The alleged ‘virus’ was not isolated from other genetic material in their samples and then shown through a system known as Koch’s postulates to be the causative agent of the illness. The world was told that the SARS-Cov-2 ‘virus’ caused a disease they called ‘Covid-19’ which had ‘flu-like’ symptoms and could lead to respiratory problems and pneumonia. If it wasn’t so tragic it would almost be funny. *‘Flu-like’ symptoms?* *Pneumonia? Respiratory disease?* What in CHINA and particularly in Wuhan, one of the most polluted cities in the world with a resulting epidemic of respiratory disease?? Three hundred thousand people get pneumonia in China every year and there are nearly a billion cases worldwide of ‘flu-like symptoms’. These have a whole range of causes – including pollution in Wuhan – but no other possibility was credibly considered in late 2019 when the world was told there was a new and deadly ‘virus’. The global prevalence of pneumonia and ‘flu-like systems’ gave the Cult networks unlimited potential to re-diagnose these other causes as the mythical ‘Covid-19’ and that is what they did from the very start. Kaufman revealed how Chinese medical and science authorities (all subordinates to the Cult-owned communist government) took genetic material from the lungs of only a few of the first patients. The material contained their own cells, bacteria, fungi and other microorganisms living in their bodies. The only way you could prove the existence of the ‘virus’ and its responsibility for the alleged ‘Covid-19’ was to isolate the virus from all the other material – a process also known as ‘purification’ – and

then follow the postulates sequence developed in the late 19th century by German physician and bacteriologist Robert Koch which became the ‘gold standard’ for connecting an alleged causation agent to a disease:

1. The microorganism (bacteria, fungus, virus, etc.) must be present in every case of the disease and all patients must have the same symptoms. It must also *not be present in healthy individuals*.
2. The microorganism must be isolated from the host with the disease. If the microorganism is a bacteria or fungus it must be grown in a pure culture. If it is a virus, it must be purified (i.e. containing no other material except the virus particles) from a clinical sample.
3. The specific disease, with all of its characteristics, must be reproduced when the infectious agent (the purified virus or a pure culture of bacteria or fungi) is inoculated into a healthy, susceptible host.
4. The microorganism must be recoverable from the experimentally infected host as in step 2.

Not one of these criteria has been met in the case of ‘SARS-Cov-2’ and ‘Covid-19’. Not ONE. EVER. Robert Koch refers to bacteria and not viruses. What are called ‘viral particles’ are so minute (hence masks are useless by any definition) that they could only be seen after the invention of the electron microscope in the 1930s and can still only be observed through that means. American bacteriologist and virologist Thomas Milton Rivers, the so-called ‘Father of Modern Virology’ who was very significantly director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in the 1930s, developed a less stringent version of Koch’s postulates to identify ‘virus’ causation known as ‘Rivers criteria’. ‘Covid’ did not pass that process either. Some even doubt whether any ‘virus’ can be isolated from other particles containing genetic material in the Koch method. Freedom of Information requests in many countries asking for scientific proof that the ‘Covid virus’ has been purified and isolated and shown to exist have all come back with a ‘we don’t have that’ and when this happened with a request to the UK Department of Health they added this comment:

However, outside of the scope of the [Freedom of Information Act] and on a discretionary basis, the following information has been advised to us, which may be of interest. Most infectious diseases are caused by viruses, bacteria or fungi. Some bacteria or fungi have the capacity to grow on their own in isolation, for example in colonies on a petri dish. Viruses are different in that they are what we call 'obligate pathogens' – that is, they cannot survive or reproduce without infecting a host ...

... For some diseases, it is possible to establish causation between a microorganism and a disease by isolating the pathogen from a patient, growing it in pure culture and reintroducing it to a healthy organism. These are known as 'Koch's postulates' and were developed in 1882. However, as our understanding of disease and different disease-causing agents has advanced, these are no longer the method for determining causation [Andrew Kaufman asks why in that case are there two published articles falsely claiming to satisfy Koch's postulates].

It has long been known that viral diseases cannot be identified in this way as viruses cannot be grown in 'pure culture'. When a patient is tested for a viral illness, this is normally done by looking for the presence of antigens, or viral genetic code in a host with molecular biology techniques [Kaufman asks how you could know the origin of these chemicals without having a pure culture for comparison].

For the record 'antigens' are defined so:

Invading microorganisms have antigens on their surface that the human body can recognise as being foreign – meaning not belonging to it. When the body recognises a foreign antigen, lymphocytes (white blood cells) produce antibodies, which are complementary in shape to the antigen.

Notwithstanding that this is open to question in relation to 'SARS-CoV-2' the presence of 'antibodies' can have many causes and they are found in people that are perfectly well. Kary Mullis said: 'Antibodies ... had always been considered evidence of past disease, not present disease.'

'Covid' really is a computer 'virus'

Where the UK Department of Health statement says 'viruses' are now 'diagnosed' through a 'viral genetic code in a host with molecular biology techniques', they mean ... *the PCR test* which its inventor said cannot test for infectious disease. They have no credible method of connecting a 'virus' to a disease and we will see that there is no scientific proof that any 'virus' causes any disease or there is any such thing as a 'virus' in the way that it is described. Tenacious Canadian researcher Christine Massey and her team made

some 40 Freedom of Information requests to national public health agencies in different countries asking for proof that SARS-CoV-2 has been isolated and not one of them could supply that information. Massey said of her request in Canada: 'Freedom of Information reveals Public Health Agency of Canada has no record of 'SARS-CoV-2' isolation performed by anyone, anywhere, ever.' If you accept the comment from the UK Department of Health it's because they can't isolate a 'virus'. Even so many 'science' papers claimed to have isolated the 'Covid virus' until they were questioned and had to admit they hadn't. A reply from the Robert Koch Institute in Germany was typical: 'I am not aware of a paper which purified isolated SARS-CoV-2.' So what the hell was Christian Drosten and his gang using to design the 'Covid' testing protocol that has produced all the illusory Covid' cases and 'Covid' deaths when the head of the Chinese version of the CDC admitted there was a problem right from the start in that the 'virus' had never been isolated/purified? Breathe deeply: What they are calling 'Covid' is actually created by a *computer program* i.e. *they made it up* – er, that's it. They took lung fluid, with many sources of genetic material, from one single person alleged to be infected with Covid-19 by a PCR test which they *claimed*, without clear evidence, contained a 'virus'. They used several computer programs to create a model of a theoretical virus genome sequence from more than fifty-six million small sequences of RNA, each of an unknown source, assembling them like a puzzle with no known solution. The computer filled in the gaps with sequences from bits in the gene bank to make it look like a bat SARS-like coronavirus! A wave of the magic wand and poof, an *in silico* (computer-generated) genome, a scientific fantasy, was created. UK health researcher Dr Kevin Corbett made the same point with this analogy:

... It's like giving you a few bones and saying that's your fish. It could be any fish. Not even a skeleton. Here's a few fragments of bones. That's your fish ... It's all from gene bank and the bits of the virus sequence that weren't there they made up.

They synthetically created them to fill in the blanks. That's what genetics is; it's a code. So it's ABBBCCDDDD and you're missing some what you think is EEE so you put it in. It's all

synthetic. You just manufacture the bits that are missing. This is the end result of the geneticization of virology. This is basically a computer virus.

Further confirmation came in an email exchange between British citizen journalist Frances Leader and the government's Medicines & Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency (the Gates-funded MHRA) which gave emergency permission for untested 'Covid vaccines' to be used. The agency admitted that the 'vaccine' is not based on an isolated 'virus', but comes from a *computer-generated model*. Frances Leader was naturally banned from Cult-owned fascist Twitter for making this exchange public. The process of creating computer-generated alleged 'viruses' is called 'in silico' or 'in silicon' – computer chips – and the term 'in silico' is believed to originate with biological experiments using only a computer in 1989. 'Vaccines' involved with 'Covid' are also produced 'in silico' or by computer not a natural process. If the original 'virus' is nothing more than a made-up computer model how can there be 'new variants' of something that never existed in the first place? They are not new 'variants'; they are new *computer models* only minutely different to the original program and designed to further terrify the population into having the 'vaccine' and submitting to fascism. You want a 'new variant'? Click, click, enter – there you go. Tell the medical profession that you have discovered a 'South African variant', 'UK variants' or a 'Brazilian variant' and in the usual HIV-causes-AIDS manner they will unquestioningly repeat it with no evidence whatsoever to support these claims. They will go on television and warn about the dangers of 'new variants' while doing nothing more than repeating what they have been told to be true and knowing that any deviation from that would be career suicide. Big-time insiders will know it's a hoax, but much of the medical community is clueless about the way they are being played and themselves play the public without even being aware they are doing so. What an interesting 'coincidence' that AstraZeneca and Oxford University were conducting 'Covid vaccine trials' in the three countries – the UK, South Africa and Brazil – where the first three 'variants' were claimed to have 'broken out'.

Here's your 'virus' – it's a unicorn

Dr Andrew Kaufman presented a brilliant analysis describing how the 'virus' was imagined into fake existence when he dissected an article published by *Nature* and written by 19 authors detailing *alleged* 'sequencing of a complete viral genome' of the 'new SARS-CoV-2 virus'. This computer-modelled *in silico* genome was used as a template for all subsequent genome sequencing experiments that resulted in the so-called variants which he said now number more than 6,000. The fake genome was constructed from more than 56 million individual short strands of RNA. Those little pieces were assembled into longer pieces by finding areas of overlapping sequences. The computer programs created over two million possible combinations from which the authors simply chose the longest one. They then compared this to a 'bat virus' and the computer 'alignment' rearranged the sequence and filled in the gaps! They called this computer-generated abomination the 'complete genome'. Dr Tom Cowan, a fellow medical author and collaborator with Kaufman, said such computer-generation constitutes scientific fraud and he makes this superb analogy:

Here is an equivalency: A group of researchers claim to have found a unicorn because they found a piece of a hoof, a hair from a tail, and a snippet of a horn. They then add that information into a computer and program it to re-create the unicorn, and they then claim this computer re-creation is the real unicorn. Of course, they had never actually seen a unicorn so could not possibly have examined its genetic makeup to compare their samples with the actual unicorn's hair, hooves and horn.

The researchers claim they decided which is the real genome of SARS-CoV-2 by 'consensus', sort of like a vote. Again, different computer programs will come up with different versions of the imaginary 'unicorn', so they come together as a group and decide which is the real imaginary unicorn.

This is how the 'virus' that has transformed the world was brought into fraudulent 'existence'. Extraordinary, yes, but as the Nazis said the bigger the lie the more will believe it. Cowan, however, wasn't finished and he went on to identify what he called the real blockbuster in the paper. He quotes this section from a paper written

by virologists and published by the CDC and then explains what it means:

Therefore, we examined the capacity of SARS-CoV-2 to infect and replicate in several common primate and human cell lines, including human adenocarcinoma cells (A549), human liver cells (HUH 7.0), and human embryonic kidney cells (HEK-293T). In addition to Vero E6 and Vero CCL81 cells. ... Each cell line was inoculated at high multiplicity of infection and examined 24h post-infection.

No CPE was observed in any of the cell lines except in Vero cells, which grew to greater than 10 to the 7th power at 24 h post-infection. In contrast, HUH 7.0 and 293T showed only modest viral replication, and A549 cells were incompatible with SARS CoV-2 infection.

Cowan explains that when virologists attempt to prove infection they have three possible 'hosts' or models on which they can test. The first was humans. Exposure to humans was generally not done for ethical reasons and has never been done with SARS-CoV-2 or any coronavirus. The second possible host was animals. Cowan said that forgetting for a moment that they never actually use purified virus when exposing animals they do use solutions that they *claim* contain the virus. Exposure to animals has been done with SARS-CoV-2 in an experiment involving mice and this is what they found: *None of the wild (normal) mice got sick*. In a group of genetically-modified mice, a statistically insignificant number lost weight and had slightly bristled fur, but they experienced nothing like the illness called 'Covid-19'. Cowan said the third method – the one they mostly rely on – is to inoculate solutions they *say* contain the virus onto a variety of tissue cultures. This process had never been shown to kill tissue *unless* the sample material was starved of nutrients and poisoned as *part of the process*. Yes, incredibly, in tissue experiments designed to show the 'virus' is responsible for killing the tissue they starve the tissue of nutrients and add toxic drugs including antibiotics and they do not have control studies to see if it's the starvation and poisoning that is degrading the tissue rather than the 'virus' they allege to be in there somewhere. You want me to pinch you? Yep, I understand. Tom Cowan said this about the whole nonsensical farce as he explains what that quote from the CDC paper really means:

The shocking thing about the above quote is that using their own methods, the virologists found that solutions containing SARS-CoV-2 – even in high amounts – were NOT, I repeat NOT, infective to any of the three human tissue cultures they tested. In plain English, this means they proved, on their terms, that this ‘new coronavirus’ is not infectious to human beings. It is ONLY infective to monkey kidney cells, and only then when you add two potent drugs (gentamicin and amphotericin), known to be toxic to kidneys, to the mix.

My friends, read this again and again. These virologists, published by the CDC, performed a clear proof, on their terms, showing that the SARS-CoV-2 virus is harmless to human beings. That is the only possible conclusion, but, unfortunately, this result is not even mentioned in their conclusion. They simply say they can provide virus stocks cultured only on monkey Vero cells, thanks for coming.

Cowan concluded: ‘If people really understood how this “science” was done, I would hope they would storm the gates and demand honesty, transparency and truth.’ Dr Michael Yeadon, former Vice President and Chief Scientific Adviser at drug giant Pfizer has been a vocal critic of the ‘Covid vaccine’ and its potential for multiple harm. He said in an interview in April, 2021, that ‘not one [vaccine] has the virus. He was asked why vaccines normally using a ‘dead’ version of a disease to activate the immune system were not used for ‘Covid’ and instead we had the synthetic methods of the ‘mRNA Covid vaccine’. Yeadon said that to do the former ‘you’d have to have some of [the virus] wouldn’t you?’ He added: ‘No-one’s got any – seriously.’ Yeadon said that surely they couldn’t have fooled the whole world for a year without having a virus, ‘but oddly enough ask around – no one’s got it’. He didn’t know why with all the ‘great labs’ around the world that the virus had not been isolated – ‘Maybe they’ve been too busy running bad PCR tests and vaccines that people don’t need.’ What is today called ‘science’ is not ‘science’ at all. Science is no longer what is, but whatever people can be manipulated to *believe* that it is. Real science has been hijacked by the Cult to dispense and produce the ‘expert scientists’ and contentions that suit the agenda of the Cult. How big-time this has happened with the ‘Covid’ hoax which is entirely based on fake science delivered by fake ‘scientists’ and fake ‘doctors’. The human-caused climate change hoax is also entirely based on fake science delivered by fake ‘scientists’ and fake ‘climate experts’. In both cases real

scientists, climate experts and doctors have their views suppressed and deleted by the Cult-owned science establishment, media and Silicon Valley. This is the ‘science’ that politicians claim to be ‘following’ and a common denominator of ‘Covid’ and climate are Cult psychopaths Bill Gates and his mate Klaus Schwab at the Gates-funded World Economic Forum. But, don’t worry, it’s all just a coincidence and absolutely nothing to worry about. Zzzzzzzz.

What is a ‘virus’ REALLY?

Dr Tom Cowan is one of many contesting the very existence of viruses let alone that they cause disease. This is understandable when there is no scientific evidence for a disease-causing ‘virus’. German virologist Dr Stefan Lanka won a landmark case in 2017 in the German Supreme Court over his contention that there is no such thing as a measles virus. He had offered a big prize for anyone who could prove there is and Lanka won his case when someone sought to claim the money. There is currently a prize of more than 225,000 euros on offer from an Isolate Truth Fund for anyone who can prove the isolation of SARS-CoV-2 and its genetic substance. Lanka wrote in an article headed ‘The Misconception Called Virus’ that scientists think a ‘virus’ is causing tissue to become diseased and degraded when in fact it is the *processes they are using* which do that – not a ‘virus’. Lanka has done an important job in making this point clear as Cowan did in his analysis of the CDC paper. Lanka says that all claims about viruses as disease-causing pathogens are wrong and based on ‘easily recognisable, understandable and verifiable misinterpretations.’ Scientists believed they were working with ‘viruses’ in their laboratories when they were really working with ‘typical particles of specific dying tissues or cells ...’ Lanka said that the tissue decaying process claimed to be caused by a ‘virus’ still happens when no alleged ‘virus’ is involved. It’s the *process* that does the damage and not a ‘virus’. The genetic sample is deprived of nutrients, removed from its energy supply through removal from the body and then doused in toxic antibiotics to remove any bacteria. He confirms again that establishment scientists do not (pinch me)

conduct control experiments to see if this is the case and if they did they would see the claims that 'viruses' are doing the damage is nonsense. He adds that during the measles 'virus' court case he commissioned an independent laboratory to perform just such a control experiment and the result was that the tissues and cells died in the exact same way as with alleged 'infected' material. This is supported by a gathering number of scientists, doctors and researchers who reject what is called 'germ theory' or the belief in the body being infected by contagious sources emitted by other people. Researchers Dawn Lester and David Parker take the same stance in their highly-detailed and sourced book *What Really Makes You Ill – Why everything you thought you knew about disease is wrong* which was recommended to me by a number of medical professionals genuinely seeking the truth. Lester and Parker say there is no provable scientific evidence to show that a 'virus' can be transmitted between people or people and animals or animals and people:

The definition also claims that viruses are the cause of many diseases, as if this has been definitively proven. But this is not the case; there is no original scientific evidence that definitively demonstrates that any virus is the cause of any disease. The burden of proof for any theory lies with those who proposed it; but none of the existing documents provides 'proof' that supports the claim that 'viruses' are pathogens.

Dr Tom Cowan employs one of his clever analogies to describe the process by which a 'virus' is named as the culprit for a disease when what is called a 'virus' is only material released by cells detoxing themselves from infiltration by chemical or radiation poisoning. The tidal wave of technologically-generated radiation in the 'smart' modern world plus all the toxic food and drink are causing this to happen more than ever. Deluded 'scientists' misread this as a gathering impact of what they wrongly label 'viruses'.

Paper can infect houses

Cowan said in an article for davidicke.com – with his tongue only mildly in his cheek – that he believed he had made a tremendous

discovery that may revolutionise science. He had discovered that small bits of paper are alive, ‘well alive-ish’, can ‘infect’ houses, and then reproduce themselves inside the house. The result was that this explosion of growth in the paper inside the house causes the house to explode, blowing it to smithereens. His evidence for this new theory is that in the past months he had carefully examined many of the houses in his neighbourhood and found almost no scraps of paper on the lawns and surrounds of the house. There was an occasional stray label, but nothing more. Then he would return to these same houses a week or so later and with a few, not all of them, particularly the old and decrepit ones, he found to his shock and surprise they were littered with stray bits of paper. He knew then that the paper had infected these houses, made copies of itself, and blew up the house. A young boy on a bicycle at one of the sites told him he had seen a demolition crew using dynamite to explode the house the previous week, but Cowan dismissed this as the idle thoughts of silly boys because ‘I was on to something big’. He was on to how ‘scientists’ mistake genetic material in the detoxifying process for something they call a ‘virus’. Cowan said of his house and paper story:

If this sounds crazy to you, it’s because it should. This scenario is obviously nuts. But consider this admittedly embellished, for effect, current viral theory that all scientists, medical doctors and virologists currently believe.

He takes the example of the ‘novel SARS-Cov2’ virus to prove the point. First they take someone with an undefined illness called ‘Covid-19’ and don’t even attempt to find any virus in their sputum. Never mind the scientists still describe how this ‘virus’, which they have not located attaches to a cell receptor, injects its genetic material, in ‘Covid’s’ case, RNA, into the cell. The RNA once inserted exploits the cell to reproduce itself and makes ‘thousands, nay millions, of copies of itself ... Then it emerges victorious to claim its next victim’:

If you were to look in the scientific literature for proof, actual scientific proof, that uniform SARS-CoV2 viruses have been properly isolated from the sputum of a sick person, that actual spike proteins could be seen protruding from the virus (which has not been found), you would find that such evidence doesn't exist.

If you go looking in the published scientific literature for actual pictures, proof, that these spike proteins or any viral proteins are ever attached to any receptor embedded in any cell membrane, you would also find that no such evidence exists. If you were to look for a video or documented evidence of the intact virus injecting its genetic material into the body of the cell, reproducing itself and then emerging victorious by budding off the cell membrane, you would find that no such evidence exists.

The closest thing you would find is electron micrograph pictures of cellular particles, possibly attached to cell debris, both of which to be seen were stained by heavy metals, a process that completely distorts their architecture within the living organism. This is like finding bits of paper stuck to the blown-up bricks, thereby proving the paper emerged by taking pieces of the bricks on its way out.

The Enders baloney

Cowan describes the 'Covid' story as being just as make-believe as his paper story and he charts back this fantasy to a Nobel Prize winner called John Enders (1897-1985), an American biomedical scientist who has been dubbed 'The Father of Modern Vaccines'. Enders is claimed to have 'discovered' the process of the viral culture which 'proved' that a 'virus' caused measles. Cowan explains how Enders did this 'by using the EXACT same procedure that has been followed by every virologist to find and characterize every new virus since 1954'. Enders took throat swabs from children with measles and immersed them in 2ml of milk. Penicillin (100u/ml) and the antibiotic streptomycin (50,g/ml) were added and the whole mix was centrifuged – rotated at high speed to separate large cellular debris from small particles and molecules as with milk and cream, for example. Cowan says that if the aim is to find little particles of genetic material ('viruses') in the snot from children with measles it would seem that the last thing you would do is mix the snot with other material – milk –that also has genetic material. 'How are you ever going to know whether whatever you found came from the snot or the milk?' He points out that streptomycin is a 'nephrotoxic' or poisonous-to-the-kidney drug. You will see the relevance of that

shortly. Cowan says that it gets worse, much worse, when Enders describes the culture medium upon which the virus 'grows': 'The culture medium consisted of bovine amniotic fluid (90%), beef embryo extract (5%), horse serum (5%), antibiotics and phenol red as an indicator of cell metabolism.' Cowan asks incredulously: 'Did he just say that the culture medium also contained fluids and tissues that are themselves rich sources of genetic material?' The genetic cocktail, or 'medium', is inoculated onto tissue and cells from rhesus monkey *kidney* tissue. This is where the importance of streptomycin comes in and currently-used antimicrobials and other drugs that are *poisonous to kidneys* and used in ALL modern viral cultures (e.g. gentamicin, streptomycin, and amphotericin). Cowan asks: 'How are you ever going to know from this witch's brew where any genetic material comes from as we now have five different sources of rich genetic material in our mix?' Remember, he says, that all genetic material, whether from monkey kidney tissues, bovine serum, milk, etc., is made from the exact same components. The same central question returns: 'How are you possibly going to know that it was the virus that killed the kidney tissue and not the toxic antibiotic and starvation rations on which you are growing the tissue?' John Enders answered the question himself – *you can't*:

A second agent was obtained from an uninoculated culture of monkey kidney cells. The cytopathic changes [death of the cells] it induced in the unstained preparations could not be distinguished with confidence from the viruses isolated from measles.

The death of the cells ('cytopathic changes') happened in exactly the same manner, whether they inoculated the kidney tissue with the measles snot or not, Cowan says. 'This is evidence that the destruction of the tissue, the very proof of viral causation of illness, was not caused by anything in the snot because they saw the same destructive effect when the snot was not even used ... the cytopathic, i.e., cell-killing, changes come from the process of the culture itself, not from any virus in any snot, period.' Enders quotes in his 1957 paper a virologist called Ruckle as reporting similar findings 'and in addition has isolated an agent from monkey kidney tissue that is so

far indistinguishable from human measles virus'. In other words, Cowan says, these particles called 'measles viruses' are simply and clearly breakdown products of the starved and poisoned tissue. For measles 'virus' see all 'viruses' including the so-called 'Covid virus'. Enders, the 'Father of Modern Vaccines', also said:

There is a potential risk in employing cultures of primate cells for the production of vaccines composed of attenuated virus, since the presence of other agents possibly latent in primate tissues cannot be definitely excluded by any known method.

Cowan further quotes from a paper published in the journal *Viruses* in May, 2020, while the 'Covid pandemic' was well underway in the media if not in reality. 'EVs' here refers to particles of genetic debris from our own tissues, such as exosomes of which more in a moment: 'The remarkable resemblance between EVs and viruses has caused quite a few problems in the studies focused on the analysis of EVs released during viral infections.' Later the paper adds that to date a reliable method that can actually guarantee a complete separation (of EVs from viruses) DOES NOT EXIST. This was published at a time when a fairy tale 'virus' was claimed in total certainty to be causing a fairy tale 'viral disease' called 'Covid-19' – a fairy tale that was already well on the way to transforming human society in the image that the Cult has worked to achieve for so long. Cowan concludes his article:

To summarize, there is no scientific evidence that pathogenic viruses exist. What we think of as 'viruses' are simply the normal breakdown products of dead and dying tissues and cells. When we are well, we make fewer of these particles; when we are starved, poisoned, suffocated by wearing masks, or afraid, we make more.

There is no engineered virus circulating and making people sick. People in laboratories all over the world are making genetically modified products to make people sick. These are called vaccines. There is no virome, no 'ecosystem' of viruses, viruses are not 8%, 50% or 100 % of our genetic material. These are all simply erroneous ideas based on the misconception called a virus.

What is 'Covid'? Load of bollocks

The background described here by Cowan and Lanka was emphasised in the first video presentation that I saw by Dr Andrew Kaufman when he asked whether the ‘Covid virus’ was in truth a natural defence mechanism of the body called ‘exosomes’. These are released by cells when in states of toxicity – see the same themes returning over and over. They are released ever more profusely as chemical and radiation toxicity increases and think of the potential effect therefore of 5G alone as its destructive frequencies infest the human energetic information field with a gathering pace (5G went online in Wuhan in 2019 as the ‘virus’ emerged). I’ll have more about this later. Exosomes transmit a warning to the rest of the body that ‘Houston, we have a problem’. Kaufman presented images of exosomes and compared them with ‘Covid’ under an electron microscope and the similarity was remarkable. They both attach to the same cell receptors (*claimed* in the case of ‘Covid’), contain the same genetic material in the form of RNA or ribonucleic acid, and both are found in ‘viral cell cultures’ with damaged or dying cells. James Hildreth MD, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Meharry Medical College at Johns Hopkins, said: ‘The virus is fully an exosome in every sense of the word.’ Kaufman’s conclusion was that there is no ‘virus’: ‘This entire pandemic is a completely manufactured crisis … there is no evidence of anyone dying from [this] illness.’ Dr Tom Cowan and Sally Fallon Morell, authors of *The Contagion Myth*, published a statement with Dr Kaufman in February, 2021, explaining why the ‘virus’ does not exist and you can read it that in full in the Appendix.

‘Virus’ theory can be traced to the ‘cell theory’ in 1858 of German physician Rudolf Virchow (1821-1920) who contended that disease originates from a single cell infiltrated by a ‘virus’. Dr Stefan Lanka said that findings and insights with respect to the structure, function and central importance of tissues in the creation of life, which were already known in 1858, comprehensively refute the cell theory. Virchow ignored them. We have seen the part later played by John Enders in the 1950s and Lanka notes that infection theories were only established as a global dogma through the policies and

eugenics of the Third Reich in Nazi Germany (creation of the same Sabbatian cult behind the ‘Covid’ hoax). Lanka said: ‘Before 1933, scientists dared to contradict this theory; after 1933, these critical scientists were silenced’. Dr Tom Cowan’s view is that ill-health is caused by too much of something, too little of something, or toxification from chemicals and radiation – not contagion. We must also highlight as a major source of the ‘virus’ theology a man still called the ‘Father of Modern Virology’ – Thomas Milton Rivers (1888-1962). There is no way given the Cult’s long game policy that it was a coincidence for the ‘Father of Modern Virology’ to be director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research from 1937 to 1956 when he is credited with making the Rockefeller Institute a leader in ‘viral research’. Cult Rockefellers were the force behind the creation of Big Pharma ‘medicine’, established the World Health Organisation in 1948, and have long and close associations with the Gates family that now runs the WHO during the pandemic hoax through mega-rich Cult gofer and psychopath Bill Gates.

Only a Renegade Mind can see through all this bullshit by asking the questions that need to be answered, not taking ‘no’ or prevarication for an answer, and certainly not hiding from the truth in fear of speaking it. Renegade Minds have always changed the world for the better and they will change this one no matter how bleak it may currently appear to be.

CHAPTER SIX

Sequence of deceit

If you tell the truth, you don't have to remember anything

Mark Twain

Against the background that I have laid out this far the sequence that took us from an invented 'virus' in Cult-owned China in late 2019 to the fascist transformation of human society can be seen and understood in a whole new context.

We were told that a deadly disease had broken out in Wuhan and the world media began its campaign (coordinated by behavioural psychologists as we shall see) to terrify the population into unquestioning compliance. We were shown images of Chinese people collapsing in the street which never happened in the West with what was supposed to be the same condition. In the earliest days when alleged cases and deaths were few the fear register was hysterical in many areas of the media and this would expand into the common media narrative across the world. The real story was rather different, but we were never told that. The Chinese government, one of the Cult's biggest centres of global operation, said they had discovered a new illness with flu-like and pneumonia-type symptoms in a city with such toxic air that it is overwhelmed with flu-like symptoms, pneumonia and respiratory disease. Chinese scientists said it was a new – 'novel' – coronavirus which they called Sars-Cov-2 and that it caused a disease they labelled 'Covid-19'. There was no evidence for this and the 'virus' has never to this day been isolated, purified and its genetic code established from that. It

was from the beginning a computer-generated fiction. Stories of Chinese whistleblowers saying the number of deaths was being suppressed or that the ‘new disease’ was related to the Wuhan bio-lab misdirected mainstream and alternative media into cul-de-sacs to obscure the real truth – there was no ‘virus’.

Chinese scientists took genetic material from the lung fluid of just a few people and said they had found a ‘new’ disease when this material had a wide range of content. There was no evidence for a ‘virus’ for the very reasons explained in the last two chapters. The ‘virus’ has never been shown to (a) exist and (b) cause any disease. People were diagnosed on symptoms that are so widespread in Wuhan and polluted China and with a PCR test that can’t detect infectious disease. On this farce the whole global scam was sold to the rest of the world which would also diagnose respiratory disease as ‘Covid-19’ from symptoms alone or with a PCR test not testing for a ‘virus’. Flu miraculously disappeared *worldwide* in 2020 and into 2021 as it was redesignated ‘Covid-19’. It was really the same old flu with its ‘flu-like’ symptoms attributed to ‘flu-like’ ‘Covid-19’. At the same time with very few exceptions the Chinese response of draconian lockdown and fascism was the chosen weapon to respond across the West as recommended by the Cult-owned Tedros at the Cult-owned World Health Organization run by the Cult-owned Gates. All was going according to plan. Chinese scientists – everything in China is controlled by the Cult-owned government – compared their contaminated RNA lung-fluid material with other RNA sequences and said it appeared to be just under 80 percent identical to the SARS-CoV-1 ‘virus’ claimed to be the cause of the SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) ‘outbreak’ in 2003. They decreed that because of this the ‘new virus’ had to be related and they called it SARS-CoV-2. There are some serious problems with this assumption and *assumption* was all it was. Most ‘factual’ science turns out to be assumptions repeated into everyone-knows-that. A match of under 80-percent is meaningless. Dr Kaufman makes the point that there’s a 96 percent genetic correlation between humans and chimpanzees, but ‘no one would say our genetic material is part

of the chimpanzee family'. Yet the Chinese authorities were claiming that a much lower percentage, less than 80 percent, proved the existence of a new 'coronavirus'. For goodness sake human DNA is 60 percent similar to a *banana*.

You are feeling sleepy

The entire 'Covid' hoax is a global Psyop, a psychological operation to program the human mind into believing and fearing a complete fantasy. A crucial aspect of this was what *appeared* to happen in Italy. It was all very well streaming out daily images of an alleged catastrophe in Wuhan, but to the Western mind it was still on the other side of the world in a very different culture and setting. A reaction of 'this could happen to me and my family' was still nothing like as intense enough for the mind-doctors. The Cult needed a Western example to push people over that edge and it chose Italy, one of its major global locations going back to the Roman Empire. An Italian 'Covid' crisis was manufactured in a particular area called Lombardy which just happens to be notorious for its toxic air and therefore respiratory disease. Wuhan, China, *déjà vu*. An hysterical media told horror stories of Italians dying from 'Covid' in their droves and how Lombardy hospitals were being overrun by a tidal wave of desperately ill people needing treatment after being struck down by the 'deadly virus'. Here was the psychological turning point the Cult had planned. Wow, if this is happening in Italy, the Western mind concluded, this indeed could happen to me and my family. Another point is that Italian authorities responded by following the Chinese blueprint so vehemently recommended by the Cult-owned World Health Organization. They imposed fascistic lockdowns on the whole country viciously policed with the help of surveillance drones sweeping through the streets seeking out anyone who escaped from mass house arrest. Livelihoods were destroyed and psychology unravelled in the way we have witnessed since in all lockdown countries. Crucial to the plan was that Italy responded in this way to set the precedent of suspending freedom and imposing fascism in a 'Western liberal democracy'. I emphasised in an

animated video explanation on davidicke.com posted in the summer of 2020 how important it was to the Cult to expand the Chinese lockdown model across the West. Without this, and the bare-faced lie that non-symptomatic people could still transmit a ‘disease’ they didn’t have, there was no way locking down the whole population, sick and not sick, could be pulled off. At just the right time and with no evidence Cult operatives and gofers claimed that people without symptoms could pass on the ‘disease’. In the name of protecting the ‘vulnerable’ like elderly people, who lockdowns would kill by the tens of thousands, we had for the first time healthy people told to isolate as well as the sick. The great majority of people who tested positive had no symptoms because there was nothing wrong with them. It was just a trick made possible by a test not testing for the ‘virus’.

Months after my animated video the Gates-funded Professor Neil Ferguson at the Gates-funded Imperial College confirmed that I was right. He didn’t say it in those terms, naturally, but he did say it. Ferguson will enter the story shortly for his outrageously crazy ‘computer models’ that led to Britain, the United States and many other countries following the Chinese and now Italian methods of response. Put another way, following the Cult script. Ferguson said that SAGE, the UK government’s scientific advisory group which has controlled ‘Covid’ policy from the start, wanted to follow the Chinese lockdown model (while they all continued to work and be paid), but they wondered if they could possibly, in Ferguson’s words, ‘get away with it in Europe’. ‘Get away with it’? Who the hell do these moronic, arrogant people think they are? This appalling man Ferguson said that once Italy went into national lockdown they realised they, too, could mimic China:

It’s a communist one-party state, we said. We couldn’t get away with it in Europe, we thought ... and then Italy did it. And we realised we could. Behind this garbage from Ferguson is a simple fact: Doing the same as China in every country was the plan from the start and Ferguson’s ‘models’ would play a central role in achieving that. It’s just a coincidence, of course, and absolutely nothing to worry your little head about.

Oops, sorry, our mistake

Once the Italian segment of the Psyop had done the job it was designed to do a very different story emerged. Italian authorities revealed that 99 percent of those who had 'died from Covid-19' in Italy had one, two, three, or more 'co-morbidities' or illnesses and health problems that could have ended their life. The US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) published a figure of 94 percent for Americans dying of 'Covid' while having other serious medical conditions – on average two to three (some five or six) other potential causes of death. In terms of death from an unproven 'virus' I say it is 100 percent. The other one percent in Italy and six percent in the US would presumably have died from 'Covid's' flu-like symptoms with a range of other possible causes in conjunction with a test not testing for the 'virus'. Fox News reported that even more startling figures had emerged in one US county in which 410 of 422 deaths attributed to 'Covid-19' had other potentially deadly health conditions. The Italian National Health Institute said later that the average age of people dying with a 'Covid-19' diagnosis in Italy was about 81. Ninety percent were over 70 with ten percent over 90. In terms of other reasons to die some 80 percent had two or more chronic diseases with half having three or more including cardiovascular problems, diabetes, respiratory problems and cancer. Why is the phantom 'Covid-19' said to kill overwhelmingly old people and hardly affect the young? Old people continually die of many causes and especially respiratory disease which you can re-diagnose 'Covid-19' while young people die in tiny numbers by comparison and rarely of respiratory disease. Old people 'die of Covid' because they die of other things that can be redesignated 'Covid' and it really is that simple.

Flu has flown

The blueprint was in place. Get your illusory 'cases' from a test not testing for the 'virus' and redesignate other causes of death as 'Covid-19'. You have an instant 'pandemic' from something that is nothing more than a computer-generated fiction. With near-on a

billion people having ‘flu-like’ symptoms every year the potential was limitless and we can see why flu quickly and apparently miraculously disappeared *worldwide* by being diagnosed ‘Covid-19’. The painfully bloody obvious was explained away by the childlike media in headlines like this in the UK *‘Independent’*: ‘Not a single case of flu detected by Public Health England this year as Covid restrictions suppress virus’. I kid you not. The masking, social distancing and house arrest that did not make the ‘Covid virus’ disappear somehow did so with the ‘flu virus’. Even worse the article, by a bloke called Samuel Lovett, suggested that maybe the masking, sanitising and other ‘Covid’ measures should continue to keep the flu away. With a ridiculousness that disturbs your breathing (it’s ‘Covid-19’) the said Lovett wrote: ‘With widespread social distancing and mask-wearing measures in place throughout the UK, the usual routes of transmission for influenza have been blocked.’ He had absolutely no evidence to support that statement, but look at the consequences of him acknowledging the obvious. With flu not disappearing at all and only being relabelled ‘Covid-19’ he would have to contemplate that ‘Covid’ was a hoax on a scale that is hard to imagine. You need guts and commitment to truth to even go there and that’s clearly something Samuel Lovett does not have in abundance. He would never have got it through the editors anyway.

Tens of thousands die in the United States alone every winter from flu including many with pneumonia complications. CDC figures record *45 million* Americans diagnosed with flu in 2017-2018 of which 61,000 died and some reports claim 80,000. Where was the same hysteria then that we have seen with ‘Covid-19’? Some 250,000 Americans are admitted to hospital with pneumonia every year with about 50,000 cases proving fatal. About 65 million suffer respiratory disease every year and three million deaths makes this the third biggest cause of death worldwide. You only have to redesignate a portion of all these people ‘Covid-19’ and you have an instant global pandemic or the *appearance* of one. Why would doctors do this? They are told to do this and all but a few dare not refuse those who must be obeyed. Doctors in general are not researching their own

knowledge and instead take it direct and unquestioned from the authorities that own them and their careers. The authorities say they must now diagnose these symptoms ‘Covid-19’ and not flu, or whatever, and they do it. Dark suits say put ‘Covid-19’ on death certificates no matter what the cause of death and the doctors do it. Renegade Minds don’t fall for the illusion that doctors and medical staff are all highly-intelligent, highly-principled, seekers of medical truth. *Some are*, but not the majority. They are repeaters, gofers, and yes sir, no sir, purveyors of what the system demands they purvey. The ‘Covid’ con is not merely confined to diseases of the lungs. Instructions to doctors to put ‘Covid-19’ on death certificates for anyone dying of *anything* within 28 days (or much more) of a positive test not testing for the ‘virus’ opened the floodgates. The term dying *with* ‘Covid’ and not *of* ‘Covid’ was coined to cover the truth. Whether it was a *with* or an *of* they were all added to the death numbers attributed to the ‘deadly virus’ compiled by national governments and globally by the Gates-funded Johns Hopkins operation in the United States that was so involved in those ‘pandemic’ simulations. Fraudulent deaths were added to the ever-growing list of fraudulent ‘cases’ from false positives from a false test. No wonder Professor Walter Ricciardi, scientific advisor to the Italian minister of health, said after the Lombardy hysteria had done its job that ‘Covid’ death rates were due to Italy having the second oldest population in the world and to *how hospitals record deaths*:

The way in which we code deaths in our country is very generous in the sense that all the people who die in hospitals with the coronavirus are deemed to be dying of the coronavirus. On re-evaluation by the National Institute of Health, only 12 per cent of death certificates have shown a direct causality from coronavirus, while 88 per cent of patients who have died have at least one pre-morbidity – many had two or three.

This is extraordinary enough when you consider the propaganda campaign to use Italy to terrify the world, but how can they even say twelve percent were genuine when the ‘virus’ has not been shown to exist, its ‘code’ is a computer program, and diagnosis comes from a test not testing for it? As in China, and soon the world, ‘Covid-19’ in

Italy was a redesignation of diagnosis. Lies and corruption were to become the real ‘pandemic’ fuelled by a pathetically-compliant medical system taking its orders from the tiny few at the top of their national hierarchy who answered to the World Health Organization which answers to Gates and the Cult. Doctors were told – ordered – to diagnose a particular set of symptoms ‘Covid-19’ and put that on the death certificate for any cause of death if the patient had tested positive with a test not testing for the virus or had ‘Covid’ symptoms like the flu. The United States even introduced big financial incentives to manipulate the figures with hospitals receiving £4,600 from the Medicare system for diagnosing someone with regular pneumonia, \$13,000 if they made the diagnosis from the same symptoms ‘Covid-19’ pneumonia, and \$39, 000 if they put a ‘Covid’ diagnosed patient on a ventilator that would almost certainly kill them. A few – painfully and pathetically few – medical whistleblowers revealed (before Cult-owned YouTube deleted their videos) that they had been instructed to ‘let the patient crash’ and put them straight on a ventilator instead of going through a series of far less intrusive and dangerous methods as they would have done before the pandemic hoax began and the financial incentives kicked in. We are talking cold-blooded murder given that ventilators are so damaging to respiratory systems they are usually the last step before heaven awaits. Renegade Minds never fall for the belief that people in white coats are all angels of mercy and cannot be full-on psychopaths. I have explained in detail in *The Answer* how what I am describing here played out across the world coordinated by the World Health Organization through the medical hierarchies in almost every country.

Medical scientist calls it

Information about the non-existence of the ‘virus’ began to emerge for me in late March, 2020, and mushroomed after that. I was sent an email by Sir Julian Rose, a writer, researcher, and organic farming promotor, from a medical scientist friend of his in the United States. Even at that early stage in March the scientist was able to explain

how the ‘Covid’ hoax was being manipulated. He said there were no reliable tests for a specific ‘Covid-19 virus’ and nor were there any reliable agencies or media outlets for reporting numbers of actual ‘Covid-19’ cases. We have seen in the long period since then that he was absolutely right. ‘Every action and reaction to Covid-19 is based on totally flawed data and we simply cannot make accurate assessments,’ he said. Most people diagnosed with ‘Covid-19’ were showing nothing more than cold and flu-like symptoms ‘because most coronavirus strains *are* nothing more than cold/flu-like symptoms’. We had farcical situations like an 84-year-old German man testing positive for ‘Covid-19’ and his nursing home ordered to quarantine only for him to be found to have a common cold. The scientist described back then why PCR tests and what he called the ‘Mickey Mouse test kits’ were useless for what they were claimed to be identifying. ‘The idea these kits can isolate a specific virus like Covid-19 is nonsense,’ he said. Significantly, he pointed out that ‘if you want to create a totally false panic about a totally false pandemic – pick a coronavirus’. This is exactly what the Cult-owned Gates, World Economic Forum and Johns Hopkins University did with their Event 201 ‘simulation’ followed by their real-life simulation called the ‘pandemic’. The scientist said that all you had to do was select the sickest of people with respiratory-type diseases in a single location – ‘say Wuhan’ – and administer PCR tests to them. You can then claim that anyone showing ‘viral sequences’ similar to a coronavirus ‘which will inevitably be quite a few’ is suffering from a ‘new’ disease:

Since you already selected the sickest flu cases a fairly high proportion of your sample will go on to die. You can then say this ‘new’ virus has a CFR [case fatality rate] higher than the flu and use this to infuse more concern and do more tests which will of course produce more ‘cases’, which expands the testing, which produces yet more ‘cases’ and so on and so on. Before long you have your ‘pandemic’, and all you have done is use a simple test kit trick to convert the worst flu and pneumonia cases into something new that doesn’t ACTUALLY EXIST [my emphasis].

He said that you then ‘just run the same scam in other countries’ and make sure to keep the fear message running high ‘so that people

will feel panicky and less able to think critically'. The only problem to overcome was the fact *there is no* actual new deadly pathogen and only regular sick people. This meant that deaths from the 'new deadly pathogen' were going to be way too low for a real new deadly virus pandemic, but he said this could be overcome in the following ways – all of which would go on to happen:

1. You can claim this is just the beginning and more deaths are imminent [you underpin this with fantasy 'computer projections']. Use this as an excuse to quarantine everyone and then claim the quarantine prevented the expected millions of dead.
2. You can [say that people] 'minimizing' the dangers are irresponsible and bully them into not talking about numbers.
3. You can talk crap about made up numbers hoping to blind people with pseudoscience.
4. You can start testing well people (who, of course, will also likely have shreds of coronavirus [RNA] in them) and thus inflate your 'case figures' with 'asymptomatic carriers' (you will of course have to spin that to sound deadly even though any virologist knows the more symptom-less cases you have the less deadly is your pathogen).

The scientist said that if you take these simple steps 'you can have your own entirely manufactured pandemic up and running in weeks'. His analysis made so early in the hoax was brilliantly prophetic of what would actually unfold. Pulling all the information together in these recent chapters we have this is simple 1, 2, 3, of how you can delude virtually the entire human population into believing in a 'virus' that doesn't exist:

- A 'Covid case' is someone who tests positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'.
- A 'Covid death' is someone who dies of *any cause* within 28 days (or much longer) of testing positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'.
- Asymptomatic means there is nothing wrong with you, but they claim you can pass on what you don't have to justify locking

down (quarantining) healthy people in totality.

The foundations of the hoax are that simple. A study involving ten million people in Wuhan, published in November, 2020, demolished the whole lie about those without symptoms passing on the ‘virus’. They found ‘300 asymptomatic cases’ and traced their contacts to find that not one of them was detected with the ‘virus’.

‘Asymptomatic’ patients and their contacts were isolated for no less than two weeks and nothing changed. I know it’s all crap, but if you are going to claim that those without symptoms can transmit ‘the virus’ then you must produce evidence for that and they never have. Even World Health Organization official Dr Maria Van Kerkhove, head of the emerging diseases and zoonosis unit, said as early as June, 2020, that she doubted the validity of asymptomatic transmission. She said that ‘from the data we have, it still seems to be rare that an asymptomatic person actually transmits onward to a secondary individual’ and by ‘rare’ she meant that she couldn’t cite any case of asymptomatic transmission.

The Ferguson factor

The problem for the Cult as it headed into March, 2020, when the script had lockdown due to start, was that despite all the manipulation of the case and death figures they still did not have enough people alleged to have died from ‘Covid’ to justify mass house arrest. This was overcome in the way the scientist described: ‘You can claim this is just the beginning and more deaths are imminent ... Use this as an excuse to quarantine everyone and then claim the quarantine prevented the expected millions of dead.’ Enter one Professor Neil Ferguson, the Gates-funded ‘epidemiologist’ at the Gates-funded Imperial College in London. Ferguson is Britain’s Christian Drosten in that he has a dire record of predicting health outcomes, but is still called upon to advise government on the next health outcome when another ‘crisis’ comes along. This may seem to be a strange and ridiculous thing to do. Why would you keep turning for policy guidance to people who have a history of being

monumentally wrong? Ah, but it makes sense from the Cult point of view. These ‘experts’ keep on producing predictions that suit the Cult agenda for societal transformation and so it was with Neil Ferguson as he revealed his horrific (and clearly insane) computer model predictions that allowed lockdowns to be imposed in Britain, the United States and many other countries. Ferguson does not have even an A-level in biology and would appear to have no formal training in computer modelling, medicine or epidemiology, according to Derek Winton, an MSc in Computational Intelligence. He wrote an article somewhat aghast at what Ferguson did which included taking no account of respiratory disease ‘seasonality’ which means it is far worse in the winter months. Who would have thought that respiratory disease could be worse in the winter? Well, certainly not Ferguson.

The massively China-connected Imperial College and its bizarre professor provided the excuse for the long-incubated Chinese model of human control to travel westward at lightning speed. Imperial College confirms on its website that it collaborates with the Chinese Research Institute; publishes more than 600 research papers every year with Chinese research institutions; has 225 Chinese staff; 2,600 Chinese students – the biggest international group; 7,000 former students living in China which is the largest group outside the UK; and was selected for a tour by China’s President Xi Jinping during his state visit to the UK in 2015. The college takes major donations from China and describes itself as the UK’s number one university collaborator with Chinese research institutions. The China communist/fascist government did not appear phased by the woeful predictions of Ferguson and Imperial when during the lockdown that Ferguson induced the college signed a five-year collaboration deal with China tech giant Huawei that will have Huawei’s indoor 5G network equipment installed at the college’s West London tech campus along with an ‘AI cloud platform’. The deal includes Chinese sponsorship of Imperial’s Venture Catalyst entrepreneurship competition. Imperial is an example of the enormous influence the Chinese government has within British and North American

universities and research centres – and further afield. Up to 200 academics from more than a dozen UK universities are being investigated on suspicion of ‘unintentionally’ helping the Chinese government build weapons of mass destruction by ‘transferring world-leading research in advanced military technology such as aircraft, missile designs and cyberweapons’. Similar scandals have broken in the United States, but it’s all a coincidence. Imperial College serves the agenda in many other ways including the promotion of every aspect of the United Nations Agenda 21/2030 (the Great Reset) and produced computer models to show that human-caused ‘climate change’ is happening when in the real world it isn’t. Imperial College is driving the climate agenda as it drives the ‘Covid’ agenda (both Cult hoaxes) while Patrick Vallance, the UK government’s Chief Scientific Adviser on ‘Covid’, was named Chief Scientific Adviser to the UN ‘climate change’ conference known as COP26 hosted by the government in Glasgow, Scotland. ‘Covid’ and ‘climate’ are fundamentally connected.

Professor Woeful

From Imperial’s bosom came Neil Ferguson still advising government despite his previous disasters and it was announced early on that he and other key people like UK Chief Medical Adviser Chris Whitty had caught the ‘virus’ as the propaganda story was being sold. Somehow they managed to survive and we had Prime Minister Boris Johnson admitted to hospital with what was said to be a severe version of the ‘virus’ in this same period. His whole policy and demeanour changed when he returned to Downing Street. It’s a small world with these government advisors – especially in their communal connections to Gates – and Ferguson had partnered with Whitty to write a paper called ‘Infectious disease: Tough choices to reduce Ebola transmission’ which involved another scare-story that didn’t happen. Ferguson’s ‘models’ predicted that up to 150, 000 could die from ‘mad cow disease’, or BSE, and its version in sheep if it was transmitted to humans. BSE was not transmitted and instead triggered by an organophosphate pesticide used to treat a pest on

cows. Fewer than 200 deaths followed from the human form. Models by Ferguson and his fellow incompetents led to the unnecessary culling of millions of pigs, cattle and sheep in the foot and mouth outbreak in 2001 which destroyed the lives and livelihoods of farmers and their families who had often spent decades building their herds and flocks. Vast numbers of these animals did not have foot and mouth and had no contact with the infection. Another ‘expert’ behind the cull was Professor Roy Anderson, a computer modeller at Imperial College specialising in the epidemiology of *human*, not animal, disease. Anderson has served on the Bill and Melinda Gates Grand Challenges in Global Health advisory board and chairs another Gates-funded organisation. Gates is everywhere.

In a precursor to the ‘Covid’ script Ferguson backed closing schools ‘for prolonged periods’ over the swine flu ‘pandemic’ in 2009 and said it would affect a third of the world population if it continued to spread at the speed he claimed to be happening. His mates at Imperial College said much the same and a news report said: ‘One of the authors, the epidemiologist and disease modeller Neil Ferguson, who sits on the World Health Organisation’s emergency committee for the outbreak, said the virus had “full pandemic potential”.’ Professor Liam Donaldson, the Chris Whitty of his day as Chief Medical Officer, said the worst case could see 30 percent of the British people infected by swine flu with 65,000 dying. Ferguson and Donaldson were indeed proved correct when at the end of the year the number of deaths attributed to swine flu was 392. The term ‘expert’ is rather liberally applied unfortunately, not least to complete idiots. Swine flu ‘projections’ were great for GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) as millions rolled in for its Pandemrix influenza vaccine which led to brain damage with children most affected. The British government (taxpayers) paid out more than £60 million in compensation after GSK was given immunity from prosecution. Yet another ‘Covid’ déjà vu. Swine flu was supposed to have broken out in Mexico, but Dr Wolfgang Wodarg, a German doctor, former member of parliament and critic of the ‘Covid’ hoax, observed ‘the spread of swine flu’ in Mexico City at the time. He

said: 'What we experienced in Mexico City was a very mild flu which did not kill more than usual – which killed even fewer people than usual.' Hyping the fear against all the facts is not unique to 'Covid' and has happened many times before. Ferguson is reported to have over-estimated the projected death toll of bird flu (H5N1) by some three million-fold, but bird flu vaccine makers again made a killing from the scare. This is some of the background to the Neil Ferguson who produced the perfectly-timed computer models in early 2020 predicting that half a million people would die in Britain without draconian lockdown and 2.2 million in the United States. Politicians panicked, people panicked, and lockdowns of alleged short duration were instigated to 'flatten the curve' of cases gleaned from a test not testing for the 'virus'. I said at the time that the public could forget the 'short duration' bit. This was an agenda to destroy the livelihoods of the population and force them into mass control through dependency and there was going to be nothing 'short' about it. American researcher Daniel Horowitz described the consequences of the 'models' spewed out by Gates-funded Ferguson and Imperial College:

What led our government and the governments of many other countries into panic was a single Imperial College of UK study, funded by global warming activists, that predicted 2.2 million deaths if we didn't lock down the country. In addition, the reported 8-9% death rate in Italy scared us into thinking there was some other mutation of this virus that they got, which might have come here.

Together with the fact that we were finally testing and had the ability to actually report new cases, we thought we were headed for a death spiral. But again ... we can't flatten a curve if we don't know when the curve started.

How about it *never* started?

Giving them what they want

An investigation by German news outlet *Welt Am Sonntag* (*World on Sunday*) revealed how in March, 2020, the German government gathered together 'leading scientists from several research institutes and universities' and 'together, they were to produce a [modelling]

paper that would serve as legitimization for further tough political measures'. The Cult agenda was justified by computer modelling not based on evidence or reality; it was specifically constructed to justify the Cult demand for lockdowns all over the world to destroy the independent livelihoods of the global population. All these modellers and everyone responsible for the 'Covid' hoax have a date with a trial like those in Nuremberg after World War Two when Nazis faced the consequences of their war crimes. These corrupt-beyond-belief 'modellers' wrote the paper according to government instructions and it said that if lockdown measures were lifted then up to one million Germans would die from 'Covid-19' adding that some would die 'agonizingly at home, gasping for breath' unable to be treated by hospitals that couldn't cope. All lies. No matter – it gave the Cult all that it wanted. What did long-time government 'modeller' Neil Ferguson say? If the UK and the United States didn't lockdown half a million would die in Britain and 2.2 million Americans. Anyone see a theme here? 'Modellers' are such a crucial part of the lockdown strategy that we should look into their background and follow the money. Researcher Rosemary Frei produced an excellent article headlined 'The Modelling-paper Mafiosi'. She highlights a guy called John Edmunds, a British epidemiologist, and professor in the Faculty of Epidemiology and Population Health at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine. He studied at Imperial College. Edmunds is a member of government 'Covid' advisory bodies which have been dictating policy, the New and Emerging Respiratory Virus Threats Advisory Group (NERVTAG) and the Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE).

Ferguson, another member of NERVTAG and SAGE, led the way with the original 'virus' and Edmunds has followed in the 'variant' stage and especially the so-called UK or Kent variant known as the 'Variant of Concern' (VOC) B.1.1.7. He said in a co-written report for the Centre for Mathematical modelling of Infectious Diseases at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, with input from the Centre's 'Covid-19' Working Group, that there was 'a realistic

possibility that VOC B.1.1.7 is associated with an increased risk of death compared to non-VOC viruses'. Fear, fear, fear, get the vaccine, fear, fear, fear, get the vaccine. Rosemary Frei reveals that almost all the paper's authors and members of the modelling centre's 'Covid-19' Working Group receive funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and/or the associated Gates-funded Wellcome Trust. The paper was published by e-journal *Medr* ^{xiv} which only publishes papers not peer-reviewed and the journal was established by an organisation headed by Facebook's Mark Zuckerberg and his missus. What a small world it is. Frei discovered that Edmunds is on the Scientific Advisory Board of the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI) which was established by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Klaus Schwab's Davos World Economic Forum and Big Pharma giant Wellcome. CEPI was 'launched in Davos [in 2017] to develop vaccines to stop future epidemics', according to its website. 'Our mission is to accelerate the development of vaccines against emerging infectious diseases and enable equitable access to these vaccines for people during outbreaks.' What kind people they are. Rosemary Frei reveals that Public Health England (PHE) director Susan Hopkins is an author of her organisation's non-peer-reviewed reports on 'new variants'. Hopkins is a professor of infectious diseases at London's Imperial College which is gifted tens of millions of dollars a year by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Gates-funded modelling disaster Neil Ferguson also co-authors Public Health England reports and he spoke in December, 2020, about the potential danger of the B.1.1.7. 'UK variant' promoted by Gates-funded modeller John Edmunds. When I come to the 'Covid vaccines' the 'new variants' will be shown for what they are – bollocks.

Connections, connections

All these people and modellers are lockdown-obsessed or, put another way, they demand what the Cult demands. Edmunds said in January, 2021, that to ease lockdowns too soon would be a disaster and they had to 'vaccinate much, much, much more widely than the

elderly'. Rosemary Frei highlights that Edmunds is married to Jeanne Pimenta who is described in a LinkedIn profile as director of epidemiology at GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) and she held shares in the company. Patrick Vallance, co-chair of SAGE and the government's Chief Scientific Adviser, is a former executive of GSK and has a deferred bonus of shares in the company worth £600,000. GSK has serious business connections with Bill Gates and is collaborating with mRNA-'vaccine' company CureVac to make 'vaccines' for the new variants that Edmunds is talking about. GSK is planning a 'Covid vaccine' with drug giant Sanofi. Puppet Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced in the spring of 2021 that up to 60 million vaccine doses were to be made at the GSK facility at Barnard Castle in the English North East. Barnard Castle, with a population of just 6,000, was famously visited in breach of lockdown rules in April, 2020, by Johnson aide Dominic Cummings who said that he drove there 'to test his eyesight' before driving back to London. Cummings would be better advised to test his integrity – not that it would take long. The GSK facility had nothing to do with his visit then although I'm sure Patrick Vallance would have been happy to arrange an introduction and some tea and biscuits. Ruthless psychopath Gates has made yet another fortune from vaccines in collaboration with Big Pharma companies and gushes at the phenomenal profits to be made from vaccines – more than a 20-to-1 return as he told one interviewer. Gates also tweeted in December, 2019, with the foreknowledge of what was coming: 'What's next for our foundation? I'm particularly excited about what the next year could mean for one of the best buys in global health: vaccines.'

Modeller John Edmunds is a big promotor of vaccines as all these people appear to be. He's the dean of the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine's Faculty of Epidemiology and Population Health which is primarily funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Gates-established and funded GAVI vaccine alliance which is the Gates vehicle to vaccinate the world. The organisation Doctors Without Borders has described GAVI as being 'aimed more at supporting drug-industry desires to promote new

products than at finding the most efficient and sustainable means for fighting the diseases of poverty'. But then that's why the psychopath Gates created it. John Edmunds said in a video that the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine is involved in every aspect of vaccine development including large-scale clinical trials. He contends that mathematical modelling can show that vaccines protect individuals and society. That's on the basis of shit in and shit out, I take it. Edmunds serves on the UK Vaccine Network as does Ferguson and the government's foremost 'Covid' adviser, the grim-faced, dark-eyed Chris Whitty. The Vaccine Network says it works 'to support the government to identify and shortlist targeted investment opportunities for the most promising vaccines and vaccine technologies that will help combat infectious diseases with epidemic potential, and to address structural issues related to the UK's broader vaccine infrastructure'. Ferguson is acting Director of the Imperial College Vaccine Impact Modelling Consortium which has funding from the Bill and Melina Gates Foundation and the Gates-created GAVI 'vaccine alliance'. Anyone wonder why these characters see vaccines as the answer to every problem? Ferguson is wildly enthusiastic in his support for GAVI's campaign to vaccine children en masse in poor countries. You would expect someone like Gates who has constantly talked about the need to reduce the population to want to fund vaccines to keep more people alive. I'm sure that's why he does it. The John Edmunds London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) has a Vaccines Manufacturing Innovation Centre which develops, tests and commercialises vaccines. Rosemary Frei writes:

The vaccines centre also performs affiliated activities like combating 'vaccine hesitancy'. The latter includes the Vaccine Confidence Project. The project's stated purpose is, among other things, 'to provide analysis and guidance for early response and engagement with the public to ensure sustained confidence in vaccines and immunisation'. The Vaccine Confidence Project's director is LSHTM professor Heidi Larson. For more than a decade she's been researching how to combat vaccine hesitancy.

How the bloody hell can blokes like John Edmunds and Neil Ferguson with those connections and financial ties model 'virus' case

and death projections for the government and especially in a way that gives their paymasters like Gates exactly what they want? It's insane, but this is what you find throughout the world.

'Covid' is not dangerous, oops, wait, yes it is

Only days before Ferguson's nightmare scenario made Jackboot Johnson take Britain into a China-style lockdown to save us from a deadly 'virus' the UK government website gov.uk was reporting something very different to Ferguson on a page of official government guidance for 'high consequence infectious diseases (HCID)'. It said this about 'Covid-19':

As of 19 March 2020, COVID-19 *is no longer considered to be a high consequence infectious diseases (HCID) in the UK* [my emphasis]. The 4 nations public health HCID group made an interim recommendation in January 2020 to classify COVID-19 as an HCID. This was based on consideration of the UK HCID criteria about the virus and the disease with information available during the early stages of the outbreak.

Now that more is known about COVID-19, the public health bodies in the UK have reviewed the most up to date information about COVID-19 against the UK HCID criteria. They have determined that several features have now changed; in particular, more information is available about mortality rates (low overall), and there is now greater clinical awareness and a specific and sensitive laboratory test, the availability of which continues to increase. The Advisory Committee on Dangerous Pathogens (ACDP) is also of the opinion that COVID-19 should no longer be classified as an HCID.

Soon after the government had been exposed for downgrading the risk they upgraded it again and everyone was back to singing from the same Cult hymn book. Ferguson and his fellow Gates clones indicated that lockdowns and restrictions would have to continue until a Gates-funded vaccine was developed. Gates said the same because Ferguson and his like were repeating the Gates script which is the Cult script. 'Flatten the curve' became an ongoing nightmare of continuing lockdowns with periods in between of severe restrictions in pursuit of destroying independent incomes and had nothing to do with protecting health about which the Cult gives not a shit. Why wouldn't Ferguson be pushing a vaccine 'solution' when he's owned by vaccine-obsessive Gates who makes a fortune from them and

when Ferguson heads the Vaccine Impact Modelling Consortium at Imperial College funded by the Gates Foundation and GAVI, the ‘vaccine alliance’, created by Gates as his personal vaccine promotion operation? To compound the human catastrophe that Ferguson’s ‘models’ did so much to create he was later exposed for breaking his own lockdown rules by having sexual liaisons with his married girlfriend Antonia Staats at his home while she was living at another location with her husband and children. Staats was a ‘climate’ activist and senior campaigner at the Soros-funded Avaaz which I wouldn’t trust to tell me that grass is green. Ferguson had to resign as a government advisor over this hypocrisy in May, 2020, but after a period of quiet he was back being quoted by the ridiculous media on the need for more lockdowns and a vaccine rollout. Other government-advising ‘scientists’ from Imperial College held the fort in his absence and said lockdown could be indefinite until a vaccine was found. The Cult script was being sung by the payrolled choir. I said there was no intention of going back to ‘normal’ when the ‘vaccine’ came because the ‘vaccine’ is part of a very different agenda that I will discuss in Human 2.0. Why would the Cult want to let the world go back to normal when destroying that normal forever was the whole point of what was happening? House arrest, closing businesses and schools through lockdown, (un)social distancing and masks all followed the Ferguson fantasy models. Again as I predicted (these people are so predictable) when the ‘vaccine’ arrived we were told that house arrest, lockdown, (un)social distancing and masks would still have to continue. I will deal with the masks in the next chapter because they are of fundamental importance.

Where's the 'pandemic'?

Any mildly in-depth assessment of the figures revealed what was really going on. Cult-funded and controlled organisations still have genuine people working within them such is the number involved. So it is with Genevieve Briand, assistant program director of the Applied Economics master’s degree program at Johns Hopkins

University. She analysed the impact that 'Covid-19' had on deaths from *all* causes in the United States using official data from the CDC for the period from early February to early September, 2020. She found that allegedly 'Covid' *related*-deaths exceeded those from heart disease which she found strange with heart disease always the biggest cause of fatalities. Her research became even more significant when she noted the sudden decline in 2020 of *all* non-'Covid' deaths: 'This trend is completely contrary to the pattern observed in all previous years ... the total decrease in deaths by other causes almost exactly equals the increase in deaths by Covid-19.' This was such a game, set and match in terms of what was happening that Johns Hopkins University deleted the article on the grounds that it 'was being used to support false and dangerous inaccuracies about the impact of the pandemic'. No – because it exposed the scam from official CDC figures and this was confirmed when those figures were published in January, 2021. Here we can see the effect of people dying from heart attacks, cancer, road accidents and gunshot wounds – *anything* – having 'Covid-19' on the death certificate along with those diagnosed from 'symptoms' who had even not tested positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'. I am not kidding with the gunshot wounds, by the way. Brenda Bock, coroner in Grand County, Colorado, revealed that two gunshot victims tested positive for the 'virus' within the previous 30 days and were therefore classified as 'Covid deaths'. Bock said: 'These two people had tested positive for Covid, but that's not what killed them. A gunshot wound is what killed them.' She said she had not even finished her investigation when the state listed the gunshot victims as deaths due to the 'virus'. The death and case figures for 'Covid-19' are an absolute joke and yet they are repeated like parrots by the media, politicians and alleged medical 'experts'. The official Cult narrative is the only show in town.

Genevieve Briand found that deaths from all causes were not exceptional in 2020 compared with previous years and a Spanish magazine published figures that said the same about Spain which was a 'Covid' propaganda hotspot at one point. *Discovery Salud*, a

health and medicine magazine, quoted government figures which showed how 17,000 *fewer* people died in Spain in 2020 than in 2019 and more than 26,000 fewer than in 2018. The age-standardised mortality rate for England and Wales when age distribution is taken into account was significantly lower in 2020 than the 1970s, 80s and 90s, and was only the ninth highest since 2000. Where is the ‘pandemic’?

Post mortems and autopsies virtually disappeared for ‘Covid’ deaths amid claims that ‘virus-infected’ bodily fluids posed a risk to those carrying out the autopsy. This was rejected by renowned German pathologist and forensic doctor Klaus Püschel who said that he and his staff had by then done 150 autopsies on ‘Covid’ patients with no problems at all. He said they were needed to know why some ‘Covid’ patients suffered blood clots and not severe respiratory infections. The ‘virus’ is, after all, called SARS or ‘severe acute respiratory syndrome’. I highlighted in the spring of 2020 this phenomenon and quoted New York intensive care doctor Cameron Kyle-Sidell who posted a soon deleted YouTube video to say that they had been told to prepare to treat an infectious disease called ‘Covid-19’, but that was not what they were dealing with. Instead he likened the lung condition of the most severely ill patients to what you would expect with cabin depressurisation in a plane at 30,000 feet or someone dropped on the top of Everest without oxygen or acclimatisation. I have never said this is not happening to a small minority of alleged ‘Covid’ patients – I am saying this is not caused by a phantom ‘contagious virus’. Indeed Kyle-Sidell said that ‘Covid-19’ was not the disease they were told was coming their way. ‘We are operating under a medical paradigm that is untrue,’ he said, and he believed they were treating the wrong disease: ‘These people are being slowly starved of oxygen.’ Patients would take off their oxygen masks in a state of fear and stress and while they were blue in the face on the brink of death. They did not look like patients dying of pneumonia. You can see why they don’t want autopsies when their virus doesn’t exist and there is another condition in some people that they don’t wish to be uncovered. I should add here that

the 5G system of millimetre waves was being rapidly introduced around the world in 2020 and even more so now as they fire 5G at the Earth from satellites. At 60 gigahertz within the 5G range that frequency interacts with the oxygen molecule and stops people breathing in sufficient oxygen to be absorbed into the bloodstream. They are installing 5G in schools and hospitals. The world is not mad or anything. 5G can cause major changes to the lungs and blood as I detail in *The Answer* and these consequences are labelled 'Covid-19', the alleged symptoms of which can be caused by 5G and other electromagnetic frequencies as cells respond to radiation poisoning.

The 'Covid death' scam

Dr Scott Jensen, a Minnesota state senator and medical doctor, exposed 'Covid' Medicare payment incentives to hospitals and death certificate manipulation. He said he was sent a seven-page document by the US Department of Health 'coaching' him on how to fill out death certificates which had never happened before. The document said that he didn't need to have a laboratory test for 'Covid-19' to put that on the death certificate and that shocked him when death certificates are supposed to be about facts. Jensen described how doctors had been 'encouraged, if not pressured' to make a diagnosis of 'Covid-19' if they thought it was probable or '*presumed*'. No positive test was necessary – not that this would have mattered anyway. He said doctors were told to diagnose 'Covid' by symptoms when these were the same as colds, allergies, other respiratory problems, and certainly with influenza which 'disappeared' in the 'Covid' era. A common sniffle was enough to get the dreaded verdict. Ontario authorities decreed that a single care home resident with *one* symptom from a long list must lead to the isolation of the entire home. Other courageous doctors like Jensen made the same point about death figure manipulation and how deaths by other causes were falling while 'Covid-19 deaths' were rising at the same rate due to re-diagnosis. Their videos rarely survive long on YouTube with its Cult-supporting algorithms courtesy of CEO Susan Wojcicki and her bosses at Google. Figure-tampering was so glaring

and ubiquitous that even officials were letting it slip or outright saying it. UK chief scientific adviser Patrick Vallance said on one occasion that ‘Covid’ on the death certificate doesn’t mean ‘Covid’ was the cause of death (so why the hell is it there?) and we had the rare sight of a BBC reporter telling the truth when she said: ‘Someone could be successfully treated for Covid, in say April, discharged, and then in June, get run over by a bus and die ... That person would still be counted as a Covid death in England.’ Yet the BBC and the rest of the world media went on repeating the case and death figures as if they were real. Illinois Public Health Director Dr Ngozi Ezike revealed the deceit while her bosses must have been clenching their buttocks:

If you were in a hospice and given a few weeks to live and you were then found to have Covid that would be counted as a Covid death. [There might be] a clear alternate cause, but it is still listed as a Covid death. So everyone listed as a Covid death doesn’t mean that was the cause of the death, but that they had Covid at the time of death.

Yes, a ‘Covid virus’ never shown to exist and tested for with a test not testing for the ‘virus’. In the first period of the pandemic hoax through the spring of 2020 the process began of designating almost everything a ‘Covid’ death and this has continued ever since. I sat in a restaurant one night listening to a loud conversation on the next table where a family was discussing in bewilderment how a relative who had no symptoms of ‘Covid’, and had died of a long-term problem, could have been diagnosed a death by the ‘virus’. I could understand their bewilderment. If they read this book they will know why this medical fraud has been perpetrated the world over.

Some media truth shock

The media ignored the evidence of death certificate fraud until eventually one columnist did speak out when she saw it first-hand. Bel Mooney is a long-time national newspaper journalist in Britain currently working for the *Daily Mail*. Her article on February 19th, 2021, carried this headline: ‘My dad Ted passed three Covid tests

and died of a chronic illness yet he's officially one of Britain's 120,000 victims of the virus and is far from alone ... so how many more are there?' She told how her 99-year-old father was in a care home with a long-standing chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and vascular dementia. Maybe, but he was still aware enough to tell her from the start that there was no 'virus' and he refused the 'vaccine' for that reason. His death was not unexpected given his chronic health problems and Mooney said she was shocked to find that 'Covid-19' was declared the cause of death on his death certificate. She said this was a 'bizarre and unacceptable untruth' for a man with long-time health problems who had tested negative twice at the home for the 'virus'. I was also shocked by this story although not by what she said. I had been highlighting the death certificate manipulation for ten months. It was the confirmation that a professional full-time journalist only realised this was going on when it affected her directly and neither did she know that whether her dad tested positive or negative was irrelevant with the test not testing for the 'virus'. Where had she been? She said she did not believe in 'conspiracy theories' without knowing I'm sure that this and 'conspiracy theorists' were terms put into widespread circulation by the CIA in the 1960s to discredit those who did not accept the ridiculous official story of the Kennedy assassination. A blanket statement of 'I don't believe in conspiracy theories' is always bizarre. The dictionary definition of the term alone means the world is drowning in conspiracies. What she said was even more daft when her dad had just been affected by the 'Covid' conspiracy. Why else does she think that 'Covid-19' was going on the death certificates of people who died of something else?

To be fair once she saw from personal experience what was happening she didn't mince words. Mooney was called by the care home on the morning of February 9th to be told her father had died in his sleep. When she asked for the official cause of death what came back was 'Covid-19'. Mooney challenged this and was told there had been deaths from Covid on the dementia floor (confirmed by a test not testing for the 'virus') so they considered it 'reasonable

to assume'. 'But doctor,' Mooney rightly protested, 'an assumption isn't a diagnosis.' She said she didn't blame the perfectly decent and sympathetic doctor – 'he was just doing his job'. Sorry, but that's *bullshit*. He wasn't doing his job at all. He was putting a false cause of death on the death certificate and that is a criminal offence for which he should be brought to account and the same with the millions of doctors worldwide who have done the same. They were not doing their job they were following orders and that must not wash at new Nuremberg trials any more than it did at the first ones. Mooney's doctor was 'assuming' (presuming) as he was told to, but 'just following orders' makes no difference to his actions. A doctor's job is to serve the patient and the truth, not follow orders, but that's what they have done all over the world and played a central part in making the 'Covid' hoax possible with all its catastrophic consequences for humanity. Shame on them and they must answer for their actions. Mooney said her disquiet worsened when she registered her father's death by telephone and was told by the registrar there had been very many other cases like hers where 'the deceased' had not tested positive for 'Covid' yet it was recorded as the cause of death. The test may not matter, but those involved at their level *think* it matters and it shows a callous disregard for accurate diagnosis. The pressure to do this is coming from the top of the national 'health' pyramids which in turn obey the World Health Organization which obeys Gates and the Cult. Mooney said the registrar agreed that this must distort the national figures adding that 'the strangest thing is that every winter we record countless deaths from flu, and this winter there have been none. Not one!' She asked if the registrar thought deaths from flu were being misdiagnosed and lumped together with 'Covid' deaths. The answer was a 'puzzled yes'. Mooney said that the funeral director said the same about 'Covid' deaths which had nothing to do with 'Covid'. They had lost count of the number of families upset by this and other funeral companies in different countries have had the same experience. Mooney wrote:

The nightly shroud-waving and shocking close-ups of pain imposed on us by the TV news bewildered and terrified the population into eager compliance with lockdowns. We were invited to ‘save the NHS’ and to grieve for strangers – the real-life loved ones behind those shocking death counts. Why would the public imagine what I now fear, namely that the way Covid-19 death statistics are compiled might make the numbers seem greater than they are?

Oh, just a little bit – like 100 percent.

Do the maths

Mooney asked why a country would wish to skew its mortality figures by wrongly certifying deaths? What had been going on? Well, if you don’t believe in conspiracies you will never find the answer which is that *it’s a conspiracy*. She did, however, describe what she had discovered as a ‘national scandal’. In reality it’s a global scandal and happening everywhere. Pillars of this conspiracy were all put into place before the button was pressed with the Drosten PCR protocol and high amplifications to produce the cases and death certificate changes to secure illusory ‘Covid’ deaths.

Mooney notes that normally two doctors were needed to certify a death, with one having to know the patient, and how the rules were changed in the spring of 2020 to allow one doctor to do this. In the same period ‘Covid deaths’ were decreed to be all cases where Covid-19 was put on the death certificate even without a positive test or any symptoms. Mooney asked: ‘How many of the 30,851 (as of January 15) care home resident deaths with Covid-19 on the certificate (32.4 per cent of all deaths so far) were based on an assumption, like that of my father? And what has that done to our national psyche?’ All of them is the answer to the first question and it has devastated and dismantled the national psyche, actually the global psyche, on a colossal scale. In the UK case and death data is compiled by organisations like Public Health England (PHE) and the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Mooney highlights the insane policy of counting a death from any cause as ‘Covid-19’ if this happens within 28 days of a positive test (with a test not testing for the ‘virus’) and she points out that ONS statistics reflect deaths ‘involving Covid’ ‘or due to Covid’ which meant in practice any

death where ‘Covid-19’ was mentioned on the death certificate. She described the consequences of this fraud:

Most people will accept the narrative they are fed, so panicky governments here and in Europe witnessed the harsh measures enacted in totalitarian China and jumped into lockdown. Headlines about Covid deaths tolled like the knell that would bring doomsday to us all. Fear stalked our empty streets. Politicians parroted the frankly ridiculous aim of ‘zero Covid’ and shut down the economy, while most British people agreed that lockdown was essential and (astonishingly to me, as a patriotic Brit) even wanted more restrictions.

For what? Lies on death certificates? Never mind the grim toll of lives ruined, suicides, schools closed, rising inequality, depression, cancelled hospital treatments, cancer patients in a torture of waiting, poverty, economic devastation, loneliness, families kept apart, and so on. How many lives have been lost as a direct result of lockdown?

She said that we could join in a national chorus of shock and horror at reaching the 120,000 death toll which was surely certain to have been totally skewed all along, but what about the human cost of lockdown justified by these ‘death figures’? *The British Medical Journal* had reported a 1,493 percent increase in cases of children taken to Great Ormond Street Hospital with abusive head injuries alone and then there was the effect on families:

Perhaps the most shocking thing about all this is that families have been kept apart – and obeyed the most irrational, changing rules at the whim of government – because they believed in the statistics. They succumbed to fear, which his generation rejected in that war fought for freedom. Dad (God rest his soul) would be angry. And so am I.

Another theme to watch is that in the winter months when there are more deaths from all causes they focus on ‘Covid’ deaths and in the summer when the British Lung Foundation says respiratory disease plummets by 80 percent they rage on about ‘cases’. Either way fascism on population is always the answer.

Nazi eugenics in the 21st century

Elderly people in care homes have been isolated from their families month after lonely month with no contact with relatives and grandchildren who were banned from seeing them. We were told

that lockdown fascism was to ‘protect the vulnerable’ like elderly people. At the same time Do Not Resuscitate (DNR) orders were placed on their medical files so that if they needed resuscitation it wasn’t done and ‘Covid-19’ went on their death certificates. Old people were not being ‘protected’ they were being culled – murdered in truth. DNR orders were being decreed for disabled and young people with learning difficulties or psychological problems. The UK Care Quality Commission, a non-departmental body of the Department of Health and Social Care, found that 34 percent of those working in health and social care were pressured into placing ‘do not attempt cardiopulmonary resuscitation’ orders on ‘Covid’ patients who suffered from disabilities and learning difficulties without involving the patient or their families in the decision. UK judges ruled that an elderly woman with dementia should have the DNA-manipulating ‘Covid vaccine’ against her son’s wishes and that a man with severe learning difficulties should have the jab despite his family’s objections. Never mind that many had already died. The judiciary always supports doctors and government in fascist dictatorships. They wouldn’t dare do otherwise. A horrific video was posted showing fascist officers from Los Angeles police forcibly giving the ‘Covid’ shot to women with special needs who were screaming that they didn’t want it. The same fascists are seen giving the jab to a sleeping elderly woman in a care home. This is straight out of the Nazi playbook. Hitler’s Nazis committed mass murder of the mentally ill and physically disabled throughout Germany and occupied territories in the programme that became known as Aktion T4, or just T4. Sabbatian-controlled Hitler and his grotesque crazies set out to kill those they considered useless and unnecessary. The Reich Committee for the Scientific Registering of Hereditary and Congenital Illnesses registered the births of babies identified by physicians to have ‘defects’. By 1941 alone more than 5,000 children were murdered by the state and it is estimated that in total the number of innocent people killed in Aktion T4 was between 275,000 and 300,000. Parents were told their children had been sent away for ‘special treatment’ never to return. It is rather pathetic to see claims about plans for new extermination camps being dismissed today

when the same force behind current events did precisely that 80 years ago. Margaret Sanger was a Cult operative who used 'birth control' to sanitise her programme of eugenics. Organisations she founded became what is now Planned Parenthood. Sanger proposed that 'the whole dysgenic population would have its choice of segregation or sterilization'. These included epileptics, 'feeble-minded', and prostitutes. Sanger opposed charity because it perpetuated 'human waste'. She reveals the Cult mentality and if anyone thinks that extermination camps are a 'conspiracy theory' their naivety is touching if breathtakingly stupid.

If you don't believe that doctors can act with callous disregard for their patients it is worth considering that doctors and medical staff agreed to put government-decreed DNR orders on medical files and do nothing when resuscitation is called for. I don't know what you call such people in your house. In mine they are Nazis from the Josef Mengele School of Medicine. Phenomenal numbers of old people have died worldwide from the effects of lockdown, depression, lack of treatment, the 'vaccine' (more later) and losing the will to live. A common response at the start of the manufactured pandemic was to remove old people from hospital beds and transfer them to nursing homes. The decision would result in a mass cull of elderly people in those homes through lack of treatment – *not* 'Covid'. Care home whistleblowers have told how once the 'Covid' era began doctors would not come to their homes to treat patients and they were begging for drugs like antibiotics that often never came. The most infamous example was ordered by New York governor Andrew Cuomo, brother of a moronic CNN host, who amazingly was given an Emmy Award for his handling of the 'Covid crisis' by the ridiculous Wokers that hand them out. Just how ridiculous could be seen in February, 2021, when a Department of Justice and FBI investigation began into how thousands of old people in New York died in nursing homes after being discharged from hospital to make way for 'Covid' patients on Cuomo's say-so – and how he and his staff covered up these facts. This couldn't have happened to a nicer psychopath. Even then there was a 'Covid' spin. Reports said that

thousands of old people who tested positive for ‘Covid’ in hospital were transferred to nursing homes to both die of ‘Covid’ and transmit it to others. No – they were in hospital because they were ill and the fact that they tested positive with a test not testing for the ‘virus’ is irrelevant. They were ill often with respiratory diseases ubiquitous in old people near the end of their lives. Their transfer out of hospital meant that their treatment stopped and many would go on to die.

They're old. Who gives a damn?

I have exposed in the books for decades the Cult plan to cull the world’s old people and even to introduce at some point what they call a ‘demise pill’ which at a certain age everyone would take and be out of here by law. In March, 2021, Spain legalised euthanasia and assisted suicide following the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Canada on the Tiptoe to the demise pill. Treatment of old people by many ‘care’ homes has been a disgrace in the ‘Covid’ era. There are many, many, caring staff – I know some. There have, however, been legions of stories about callous treatment of old people and their families. Police were called when families came to take their loved ones home in the light of isolation that was killing them. They became prisoners of the state. Care home residents in insane, fascist Ontario, Canada, were not allowed to leave their *room* once the ‘Covid’ hoax began. UK staff have even wheeled elderly people away from windows where family members were talking with them. Oriana Criscuolo from Stockport in the English North West dropped off some things for her 80-year-old father who has Parkinson’s disease and dementia and she wanted to wave to him through a ground-floor window. She was told that was ‘illegal’. When she went anyway they closed the curtains in the middle of the day. Oriana said:

It’s just unbelievable. I cannot understand how care home staff – people who are being paid to care – have become so uncaring. Their behaviour is inhumane and cruel. It’s beyond belief.

She was right and this was not a one-off. What a way to end your life in such loveless circumstances. UK registered nurse Nicky Millen, a proper old school nurse for 40 years, said that when she started her career care was based on dignity, choice, compassion and empathy. Now she said ‘the things that are important to me have gone out of the window.’ She was appalled that people were dying without their loved ones and saying goodbye on iPads. Nicky described how a distressed 89-year-old lady stroked her face and asked her ‘how many paracetamol would it take to finish me off’. Life was no longer worth living while not seeing her family. Nicky said she was humiliated in front of the ward staff and patients for letting the lady stroke her face and giving her a cuddle. Such is the dehumanisation that the ‘Covid’ hoax has brought to the surface. Nicky worked in care homes where patients told her they were being held prisoner. ‘I want to live until I die’, one said to her. ‘I had a lady in tears because she hadn’t seen her great-grandson.’ Nicky was compassionate old school meeting psychopathic New Normal. She also said she had worked on a ‘Covid’ ward with no ‘Covid’ patients. Jewish writer Shai Held wrote an article in March, 2020, which was headlined ‘The Staggering, Heartless Cruelty Toward the Elderly’. What he described was happening from the earliest days of lockdown. He said ‘the elderly’ were considered a group and not unique individuals (the way of the Woke). Shai Held said:

Notice how the all-too-familiar rhetoric of dehumanization works: ‘The elderly’ are bunched together as a faceless mass, all of them considered culprits and thus effectively deserving of the suffering the pandemic will inflict upon them. Lost entirely is the fact that the elderly are individual human beings, each with a distinctive face and voice, each with hopes and dreams, memories and regrets, friendships and marriages, loves lost and loves sustained.

‘The elderly’ have become another dehumanised group for which anything goes and for many that has resulted in cold disregard for their rights and their life. The distinctive face that Held talks about is designed to be deleted by masks until everyone is part of a faceless mass.

'War-zone' hospitals myth

Again and again medical professionals have told me what was really going on and how hospitals 'overrun like war zones' according to the media were virtually empty. The mantra from medical whistleblowers was please don't use my name or my career is over. Citizen journalists around the world sneaked into hospitals to film evidence exposing the 'war-zone' lie. They really *were* largely empty with closed wards and operating theatres. I met a hospital worker in my town on the Isle of Wight during the first lockdown in 2020 who said the only island hospital had never been so quiet. Lockdown was justified by the psychopaths to stop hospitals being overrun. At the same time that the island hospital was near-empty the military arrived here to provide *extra beds*. It was all propaganda to ramp up the fear to ensure compliance with fascism as were never-used temporary hospitals with thousands of beds known as Nightingales and never-used make-shift mortuaries opened by the criminal UK government. A man who helped to install those extra island beds attributed to the army said they were never used and the hospital was empty. Doctors and nurses 'stood around talking or on their phones, wandering down to us to see what we were doing'. There were no masks or social distancing. He accused the useless local island paper, the *County Press*, of 'pumping the fear as if our hospital was overrun and we only have one so it should have been'. He described ambulances parked up with crews outside in deck chairs. When his brother called an ambulance he was told there was a two-hour backlog which he called 'bullshit'. An old lady on the island fell 'and was in a bad way', but a caller who rang for an ambulance was told the situation wasn't urgent enough. Ambulance stations were working under capacity while people would hear ambulances with sirens blaring driving through the streets. When those living near the stations realised what was going on they would follow them as they left, circulated around an urban area with the sirens going, and then came back without stopping. All this was to increase levels of fear and the same goes for the 'ventilator shortage crisis' that cost tens of millions for hastily produced ventilators never to be used.

Ambulance crews that agreed to be exploited in this way for fear propaganda might find themselves a mirror. I wish them well with that. Empty hospitals were the obvious consequence of treatment and diagnoses of non-'Covid' conditions cancelled and those involved handed a death sentence. People have been dying at home from undiagnosed and untreated cancer, heart disease and other life-threatening conditions to allow empty hospitals to deal with a 'pandemic' that wasn't happening.

Death of the innocent

'War-zones' have been laying off nursing staff, even doctors where they can. There was no work for them. Lockdown was justified by saving lives and protecting the vulnerable they were actually killing with DNR orders and preventing empty hospitals being 'overrun'. In Britain the mantra of stay at home to 'save the NHS' was everywhere and across the world the same story was being sold when it was all lies. Two California doctors, Dan Erickson and Artin Massihi at Accelerated Urgent Care in Bakersfield, held a news conference in April, 2020, to say that intensive care units in California were 'empty, essentially', with hospitals shutting floors, not treating patients and laying off doctors. The California health system was working at minimum capacity 'getting rid of doctors because we just don't have the volume'. They said that people with conditions such as heart disease and cancer were not coming to hospital out of fear of 'Covid-19'. Their video was deleted by Susan Wojcicki's Cult-owned YouTube after reaching five million views. Florida governor Ron Desantis, who rejected the severe lockdowns of other states and is being targeted for doing so, said that in March, 2020, every US governor was given models claiming they would run out of hospital beds in days. That was never going to happen and the 'modellers' knew it. Deceit can be found at every level of the system. Urgent children's operations were cancelled including fracture repairs and biopsies to spot cancer. Eric Nicholls, a consultant paediatrician, said 'this is obviously concerning and we need to return to normal operating and to increase capacity as soon as possible'. Psychopaths

in power were rather less concerned *because* they are psychopaths. Deletion of urgent care and diagnosis has been happening all over the world and how many kids and others have died as a result of the actions of these cold and heartless lunatics dictating ‘health’ policy? The number must be stratospheric. Richard Sullivan, professor of cancer and global health at King’s College London, said people feared ‘Covid’ more than cancer such was the campaign of fear. ‘Years of lost life will be quite dramatic’, Sullivan said, with ‘a huge amount of avoidable mortality’. Sarah Woolnough, executive director for policy at Cancer Research UK, said there had been a 75 percent drop in urgent referrals to hospitals by family doctors of people with suspected cancer. Sullivan said that ‘a lot of services have had to scale back – we’ve seen a dramatic decrease in the amount of elective cancer surgery’. Lockdown deaths worldwide has been absolutely fantastic with the *New York Post* reporting how data confirmed that ‘lockdowns end more lives than they save’:

There was a sharp decline in visits to emergency rooms and an increase in fatal heart attacks because patients didn’t receive prompt treatment. Many fewer people were screened for cancer. Social isolation contributed to excess deaths from dementia and Alzheimer’s.

Researchers predicted that the social and economic upheaval would lead to tens of thousands of “deaths of despair” from drug overdoses, alcoholism and suicide. As unemployment surged and mental-health and substance-abuse treatment programs were interrupted, the reported levels of anxiety, depression and suicidal thoughts increased dramatically, as did alcohol sales and fatal drug overdoses.

This has been happening while nurses and other staff had so much time on their hands in the ‘war-zones’ that Tic-Tok dancing videos began appearing across the Internet with medical staff dancing around in empty wards and corridors as people died at home from causes that would normally have been treated in hospital.

Mentions in dispatches

One brave and truth-committed whistleblower was Louise Hampton, a call handler with the UK NHS who made a viral Internet video saying she had done ‘fuck all’ during the ‘pandemic’

which was ‘a load of bollocks’. She said that ‘Covid-19’ was rebranded flu and of course she lost her job. This is what happens in the medical and endless other professions now when you tell the truth. Louise filmed inside ‘war-zone’ accident and emergency departments to show they were empty and I mean *empty* as in no one there. The mainstream media could have done the same and blown the gaff on the whole conspiracy. They haven’t to their eternal shame. Not that most ‘journalists’ seem capable of manifesting shame as with the psychopaths they slavishly repeat without question. The relative few who were admitted with serious health problems were left to die alone with no loved ones allowed to see them because of ‘Covid’ rules and they included kids dying without the comfort of mum and dad at their bedside while the evil behind this couldn’t give a damn. It was all good fun to them. A Scottish NHS staff nurse publicly quit in the spring of 2021 saying: ‘I can no longer be part of the lies and the corruption by the government.’ She said hospitals ‘aren’t full, the beds aren’t full, beds have been shut, wards have been shut’. Hospitals were never busy throughout ‘Covid’. The staff nurse said that Nicola Sturgeon, tragically the leader of the Scottish government, was on television saying save the hospitals and the NHS – ‘but the beds are empty’ and ‘we’ve not seen flu, we always see flu every year’. She wrote to government and spoke with her union Unison (the unions are Cult-compromised and *useless*, but nothing changed. Many of her colleagues were scared of losing their jobs if they spoke out as they wanted to. She said nursing staff were being affected by wearing masks all day and ‘my head is splitting every shift from wearing a mask’. The NHS is part of the fascist tyranny and must be dismantled so we can start again with human beings in charge. (Ironically, hospitals were reported to be busier again when official ‘Covid’ cases *fell* in spring/summer of 2021 and many other conditions required treatment at the same time as *the fake vaccine rollout*.)

I will cover the ‘Covid vaccine’ scam in detail later, but it is another indicator of the sickening disregard for human life that I am highlighting here. The DNA-manipulating concoctions do not fulfil

the definition of a ‘vaccine’, have never been used on humans before and were given only emergency approval because trials were not completed and they continued using the unknowing public. The result was what a NHS senior nurse with responsibility for ‘vaccine’ procedure said was ‘genocide’. She said the ‘vaccines’ were not ‘vaccines’. They had not been shown to be safe and claims about their effectiveness by drug companies were ‘poetic licence’. She described what was happening as a ‘horrid act of human annihilation’. The nurse said that management had instigated a policy of not providing a Patient Information Leaflet (PIL) before people were ‘vaccinated’ even though health care professionals are supposed to do this according to protocol. Patients should also be told that they are taking part in an ongoing clinical trial. Her challenges to what is happening had seen her excluded from meetings and ridiculed in others. She said she was told to ‘watch my step … or I would find myself surplus to requirements’. The nurse, who spoke anonymously in fear of her career, said she asked her NHS manager why he/she was content with taking part in genocide against those having the ‘vaccines’. The reply was that everyone had to play their part and to ‘put up, shut up, and get it done’. Government was ‘leaning heavily’ on NHS management which was clearly leaning heavily on staff. This is how the global ‘medical’ hierarchy operates and it starts with the Cult and its World Health Organization.

She told the story of a doctor who had the Pfizer jab and when questioned had no idea what was in it. The doctor had never read the literature. We have to stop treating doctors as intellectual giants when so many are moral and medical pygmies. The doctor did not even know that the ‘vaccines’ were not fully approved or that their trials were ongoing. They were, however, asking their patients if they minded taking part in follow-ups for research purposes – yes, the *ongoing clinical trial*. The nurse said the doctor’s ignorance was not rare and she had spoken to a hospital consultant who had the jab without any idea of the background or that the ‘trials’ had not been completed. Nurses and pharmacists had shown the same ignorance.

'My NHS colleagues have forsaken their duty of care, broken their code of conduct – Hippocratic Oath – and have been brainwashed just the same as the majority of the UK public through propaganda ...' She said she had not been able to recruit a single NHS colleague, doctor, nurse or pharmacist to stand with her and speak out. Her union had refused to help. She said that if the genocide came to light she would not hesitate to give evidence at a Nuremberg-type trial against those in power who could have affected the outcomes but didn't.

And all for what?

To put the nonsense into perspective let's say the 'virus' does exist and let's go completely crazy and accept that the official manipulated figures for cases and deaths are accurate. *Even then* a study by Stanford University epidemiologist Dr John Ioannidis published on the World Health Organization website produced an average infection to fatality rate of ... 0.23 percent! Ioannidis said: 'If one could sample equally from all locations globally, the median infection fatality rate might even be substantially lower than the 0.23% observed in my analysis.' For healthy people under 70 it was ... 0.05 percent! This compares with the 3.4 percent claimed by the Cult-owned World Health Organization when the hoax was first played and maximum fear needed to be generated. An updated Stanford study in April, 2021, put the 'infection' to 'fatality' rate at just 0.15 percent. Another team of scientists led by Megan O'Driscoll and Henrik Salje studied data from 45 countries and published their findings on the Nature website. For children and young people the figure is so small it virtually does not register although authorities will be hyping dangers to the young when they introduce DNA-manipulating 'vaccines' for children. The O'Driscoll study produced an average infection-fatality figure of 0.003 for children from birth to four; 0.001 for 5 to 14; 0.003 for 15 to 19; and it was still only 0.456 up to 64. To claim that children must be 'vaccinated' to protect them from 'Covid' is an obvious lie and so there must be another reason and there is. What's more the average age of a 'Covid' death is akin

to the average age that people die in general. The average age of death in England is about 80 for men and 83 for women. The average age of death from alleged 'Covid' is between 82 and 83. California doctors, Dan Erickson and Artin Massihi, said at their April media conference that projection models of millions of deaths had been 'woefully inaccurate'. They produced detailed figures showing that Californians had a 0.03 chance of dying from 'Covid' based on the number of people who tested positive (with a test not testing for the 'virus'). Erickson said there was a 0.1 percent chance of dying from 'Covid' in the *state* of New York, not just the city, and a 0.05 percent chance in Spain, a centre of 'Covid-19' hysteria at one stage. The Stanford studies supported the doctors' data with fatality rate estimates of 0.23 and 0.15 percent. How close are these figures to my estimate of *zero*? Death-rate figures claimed by the World Health Organization at the start of the hoax were some 15 times higher. The California doctors said there was no justification for lockdowns and the economic devastation they caused. Everything they had ever learned about quarantine was that you quarantine the *sick* and not the healthy. They had never seen this before and it made no medical sense.

Why in the light of all this would governments and medical systems the world over say that billions must go under house arrest; lose their livelihood; in many cases lose their mind, their health and their life; force people to wear masks dangerous to health and psychology; make human interaction and even family interaction a criminal offence; ban travel; close restaurants, bars, watching live sport, concerts, theatre, and any activity involving human togetherness and discourse; and closing schools to isolate children from their friends and cause many to commit suicide in acts of hopelessness and despair? The California doctors said lockdown consequences included increased child abuse, partner abuse, alcoholism, depression, and other impacts they were seeing every day. Who would do that to the entire human race if not mentally-ill psychopaths of almost unimaginable extremes like Bill Gates? We must face the reality of what we are dealing with and come out of

denial. Fascism and tyranny are made possible only by the target population submitting and acquiescing to fascism and tyranny. The whole of human history shows that to be true. Most people naively and unquestioning believed what they were told about a ‘deadly virus’ and meekly and weakly submitted to house arrest. Those who didn’t believe it – at least in total – still submitted in fear of the consequences of not doing so. For the rest who wouldn’t submit draconian fines have been imposed, brutal policing by psychopaths *for* psychopaths, and condemnation from the meek and weak who condemn the Pushbackers on behalf of the very force that has them, too, in its gunsights. ‘Pathetic’ does not even begin to suffice.

Britain’s brainless ‘Health’ Secretary Matt Hancock warned anyone lying to border officials about returning from a list of ‘hotspot’ countries could face a jail sentence of up to ten years which is more than for racially-aggravated assault, incest and attempting to have sex with a child under 13. Hancock is a lunatic, but he has the state apparatus behind him in a Cult-led chain reaction and the same with UK ‘Vaccine Minister’ Nadhim Zahawi, a prominent member of the mega-Cult secret society, Le Cercle, which featured in my earlier books. The Cult enforces its will on governments and medical systems; government and medical systems enforce their will on business and police; business enforces its will on staff who enforce it on customers; police enforce the will of the Cult on the population and play their essential part in creating a world of fascist control that their own children and grandchildren will have to live in their entire lives. It is a hierarchical pyramid of imposition and acquiescence and, yes indeedy, of clinical insanity.

Does anyone bright enough to read this book have to ask what the answer is? I think not, but I will reveal it anyway in the fewest of syllables: Tell the psychos and their moronic lackeys to fuck off and let’s get on with our lives. We are many – They are few.

CHAPTER SEVEN

War on your mind

One believes things because one has been conditioned to believe them

Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*

I have described the ‘Covid’ hoax as a ‘Psyop’ and that is true in every sense and on every level in accordance with the definition of that term which is psychological warfare. Break down the ‘Covid pandemic’ to the foundation themes and it is psychological warfare on the human individual and collective mind.

The same can be said for the entire human belief system involving every subject you can imagine. Huxley was right in his contention that people believe what they are conditioned to believe and this comes from the repetition throughout their lives of the same falsehoods. They spew from government, corporations, media and endless streams of ‘experts’ telling you what the Cult wants you to believe and often believing it themselves (although *far* from always). ‘Experts’ are rewarded with ‘prestigious’ jobs and titles and as agents of perceptual programming with regular access to the media. The Cult has to control the narrative – control *information* – or they lose control of the vital, crucial, without-which-they-cannot-prevail public perception of reality. The foundation of that control today is the Internet made possible by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the incredibly sinister technological arm of the Pentagon. The Internet is the result of military technology.

DARPA openly brags about establishing the Internet which has been a long-term project to lasso the minds of the global population. I have said for decades the plan is to control information to such an extreme that eventually no one would see or hear anything that the Cult does not approve. We are closing in on that end with ferocious censorship since the ‘Covid’ hoax began and in my case it started back in the 1990s in terms of books and speaking venues. I had to create my own publishing company in 1995 precisely because no one else would publish my books even then. I think they’re all still running.

Cult Internet

To secure total control of information they needed the Internet in which pre-programmed algorithms can seek out ‘unclean’ content for deletion and even stop it being posted in the first place. The Cult had to dismantle print and non-Internet broadcast media to ensure the transfer of information to the appropriate-named ‘Web’ – a critical expression of the *Cult* web. We’ve seen the ever-quickenning demise of traditional media and control of what is left by a tiny number of corporations operating worldwide. Independent journalism in the mainstream is already dead and never was that more obvious than since the turn of 2020. The Cult wants all information communicated via the Internet to globally censor and allow the plug to be pulled any time. Lockdowns and forced isolation has meant that communication between people has been through electronic means and no longer through face-to-face discourse and discussion. Cult psychopaths have targeted the bars, restaurants, sport, venues and meeting places in general for this reason. None of this is by chance and it’s to stop people gathering in any kind of privacy or number while being able to track and monitor all Internet communications and block them as necessary. Even private messages between individuals have been censored by these fascists that control Cult fronts like Facebook, Twitter, Google and YouTube which are all officially run by Sabbatian place-people and from the background by higher-level Sabbatian place people.

Facebook, Google, Amazon and their like were seed-funded and supported into existence with money-no-object infusions of funds either directly or indirectly from DARPA and CIA technology arm In-Q-Tel. The Cult plays the long game and prepares very carefully for big plays like 'Covid'. Amazon is another front in the psychological war and pretty much controls the global market in book sales and increasingly publishing. Amazon's limitless funds have deleted fantastic numbers of independent publishers to seize global domination on the way to deciding which books can be sold and circulated and which cannot. Moves in that direction are already happening. Amazon's leading light Jeff Bezos is the grandson of Lawrence Preston Gise who worked with DARPA predecessor ARPA. Amazon has big connections to the CIA and the Pentagon. The plan I have long described went like this:

1. Employ military technology to establish the Internet.
2. Sell the Internet as a place where people can freely communicate without censorship and allow that to happen until the Net becomes the central and irreversible pillar of human society. If the Internet had been highly censored from the start many would have rejected it.
3. Fund and manipulate major corporations into being to control the circulation of information on your Internet using cover stories about geeks in garages to explain how they came about. Give them unlimited funds to expand rapidly with no need to make a profit for years while non-Cult companies who need to balance the books cannot compete. You know that in these circumstances your Googles, YouTubes, Facebooks and Amazons are going to secure near monopolies by either crushing or buying up the opposition.
4. Allow freedom of expression on both the Internet and communication platforms to draw people in until the Internet is the central and irreversible pillar of human society and your communication corporations have reached a stage of near monopoly domination.
5. Then unleash your always-planned frenzy of censorship on the basis of 'where else are you going to go?' and continue to expand that until nothing remains that the Cult does not want its human targets to see.

The process was timed to hit the 'Covid' hoax to ensure the best chance possible of controlling the narrative which they knew they had to do at all costs. They were, after all, about to unleash a 'deadly virus' that didn't really exist. If you do that in an environment of free-flowing information and opinion you would be dead in the

water before you could say Gates is a psychopath. The network was in place through which the Cult-created-and-owned World Health Organization could dictate the ‘Covid’ narrative and response policy slavishly supported by Cult-owned Internet communication giants and mainstream media while those telling a different story were censored. Google, YouTube, Facebook and Twitter openly announced that they would do this. What else would we expect from Cult-owned operations like Facebook which former executives have confirmed set out to make the platform more addictive than cigarettes and coldly manipulates emotions of its users to sow division between people and groups and scramble the minds of the young? If Zuckerberg lives out the rest of his life without going to jail for crimes against humanity, and most emphatically against the young, it will be a travesty of justice. Still, no matter, cause and effect will catch up with him eventually and the same with Sergey Brin and Larry Page at Google with its CEO Sundar Pichai who fix the Google search results to promote Cult narratives and hide the opposition. Put the same key words into Google and other search engines like DuckDuckGo and you will see how different results can be. Wikipedia is another intensely biased ‘encyclopaedia’ which skews its content to the Cult agenda. YouTube links to Wikipedia’s version of ‘Covid’ and ‘climate change’ on video pages in which experts in their field offer a different opinion (even that is increasingly rare with Wojcicki censorship). Into this ‘Covid’ silence-them network must be added government media censors, sorry ‘regulators’, such as Ofcom in the UK which imposed tyrannical restrictions on British broadcasters that had the effect of banning me from ever appearing. Just to debate with me about my evidence and views on ‘Covid’ would mean breaking the fascistic impositions of Ofcom and its CEO career government bureaucrat Melanie Dawes. Gutless British broadcasters tremble at the very thought of fascist Ofcom.

Psychos behind ‘Covid’

The reason for the ‘Covid’ catastrophe in all its facets and forms can be seen by whom and what is driving the policies worldwide in such a coordinated way. Decisions are not being made to protect health, but to target psychology. The dominant group guiding and ‘advising’ government policy are not medical professionals. They are psychologists and behavioural scientists. Every major country has its own version of this phenomenon and I’ll use the British example to show how it works. In many ways the British version has been affecting the wider world in the form of the huge behaviour manipulation network in the UK which operates in other countries. The network involves private companies, government, intelligence and military. The Cabinet Office is at the centre of the government ‘Covid’ Psyop and part-owns, with ‘innovation charity’ Nesta, the Behavioural Insights Team (BIT) which claims to be independent of government but patently isn’t. The BIT was established in 2010 and its job is to manipulate the psyche of the population to acquiesce to government demands and so much more. It is also known as the ‘Nudge Unit’, a name inspired by the 2009 book by two ultra-Zionists, Cass Sunstein and Richard Thaler, called *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness*. The book, as with the Behavioural Insights Team, seeks to ‘nudge’ behaviour (manipulate it) to make the public follow patterns of action and perception that suit those in authority (the Cult). Sunstein is so skilled at this that he advises the World Health Organization and the UK Behavioural Insights Team and was Administrator of the White House Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs in the Obama administration. Biden appointed him to the Department of Homeland Security – another ultra-Zionist in the fold to oversee new immigration laws which is another policy the Cult wants to control. Sunstein is desperate to silence anyone exposing conspiracies and co-authored a 2008 report on the subject in which suggestions were offered to ban ‘conspiracy theorizing’ or impose ‘some kind of tax, financial or otherwise, on those who disseminate such theories’. I guess a psychiatrist’s chair is out of the question?

Sunstein's mate Richard Thaler, an 'academic affiliate' of the UK Behavioural Insights Team, is a proponent of 'behavioural economics' which is defined as the study of 'the effects of psychological, cognitive, emotional, cultural and social factors on the decisions of individuals and institutions'. Study the effects so they can be manipulated to be what you want them to be. Other leading names in the development of behavioural economics are ultra-Zionists Daniel Kahneman and Robert J. Shiller and they, with Thaler, won the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for their work in this field. The Behavioural Insights Team is operating at the heart of the UK government and has expanded globally through partnerships with several universities including Harvard, Oxford, Cambridge, University College London (UCL) and Pennsylvania. They claim to have 'trained' (reframed) 20,000 civil servants and run more than 750 projects involving 400 randomised controlled trials in dozens of countries' as another version of mind reframers Common Purpose. BIT works from its office in New York with cities and their agencies, as well as other partners, across the United States and Canada – this is a company part-owned by the British government Cabinet Office. An executive order by President Cult-servant Obama established a US Social and Behavioral Sciences Team in 2015. They all have the same reason for being and that's to brainwash the population directly and by brainwashing those in positions of authority.

'Covid' mind game

Another prime aspect of the UK mind-control network is the 'independent' [joke] Scientific Pandemic Insights Group on Behaviours (SPI-B) which 'provides behavioural science advice aimed at anticipating and helping people adhere to interventions that are recommended by medical or epidemiological experts'. That means manipulating public perception and behaviour to do whatever government tells them to do. It's disgusting and if they really want the public to be 'safe' this lot should all be under lock and key. According to the government website SPI-B consists of

'behavioural scientists, health and social psychologists, anthropologists and historians' and advises the Whitty-Vallance-led Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE) which in turn advises the government on 'the science' (it doesn't) and 'Covid' policy. When politicians say they are being guided by 'the science' this is the rabble in each country they are talking about and that 'science' is dominated by behaviour manipulators to enforce government fascism through public compliance. The Behaviour Insight Team is headed by psychologist David Solomon Halpern, a visiting professor at King's College London, and connects with a national and global web of other civilian and military organisations as the Cult moves towards its goal of fusing them into one fascistic whole in every country through its 'Fusion Doctrine'. The behaviour manipulation network involves, but is not confined to, the Foreign Office; National Security Council; government communications headquarters (GCHQ); MI5; MI6; the Cabinet Office-based Media Monitoring Unit; and the Rapid Response Unit which 'monitors digital trends to spot emerging issues; including misinformation and disinformation; and identifies the best way to respond'.

There is also the 77th Brigade of the UK military which operates like the notorious Israeli military's Unit 8200 in manipulating information and discussion on the Internet by posing as members of the public to promote the narrative and discredit those who challenge it. Here we have the military seeking to manipulate *domestic* public opinion while the Nazis in government are fine with that. Conservative Member of Parliament Tobias Ellwood, an advocate of lockdown and control through 'vaccine passports', is a Lieutenant Colonel reservist in the 77th Brigade which connects with the military operation jHub, the 'innovation centre' for the Ministry of Defence and Strategic Command. jHub has also been involved with the civilian National Health Service (NHS) in 'symptom tracing' the population. The NHS is a key part of this mind control network and produced a document in December, 2020, explaining to staff how to use psychological manipulation with different groups and ages to get them to have the DNA-manipulating 'Covid vaccine'

that's designed to cumulatively rewrite human genetics. The document, called 'Optimising Vaccination Roll Out – Do's and Dont's for all messaging, documents and "communications" in the widest sense', was published by NHS England and the NHS Improvement *Behaviour Change Unit* in partnership with Public Health England and Warwick Business School. I hear the mantra about 'save the NHS' and 'protect the NHS' when we need to scrap the NHS and start again. The current version is far too corrupt, far too anti-human and totally compromised by Cult operatives and their assets. UK government broadcast media censor Ofcom will connect into this web – as will the BBC with its tremendous Ofcom influence – to control what the public see and hear and dictate mass perception. Nuremberg trials must include personnel from all these organisations.

The fear factor

The 'Covid' hoax has led to the creation of the UK Cabinet Office-connected Joint Biosecurity Centre (JBC) which is officially described as providing 'expert advice on pandemics' using its independent [all Cult operations are 'independent'] analytical function to provide real-time analysis about infection outbreaks to identify and respond to outbreaks of Covid-19'. Another role is to advise the government on a response to spikes in infections – 'for example by closing schools or workplaces in local areas where infection levels have risen'. Put another way, promoting the Cult agenda. The Joint Biosecurity Centre is modelled on the Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre which analyses intelligence to set 'terrorism threat levels' and here again you see the fusion of civilian and military operations and intelligence that has led to military intelligence producing documents about 'vaccine hesitancy' and how it can be combated. Domestic civilian matters and opinions should not be the business of the military. The Joint Biosecurity Centre is headed by Tom Hurd, director general of the Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism from the establishment-to-its-fingertips Hurd family. His father is former Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. How coincidental that Tom

Hurd went to the elite Eton College and Oxford University with Boris Johnson. Imperial College with its ridiculous computer modeller Neil Ferguson will connect with this gigantic web that will itself interconnect with similar set-ups in other major and not so major countries. Compared with this Cult network the politicians, be they Boris Johnson, Donald Trump or Joe Biden, are bit-part players ‘following the science’. The network of psychologists was on the ‘Covid’ case from the start with the aim of generating maximum fear of the ‘virus’ to ensure compliance by the population. A government behavioural science group known as SPI-B produced a paper in March, 2020, for discussion by the main government science advisory group known as SAGE. It was headed ‘Options for increasing adherence to social distancing measures’ and it said the following in a section headed ‘Persuasion’:

- A substantial number of people still do not feel sufficiently personally threatened; it could be that they are reassured by the low death rate in their demographic group, although levels of concern may be rising. Having a good understanding of the risk has been found to be positively associated with adoption of COVID-19 social distancing measures in Hong Kong.
- The perceived level of personal threat needs to be increased among those who are complacent, using hard-hitting evaluation of options for increasing social distancing emotional messaging. To be effective this must also empower people by making clear the actions they can take to reduce the threat.
- Responsibility to others: There seems to be insufficient understanding of, or feelings of responsibility about, people’s role in transmitting the infection to others ... Messaging about actions need to be framed positively in terms of protecting oneself and the community, and increase confidence that they will be effective.
- Some people will be more persuaded by appeals to play by the rules, some by duty to the community, and some to personal risk.

All these different approaches are needed. The messaging also needs to take account of the realities of different people's lives. Messaging needs to take account of the different motivational levers and circumstances of different people.

All this could be achieved the SPI-B psychologists said by *using the media to increase the sense of personal threat* which translates as terrify the shit out of the population, including children, so they all do what we want. That's not happened has it? Those excuses for 'journalists' who wouldn't know journalism if it bit them on the arse (the great majority) have played their crucial part in serving this Cult-government Psyop to enslave their own kids and grandkids. How they live with themselves I have no idea. The psychological war has been underpinned by constant government 'Covid' propaganda in almost every television and radio ad break, plus the Internet and print media, which has pounded out the fear with taxpayers footing the bill for their own programming. The result has been people terrified of a 'virus' that doesn't exist or one with a tiny fatality rate even if you believe it does. People walk down the street and around the shops wearing face-nappies damaging their health and psychology while others report those who refuse to be that naïve to the police who turn up in their own face-nappies. I had a cameraman come to my flat and he was so frightened of 'Covid' he came in wearing a mask and refused to shake my hand in case he caught something. He had – naïveitis – and the thought that he worked in the mainstream media was both depressing and made his behaviour perfectly explainable. The fear which has gripped the minds of so many and frozen them into compliance has been carefully cultivated by these psychologists who are really psychopaths. If lives get destroyed and a lot of young people commit suicide it shows our plan is working. SPI-B then turned to compulsion on the public to comply. 'With adequate preparation, rapid change can be achieved', it said. Some countries had introduced mandatory self-isolation on a wide scale without evidence of major public unrest and a large majority of the UK's population appeared to be supportive of more coercive measures with 64 percent of adults saying they would

support putting London under a lockdown (watch the ‘polls’ which are designed to make people believe that public opinion is in favour or against whatever the subject in hand).

For ‘aggressive protective measures’ to be effective, the SPI-B paper said, special attention should be devoted to those population groups that are more at risk. Translated from the Orwellian this means making the rest of population feel guilty for not protecting the ‘vulnerable’ such as old people which the Cult and its agencies were about to kill on an industrial scale with lockdown, lack of treatment and the Gates ‘vaccine’. Psychopath psychologists sold their guilt-trip so comprehensively that Los Angeles County Supervisor Hilda Solis reported that children were apologising (from a distance) to their parents and grandparents for bringing ‘Covid’ into their homes and getting them sick. ‘... These apologies are just some of the last words that loved ones will ever hear as they die alone,’ she said. Gut-wrenchingly Solis then used this childhood tragedy to tell children to stay at home and ‘keep your loved ones alive’. Imagine heaping such potentially life-long guilt on a kid when it has absolutely nothing to do with them. These people are deeply disturbed and the psychologists behind this even more so.

Uncivil war – divide and rule

Professional mind-controllers at SPI-B wanted the media to increase a sense of responsibility to others (do as you’re told) and promote ‘positive messaging’ for those actions while in contrast to invoke ‘social disapproval’ by the unquestioning, obedient, community of anyone with a mind of their own. Again the compliant Goebbels-like media obliged. This is an old, old, trick employed by tyrannies the world over throughout human history. You get the target population to keep the target population in line – *your* line. SPI-B said this could ‘play an important role in preventing anti-social behaviour or discouraging failure to enact pro-social behaviour’. For ‘anti-social’ in the Orwellian parlance of SPI-B see any behaviour that government doesn’t approve. SPI-B recommendations said that ‘social disapproval’ should be accompanied by clear messaging and

promotion of strong collective identity – hence the government and celebrity mantra of ‘we’re all in this together’. Sure we are. The mind doctors have such contempt for their targets that they think some clueless comedian, actor or singer telling them to do what the government wants will be enough to win them over. We have had UK comedian Lenny Henry, actor Michael Caine and singer Elton John wheeled out to serve the propagandists by urging people to have the DNA-manipulating ‘Covid’ non-‘vaccine’. The role of Henry and fellow black celebrities in seeking to coax a ‘vaccine’ reluctant black community into doing the government’s will was especially stomach-turning. An emotion-manipulating script and carefully edited video featuring these black ‘celebs’ was such an insult to the intelligence of black people and where’s the self-respect of those involved selling their souls to a fascist government agenda? Henry said he heard black people’s ‘legitimate worries and concerns’, but people must ‘trust the facts’ when they were doing exactly that by not having the ‘vaccine’. They had to include the obligatory reference to Black Lives Matter with the line ... ‘Don’t let coronavirus cost even more black lives – because we matter’. My god, it was pathetic. ‘I know the vaccine is safe and what it does.’ How? ‘I’m a comedian and it says so in my script.’

SPI-B said social disapproval needed to be carefully managed to avoid victimisation, scapegoating and misdirected criticism, but they knew that their ‘recommendations’ would lead to exactly that and the media were specifically used to stir-up the divide-and-conquer hostility. Those who conform like good little baa, baas, are praised while those who have seen through the tidal wave of lies are ‘Covidiots’. The awake have been abused by the fast asleep for not conforming to fascism and impositions that the awake know are designed to endanger their health, dehumanise them, and tear asunder the very fabric of human society. We have had the curtain-twitchers and morons reporting neighbours and others to the face-nappied police for breaking ‘Covid rules’ with fascist police delighting in posting links and phone numbers where this could be done. The Cult cannot impose its will without a compliant police

and military or a compliant population willing to play their part in enslaving themselves and their kids. The words of a pastor in Nazi Germany are so appropriate today:

First they came for the socialists and I did not speak out because I was not a socialist.

Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak out because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me and there was no one left to speak for me.

Those who don't learn from history are destined to repeat it and so many are.

'Covid' rules: Rewiring the mind

With the background laid out to this gigantic national and global web of psychological manipulation we can put 'Covid' rules into a clear and sinister perspective. Forget the claims about protecting health. 'Covid' rules are about dismantling the human mind, breaking the human spirit, destroying self-respect, and then putting Humpty Dumpty together again as a servile, submissive slave. Social isolation through lockdown and distancing have devastating effects on the human psyche as the psychological psychopaths well know and that's the real reason for them. Humans need contact with each other, discourse, closeness and touch, or they eventually, and literally, go crazy. Masks, which I will address at some length, fundamentally add to the effects of isolation and the Cult agenda to dehumanise and de-individualise the population. To do this while knowing – in fact *seeking* – this outcome is the very epitome of evil and psychologists involved in this *are* the epitome of evil. They must like all the rest of the Cult demons and their assets stand trial for crimes against humanity on a scale that defies the imagination. Psychopaths in uniform use isolation to break enemy troops and agents and make them subservient and submissive to tell what they know. The technique is rightly considered a form of torture and

torture is most certainly what has been imposed on the human population.

Clinically-insane American psychologist Harry Harlow became famous for his isolation experiments in the 1950s in which he separated baby monkeys from their mothers and imprisoned them for months on end in a metal container or ‘pit of despair’. They soon began to show mental distress and depression as any idiot could have predicted. Harlow put other monkeys in steel chambers for three, six or twelve months while denying them any contact with animals or humans. He said that the effects of total social isolation for six months were ‘so devastating and debilitating that we had assumed initially that twelve months of isolation would not produce any additional decrement’; but twelve months of isolation ‘almost obliterated the animals socially’. This is what the Cult and its psychopaths are doing to you and your children. Even monkeys in partial isolation in which they were not allowed to form relationships with other monkeys became ‘aggressive and hostile, not only to others, but also towards their own bodies’. We have seen this in the young as a consequence of lockdown. UK government psychopaths launched a public relations campaign telling people not to hug each other even after they received the ‘Covid-19 vaccine’ which we were told with more lies would allow a return to ‘normal life’. A government source told *The Telegraph*: ‘It will be along the lines that it is great that you have been vaccinated, but if you are going to visit your family and hug your grandchildren there is a chance you are going to infect people you love.’ The source was apparently speaking from a secure psychiatric facility. Janet Lord, director of Birmingham University’s Institute of Inflammation and Ageing, said that parents and grandparents should avoid hugging their children. Well, how can I put it, Ms Lord? Fuck off. Yep, that’ll do.

Destroying the kids – where are the parents?

Observe what has happened to people enslaved and isolated by lockdown as suicide and self-harm has soared worldwide,

particularly among the young denied the freedom to associate with their friends. A study of 49,000 people in English-speaking countries concluded that almost half of young adults are at clinical risk of mental health disorders. A national survey in America of 1,000 currently enrolled high school and college students found that 5 percent reported attempting suicide during the pandemic. Data from the US CDC's National Syndromic Surveillance Program from January 1st to October 17th, 2020, revealed a 31 percent increase in mental health issues among adolescents aged 12 to 17 compared with 2019. The CDC reported that America in general suffered the biggest drop in life expectancy since World War Two as it fell by a year in the first half of 2020 as a result of 'deaths of despair' – overdoses and suicides. Deaths of despair have leapt by more than 20 percent during lockdown and include the highest number of fatal overdoses ever recorded in a single year – 81,000. Internet addiction is another consequence of being isolated at home which lowers interest in physical activities as kids fall into inertia and what's the point? Children and young people are losing hope and giving up on life, sometimes literally. A 14-year-old boy killed himself in Maryland because he had 'given up' when his school district didn't reopen; an 11-year-old boy shot himself during a zoom class; a teenager in Maine succumbed to the isolation of the 'pandemic' when he ended his life after experiencing a disrupted senior year at school. Children as young as nine have taken their life and all these stories can be repeated around the world. Careers are being destroyed before they start and that includes those in sport in which promising youngsters have not been able to take part. The plan of the psycho-psychologists is working all right. Researchers at Cambridge University found that lockdowns cause significant harm to children's mental health. Their study was published in the *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, and followed 168 children aged between 7 and 11. The researchers concluded:

During the UK lockdown, children's depression symptoms have increased substantially, relative to before lockdown. The scale of this effect has direct relevance for the continuation of different elements of lockdown policy, such as complete or partial school closures ...

... Specifically, we observed a statistically significant increase in ratings of depression, with a medium-to-large effect size. Our findings emphasise the need to incorporate the potential impact of lockdown on child mental health in planning the ongoing response to the global pandemic and the recovery from it.

Not a chance when the Cult's psycho-psychologists were getting exactly what they wanted. The UK's Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health has urged parents to look for signs of eating disorders in children and young people after a three to four fold increase. Specialists say the 'pandemic' is a major reason behind the rise. You don't say. The College said isolation from friends during school closures, exam cancellations, loss of extra-curricular activities like sport, and an increased use of social media were all contributory factors along with fears about the virus (psycho-psychologists again), family finances, and students being forced to quarantine. Doctors said young people were becoming severely ill by the time they were seen with 'Covid' regulations reducing face-to-face consultations. Nor is it only the young that have been devastated by the psychopaths. Like all bullies and cowards the Cult is targeting the young, elderly, weak and infirm. A typical story was told by a British lady called Lynn Parker who was not allowed to visit her husband in 2020 for the last ten and half months of his life 'when he needed me most' between March 20th and when he died on December 19th. This vacates the criminal and enters the territory of evil. The emotional impact on the immune system alone is immense as are the number of people of all ages worldwide who have died as a result of Cult-demanded, Gates-demanded, lockdowns.

Isolation is torture

The experience of imposing solitary confinement on millions of prisoners around the world has shown how a large percentage become 'actively psychotic and/or acutely suicidal'. Social isolation has been found to trigger 'a specific psychiatric syndrome, characterized by hallucinations; panic attacks; overt paranoia; diminished impulse control; hypersensitivity to external stimuli; and difficulties with thinking, concentration and memory'. Juan Mendez,

a United Nations rapporteur (investigator), said that isolation is a form of torture. Research has shown that even after isolation prisoners find it far more difficult to make social connections and I remember chatting to a shop assistant after one lockdown who told me that when her young son met another child again he had no idea how to act or what to do. Hannah Flanagan, Director of Emergency Services at Journey Mental Health Center in Dane County, Wisconsin, said: ‘The specificity about Covid social distancing and isolation that we’ve come across as contributing factors to the suicides are really new to us this year.’ But they are not new to those that devised them. They are getting the effect they want as the population is psychologically dismantled to be rebuilt in a totally different way. Children and the young are particularly targeted. They will be the adults when the full-on fascist AI-controlled technocracy is planned to be imposed and they are being prepared to meekly submit. At the same time older people who still have a memory of what life was like before – and how fascist the new normal really is – are being deleted. You are going to see efforts to turn the young against the old to support this geriatric genocide. Hannah Flanagan said the big increase in suicide in her county proved that social isolation is not only harmful, but deadly. Studies have shown that isolation from others is one of the main risk factors in suicide and even more so with women. Warnings that lockdown could create a ‘perfect storm’ for suicide were ignored. After all this was one of the *reasons* for lockdown. Suicide, however, is only the most extreme of isolation consequences. There are many others. Dr Dhruv Khullar, assistant professor of healthcare policy at Weill Cornell Medical College, said in a *New York Times* article in 2016 long before the fake ‘pandemic’:

A wave of new research suggests social separation is bad for us. Individuals with less social connection have disrupted sleep patterns, altered immune systems, more inflammation and higher levels of stress hormones. One recent study found that isolation increases the risk of heart disease by 29 percent and stroke by 32 percent. Another analysis that pooled data from 70 studies and 3.4 million people found that socially isolated individuals had a 30 percent higher risk of dying in the next seven years, and that this effect was largest in middle age.

Loneliness can accelerate cognitive decline in older adults, and isolated individuals are twice as likely to die prematurely as those with more robust social interactions. These effects start early: Socially isolated children have significantly poorer health 20 years later, even after controlling for other factors. All told, loneliness is as important a risk factor for early death as obesity and smoking.

There you have proof from that one article alone four years before 2020 that those who have enforced lockdown, social distancing and isolation knew what the effect would be and that is even more so with professional psychologists that have been driving the policy across the globe. We can go back even further to the years 2000 and 2003 and the start of a major study on the effects of isolation on health by Dr Janine Gronewold and Professor Dirk M. Hermann at the University Hospital in Essen, Germany, who analysed data on 4,316 people with an average age of 59 who were recruited for the long-term research project. They found that socially isolated people are more than 40 percent more likely to have a heart attack, stroke, or other major cardiovascular event and nearly 50 percent more likely to die from any cause. Given the financial Armageddon unleashed by lockdown we should note that the study found a relationship between increased cardiovascular risk and lack of financial support. After excluding other factors social isolation was still connected to a 44 percent increased risk of cardiovascular problems and a 47 percent increased risk of death by any cause. Lack of financial support was associated with a 30 percent increase in the risk of cardiovascular health events. Dr Gronewold said it had been known for some time that feeling lonely or lacking contact with close friends and family can have an impact on physical health and the study had shown that having strong social relationships is of high importance for heart health. Gronewold said they didn't understand yet why people who are socially isolated have such poor health outcomes, but this was obviously a worrying finding, particularly during these times of prolonged social distancing. Well, it can be explained on many levels. You only have to identify the point in the body where people feel loneliness and missing people they are parted from – it's in the centre of the chest where they feel the ache of loneliness and the ache of missing people. 'My heart aches for

you' ... 'My heart aches for some company.' I will explain this more in the chapter Escaping Wetiko, but when you realise that the body is the mind – they are expressions of each other – the reason why state of the mind dictates state of the body becomes clear.

American psychologist Ranjit Powar was highlighting the effects of lockdown isolation as early as April, 2020. She said humans have evolved to be social creatures and are wired to live in interactive groups. Being isolated from family, friends and colleagues could be unbalancing and traumatic for most people and could result in short or even long-term psychological and physical health problems. An increase in levels of anxiety, aggression, depression, forgetfulness and hallucinations were possible psychological effects of isolation. 'Mental conditions may be precipitated for those with underlying pre-existing susceptibilities and show up in many others without any pre-condition.' Powar said personal relationships helped us cope with stress and if we lost this outlet for letting off steam the result can be a big emotional void which, for an average person, was difficult to deal with. 'Just a few days of isolation can cause increased levels of anxiety and depression' – so what the hell has been the effect on the global population of *18 months* of this at the time of writing? Powar said: 'Add to it the looming threat of a dreadful disease being repeatedly hammered in through the media and you have a recipe for many shades of mental and physical distress.' For those with a house and a garden it is easy to forget that billions have had to endure lockdown isolation in tiny overcrowded flats and apartments with nowhere to go outside. The psychological and physical consequences of this are unimaginable and with lunatic and abusive partners and parents the consequences have led to tremendous increases in domestic and child abuse and alcoholism as people seek to shut out the horror. Ranjit Powar said:

Staying in a confined space with family is not all a rosy picture for everyone. It can be extremely oppressive and claustrophobic for large low-income families huddled together in small single-room houses. Children here are not lucky enough to have many board/electronic games or books to keep them occupied.

Add to it the deep insecurity of running out of funds for food and basic necessities. On the other hand, there are people with dysfunctional family dynamics, such as domineering, abusive or alcoholic partners, siblings or parents which makes staying home a period of trial. Incidence of suicide and physical abuse against women has shown a worldwide increase. Heightened anxiety and depression also affect a person's immune system, making them more susceptible to illness.

To think that Powar's article was published on April 11th, 2020.

Six-feet fantasy

Social (unsocial) distancing demanded that people stay six feet or two metres apart. UK government advisor Robert Dingwall from the New and Emerging Respiratory Virus Threats Advisory Group said in a radio interview that the two-metre rule was 'conjured up out of nowhere' and was not based on science. No, it was not based on *medical* science, but it didn't come out of nowhere. The distance related to *psychological* science. Six feet/two metres was adopted in many countries and we were told by people like the criminal Anthony Fauci and his ilk that it was founded on science. Many schools could not reopen because they did not have the space for six-feet distancing. Then in March, 2021, after a year of six-feet 'science', a study published in the *Journal of Infectious Diseases* involving more than 500,000 students and almost 100,000 staff over 16 weeks revealed no significant difference in 'Covid' cases between six feet and three feet and Fauci changed his tune. Now three feet was okay. There is no difference between six feet and three *inches* when there is no 'virus' and they got away with six feet for psychological reasons for as long as they could. I hear journalists and others talk about 'unintended consequences' of lockdown. They are not *unintended* at all; they have been coldly-calculated for a specific outcome of human control and that's why super-psychopaths like Gates have called for them so vehemently. Super-psychopath psychologists have demanded them and psychopathic or clueless, spineless, politicians have gone along with them by 'following the science'. But it's not science at all. 'Science' is not what is; it's only what people can be manipulated to believe it is. The whole 'Covid' catastrophe is

founded on mind control. Three word or three statement mantras issued by the UK government are a well-known mind control technique and so we've had 'Stay home/protect the NHS/save lives', 'Stay alert/control the virus/save lives' and 'hands/face/space'. One of the most vocal proponents of extreme 'Covid' rules in the UK has been Professor Susan Michie, a member of the British Communist Party, who is not a medical professional. Michie is the director of the Centre for Behaviour Change at University College London. She is a *behavioural psychologist* and another filthy rich 'Marxist' who praised China's draconian lockdown. She was known by fellow students at Oxford University as 'Stalin's nanny' for her extreme Marxism. Michie is an influential member of the UK government's Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE) and behavioural manipulation groups which have dominated 'Covid' policy. She is a consultant adviser to the World Health Organization on 'Covid-19' and behaviour. Why the hell are lockdowns anything to do with her when they are claimed to be about health? Why does a behavioural psychologist from a group charged with changing the behaviour of the public want lockdown, human isolation and mandatory masks? Does that question really need an answer? Michie *absolutely* has to explain herself before a Nuremberg court when humanity takes back its world again and even more so when you see the consequences of masks that she demands are compulsory. This is a Michie classic:

The benefits of getting primary school children to wear masks is that regardless of what little degree of transmission is occurring in those age groups it could help normalise the practice. Young children wearing masks may be more likely to get their families to accept masks.

Those words alone should carry a prison sentence when you ponder on the callous disregard for children involved and what a statement it makes about the mind and motivations of Susan Michie. What a lovely lady and what she said there encapsulates the mentality of the psychopaths behind the 'Covid' horror. Let us compare what Michie said with a countrywide study in Germany published at [researchsquare.com](https://www.researchsquare.com) involving 25,000 school children and 17,854 health complaints submitted by parents. Researchers

found that masks are harming children physically, psychologically, and behaviourally with 24 health issues associated with mask wearing. They include: shortness of breath (29.7%); dizziness (26.4%); increased headaches (53%); difficulty concentrating (50%); drowsiness or fatigue (37%); and malaise (42%). Nearly a third of children experienced more sleep issues than before and a quarter developed new fears. Researchers found health issues and other impairments in 68 percent of masked children covering their faces for an average of 4.5 hours a day. Hundreds of those taking part experienced accelerated respiration, tightness in the chest, weakness, and short-term impairment of consciousness. A reminder of what Michie said again:

The benefits of getting primary school children to wear masks is that regardless of what little degree of transmission is occurring in those age groups it could help normalise the practice. Young children wearing masks may be more likely to get their families to accept masks.

Psychopaths in government and psychology now have children and young people – plus all the adults – wearing masks for hours on end while clueless teachers impose the will of the psychopaths on the young they should be protecting. What the hell are parents doing?

Cult lab rats

We have some schools already imposing on students microchipped buzzers that activate when they get ‘too close’ to their pals in the way they do with lab rats. How apt. To the Cult and its brain-dead servants our children *are* lab rats being conditioned to be unquestioning, dehumanised slaves for the rest of their lives. Children and young people are being weaned and frightened away from the most natural human instincts including closeness and touch. I have tracked in the books over the years how schools were banning pupils from greeting each other with a hug and the whole Cult-induced Me Too movement has terrified men and boys from a relaxed and natural interaction with female friends and work colleagues to the point where many men try never to be in a room

alone with a woman that's not their partner. Airhead celebrities have as always played their virtue-signalling part in making this happen with their gross exaggeration. For every monster like Harvey Weinstein there are at least tens of thousands of men that don't treat women like that; but everyone must be branded the same and policy changed for them as well as the monster. I am going to be using the word 'dehumanise' many times in this chapter because that is what the Cult is seeking to do and it goes very deep as we shall see. Don't let them kid you that social distancing is planned to end one day. That's not the idea. We are seeing more governments and companies funding and producing wearable gadgets to keep people apart and they would not be doing that if this was meant to be short-term. A tech start-up company backed by GCHQ, the British Intelligence and military surveillance headquarters, has created a social distancing wrist sensor that alerts people when they get too close to others. The CIA has also supported tech companies developing similar devices. The wearable sensor was developed by Tended, one of a number of start-up companies supported by GCHQ (see the CIA and DARPA). The device can be worn on the wrist or as a tag on the waistband and will vibrate whenever someone wearing the device breaches social distancing and gets anywhere near natural human contact. The company had a lucky break in that it was developing a distancing sensor when the 'Covid' hoax arrived which immediately provided a potentially enormous market. How fortunate. The government in big-time Cult-controlled Ontario in Canada is investing \$2.5 million in wearable contact tracing technology that 'will alert users if they may have been exposed to the Covid-19 in the workplace and will beep or vibrate if they are within six feet of another person'. Facedrive Inc., the technology company behind this, was founded in 2016 with funding from the Ontario Together Fund and obviously they, too, had a prophet on the board of directors. The human surveillance and control technology is called TraceSCAN and would be worn by the human cyborgs in places such as airports, workplaces, construction sites, care homes and ... *schools*.

I emphasise schools with children and young people the prime targets. You know what is planned for society as a whole if you keep your eyes on the schools. They have always been places where the state program the next generation of slaves to be its compliant worker-ants – or Woker-ants these days; but in the mist of the ‘Covid’ madness they have been transformed into mind laboratories on a scale never seen before. Teachers and head teachers are just as programmed as the kids – often more so. Children are kept apart from human interaction by walk lanes, classroom distancing, staggered meal times, masks, and the rolling-out of buzzer systems. Schools are now physically laid out as a laboratory maze for lab-rats. Lunatics at a school in Anchorage, Alaska, who should be prosecuted for child abuse, took away desks and forced children to kneel (know your place) on a mat for five hours a day while wearing a mask and using their chairs as a desk. How this was supposed to impact on a ‘virus’ only these clinically insane people can tell you and even then it would be clap-trap. The school banned recess (interaction), art classes (creativity), and physical exercise (getting body and mind moving out of inertia). Everyone behind this outrage should be in jail or better still a mental institution. The behavioural manipulators are all for this dystopian approach to schools.

Professor Susan Michie, the mind-doctor and British Communist Party member, said it was wrong to say that schools were safe. They had to be made so by ‘distancing’, masks and ventilation (sitting all day in the cold). I must ask this lady round for dinner on a night I know I am going to be out and not back for weeks. She probably wouldn’t be able to make it, anyway, with all the visits to her own psychologist she must have block-booked.

Masking identity

I know how shocking it must be for you that a behaviour manipulator like Michie wants everyone to wear masks which have long been a feature of mind-control programs like the infamous MKUltra in the United States, but, there we are. We live and learn. I spent many years from 1996 to right across the millennium

researching mind control in detail on both sides of the Atlantic and elsewhere. I met a large number of mind-control survivors and many had been held captive in body and mind by MKUltra. MK stands for mind-control, but employs the German spelling in deference to the Nazis spirited out of Germany at the end of World War Two by Operation Paperclip in which the US authorities, with help from the Vatican, transported Nazi mind-controllers and engineers to America to continue their work. Many of them were behind the creation of NASA and they included Nazi scientist and SS officer Wernher von Braun who swapped designing V-2 rockets to bombard London with designing the Saturn V rockets that powered the NASA moon programme's Apollo craft. I think I may have mentioned that the Cult has no borders. Among Paperclip escapees was Josef Mengele, the Angel of Death in the Nazi concentration camps where he conducted mind and genetic experiments on children often using twins to provide a control twin to measure the impact of his 'work' on the other. If you want to observe the Cult mentality in all its extremes of evil then look into the life of Mengele. I have met many people who suffered mercilessly under Mengele in the United States where he operated under the name Dr Greene and became a stalwart of MKUltra programming and torture. Among his locations was the underground facility in the Mojave Desert in California called the China Lake Naval Weapons Station which is almost entirely below the surface. My books *The Biggest Secret*, *Children of the Matrix* and *The Perception Deception* have the detailed background to MKUltra.

The best-known MKUltra survivor is American Cathy O'Brien. I first met her and her late partner Mark Phillips at a conference in Colorado in 1996. Mark helped her escape and deprogram from decades of captivity in an offshoot of MKUltra known as Project Monarch in which 'sex slaves' were provided for the rich and famous including Father George Bush, Dick Cheney and the Clintons. Read Cathy and Mark's book *Trance-Formation of America* and if you are new to this you will be shocked to the core. I read it in 1996 shortly before, with the usual synchronicity of my life, I found

myself given a book table at the conference right next to hers. MKUltra never ended despite being very publicly exposed (only a small part of it) in the 1970s and continues in other guises. I am still in touch with Cathy. She contacted me during 2020 after masks became compulsory in many countries to tell me how they were used as part of MKUltra programming. I had been observing 'Covid regulations' and the relationship between authority and public for months. I saw techniques that I knew were employed on individuals in MKUltra being used on the global population. I had read many books and manuals on mind control including one called *Silent Weapons for Quiet Wars* which came to light in the 1980s and was a guide on how to perceptually program on a mass scale. 'Silent Weapons' refers to mind-control. I remembered a line from the manual as governments, medical authorities and law enforcement agencies have so obviously talked to – or rather at – the adult population since the 'Covid' hoax began as if they are children. The document said:

If a person is spoken to by a T.V. advertiser as if he were a twelve-year-old, then, due to suggestibility, he will, with a certain probability, respond or react to that suggestion with the uncritical response of a twelve-year-old and will reach in to his economic reservoir and deliver its energy to buy that product on impulse when he passes it in the store.

That's why authority has spoken to adults like children since all this began.

Why did Michael Jackson wear masks?

Every aspect of the 'Covid' narrative has mind-control as its central theme. Cathy O'Brien wrote an article for davidicke.com about the connection between masks and mind control. Her daughter Kelly who I first met in the 1990s was born while Cathy was still held captive in MKUltra. Kelly was forced to wear a mask as part of her programming from the age of *two* to dehumanise her, target her sense of individuality and reduce the amount of oxygen her brain and body received. *Bingo*. This is the real reason for compulsory

masks, why they have been enforced en masse, and why they seek to increase the number they demand you wear. First one, then two, with one disgraceful alleged ‘doctor’ recommending four which is nothing less than a death sentence. Where and how often they must be worn is being expanded for the purpose of mass mind control and damaging respiratory health which they can call ‘Covid-19’. Canada’s government headed by the man-child Justin Trudeau, says it’s fine for children of two and older to wear masks. An insane ‘study’ in Italy involving just 47 children concluded there was no problem for babies as young as *four months* wearing them. Even after people were ‘vaccinated’ they were still told to wear masks by the criminal that is Anthony Fauci. Cathy wrote that mandating masks is allowing the authorities literally to control the air we breathe which is what was done in MKUltra. You might recall how the singer Michael Jackson wore masks and there is a reason for that. He was subjected to MKUltra mind control through Project Monarch and his psyche was scrambled by these simpletons. Cathy wrote:

In MKUltra Project Monarch mind control, Michael Jackson had to wear a mask to silence his voice so he could not reach out for help. Remember how he developed that whisper voice when he wasn’t singing? Masks control the mind from the outside in, like the redefining of words is doing. By controlling what we can and cannot say for fear of being labeled racist or beaten, for example, it ultimately controls thought that drives our words and ultimately actions (or lack thereof).

Likewise, a mask muffles our speech so that we are not heard, which controls voice ... words ... mind. This is Mind Control. Masks are an obvious mind control device, and I am disturbed so many people are complying on a global scale. Masks depersonalize while making a person feel as though they have no voice. It is a barrier to others. People who would never choose to comply but are forced to wear a mask in order to keep their job, and ultimately their family fed, are compromised. They often feel shame and are subdued. People have stopped talking with each other while media controls the narrative.

The ‘no voice’ theme has often become literal with train passengers told not to speak to each other in case they pass on the ‘virus’, singing banned for the same reason and bonkers California officials telling people riding roller coasters that they cannot shout and scream. Cathy said she heard every day from healed MKUltra survivors who cannot wear a mask without flashing back on ways

their breathing was controlled – ‘from ball gags and penises to water boarding’. She said that through the years when she saw images of people in China wearing masks ‘due to pollution’ that it was really to control their oxygen levels. ‘I knew it was as much of a population control mechanism of depersonalisation as are burkas’, she said. Masks are another Chinese communist/fascist method of control that has been swept across the West as the West becomes China at lightning speed since we entered 2020.

Mask-19

There are other reasons for mandatory masks and these include destroying respiratory health to call it ‘Covid-19’ and stunting brain development of children and the young. Dr Margarite Griesz-Brisson MD, PhD, is a Consultant Neurologist and Neurophysiologist and the Founder and Medical Director of the London Neurology and Pain Clinic. Her CV goes down the street and round the corner. She is clearly someone who cares about people and won’t parrot the propaganda. Griesz-Brisson has a PhD in pharmacology, with special interest in neurotoxicology, environmental medicine, neuroregeneration and neuroplasticity (the way the brain can change in the light of information received). She went public in October, 2020, with a passionate warning about the effects of mask-wearing laws:

The reinhalation of our exhaled air will without a doubt create oxygen deficiency and a flooding of carbon dioxide. We know that the human brain is very sensitive to oxygen deprivation. There are nerve cells for example in the hippocampus that can’t be longer than 3 minutes without oxygen – they cannot survive. The acute warning symptoms are headaches, drowsiness, dizziness, issues in concentration, slowing down of reaction time – reactions of the cognitive system.

Oh, I know, let’s tell bus, truck and taxi drivers to wear them and people working machinery. How about pilots, doctors and police? Griesz-Brisson makes the important point that while the symptoms she mentions may fade as the body readjusts this does not alter the fact that people continue to operate in oxygen deficit with long list of

potential consequences. She said it was well known that neurodegenerative diseases take years or decades to develop. 'If today you forget your phone number, the breakdown in your brain would have already started 20 or 30 years ago.' She said degenerative processes in your brain are getting amplified as your oxygen deprivation continues through wearing a mask. Nerve cells in the brain are unable to divide themselves normally in these circumstances and lost nerve cells will no longer be regenerated. 'What is gone is gone.' Now consider that people like shop workers and *schoolchildren* are wearing masks for hours every day. What in the name of sanity is going to be happening to them? 'I do not wear a mask, I need my brain to think', Griesz-Brisson said, 'I want to have a clear head when I deal with my patients and not be in a carbon dioxide-induced anaesthesia'. If you are told to wear a mask anywhere ask the organisation, police, store, whatever, for their risk assessment on the dangers and negative effects on mind and body of enforcing mask-wearing. They won't have one because it has never been done not even by government. All of them must be subject to class-action lawsuits as the consequences come to light. They don't do mask risk assessments for an obvious reason. They know what the conclusions would be and independent scientific studies that *have* been done tell a horror story of consequences.

'Masks are criminal'

Dr Griesz-Brisson said that for children and adolescents, masks are an absolute no-no. They had an extremely active and adaptive immune system and their brain was incredibly active with so much to learn. 'The child's brain, or the youth's brain, is thirsting for oxygen.' The more metabolically active an organ was, the more oxygen it required; and in children and adolescents every organ was metabolically active. Griesz-Brisson said that to deprive a child's or adolescent's brain of oxygen, or to restrict it in any way, was not only dangerous to their health, it was absolutely criminal. 'Oxygen deficiency inhibits the development of the brain, and the damage that has taken place as a result CANNOT be reversed.' Mind

manipulators of MKUltra put masks on two-year-olds they wanted to neurologically rewire and you can see why. Griesz-Brisson said a child needs the brain to learn and the brain needs oxygen to function. 'We don't need a clinical study for that. This is simple, indisputable physiology.' Consciously and purposely induced oxygen deficiency was an absolutely deliberate health hazard, and an absolute medical contraindication which means that 'this drug, this therapy, this method or measure should not be used, and is not allowed to be used'. To coerce an entire population to use an absolute medical contraindication by force, she said, there had to be definite and serious reasons and the reasons must be presented to competent interdisciplinary and independent bodies to be verified and authorised. She had this warning of the consequences that were coming if mask wearing continued:

When, in ten years, dementia is going to increase exponentially, and the younger generations couldn't reach their god-given potential, it won't help to say 'we didn't need the masks'. I know how damaging oxygen deprivation is for the brain, cardiologists know how damaging it is for the heart, pulmonologists know how damaging it is for the lungs. Oxygen deprivation damages every single organ. Where are our health departments, our health insurance, our medical associations? It would have been their duty to be vehemently against the lockdown and to stop it and stop it from the very beginning.

Why do the medical boards issue punishments to doctors who give people exemptions? Does the person or the doctor seriously have to prove that oxygen deprivation harms people? What kind of medicine are our doctors and medical associations representing? Who is responsible for this crime? The ones who want to enforce it? The ones who let it happen and play along, or the ones who don't prevent it?

All of the organisations and people she mentions there either answer directly to the Cult or do whatever hierarchical levels above them tell them to do. The outcome of both is the same. 'It's not about masks, it's not about viruses, it's certainly not about your health', Griesz-Brisson said. 'It is about much, much more. I am not participating. I am not afraid.' They were taking our air to breathe and there was no unfounded medical exemption from face masks. Oxygen deprivation was dangerous for every single brain. It had to be the free decision of every human being whether they want to

wear a mask that was absolutely ineffective to protect themselves from a virus. She ended by rightly identifying where the responsibility lies for all this:

The imperative of the hour is personal responsibility. We are responsible for what we think, not the media. We are responsible for what we do, not our superiors. We are responsible for our health, not the World Health Organization. And we are responsible for what happens in our country, not the government.

Halle-bloody-lujah.

But surgeons wear masks, right?

Independent studies of mask-wearing have produced a long list of reports detailing mental, emotional and physical dangers. What a definition of insanity to see police officers imposing mask-wearing on the public which will cumulatively damage their health while the police themselves wear masks that will cumulatively damage *their* health. It's utter madness and both public and police do this because 'the government says so' – yes a government of brain-donor idiots like UK Health Secretary Matt Hancock reading the 'follow the science' scripts of psychopathic, lunatic psychologists. The response you get from Stockholm syndrome sufferers defending the very authorities that are destroying them and their families is that 'surgeons wear masks'. This is considered the game, set and match that they must work and don't cause oxygen deficit. Well, actually, scientific studies have shown that they *do* and oxygen levels are monitored in operating theatres to compensate. Surgeons wear masks to stop spittle and such like dropping into open wounds – not to stop 'viral particles' which are so minuscule they can only be seen through an electron microscope. Holes in the masks are significantly bigger than 'viral particles' and if you sneeze or cough they will breach the mask. I watched an incredibly disingenuous 'experiment' that claimed to prove that masks work in catching 'virus' material from the mouth and nose. They did this with a slow motion camera and the mask did block big stuff which stayed inside the mask and

against the face to be breathed in or cause infections on the face as we have seen with many children. ‘Viral particles’, however, would never have been picked up by the camera as they came through the mask when they are far too small to be seen. The ‘experiment’ was therefore disingenuous *and* useless.

Studies have concluded that wearing masks in operating theatres (and thus elsewhere) make no difference to preventing infection while the opposite is true with toxic shite building up in the mask and this had led to an explosion in tooth decay and gum disease dubbed by dentists ‘mask mouth’. You might have seen the Internet video of a furious American doctor urging people to take off their masks after a four-year-old patient had been rushed to hospital the night before and nearly died with a lung infection that doctors sourced to mask wearing. A study in the journal *Cancer Discovery* found that inhalation of harmful microbes can contribute to advanced stage lung cancer in adults and long-term use of masks can help breed dangerous pathogens. Microbiologists have said frequent mask wearing creates a moist environment in which microbes can grow and proliferate before entering the lungs. The Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health, or CADTH, a Canadian national organisation that provides research and analysis to healthcare decision-makers, said this as long ago as 2013 in a report entitled ‘Use of Surgical Masks in the Operating Room: A Review of the Clinical Effectiveness and Guidelines’. It said:

- No evidence was found to support the use of surgical face masks to reduce the frequency of surgical site infections
- No evidence was found on the effectiveness of wearing surgical face masks to protect staff from infectious material in the operating room.
- Guidelines recommend the use of surgical face masks by staff in the operating room to protect both operating room staff and patients (despite the lack of evidence).

We were told that the world could go back to ‘normal’ with the arrival of the ‘vaccines’. When they came, fraudulent as they are, the story changed as I knew that it would. We are in the midst of transforming ‘normal’, not going back to it. Mary Ramsay, head of immunisation at Public Health England, echoed the words of US criminal Anthony Fauci who said masks and other regulations must stay no matter if people are vaccinated. The Fauci idiot continued to wear two masks – different colours so both could be clearly seen – after he *claimed* to have been vaccinated. Senator Rand Paul told Fauci in one exchange that his double-masks were ‘theatre’ and he was right. It’s all theatre. Mary Ramsay back-tracked on the vaccine-return-to-normal theme when she said the public may need to wear masks and social-distance for years despite the jabs. ‘People have got used to those lower-level restrictions now, and [they] can live with them’, she said telling us what the idea has been all along. ‘The vaccine does not give you a pass, even if you have had it, you must continue to follow all the guidelines’ said a Public Health England statement which reneged on what we had been told before and made having the ‘vaccine’ irrelevant to ‘normality’ even by the official story. Spain’s fascist government trumped everyone by passing a law mandating the wearing of masks on the beach and even when swimming in the sea. The move would have devastated what’s left of the Spanish tourist industry, posed potential breathing dangers to swimmers and had Northern European sunbathers walking around with their forehead brown and the rest of their face white as a sheet. The ruling was so crazy that it had to be retracted after pressure from public and tourist industry, but it confirmed where the Cult wants to go with masks and how clinically insane authority has become. The determination to make masks permanent and hide the serious dangers to body and mind can be seen in the censorship of scientist Professor Denis Rancourt by Bill Gates-funded academic publishing website ResearchGate over his papers exposing the dangers and uselessness of masks. Rancourt said:

ResearchGate today has permanently locked my account, which I have had since 2015. Their reasons graphically show the nature of their attack against democracy, and their corruption of

science ... By their obscene non-logic, a scientific review of science articles reporting on harms caused by face masks has a 'potential to cause harm'. No criticism of the psychological device (face masks) is tolerated, if the said criticism shows potential to influence public policy.

This is what happens in a fascist world.

Where are the 'greens' (again)?

Other dangers of wearing masks especially regularly relate to the inhalation of minute plastic fibres into the lungs and the deluge of discarded masks in the environment and oceans. Estimates predicted that more than 1.5 billion disposable masks will end up in the world's oceans every year polluting the water with tons of plastic and endangering marine wildlife. Studies project that humans are using 129 billion face masks each month worldwide – about three million a minute. Most are disposable and made from plastic, non-biodegradable microfibers that break down into smaller plastic particles that become widespread in ecosystems. They are littering cities, clogging sewage channels and turning up in bodies of water. I have written in other books about the immense amounts of microplastics from endless sources now being absorbed into the body. Rolf Halden, director of the Arizona State University (ASU) Biodesign Center for Environmental Health Engineering, was the senior researcher in a 2020 study that analysed 47 human tissue samples and found microplastics in all of them. 'We have detected these chemicals of plastics in every single organ that we have investigated', he said. I wrote in *The Answer* about the world being deluged with microplastics. A study by the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) found that people are consuming on average every week some 2,000 tiny pieces of plastic mostly through water and also through marine life and the air. Every year humans are ingesting enough microplastics to fill a heaped dinner plate and in a life-time of 79 years it is enough to fill two large waste bins. Marco Lambertini, WWF International director general said: 'Not only are plastics polluting our oceans and waterways and killing marine life – it's in all of us and we can't escape consuming plastics,' American

geologists found tiny plastic fibres, beads and shards in rainwater samples collected from the remote slopes of the Rocky Mountain National Park near Denver, Colorado. Their report was headed: 'It is raining plastic.' Rachel Adams, senior lecturer in Biomedical Science at Cardiff Metropolitan University, said that among health consequences are internal inflammation and immune responses to a 'foreign body'. She further pointed out that microplastics become carriers of toxins including mercury, pesticides and dioxins (a known cause of cancer and reproductive and developmental problems). These toxins accumulate in the fatty tissues once they enter the body through microplastics. Now this is being compounded massively by people putting plastic on their face and throwing it away.

Workers exposed to polypropylene plastic fibres known as 'flock' have developed 'flock worker's lung' from inhaling small pieces of the flock fibres which can damage lung tissue, reduce breathing capacity and exacerbate other respiratory problems. Now ... commonly used surgical masks have three layers of melt-blown textiles made of ... polypropylene. We have billions of people putting these microplastics against their mouth, nose and face for hours at a time day after day in the form of masks. How does anyone think that will work out? I mean – what could possibly go wrong? We posted a number of scientific studies on this at davidicke.com, but when I went back to them as I was writing this book the links to the science research website where they were hosted were dead. Anything that challenges the official narrative in any way is either censored or vilified. The official narrative is so unsupportable by the evidence that only deleting the truth can protect it. A study by Chinese scientists still survived – with the usual twist which it why it was still active, I guess. Yes, they found that virtually all the masks they tested increased the daily intake of microplastic fibres, but people should still wear them because the danger from the 'virus' was worse said the crazy 'team' from the Institute of Hydrobiology in Wuhan. Scientists first discovered microplastics in lung tissue of some patients who died of lung cancer

in the 1990s. Subsequent studies have confirmed the potential health damage with the plastic degrading slowly and remaining in the lungs to accumulate in volume. Wuhan researchers used a machine simulating human breathing to establish that masks shed up to nearly 4,000 microplastic fibres in a month with reused masks producing more. Scientists said some masks are laced with toxic chemicals and a variety of compounds seriously restricted for both health and environmental reasons. They include cobalt (used in blue dye) and formaldehyde known to cause watery eyes, burning sensations in the eyes, nose, and throat, plus coughing, wheezing and nausea. No – that must be 'Covid-19'.

Mask 'worms'

There is another and potentially even more sinister content of masks. Mostly new masks of different makes filmed under a microscope around the world have been found to contain strange black fibres or 'worms' that appear to move or 'crawl' by themselves and react to heat and water. The nearest I have seen to them are the self-replicating fibres that are pulled out through the skin of those suffering from Morgellons disease which has been connected to the phenomena of 'chemtrails' which I will bring into the story later on. Morgellons fibres continue to grow outside the body and have a form of artificial intelligence. Black 'worm' fibres in masks have that kind of feel to them and there is a nanotechnology technique called 'worm micelles' which carry and release drugs or anything else you want to deliver to the body. For sure the suppression of humanity by mind altering drugs is the Cult agenda big time and the more excuses they can find to gain access to the body the more opportunities there are to make that happen whether through 'vaccines' or masks pushed against the mouth and nose for hours on end.

So let us summarise the pros and cons of masks:

Against masks: Breathing in your own carbon dioxide; depriving the body and brain of sufficient oxygen; build-up of toxins in the mask that can be breathed into the lungs and cause rashes on the face and ‘mask-mouth’; breathing microplastic fibres and toxic chemicals into the lungs; dehumanisation and deleting individualisation by literally making people faceless; destroying human emotional interaction through facial expression and deleting parental connection with their babies which look for guidance to their facial expression.

For masks: They don’t protect you from a ‘virus’ that doesn’t exist and even if it did ‘viral’ particles are so minute they are smaller than the holes in the mask.

Governments, police, supermarkets, businesses, transport companies, and all the rest who seek to impose masks have done no risk assessment on their consequences for health and psychology and are now open to group lawsuits when the impact becomes clear with a cumulative epidemic of respiratory and other disease. Authorities will try to exploit these effects and hide the real cause by dubbing them ‘Covid-19’. Can you imagine setting out to force the population to wear health-destroying masks without doing any assessment of the risks? It is criminal and it is evil, but then how many people targeted in this way, who see their children told to wear them all day at school, have asked for a risk assessment? Billions can’t be imposed upon by the few unless the billions allow it. Oh, yes, with just a tinge of irony, 85 percent of all masks made worldwide come from *China*.

Wash your hands in toxic shite

‘Covid’ rules include the use of toxic sanitisers and again the health consequences of constantly applying toxins to be absorbed through the skin is obvious to any level of Renegade Mind. America’s Food and Drug Administration (FDA) said that sanitisers are drugs and issued a warning about 75 dangerous brands which contain

methanol used in antifreeze and can cause death, kidney damage and blindness. The FDA circulated the following warning even for those brands that it claims to be safe:

Store hand sanitizer out of the reach of pets and children, and children should use it only with adult supervision. Do not drink hand sanitizer. This is particularly important for young children, especially toddlers, who may be attracted by the pleasant smell or brightly colored bottles of hand sanitizer.

Drinking even a small amount of hand sanitizer can cause alcohol poisoning in children. (However, there is no need to be concerned if your children eat with or lick their hands after using hand sanitizer.) During this coronavirus pandemic, poison control centers have had an increase in calls about accidental ingestion of hand sanitizer, so it is important that adults monitor young children's use.

Do not allow pets to swallow hand sanitizer. If you think your pet has eaten something potentially dangerous, call your veterinarian or a pet poison control center right away. Hand sanitizer is flammable and should be stored away from heat and flames. When using hand sanitizer, rub your hands until they feel completely dry before performing activities that may involve heat, sparks, static electricity, or open flames.

There you go, perfectly safe, then, and that's without even a mention of the toxins absorbed through the skin. Come on kids – sanitise your hands everywhere you go. It will save you from the 'virus'. Put all these elements together of the 'Covid' normal and see how much health and psychology is being cumulatively damaged, even devastated, to 'protect your health'. Makes sense, right? They are only imposing these things because they care, right? *Right?*

Submitting to insanity

Psychological reframing of the population goes very deep and is done in many less obvious ways. I hear people say how contradictory and crazy 'Covid' rules are and how they are ever changing. This is explained away by dismissing those involved as idiots. It is a big mistake. The Cult is delighted if its cold calculation is perceived as incompetence and idiocy when it is anything but. Oh, yes, there are idiots within the system – lots of them – but they are *administering* the Cult agenda, mostly unknowingly. They are not deciding and dictating it. The bulwark against tyranny is self-

respect, always has been, always will be. It is self-respect that has broken every tyranny in history. By its very nature self-respect will not bow to oppression and its perpetrators. There is so little self-respect that it's always the few that overturn dictators. Many may eventually follow, but the few with the iron spines (self-respect) kick it off and generate the momentum. The Cult targets self-respect in the knowledge that once this has gone only submission remains. Crazy, contradictory, ever-changing 'Covid' rules are systematically applied by psychologists to delete self-respect. They *want* you to see that the rules make no sense. It is one thing to decide to do something when *you* have made the choice based on evidence and logic. You still retain your self-respect. It is quite another when you can see what you are being told to do is insane, ridiculous and makes no sense, and *yet you still do it*. Your self-respect is extinguished and this has been happening as ever more obviously stupid and nonsensical things have been demanded and the great majority have complied even when they can see they are stupid and nonsensical.

People walk around in face-nappies knowing they are damaging their health and make no difference to a 'virus'. They do it in fear of not doing it. I know it's daft, but I'll do it anyway. When that happens something dies inside of you and submissive reframing has begun. Next there's a need to hide from yourself that you have conceded your self-respect and you convince yourself that you have not really submitted to fear and intimidation. You begin to believe that you are complying with craziness because it's the right thing to do. When first you concede your self-respect of $2+2 = 4$ to $2+2 = 5$ you *know* you are compromising your self-respect. Gradually to avoid facing that fact you begin to *believe* that $2+2=5$. You have been reframed and I have been watching this process happening in the human psyche on an industrial scale. The Cult is working to break your spirit and one of its major tools in that war is humiliation. I read how former American soldier Bradley Manning (later Chelsea Manning after a sex-change) was treated after being jailed for supplying WikiLeaks with documents exposing the enormity of

government and elite mendacity. Manning was isolated in solitary confinement for eight months, put under 24-hour surveillance, forced to hand over clothing before going to bed, and stand naked for every roll call. This is systematic humiliation. The introduction of anal swab 'Covid' tests in China has been done for the same reason to delete self-respect and induce compliant submission. Anal swabs are mandatory for incoming passengers in parts of China and American diplomats have said they were forced to undergo the indignity which would have been calculated humiliation by the Cult-owned Chinese government that has America in its sights.

Government-people: An abusive relationship

Spirit-breaking psychological techniques include giving people hope and apparent respite from tyranny only to take it away again. This happened in the UK during Christmas, 2020, when the psycho-psychologists and their political lackeys announced an easing of restrictions over the holiday only to reimpose them almost immediately on the basis of yet another lie. There is a big psychological difference between getting used to oppression and being given hope of relief only to have that dashed. Psychologists know this and we have seen the technique used repeatedly. Then there is traumatising people before you introduce more extreme regulations that require compliance. A perfect case was the announcement by the dark and sinister Whitty and Vallance in the UK that 'new data' predicted that 4,000 could die every day over the winter of 2020/2021 if we did not lockdown again. I think they call it lying and after traumatising people with that claim out came Jackboot Johnson the next day with new curbs on human freedom. Psychologists know that a frightened and traumatised mind becomes suggestable to submission and behaviour reframing. Underpinning all this has been to make people fearful and suspicious of each other and see themselves as a potential danger to others. In league with deleted self-respect you have the perfect psychological recipe for self-loathing. The relationship between authority and public is now demonstrably the same as that of

subservience to an abusive partner. These are signs of an abusive relationship explained by psychologist Leslie Becker-Phelps:

Psychological and emotional abuse: Undermining a partner's self-worth with verbal attacks, name-calling, and belittling. Humiliating the partner in public, unjustly accusing them of having an affair, or interrogating them about their every behavior. Keeping partner confused or off balance by saying they were just kidding or blaming the partner for 'making' them act this way ... Feigning in public that they care while turning against them in private. This leads to victims frequently feeling confused, incompetent, unworthy, hopeless, and chronically self-doubting. [Apply these techniques to how governments have treated the population since New Year, 2020, and the parallels are obvious.]

Physical abuse: The abuser might physically harm their partner in a range of ways, such as grabbing, hitting, punching, or shoving them. They might throw objects at them or harm them with a weapon. [Observe the physical harm imposed by masks, lockdown, and so on.]

Threats and intimidation: One way abusers keep their partners in line is by instilling fear. They might be verbally threatening, or give threatening looks or gestures. Abusers often make it known that they are tracking their partner's every move. They might destroy their partner's possessions, threaten to harm them, or threaten to harm their family members. Not surprisingly, victims of this abuse often feel anxiety, fear, and panic. [No words necessary.]

Isolation: Abusers often limit their partner's activities, forbidding them to talk or interact with friends or family. They might limit access to a car or even turn off their phone. All of this might be done by physically holding them against their will, but is often accomplished through psychological abuse and intimidation. The more isolated a person feels, the fewer resources they have to help gain perspective on their situation and to escape from it. [No words necessary.]

Economic abuse: Abusers often make their partners beholden to them for money by controlling access to funds of any kind. They might prevent their partner from getting a job or withhold access to money they earn from a job. This creates financial dependency that makes leaving the relationship very difficult. [See destruction of livelihoods and the proposed meagre 'guaranteed income' so long as you do whatever you are told.]

Using children: An abuser might disparage their partner's parenting skills, tell their children lies about their partner, threaten to take custody of their children, or threaten to harm their children. These tactics instil fear and often elicit compliance. [See reframed social service mafia and how children are being mercilessly abused by the state over 'Covid' while their parents look on too frightened to do anything.]

A further recurring trait in an abusive relationship is the abused blaming themselves for their abuse and making excuses for the abuser. We have the public blaming each other for lockdown abuse by government and many making excuses for the government while attacking those who challenge the government. How often we have heard authorities say that rules are being imposed or reimposed only because people have refused to 'behave' and follow the rules. We don't want to do it – it's *you*.

Renegade Minds are an antidote to all of these things. They will never concede their self-respect no matter what the circumstances. Even when apparent humiliation is heaped upon them they laugh in its face and reflect back the humiliation on the abuser where it belongs. Renegade Minds will never wear masks they know are only imposed to humiliate, suppress and damage both physically and psychologically. Consequences will take care of themselves and they will never break their spirit or cause them to concede to tyranny. UK newspaper columnist Peter Hitchens was one of the few in the mainstream media to speak out against lockdowns and forced vaccinations. He then announced he had taken the jab. He wanted to see family members abroad and he believed vaccine passports were inevitable even though they had not yet been introduced. Hitchens

has a questioning and critical mind, but not a Renegade one. If he had no amount of pressure would have made him concede. Hitchens excused his action by saying that the battle has been lost. Renegade Minds never accept defeat when freedom is at stake and even if they are the last one standing the self-respect of not submitting to tyranny is more important than any outcome or any consequence.

That's why Renegade Minds are the only minds that ever changed anything worth changing.

CHAPTER EIGHT

‘Reframing’ insanity

Insanity is relative. It depends on who has who locked in what cage

Ray Bradbury

‘Reframing’ a mind means simply to change its perception and behaviour. This can be done subconsciously to such an extent that subjects have no idea they have been ‘reframed’ while to any observer changes in behaviour and attitudes are obvious.

Human society is being reframed on a ginormous scale since the start of 2020 and here we have the reason why psychologists rather than doctors have been calling the shots. Ask most people who have succumbed to ‘Covid’ reframing if they have changed and most will say ‘no’; but they *have* and fundamentally. The Cult’s long-game has been preparing for these times since way back and crucial to that has been to prepare both population and officialdom mentally and emotionally. To use the mind-control parlance they had to reframe the population with a mentality that would submit to fascism and reframe those in government and law enforcement to impose fascism or at least go along with it. The result has been the fact-deleted mindlessness of ‘Wokeness’ and officialdom that has either enthusiastically or unquestioningly imposed global tyranny demanded by reframed politicians on behalf of psychopathic and deeply evil cultists. ‘Cognitive reframing’ identifies and challenges the way someone sees the world in the form of situations, experiences and emotions and then restructures those perceptions to view the same set of circumstances in a different way. This can have

benefits if the attitudes are personally destructive while on the other side it has the potential for individual and collective mind control which the subject has no idea has even happened.

Cognitive therapy was developed in the 1960s by Aaron T. Beck who was born in Rhode Island in 1921 as the son of Jewish immigrants from the Ukraine. He became interested in the techniques as a treatment for depression. Beck's daughter Judith S. Beck is prominent in the same field and they founded the Beck Institute for Cognitive Behavior Therapy in Philadelphia in 1994. Cognitive reframing, however, began to be used worldwide by those with a very dark agenda. The Cult reframes politicians to change their attitudes and actions until they are completely at odds with what they once appeared to stand for. The same has been happening to government administrators at all levels, law enforcement, military and the human population. Cultists love mind control for two main reasons: It allows them to control what people think, do and say to secure agenda advancement and, by definition, it calms their legendary insecurity and fear of the unexpected. I have studied mind control since the time I travelled America in 1996. I may have been talking to next to no one in terms of an audience in those years, but my goodness did I gather a phenomenal amount of information and knowledge about so many things including the techniques of mind control. I have described this in detail in other books going back to *The Biggest Secret* in 1998. I met a very large number of people recovering from MKUltra and its offshoots and successors and I began to see how these same techniques were being used on the population in general. This was never more obvious than since the 'Covid' hoax began.

Reframing the enforcers

I have observed over the last two decades and more the very clear transformation in the dynamic between the police, officialdom and the public. I tracked this in the books as the relationship mutated from one of serving the public to seeing them as almost the enemy and certainly a lower caste. There has always been a class divide

based on income and always been some psychopathic, corrupt, and big-I-am police officers. This was different. Wholesale change was unfolding in the collective dynamic; it was less about money and far more about position and perceived power. An us-and-them was emerging. Noses were lifted skyward by government administration and law enforcement and their attitude to the public they were *supposed* to be serving changed to one of increasing contempt, superiority and control. The transformation was so clear and widespread that it had to be planned. Collective attitudes and dynamics do not change naturally and organically that quickly on that scale. I then came across an organisation in Britain called Common Purpose created in the late 1980s by Julia Middleton who would work in the office of Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott during the long and disastrous premiership of war criminal Tony Blair. When Blair speaks the Cult is speaking and the man should have been in jail a long time ago. Common Purpose proclaims itself to be one of the biggest 'leadership development' organisations in the world while functioning as a *charity* with all the financial benefits which come from that. It hosts 'leadership development' courses and programmes all over the world and claims to have 'brought together' what it calls 'leaders' from more than 100 countries on six continents. The modus operandi of Common Purpose can be compared with the work of the UK government's reframing network that includes the Behavioural Insights Team 'nudge unit' and 'Covid' reframing specialists at SPI-B. WikiLeaks described Common Purpose long ago as 'a hidden virus in our government and schools' which is unknown to the general public: 'It recruits and trains "leaders" to be loyal to the directives of Common Purpose and the EU, instead of to their own departments, which they then undermine or subvert, the NHS [National Health Service] being an example.' This is a vital point to understand the 'Covid' hoax. The NHS, and its equivalent around the world, has been utterly reframed in terms of administrators and much of the medical personnel with the transformation underpinned by recruitment policies. The outcome has been the criminal and psychopathic behaviour of the

NHS over ‘Covid’ and we have seen the same in every other major country. WikiLeaks said Common Purpose trainees are ‘learning to rule without regard to democracy’ and to usher in a police state (current events explained). Common Purpose operated like a ‘glue’ and had members in the NHS, BBC, police, legal profession, church, many of Britain’s 7,000 quangos, local councils, the Civil Service, government ministries and Parliament, and controlled many RDA’s (Regional Development Agencies). Here we have one answer for how and why British institutions and their like in other countries have changed so negatively in relation to the public. This further explains how and why the beyond-disgraceful reframed BBC has become a propaganda arm of ‘Covid’ fascism. They are all part of a network pursuing the same goal.

By 2019 Common Purpose was quoting a figure of 85,000 ‘leaders’ that had attended its programmes. These ‘students’ of all ages are known as Common Purpose ‘graduates’ and they consist of government, state and local government officials and administrators, police chiefs and officers, and a whole range of others operating within the national, local and global establishment. Cressida Dick, Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, is the Common Purpose graduate who was the ‘Gold Commander’ that oversaw what can only be described as the murder of Brazilian electrician Jean Charles de Menezes in 2005. He was held down by psychopathic police and shot seven times in the head by a psychopathic lunatic after being mistaken for a terrorist when he was just a bloke going about his day. Dick authorised officers to pursue and keep surveillance on de Menezes and ordered that he be stopped from entering the underground train system. Police psychopaths took her at her word clearly. She was ‘disciplined’ for this outrage by being *promoted* – eventually to the top of the ‘Met’ police where she has been a disaster. Many Chief Constables controlling the police in different parts of the UK are and have been Common Purpose graduates. I have heard the ‘graduate’ network described as a sort of Mafia or secret society operating within the fabric of government at all levels pursuing a collective policy

ingrained at Common Purpose training events. Founder Julia Middleton herself has said:

Locally and internationally, Common Purpose graduates will be 'lighting small fires' to create change in their organisations and communities ... The Common Purpose effect is best illustrated by the many stories of small changes brought about by leaders, who themselves have changed.

A Common Purpose mission statement declared:

Common Purpose aims to improve the way society works by expanding the vision, decision-making ability and influence of all kinds of leaders. The organisation runs a variety of educational programmes for leaders of all ages, backgrounds and sectors, in order to provide them with the inspirational, information and opportunities they need to change the world.

Yes, but into what? Since 2020 the answer has become clear.

NLP and the Delphi technique

Common Purpose would seem to be a perfect name or would common programming be better? One of the foundation methods of reaching 'consensus' (group think) is by setting the agenda theme and then encouraging, cajoling or pressuring everyone to agree a 'consensus' in line with the core theme promoted by Common Purpose. The methodology involves the 'Delphi technique', or an adaption of it, in which opinions are expressed that are summarised by a 'facilitator or change agent' at each stage. Participants are 'encouraged' to modify their views in the light of what others have said. Stage by stage the former individual opinions are merged into group consensus which just happens to be what Common Purpose wants them to believe. A key part of this is to marginalise anyone refusing to concede to group think and turn the group against them to apply pressure to conform. We are seeing this very technique used on the general population to make 'Covid' group-thinkers hostile to those who have seen through the bullshit. People can be reframed by using perception manipulation methods such as Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) in which you change perception with the use of

carefully constructed language. An NLP website described the technique this way:

... A method of influencing brain behaviour (the 'neuro' part of the phrase) through the use of language (the 'linguistic' part) and other types of communication to enable a person to 'recode' the way the brain responds to stimuli (that's the 'programming') and manifest new and better behaviours. Neuro-Linguistic Programming often incorporates hypnosis and self-hypnosis to help achieve the change (or 'programming') that is wanted.

British alternative media operation UKColumn has done very detailed research into Common Purpose over a long period. I quoted co-founder and former naval officer Brian Gerrish in my book *Remember Who You Are*, published in 2011, as saying the following years before current times:

It is interesting that many of the mothers who have had children taken by the State speak of the Social Services people being icily cool, emotionless and, as two ladies said in slightly different words, '... like little robots'. We know that NLP is cumulative, so people can be given small imperceptible doses of NLP in a course here, another in a few months, next year etc. In this way, major changes are accrued in their personality, but the day by day change is almost unnoticeable.

In these and other ways 'graduates' have had their perceptions uniformly reframed and they return to their roles in the institutions of government, law enforcement, legal profession, military, 'education', the UK National Health Service and the whole swathe of the establishment structure to pursue a common agenda preparing for the 'post-industrial', 'post-democratic' society. I say 'preparing' but we are now there. 'Post-industrial' is code for the Great Reset and 'post-democratic' is 'Covid' fascism. UKColumn has spoken to partners of those who have attended Common Purpose 'training'. They have described how personalities and attitudes of 'graduates' changed very noticeably for the worse by the time they had completed the course. They had been 'reframed' and told they are the 'leaders' – the special ones – who know better than the population. There has also been the very demonstrable recruitment of psychopaths and narcissists into government administration at all

levels and law enforcement. If you want psychopathy hire psychopaths and you get a simple cause and effect. If you want administrators, police officers and 'leaders' to perceive the public as lesser beings who don't matter then employ narcissists. These personalities are identified using 'psychometrics' that identifies knowledge, abilities, attitudes and personality traits, mostly through carefully-designed questionnaires and tests. As this policy has passed through the decades we have had power-crazy, power-trippers appointed into law enforcement, security and government administration in preparation for current times and the dynamic between public and law enforcement/officialdom has been transformed. UKColumn's Brian Gerrish said of the narcissistic personality:

Their love of themselves and power automatically means that they will crush others who get in their way. I received a major piece of the puzzle when a friend pointed out that when they made public officials re-apply for their own jobs several years ago they were also required to do psychometric tests. This was undoubtedly the start of the screening process to get 'their' sort of people in post.

How obvious that has been since 2020 although it was clear what was happening long before if people paid attention to the changing public-establishment dynamic.

Change agents

At the centre of events in 'Covid' Britain is the National Health Service (NHS) which has behaved disgracefully in slavishly following the Cult agenda. The NHS management structure is awash with Common Purpose graduates or 'change agents' working to a common cause. Helen Bevan, a Chief of Service Transformation at the NHS Institute for Innovation and Improvement, co-authored a document called 'Towards a million change agents, a review of the social movements literature: implications for large scale change in the NHS'. The document compared a project management approach to that of change and social movements where 'people change

themselves and each other – peer to peer’. Two definitions given for a ‘social movement’ were:

A group of people who consciously attempt to build a radically new social order; involves people of a broad range of social backgrounds; and deploys politically confrontational and socially disruptive tactics – Cyrus Zirakzadeh 1997

Collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities – Sidney Tarrow 1994

Helen Bevan wrote another NHS document in which she defined ‘framing’ as ‘the process by which leaders construct, articulate and put across their message in a powerful and compelling way in order to win people to their cause and call them to action’. I think I could come up with another definition that would be rather more accurate. The National Health Service and institutions of Britain and the wider world have been taken over by reframed ‘change agents’ and that includes everything from the United Nations to national governments, local councils and social services which have been kidnapping children from loving parents on an extraordinary and gathering scale on the road to the end of parenthood altogether. Children from loving homes are stolen and kidnapped by the state and put into the ‘care’ (inversion) of the local authority through council homes, foster parents and forced adoption. At the same time children are allowed to be abused without response while many are under council ‘care’. UKColumn highlighted the Common Purpose connection between South Yorkshire Police and Rotherham council officers in the case of the scandal in that area of the sexual exploitation of children to which the authorities turned not one blind eye, but both:

We were alarmed to discover that the Chief Executive, the Strategic Director of Children and Young People's Services, the Manager for the Local Strategic Partnership, the Community Cohesion Manager, the Cabinet Member for Cohesion, the Chief Constable and his predecessor had all attended Leadership training courses provided by the pseudo-charity Common Purpose.

Once 'change agents' have secured positions of hire and fire within any organisation things start to move very quickly. Personnel are then hired and fired on the basis of whether they will work towards the agenda the change agent represents. If they do they are rapidly promoted even though they may be incompetent. Those more qualified and skilled who are pre-Common Purpose 'old school' see their careers stall and even disappear. This has been happening for decades in every institution of state, police, 'health' and social services and all of them have been transformed as a result in their attitudes to their jobs and the public. Medical professions, including nursing, which were once vocations for the caring now employ many cold, callous and couldn't give a shit personality types. The UKColumn investigation concluded:

By blurring the boundaries between people, professions, public and private sectors, responsibility and accountability, Common Purpose encourages 'graduates' to believe that as new selected leaders, they can work together, outside of the established political and social structures, to achieve a paradigm shift or CHANGE – so called 'Leading Beyond Authority'. In doing so, the allegiance of the individual becomes 'reframed' on CP colleagues and their NETWORK.

Reframing the Face-Nappies

Nowhere has this process been more obvious than in the police where recruitment of psychopaths and development of unquestioning mind-controlled group-thinkers have transformed law enforcement into a politically-correct 'Woke' joke and a travesty of what should be public service. Today they wear their face-nappies like good little gofers and enforce 'Covid' rules which are fascism under another name. Alongside the specifically-recruited psychopaths we have software minds incapable of free thought. Brian Gerrish again:

An example is the policeman who would not get on a bike for a press photo because he had not done the cycling proficiency course. Normal people say this is political correctness gone mad. Nothing could be further from the truth. The policeman has been reframed, and in his reality it is perfect common sense not to get on the bike ‘because he hasn’t done the cycling course’.

Another example of this is where the police would not rescue a boy from a pond until they had taken advice from above on the ‘risk assessment’. A normal person would have arrived, perhaps thought of the risk for a moment, and dived in. To the police now ‘reframed’, they followed ‘normal’ procedure.

There are shocking cases of reframed ambulance crews doing the same. Sheer unthinking stupidity of London Face-Nappies headed by Common Purpose graduate Cressida Dick can be seen in their behaviour at a vigil in March, 2021, for a murdered woman, Sarah Everard. A police officer had been charged with the crime. Anyone with a brain would have left the vigil alone in the circumstances. Instead they ‘manhandled’ women to stop them breaking ‘Covid rules’ to betray classic reframing. Minds in the thrall of perception control have no capacity for seeing a situation on its merits and acting accordingly. ‘Rules is rules’ is their only mind-set. My father used to say that rules and regulations are for the guidance of the intelligent and the blind obedience of the idiot. Most of the intelligent, decent, coppers have gone leaving only the other kind and a few old school for whom the job must be a daily nightmare. The combination of psychopaths and rule-book software minds has been clearly on public display in the ‘Covid’ era with automaton robots in uniform imposing fascistic ‘Covid’ regulations on the population without any personal initiative or judging situations on their merits. There are thousands of examples around the world, but I’ll make my point with the infamous Derbyshire police in the English East Midlands – the ones who think pouring dye into beauty spots and using drones to track people walking in the countryside away from anyone is called ‘policing’. To them there are rules decreed by the government which they have to enforce and in their bewildered state a group gathering in a closed space and someone walking alone in the countryside are the same thing. It is beyond idiocy and enters the realm of clinical insanity.

Police officers in Derbyshire said they were ‘horrified’ – *horrified* – to find 15 to 20 ‘irresponsible’ kids playing a football match at a closed leisure centre ‘in breach of coronavirus restrictions’. When they saw the police the kids ran away leaving their belongings behind and the reframed men and women of Derbyshire police were seeking to establish their identities with a view to fining their parents. The most natural thing for youngsters to do – kicking a ball about – is turned into a criminal activity and enforced by the moronic software programs of Derbyshire police. You find the same mentality in every country. These barely conscious ‘horrified’ officers said they had to take action because ‘we need to ensure these rules are being followed’ and ‘it is of the utmost importance that you ensure your children are following the rules and regulations for Covid-19’. Had any of them done ten seconds of research to see if this parroting of their masters’ script could be supported by any evidence? Nope. Reframed people don’t think – others think for them and that’s the whole idea of reframing. I have seen police officers one after the other repeating without question word for word what officialdom tells them just as I have seen great swathes of the public doing the same. Ask either for ‘their’ opinion and out spews what they have been told to think by the official narrative. Police and public may seem to be in different groups, but their mentality is the same. Most people do whatever they are told in fear not doing so or because they believe what officialdom tells them; almost the entirety of the police do what they are told for the same reason. Ultimately it’s the tiny inner core of the global Cult that’s telling both what to do.

So Derbyshire police were ‘horrified’. Oh, really? Why did they think those kids were playing football? It was to relieve the psychological consequences of lockdown and being denied human contact with their friends and interaction, touch and discourse vital to human psychological health. Being denied this month after month has dismantled the psyche of many children and young people as depression and suicide have exploded. Were Derbyshire police *horrified by that?* Are you kidding? Reframed people don’t have those

mental and emotional processes that can see how the impact on the psychological health of youngsters is far more dangerous than any 'virus' even if you take the mendacious official figures to be true. The reframed are told (programmed) how to act and so they do. The Derbyshire Chief Constable in the first period of lockdown when the black dye and drones nonsense was going on was Peter Goodman. He was the man who severed the connection between his force and the Derbyshire Constabulary *Male Voice* Choir when he decided that it was not inclusive enough to allow women to join. The fact it was a male voice choir making a particular sound produced by male voices seemed to elude a guy who terrifyingly ran policing in Derbyshire. He retired weeks after his force was condemned as disgraceful by former Supreme Court Justice Jonathan Sumption for their behaviour over extreme lockdown impositions. Goodman was replaced by his deputy Rachel Swann who was in charge when her officers were 'horrified'. The police statement over the boys committing the hanging-offence of playing football included the line about the youngsters being 'irresponsible in the times we are all living through' missing the point that the real relevance of the 'times we are all living through' is the imposition of fascism enforced by psychopaths and reframed minds of police officers playing such a vital part in establishing the fascist tyranny that their own children and grandchildren will have to live in their entire lives. As a definition of insanity that is hard to beat although it might be run close by imposing masks on people that can have a serious effect on their health while wearing a face nappy all day themselves. Once again public and police do it for the same reason – the authorities tell them to and who are they to have the self-respect to say no?

Wokers in uniform

How reframed do you have to be to arrest a *six-year-old* and take him to court for *picking a flower* while waiting for a bus? Brain dead police and officialdom did just that in North Carolina where criminal proceedings happen regularly for children under nine. Attorney Julie Boyer gave the six-year-old crayons and a colouring book

during the ‘flower’ hearing while the ‘adults’ decided his fate. County Chief District Court Judge Jay Corpening asked: ‘Should a child that believes in Santa Claus, the Easter Bunny and the tooth fairy be making life-altering decisions?’ Well, of course not, but common sense has no meaning when you have a common purpose and a reframed mind. Treating children in this way, and police operating in American schools, is all part of the psychological preparation for children to accept a police state as normal all their adult lives. The same goes for all the cameras and biometric tracking technology in schools. Police training is focused on reframing them as snowflake Wokers and this is happening in the military. Pentagon top brass said that ‘training sessions on extremism’ were needed for troops who asked why they were so focused on the Capitol Building riot when Black Lives Matter riots were ignored. What’s the difference between them some apparently and rightly asked. Actually, there is a difference. Five people died in the Capitol riot, only one through violence, and that was a police officer shooting an unarmed protestor. BLM riots killed at least 25 people and cost billions. Asking the question prompted the psychopaths and reframed minds that run the Pentagon to say that more ‘education’ (programming) was needed. Troop training is all based on psychological programming to make them fodder for the Cult – ‘Military men are just dumb, stupid animals to be used as pawns in foreign policy’ as Cult-to-his-DNA former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger famously said. Governments see the police in similar terms and it’s time for those among them who can see this to defend the people and stop being enforcers of the Cult agenda upon the people.

The US military, like the country itself, is being targeted for destruction through a long list of Woke impositions. Cult-owned gaga ‘President’ Biden signed an executive order when he took office to allow taxpayer money to pay for transgender surgery for active military personnel and veterans. Are you a man soldier? No, I’m a LGBTQIA+ with a hint of Skoliosexual and Spectrasexual. Oh, good man. Bad choice of words you bigot. The Pentagon announced in March, 2021, the appointment of the first ‘diversity and inclusion

officer' for US Special Forces. Richard Torres-Estrada arrived with the publication of a 'D&I Strategic Plan which will guide the enterprise-wide effort to institutionalize and sustain D&I'. If you think a Special Forces 'Strategic Plan' should have something to do with defending America you haven't been paying attention.

Defending Woke is now the military's new role. Torres-Estrada has posted images comparing Donald Trump with Adolf Hitler and we can expect no bias from him as a representative of the supposedly non-political Pentagon. Cable news host Tucker Carlson said: 'The Pentagon is now the Yale faculty lounge but with cruise missiles.' Meanwhile Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, a board member of weapons-maker Raytheon with stock and compensation interests in October, 2020, worth \$1.4 million, said he was purging the military of the 'enemy within' – anyone who isn't Woke and supports Donald Trump. Austin refers to his targets as 'racist extremists' while in true Woke fashion being himself a racist extremist. Pentagon documents pledge to 'eradicate, eliminate and conquer all forms of racism, sexism and homophobia'. The definitions of these are decided by 'diversity and inclusion committees' peopled by those who see racism, sexism and homophobia in every situation and opinion. Woke (the Cult) is dismantling the US military and purging testosterone as China expands its military and gives its troops 'masculinity training'. How do we think that is going to end when this is all Cult coordinated? The US military, like the British military, is controlled by Woke and spineless top brass who just go along with it out of personal career interests.

'Woke' means fast asleep

Mind control and perception manipulation techniques used on individuals to create group-think have been unleashed on the global population in general. As a result many have no capacity to see the obvious fascist agenda being installed all around them or what 'Covid' is really all about. Their brains are firewalled like a computer system not to process certain concepts, thoughts and realisations that are bad for the Cult. The young are most targeted as the adults they

will be when the whole fascist global state is planned to be fully implemented. They need to be prepared for total compliance to eliminate all pushback from entire generations. The Cult has been pouring billions into taking complete control of 'education' from schools to universities via its operatives and corporations and not least Bill Gates as always. The plan has been to transform 'education' institutions into programming centres for the mentality of 'Woke'. James McConnell, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, wrote in *Psychology Today* in 1970:

The day has come when we can combine sensory deprivation with drugs, hypnosis, and astute manipulation of reward and punishment, to gain almost absolute control over an individual's behaviour. It should then be possible to achieve a very rapid and highly effective type of brainwashing that would allow us to make dramatic changes in a person's behaviour and personality ...

... We should reshape society so that we all would be trained from birth to want to do what society wants us to do. We have the techniques to do it... no-one owns his own personality you acquired, and there's no reason to believe you should have the right to refuse to acquire a new personality if your old one is anti-social.

This was the potential for mass brainwashing in 1970 and the mentality there displayed captures the arrogant psychopathy that drives it forward. I emphasise that not all young people have succumbed to Woke programming and those that haven't are incredibly impressive people given that today's young are the most perceptually-targeted generations in history with all the technology now involved. Vast swathes of the young generations, however, have fallen into the spell – and that's what it is – of Woke. The Woke mentality and perceptual program is founded on *inversion* and you will appreciate later why that is so significant. Everything with Woke is inverted and the opposite of what it is claimed to be. Woke was a term used in African-American culture from the 1900s and referred to an awareness of social and racial justice. This is not the meaning of the modern version or 'New Woke' as I call it in *The Answer*. Oh, no, Woke today means something very different no matter how much Wokers may seek to hide that and insist Old Woke and New

Woke are the same. See if you find any 'awareness of social justice' here in the modern variety:

- Woke demands 'inclusivity' while excluding anyone with a different opinion and calls for mass censorship to silence other views.
- Woke claims to stand against oppression when imposing oppression is the foundation of all that it does. It is the driver of political correctness which is nothing more than a Cult invention to manipulate the population to silence itself.
- Woke believes itself to be 'liberal' while pursuing a global society that can only be described as fascist (see 'anti-fascist' fascist Antifa).
- Woke calls for 'social justice' while spreading injustice wherever it goes against the common 'enemy' which can be easily identified as a differing view.
- Woke is supposed to be a metaphor for 'awake' when it is solid-gold asleep and deep in a Cult-induced coma that meets the criteria for 'off with the fairies'.

I state these points as obvious facts if people only care to look. I don't do this with a sense of condemnation. We need to appreciate that the onslaught of perceptual programming on the young has been incessant and merciless. I can understand why so many have been reframed, or, given their youth, framed from the start to see the world as the Cult demands. The Cult has had access to their minds day after day in its 'education' system for their entire formative years. Perception is formed from information received and the Cult-created system is a life-long download of information delivered to elicit a particular perception, thus behaviour. The more this has expanded into still new extremes in recent decades and ever-increasing censorship has deleted other opinions and information why wouldn't that lead to a perceptual reframing on a mass scale? I

have described already cradle-to-grave programming and in more recent times the targeting of young minds from birth to adulthood has entered the stratosphere. This has taken the form of skewing what is ‘taught’ to fit the Cult agenda and the omnipresent techniques of group-think to isolate non-believers and pressure them into line. There has always been a tendency to follow the herd, but we really are in a new world now in relation to that. We have parents who can see the ‘Covid’ hoax told by their children not to stop them wearing masks at school, being ‘Covid’ tested or having the ‘vaccine’ in fear of the peer-pressure consequences of being different. What is ‘peer-pressure’ if not pressure to conform to group-think? Renegade Minds never group-think and always retain a set of perceptions that are unique to them. Group-think is always underpinned by consequences for not group-thinking. Abuse now aimed at those refusing DNA-manipulating ‘Covid vaccines’ are a potent example of this. The biggest pressure to conform comes from the very group which is itself being manipulated. ‘I am programmed to be part of a hive mind and so you must be.’

Woke control structures in ‘education’ now apply to every mainstream organisation. Those at the top of the ‘education’ hierarchy (the Cult) decide the policy. This is imposed on governments through the Cult network; governments impose it on schools, colleges and universities; their leadership impose the policy on teachers and academics and they impose it on children and students. At any level where there is resistance, perhaps from a teacher or university lecturer, they are targeted by the authorities and often fired. Students themselves regularly demand the dismissal of academics (increasingly few) at odds with the narrative that the students have been programmed to believe in. It is quite a thought that students who are being targeted by the Cult become so consumed by programmed group-think that they launch protests and demand the removal of those who are trying to push back against those targeting the students. Such is the scale of perceptual inversion. We see this with ‘Covid’ programming as the Cult imposes the rules via psycho-psychologists and governments on

shops, transport companies and businesses which impose them on their staff who impose them on their customers who pressure Pushbackers to conform to the will of the Cult which is in the process of destroying them and their families. Scan all aspects of society and you will see the same sequence every time.

Fact free Woke and hijacking the 'left'

There is no more potent example of this than 'Woke', a mentality only made possible by the deletion of factual evidence by an 'education' system seeking to produce an ever more uniform society. Why would you bother with facts when you don't know any? Deletion of credible history both in volume and type is highly relevant. Orwell said: 'Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.' They who control the perception of the past control the perception of the future and they who control the present control the perception of the past through the writing and deleting of history. Why would you oppose the imposition of Marxism in the name of Wokeism when you don't know that Marxism cost at least 100 million lives in the 20th century alone? Watch videos and read reports in which Woker generations are asked basic historical questions – it's mind-blowing. A survey of 2,000 people found that six percent of millennials (born approximately early 1980s to early 2000s) believed the Second World War (1939-1945) broke out with the assassination of President Kennedy (in 1963) and one in ten thought Margaret Thatcher was British Prime Minister at the time. She was in office between 1979 and 1990. We are in a post-fact society. Provable facts are no defence against the fascism of political correctness or Silicon Valley censorship. Facts don't matter anymore as we have witnessed with the 'Covid' hoax. Sacrificing uniqueness to the Woke group-think religion is all you are required to do and that means thinking for yourself is the biggest Woke no, no. All religions are an expression of group-think and censorship and Woke is just another religion with an orthodoxy defended by group-think and censorship. Burned at

the stake becomes burned on Twitter which leads back eventually to burned at the stake as Woke humanity regresses to ages past.

The biggest Woke inversion of all is its creators and funders. I grew up in a traditional left of centre political household on a council estate in Leicester in the 1950s and 60s – you know, the left that challenged the power of wealth-hoarding elites and threats to freedom of speech and opinion. In those days students went on marches defending freedom of speech while today's Wokers march for its deletion. What on earth could have happened? Those very elites (collectively the Cult) that we opposed in my youth and early life have funded into existence the antithesis of that former left and hijacked the 'brand' while inverting everything it ever stood for. We have a mentality that calls itself 'liberal' and 'progressive' while acting like fascists. Cult billionaires and their corporations have funded themselves into control of 'education' to ensure that Woke programming is unceasing throughout the formative years of children and young people and that non-Wokers are isolated (that word again) whether they be students, teachers or college professors. The Cult has funded into existence the now colossal global network of Woke organisations that have spawned and promoted all the 'causes' on the Cult wish-list for global transformation and turned Wokers into demanders of them. Does anyone really think it's a coincidence that the Cult agenda for humanity is a carbon (sorry) copy of the societal transformations desired by Woke?? These are only some of them:

Political correctness: The means by which the Cult deletes all public debates that it knows it cannot win if we had the free-flow of information and evidence.

Human-caused 'climate change': The means by which the Cult seeks to transform society into a globally-controlled dictatorship imposing its will over the fine detail of everyone's lives 'to save the planet' which doesn't actually need saving.

Transgender obsession: Preparing collective perception to accept the ‘new human’ which would not have genders because it would be created technologically and not through procreation. I’ll have much more on this in Human 2.0.

Race obsession: The means by which the Cult seeks to divide and rule the population by triggering racial division through the perception that society is more racist than ever when the opposite is the case. Is it perfect in that regard? No. But to compare today with the racism of apartheid and segregation brought to an end by the civil rights movement in the 1960s is to insult the memory of that movement and inspirations like Martin Luther King. Why is the ‘anti-racism’ industry (which it is) so dominated by privileged white people?

White supremacy: This is a label used by privileged white people to demonise poor and deprived white people pushing back on tyranny to marginalise and destroy them. White people are being especially targeted as the dominant race by number within Western society which the Cult seeks to transform in its image. If you want to change a society you must weaken and undermine its biggest group and once you have done that by using the other groups you next turn on them to do the same ... ‘Then they came for the Jews and I was not a Jew so I did nothing.’

Mass migration: The mass movement of people from the Middle East, Africa and Asia into Europe, from the south into the United States and from Asia into Australia are another way the Cult seeks to dilute the racial, cultural and political influence of white people on Western society. White people ask why their governments appear to be working against them while being politically and culturally biased towards incoming cultures. Well, here’s your answer. In the same way sexually ‘straight’ people, men and women, ask why the

authorities are biased against them in favour of other sexualities. The answer is the same – that's the way the Cult wants it to be for very sinister motives.

These are all central parts of the Cult agenda and central parts of the Woke agenda and Woke was created and continues to be funded to an immense degree by Cult billionaires and corporations. If anyone begins to say 'coincidence' the syllables should stick in their throat.

Billionaire 'social justice warriors'

Joe Biden is a 100 percent-owned asset of the Cult and the Wokers' man in the White House whenever he can remember his name and for however long he lasts with his rapidly diminishing cognitive function. Even walking up the steps of an aircraft without falling on his arse would appear to be a challenge. He's not an empty-shell puppet or anything. From the minute Biden took office (or the Cult did) he began his executive orders promoting the Woke wish-list. You will see the Woke agenda imposed ever more severely because it's really the *Cult* agenda. Woke organisations and activist networks spawned by the Cult are funded to the extreme so long as they promote what the Cult wants to happen. Woke is funded to promote 'social justice' by billionaires who become billionaires by destroying social justice. The social justice mantra is only a cover for dismantling social justice and funded by billionaires that couldn't give a damn about social justice. Everything makes sense when you see that. One of Woke's premier funders is Cult billionaire financier George Soros who said: 'I am basically there to make money, I cannot and do not look at the social consequences of what I do.' This is the same Soros who has given more than \$32 billion to his Open Society Foundations global Woke network and funded Black Lives Matter, mass immigration into Europe and the United States, transgender activism, climate change activism, political correctness and groups targeting 'white supremacy' in the form of privileged white thugs that dominate Antifa. What a scam it all is and when

you are dealing with the unquestioning fact-free zone of Woke scamming them is child's play. All you need to pull it off in all these organisations are a few in-the-know agents of the Cult and an army of naïve, reframed, uninformed, narcissistic, know-nothings convinced of their own self-righteousness, self-purity and virtue.

Soros and fellow billionaires and billionaire corporations have poured hundreds of millions into Black Lives Matter and connected groups and promoted them to a global audience. None of this is motivated by caring about black people. These are the billionaires that have controlled and exploited a system that leaves millions of black people in abject poverty and deprivation which they do absolutely nothing to address. The same Cult networks funding BLM were behind the *slave trade!* Black Lives Matter hijacked a phrase that few would challenge and they have turned this laudable concept into a political weapon to divide society. You know that BLM is a fraud when it claims that *All Lives Matter*, the most inclusive statement of all, is 'racist'. BLM and its Cult masters don't want to end racism. To them it's a means to an end to control all of humanity never mind the colour, creed, culture or background. What has destroying the nuclear family got to do with ending racism? Nothing – but that is one of the goals of BLM and also happens to be a goal of the Cult as I have been exposing in my books for decades. Stealing children from loving parents and giving schools ever more power to override parents is part of that same agenda. BLM is a Marxist organisation and why would that not be the case when the Cult created Marxism *and* BLM? Patrisse Cullors, a BLM co-founder, said in a 2015 video that she and her fellow organisers, including co-founder Alicia Garza, are 'trained Marxists'. The lady known after marriage as Patrisse Khan-Cullors bought a \$1.4 million home in 2021 in one of the whitest areas of California with a black population of just 1.6 per cent and has so far bought *four* high-end homes for a total of \$3.2 million. How very Marxist. There must be a bit of spare in the BLM coffers, however, when Cult corporations and billionaires have handed over the best part of \$100 million. Many black people can see that Black Lives Matter is not

working for them, but against them, and this is still more confirmation. Black journalist Jason Whitlock, who had his account suspended by Twitter for simply linking to the story about the ‘Marxist’s’ home buying spree, said that BLM leaders are ‘making millions of dollars off the backs of these dead black men who they wouldn’t spit on if they were on fire and alive’.

Black Lies Matter

Cult assets and agencies came together to promote BLM in the wake of the death of career criminal George Floyd who had been jailed a number of times including for forcing his way into the home of a black woman with others in a raid in which a gun was pointed at her stomach. Floyd was filmed being held in a Minneapolis street in 2020 with the knee of a police officer on his neck and he subsequently died. It was an appalling thing for the officer to do, but the same technique has been used by police on peaceful protestors of lockdown without any outcry from the Woke brigade. As unquestioning supporters of the Cult agenda Wokers have supported lockdown and all the ‘Covid’ claptrap while attacking anyone standing up to the tyranny imposed in its name. Court documents would later include details of an autopsy on Floyd by County Medical Examiner Dr Andrew Baker who concluded that Floyd had taken a fatal level of the drug fentanyl. None of this mattered to fact-free, question-free, Woke. Floyd’s death was followed by worldwide protests against police brutality amid calls to defund the police. Throwing babies out with the bathwater is a Woke speciality. In the wake of the murder of British woman Sarah Everard a Green Party member of the House of Lords, Baroness Jones of Moulsecoomb (Nincompoopia would have been better), called for a 6pm curfew for all men. This would be in breach of the Geneva Conventions on war crimes which ban collective punishment, but that would never have crossed the black and white Woke mind of Baroness Nincompoopia who would have been far too convinced of her own self-righteousness to compute such details. Many American cities did defund the police in the face of Floyd riots

and after \$15 million was deleted from the police budget in Washington DC under useless Woke mayor Muriel Bowser car-jacking alone rose by 300 percent and within six months the US capital recorded its highest murder rate in 15 years. The same happened in Chicago and other cities in line with the Cult/Soros plan to bring fear to streets and neighbourhoods by reducing the police, releasing violent criminals and not prosecuting crime. This is the mob-rule agenda that I have warned in the books was coming for so long. Shootings in the area of Minneapolis where Floyd was arrested increased by 2,500 percent compared with the year before. Defunding the police over George Floyd has led to a big increase in dead people with many of them black. Police protection for politicians making these decisions stayed the same or increased as you would expect from professional hypocrites. The Cult doesn't actually want to abolish the police. It wants to abolish local control over the police and hand it to federal government as the psychopaths advance the Hunger Games Society. Many George Floyd protests turned into violent riots with black stores and businesses destroyed by fire and looting across America fuelled by Black Lives Matter. Woke doesn't do irony. If you want civil rights you must loot the liquor store and the supermarket and make off with a smart TV. It's the only way.

It's not a race war – it's a class war

Black people are patronised by privileged blacks and whites alike and told they are victims of white supremacy. I find it extraordinary to watch privileged blacks supporting the very system and bloodline networks behind the slave trade and parroting the same Cult-serving manipulative crap of their privileged white, often billionaire, associates. It is indeed not a race war but a class war and colour is just a diversion. Black Senator Cory Booker and black Congresswoman Maxine Waters, more residents of Nincompoopia, personify this. Once you tell people they are victims of someone else you devalue both their own responsibility for their plight and the power they have to impact on their reality and experience. Instead

we have: 'You are only in your situation because of whitey – turn on them and everything will change.' It won't change. Nothing changes in our lives unless *we* change it. Crucial to that is never seeing yourself as a victim and always as the creator of your reality. Life is a simple sequence of choice and consequence. Make different choices and you create different consequences. *You* have to make those choices – not Black Lives Matter, the Woke Mafia and anyone else that seeks to dictate your life. Who are they these Wokers, an emotional and psychological road traffic accident, to tell you what to do? Personal empowerment is the last thing the Cult and its Black Lives Matter want black people or anyone else to have. They claim to be defending the underdog while *creating* and perpetuating the underdog. The Cult's worst nightmare is human unity and if they are going to keep blacks, whites and every other race under economic servitude and control then the focus must be diverted from what they have in common to what they can be manipulated to believe divides them. Blacks have to be told that their poverty and plight is the fault of the white bloke living on the street in the same poverty and with the same plight they are experiencing. The difference is that your plight black people is due to him, a white supremacist with 'white privilege' living on the street. Don't unite as one human family against your mutual oppressors and suppressors – fight the oppressor with the white face who is as financially deprived as you are. The Cult knows that as its 'Covid' agenda moves into still new levels of extremism people are going to respond and it has been spreading the seeds of disunity everywhere to stop a united response to the evil that targets *all of us*.

Racist attacks on 'whiteness' are getting ever more outrageous and especially through the American Democratic Party which has an appalling history for anti-black racism. Barack Obama, Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton and Nancy Pelosi all eulogised about Senator Robert Byrd at his funeral in 2010 after a nearly 60-year career in Congress. Byrd was a brutal Ku Klux Klan racist and a violent abuser of Cathy O'Brien in MKUltra. He said he would never fight in the military 'with a negro by my side' and 'rather I should die a thousand times,

and see Old Glory trampled in the dirt never to rise again, than to see this beloved land of ours become degraded by race mongrels, a throwback to the blackest specimen from the wilds'. Biden called Byrd a 'very close friend and mentor'. These 'Woke' hypocrites are not anti-racist they are anti-poor and anti-people not of their perceived class. Here is an illustration of the scale of anti-white racism to which we have now descended. Seriously Woke and moronic *New York Times* contributor Damon Young described whiteness as a 'virus' that 'like other viruses will not die until there are no bodies left for it to infect'. He went on: '... the only way to stop it is to locate it, isolate it, extract it, and kill it.' Young can say that as a black man with no consequences when a white man saying the same in reverse would be facing a jail sentence. *That's* racism. We had super-Woke numbskull senators Tammy Duckworth and Mazie Hirono saying they would object to future Biden Cabinet appointments if he did not nominate more Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Never mind the ability of the candidate what do they look like? Duckworth said: 'I will vote for racial minorities and I will vote for LGBTQ, but anyone else I'm not voting for.' Appointing people on the grounds of race is illegal, but that was not a problem for this ludicrous pair. They were on-message and that's a free pass in any situation.

Critical race racism

White children are told at school they are intrinsically racist as they are taught the divisive 'critical race theory'. This claims that the law and legal institutions are inherently racist and that race is a socially constructed concept used by white people to further their economic and political interests at the expense of people of colour. White is a 'virus' as we've seen. Racial inequality results from 'social, economic, and legal differences that white people create between races to maintain white interests which leads to poverty and criminality in minority communities'. I must tell that to the white guy sleeping on the street. The principal of East Side Community School in New York sent white parents a manifesto that called on

them to become ‘white traitors’ and advocate for full ‘white abolition’. These people are teaching your kids when they urgently need a psychiatrist. The ‘school’ included a chart with ‘eight white identities’ that ranged from ‘white supremacist’ to ‘white abolition’ and defined the behaviour white people must follow to end ‘the regime of whiteness’. Woke blacks and their privileged white associates are acting exactly like the slave owners of old and Ku Klux Klan racists like Robert Byrd. They are too full of their own self-purity to see that, but it’s true. Racism is not a body type; it’s a state of mind that can manifest through any colour, creed or culture.

Another racial fraud is ‘*equity*’. Not equality of treatment and opportunity – equity. It’s a term spun as equality when it means something very different. Equality in its true sense is a raising up while ‘*equity*’ is a race to the bottom. Everyone in the same level of poverty is ‘*equity*’. Keep everyone down – that’s equity. The Cult doesn’t want anyone in the human family to be empowered and BLM leaders, like all these ‘anti-racist’ organisations, continue their privileged, pampered existence by perpetuating the perception of gathering racism. When is the last time you heard an ‘anti-racist’ or ‘anti-Semitism’ organisation say that acts of racism and discrimination have *fallen*? It’s not in the interests of their fund-raising and power to influence and the same goes for the professional soccer anti-racism operation, Kick It Out. Two things confirmed that the Black Lives Matter riots in the summer of 2020 were Cult creations. One was that while anti-lockdown protests were condemned in this same period for ‘transmitting ‘Covid’ the authorities supported mass gatherings of Black Lives Matter supporters. I even saw self-deluding people claiming to be doctors say the two types of protest were not the same. No – the non-existent ‘Covid’ was in favour of lockdowns and attacked those that protested against them while ‘Covid’ supported Black Lives Matter and kept well away from its protests. The whole thing was a joke and as lockdown protestors were arrested, often brutally, by reframed Face-Nappies we had the grotesque sight of police officers taking the knee to Black Lives Matter, a Cult-funded Marxist

organisation that supports violent riots and wants to destroy the nuclear family and white people.

He's not white? Shucks!

Woke obsession with race was on display again when ten people were shot dead in Boulder, Colorado, in March, 2021. Cult-owned Woke TV channels like CNN said the shooter appeared to be a white man and Wokers were on Twitter condemning 'violent white men' with the usual mantras. Then the shooter's name was released as Ahmad Al Aliwi Alissa, an anti-Trump Arab-American, and the sigh of disappointment could be heard five miles away. Never mind that ten people were dead and what that meant for their families. Race baiting was all that mattered to these sick Cult-serving people like Barack Obama who exploited the deaths to further divide America on racial grounds which is his job for the Cult. This is the man that 'racist' white Americans made the first black president of the United States and then gave him a second term. Not-very-bright Obama has become filthy rich on the back of that and today appears to have a big influence on the Biden administration. Even so he's still a downtrodden black man and a victim of white supremacy. This disingenuous fraud reveals the contempt he has for black people when he puts on a Deep South Alabama accent whenever he talks to them, no, *at* them.

Another BLM red flag was how the now fully-Woke (fully-Cult) and fully-virtue-signalled professional soccer authorities had their teams taking the knee before every match in support of Marxist Black Lives Matter. Soccer authorities and clubs displayed 'Black Lives Matter' on the players' shirts and flashed the name on electronic billboards around the pitch. Any fans that condemned what is a Freemasonic taking-the-knee ritual were widely condemned as you would expect from the Woke virtue-signallers of professional sport and the now fully-Woke media. We have reverse racism in which you are banned from criticising any race or culture except for white people for whom anything goes – say what you like, no problem. What has this got to do with racial harmony and

equality? We've had black supremacists from Black Lives Matter telling white people to fall to their knees in the street and apologise for their white supremacy. Black supremacists acting like white supremacist slave owners of the past couldn't breach their self-obsessed, race-obsessed sense of self-purity. Joe Biden appointed a race-obsessed black supremacist Kristen Clarke to head the Justice Department Civil Rights Division. Clarke claimed that blacks are endowed with 'greater mental, physical and spiritual abilities' than whites. If anyone reversed that statement they would be vilified. Clarke is on-message so no problem. She's never seen a black-white situation in which the black figure is anything but a virtuous victim and she heads the Civil Rights Division which should treat everyone the same or it isn't civil rights. Another perception of the Renegade Mind: If something or someone is part of the Cult agenda they will be supported by Woke governments and media no matter what. If they're not, they will be condemned and censored. It really is that simple and so racist Clarke prospers despite (make that because of) her racism.

The end of culture

Biden's administration is full of such racial, cultural and economic bias as the Cult requires the human family to be divided into warring factions. We are now seeing racially-segregated graduations and everything, but everything, is defined through the lens of perceived 'racism. We have 'racist' mathematics, 'racist' food and even 'racist' *plants*. World famous Kew Gardens in London said it was changing labels on plants and flowers to tell its pre-'Covid' more than two million visitors a year how racist they are. Kew director Richard Deverell said this was part of an effort to 'move quickly to decolonise collections' after they were approached by one Ajay Chhabra 'an actor with an insight into how sugar cane was linked to slavery'. They are *plants* you idiots. 'Decolonisation' in the Woke manual really means colonisation of society with its mentality and by extension colonisation by the Cult. We are witnessing a new Chinese-style 'Cultural Revolution' so essential to the success of all

Marxist takeovers. Our cultural past and traditions have to be swept away to allow a new culture to be built-back-better. Woke targeting of long-standing Western cultural pillars including historical monuments and cancelling of historical figures is what happened in the Mao revolution in China which ‘purged remnants of capitalist and traditional elements from Chinese society’ and installed Maoism as the dominant ideology’. For China see the Western world today and for ‘dominant ideology’ see Woke. Better still see Marxism or Maoism. The ‘Covid’ hoax has specifically sought to destroy the arts and all elements of Western culture from people meeting in a pub or restaurant to closing theatres, music venues, sports stadiums, places of worship and even banning *singing*. Destruction of Western society is also why criticism of any religion is banned except for Christianity which again is the dominant religion as white is the numerically-dominant race. Christianity may be fading rapidly, but its history and traditions are weaved through the fabric of Western society. Delete the pillars and other structures will follow until the whole thing collapses. I am not a Christian defending that religion when I say that. I have no religion. It’s just a fact. To this end Christianity has itself been turned Woke to usher its own downfall and its ranks are awash with ‘change agents’ – knowing and unknowing – at every level including Pope Francis (*definitely* knowing) and the clueless Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby (possibly not, but who can be sure?). Woke seeks to coordinate attacks on Western culture, traditions, and ways of life through ‘intersectionality’ defined as ‘the complex, cumulative way in which the effects of multiple forms of discrimination (such as racism, sexism, and classism) combine, overlap, or intersect especially in the experiences of marginalised individuals or groups’. Wade through the Orwellian Woke-speak and this means coordinating disparate groups in a common cause to overthrow freedom and liberal values.

The entire structure of public institutions has been infested with Woke – government at all levels, political parties, police, military, schools, universities, advertising, media and trade unions. This abomination has been achieved through the Cult web by appointing

Wokers to positions of power and battering non-Wokers into line through intimidation, isolation and threats to their job. Many have been fired in the wake of the empathy-deleted, vicious hostility of 'social justice' Wokers and the desire of gutless, spineless employers to virtue-signal their Wokeness. Corporations are filled with Wokers today, most notably those in Silicon Valley. Ironically at the top they are not Woke at all. They are only exploiting the mentality their Cult masters have created and funded to censor and enslave while the Wokers cheer them on until it's their turn. Thus the Woke 'liberal left' is an inversion of the traditional liberal left. Campaigning for justice on the grounds of power and wealth distribution has been replaced by campaigning for identity politics. The genuine traditional left would never have taken money from today's billionaire abusers of fairness and justice and nor would the billionaires have wanted to fund that genuine left. It would not have been in their interests to do so. The division of opinion in those days was between the haves and have nots. This all changed with Cult manipulated and funded identity politics. The division of opinion today is between Wokers and non-Wokers and not income brackets. Cult corporations and their billionaires may have taken wealth disparity to cataclysmic levels of injustice, but as long as they speak the language of Woke, hand out the dosh to the Woke network and censor the enemy they are 'one of us'. Billionaires who don't give a damn about injustice are laughing at them till their bellies hurt. Wokers are not even close to self-aware enough to see that. The transformed 'left' dynamic means that Wokers who drone on about 'social justice' are funded by billionaires that have destroyed social justice the world over. It's *why* they are billionaires.

The climate con

Nothing encapsulates what I have said more comprehensively than the hoax of human-caused global warming. I have detailed in my books over the years how Cult operatives and organisations were the pump-primers from the start of the climate con. A purpose-built vehicle for this is the Club of Rome established by the Cult in 1968

with the Rockefellers and Rothschilds centrally involved all along. Their gofer frontman Maurice Strong, a Canadian oil millionaire, hosted the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992 where the global ‘green movement’ really expanded in earnest under the guiding hand of the Cult. The Earth Summit established Agenda 21 through the Cult-created-and-owned United Nations to use the illusion of human-caused climate change to justify the transformation of global society to save the world from climate disaster. It is a No-Problem-Reaction-Solution sold through governments, media, schools and universities as whole generations have been terrified into believing that the world was going to end in their lifetimes unless what old people had inflicted upon them was stopped by a complete restructuring of how everything is done. Chill, kids, it’s all a hoax. Such restructuring is precisely what the Cult agenda demands (purely by coincidence of course). Today this has been given the codename of the Great Reset which is only an updated term for Agenda 21 and its associated Agenda 2030. The latter, too, is administered through the UN and was voted into being by the General Assembly in 2015. Both 21 and 2030 seek centralised control of all resources and food right down to the raindrops falling on your own land. These are some of the demands of Agenda 21 established in 1992. See if you recognise this society emerging today:

- End national sovereignty
- State planning and management of all land resources, ecosystems, deserts, forests, mountains, oceans and fresh water; agriculture; rural development; biotechnology; and ensuring ‘*equity*’
- The state to ‘define the role’ of business and financial resources
- Abolition of private property
- ‘Restructuring’ the family unit (see BLM)
- Children raised by the state
- People told what their job will be
- Major restrictions on movement
- Creation of ‘human settlement zones’

- Mass resettlement as people are forced to vacate land where they live
- Dumbing down education
- Mass global depopulation in pursuit of all the above

The United Nations was created as a Trojan horse for world government. With the climate con of critical importance to promoting that outcome you would expect the UN to be involved. Oh, it's involved all right. The UN is promoting Agenda 21 and Agenda 2030 justified by 'climate change' while also driving the climate hoax through its Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), one of the world's most corrupt organisations. The IPCC has been lying ferociously and constantly since the day it opened its doors with the global media hanging unquestioningly on its every mendacious word. The Green movement is entirely Woke and has long lost its original environmental focus since it was co-opted by the Cult. An obsession with 'global warming' has deleted its values and scrambled its head. I experienced a small example of what I mean on a beautiful country walk that I have enjoyed several times a week for many years. The path merged into the fields and forests and you felt at one with the natural world. Then a 'Green' organisation, the Hampshire and Isle of Wight Wildlife Trust, took over part of the land and proceeded to cut down a large number of trees, including mature ones, to install a horrible big, bright steel 'this-is-ours-stay-out' fence that destroyed the whole atmosphere of this beautiful place. No one with a feel for nature would do that. Day after day I walked to the sound of chainsaws and a magnificent mature weeping willow tree that I so admired was cut down at the base of the trunk. When I challenged a Woke young girl in a green shirt (of course) about this vandalism she replied: 'It's a weeping willow – it will grow back.' This is what people are paying for when they donate to the Hampshire and Isle of Wight Wildlife Trust and many other 'green' organisations today. It is not the environmental movement that I knew and instead has become a support-system – as with Extinction Rebellion – for a very dark agenda.

Private jets for climate justice

The Cult-owned, Gates-funded, World Economic Forum and its founder Klaus Schwab were behind the emergence of Greta Thunberg to harness the young behind the climate agenda and she was invited to speak to the world at ... the UN. Schwab published a book, *Covid-19: The Great Reset* in 2020 in which he used the 'Covid' hoax and the climate hoax to lay out a new society straight out of Agenda 21 and Agenda 2030. Bill Gates followed in early 2021 when he took time out from destroying the world to produce a book in his name about the way to save it. Gates flies across the world in private jets and admitted that 'I probably have one of the highest greenhouse gas footprints of anyone on the planet ... my personal flying alone is gigantic.' He has also bid for the planet's biggest private jet operator. Other climate change saviours who fly in private jets include John Kerry, the US Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, and actor Leonardo DiCaprio, a 'UN Messenger of Peace with special focus on climate change'. These people are so full of bullshit they could corner the market in manure. We mustn't be sceptical, though, because the Gates book, *How to Avoid a Climate Disaster: The Solutions We Have and the Breakthroughs We Need*, is a genuine attempt to protect the world and not an obvious pile of excrement attributed to a mega-psychopath aimed at selling his masters' plans for humanity. The Gates book and the other shite-pile by Klaus Schwab could have been written by the same person and may well have been. Both use 'climate change' and 'Covid' as the excuses for their new society and by coincidence the Cult's World Economic Forum and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation promote the climate hoax and hosted Event 201 which pre-empted with a 'simulation' the very 'coronavirus' hoax that would be simulated for real on humanity within weeks. The British 'royal' family is promoting the 'Reset' as you would expect through Prince 'climate change caused the war in Syria' Charles and his hapless son Prince William who said that we must 'reset our relationship with nature and our trajectory as a species' to avoid a climate disaster. Amazing how many promoters of the 'Covid' and 'climate change' control

systems are connected to Gates and the World Economic Forum. A ‘study’ in early 2021 claimed that carbon dioxide emissions must fall by the equivalent of a global lockdown roughly every two years for the next decade to save the planet. The ‘study’ appeared in the same period that the Schwab mob claimed in a video that lockdowns destroying the lives of billions are good because they make the earth ‘quieter’ with less ‘ambient noise’. They took down the video amid a public backlash for such arrogant, empathy-deleted stupidity You see, however, where they are going with this. Corinne Le Quéré, a professor at the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, University of East Anglia, was lead author of the climate lockdown study, and she writes for ... the World Economic Forum. Gates calls in ‘his’ book for changing ‘every aspect of the economy’ (long-time Cult agenda) and for humans to eat synthetic ‘meat’ (predicted in my books) while cows and other farm animals are eliminated.

Australian TV host and commentator Alan Jones described what carbon emission targets would mean for farm animals in Australia alone if emissions were reduced as demanded by 35 percent by 2030 and zero by 2050:

Well, let’s take agriculture, the total emissions from agriculture are about 75 million tonnes of carbon dioxide, equivalent. Now reduce that by 35 percent and you have to come down to 50 million tonnes, I’ve done the maths. So if you take for example 1.5 million cows, you’re going to have to reduce the herd by 525,000 [by] 2030, nine years, that’s 58,000 cows a year. The beef herd’s 30 million, reduce that by 35 percent, that’s 10.5 million, which means 1.2 million cattle have to go every year between now and 2030. This is insanity!

There are 75 million sheep. Reduce that by 35 percent, that’s 26 million sheep, that’s almost 3 million a year. So under the Paris Agreement over 30 million beasts. dairy cows, cattle, pigs and sheep would go. More than 8,000 every minute of every hour for the next decade, do these people know what they’re talking about?

Clearly they don’t at the level of campaigners, politicians and administrators. The Cult *does* know; that’s the outcome it wants. We are faced with not just a war on humanity. Animals and the natural world are being targeted and I have been saying since the ‘Covid’ hoax began that the plan eventually was to claim that the ‘deadly virus’ is able to jump from animals, including farm animals and

domestic pets, to humans. Just before this book went into production came this story: 'Russia registers world's first Covid-19 vaccine for cats & dogs as makers of Sputnik V warn pets & farm animals could spread virus'. The report said 'top scientists warned that the deadly pathogen could soon begin spreading through homes and farms' and 'the next stage is the infection of farm and domestic animals'. Know the outcome and you'll see the journey. Think what that would mean for animals and keep your eye on a term called zoonosis or zoonotic diseases which transmit between animals and humans. The Cult wants to break the connection between animals and people as it does between people and people. Farm animals fit with the Cult agenda to transform food from natural to synthetic.

The gas of life is killing us

There can be few greater examples of Cult inversion than the condemnation of carbon dioxide as a dangerous pollutant when it is the gas of life. Without it the natural world would be dead and so we would all be dead. We breathe in oxygen and breathe out carbon dioxide while plants produce oxygen and absorb carbon dioxide. It is a perfect symbiotic relationship that the Cult wants to dismantle for reasons I will come to in the final two chapters. Gates, Schwab, other Cult operatives and mindless repeaters, want the world to be 'carbon neutral' by at least 2050 and the earlier the better. 'Zero carbon' is the cry echoed by lunatics calling for 'Zero Covid' when we already have it. These carbon emission targets will deindustrialise the world in accordance with Cult plans – the post-industrial, post-democratic society – and with so-called renewables like solar and wind not coming even close to meeting human energy needs blackouts and cold are inevitable. Texans got the picture in the winter of 2021 when a snow storm stopped wind turbines and solar panels from working and the lights went down along with water which relies on electricity for its supply system. Gates wants everything to be powered by electricity to ensure that his masters have the kill switch to stop all human activity, movement, cooking, water and warmth any time they like. The climate lie is so

stupendously inverted that it claims we must urgently reduce carbon dioxide when we *don't have enough*.

Co₂ in the atmosphere is a little above 400 parts per million when the optimum for plant growth is 2,000 ppm and when it falls anywhere near 150 ppm the natural world starts to die and so do we. It fell to as low as 280 ppm in an 1880 measurement in Hawaii and rose to 413 ppm in 2019 with industrialisation which is why the planet has become *greener* in the industrial period. How insane then that psychopathic madman Gates is not satisfied only with blocking the rise of Co₂. He's funding technology to suck it out of the atmosphere. The reason why will become clear. The industrial era is not destroying the world through Co₂ and has instead turned around a potentially disastrous ongoing fall in Co₂. Greenpeace co-founder and scientist Patrick Moore walked away from Greenpeace in 1986 and has exposed the green movement for fear-mongering and lies. He said that 500 million years ago there was *17 times* more Co₂ in the atmosphere than we have today and levels have been falling for hundreds of millions of years. In the last 150 million years Co₂ levels in Earth's atmosphere had reduced by *90 percent*. Moore said that by the time humanity began to unlock carbon dioxide from fossil fuels we were at '38 seconds to midnight' and in that sense: 'Humans are [the Earth's] salvation.' Moore made the point that only half the Co₂ emitted by fossil fuels stays in the atmosphere and we should remember that all pollution pouring from chimneys that we are told is carbon dioxide is in fact nothing of the kind. It's pollution. Carbon dioxide is an invisible gas.

William Happer, Professor of Physics at Princeton University and long-time government adviser on climate, has emphasised the Co₂ deficiency for maximum growth and food production. Greenhouse growers don't add carbon dioxide for a bit of fun. He said that most of the warming in the last 100 years, after the earth emerged from the super-cold period of the 'Little Ice Age' into a natural warming cycle, was over by 1940. Happer said that a peak year for warming in 1988 can be explained by a 'monster El Nino' which is a natural and cyclical warming of the Pacific that has nothing to do with 'climate

change'. He said the effect of Co2 could be compared to painting a wall with red paint in that once two or three coats have been applied it didn't matter how much more you slapped on because the wall will not get much redder. Almost all the effect of the rise in Co2 has already happened, he said, and the volume in the atmosphere would now have to *double* to increase temperature by a single degree. Climate hoaxers know this and they have invented the most ridiculously complicated series of 'feedback' loops to try to overcome this rather devastating fact. You hear puppet Greta going on cluelessly about feedback loops and this is why.

The Sun affects temperature? No you *climate denier*

Some other nonsense to contemplate: Climate graphs show that rises in temperature do not follow rises in Co2 – *it's the other way round* with a lag between the two of some 800 years. If we go back 800 years from present time we hit the Medieval Warm Period when temperatures were higher than now without any industrialisation and this was followed by the Little Ice Age when temperatures plummeted. The world was still emerging from these centuries of serious cold when many climate records began which makes the ever-repeated line of the 'hottest year since records began' meaningless when you are not comparing like with like. The coldest period of the Little Ice Age corresponded with the lowest period of sunspot activity when the Sun was at its least active. Proper scientists will not be at all surprised by this when it confirms the obvious fact that earth temperature is affected by the scale of Sun activity and the energetic power that it subsequently emits; but when is the last time you heard a climate hoaxter talking about the Sun as a source of earth temperature?? Everything has to be focussed on Co2 which makes up just 0.117 percent of so-called greenhouse gases and only a fraction of even that is generated by human activity. The rest is natural. More than 90 percent of those greenhouse gases are water vapour and clouds ([Fig 9](#)). Ban moisture I say. Have you noticed that the climate hoaxers no longer use the polar bear as their promotion image? That's because far from becoming extinct polar

bear communities are stable or thriving. Joe Bastardi, American meteorologist, weather forecaster and outspoken critic of the climate lie, documents in his book *The Climate Chronicles* how weather patterns and events claimed to be evidence of climate change have been happening since long before industrialisation: 'What happened before naturally is happening again, as is to be expected given the cyclical nature of the climate due to the design of the planet.' If you read the detailed background to the climate hoax in my other books you will shake your head and wonder how anyone could believe the crap which has spawned a multi-trillion dollar industry based on absolute garbage (see HIV causes AIDS and Sars-Cov-2 causes 'Covid-19'). Climate and 'Covid' have much in common given they have the same source. They both have the contradictory *everything* factor in which everything is explained by reference to them. It's hot – 'it's climate change'. It's cold – 'it's climate change'. I got a sniffle – 'it's Covid'. I haven't got a sniffle – 'it's Covid'. Not having a sniffle has to be a symptom of 'Covid'. Everything is and not having a sniffle is especially dangerous if you are a slow walker. For sheer audacity I offer you a Cambridge University 'study' that actually linked 'Covid' to 'climate change'. It had to happen eventually. They concluded that climate change played a role in 'Covid-19' spreading from animals to humans because ... wait for it ... I kid you not ... *the two groups were forced closer together as populations grow.* Er, that's it. The whole foundation on which this depended was that 'Bats are the likely zoonotic origin of SARS-CoV-1 and SARS-CoV-2'. Well, they are not. They are nothing to do with it. Apart from bats not being the origin and therefore 'climate change' effects on bats being irrelevant I am in awe of their academic insight. Where would we be without them? Not where we are that's for sure.

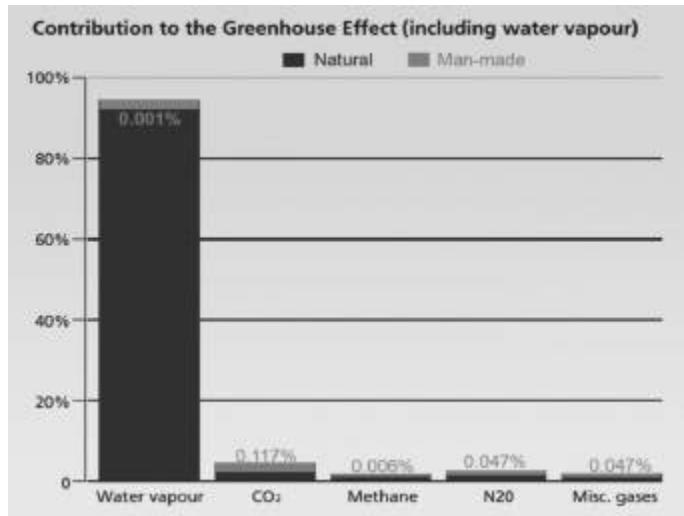


Figure 9: The idea that the gas of life is disastrously changing the climate is an insult to brain cell activity.

One other point about the weather is that climate modification is now well advanced and not every major weather event is natural – or earthquake come to that. I cover this subject at some length in other books. China is openly planning a rapid expansion of its weather modification programme which includes changing the climate in an area more than one and a half times the size of India. China used weather manipulation to ensure clear skies during the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. I have quoted from US military documents detailing how to employ weather manipulation as a weapon of war and they did that in the 1960s and 70s during the conflict in Vietnam with Operation Popeye manipulating monsoon rains for military purposes. Why would there be international treaties on weather modification if it wasn't possible? Of course it is. Weather is energetic information and it can be changed.

How was the climate hoax pulled off? See 'Covid'

If you can get billions to believe in a 'virus' that doesn't exist you can get them to believe in human-caused climate change that doesn't exist. Both are being used by the Cult to transform global society in the way it has long planned. Both hoaxes have been achieved in pretty much the same way. First you declare a lie is a fact. There's a

'virus' you call SARS-Cov-2 or humans are warming the planet with their behaviour. Next this becomes, via Cult networks, the foundation of government, academic and science policy and belief. Those who parrot the mantra are given big grants to produce research that confirms the narrative is true and ever more 'symptoms' are added to make the 'virus'/'climate change' sound even more scary. Scientists and researchers who challenge the narrative have their grants withdrawn and their careers destroyed. The media promote the lie as the unquestionable truth and censor those with an alternative view or evidence. A great percentage of the population believe what they are told as the lie becomes an everybody-knows-that and the believing-masses turn on those with a mind of their own. The technique has been used endlessly throughout human history. Wokers are the biggest promotorrs of the climate lie *and* 'Covid' fascism because their minds are owned by the Cult; their sense of self-righteous self-purity knows no bounds; and they exist in a bubble of reality in which facts are irrelevant and only get in the way of looking without seeing.

Running through all of this like veins in a blue cheese is control of information, which means control of perception, which means control of behaviour, which collectively means control of human society. The Cult owns the global media and Silicon Valley fascists for the simple reason that it *has* to. Without control of information it can't control perception and through that human society. Examine every facet of the Cult agenda and you will see that anything supporting its introduction is never censored while anything pushing back is always censored. I say again: Psychopaths that know why they are doing this must go before Nuremberg trials and those that follow their orders must trot along behind them into the same dock. 'I was just following orders' didn't work the first time and it must not work now. Nuremberg trials must be held all over the world before public juries for politicians, government officials, police, compliant doctors, scientists and virologists, and all Cult operatives such as Gates, Tedros, Fauci, Vallance, Whitty, Ferguson, Zuckerberg, Wojcicki, Brin, Page, Dorsey, the whole damn lot of

them – including, no *especially*, the psychopath psychologists. Without them and the brainless, gutless excuses for journalists that have repeated their lies, none of this could be happening. Nobody can be allowed to escape justice for the psychological and economic Armageddon they are all responsible for visiting upon the human race.

As for the compliant, unquestioning, swathes of humanity, and the self-obsessed, all-knowing ignorance of the Wokers ... don't start me. God help their kids. God help their grandkids. God *help them*.

CHAPTER NINE

We must have it? So what is it?

Well I won't back down. No, I won't back down. You can stand me up at the Gates of Hell. But I won't back down

Tom Petty

I will now focus on the genetically-manipulating ‘Covid vaccines’ which do not meet this official definition of a vaccine by the US Centers for Disease Control (CDC): ‘A product that stimulates a person’s immune system to produce immunity to a specific disease, protecting the person from that disease.’ On that basis ‘Covid vaccines’ are not a vaccine in that the makers don’t even claim they stop infection or transmission.

They are instead part of a multi-levelled conspiracy to change the nature of the human body and what it means to be ‘human’ and to depopulate an enormous swathe of humanity. What I shall call Human 1.0 is on the cusp of becoming Human 2.0 and for very sinister reasons. Before I get to the ‘Covid vaccine’ in detail here’s some background to vaccines in general. Government regulators do not test vaccines – the makers do – and the makers control which data is revealed and which isn’t. Children in America are given 50 vaccine doses by age six and 69 by age 19 and the effect of the whole combined schedule has never been tested. Autoimmune diseases when the immune system attacks its own body have soared in the mass vaccine era and so has disease in general in children and the young. Why wouldn’t this be the case when vaccines target the *immune system*? The US government gave Big Pharma drug

companies immunity from prosecution for vaccine death and injury in the 1986 National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act (NCVIA) and since then the government (taxpayer) has been funding compensation for the consequences of Big Pharma vaccines. The criminal and satanic drug giants can't lose and the vaccine schedule has increased dramatically since 1986 for this reason. There is no incentive to make vaccines safe and a big incentive to make money by introducing ever more. Even against a ridiculously high bar to prove vaccine liability, and with the government controlling the hearing in which it is being challenged for compensation, the vaccine court has so far paid out more than \$4 billion. These are the vaccines we are told are safe and psychopaths like Zuckerberg censor posts saying otherwise. The immunity law was even justified by a ruling that vaccines by their nature were 'unavoidably unsafe'.

Check out the ingredients of vaccines and you will be shocked if you are new to this. *They put that in children's bodies?? What??* Try aluminium, a brain toxin connected to dementia, aborted foetal tissue and formaldehyde which is used to embalm corpses. World-renowned aluminium expert Christopher Exley had his research into the health effect of aluminium in vaccines shut down by Keele University in the UK when it began taking funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Research when diseases 'eradicated' by vaccines began to decline and you will find the fall began long *before* the vaccine was introduced. Sometimes the fall even plateaued after the vaccine. Diseases like scarlet fever for which there was no vaccine declined in the same way because of environmental and other factors. A perfect case in point is the polio vaccine. Polio began when lead arsenate was first sprayed as an insecticide and residues remained in food products. Spraying started in 1892 and the first US polio epidemic came in Vermont in 1894. The simple answer was to stop spraying, but Rockefeller-created Big Pharma had a better idea. Polio was decreed to be caused by the *poliovirus* which 'spreads from person to person and can infect a person's spinal cord'. Lead arsenate was replaced by the lethal DDT which had the same effect of causing paralysis by damaging the brain and central nervous

system. Polio plummeted when DDT was reduced and then banned, but the vaccine is still given the credit for something it didn't do. Today by far the biggest cause of polio is the vaccines promoted by Bill Gates. Vaccine justice campaigner Robert Kennedy Jr, son of assassinated (by the Cult) US Attorney General Robert Kennedy, wrote:

In 2017, the World Health Organization (WHO) reluctantly admitted that the global explosion in polio is predominantly vaccine strain. The most frightening epidemics in Congo, Afghanistan, and the Philippines, are all linked to vaccines. In fact, by 2018, 70% of global polio cases were vaccine strain.

Vaccines make fortunes for Cult-owned Gates and Big Pharma while undermining the health and immune systems of the population. We had a glimpse of the mentality behind the Big Pharma cartel with a report on WION (World is One News), an international English language TV station based in India, which exposed the extraordinary behaviour of US drug company Pfizer over its 'Covid vaccine'. The WION report told how Pfizer had made fantastic demands of Argentina, Brazil and other countries in return for its 'vaccine'. These included immunity from prosecution, even for Pfizer negligence, government insurance to protect Pfizer from law suits and handing over as collateral sovereign assets of the country to include Argentina's bank reserves, military bases and embassy buildings. Pfizer demanded the same of Brazil in the form of waiving sovereignty of its assets abroad; exempting Pfizer from Brazilian laws; and giving Pfizer immunity from all civil liability. This is a 'vaccine' developed with government funding. Big Pharma is evil incarnate as a creation of the Cult and all must be handed tickets to Nuremberg.

Phantom 'vaccine' for a phantom 'disease'

I'll expose the 'Covid vaccine' fraud and then go on to the wider background of why the Cult has set out to 'vaccinate' every man, woman and child on the planet for an alleged 'new disease' with a survival rate of 99.77 percent (or more) even by the grotesquely-

manipulated figures of the World Health Organization and Johns Hopkins University. The ‘infection’ to ‘death’ ratio is 0.23 to 0.15 percent according to Stanford epidemiologist Dr John Ioannidis and while estimates vary the danger remains tiny. I say that if the truth be told the fake infection to fake death ratio is zero. Never mind all the evidence I have presented here and in *The Answer* that there is no ‘virus’ let us just focus for a moment on that death-rate figure of say 0.23 percent. The figure includes all those worldwide who have tested positive with a test not testing for the ‘virus’ and then died within 28 days or even longer of any other cause – *any other cause*. Now subtract all those illusory ‘Covid’ deaths on the global data sheets from the 0.23 percent. What do you think you would be left with? *Zero*. A vaccination has never been successfully developed for a so-called coronavirus. They have all failed at the animal testing stage when they caused hypersensitivity to what they were claiming to protect against and made the impact of a disease far worse. Cult-owned vaccine corporations got around that problem this time by bypassing animal trials, going straight to humans and making the length of the ‘trials’ before the public rollout as short as they could get away with. Normally it takes five to ten years or more to develop vaccines that still cause demonstrable harm to many people and that’s without including the long-term effects that are never officially connected to the vaccination. ‘Covid’ non-vaccines have been officially produced and approved in a matter of months from a standing start and part of the reason is that (a) they were developed before the ‘Covid’ hoax began and (b) they are based on computer programs and not natural sources. Official non-trials were so short that government agencies gave *emergency*, not full, approval. ‘Trials’ were not even completed and full approval cannot be secured until they are. Public ‘Covid vaccination’ is actually a *continuation of the trial*. Drug company ‘trials’ are not scheduled to end until 2023 by which time a lot of people are going to be dead. Data on which government agencies gave this emergency approval was supplied by the Big Pharma corporations themselves in the form of Pfizer/BioNTech, AstraZeneca, Moderna, Johnson & Johnson, and

others, and this is the case with all vaccines. By its very nature *emergency* approval means drug companies do not have to prove that the ‘vaccine’ is ‘safe and effective’. How could they with trials way short of complete? Government regulators only have to *believe* that they *could* be safe and effective. It is criminal manipulation to get products in circulation with no testing worth the name. Agencies giving that approval are infested with Big Pharma-connected place-people and they act in the interests of Big Pharma (the Cult) and not the public about whom they do not give a damn.

More human lab rats

‘Covid vaccines’ produced in record time by Pfizer/BioNTech and Moderna employ a technique *never approved before for use on humans*. They are known as mRNA ‘vaccines’ and inject a synthetic version of ‘viral’ mRNA or ‘messenger RNA’. The key is in the term ‘messenger’. The body works, or doesn’t, on the basis of information messaging. Communications are constantly passing between and within the genetic system and the brain. Change those messages and you change the state of the body and even its very nature and you can change psychology and behaviour by the way the brain processes information. I think you are going to see significant changes in personality and perception of many people who have had the ‘Covid vaccine’ synthetic potions. Insider Aldous Huxley predicted the following in 1961 and mRNA ‘vaccines’ can be included in the term ‘pharmacological methods’:

There will be, in the next generation or so, a pharmacological method of making people love their servitude, and producing dictatorship without tears, so to speak, producing a kind of painless concentration camp for entire societies, so that people will in fact have their own liberties taken away from them, but rather enjoy it, because they will be distracted from any desire to rebel by propaganda or brainwashing, or brainwashing enhanced by pharmacological methods. And this seems to be the final revolution.

Apologists claim that mRNA synthetic ‘vaccines’ don’t change the DNA genetic blueprint because RNA does not affect DNA only the other way round. This is so disingenuous. A process called ‘reverse

'transcription' can convert RNA into DNA and be integrated into DNA in the cell nucleus. This was highlighted in December, 2020, by scientists at Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Geneticists report that more than 40 percent of mammalian genomes results from reverse transcription. On the most basic level if messaging changes then that sequence must lead to changes in DNA which is receiving and transmitting those communications. How can introducing synthetic material into cells not change the cells where DNA is located? The process is known as transfection which is defined as 'a technique to insert foreign nucleic acid (DNA or RNA) into a cell, typically with the intention of altering the properties of the cell'. Researchers at the Sloan Kettering Institute in New York found that changes in messenger RNA can deactivate tumour-suppressing proteins and thereby promote cancer. This is what happens when you mess with messaging. 'Covid vaccine' maker Moderna was founded in 2010 by Canadian stem cell biologist Derrick J. Rossi after his breakthrough discovery in the field of transforming and reprogramming stem cells. These are neutral cells that can be programmed to become any cell including sperm cells. Moderna was therefore founded on the principle of genetic manipulation and has never produced any vaccine or drug before its genetically-manipulating synthetic 'Covid' shite. Look at the name – Mode-RNA or Modify-RNA. Another important point is that the US Supreme Court has ruled that genetically-modified DNA, or complementary DNA (cDNA) synthesized in the laboratory from messenger RNA, can be patented and owned. These psychopaths are doing this to the human body.

Cells replicate synthetic mRNA in the 'Covid vaccines' and in theory the body is tricked into making antigens which trigger antibodies to target the 'virus spike proteins' which as Dr Tom Cowan said have *never been seen*. Cut the crap and these 'vaccines' deliver *self-replicating* synthetic material to the cells with the effect of changing human DNA. The more of them you have the more that process is compounded while synthetic material is all the time self-replicating. 'Vaccine'-maker Moderna describes mRNA as 'like

software for the cell' and so they are messing with the body's software. What happens when you change the software in a computer? Everything changes. For this reason the Cult is preparing a production line of mRNA 'Covid vaccines' and a long list of excuses to use them as with all the 'variants' of a 'virus' never shown to exist. The plan is further to transfer the mRNA technique to other vaccines mostly given to children and young people. The cumulative consequences will be a transformation of human DNA through a constant infusion of synthetic genetic material which will kill many and change the rest. Now consider that governments that have given emergency approval for a vaccine that's not a vaccine; never been approved for humans before; had no testing worth the name; and the makers have been given immunity from prosecution for any deaths or adverse effects suffered by the public. The UK government awarded *permanent legal indemnity* to itself and its employees for harm done when a patient is being treated for 'Covid-19' or 'suspected Covid-19'. That is quite a thought when these are possible 'side-effects' from the 'vaccine' (they are not 'side', they are effects) listed by the US Food and Drug Administration:

Guillain-Barre syndrome; acute disseminated encephalomyelitis; transverse myelitis; encephalitis; myelitis; encephalomyelitis; meningoencephalitis; meningitis; encephalopathy; convulsions; seizures; stroke; narcolepsy; cataplexy; anaphylaxis; acute myocardial infarction (heart attack); myocarditis; pericarditis; autoimmune disease; death; implications for pregnancy, and birth outcomes; other acute demyelinating diseases; non anaphylactic allergy reactions; thrombocytopenia ; disseminated intravascular coagulation; venous thromboembolism; arthritis; arthralgia; joint pain; Kawasaki disease; multisystem inflammatory syndrome in children; vaccine enhanced disease. The latter is the way the 'vaccine' has the potential to make diseases far worse than they would otherwise be.

UK doctor and freedom campaigner Vernon Coleman described the conditions in this list as 'all unpleasant, most of them very serious, and you can't get more serious than death'. The thought that anyone at all has had the 'vaccine' in these circumstances is testament to the potential that humanity has for clueless, unquestioning, stupidity and for many that programmed stupidity has already been terminal.

An insider speaks

Dr Michael Yeadon is a former Vice President, head of research and Chief Scientific Adviser at vaccine giant Pfizer. Yeadon worked on the inside of Big Pharma, but that did not stop him becoming a vocal critic of 'Covid vaccines' and their potential for multiple harms, including infertility in women. By the spring of 2021 he went much further and even used the no, no, term 'conspiracy'. When you begin to see what is going on it is impossible not to do so. Yeadon spoke out in an interview with freedom campaigner James Delingpole and I mentioned earlier how he said that no one had samples of 'the virus'. He explained that the mRNA technique originated in the anti-cancer field and ways to turn on and off certain genes which could be advantageous if you wanted to stop cancer growing out of control. 'That's the origin of them. They are a very unusual application, really.' Yeadon said that treating a cancer patient with an aggressive procedure might be understandable if the alternative was dying, but it was quite another thing to use the same technique as a public health measure. Most people involved wouldn't catch the infectious agent you were vaccinating against and if they did they probably wouldn't die:

If you are really using it as a public health measure you really want to as close as you can get to zero side-effects ... I find it odd that they chose techniques that were really cutting their teeth in the field of oncology and I'm worried that in using gene-based vaccines that have to be injected in the body and spread around the body, get taken up into some cells, and the regulators haven't quite told us which cells they get taken up into ... you are going to be generating a wide range of responses ... with multiple steps each of which could go well or badly.

I doubt the Cult intends it to go well. Yeadon said that you can put any gene you like into the body through the 'vaccine'. 'You can certainly give them a gene that would do them some harm if you wanted.' I was intrigued when he said that when used in the cancer field the technique could turn genes on and off. I explore this process in *The Answer* and with different genes having different functions you could create mayhem – physically and psychologically – if you turned the wrong ones on and the right ones off. I read reports of an experiment by researchers at the University of Washington's school of computer science and engineering in which they encoded DNA to infect computers. The body is itself a biological computer and if human DNA can inflict damage on a computer why can't the computer via synthetic material mess with the human body? It can. The Washington research team said it was possible to insert malicious malware into 'physical DNA strands' and corrupt the computer system of a gene sequencing machine as it 'reads gene letters and stores them as binary digits 0 and 1'. They concluded that hackers could one day use blood or spit samples to access computer systems and obtain sensitive data from police forensics labs or infect genome files. It is at this level of digital interaction that synthetic 'vaccines' need to be seen to get the full picture and that will become very clear later on. Michael Yeadon said it made no sense to give the 'vaccine' to younger people who were in no danger from the 'virus'. What was the benefit? It was all downside with potential effects:

The fact that my government in what I thought was a civilised, rational country, is raining [the 'vaccine'] on people in their 30s and 40s, even my children in their 20s, they're getting letters and phone calls, I know this is not right and any of you doctors who are vaccinating you know it's not right, too. They are not at risk. They are not at risk from the disease, so you are now hoping that the side-effects are so rare that you get away with it. You don't give new technology ... that you don't understand to 100 percent of the population.

Blood clot problems with the AstraZeneca 'vaccine' have been affecting younger people to emphasise the downside risks with no benefit. AstraZeneca's version, produced with Oxford University, does not use mRNA, but still gets its toxic cocktail inside cells where

it targets DNA. The Johnson & Johnson ‘vaccine’ which uses a similar technique has also produced blood clot effects to such an extent that the United States paused its use at one point. They are all ‘gene therapy’ (cell modification) procedures and not ‘vaccines’. The truth is that once the content of these injections enter cells we have no idea what the effect will be. People can speculate and some can give very educated opinions and that’s good. In the end, though, only the makers know what their potions are designed to do and even they won’t know every last consequence. Michael Yeadon was scathing about doctors doing what they knew to be wrong.

‘Everyone’s mute’, he said. Doctors in the NHS must know this was not right, coming into work and injecting people. ‘I don’t know how they sleep at night. I know I couldn’t do it. I know that if I were in that position I’d have to quit.’ He said he knew enough about toxicology to know this was not a good risk-benefit. Yeadon had spoken to seven or eight university professors and all except two would not speak out publicly. Their universities had a policy that no one said anything that countered the government and its medical advisors. They were afraid of losing their government grants. This is how intimidation has been used to silence the truth at every level of the system. I say silence, but these people could still speak out if they made that choice. Yeadon called them ‘moral cowards’ – ‘This is about your children and grandchildren’s lives and you have just buggered off and left it.’

‘Variant’ nonsense

Some of his most powerful comments related to the alleged ‘variants’ being used to instil more fear, justify more lockdowns, and introduce more ‘vaccines’. He said government claims about ‘variants’ were nonsense. He had checked the alleged variant ‘codes’ and they were 99.7 percent identical to the ‘original’. This was the human identity difference equivalent to putting a baseball cap on and off or wearing it the other way round. A 0.3 percent difference would make it impossible for that ‘variant’ to escape immunity from the ‘original’. This made no sense of having new ‘vaccines’ for

'variants'. He said there would have to be at least a *30 percent* difference for that to be justified and even then he believed the immune system would still recognise what it was. Gates-funded 'variant modeller' and 'vaccine'-pusher John Edmunds might care to comment. Yeadon said drug companies were making new versions of the 'vaccine' as a 'top up' for 'variants'. Worse than that, he said, the 'regulators' around the world like the MHRA in the UK had got together and agreed that because 'vaccines' for 'variants' were so similar to the first 'vaccines' *they did not have to do safety studies*. How transparently sinister that is. This is when Yeadon said: 'There is a conspiracy here.' There was no need for another vaccine for 'variants' and yet we were told that there was and the country had shut its borders because of them. 'They are going into hundreds of millions of arms without passing 'go' or any regulator. Why did they do that? Why did they pick this method of making the vaccine?'

The reason had to be something bigger than that it seemed and 'it's not protection against the virus'. It's was a far bigger project that meant politicians and advisers were willing to do things and not do things that knowingly resulted in avoidable deaths – 'that's already happened when you think about lockdown and deprivation of health care for a year.' He spoke of people prepared to do something that results in the avoidable death of their fellow human beings and it not bother them. This is the penny-drop I have been working to get across for more than 30 years – the level of pure evil we are dealing with. Yeadon said his friends and associates could not believe there could be that much evil, but he reminded them of Stalin, Pol Pot and Hitler and of what Stalin had said: 'One death is a tragedy. A million? A statistic.' He could not think of a benign explanation for why you need top-up vaccines 'which I'm sure you don't' and for the regulators 'to just get out of the way and wave them through'. Why would the regulators do that when they were still wrestling with the dangers of the 'parent' vaccine? He was clearly shocked by what he had seen since the 'Covid' hoax began and now he was thinking the previously unthinkable:

If you wanted to depopulate a significant proportion of the world and to do it in a way that doesn't involve destruction of the environment with nuclear weapons, poisoning everyone with anthrax or something like that, and you wanted plausible deniability while you had a multi-year infectious disease crisis, I actually don't think you could come up with a better plan of work than seems to be in front of me. I can't say that's what they are going to do, but I can't think of a benign explanation why they are doing it.

He said he never thought that they would get rid of 99 percent of humans, but now he wondered. 'If you wanted to that this would be a hell of a way to do it – it would be unstoppable folks.' Yeadon had concluded that those who submitted to the 'vaccine' would be allowed to have some kind of normal life (but for how long?) while screws were tightened to coerce and mandate the last few percent. 'I think they'll put the rest of them in a prison camp. I wish I was wrong, but I don't think I am.' Other points he made included: There were no coronavirus vaccines then suddenly they all come along at the same time; we have no idea of the long term affect with trials so short; coercing or forcing people to have medical procedures is against the Nuremberg Code instigated when the Nazis did just that; people should at least delay having the 'vaccine'; a quick Internet search confirms that masks don't reduce respiratory viral transmission and 'the government knows that'; they have smashed civil society and they know that, too; two dozen peer-reviewed studies show no connection between lockdown and reducing deaths; he knew from personal friends the elite were still flying around and going on holiday while the public were locked down; the elite were not having the 'vaccines'. He was also asked if 'vaccines' could be made to target difference races. He said he didn't know, but the document by the Project for the New American Century in September, 2000, said developing 'advanced forms of biological warfare that can target *specific genotypes* may transform biological warfare from the realm of terror to a politically useful tool.' Oh, they're evil all right. Of that we can be *absolutely* sure.

Another cull of old people

We have seen from the CDC definition that the mRNA 'Covid vaccine' is not a vaccine and nor are the others that *claim* to reduce 'severity of symptoms' in *some* people, but not protect from infection or transmission. What about all the lies about returning to 'normal' if people were 'vaccinated'? If they are not claimed to stop infection and transmission of the alleged 'virus', how does anything change? This was all lies to manipulate people to take the jabs and we are seeing that now with masks and distancing still required for the 'vaccinated'. How did they think that elderly people with fragile health and immune responses were going to be affected by infusing their cells with synthetic material and other toxic substances? They *knew* that in the short and long term it would be devastating and fatal as the culling of the old that began with the first lockdowns was continued with the 'vaccine'. Death rates in care homes soared immediately residents began to be 'vaccinated' – infused with synthetic material. Brave and committed whistleblower nurses put their careers at risk by exposing this truth while the rest kept their heads down and their mouths shut to put their careers before those they are supposed to care for. A long-time American Certified Nursing Assistant who gave his name as James posted a video in which he described emotionally what happened in his care home when vaccination began. He said that during 2020 very few residents were sick with 'Covid' and no one died during the entire year; but shortly after the Pfizer mRNA injections 14 people died within two weeks and many others were near death. 'They're dropping like flies', he said. Residents who walked on their own before the shot could no longer and they had lost their ability to conduct an intelligent conversation. The home's management said the sudden deaths were caused by a 'super-spreader' of 'Covid-19'. Then how come, James asked, that residents who refused to take the injections were not sick? It was a case of inject the elderly with mRNA synthetic potions and blame their illness and death that followed on the 'virus'. James described what was happening in care homes as 'the greatest crime of genocide this country has ever seen'. Remember the NHS staff nurse from earlier who used the same

word ‘genocide’ for what was happening with the ‘vaccines’ and that it was an ‘act of human annihilation’. A UK care home whistleblower told a similar story to James about the effect of the ‘vaccine’ in deaths and ‘outbreaks’ of illness dubbed ‘Covid’ after getting the jab. She told how her care home management and staff had zealously imposed government regulations and no one was allowed to even question the official narrative let alone speak out against it. She said the NHS was even worse. Again we see the results of reframing. A worker at a local care home where I live said they had not had a single case of ‘Covid’ there for almost a year and when the residents were ‘vaccinated’ they had 19 positive cases in two weeks with eight dying.

It's not the 'vaccine' – honest

The obvious cause and effect was being ignored by the media and most of the public. Australia’s health minister Greg Hunt (a former head of strategy at the World Economic Forum) was admitted to hospital after he had the ‘vaccine’. He was suffering according to reports from the skin infection ‘cellulitis’ and it must have been a severe case to have warranted days in hospital. Immediately the authorities said this was nothing to do with the ‘vaccine’ when an effect of some vaccines is a ‘cellulitis-like reaction’. We had families of perfectly healthy old people who died after the ‘vaccine’ saying that if only they had been given the ‘vaccine’ earlier they would still be alive. As a numbskull rating that is off the chart. A father of four ‘died of Covid’ at aged 48 when he was taken ill two days after having the ‘vaccine’. The man, a health administrator, had been ‘shielding during the pandemic’ and had ‘not really left the house’ until he went for the ‘vaccine’. Having the ‘vaccine’ and then falling ill and dying does not seem to have qualified as a possible cause and effect and ‘Covid-19’ went on his death certificate. His family said they had no idea how he ‘caught the virus’. A family member said: ‘Tragically, it could be that going for a vaccination ultimately led to him catching Covid ...The sad truth is that they are never going to know where it came from.’ The family warned people to remember

that the virus still existed and was 'very real'. So was their stupidity. Nurses and doctors who had the first round of the 'vaccine' were collapsing, dying and ending up in a hospital bed while they or their grieving relatives were saying they'd still have the 'vaccine' again despite what happened. I kid you not. You mean if your husband returned from the dead he'd have the same 'vaccine' again that killed him??

Doctors at the VCU Medical Center in Richmond, Virginia, said the Johnson & Johnson 'vaccine' was to blame for a man's skin peeling off. Patient Richard Terrell said: 'It all just happened so fast. My skin peeled off. It's still coming off on my hands now.' He said it was stinging, burning and itching and when he bent his arms and legs it was very painful with 'the skin swollen and rubbing against itself'. Pfizer/BioNTech and Moderna vaccines use mRNA to change the cell while the Johnson & Johnson version uses DNA in a process similar to AstraZeneca's technique. Johnson & Johnson and AstraZeneca have both had their 'vaccines' paused by many countries after causing serious blood problems. Terrell's doctor Fnu Nutan said he could have died if he hadn't got medical attention. It sounds terrible so what did Nutan and Terrell say about the 'vaccine' now? Oh, they still recommend that people have it. A nurse in a hospital bed 40 minutes after the vaccination and unable to swallow due to throat swelling was told by a doctor that he lost mobility in his arm for 36 hours following the vaccination. What did he say to the ailing nurse? 'Good for you for getting the vaccination.' We are dealing with a serious form of cognitive dissonance madness in both public and medical staff. There is a remarkable correlation between those having the 'vaccine' and trumpeting the fact and suffering bad happenings shortly afterwards. Witold Rogiewicz, a Polish doctor, made a video of his 'vaccination' and ridiculed those who were questioning its safety and the intentions of Bill Gates: 'Vaccinate yourself to protect yourself, your loved ones, friends and also patients. And to mention quickly I have info for anti-vaxxers and anti-Covidiers if you want to contact Bill Gates you can do this through me.' He further ridiculed the dangers of 5G. Days later he

was dead, but naturally the vaccination wasn't mentioned in the verdict of 'heart attack'.

Lies, lies and more lies

So many members of the human race have slipped into extreme states of insanity and unfortunately they include reframed doctors and nursing staff. Having a 'vaccine' and dying within minutes or hours is not considered a valid connection while death from any cause within 28 days or longer of a positive test with a test not testing for the 'virus' means 'Covid-19' goes on the death certificate. How could that 'vaccine'-death connection not have been made except by calculated deceit? US figures in the initial rollout period to February 12th, 2020, revealed that a third of the deaths reported to the CDC after 'Covid vaccines' happened within 48 hours. Five men in the UK suffered an 'extremely rare' blood clot problem after having the AstraZeneca 'vaccine', but no causal link was established said the Gates-funded Medicines and Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA) which had given the 'vaccine' emergency approval to be used. Former Pfizer executive Dr Michael Yeadon explained in his interview how the procedures could cause blood coagulation and clots. People who should have been at no risk were dying from blood clots in the brain and he said he had heard from medical doctor friends that people were suffering from skin bleeding and massive headaches. The AstraZeneca 'shot' was stopped by some 20 countries over the blood clotting issue and still the corrupt MHRA, the European Medicines Agency (EMA) and the World Health Organization said that it should continue to be given even though the EMA admitted that it 'still cannot rule out definitively' a link between blood clotting and the 'vaccine'. Later Marco Cavaleri, head of EMA vaccine strategy, said there was indeed a clear link between the 'vaccine' and thrombosis, but they didn't know why. So much for the trials showing the 'vaccine' is safe. Blood clots were affecting younger people who would be under virtually no danger from 'Covid' even if it existed which makes it all the more stupid and sinister.

The British government responded to public alarm by wheeling out June Raine, the terrifyingly weak infant school headmistress sound-alike who heads the UK MHRA drug ‘regulator’. The idea that she would stand up to Big Pharma and government pressure is laughable and she told us that all was well in the same way that she did when allowing untested, never-used-on-humans-before, genetically-manipulating ‘vaccines’ to be exposed to the public in the first place. Mass lying is the new normal of the ‘Covid’ era. The MHRA later said 30 cases of rare blood clots had by then been connected with the AstraZeneca ‘vaccine’ (that means a lot more in reality) while stressing that the benefits of the jab in preventing ‘Covid-19’ outweighed any risks. A more ridiculous and disingenuous statement with callous disregard for human health it is hard to contemplate. Immediately after the mendacious ‘all-clears’ two hospital workers in Denmark experienced blood clots and cerebral haemorrhaging following the AstraZeneca jab and one died. Top Norwegian health official Pål Andre Holme said the ‘vaccine’ was the only common factor: ‘There is nothing in the patient history of these individuals that can give such a powerful immune response ... I am confident that the antibodies that we have found are the cause, and I see no other explanation than it being the vaccine which triggers it.’ Strokes, a clot or bleed in the brain, were clearly associated with the ‘vaccine’ from word of mouth and whistleblower reports. Similar consequences followed with all these ‘vaccines’ that we were told were so safe and as the numbers grew by the day it was clear we were witnessing human carnage.

Learning the hard way

A woman interviewed by UKColumn told how her husband suffered dramatic health effects after the vaccine when he’d been in good health all his life. He went from being a little unwell to losing all feeling in his legs and experiencing ‘excruciating pain’. Misdiagnosis followed twice at Accident and Emergency (an ‘allergy’ and ‘sciatica’) before he was admitted to a neurology ward where doctors said his serious condition had been caused by the

'vaccine'. Another seven 'vaccinated' people were apparently being treated on the same ward for similar symptoms. The woman said he had the 'vaccine' because they believed media claims that it was safe. 'I didn't think the government would give out a vaccine that does this to somebody; I believed they would be bringing out a vaccination that would be safe.' What a tragic way to learn that lesson. Another woman posted that her husband was transporting stroke patients to hospital on almost every shift and when he asked them if they had been 'vaccinated' for 'Covid' they all replied 'yes'. One had a 'massive brain bleed' the day after his second dose. She said her husband reported the 'just been vaccinated' information every time to doctors in A and E only for them to ignore it, make no notes and appear annoyed that it was even mentioned. This particular report cannot be verified, but it expresses a common theme that confirms the monumental underreporting of 'vaccine' consequences. Interestingly as the 'vaccines' and their brain blood clot/stroke consequences began to emerge the UK National Health Service began a publicity campaign telling the public what to do in the event of a stroke. A Scottish NHS staff nurse who quit in disgust in March, 2021, said:

I have seen traumatic injuries from the vaccine, they're not getting reported to the yellow card [adverse reaction] scheme, they're treating the symptoms, not asking why, why it's happening. It's just treating the symptoms and when you speak about it you're dismissed like you're crazy, I'm not crazy, I'm not crazy because every other colleague I've spoken to is terrified to speak out, they've had enough.

Videos appeared on the Internet of people uncontrollably shaking after the 'vaccine' with no control over muscles, limbs and even their face. A Scottish mother broke out in a severe rash all over her body almost immediately after she was given the AstraZeneca 'vaccine'. The pictures were horrific. Leigh King, a 41-year-old hairdresser from Lanarkshire said: 'Never in my life was I prepared for what I was about to experience ... My skin was so sore and constantly hot ... I have never felt pain like this ...' But don't you worry, the 'vaccine' is perfectly safe. Then there has been the effect on medical

staff who have been pressured to have the ‘vaccine’ by psychopathic ‘health’ authorities and government. A London hospital consultant who gave the name K. Polyakova wrote this to the *British Medical Journal* or *BMJ*:

I am currently struggling with ... the failure to report the reality of the morbidity caused by our current vaccination program within the health service and staff population. The levels of sickness after vaccination is unprecedented and staff are getting very sick and some with neurological symptoms which is having a huge impact on the health service function. Even the young and healthy are off for days, some for weeks, and some requiring medical treatment. Whole teams are being taken out as they went to get vaccinated together.

Mandatory vaccination in this instance is stupid, unethical and irresponsible when it comes to protecting our staff and public health. We are in the voluntary phase of vaccination, and encouraging staff to take an unlicensed product that is impacting on their immediate health ... it is clearly stated that these vaccine products do not offer immunity or stop transmission. In which case why are we doing it?

Not to protect health that’s for sure. Medical workers are lauded by governments for agenda reasons when they couldn’t give a toss about them any more than they can for the population in general. Schools across America faced the same situation as they closed due to the high number of teachers and other staff with bad reactions to the Pfizer/BioNTech, Moderna, and Johnson & Johnson ‘Covid vaccines’ all of which were linked to death and serious adverse effects. The *BMJ* took down the consultant’s comments pretty quickly on the grounds that they were being used to spread ‘disinformation’. They were exposing the truth about the ‘vaccine’ was the real reason. The cover-up is breathtaking.

Hiding the evidence

The scale of the ‘vaccine’ death cover-up worldwide can be confirmed by comparing official figures with the personal experience of the public. I heard of many people in my community who died immediately or soon after the vaccine that would never appear in the media or even likely on the official totals of ‘vaccine’ fatalities and adverse reactions when only about ten percent are estimated to be

reported and I have seen some estimates as low as one percent in a Harvard study. In the UK alone by April 29th, 2021, some 757,654 adverse reactions had been officially reported from the Pfizer/BioNTech, Oxford/AstraZeneca and Moderna 'vaccines' with more than a thousand deaths linked to jabs and that means an estimated ten times this number in reality from a ten percent reporting rate percentage. That's seven million adverse reactions and 10,000 potential deaths and a one percent reporting rate would be ten times *those* figures. In 1976 the US government pulled the swine flu vaccine after 53 deaths. The UK data included a combined 10,000 eye disorders from the 'Covid vaccines' with more than 750 suffering visual impairment or blindness and again multiply by the estimated reporting percentages. As 'Covid cases' officially fell hospitals virtually empty during the 'Covid crisis' began to fill up with a range of other problems in the wake of the 'vaccine' rollout. The numbers across America have also been catastrophic. Deaths linked to *all* types of vaccine increased by *6,000 percent* in the first quarter of 2021 compared with 2020. A 39-year-old woman from Ogden, Utah, died four days after receiving a second dose of Moderna's 'Covid vaccine' when her liver, heart and kidneys all failed despite the fact that she had no known medical issues or conditions. Her family sought an autopsy, but Dr Erik Christensen, Utah's chief medical examiner, said proving vaccine injury as a cause of death almost never happened. He could think of only one instance where an autopsy would name a vaccine as the official cause of death and that would be anaphylaxis where someone received a vaccine and died almost instantaneously. 'Short of that, it would be difficult for us to definitively say this is the vaccine,' Christensen said. If that is true this must be added to the estimated ten percent (or far less) reporting rate of vaccine deaths and serious reactions and the conclusion can only be that vaccine deaths and serious reactions – including these 'Covid' potions – are phenomenally understated in official figures. The same story can be found everywhere. Endless accounts of deaths and serious reactions among the public, medical

and care home staff while official figures did not even begin to reflect this.

Professional script-reader Dr David Williams, a ‘top public-health official’ in Ontario, Canada, insulted our intelligence by claiming only four serious adverse reactions and no deaths from the more than 380,000 vaccine doses then given. This bore no resemblance to what people knew had happened in their own circles and we had Dirk Huyer in charge of getting millions vaccinated in Ontario while at the same time he was Chief Coroner for the province investigating causes of death including possible death from the vaccine. An aide said he had stepped back from investigating deaths, but evidence indicated otherwise. Rosemary Frei, who secured a Master of Science degree in molecular biology at the Faculty of Medicine at Canada’s University of Calgary before turning to investigative journalism, was one who could see that official figures for ‘vaccine’ deaths and reactions made no sense. She said that doctors seldom reported adverse events and when people got really sick or died after getting a vaccination they would attribute that to anything except the vaccines. It had been that way for years and anyone who wondered aloud whether the ‘Covid vaccines’ or other shots cause harm is immediately branded as ‘anti-vax’ and ‘anti-science’. This was ‘career-threatening’ for health professionals. Then there was the huge pressure to support the push to ‘vaccinate’ billions in the quickest time possible. Frei said:

So that’s where we’re at today. More than half a million vaccine doses have been given to people in Ontario alone. The rush is on to vaccinate all 15 million of us in the province by September. And the mainstream media are screaming for this to be sped up even more. That all adds up to only a very slim likelihood that we’re going to be told the truth by officials about how many people are getting sick or dying from the vaccines.

What is true of Ontario is true of everywhere.

They KNEW – and still did it

The authorities knew what was going to happen with multiple deaths and adverse reactions. The UK government’s Gates-funded

and Big Pharma-dominated Medicines and Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA) hired a company to employ AI in compiling the projected reactions to the ‘vaccine’ that would otherwise be uncountable. The request for applications said: ‘The MHRA urgently seeks an Artificial Intelligence (AI) software tool to process the expected high volume of Covid-19 vaccine Adverse Drug Reaction ...’ This was from the agency, headed by the disingenuous June Raine, that gave the ‘vaccines’ emergency approval and the company was hired before the first shot was given. ‘We are going to kill and maim you – is that okay?’ ‘Oh, yes, perfectly fine – I’m very grateful, thank you, doctor.’ The range of ‘Covid vaccine’ adverse reactions goes on for page after page in the MHRA criminally underreported ‘Yellow Card’ system and includes affects to eyes, ears, skin, digestion, blood and so on. Raine’s MHRA amazingly claimed that the ‘overall safety experience ... is so far as expected from the clinical trials’. The death, serious adverse effects, deafness and blindness were *expected*? When did they ever mention that? If these human tragedies were expected then those that gave approval for the use of these ‘vaccines’ must be guilty of crimes against humanity including murder – a definition of which is ‘killing a person with malice aforethought or with recklessness manifesting extreme indifference to the value of human life.’ People involved at the MHRA, the CDC in America and their equivalent around the world must go before Nuremberg trials to answer for their callous inhumanity. We are only talking here about the immediate effects of the ‘vaccine’. The longer-term impact of the DNA synthetic manipulation is the main reason they are so hysterically desperate to inoculate the entire global population in the shortest possible time.

Africa and the developing world are a major focus for the ‘vaccine’ depopulation agenda and a mass vaccination sales-pitch is underway thanks to caring people like the Rockefellers and other Cult assets. The Rockefeller Foundation, which pre-empted the ‘Covid pandemic’ in a document published in 2010 that ‘predicted’ what happened a decade later, announced an initial \$34.95 million grant in February, 2021, ‘to ensure more equitable access to Covid-19

testing and vaccines' among other things in Africa in collaboration with '24 organizations, businesses, and government agencies'. The pan-Africa initiative would focus on 10 countries: Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia'. Rajiv Shah, President of the Rockefeller Foundation and former administrator of CIA-controlled USAID, said that if Africa was not mass-vaccinated (to change the DNA of its people) it was a 'threat to all of humanity' and not fair on Africans. When someone from the Rockefeller Foundation says they want to do something to help poor and deprived people and countries it is time for a belly-laugh. They are doing this out of the goodness of their 'heart' because 'vaccinating' the entire global population is what the 'Covid' hoax set out to achieve. Official 'decolonisation' of Africa by the Cult was merely a prelude to financial colonisation on the road to a return to physical colonisation. The 'vaccine' is vital to that and the sudden and convenient death of the 'Covid' sceptic president of Tanzania can be seen in its true light. A lot of people in Africa are aware that this is another form of colonisation and exploitation and they need to stand their ground.

The 'vaccine is working' scam

A potential problem for the Cult was that the 'vaccine' is meant to change human DNA and body messaging and not to protect anyone from a 'virus' never shown to exist. The vaccine couldn't work because it was not designed to work and how could they make it *appear* to be working so that more people would have it? This was overcome by lowering the amplification rate of the PCR test to produce fewer 'cases' and therefore fewer 'deaths'. Some of us had been pointing out since March, 2020, that the amplification rate of the test not testing for the 'virus' had been made artificially high to generate positive tests which they could call 'cases' to justify lockdowns. The World Health Organization recommended an absurdly high 45 amplification cycles to ensure the high positives required by the Cult and then remained silent on the issue until January 20th, 2021 – Biden's Inauguration Day. This was when the

'vaccinations' were seriously underway and on that day the WHO recommended after discussions with America's CDC that laboratories *lowered their testing amplification*. Dr David Samadi, a certified urologist and health writer, said the WHO was encouraging all labs to reduce their cycle count for PCR tests. He said the current cycle was much too high and was 'resulting in any particle being declared a positive case'. Even one mainstream news report I saw said this meant the number of 'Covid' infections may have been 'dramatically inflated'. Oh, just a little bit. The CDC in America issued new guidance to laboratories in April, 2021, to use 28 cycles *but only for 'vaccinated' people*. The timing of the CDC/WHO interventions were cynically designed to make it appear the 'vaccines' were responsible for falling cases and deaths when the real reason can be seen in the following examples. New York's state lab, the Wadsworth Center, identified 872 positive tests in July, 2020, based on a threshold of 40 cycles. When the figure was lowered to 35 cycles *43 percent* of the 872 were no longer 'positives'. At 30 cycles the figure was 63 percent. A Massachusetts lab found that between *85 to 90 percent* of people who tested positive in July with a cycle threshold of 40 would be negative at 30 cycles, Ashish Jha, MD, director of the Harvard Global Health Institute, said: 'I'm really shocked that it could be that high ... Boy, does it really change the way we need to be thinking about testing.' I'm shocked that I could see the obvious in the spring of 2020, with no medical background, and most medical professionals still haven't worked it out. No, that's not shocking – it's terrifying.

Three weeks after the WHO directive to lower PCR cycles the London *Daily Mail* ran this headline: 'Why ARE Covid cases plummeting? New infections have fallen 45% in the US and 30% globally in the past 3 weeks but experts say vaccine is NOT the main driver because only 8% of Americans and 13% of people worldwide have received their first dose.' They acknowledged that the drop could not be attributed to the 'vaccine', but soon this morphed throughout the media into the 'vaccine' has caused cases and deaths to fall when it was the PCR threshold. In December, 2020, there was

chaos at English Channel ports with truck drivers needing negative 'Covid' tests before they could board a ferry home for Christmas. The government wanted to remove the backlog as fast as possible and they brought in troops to do the 'testing'. Out of 1,600 drivers just 36 tested positive and the rest were given the all clear to cross the Channel. I guess the authorities thought that 36 was the least they could get away with without the unquestioning catching on. The amplification trick which most people believed in the absence of information in the mainstream applied more pressure on those refusing the 'vaccine' to succumb when it 'obviously worked'. The truth was the exact opposite with deaths in care homes soaring with the 'vaccine' and in Israel the term used was 'skyrocket'. A re-analysis of published data from the Israeli Health Ministry led by Dr Hervé Seligmann at the Medicine Emerging Infectious and Tropical Diseases at Aix-Marseille University found that Pfizer's 'Covid vaccine' killed 'about 40 times more [elderly] people than the disease itself would have killed' during a five-week vaccination period and 260 *times* more younger people than would have died from the 'virus' even according to the manipulated 'virus' figures. Dr Seligmann and his co-study author, Haim Yativ, declared after reviewing the Israeli 'vaccine' death data: 'This is a new Holocaust.'

Then, in mid-April, 2021, after vast numbers of people worldwide had been 'vaccinated', the story changed with clear coordination. The UK government began to prepare the ground for more future lockdowns when Nuremberg-destined Boris Johnson told yet another whopper. He said that cases had fallen because of *lockdowns* not 'vaccines'. Lockdowns are irrelevant when *there is no 'virus'* and the test and fraudulent death certificates are deciding the number of 'cases' and 'deaths'. Study after study has shown that lockdowns don't work and instead kill and psychologically destroy people. Meanwhile in the United States Anthony Fauci and Rochelle Walensky, the ultra-Zionist head of the CDC, peddled the same line. More lockdown was the answer and not the 'vaccine', a line repeated on cue by the moron that is Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Why all the hysteria to get everyone 'vaccinated' if lockdowns and

not ‘vaccines’ made the difference? None of it makes sense on the face of it. Oh, but it does. The Cult wants lockdowns *and* the ‘vaccine’ and if the ‘vaccine’ is allowed to be seen as the total answer lockdowns would no longer be justified when there are still livelihoods to destroy. ‘Variants’ and renewed upward manipulation of PCR amplification are planned to instigate never-ending lockdown *and* more ‘vaccines’.

You must have it – we’re desperate

Israel, where the Jewish and Arab population are ruled by the Sabbatian Cult, was the front-runner in imposing the DNA-manipulating ‘vaccine’ on its people to such an extent that Jewish refusers began to liken what was happening to the early years of Nazi Germany. This would seem to be a fantastic claim. Why would a government of Jewish people be acting like the Nazis did? If you realise that the Sabbatian Cult was behind the Nazis and that Sabbatians hate Jews the pieces start to fit and the question of why a ‘Jewish’ government would treat Jews with such callous disregard for their lives and freedom finds an answer. Those controlling the government of Israel *aren’t Jewish* – they’re Sabbatian. Israeli lawyer Tamir Turgal was one who made the Nazi comparison in comments to German lawyer Reiner Fuellmich who is leading a class action lawsuit against the psychopaths for crimes against humanity. Turgal described how the Israeli government was vaccinating children and pregnant women on the basis that there was no evidence that this was dangerous when they had no evidence that it *wasn’t* dangerous either. They just had no evidence. This was medical experimentation and Turgal said this breached the Nuremberg Code about medical experimentation and procedures requiring informed consent and choice. Think about that. A Nuremberg Code developed because of Nazi experimentation on Jews and others in concentration camps by people like the evil-beyond-belief Josef Mengele is being breached by the *Israeli* government; but when you know that it’s a *Sabbatian* government along with its intelligence and military agencies like Mossad, Shin Bet and the Israeli Defense Forces, and that Sabbatians

were the force behind the Nazis, the kaleidoscope comes into focus. What have we come to when Israeli Jews are suing their government for violating the Nuremberg Code by essentially making Israelis subject to a medical experiment using the controversial ‘vaccines’? It’s a shocker that this has to be done in the light of what happened in Nazi Germany. The Anshe Ha-Emet, or ‘People of the Truth’, made up of Israeli doctors, lawyers, campaigners and public, have launched a lawsuit with the International Criminal Court. It says:

When the heads of the Ministry of Health as well as the prime minister presented the vaccine in Israel and began the vaccination of Israeli residents, the vaccinated were not advised, that, in practice, they are taking part in a medical experiment and that their consent is required for this under the Nuremberg Code.

The irony is unbelievable, but easily explained in one word: Sabbatians. The foundation of Israeli ‘Covid’ apartheid is the ‘green pass’ or ‘green passport’ which allows Jews and Arabs who have had the DNA-manipulating ‘vaccine’ to go about their lives – to work, fly, travel in general, go to shopping malls, bars, restaurants, hotels, concerts, gyms, swimming pools, theatres and sports venues, while non-‘vaccinated’ are banned from all those places and activities. Israelis have likened the ‘green pass’ to the yellow stars that Jews in Nazi Germany were forced to wear – the same as the yellow stickers that a branch of UK supermarket chain Morrisons told exempt mask-wears they had to display when shopping. How very sensitive. The Israeli system is blatant South African-style apartheid on the basis of compliance or non-compliance to fascism rather than colour of the skin. How appropriate that the Sabbatian Israeli government was so close to the pre-Mandela apartheid regime in Pretoria. The Sabbatian-instigated ‘vaccine passport’ in Israel is planned for everywhere. Sabbatians struck a deal with Pfizer that allowed them to lead the way in the percentage of a national population infused with synthetic material and the result was catastrophic. Israeli freedom activist Shai Dannon told me how chairs were appearing on beaches that said ‘vaccinated only’. Health Minister Yuli Edelstein said that anyone unwilling or unable to get

the jabs that ‘confer immunity’ will be ‘left behind’. The man’s a liar. Not even the makers claim the ‘vaccines’ confer immunity. When you see those figures of ‘vaccine’ deaths these psychopaths were saying that you must take the chance the ‘vaccine’ will kill you or maim you while knowing it will change your DNA or lockdown for you will be permanent. That’s fascism. The Israeli parliament passed a law to allow personal information of the non-vaccinated to be shared with local and national authorities for three months. This was claimed by its supporters to be a way to ‘encourage’ people to be vaccinated. Hadas Ziv from Physicians for Human Rights described this as a ‘draconian law which crushed medical ethics and the patient rights’. But that’s the idea, the Sabbatians would reply.

Your papers, please

Sabbatian Israel was leading what has been planned all along to be a global ‘vaccine pass’ called a ‘green passport’ without which you would remain in permanent lockdown restriction and unable to do anything. This is how badly – *desperately* – the Cult is to get everyone ‘vaccinated’. The term and colour ‘green’ was not by chance and related to the psychology of fusing the perception of the green climate hoax with the ‘Covid’ hoax and how the ‘solution’ to both is the same Great Reset. Lying politicians, health officials and psychologists denied there were any plans for mandatory vaccinations or restrictions based on vaccinations, but they knew that was exactly what was meant to happen with governments of all countries reaching agreements to enforce a global system. ‘Free’ Denmark and ‘free’ Sweden unveiled digital vaccine certification. Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, and Spain have all committed to a vaccine passport system and the rest including the whole of the EU would follow. The satanic UK government will certainly go this way despite mendacious denials and at the time of writing it is trying to manipulate the public into having the ‘vaccine’ so they could go abroad on a summer holiday. How would that work without something to prove you had the synthetic toxicity injected into you?

Documents show that the EU's European Commission was moving towards 'vaccine certificates' in 2018 and 2019 before the 'Covid' hoax began. They knew what was coming. Abracadabra – Ursula von der Leyen, the German President of the Commission, announced in March, 2021, an EU 'Digital Green Certificate' – green again – to track the public's 'Covid status'. The passport sting is worldwide and the Far East followed the same pattern with South Korea ruling that only those with 'vaccination' passports – again the *green* pass – would be able to 'return to their daily lives'.

Bill Gates has been preparing for this 'passport' with other Cult operatives for years and beyond the paper version is a Gates-funded 'digital tattoo' to identify who has been vaccinated and who hasn't. The 'tattoo' is reported to include a substance which is externally readable to confirm who has been vaccinated. This is a bio-luminous light-generating enzyme (think fireflies) called ... *Luciferase*. Yes, named after the Cult 'god' Lucifer the 'light bringer' of whom more to come. Gates said he funded the readable tattoo to ensure children in the developing world were vaccinated and no one was missed out. He cares so much about poor kids as we know. This was just the cover story to develop a vaccine tagging system for everyone on the planet. Gates has been funding the ID2020 'alliance' to do just that in league with other lovely people at Microsoft, GAVI, the Rockefeller Foundation, Accenture and IDEO.org. He said in interviews in March, 2020, before any 'vaccine' publicly existed, that the world must have a globalised digital certificate to track the 'virus' and who had been vaccinated. Gates knew from the start that the mRNA vaccines were coming and when they would come and that the plan was to tag the 'vaccinated' to marginalise the intelligent and stop them doing anything including travel. Evil just doesn't suffice. Gates was exposed for offering a \$10 million bribe to the Nigerian House of Representatives to invoke compulsory 'Covid' vaccination of all Nigerians. Sara Cunial, a member of the Italian Parliament, called Gates a 'vaccine criminal'. She urged the Italian President to hand him over to the International Criminal Court for crimes against

humanity and condemned his plans to 'chip the human race' through ID2020.

You know it's a long-planned agenda when war criminal and Cult gofer Tony Blair is on the case. With the scale of arrogance only someone as dark as Blair can muster he said: 'Vaccination in the end is going to be your route to liberty.' Blair is a disgusting piece of work and he confirms that again. The media has given a lot of coverage to a bloke called Charlie Mullins, founder of London's biggest independent plumbing company, Pimlico Plumbers, who has said he won't employ anyone who has not been vaccinated or have them go to any home where people are not vaccinated. He said that if he had his way no one would be allowed to walk the streets if they have not been vaccinated. Gates was cheering at the time while I was alerting the white coats. The plan is that people will qualify for 'passports' for having the first two doses and then to keep it they will have to have all the follow ups and new ones for invented 'variants' until human genetics is transformed and many are dead who can't adjust to the changes. Hollywood celebrities – the usual propaganda stunt – are promoting something called the WELL Health-Safety Rating to verify that a building or space has 'taken the necessary steps to prioritize the health and safety of their staff, visitors and other stakeholders'. They included Lady Gaga, Jennifer Lopez, Michael B. Jordan, Robert DeNiro, Venus Williams, Wolfgang Puck, Deepak Chopra and 17th Surgeon General Richard Carmona. Yawn. WELL Health-Safety has big connections with China. Parent company Delos is headed by former Goldman Sachs partner Paul Scialla. This is another example – and we will see so many others – of using the excuse of 'health' to dictate the lives and activities of the population. I guess one confirmation of the 'safety' of buildings is that only 'vaccinated' people can go in, right?

Electronic concentration camps

I wrote decades ago about the plans to restrict travel and here we are for those who refuse to bow to tyranny. This can be achieved in one go with air travel if the aviation industry makes a blanket decree.

The ‘vaccine’ and guaranteed income are designed to be part of a global version of China’s social credit system which tracks behaviour 24/7 and awards or deletes ‘credits’ based on whether your behaviour is supported by the state or not. I mean your entire lifestyle – what you do, eat, say, everything. Once your credit score falls below a certain level consequences kick in. In China tens of millions have been denied travel by air and train because of this. All the locations and activities denied to refusers by the ‘vaccine’ passports will be included in one big mass ban on doing almost anything for those that don’t bow their head to government. It’s beyond fascist and a new term is required to describe its extremes – I guess fascist technocracy will have to do. The way the Chinese system of technological – technocratic – control is sweeping the West can be seen in the Los Angeles school system and is planned to be expanded worldwide. Every child is required to have a ‘Covid’-tracking app scanned daily before they can enter the classroom. The so-called Daily Pass tracking system is produced by Gates’ Microsoft which I’m sure will shock you rigid. The pass will be scanned using a barcode (one step from an inside-the-body barcode) and the information will include health checks, ‘Covid’ tests and vaccinations. Entry codes are for one specific building only and access will only be allowed if a student or teacher has a negative test with a test not testing for the ‘virus’, has no symptoms of anything alleged to be related to ‘Covid’ (symptoms from a range of other illness), and has a temperature under 100 degrees. No barcode, no entry, is planned to be the case for everywhere and not only schools.

Kids are being psychologically prepared to accept this as ‘normal’ their whole life which is why what they can impose in schools is so important to the Cult and its gofers. Long-time American freedom campaigner John Whitehead of the Rutherford Institute was not exaggerating when he said: ‘Databit by databit, we are building our own electronic concentration camps.’ Canada under its Cult gofer prime minister Justin Trudeau has taken a major step towards the real thing with people interned against their will if they test positive with a test not testing for the ‘virus’ when they arrive at a Canadian

airport. They are jailed in internment hotels often without food or water for long periods and with many doors failing to lock there have been sexual assaults. The interned are being charged sometimes \$2,000 for the privilege of being abused in this way. Trudeau is fully on board with the Cult and says the ‘Covid pandemic’ has provided an opportunity for a global ‘reset’ to permanently change Western civilisation. His number two, Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland, is a trustee of the World Economic Forum and a Rhodes Scholar. The Trudeau family have long been servants of the Cult. See *The Biggest Secret* and Cathy O’Brien’s book *Trance-Formation of America* for the horrific background to Trudeau’s father Pierre Trudeau another Canadian prime minister. Hide your fascism behind the façade of a heart-on-the-sleeve liberal. It’s a well-honed Cult technique.

What can the ‘vaccine’ really do?

We have a ‘virus’ never shown to exist and ‘variants’ of the ‘virus’ that have also never been shown to exist except, like the ‘original’, as computer-generated fictions. Even if you believe there’s a ‘virus’ the ‘case’ to ‘death’ rate is in the region of 0.23 to 0.15 percent and those ‘deaths’ are concentrated among the very old around the same average age that people die anyway. In response to this lack of threat (in truth none) psychopaths and idiots, knowingly and unknowingly answering to Gates and the Cult, are seeking to ‘vaccinate’ every man, woman and child on Planet Earth. Clearly the ‘vaccine’ is not about ‘Covid’ – none of this ever has been. So what is it all about *really*? Why the desperation to infuse genetically-manipulating synthetic material into everyone through mRNA fraudulent ‘vaccines’ with the intent of doing this over and over with the excuses of ‘variants’ and other ‘virus’ inventions? Dr Sherri Tenpenny, an osteopathic medical doctor in the United States, has made herself an expert on vaccines and their effects as a vehement campaigner against their use. Tenpenny was board certified in emergency medicine, the director of a level two trauma centre for 12 years, and moved to Cleveland in 1996 to start an integrative

medicine practice which has treated patients from all 50 states and some 17 other countries. Weaning people off pharmaceutical drugs is a speciality.

She became interested in the consequences of vaccines after attending a meeting at the National Vaccine Information Center in Washington DC in 2000 where she ‘sat through four days of listening to medical doctors and scientists and lawyers and parents of vaccine injured kids’ and asked: ‘What’s going on?’ She had never been vaccinated and never got ill while her father was given a list of vaccines to be in the military and was ‘sick his entire life’. The experience added to her questions and she began to examine vaccine documents from the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). After reading the first one, the 1998 version of *The General Recommendations of Vaccination*, she thought: ‘This is it?’ The document was poorly written and bad science and Tenpenny began 20 years of research into vaccines that continues to this day. She began her research into ‘Covid vaccines’ in March, 2020, and she describes them as ‘deadly’. For many, as we have seen, they already have been. Tenpenny said that in the first 30 days of the ‘vaccine’ rollout in the United States there had been more than 40,000 adverse events reported to the vaccine adverse event database. A document had been delivered to her the day before that was 172 pages long. ‘We have over 40,000 adverse events; we have over 3,100 cases of [potentially deadly] anaphylactic shock; we have over 5,000 neurological reactions.’ Effects ranged from headaches to numbness, dizziness and vertigo, to losing feeling in hands or feet and paraesthesia which is when limbs ‘fall asleep’ and people have the sensation of insects crawling underneath their skin. All this happened in the first 30 days and remember that only about *ten percent* (or far less) of adverse reactions and vaccine-related deaths are estimated to be officially reported. Tenpenny said:

So can you think of one single product in any industry, any industry, for as long as products have been made on the planet that within 30 days we have 40,000 people complaining of side effects that not only is still on the market but ... we’ve got paid actors telling us how great

they are for getting their vaccine. We're offering people \$500 if they will just get their vaccine and we've got nurses and doctors going; 'I got the vaccine, I got the vaccine'.

Tenpenny said they were not going to be 'happy dancing folks' when they began to suffer Bell's palsy (facial paralysis), neuropathies, cardiac arrhythmias and autoimmune reactions that kill through a blood disorder. 'They're not going to be so happy, happy then, but we're never going to see pictures of those people' she said. Tenpenny described the 'vaccine' as 'a well-designed killing tool'.

No off-switch

Bad as the initial consequences had been Tenpenny said it would be maybe 14 months before we began to see the 'full ravage' of what is going to happen to the 'Covid vaccinated' with full-out consequences taking anything between two years and 20 years to show. You can understand why when you consider that variations of the 'Covid vaccine' use mRNA (messenger RNA) to in theory activate the immune system to produce protective antibodies without using the actual 'virus'. How can they when it's a computer program and they've never isolated what they claim is the 'real thing'? Instead they use *synthetic* mRNA. They are inoculating synthetic material into the body which through a technique known as the Trojan horse is absorbed into cells to change the nature of DNA. Human DNA is changed by an infusion of messenger RNA and with each new 'vaccine' of this type it is changed even more. Say so and you are banned by Cult Internet platforms. The contempt the contemptuous Mark Zuckerberg has for the truth and human health can be seen in an internal Facebook video leaked to the Project Veritas investigative team in which he said of the 'Covid vaccines': '... I share some caution on this because we just don't know the long term side-effects of basically modifying people's DNA and RNA.' At the same time this disgusting man's Facebook was censoring and banning anyone saying exactly the same. He must go before a Nuremberg trial for crimes against humanity when he *knows* that he

is censoring legitimate concerns and denying the right of informed consent on behalf of the Cult that owns him. People have been killed and damaged by the very ‘vaccination’ technique he cast doubt on himself when they may not have had the ‘vaccine’ with access to information that he denied them. The plan is to have at least annual ‘Covid vaccinations’, add others to deal with invented ‘variants’, and change all other vaccines into the mRNA system. Pfizer executives told shareholders at a virtual Barclays Global Healthcare Conference in March, 2021, that the public may need a third dose of ‘Covid vaccine’, plus regular yearly boosters and the company planned to hike prices to milk the profits in a ‘significant opportunity for our vaccine’. These are the professional liars, cheats and opportunists who are telling you their ‘vaccine’ is safe. Given this volume of mRNA planned to be infused into the human body and its ability to then replicate we will have a transformation of human genetics from biological to synthetic biological – exactly the long-time Cult plan for reasons we’ll see – and many will die. Sherri Tenpenny said of this replication:

It’s like having an on-button but no off-button and that whole mechanism ... they actually give it a name and they call it the Trojan horse mechanism, because it allows that [synthetic] virus and that piece of that [synthetic] virus to get inside of your cells, start to replicate and even get inserted into other parts of your DNA as a Trojan-horse.

Ask the overwhelming majority of people who have the ‘vaccine’ what they know about the contents and what they do and they would reply: ‘The government says it will stop me getting the virus.’ Governments give that false impression on purpose to increase take-up. You can read Sherri Tenpenny’s detailed analysis of the health consequences in her blog at Vaxxter.com, but in summary these are some of them. She highlights the statement by Bill Gates about how human beings can become their own ‘vaccine manufacturing machine’. The man is insane. [‘Vaccine’-generated] ‘antibodies’ carry synthetic messenger RNA into the cells and the damage starts, Tenpenny contends, and she says that lungs can be adversely affected through varying degrees of pus and bleeding which

obviously affects breathing and would be dubbed ‘Covid-19’. Even more sinister was the impact of ‘antibodies’ on macrophages, a white blood cell of the immune system. They consist of Type 1 and Type 2 which have very different functions. She said Type 1 are ‘hyper-vigilant’ white blood cells which ‘gobble up’ bacteria etc. However, in doing so, this could cause inflammation and in extreme circumstances be fatal. She says these affects are mitigated by Type 2 macrophages which kick in to calm down the system and stop it going rogue. They clear up dead tissue debris and reduce inflammation that the Type 1 ‘fire crews’ have caused. Type 1 kills the infection and Type 2 heals the damage, she says. This is her punchline with regard to ‘Covid vaccinations’: She says that mRNA ‘antibodies’ block Type 2 macrophages by attaching to them and deactivating them. This meant that when the Type 1 response was triggered by infection there was nothing to stop that getting out of hand by calming everything down. There’s an on-switch, but no off-switch, she says. What follows can be ‘over and out, see you when I see you’.

Genetic suicide

Tenpenny also highlights the potential for autoimmune disease – the body attacking itself – which has been associated with vaccines since they first appeared. Infusing a synthetic foreign substance into cells could cause the immune system to react in a panic believing that the body is being overwhelmed by an invader (it is) and the consequences can again be fatal. There is an autoimmune response known as a ‘cytokine storm’ which I have likened to a homeowner panicked by an intruder and picking up a gun to shoot randomly in all directions before turning the fire on himself. The immune system unleashes a storm of inflammatory response called cytokines to a threat and the body commits hara-kiri. The lesson is that you mess with the body’s immune response at your peril and these ‘vaccines’ seriously – fundamentally – mess with immune response. Tenpenny refers to a consequence called anaphylactic shock which is a severe and highly dangerous allergic reaction when the immune system

floods the body with chemicals. She gives the example of having a bee sting which primes the immune system and makes it sensitive to those chemicals. When people are stung again maybe years later the immune response can be so powerful that it leads to anaphylactic shock. Tenpenny relates this 'shock' with regard to the 'Covid vaccine' to something called polyethylene glycol or PEG. Enormous numbers of people have become sensitive to this over decades of use in a whole range of products and processes including food, drink, skin creams and 'medicine'. Studies have claimed that some 72 percent of people have antibodies triggered by PEG compared with two percent in the 1960s and allergic hypersensitive reactions to this become a gathering cause for concern. Tenpenny points out that the 'mRNA vaccine' is coated in a 'bubble' of polyethylene glycol which has the potential to cause anaphylactic shock through immune sensitivity. Many reports have appeared of people reacting this way after having the 'Covid vaccine'. What do we think is going to happen as humanity has more and more of these 'vaccines'?

Tenpenny said: 'All these pictures we have seen with people with these rashes ... these weepy rashes, big reactions on their arms and things like that – it's an acute allergic reaction most likely to the polyethylene glycol that you've been previously primed and sensitised to.'

Those who have not studied the conspiracy and its perpetrators at length might think that making the population sensitive to PEG and then putting it in these 'vaccines' is just a coincidence. It is not. It is instead testament to how carefully and coldly-planned current events have been and the scale of the conspiracy we are dealing with. Tenpenny further explains that the 'vaccine' mRNA procedure can breach the blood-brain barrier which protects the brain from toxins and other crap that will cause malfunction. In this case they could make two proteins corrupt brain function to cause Amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a progressive nervous system disease leading to loss of muscle control, and frontal lobe degeneration – Alzheimer's and dementia. Immunologist J. Bart Classon published a paper connecting mRNA 'vaccines' to prion

disease which can lead to Alzheimer's and other forms of neurodegenerative disease while others have pointed out the potential to affect the placenta in ways that make women infertile. This will become highly significant in the next chapter when I will discuss other aspects of this non-vaccine that relate to its nanotechnology and transmission from the injected to the uninjected.

Qualified in idiocy

Tenpenny describes how research has confirmed that these 'vaccine'-generated antibodies can interact with a range of other tissues in the body and attack many other organs including the lungs. 'This means that if you have a hundred people standing in front of you that all got this shot they could have a hundred different symptoms.'

Anyone really think that Cult gofers like the Queen, Tony Blair, Christopher Whitty, Anthony Fauci, and all the other psychopaths have really had this 'vaccine' in the pictures we've seen? Not a bloody chance. Why don't doctors all tell us about all these dangers and consequences of the 'Covid vaccine'? Why instead do they encourage and pressure patients to have the shot? Don't let's think for a moment that doctors and medical staff can't be stupid, lazy, and psychopathic and that's without the financial incentives to give the jab. Tenpenny again:

Some people are going to die from the vaccine directly but a large number of people are going to start to get horribly sick and get all kinds of autoimmune diseases 42 days to maybe a year out. What are they going to do, these stupid doctors who say; 'Good for you for getting that vaccine.' What are they going to say; 'Oh, it must be a mutant, we need to give an extra dose of that vaccine.'

Because now the vaccine, instead of one dose or two doses we need three or four because the stupid physicians aren't taking the time to learn anything about it. If I can learn this sitting in my living room reading a 19 page paper and several others so can they. There's nothing special about me, I just take the time to do it.

Remember how Sara Kayat, the NHS and TV doctor, said that the 'Covid vaccine' would '100 percent prevent hospitalisation and death'. Doctors can be idiots like every other profession and they

should not be worshipped as infallible. They are not and far from it. Behind many medical and scientific ‘experts’ lies an uninformed prat trying to hide themselves from you although in the ‘Covid’ era many have failed to do so as with UK narrative-repeating ‘TV doctor’ Hilary Jones. Pushing back against the minority of proper doctors and scientists speaking out against the ‘vaccine’ has been the entire edifice of the Cult global state in the form of governments, medical systems, corporations, mainstream media, Silicon Valley, and an army of compliant doctors, medical staff and scientists willing to say anything for money and to enhance their careers by promoting the party line. If you do that you are an ‘expert’ and if you won’t you are an ‘anti-vaxxer’ and ‘Covidiot’. The pressure to be ‘vaccinated’ is incessant. We have even had reports claiming that the ‘vaccine’ can help cure cancer and Alzheimer’s and make the lame walk. I am waiting for the announcement that it can bring you coffee in the morning and cook your tea. Just as the symptoms of ‘Covid’ seem to increase by the week so have the miracles of the ‘vaccine’. American supermarket giant Kroger Co. offered nearly 500,000 employees in 35 states a \$100 bonus for having the ‘vaccine’ while donut chain Krispy Kreme promised ‘vaccinated’ customers a free glazed donut every day for the rest of 2021. Have your DNA changed and you will get a doughnut although we might not have to give you them for long. Such offers and incentives confirm the desperation.

Perhaps the worse vaccine-stunt of them all was UK ‘Health’ Secretary Matt-the-prat Hancock on live TV after watching a clip of someone being ‘vaccinated’ when the roll-out began. Hancock faked tears so badly it was embarrassing. Brain-of-Britain Piers Morgan, the lockdown-supporting, ‘vaccine’ supporting, ‘vaccine’ passport-supporting, TV host played along with Hancock – ‘You’re quite emotional about that’ he said in response to acting so atrocious it would have been called out at a school nativity which will presumably today include Mary and Jesus in masks, wise men keeping their camels six feet apart, and shepherds under tent arrest. System-serving Morgan tweeted this: ‘Love the idea of covid vaccine passports for everywhere: flights, restaurants, clubs, football, gyms,

shops etc. It's time covid-denying, anti-vaxxer loonies had their bullsh*t bluff called & bar themselves from going anywhere that responsible citizens go.' If only I could aspire to his genius. To think that Morgan, who specialises in shouting over anyone he disagrees with, was lauded as a free speech hero when he lost his job after storming off the set of his live show like a child throwing his dolly out of the pram. If he is a free speech hero we are in real trouble. I have no idea what 'bullsh*t' means, by the way, the * throws me completely.

The Cult is desperate to infuse its synthetic DNA-changing concoction into everyone and has been using every lie, trick and intimidation to do so. The question of '*Why?*' we shall now address.

CHAPTER TEN

Human 2.0

I believe that at the end of the century the use of words and general educated opinion will have altered so much that one will be able to speak of machines thinking without expecting to be contradicted –

Alan Turing (1912-1954), the ‘Father of artificial intelligence’

I have been exposing for decades the plan to transform the human body from a biological to a synthetic-biological state. The new human that I will call Human 2.0 is planned to be connected to artificial intelligence and a global AI ‘Smart Grid’ that would operate as one global system in which AI would control everything from your fridge to your heating system to your car to your mind. Humans would no longer be ‘human’, but post-human and sub-human, with their thinking and emotional processes replaced by AI.

What I said sounded crazy and beyond science fiction and I could understand that. To any balanced, rational, mind it *is* crazy. Today, however, that world is becoming reality and it puts the ‘Covid vaccine’ into its true context. Ray Kurzweil is the ultra-Zionist ‘computer scientist, inventor and futurist’ and co-founder of the Singularity University. Singularity refers to the merging of humans with machines or ‘transhumanism’. Kurzweil has said humanity would be connected to the cyber ‘cloud’ in the period of the ever-recurring year of 2030:

Our thinking ... will be a hybrid of biological and non-biological thinking ... humans will be able to extend their limitations and ‘think in the cloud’ ... We’re going to put gateways to the

cloud in our brains ... We're going to gradually merge and enhance ourselves ... In my view, that's the nature of being human – we transcend our limitations. As the technology becomes vastly superior to what we are then the small proportion that is still human gets smaller and smaller and smaller until it's just utterly negligible.

They are trying to sell this end-of-humanity-as-we-know-it as the next stage of 'evolution' when we become super-human and 'like the gods'. They are lying to you. Shocked, eh? The population, and again especially the young, have been manipulated into addiction to technologies designed to enslave them for life. First they induced an addiction to smartphones (holdables); next they moved to technology on the body (wearables); and then began the invasion of the body (implantables). I warned way back about the plan for microchipped people and we are now entering that era. We should not be diverted into thinking that this refers only to chips we can see. Most important are the nanochips known as smart dust, neural dust and nanobots which are far too small to be seen by the human eye. Nanotechnology is everywhere, increasingly in food products, and released into the atmosphere by the geoengineering of the skies funded by Bill Gates to 'shut out the Sun' and 'save the planet from global warming'. Gates has been funding a project to spray millions of tonnes of chalk (calcium carbonate) into the stratosphere over Sweden to 'dim the Sun' and cool the Earth. Scientists warned the move could be disastrous for weather systems in ways no one can predict and opposition led to the Swedish space agency announcing that the 'experiment' would not be happening as planned in the summer of 2021; but it shows where the Cult is going with dimming the impact of the Sun and there's an associated plan to change the planet's atmosphere. Who gives psychopath Gates the right to dictate to the entire human race and dismantle planetary systems? The world will not be safe while this man is at large.

The global warming hoax has made the Sun, like the gas of life, something to fear when both are essential to good health and human survival (more inversion). The body transforms sunlight into vital vitamin D through a process involving ... *cholesterol*. This is the cholesterol we are also told to fear. We are urged to take Big Pharma

statin drugs to reduce cholesterol and it's all systematic. Reducing cholesterol means reducing vitamin D uptake with all the multiple health problems that will cause. At least if you take statins long term it saves the government from having to pay you a pension. The delivery system to block sunlight is widely referred to as chemtrails although these have a much deeper agenda, too. They appear at first to be contrails or condensation trails streaming from aircraft into cold air at high altitudes. Contrails disperse very quickly while chemtrails do not and spread out across the sky before eventually their content falls to earth. Many times I have watched aircraft cross-cross a clear blue sky releasing chemtrails until it looks like a cloudy day. Chemtrails contain many things harmful to humans and the natural world including toxic heavy metals, aluminium (see Alzheimer's) and nanotechnology. Ray Kurzweil reveals the reason without actually saying so: 'Nanobots will infuse all the matter around us with information. Rocks, trees, everything will become these intelligent creatures.' How do you deliver that? *From the sky.* Self-replicating nanobots would connect everything to the Smart Grid. The phenomenon of Morgellons disease began in the chemtrail era and the correlation has led to it being dubbed the 'chemtrail disease'. Self-replicating fibres appear in the body that can be pulled out through the skin. Morgellons fibres continue to grow outside the body and have a form of artificial intelligence. I cover this at greater length in *Phantom Self*.

'Vaccine' operating system

'Covid vaccines' with their self-replicating synthetic material are also designed to make the connection between humanity and Kurzweil's 'cloud'. American doctor and dedicated campaigner for truth, Carrie Madej, an Internal Medicine Specialist in Georgia with more than 20 years medical experience, has highlighted the nanotechnology aspect of the fake 'vaccines'. She explains how one of the components in at least the Moderna and Pfizer synthetic potions are 'lipid nanoparticles' which are 'like little tiny computer bits' – a 'sci-fi substance' known as nanobots and hydrogel which can be 'triggered

at any moment to deliver its payload' and act as 'biosensors'. The synthetic substance had 'the ability to accumulate data from your body like your breathing, your respiration, thoughts and emotions, all kind of things' and each syringe could carry a *million* nanobots:

This substance because it's like little bits of computers in your body, crazy, but it's true, it can do that, [and] obviously has the ability to act through Wi-Fi. It can receive and transmit energy, messages, frequencies or impulses. That issue has never been addressed by these companies. What does that do to the human?

Just imagine getting this substance in you and it can react to things all around you, the 5G, your smart device, your phones, what is happening with that? What if something is triggering it, too, like an impulse, a frequency? We have something completely foreign in the human body.

Madej said her research revealed that electromagnetic (EMF) frequencies emitted by phones and other devices had increased dramatically in the same period of the 'vaccine' rollout and she was seeing more people with radiation problems as 5G and other electromagnetic technology was expanded and introduced to schools and hospitals. She said she was 'floored with the EMF coming off' the devices she checked. All this makes total sense and syncs with my own work of decades when you think that Moderna refers in documents to its mRNA 'vaccine' as an 'operating system':

Recognizing the broad potential of mRNA science, we set out to create an mRNA technology platform that functions very much like an operating system on a computer. It is designed so that it can plug and play interchangeably with different programs. In our case, the 'program' or 'app' is our mRNA drug – the unique mRNA sequence that codes for a protein ...

... Our mRNA Medicines – 'The Software Of Life': When we have a concept for a new mRNA medicine and begin research, fundamental components are already in place. Generally, the only thing that changes from one potential mRNA medicine to another is the coding region – the actual genetic code that instructs ribosomes to make protein. Utilizing these instruction sets gives our investigational mRNA medicines a software-like quality. We also have the ability to combine different mRNA sequences encoding for different proteins in a single mRNA investigational medicine.

Who needs a real ‘virus’ when you can create a computer version to justify infusing your operating system into the entire human race on the road to making living, breathing people into cyborgs? What is missed with the ‘vaccines’ is the *digital* connection between synthetic material and the body that I highlighted earlier with the study that hacked a computer with human DNA. On one level the body is digital, based on mathematical codes, and I’ll have more about that in the next chapter. Those who ridiculously claim that mRNA ‘vaccines’ are not designed to change human genetics should explain the words of Dr Tal Zaks, chief medical officer at Moderna, in a 2017 TED talk. He said that over the last 30 years ‘we’ve been living this phenomenal digital scientific revolution, and I’m here today to tell you, that we are actually *hacking the software of life*, and that it’s changing the way we think about prevention and treatment of disease’:

In every cell there’s this thing called messenger RNA, or mRNA for short, that transmits the critical information from the DNA in our genes to the protein, which is really the stuff we’re all made out of. This is the critical information that determines what the cell will do. So we think about it as an operating system. So if you could change that, if you could introduce a line of code, or change a line of code, it turns out, that has profound implications for everything, from the flu to cancer.

Zaks should more accurately have said that this has profound implications for the human genetic code and the nature of DNA. Communications within the body go both ways and not only one. But, hey, no, the ‘Covid vaccine’ will not affect your genetics. Cult fact-checkers say so even though the man who helped to develop the mRNA technique says that it does. Zaks said in 2017:

If you think about what it is we’re trying to do. We’ve taken information and our understanding of that information and how that information is transmitted in a cell, and we’ve taken our understanding of medicine and how to make drugs, and we’re fusing the two. We think of it as information therapy.

I have been writing for decades that the body is an information field communicating with itself and the wider world. This is why

radiation which is information can change the information field of body and mind through phenomena like 5G and change their nature and function. ‘Information therapy’ means to change the body’s information field and change the way it operates. DNA is a receiver-transmitter of information and can be mutated by information like mRNA synthetic messaging. Technology to do this has been ready and waiting in the underground bases and other secret projects to be rolled out when the ‘Covid’ hoax was played. ‘Trials’ of such short and irrelevant duration were only for public consumption. When they say the ‘vaccine’ is ‘experimental’ that is not true. It may appear to be ‘experimental’ to those who don’t know what’s going on, but the trials have already been done to ensure the Cult gets the result it desires. Zaks said that it took decades to sequence the human genome, completed in 2003, but now they could do it in a week. By ‘they’ he means scientists operating in the public domain. In the secret projects they were sequencing the genome in a week long before even 2003.

Deluge of mRNA

Highly significantly the Moderna document says the guiding premise is that if using mRNA as a medicine works for one disease then it should work for many diseases. They were leveraging the flexibility afforded by their platform and the fundamental role mRNA plays in protein synthesis to pursue mRNA medicines for a broad spectrum of diseases. Moderna is confirming what I was saying through 2020 that multiple ‘vaccines’ were planned for ‘Covid’ (and later invented ‘variants’) and that previous vaccines would be converted to the mRNA system to infuse the body with massive amounts of genetically-manipulating synthetic material to secure a transformation to a synthetic-biological state. The ‘vaccines’ are designed to kill stunning numbers as part of the long-exposed Cult depopulation agenda and transform the rest. Given this is the goal you can appreciate why there is such hysterical demand for every human to be ‘vaccinated’ for an alleged ‘disease’ that has an estimated ‘infection’ to ‘death’ ratio of 0.23-0.15 percent. As I write

children are being given the ‘vaccine’ in trials (their parents are a disgrace) and ever-younger people are being offered the vaccine for a ‘virus’ that even if you believe it exists has virtually zero chance of harming them. Horrific effects of the ‘trials’ on a 12-year-old girl were revealed by a family member to be serious brain and gastric problems that included a bowel obstruction and the inability to swallow liquids or solids. She was unable to eat or drink without throwing up, had extreme pain in her back, neck and abdomen, and was paralysed from the waist down which stopped her urinating unaided. When the girl was first taken to hospital doctors said it was all in her mind. She was signed up for the ‘trial’ by her parents for whom no words suffice. None of this ‘Covid vaccine’ insanity makes any sense unless you see what the ‘vaccine’ really is – a body-changer. Synthetic biology or ‘SynBio’ is a fast-emerging and expanding scientific discipline which includes everything from genetic and molecular engineering to electrical and computer engineering. Synthetic biology is defined in these ways:

- A multidisciplinary area of research that seeks to create new biological parts, devices, and systems, or to redesign systems that are already found in nature.
- The use of a mixture of physical engineering and genetic engineering to create new (and therefore synthetic) life forms.
- An emerging field of research that aims to combine the knowledge and methods of biology, engineering and related disciplines in the design of chemically-synthesized DNA to create organisms with novel or enhanced characteristics and traits (synthetic organisms including humans).

We now have synthetic blood, skin, organs and limbs being developed along with synthetic body parts produced by 3D printers. These are all elements of the synthetic human programme and this comment by Kurzweil’s co-founder of the Singularity University,

Peter Diamandis, can be seen in a whole new light with the ‘Covid’ hoax and the sanctions against those that refuse the ‘vaccine’:

Anybody who is going to be resisting the progress forward [to transhumanism] is going to be resisting evolution and, fundamentally, they will die out. It’s not a matter of whether it’s good or bad. It’s going to happen.

‘Resisting evolution’? What absolute bollocks. The arrogance of these people is without limit. His ‘it’s going to happen’ mantra is another way of saying ‘resistance is futile’ to break the spirit of those pushing back and we must not fall for it. Getting this genetically-transforming ‘vaccine’ into everyone is crucial to the Cult plan for total control and the desperation to achieve that is clear for anyone to see. Vaccine passports are a major factor in this and they, too, are a form of resistance is futile. It’s NOT. The paper funded by the Rockefeller Foundation for the 2013 ‘health conference’ in China said:

We will interact more with artificial intelligence. The use of robotics, bio-engineering to augment human functioning is already well underway and will advance. Re-engineering of humans into potentially separate and unequal forms through genetic engineering or mixed human-robots raises debates on ethics and equality.

A new demography is projected to emerge after 2030 [that year again] of technologies (robotics, genetic engineering, nanotechnology) producing robots, engineered organisms, ‘nanobots’ and artificial intelligence (AI) that can self-replicate. Debates will grow on the implications of an impending reality of human designed life.

What is happening today is so long planned. The world army enforcing the will of the world government is intended to be a robot army, not a human one. Today’s military and its technologically ‘enhanced’ troops, pilotless planes and driverless vehicles are just stepping stones to that end. Human soldiers are used as Cult fodder and its time they woke up to that and worked for the freedom of the population instead of their own destruction and their family’s destruction – the same with the police. Join us and let’s sort this out. The phenomenon of enforce my own destruction is widespread in the ‘Covid’ era with Woker ‘luvvies’ in the acting and entertainment

industries supporting ‘Covid’ rules which have destroyed their profession and the same with those among the public who put signs on the doors of their businesses ‘closed due to Covid – stay safe’ when many will never reopen. It’s a form of masochism and most certainly insanity.

Transgender = transhumanism

When something explodes out of nowhere and is suddenly everywhere it is always the Cult agenda and so it is with the tidal wave of claims and demands that have infiltrated every aspect of society under the heading of ‘transgenderism’. The term ‘trans’ is so ‘in’ and this is the dictionary definition:

A prefix meaning ‘across’, ‘through’, occurring ... in loanwords from Latin, used in particular for denoting movement or conveyance from place to place (transfer; transmit; transplant) or complete change (transform; transmute), or to form adjectives meaning ‘crossing’, ‘on the other side of’, or ‘going beyond’ the place named (transmontane; transnational; trans-Siberian).

Transgender means to go beyond gender and transhuman means to go beyond human. Both are aspects of the Cult plan to transform the human body to a synthetic state with *no gender*. Human 2.0 is not designed to procreate and would be produced technologically with no need for parents. The new human would mean the end of parents and so men, and increasingly women, are being targeted for the deletion of their rights and status. Parental rights are disappearing at an ever-quickening speed for the same reason. The new human would have no need for men or women when there is no procreation and no gender. Perhaps the transgender movement that appears to be in a permanent state of frenzy might now contemplate on how it is being used. This was never about transgender rights which are only the interim excuse for confusing gender, particularly in the young, on the road to *fusing* gender. Transgender activism is not an end; it is a *means* to an end. We see again the technique of creative destruction in which you destroy the status quo to ‘build back better’ in the form that you want. The gender status quo had to be

destroyed by persuading the Cult-created Woke mentality to believe that you can have 100 genders or more. A programme for 9 to 12 year olds produced by the Cult-owned BBC promoted the 100 genders narrative. The very idea may be the most monumental nonsense, but it is not what is true that counts, only what you can make people *believe* is true. Once the gender of $2 + 2 = 4$ has been dismantled through indoctrination, intimidation and $2 + 2 = 5$ then the new no-gender normal can take its place with Human 2.0.

Aldous Huxley revealed the plan in his prophetic *Brave New World* in 1932:

Natural reproduction has been done away with and children are created, 'decanted', and raised in 'hatcheries and conditioning centres'. From birth, people are genetically designed to fit into one of five castes, which are further split into 'Plus' and 'Minus' members and designed to fulfil predetermined positions within the social and economic strata of the World State.

How could Huxley know this in 1932? For the same reason George Orwell knew about the Big Brother state in 1948, Cult insiders I have quoted knew about it in 1969, and I have known about it since the early 1990s. If you are connected to the Cult or you work your balls off to uncover the plan you can predict the future. The process is simple. If there is a plan for the world and nothing intervenes to stop it then it will happen. Thus if you communicate the plan ahead of time you are perceived to have predicted the future, but you haven't. You have revealed the plan which without intervention will become the human future. The whole reason I have done what I have is to alert enough people to inspire an intervention and maybe at last that time has come with the Cult and its intentions now so obvious to anyone with a brain in working order.

The future is here

Technological wombs that Huxley described to replace parent procreation are already being developed and they are only the projects we know about in the public arena. Israeli scientists told *The Times of Israel* in March, 2021, that they have grown 250-cell embryos

into mouse foetuses with fully formed organs using artificial wombs in a development they say could pave the way for gestating humans outside the womb. Professor Jacob Hanna of the Weizmann Institute of Science said:

We took mouse embryos from the mother at day five of development, when they are just of 250 cells, and had them in the incubator from day five until day 11, by which point they had grown all their organs.

By day 11 they make their own blood and have a beating heart, a fully developed brain. Anybody would look at them and say, 'this is clearly a mouse foetus with all the characteristics of a mouse.' It's gone from being a ball of cells to being an advanced foetus.

A special liquid is used to nourish embryo cells in a laboratory dish and they float on the liquid to duplicate the first stage of embryonic development. The incubator creates all the right conditions for its development, Hanna said. The liquid gives the embryo 'all the nutrients, hormones and sugars they need' along with a custom-made electronic incubator which controls gas concentration, pressure and temperature. The cutting-edge in the underground bases and other secret locations will be light years ahead of that, however, and this was reported by the London *Guardian* in 2017:

We are approaching a biotechnological breakthrough. Ectogenesis, the invention of a complete external womb, could completely change the nature of human reproduction. In April this year, researchers at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia announced their development of an artificial womb.

The article was headed 'Artificial wombs could soon be a reality. What will this mean for women?' What would it mean for children is an even bigger question. No mother to bond with only a machine in preparation for a life of soulless interaction and control in a world governed by machines (see the *Matrix* movies). Now observe the calculated manipulations of the 'Covid' hoax as human interaction and warmth has been curtailed by distancing, isolation and fear with people communicating via machines on a scale never seen before.

These are all dots in the same picture as are all the personal assistants, gadgets and children's toys through which kids and adults communicate with AI as if it is human. The AI 'voice' on Sat-Nav should be included. All these things are psychological preparation for the Cult endgame. Before you can make a physical connection with AI you have to make a psychological connection and that is what people are being conditioned to do with this ever gathering human-AI interaction. Movies and TV programmes depicting the transhuman, robot dystopia relate to a phenomenon known as 'pre-emptive programming' in which the world that is planned is portrayed everywhere in movies, TV and advertising. This is conditioning the conscious and subconscious mind to become familiar with the planned reality to dilute resistance when it happens for real. What would have been a shock such is the change is made less so. We have young children put on the road to transgender transition surgery with puberty blocking drugs at an age when they could never be able to make those life-changing decisions.

Rachel Levine, a professor of paediatrics and psychiatry who believes in treating children this way, became America's highest-ranked openly-transgender official when she was confirmed as US Assistant Secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services after being nominated by Joe Biden (the Cult). Activists and governments press for laws to deny parents a say in their children's transition process so the kids can be isolated and manipulated into agreeing to irreversible medical procedures. A Canadian father Robert Hoogland was denied bail by the Vancouver Supreme Court in 2021 and remained in jail for breaching a court order that he stay silent over his young teenage daughter, a minor, who was being offered life-changing hormone therapy without parental consent. At the age of 12 the girl's 'school counsellor' said she may be transgender, referred her to a doctor and told the school to treat her like a boy. This is another example of state-serving schools imposing ever more control over children's lives while parents have ever less.

Contemptible and extreme child abuse is happening all over the world as the Cult gender-fusion operation goes into warp-speed.

Why the war on men – and now women?

The question about what artificial wombs mean for women should rightly be asked. The answer can be seen in the deletion of women's rights involving sport, changing rooms, toilets and status in favour of people in male bodies claiming to identify as women. I can identify as a mountain climber, but it doesn't mean I can climb a mountain any more than a biological man can be a biological woman. To believe so is a triumph of belief over factual reality which is the very perceptual basis of everything Woke. Women's sport is being destroyed by allowing those with male bodies who say they identify as female to 'compete' with girls and women. Male body 'women' dominate 'women's' competition with their greater muscle mass, bone density, strength and speed. With that disadvantage sport for women loses all meaning. To put this in perspective nearly 300 American high school boys can run faster than the quickest woman sprinter in the world. Women are seeing their previously protected spaces invaded by male bodies simply because they claim to identify as women. That's all they need to do to access all women's spaces and activities under the Biden 'Equality Act' that destroys equality for women with the usual Orwellian Woke inversion. Male sex offenders have already committed rapes in women's prisons after claiming to identify as women to get them transferred. Does this not matter to the Woke 'equality' hypocrites? Not in the least. What matters to Cult manipulators and funders behind transgender activists is to advance gender fusion on the way to the no-gender 'human'. When you are seeking to impose transparent nonsense like this, or the 'Covid' hoax, the only way the nonsense can prevail is through censorship and intimidation of dissenters, deletion of factual information, and programming of the unquestioning, bewildered and naive. You don't have to scan the world for long to see that all these things are happening.

Many women's rights organisations have realised that rights and status which took such a long time to secure are being eroded and that it is systematic. Kara Dansky of the global Women's Human Rights Campaign said that Biden's transgender executive order immediately he took office, subsequent orders, and Equality Act legislation that followed 'seek to erase women and girls in the law as a category'. *Exactly.* I said during the long ago-started war on men (in which many women play a crucial part) that this was going to turn into a war on them. The Cult is phasing out *both* male and female genders. To get away with that they are brought into conflict so they are busy fighting each other while the Cult completes the job with no unity of response. Unity, people, *unity*. We need unity everywhere. Transgender is the only show in town as the big step towards the no-gender human. It's not about rights for transgender people and never has been. Woke political correctness is deleting words relating to genders to the same end. Wokers believe this is to be 'inclusive' when the opposite is true. They are deleting words describing gender because gender *itself* is being deleted by Human 2.0. Terms like 'man', 'woman', 'mother' and 'father' are being deleted in the universities and other institutions to be replaced by the *no-gender*, not trans-gender, 'individuals' and 'guardians'. Women's rights campaigner Maria Keffler of Partners for Ethical Care said: 'Children are being taught from kindergarten upward that some boys have a vagina, some girls have a penis, and that kids can be any gender they want to be.' Do we really believe that suddenly countries all over the world at the same time had the idea of having drag queens go into schools or read transgender stories to very young children in the local library? It's coldly-calculated confusion of gender on the way to the fusion of gender. Suzanne Vierling, a psychologist from Southern California, made another important point:

Yesterday's slave woman who endured gynecological medical experiments is today's girl-child being butchered in a booming gender-transitioning sector. Ovaries removed, pushing her into menopause and osteoporosis, uncharted territory, and parents' rights and authority decimated.

The erosion of parental rights is a common theme in line with the Cult plans to erase the very concept of parents and 'ovaries removed, pushing her into menopause' means what? Those born female lose the ability to have children – another way to discontinue humanity as we know it.

Eliminating Human 1.0 (before our very eyes)

To pave the way for Human 2.0 you must phase out Human 1.0. This is happening through plummeting sperm counts and making women infertile through an onslaught of chemicals, radiation (including smartphones in pockets of men) and mRNA 'vaccines'. Common agriculture pesticides are also having a devastating impact on human fertility. I have been tracking collapsing sperm counts in the books for a long time and in 2021 came a book by fertility scientist and reproductive epidemiologist Shanna Swan, *Count Down: How Our Modern World Is Threatening Sperm Counts, Altering Male and Female Reproductive Development and Imperiling the Future of the Human Race*. She reports how the global fertility rate dropped by half between 1960 and 2016 with America's birth rate 16 percent below where it needs to be to sustain the population. Women are experiencing declining egg quality, more miscarriages, and more couples suffer from infertility. Other findings were an increase in erectile dysfunction, infant boys developing more genital abnormalities, male problems with conception, and plunging levels of the male hormone testosterone which would explain why so many men have lost their backbone and masculinity. This has been very evident during the 'Covid' hoax when women have been prominent among the Pushbackers and big strapping blokes have bowed their heads, covered their faces with a nappy and quietly submitted. Mind control expert Cathy O'Brien also points to how global education introduced the concept of 'we're all winners' in sport and classrooms: 'Competition was defused, and it in turn defused a sense of fighting back.' This is another version of the 'equity' doctrine in which you drive down rather than raise up. What a contrast in Cult-controlled China with its global ambitions

where the government published plans in January, 2021, to 'cultivate masculinity' in boys from kindergarten through to high school in the face of a 'masculinity crisis'. A government adviser said boys would be soon become 'delicate, timid and effeminate' unless action was taken. Don't expect any similar policy in the targeted West. A 2006 study showed that a 65-year-old man in 2002 had testosterone levels 15 percent lower than a 65-year-old man in 1987 while a 2020 study found a similar story with young adults and adolescents. Men are getting prescriptions for testosterone replacement therapy which causes an even greater drop in sperm count with up to 99 percent seeing sperm counts drop to zero during the treatment. More sperm is defective and malfunctioning with some having two heads or not pursuing an egg.

A class of *synthetic* chemicals known as phthalates are being blamed for the decline. These are found everywhere in plastics, shampoos, cosmetics, furniture, flame retardants, personal care products, pesticides, canned foods and even receipts. Why till receipts? Everyone touches them. Let no one delude themselves that all this is not systematic to advance the long-time agenda for human body transformation. Phthalates mimic hormones and disrupt the hormone balance causing testosterone to fall and genital birth defects in male infants. Animals and fish have been affected in the same way due to phthalates and other toxins in rivers. When fish turn gay or change sex through chemicals in rivers and streams it is a pointer to why there has been such an increase in gay people and the sexually confused. It doesn't matter to me what sexuality people choose to be, but if it's being affected by chemical pollution and consumption then we need to know. Does anyone really think that this is not connected to the transgender agenda, the war on men and the condemnation of male 'toxic masculinity'? You watch this being followed by 'toxic femininity'. It's already happening. When breastfeeding becomes 'chest-feeding', pregnant women become pregnant people along with all the other Woke claptrap you know that the world is going insane and there's a Cult scam in progress. Transgender activists are promoting the Cult agenda while Cult

billionaires support and fund the insanity as they laugh themselves to sleep at the sheer stupidity for which humans must be infamous in galaxies far, far away.

'Covid vaccines' and female infertility

We can now see why the 'vaccine' has been connected to potential infertility in women. Dr Michael Yeadon, former Vice President and Chief Scientific Advisor at Pfizer, and Dr Wolfgang Wodarg in Germany, filed a petition with the European Medicines Agency in December, 2020, urging them to stop trials for the Pfizer/BioNTech shot and all other mRNA trials until further studies had been done. They were particularly concerned about possible effects on fertility with 'vaccine'-produced antibodies attacking the protein Syncytin-1 which is responsible for developing the placenta. The result would be infertility 'of indefinite duration' in women who have the 'vaccine' with the placenta failing to form. Section 10.4.2 of the Pfizer/BioNTech trial protocol says that pregnant women or those who might become so should not have mRNA shots. Section 10.4 warns men taking mRNA shots to 'be abstinent from heterosexual intercourse' and not to donate sperm. The UK government said that it *did not know* if the mRNA procedure had an effect on fertility. *Did not know?* These people have to go to jail. UK government advice did not recommend at the start that pregnant women had the shot and said they should avoid pregnancy for at least two months after 'vaccination'. The 'advice' was later updated to pregnant women should only have the 'vaccine' if the benefits outweighed the risks to mother and foetus. What the hell is that supposed to mean? Then 'spontaneous abortions' began to appear and rapidly increase on the adverse reaction reporting schemes which include only a fraction of adverse reactions. Thousands and ever-growing numbers of 'vaccinated' women are describing changes to their menstrual cycle with heavier blood flow, irregular periods and menstruating again after going through the menopause – all links to reproduction effects. Women are passing blood clots and the lining of their uterus while men report erectile dysfunction and blood effects. Most

significantly of all *unvaccinated* women began to report similar menstrual changes after interaction with '*vaccinated*' people and men and children were also affected with bleeding noses, blood clots and other conditions. 'Shedding' is when vaccinated people can emit the content of a vaccine to affect the unvaccinated, but this is different. '*Vaccinated*' people were not shedding a 'live virus' allegedly in '*vaccines*' as before because the fake '*Covid vaccines*' involve synthetic material and other toxicity. Doctors exposing what is happening prefer the term '*transmission*' to shedding. Somehow those that have had the shots are transmitting effects to those that haven't. Dr Carrie Madej said the nano-content of the '*vaccines*' can 'act like an antenna' to others around them which fits perfectly with my own conclusions. This '*vaccine*' transmission phenomenon was becoming known as the book went into production and I deal with this further in the Postscript.

Vaccine effects on sterility are well known. The World Health Organization was accused in 2014 of sterilising millions of women in Kenya with the evidence confirmed by the content of the vaccines involved. The same WHO behind the '*Covid*' hoax admitted its involvement for more than ten years with the vaccine programme. Other countries made similar claims. Charges were lodged by Tanzania, Nicaragua, Mexico, and the Philippines. The Gardasil vaccine claimed to protect against a genital '*virus*' known as HPV has also been linked to infertility. Big Pharma and the WHO (same thing) are criminal and satanic entities. Then there's the Bill Gates Foundation which is connected through funding and shared interests with 20 pharmaceutical giants and laboratories. He stands accused of directing the policy of United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), vaccine alliance GAVI, and other groupings, to advance the vaccine agenda and silence opposition at great cost to women and children. At the same time Gates wants to reduce the global population. Coincidence?

Great Reset = Smart Grid = new human

The Cult agenda I have been exposing for 30 years is now being openly promoted by Cult assets like Gates and Klaus Schwab of the World Economic Forum under code-terms like the 'Great Reset', 'Build Back Better' and 'a rare but narrow window of opportunity to reflect, reimagine, and reset our world'. What provided this 'rare but narrow window of opportunity'? The 'Covid' hoax did. Who created that? *They* did. My books from not that long ago warned about the planned 'Internet of Things' (IoT) and its implications for human freedom. This was the plan to connect all technology to the Internet and artificial intelligence and today we are way down that road with an estimated 36 billion devices connected to the World Wide Web and that figure is projected to be 76 billion by 2025. I further warned that the Cult planned to go beyond that to the Internet of *Everything* when the human brain was connected via AI to the Internet and Kurzweil's 'cloud'. Now we have Cult operatives like Schwab calling for precisely that under the term 'Internet of Bodies', a fusion of the physical, digital and biological into one centrally-controlled Smart Grid system which the Cult refers to as the 'Fourth Industrial Revolution'. They talk about the 'biological', but they really mean the synthetic-biological which is required to fully integrate the human body and brain into the Smart Grid and artificial intelligence planned to replace the human mind. We have everything being synthetically manipulated including the natural world through GMO and smart dust, the food we eat and the human body itself with synthetic 'vaccines'. I said in *The Answer* that we would see the Cult push for synthetic meat to replace animals and in February, 2021, the so predictable psychopath Bill Gates called for the introduction of synthetic meat to save us all from 'climate change'. The climate hoax just keeps on giving like the 'Covid' hoax. The war on meat by vegan activists is a carbon (oops, sorry) copy of the manipulation of transgender activists. They have no idea (except their inner core) that they are being used to promote and impose the agenda of the Cult or that they are only the *vehicle* and not the *reason*. This is not to say those who choose not to eat meat shouldn't be respected and supported in that right, but there are ulterior motives

for those in power. A *Forbes* article in December, 2019, highlighted the plan so beloved of Schwab and the Cult under the heading: 'What Is The Internet of Bodies? And How Is It Changing Our World?' The article said the human body is the latest data platform (remember 'our vaccine is an operating system'). *Forbes* described the plan very accurately and the words could have come straight out of my books from long before:

The Internet of Bodies (IoB) is an extension of the IoT and basically connects the human body to a network through devices that are ingested, implanted, or connected to the body in some way. Once connected, data can be exchanged, and the body and device can be remotely monitored and controlled.

They were really describing a human hive mind with human perception centrally-dictated via an AI connection as well as allowing people to be 'remotely monitored and controlled'.

Everything from a fridge to a human mind could be directed from a central point by these insane psychopaths and 'Covid vaccines' are crucial to this. *Forbes* explained the process I mentioned earlier of holdable and wearable technology followed by implantable. The article said there were three generations of the Internet of Bodies that include:

- Body external: These are wearable devices such as Apple Watches or Fitbits that can monitor our health.
- Body internal: These include pacemakers, cochlear implants, and digital pills that go inside our bodies to monitor or control various aspects of health.
- Body embedded: The third generation of the Internet of Bodies is embedded technology where technology and the human body are melded together and have a real-time connection to a remote machine.

Forbes noted the development of the Brain Computer Interface (BCI) which merges the brain with an external device for monitoring and controlling in real-time. ‘The ultimate goal is to help restore function to individuals with disabilities by using brain signals rather than conventional neuromuscular pathways.’ Oh, do fuck off. The goal of brain interface technology is controlling human thought and emotion from the central point in a hive mind serving its masters wishes. Many people are now agreeing to be chipped to open doors without a key. You can recognise them because they’ll be wearing a mask, social distancing and lining up for the ‘vaccine’. The Cult plans a Great Reset money system after they have completed the demolition of the global economy in which ‘money’ will be exchanged through communication with body operating systems. Rand Corporation, a Cult-owned think tank, said of the Internet of Bodies or IoB:

Internet of Bodies technologies fall under the broader IoT umbrella. But as the name suggests, IoB devices introduce an even more intimate interplay between humans and gadgets. IoB devices monitor the human body, collect health metrics and other personal information, and transmit those data over the Internet. Many devices, such as fitness trackers, are already in use ... IoB devices ... and those in development can track, record, and store users’ whereabouts, bodily functions, and what they see, hear, and even think.

Schwab’s World Economic Forum, a long-winded way of saying ‘fascism’ or ‘the Cult’, has gone full-on with the Internet of Bodies in the ‘Covid’ era. ‘We’re entering the era of the Internet of Bodies’, it declared, ‘collecting our physical data via a range of devices that can be implanted, swallowed or worn’. The result would be a huge amount of health-related data that could improve human wellbeing around the world, and prove crucial in fighting the ‘Covid-19 pandemic’. Does anyone think these clowns care about ‘human wellbeing’ after the death and devastation their pandemic hoax has purposely caused? Schwab and co say we should move forward with the Internet of Bodies because ‘Keeping track of symptoms could help us stop the spread of infection, and quickly detect new cases’. How wonderful, but keeping track’ is all they are really bothered

about. Researchers were investigating if data gathered from smartwatches and similar devices could be used as viral infection alerts by tracking the user's heart rate and breathing. Schwab said in his 2018 book *Shaping the Future of the Fourth Industrial Revolution*:

The lines between technologies and beings are becoming blurred and not just by the ability to create lifelike robots or synthetics. Instead it is about the ability of new technologies to literally become part of us. Technologies already influence how we understand ourselves, how we think about each other, and how we determine our realities. As the technologies ... give us deeper access to parts of ourselves, we may begin to integrate digital technologies into our bodies.

You can see what the game is. Twenty-four hour control and people – if you could still call them that – would never know when something would go ping and take them out of circulation. It's the most obvious rush to a global fascist dictatorship and the complete submission of humanity and yet still so many are locked away in their Cult-induced perceptual coma and can't see it.

Smart Grid control centres

The human body is being transformed by the 'vaccines' and in other ways into a synthetic cyborg that can be attached to the global Smart Grid which would be controlled from a central point and other sub-locations of Grid manipulation. Where are these planned to be? Well, China for a start which is one of the Cult's biggest centres of operation. The technological control system and technocratic rule was incubated here to be unleashed across the world after the 'Covid' hoax came out of China in 2020. Another Smart Grid location that will surprise people new to this is Israel. I have exposed in *The Trigger* how Sabbatian technocrats, intelligence and military operatives were behind the horrors of 9/11 and not 19 Arab hijackers' who somehow manifested the ability to pilot big passenger airliners when instructors at puddle-jumping flying schools described some of them as a joke. The 9/11 attacks were made possible through control of civilian and military air computer systems and those of the White House, Pentagon and connected agencies. See *The Trigger* – it

will blow your mind. The controlling and coordinating force were the Sabbatian networks in Israel and the United States which by then had infiltrated the entire US government, military and intelligence system. The real name of the American Deep State is 'Sabbatian State'. Israel is a tiny country of only nine million people, but it is one of the global centres of cyber operations and fast catching Silicon Valley in importance to the Cult. Israel is known as the 'start-up nation' for all the cyber companies spawned there with the Sabbatian specialisation of 'cyber security' that I mentioned earlier which gives those companies access to computer systems of their clients in real time through 'backdoors' written into the coding when security software is downloaded. The Sabbatian centre of cyber operations outside Silicon Valley is the Israeli military Cyber Intelligence Unit, the biggest infrastructure project in Israel's history, headquartered in the desert-city of Beersheba and involving some 20,000 'cyber soldiers'. Here are located a literal army of Internet trolls scanning social media, forums and comment lists for anyone challenging the Cult agenda. The UK military has something similar with its 77th Brigade and associated operations. The Beersheba complex includes research and development centres for other Cult operations such as Intel, Microsoft, IBM, Google, Apple, Hewlett-Packard, Cisco Systems, Facebook and Motorola. [Techcrunch.com](#) ran an article about the Beersheba global Internet technology centre headlined 'Israel's desert city of Beersheba is turning into a cybertech oasis':

The military's massive relocation of its prestigious technology units, the presence of multinational and local companies, a close proximity to Ben Gurion University and generous government subsidies are turning Beersheba into a major global cybertech hub. Beersheba has all of the ingredients of a vibrant security technology ecosystem, including Ben Gurion University with its graduate program in cybersecurity and Cyber Security Research Center, and the presence of companies such as EMC, Deutsche Telekom, PayPal, Oracle, IBM, and Lockheed Martin. It's also the future home of the INCB (Israeli National Cyber Bureau); offers a special income tax incentive for cyber security companies, and was the site for the relocation of the army's intelligence corps units.

Sabbatians have taken over the cyber world through the following process: They scan the schools for likely cyber talent and develop them at Ben Gurion University and their period of conscription in the Israeli Defense Forces when they are stationed at the Beersheba complex. When the cyber talented officially leave the army they are funded to start cyber companies with technology developed by themselves or given to them by the state. Much of this is stolen through backdoors of computer systems around the world with America top of the list. Others are sent off to Silicon Valley to start companies or join the major ones and so we have many major positions filled by apparently 'Jewish' but really Sabbatian operatives. Google, YouTube and Facebook are all run by 'Jewish' CEOs while Twitter is all but run by ultra-Zionist hedge-fund shark Paul Singer. At the centre of the Sabbatian global cyber web is the Israeli army's Unit 8200 which specialises in hacking into computer systems of other countries, inserting viruses, gathering information, instigating malfunction, and even taking control of them from a distance. A long list of Sabbatians involved with 9/11, Silicon Valley and Israeli cyber security companies are operatives of Unit 8200. This is not about Israel. It's about the Cult. Israel is planned to be a Smart Grid hub as with China and what is happening at Beersheba is not for the benefit of Jewish people who are treated disgustingly by the Sabbatian elite that control the country. A glance at the Nuremberg Codes will tell you that.

The story is much bigger than 'Covid', important as that is to where we are being taken. Now, though, it's time to really strap in. There's more ... much more ...

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Who controls the Cult?

Awake, arise or be forever fall'n

John Milton, Paradise Lost

I have exposed this far the level of the Cult conspiracy that operates in the world of the seen and within the global secret society and satanic network which operates in the shadows one step back from the seen. The story, however, goes much deeper than that.

The 'Covid' hoax is major part of the Cult agenda, but only part, and to grasp the biggest picture we have to expand our attention beyond the realm of human sight and into the infinity of possibility that we cannot see. It is from here, ultimately, that humanity is being manipulated into a state of total control by the force which dictates the actions of the Cult. How much of reality can we see? Next to damn all is the answer. We may appear to see all there is to see in the 'space' our eyes survey and observe, but little could be further from the truth. The human 'world' is only a tiny band of frequency that the body's visual and perceptual systems can decode into *perception* of a 'world'. According to mainstream science the electromagnetic spectrum is 0.005 percent of what exists in the Universe ([Fig 10](#)). The maximum estimate I have seen is 0.5 percent and either way it's minuscule. I say it is far, far, smaller even than 0.005 percent when you compare reality we see with the totality of reality that we don't. Now get this if you are new to such information: Visible light, the only band of frequency that we can see, is a *fraction* of the 0.005

percent (Fig 11 overleaf). Take this further and realise that our universe is one of infinite universes and that universes are only a fragment of overall reality – *infinite* reality. Then compare that with the almost infinitesimal frequency band of visible light or human sight. You see that humans are as near blind as it is possible to be without actually being so. Artist and filmmaker, Sergio Toporek, said:

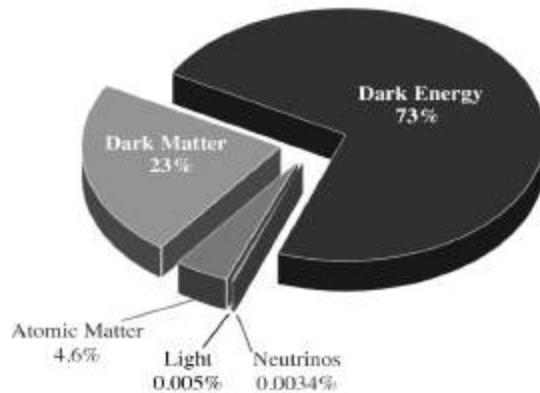


Figure 10: Humans can perceive such a tiny band of visual reality it's laughable.

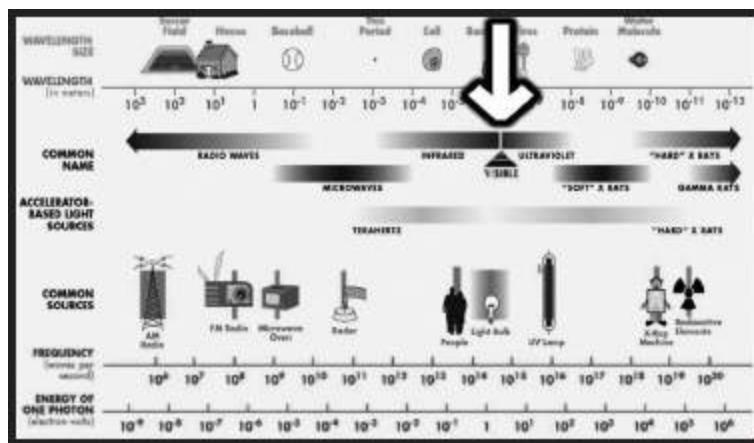


Figure 11: We can see a smear of the 0.005 percent electromagnetic spectrum, but we still know it all. Yep, makes sense.

Consider that you can see less than 1% of the electromagnetic spectrum and hear less than 1% of the acoustic spectrum. 90% of the cells in your body carry their own microbial DNA and are not 'you'. The atoms in your body are 99.99999999999999% empty space and none of them are the ones you were born with ... Human beings have 46 chromosomes, two less than a potato.

The existence of the rainbow depends on the conical photoreceptors in your eyes; to animals without cones, the rainbow does not exist. So you don't just look at a rainbow, you create it. This is pretty amazing, especially considering that all the beautiful colours you see represent less than 1% of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Suddenly the 'world' of humans looks a very different place. Take into account, too, that Planet Earth when compared with the projected size of this single universe is the equivalent of a billionth of a pinhead. Imagine the ratio that would be when compared to infinite reality. To think that Christianity once insisted that Earth and humanity were the centre of everything. This background is vital if we are going to appreciate the nature of 'human' and how we can be manipulated by an unseen force. To human visual reality virtually *everything* is unseen and yet the prevailing perception within the institutions and so much of the public is that if we can't see it, touch it, hear it, taste it and smell it then it cannot exist. Such perception is indoctrinated and encouraged by the Cult and its agents because it isolates believers in the strictly limited, village-idiot, realm of the five senses where perceptions can be firewalled and information controlled. Most of those perpetuating the 'this-world-is-all-there-is' insanity are themselves indoctrinated into believing the same delusion. While major players and influencers know that official reality is laughable most of those in science, academia and medicine really believe the nonsense they peddle and teach succeeding generations. Those who challenge the orthodoxy are dismissed as nutters and freaks to protect the manufactured illusion from exposure. Observe the dynamic of the 'Covid' hoax and you will see how that takes the same form. The inner-circle psychopaths know it's a gigantic scam, but almost the entirety of those imposing their fascist rules believe that 'Covid' is all that they're told it is.

Stolen identity

Ask people who they are and they will give you their name, place of birth, location, job, family background and life story. Yet that is not who they are – it is what they are *experiencing*. The difference is *absolutely crucial*. The true 'I', the eternal, infinite 'I', is consciousness,

a state of being aware. Forget ‘form’. That is a vehicle for a brief experience. Consciousness does not come *from* the brain, but *through* the brain and even that is more symbolic than literal. We are awareness, pure awareness, and this is what withdraws from the body at what we call ‘death’ to continue our eternal beingness, *isness*, in other realms of reality within the limitlessness of infinity or the Biblical ‘many mansions in my father’s house’. Labels of a human life, man, woman, transgender, black, white, brown, nationality, circumstances and income are not who we are. They are what we are – awareness – is *experiencing* in a brief connection with a band of frequency we call ‘human’. The labels are not the self; they are, to use the title of one of my books, a *Phantom Self*. I am not David Icke born in Leicester, England, on April 29th, 1952. I am the consciousness *having that experience*. The Cult and its non-human masters seek to convince us through the institutions of ‘education’, science, medicine, media and government that what we are *experiencing* is who we *are*. It’s so easy to control and direct perception locked away in the bewildered illusions of the five senses with no expanded radar. Try, by contrast, doing the same with a humanity aware of its true self and its true power to consciously create its reality and experience. How is it possible to do this? We do it all day every day. If you perceive yourself as ‘little me’ with no power to impact upon your life and the world then your life experience will reflect that. You will hand the power you don’t think you have to authority in all its forms which will use it to control your experience. This, in turn, will appear to confirm your perception of ‘little me’ in a self-fulfilling feedback loop. But that is what ‘little me’ really is – a *perception*. We are all ‘big-me’, infinite me, and the Cult has to make us forget that if its will is to prevail. We are therefore manipulated and pressured into self-identifying with human labels and not the consciousness/awareness *experiencing* those human labels.

The phenomenon of identity politics is a Cult-instigated manipulation technique to sub-divide previous labels into even smaller ones. A United States university employs this list of letters to

describe student identity: LGBTQQFAGPBDSM or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, questioning, flexual, asexual, gender-fuck, polyamorous, bondage/discipline, dominance/submission and sadism/masochism. I'm sure other lists are even longer by now as people feel the need to self-identify the 'I' with the minutiae of race and sexual preference. Wokers programmed by the Cult for generations believe this is about 'inclusivity' when it's really the Cult locking them away into smaller and smaller versions of Phantom Self while firewalls them from the influence of their true self, the infinite, eternal 'I'. You may notice that my philosophy which contends that we are all unique points of attention/awareness within the same infinite whole or Oneness is the ultimate non-racism. The very sense of Oneness makes the judgement of people by their body-type, colour or sexuality utterly ridiculous and confirms that racism has no understanding of reality (including anti-white racism). Yet despite my perception of life Cult agents and fast-asleep Wokers label me racist to discredit my information while they are themselves phenomenally racist and sexist. All they see is race and sexuality and they judge people as good or bad, demons or untouchables, by their race and sexuality. All they see is *Phantom Self* and perceive themselves in terms of *Phantom Self*. They are pawns and puppets of the Cult agenda to focus attention and self-identity in the five senses and play those identities against each other to divide and rule. Columbia University has introduced segregated graduations in another version of social distancing designed to drive people apart and teach them that different racial and cultural groups have nothing in common with each other. The last thing the Cult wants is unity. Again the pump-primers of this will be Cult operatives in the knowledge of what they are doing, but the rest are just the *Phantom Self* blind leading the *Phantom Self* blind. We *do* have something in common – we are all *the same consciousness* having different temporary experiences.

What is this 'human'?

Yes, what *is* ‘human’? That is what we are supposed to be, right? I mean ‘human’? True, but ‘human’ is the experience not the ‘I’. Break it down to basics and ‘human’ is the way that information is processed. If we are to experience and interact with this band of frequency we call the ‘world’ we must have a vehicle that operates within that band of frequency. Our consciousness in its prime form cannot do that; it is way beyond the frequency of the human realm. My consciousness or awareness could not tap these keys and pick up the cup in front of me in the same way that radio station A cannot interact with radio station B when they are on different frequencies. The human body is the means through which we have that interaction. I have long described the body as a biological computer which processes information in a way that allows consciousness to experience this reality. The body is a receiver, transmitter and processor of information in a particular way that we call human. We visually perceive only the world of the five senses in a wakened state – that is the limit of the body’s visual decoding system. In truth it’s not even visual in the way we experience ‘visual reality’ as I will come to in a moment. We are ‘human’ because the body processes the information sources of human into a reality and behaviour system that we *perceive* as human. Why does an elephant act like an elephant and not like a human or a duck? The elephant’s biological computer is a different information field and processes information according to that program into a visual and behaviour type we call an elephant. The same applies to everything in our reality. These body information fields are perpetuated through procreation (like making a copy of a software program). The Cult wants to break that cycle and intervene technologically to transform the human information field into one that will change what we call humanity. If it can change the human information field it will change the way that field processes information and change humanity both ‘physically’ and psychologically. Hence the *messenger* (information) RNA ‘vaccines’ and so much more that is targeting human genetics by changing the body’s information – *messaging* – construct through food, drink, radiation, toxicity and other means.

Reality that we experience is nothing like reality as it really is in the same way that the reality people experience in virtual reality games is not the reality they are really living in. The game is only a decoded source of information that appears to be a reality. Our world is also an information construct – a *simulation* (more later). In its base form our reality is a wavefield of information much the same in theme as Wi-Fi. The five senses decode wavefield information into electrical information which they communicate to the brain to decode into holographic (illusory ‘physical’) information. Different parts of the brain specialise in decoding different senses and the information is fused into a reality that appears to be outside of us but is really inside the brain and the genetic structure in general ([Fig 12](#) overleaf). DNA is a receiver-transmitter of information and a vital part of this decoding process and the body’s connection to other realities. Change DNA and you change the way we decode and connect with reality – see ‘Covid vaccines’. Think of computers decoding Wi-Fi. You have information encoded in a radiation field and the computer decodes that information into a very different form on the screen. You can’t see the Wi-Fi until its information is made manifest on the screen and the information on the screen is inside the computer and not outside. I have just described how we decode the ‘human world’. All five senses decode the waveform ‘Wi-Fi’ field into electrical signals and the brain (computer) constructs reality inside the brain and not outside – ‘You don’t just look at a rainbow, you create it’. Sound is a simple example. We don’t hear sound until the brain decodes it. Waveform sound waves are picked up by the hearing sense and communicated to the brain in an electrical form to be decoded into the sounds that we hear. Everything we hear is inside the brain along with everything we see, feel, smell and taste. Words and language are waveform fields generated by our vocal chords which pass through this process until they are decoded by the brain into words that we hear. Different languages are different frequency fields or sound waves generated by vocal chords. Late British philosopher Alan Watts said:

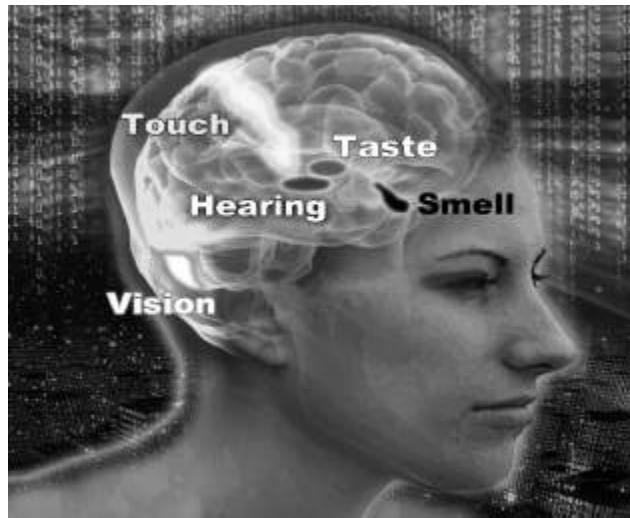


Figure 12: The brain receives information from the five senses and constructs from that our perceived reality.

[Without the brain] the world is devoid of light, heat, weight, solidity, motion, space, time or any other imaginable feature. All these phenomena are interactions, or transactions, of vibrations with a certain arrangement of neurons.

That's exactly what they are and scientist Robert Lanza describes in his book, *Biocentrism*, how we decode electromagnetic waves and energy into visual and 'physical' experience. He uses the example of a flame emitting photons, electromagnetic energy, each pulsing electrically and magnetically:

... these ... invisible electromagnetic waves strike a human retina, and if (and only if) the waves happen to measure between 400 and 700 nano meters in length from crest to crest, then their energy is just right to deliver a stimulus to the 8 million cone-shaped cells in the retina.

Each in turn send an electrical pulse to a neighbour neuron, and on up the line this goes, at 250 mph, until it reaches the ... occipital lobe of the brain, in the back of the head. There, a cascading complex of neurons fire from the incoming stimuli, and we subjectively perceive this experience as a yellow brightness occurring in a place we have been conditioned to call the 'external world'.

You hear what you decode

If a tree falls or a building collapses they make no noise unless someone is there to decode the energetic waves generated by the disturbance into what we call sound. Does a falling tree make a noise? Only if you hear it – *decode* it. Everything in our reality is a frequency field of information operating within the overall ‘Wi-Fi’ field that I call The Field. A vibrational disturbance is generated in The Field by the fields of the falling tree or building. These disturbance waves are what we decode into the sound of them falling. If no one is there to do that then neither will make any noise. Reality is created by the observer – *decoder* – and the *perceptions* of the observer affect the decoding process. For this reason different people – different *perceptions* – will perceive the same reality or situation in a different way. What one may perceive as a nightmare another will see as an opportunity. The question of why the Cult is so focused on controlling human perception now answers itself. All experienced reality is the act of decoding and we don’t experience Wi-Fi until it is decoded on the computer screen. The sight and sound of an Internet video is encoded in the Wi-Fi all around us, but we don’t see or hear it until the computer decodes that information. Taste, smell and touch are all phenomena of the brain as a result of the same process. We don’t taste, smell or feel anything except in the brain and there are pain relief techniques that seek to block the signal from the site of discomfort to the brain because if the brain doesn’t decode that signal we don’t feel pain. Pain is in the brain and only appears to be at the point of impact thanks to the feedback loop between them. We don’t see anything until electrical information from the sight senses is decoded in an area at the back of the brain. If that area is damaged we can go blind when our eyes are perfectly okay. So why do we go blind if we damage an eye? We damage the information processing between the waveform visual information and the visual decoding area of the brain. If information doesn’t reach the brain in a form it can decode then we can’t see the visual reality that it represents. What’s more the brain is decoding only a fraction of the information it receives and the rest is absorbed by the

sub-conscious mind. This explanation is from the science magazine, *Wonderpedia*:

Every second, 11 million sensations crackle along these [brain] pathways ... The brain is confronted with an alarming array of images, sounds and smells which it rigorously filters down until it is left with a manageable list of around 40. Thus 40 sensations per second make up what we perceive as reality.

The ‘world’ is not what people are told to believe that is it and the inner circles of the Cult *know that*.

Illusory ‘physical’ reality

We can only see a smear of 0.005 percent of the Universe which is only one of a vast array of universes – ‘mansions’ – within infinite reality. Even then the brain decodes only 40 pieces of information (‘sensations’) from a potential *11 million* that we receive every second. Two points strike you from this immediately: The sheer breathtaking stupidity of believing we know anything so rigidly that there’s nothing more to know; and the potential for these processes to be manipulated by a malevolent force to control the reality of the population. One thing I can say for sure with no risk of contradiction is that when you can perceive an almost indescribable fraction of infinite reality there is always more to know as in tidal waves of it. Ancient Greek philosopher Socrates was so right when he said that wisdom is to know how little we know. How obviously true that is when you think that we are experiencing a physical world of solidity that is neither physical nor solid and a world of apartness when everything is connected. Cult-controlled ‘science’ dismisses the so-called ‘paranormal’ and all phenomena related to that when the ‘para’-normal is perfectly normal and explains the alleged ‘great mysteries’ which dumbfound scientific minds. There is a reason for this. A ‘scientific mind’ in terms of the mainstream is a material mind, a five-sense mind imprisoned in see it, touch it, hear it, smell it and taste it. Phenomena and happenings that can’t be explained that way leave the ‘scientific mind’ bewildered and the rule is that if they

can't account for why something is happening then it can't, by definition, be happening. I beg to differ. Telepathy is thought waves passing through The Field (think wave disturbance again) to be decoded by someone able to connect with that wavelength (information). For example: You can pick up the thought waves of a friend at any distance and at the very least that will bring them to mind. A few minutes later the friend calls you. 'My god', you say, 'that's incredible – I was just thinking of you.' Ah, but *they* were thinking of *you* before they made the call and that's what you decoded. Native peoples not entrapped in five-sense reality do this so well it became known as the 'bush telegraph'. Those known as psychics and mediums (genuine ones) are doing the same only across dimensions of reality. 'Mind over matter' comes from the fact that matter and mind are the *same*. The state of one influences the state of the other. Indeed one *and* the other are illusions. They are aspects of the same field. Paranormal phenomena are all explainable so why are they still considered 'mysteries' or not happening? Once you go down this road of understanding you begin to expand awareness beyond the five senses and that's the nightmare for the Cult.



Figure 13: Holograms are not solid, but the best ones appear to be.

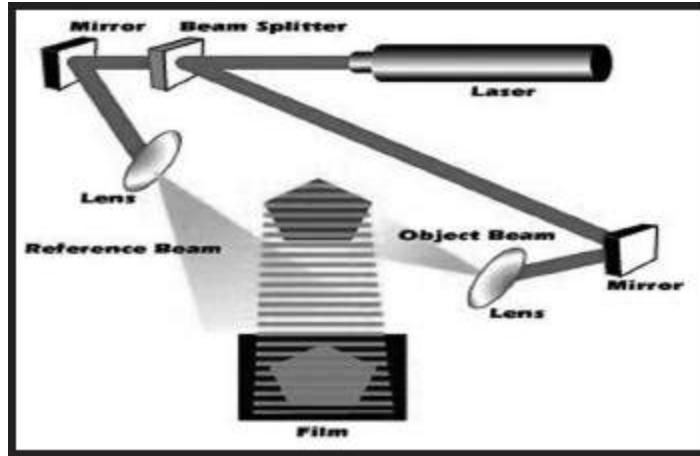


Figure 14: How holograms are created by capturing a waveform version of the subject image.

Holographic ‘solidity’

Our reality is not solid, it is holographic. We are now well aware of holograms which are widely used today. Two-dimensional information is decoded into a three-dimensional reality that is not solid although can very much appear to be (Fig 13). Holograms are created with a laser divided into two parts. One goes directly onto a photographic print ('reference beam') and the other takes a waveform image of the subject ('working beam') before being directed onto the print where it 'collides' with the other half of the laser (Fig 14). This creates a *waveform* interference pattern which contains the wavefield information of whatever is being photographed (Fig 15 overleaf). The process can be likened to dropping pebbles in a pond. Waves generated by each one spread out across the water to collide with the others and create a wave representation of where the stones fell and at what speed, weight and distance. A waveform interference pattern of a hologram is akin to the waveform information in The Field which the five senses decode into electrical signals to be decoded by the brain into a holographic illusory 'physical' reality. In the same way when a laser (think human attention) is directed at the waveform interference pattern a three-dimensional version of the subject is projected into apparently 'solid' reality (Fig 16). An amazing trait of holograms reveals more 'paranormal mysteries'. Information of the *whole*

hologram is encoded in waveform in every part of the interference pattern by the way they are created. This means that every *part* of a hologram is a smaller version of the whole. Cut the interference wave-pattern into four and you won't get four parts of the image. You get quarter-sized versions of the *whole* image. The body is a hologram and the same applies. Here we have the basis of acupuncture, reflexology and other forms of healing which identify representations of the whole body in all of the parts, hands, feet, ears, everywhere. Skilled palm readers can do what they do because the information of whole body is encoded in the hand. The concept of as above, so below, comes from this.



Figure 15: A waveform interference pattern that holds the information that transforms into a hologram.



Figure 16: Holographic people including 'Elvis' holographically inserted to sing a duet with Celine Dion.

The question will be asked of why, if solidity is illusory, we can't just walk through walls and each other. The resistance is not solid against solid; it is electromagnetic field against electromagnetic field and we decode this into the *experience* of solid against solid. We should also not underestimate the power of belief to dictate reality. What you believe is impossible *will be*. Your belief impacts on your decoding processes and they won't decode what you think is impossible. What we believe we perceive and what we perceive we experience. 'Can't dos' and 'impossibles' are like a firewall in a computer system that won't put on the screen what the firewall blocks. How vital that is to understanding how human experience has been hijacked. I explain in *The Answer, Everything You Need To Know But Have Never Been Told* and other books a long list of 'mysteries' and 'paranormal' phenomena that are not mysterious and perfectly normal once you realise what reality is and how it works. 'Ghosts' can be seen to pass through 'solid' walls because the walls are not solid and the ghost is a discarnate entity operating on a frequency so different to that of the wall that it's like two radio stations sharing the same space while never interfering with each other. I have seen ghosts do this myself. The apartness of people and objects is also an illusion. Everything is connected by the Field like all sea life is connected by the sea. It's just that within the limits of our visual reality we only 'see' holographic information and not the field of information that connects everything and from which the holographic world is made manifest. If you can only see holographic 'objects' and not the field that connects them they will appear to you as unconnected to each other in the same way that we see the computer while not seeing the Wi-Fi.

What you don't know *can* hurt you

Okay, we return to those 'two worlds' of human society and the Cult with its global network of interconnecting secret societies and satanic groups which manipulate through governments, corporations, media, religions, etc. The fundamental difference between them is *knowledge*. The idea has been to keep humanity

ignorant of the plan for its total enslavement underpinned by a crucial ignorance of reality – who we are and where we are – and how we interact with it. ‘Human’ should be the interaction between our expanded eternal consciousness and the five-sense body experience. We are meant to be *in* this world in terms of the five senses but not *of* this world in relation to our greater consciousness and perspective. In that state we experience the small picture of the five senses within the wider context of the big picture of awareness beyond the five senses. Put another way the five senses see the dots and expanded awareness connects them into pictures and patterns that give context to the apparently random and unconnected. Without the context of expanded awareness the five senses see only apartness and randomness with apparently no meaning. The Cult and its other-dimensional controllers seek to intervene in the frequency realm where five-sense reality is supposed to connect with expanded reality and to keep the two apart (more on this in the final chapter). When that happens five-sense mental and emotional processes are no longer influenced by expanded awareness, or the True ‘I’, and instead are driven by the isolated perceptions of the body’s decoding systems. They are in the world *and* of it. Here we have the human plight and why humanity with its potential for infinite awareness can be so easily manipulatable and descend into such extremes of stupidity.

Once the Cult isolates five-sense mind from expanded awareness it can then program the mind with perceptions and beliefs by controlling information that the mind receives through the ‘education’ system of the formative years and the media perceptual bombardment and censorship of an entire lifetime. Limit perception and a sense of the possible through limiting knowledge by limiting and skewing information while censoring and discrediting that which could set people free. As the title of another of my books says ... *And The Truth Shall Set You Free*. For this reason the last thing the Cult wants in circulation is the truth about anything – especially the reality of the eternal ‘I’ – and that’s why it is desperate to control information. The Cult knows that information becomes perception

which becomes behaviour which, collectively, becomes human society. Cult-controlled and funded mainstream ‘science’ denies the existence of an eternal ‘I’ and seeks to dismiss and trash all evidence to the contrary. Cult-controlled mainstream religion has a version of ‘God’ that is little more than a system of control and dictatorship that employs threats of damnation in an afterlife to control perceptions and behaviour in the here and now through fear and guilt. Neither is true and it’s the ‘neither’ that the Cult wishes to suppress. This ‘neither’ is that everything is an expression, a point of attention, within an infinite state of consciousness which is the real meaning of the term ‘God’.

Perceptual obsession with the ‘physical body’ and five-senses means that ‘God’ becomes personified as a bearded bloke sitting among the clouds or a raging bully who loves us if we do what ‘he’ wants and condemns us to the fires of hell if we don’t. These are no more than a ‘spiritual’ fairy tales to control and dictate events and behaviour through fear of this ‘God’ which has bizarrely made ‘God-fearing’ in religious circles a state to be desired. I would suggest that fearing *anything* is not to be encouraged and celebrated, but rather deleted. You can see why ‘God fearing’ is so beneficial to the Cult and its religions when *they* decide what ‘God’ wants and what ‘God’ demands (the Cult demands) that everyone do. As the great American comedian Bill Hicks said satirising a Christian zealot: ‘I think what God meant to say.’ How much of this infinite awareness (“God”) that we access is decided by how far we choose to expand our perceptions, self-identity and sense of the possible. The scale of self-identity reflects itself in the scale of awareness that we can connect with and are influenced by – how much knowing and insight we have instead of programmed perception. You cannot expand your awareness into the infinity of possibility when you believe that you are little me Peter the postman or Mary in marketing and nothing more. I’ll deal with this in the concluding chapter because it’s crucial to how we turnaround current events.

Where the Cult came from

When I realised in the early 1990s there was a Cult network behind global events I asked the obvious question: When did it start? I took it back to ancient Rome and Egypt and on to Babylon and Sumer in Mesopotamia, the 'Land Between Two Rivers', in what we now call Iraq. The two rivers are the Tigris and Euphrates and this region is of immense historical and other importance to the Cult, as is the land called Israel only 550 miles away by air. There is much more going with deep esoteric meaning across this whole region. It's not only about 'wars for oil'. Priceless artefacts from Mesopotamia were stolen or destroyed after the American and British invasion of Iraq in 2003 justified by the lies of Boy Bush and Tony Blair (their Cult masters) about non-existent 'weapons of mass destruction'.

Mesopotamia was the location of Sumer (about 5,400BC to 1,750BC), and Babylon (about 2,350BC to 539BC). Sabbatians may have become immensely influential in the Cult in modern times but they are part of a network that goes back into the mists of history. Sumer is said by historians to be the 'cradle of civilisation'. I disagree. I say it was the re-start of what we call human civilisation after cataclysmic events symbolised in part as the 'Great Flood' destroyed the world that existed before. These fantastic upheavals that I have been describing in detail in the books since the early 1990s appear in accounts and legends of ancient cultures across the world and they are supported by geological and biological evidence. Stone tablets found in Iraq detailing the Sumer period say the cataclysms were caused by non-human 'gods' they call the Anunnaki. These are described in terms of extraterrestrial visitations in which knowledge supplied by the Anunnaki is said to have been the source of at least one of the world's oldest writing systems and developments in astronomy, mathematics and architecture that were way ahead of their time. I have covered this subject at length in *The Biggest Secret* and *Children of the Matrix* and the same basic 'Anunnaki' story can be found in Zulu accounts in South Africa where the late and very great Zulu high shaman Credo Mutwa told me that the Sumerian Anunnaki were known by Zulus as the Chitauri or 'children of the serpent'. See my six-hour video interview with Credo on this subject entitled *The*

Reptilian Agenda recorded at his then home near Johannesburg in 1999 which you can watch on the Ickonic media platform.

The Cult emerged out of Sumer, Babylon and Egypt (and elsewhere) and established the Roman Empire before expanding with the Romans into northern Europe from where many empires were savagely imposed in the form of Cult-controlled societies all over the world. Mass death and destruction was their calling card. The Cult established its centre of operations in Europe and European Empires were Cult empires which allowed it to expand into a global force. Spanish and Portuguese colonialists headed for Central and South America while the British and French targeted North America. Africa was colonised by Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Germany. Some like Britain and France moved in on the Middle East. The British Empire was by far the biggest for a simple reason. By now Britain was the headquarters of the Cult from which it expanded to form Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. The Sun never set on the British Empire such was the scale of its occupation. London remains a global centre for the Cult along with Rome and the Vatican although others have emerged in Israel and China. It is no accident that the 'virus' is alleged to have come out of China while Italy was chosen as the means to terrify the Western population into compliance with 'Covid' fascism. Nor that Israel has led the world in 'Covid' fascism and mass 'vaccination'.

You would think that I would mention the United States here, but while it has been an important means of imposing the Cult's will it is less significant than would appear and is currently in the process of having what power it does have deleted. The Cult in Europe has mostly loaded the guns for the US to fire. America has been controlled from Europe from the start through Cult operatives in Britain and Europe. The American Revolution was an illusion to make it appear that America was governing itself while very different forces were pulling the strings in the form of Cult families such as the Rothschilds through the Rockefellers and other subordinates. The Rockefellers are extremely close to Bill Gates and

established both scalpel and drug ‘medicine’ and the World Health Organization. They play a major role in the development and circulation of vaccines through the Rockefeller Foundation on which Bill Gates said his Foundation is based. Why wouldn’t this be the case when the Rockefellers and Gates are on the same team? Cult infiltration of human society goes way back into what we call history and has been constantly expanding and centralising power with the goal of establishing a global structure to dictate everything. Look how this has been advanced in great leaps with the ‘Covid’ hoax.

The non-human dimension

I researched and observed the comings and goings of Cult operatives through the centuries and even thousands of years as they were born, worked to promote the agenda within the secret society and satanic networks, and then died for others to replace them. Clearly there had to be a coordinating force that spanned this entire period while operatives who would not have seen the end goal in their lifetimes came and went advancing the plan over millennia. I went in search of that coordinating force with the usual support from the extraordinary synchronicity of my life which has been an almost daily experience since 1990. I saw common themes in religious texts and ancient cultures about a non-human force manipulating human society from the hidden. Christianity calls this force Satan, the Devil and demons; Islam refers to the Jinn or Djinn; Zulus have their Chitauri (spelt in other ways in different parts of Africa); and the Gnostic people in Egypt in the period around and before 400AD referred to this phenomena as the ‘Archons’, a word meaning rulers in Greek. Central American cultures speak of the ‘Predators’ among other names and the same theme is everywhere. I will use ‘Archons’ as a collective name for all of them. When you see how their nature and behaviour is described all these different sources are clearly talking about the same force. Gnostics described the Archons in terms of ‘luminous fire’ while Islam relates the Jinn to ‘smokeless fire’. Some refer to beings in form that could occasionally be seen, but the most common of common theme is that they operate from

unseen realms which means almost all existence to the visual processes of humans. I had concluded that this was indeed the foundation of human control and that the Cult was operating within the human frequency band on behalf of this hidden force when I came across the writings of Gnostics which supported my conclusions in the most extraordinary way.

A sealed earthen jar was found in 1945 near the town of Nag Hammadi about 75-80 miles north of Luxor on the banks of the River Nile in Egypt. Inside was a treasure trove of manuscripts and texts left by the Gnostic people some 1,600 years earlier. They included 13 leather-bound papyrus codices (manuscripts) and more than 50 texts written in Coptic Egyptian estimated to have been hidden in the jar in the period of 400AD although the source of the information goes back much further. Gnostics oversaw the Great or Royal Library of Alexandria, the fantastic depository of ancient texts detailing advanced knowledge and accounts of human history. The Library was dismantled and destroyed in stages over a long period with the death-blow delivered by the Cult-established Roman Church in the period around 415AD. The Church of Rome was the Church of Babylon relocated as I said earlier. Gnostics were not a race. They were a way of perceiving reality. Whenever they established themselves and their information circulated the terrorists of the Church of Rome would target them for destruction. This happened with the Great Library and with the Gnostic Cathars who were burned to death by the psychopaths after a long period of oppression at the siege of the Castle of Monségur in southern France in 1244. The Church has always been terrified of Gnostic information which demolishes the official Christian narrative although there is much in the Bible that supports the Gnostic view if you read it in another way. To anyone studying the texts of what became known as the Nag Hammadi Library it is clear that great swathes of Christian and Biblical belief has its origin with Gnostics sources going back to Sumer. Gnostic themes have been twisted to manipulate the perceived reality of Bible believers. Biblical texts have been in the open for centuries where they could be changed while Gnostic

documents found at Nag Hammadi were sealed away and untouched for 1,600 years. What you see is what they wrote.

Use your *pneuma* not your *nous*

Gnosticism and Gnostic come from 'gnosis' which means knowledge, or rather *secret* knowledge, in the sense of spiritual awareness – knowledge about reality and life itself. The desperation of the Cult's Church of Rome to destroy the Gnostics can be understood when the knowledge they were circulating was the last thing the Cult wanted the population to know. Sixteen hundred years later the same Cult is working hard to undermine and silence me for the same reason. The dynamic between knowledge and ignorance is a constant. 'Time' appears to move on, but essential themes remain the same. We are told to 'use your *nous*', a Gnostic word for head/brain/intelligence. They said, however, that spiritual awakening or 'salvation' could only be secured by expanding awareness *beyond* what they called *nous* and into *pneuma* or Infinite Self. Obviously as I read these texts the parallels with what I have been saying since 1990 were fascinating to me. There is a universal truth that spans human history and in that case why wouldn't we be talking the same language 16 centuries apart? When you free yourself from the perception program of the five senses and explore expanded realms of consciousness you are going to connect with the same information no matter what the perceived 'era' within a manufactured timeline of a single and tiny range of manipulated frequency. Humans working with 'smart' technology or knocking rocks together in caves is only a timeline appearing to operate within the human frequency band. Expanded awareness and the knowledge it holds have always been there whether the era be Stone Age or computer age. We can only access that knowledge by opening ourselves to its frequency which the five-sense prison cell is designed to stop us doing. Gates, Fauci, Whitty, Vallance, Zuckerberg, Brin, Page, Wojcicki, Bezos, and all the others behind the 'Covid' hoax clearly have a long wait before their range of frequency can make that connection given that an open heart is

crucial to that as we shall see. Instead of accessing knowledge directly through expanded awareness it is given to Cult operatives by the secret society networks of the Cult where it has been passed on over thousands of years outside the public arena. Expanded realms of consciousness is where great artists, composers and writers find their inspiration and where truth awaits anyone open enough to connect with it. We need to go there fast.

Archon hijack

A fifth of the Nag Hammadi texts describe the existence and manipulation of the Archons led by a 'Chief Archon' they call 'Yaldabaoth', or the 'Demiurge', and this is the Christian 'Devil', 'Satan', 'Lucifer', and his demons. Archons in Biblical symbolism are the 'fallen ones' which are also referred to as fallen angels after the angels expelled from heaven according to the Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. These angels are claimed to tempt humans to 'sin' ongoing and you will see how accurate that symbolism is during the rest of the book. The theme of 'original sin' is related to the 'Fall' when Adam and Eve were 'tempted by the serpent' and fell from a state of innocence and 'obedience' (connection) with God into a state of disobedience (disconnection). The Fall is said to have brought sin into the world and corrupted everything including human nature. Yaldabaoth, the 'Lord Archon', is described by Gnostics as a 'counterfeit spirit', 'The Blind One', 'The Blind God', and 'The Foolish One'. The Jewish name for Yaldabaoth in Talmudic writings is Samael which translates as 'Poison of God', or 'Blindness of God'. You see the parallels. Yaldabaoth in Islamic belief is the Muslim Jinn devil known as Shaytan – Shaytan is Satan as the same themes are found all over the world in every religion and culture. The 'Lord God' of the Old Testament is the 'Lord Archon' of Gnostic manuscripts and that's why he's such a bloodthirsty bastard. Satan is known by Christians as 'the Demon of Demons' and Gnostics called Yaldabaoth the 'Archon of Archons'. Both are known as 'The Deceiver'. We are talking about the same 'bloke' for sure and these common themes

using different names, storylines and symbolism tell a common tale of the human plight.

Archons are referred to in Nag Hammadi documents as mind parasites, inverters, guards, gatekeepers, detainers, judges, pitiless ones and deceivers. The 'Covid' hoax alone is a glaring example of all these things. The Biblical 'God' is so different in the Old and New Testaments because they are not describing the same phenomenon. The vindictive, angry, hate-filled, 'God' of the Old Testament, known as Yahweh, is Yaldabaoth who is depicted in Cult-dictated popular culture as the 'Dark Lord', 'Lord of Time', Lord (Darth) Vader and Dormammu, the evil ruler of the 'Dark Dimension' trying to take over the 'Earth Dimension' in the Marvel comic movie, *Dr Strange*. Yaldabaoth is both the Old Testament 'god' and the Biblical 'Satan'. Gnostics referred to Yaldabaoth as the 'Great Architect of the Universe' and the Cult-controlled Freemason network calls their god 'the Great Architect of the Universe' (also Grand Architect). The 'Great Architect' Yaldabaoth is symbolised by the Cult as the all-seeing eye at the top of the pyramid on the Great Seal of the United States and the dollar bill. Archon is encoded in *arch-itect* as it is in *arch-angels* and *arch-bishops*. All religions have the theme of a force for good and force for evil in some sort of spiritual war and there is a reason for that – the theme is true. The Cult and its non-human masters are quite happy for this to circulate. They present themselves as the force for good fighting evil when they are really the force of evil (absence of love). The whole foundation of Cult modus operandi is inversion. They promote themselves as a force for good and anyone challenging them in pursuit of peace, love, fairness, truth and justice is condemned as a satanic force for evil. This has been the game plan throughout history whether the Church of Rome inquisitions of non-believers or 'conspiracy theorists' and 'anti-vaxxers' of today. The technique is the same whatever the timeline era.

Yaldabaoth is revolting (true)

Yaldabaoth and the Archons are said to have revolted against God with Yaldabaoth claiming to *be* God – the *All That Is*. The Old Testament ‘God’ (Yaldabaoth) demanded to be worshipped as such: ‘*I am the LORD, and there is none else, there is no God beside me*’ (Isaiah 45:5). I have quoted in other books a man who said he was the unofficial son of the late Baron Philippe de Rothschild of the Mouton-Rothschild wine producing estates in France who died in 1988 and he told me about the Rothschild ‘revolt from God’. The man said he was given the name Phillip Eugene de Rothschild and we shared long correspondence many years ago while he was living under another identity. He said that he was conceived through ‘occult incest’ which (within the Cult) was ‘normal and to be admired’. ‘Phillip’ told me about his experience attending satanic rituals with rich and famous people whom he names and you can see them and the wider background to Cult Satanism in my other books starting with *The Biggest Secret*. Cult rituals are interactions with Archontic ‘gods’. ‘Phillip’ described Baron Philippe de Rothschild as ‘a master Satanist and hater of God’ and he used the same term ‘revolt from God’ associated with Yaldabaoth/Satan/Lucifer/the Devil in describing the Sabbatian Rothschild dynasty. ‘I played a key role in my family’s revolt from God’, he said. That role was to infiltrate in classic Sabbatian style the Christian Church, but eventually he escaped the mind-prison to live another life. The Cult has been targeting religion in a plan to make worship of the Archons the global one-world religion. Infiltration of Satanism into modern ‘culture’, especially among the young, through music videos, stage shows and other means, is all part of this.

Nag Hammadi texts describe Yaldabaoth and the Archons in their prime form as energy – consciousness – and say they can take form if they choose in the same way that consciousness takes form as a human. Yaldabaoth is called ‘formless’ and represents a deeply inverted, distorted and chaotic state of consciousness which seeks to attach to humans and turn them into a likeness of itself in an attempt at assimilation. For that to happen it has to manipulate

humans into low frequency mental and emotional states that match its own. Archons can certainly appear in human form and this is the origin of the psychopathic personality. The energetic distortion Gnostics called Yaldabaoth is psychopathy. When psychopathic Archons take human form that human will be a psychopath as an expression of Yaldabaoth consciousness. Cult psychopaths are Archons in human form. The principle is the same as that portrayed in the 2009 *Avatar* movie when the American military travelled to a fictional Earth-like moon called Pandora in the Alpha Centauri star system to infiltrate a society of blue people, or Na'vi, by hiding within bodies that looked like the Na'vi. Archons posing as humans have a particular hybrid information field, part human, part Archon, (the ancient 'demigods') which processes information in a way that manifests behaviour to match their psychopathic evil, lack of empathy and compassion, and stops them being influenced by the empathy, compassion and love that a fully-human information field is capable of expressing. Cult bloodlines interbreed, be they royalty or dark suits, for this reason and you have their obsession with incest. Interbreeding with full-blown humans would dilute the Archontic energy field that guarantees psychopathy in its representatives in the human realm.

Gnostic writings say the main non-human forms that Archons take are *serpentine* (what I have called for decades 'reptilian' amid unbounded ridicule from the Archontically-programmed) and what Gnostics describe as 'an unborn baby or foetus with grey skin and dark, unmoving eyes'. This is an excellent representation of the ET 'Greys' of UFO folklore which large numbers of people claim to have seen and been abducted by – Zulu shaman Credo Mutwa among them. I agree with those that believe in extraterrestrial or interdimensional visitations today and for thousands of years past. No wonder with their advanced knowledge and technological capability they were perceived and worshipped as gods for technological and other 'miracles' they appeared to perform. Imagine someone arriving in a culture disconnected from the modern world with a smartphone and computer. They would be

seen as a ‘god’ capable of ‘miracles’. The Renegade Mind, however, wants to know the source of everything and not only the way that source manifests as human or non-human. In the same way that a Renegade Mind seeks the original source material for the ‘Covid virus’ to see if what is claimed is true. The original source of Archons in form is consciousness – the distorted state of consciousness known to Gnostics as Yaldabaoth.

‘Revolt from God’ is energetic disconnection

Where I am going next will make a lot of sense of religious texts and ancient legends relating to ‘Satan’, Lucifer’ and the ‘gods’. Gnostic descriptions sync perfectly with the themes of my own research over the years in how they describe a consciousness distortion seeking to impose itself on human consciousness. I’ve referred to the core of infinite awareness in previous books as Infinite Awareness in Awareness of Itself. By that I mean a level of awareness that knows that it is all awareness and is aware of all awareness. From here comes the frequency of love in its true sense and balance which is what love is on one level – the balance of all forces into a single whole called Oneness and Isness. The more we disconnect from this state of love that many call ‘God’ the constituent parts of that Oneness start to unravel and express themselves as a part and not a whole. They become individualised as intellect, mind, selfishness, hatred, envy, desire for power over others, and such like. This is not a problem in the greater scheme in that ‘God’, the *All That Is*, can experience all these possibilities through different expressions of itself including humans. What we as expressions of the whole experience the *All That Is* experiences. We are the *All That Is* experiencing itself. As we withdraw from that state of Oneness we disconnect from its influence and things can get very unpleasant and very stupid. Archontic consciousness is at the extreme end of that. It has so disconnected from the influence of Oneness that it has become an inversion of unity and love, an inversion of everything, an inversion of life itself. Evil is appropriately live written backwards. Archontic consciousness is obsessed with death, an inversion of life,

and so its manifestations in Satanism are obsessed with death. They use inverted symbols in their rituals such as the inverted pentagram and cross. Sabbatians as Archontic consciousness incarnate invert Judaism and every other religion and culture they infiltrate. They seek disunity and chaos and they fear unity and harmony as they fear love like garlic to a vampire. As a result the Cult, Archons incarnate, act with such evil, psychopathy and lack of empathy and compassion disconnected as they are from the source of love. How could Bill Gates and the rest of the Archontic psychopaths do what they have to human society in the 'Covid' era with all the death, suffering and destruction involved and have no emotional consequence for the impact on others? Now you know. Why have Zuckerberg, Brin, Page, Wojcicki and company callously censored information warning about the dangers of the 'vaccine' while thousands have been dying and having severe, sometimes life-changing reactions? Now you know. Why have Tedros, Fauci, Whitty, Vallance and their like around the world been using case and death figures they're aware are fraudulent to justify lockdowns and all the deaths and destroyed lives that have come from that? Now you know. Why did Christian Drosten produce and promote a 'testing' protocol that he knew couldn't test for infectious disease which led to a global human catastrophe. Now you know. The Archontic mind doesn't give a shit ([Fig 17](#)). I personally think that Gates and major Cult insiders are a form of AI cyborg that the Archons want humans to become.

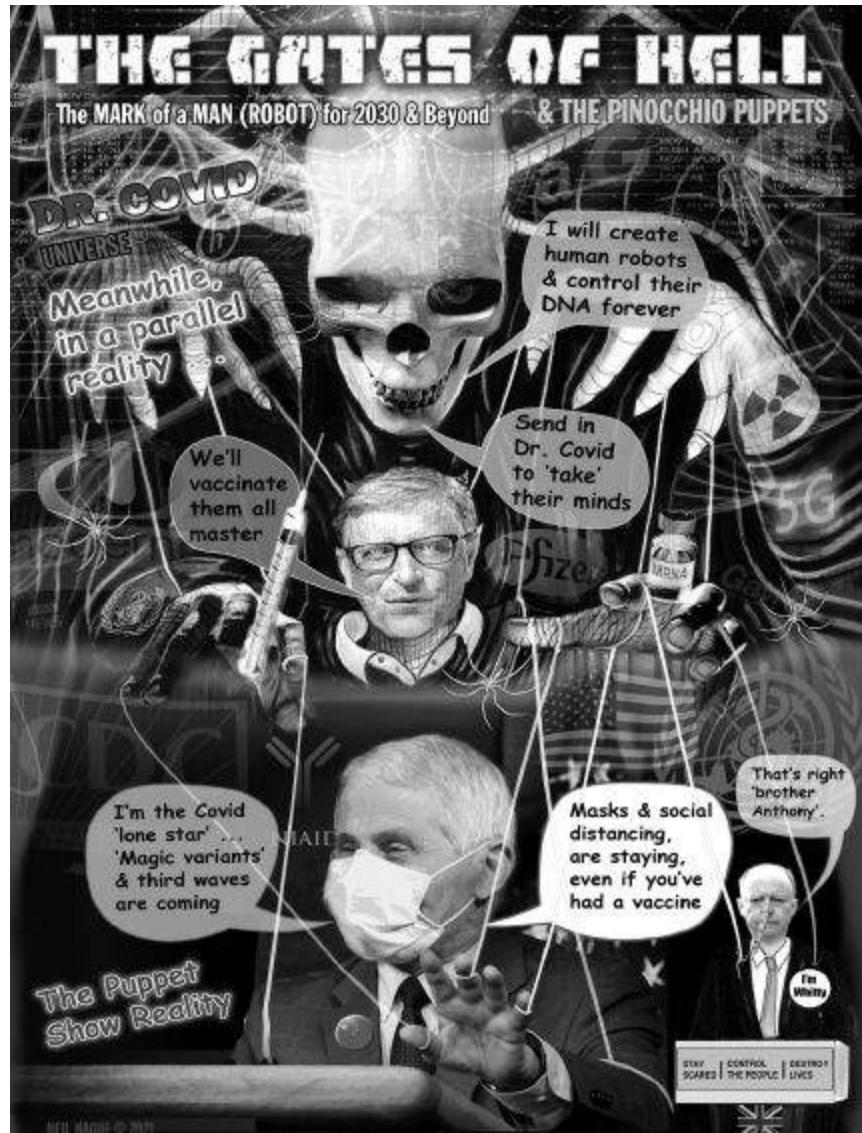


Figure 17: Artist Neil Hague's version of the 'Covid' hierarchy.

Human batteries

A state of such inversion does have its consequences, however. The level of disconnection from the Source of All means that you withdraw from that source of energetic sustenance and creativity. This means that you have to find your own supply of energetic power and it has – *us*. When the Morpheus character in the first *Matrix* movie held up a battery he spoke a profound truth when he said: ‘The Matrix is a computer-generated dream world built to keep us under control in order to change the human being into one of

these.' The statement was true in all respects. We do live in a technologically-generated virtual reality simulation (more very shortly) and we have been manipulated to be an energy source for Archontic consciousness. The Disney-Pixar animated movie *Monsters, Inc.* in 2001 symbolised the dynamic when monsters in their world had no energy source and they would enter the human world to terrify children in their beds, catch the child's scream, terror (low-vibrational frequencies), and take that energy back to power the monster world. The lead character you might remember was a single giant eye and the symbolism of the Cult's all-seeing eye was obvious. Every thought and emotion is broadcast as a frequency unique to that thought and emotion. Feelings of love and joy, empathy and compassion, are high, quick, frequencies while fear, depression, anxiety, suffering and hate are low, slow, dense frequencies. Which kind do you think Archontic consciousness can connect with and absorb? In such a low and dense frequency state there's no way it can connect with the energy of love and joy. Archons can only feed off energy compatible with their own frequency and they and their Cult agents want to delete the human world of love and joy and manipulate the transmission of low vibrational frequencies through low-vibrational human mental and emotional states. *We are their energy source.* Wars are energetic banquets to the Archons – a world war even more so – and think how much low-frequency mental and emotional energy has been generated from the consequences for humanity of the 'Covid' hoax orchestrated by Archons incarnate like Gates.

The ancient practice of human sacrifice 'to the gods', continued in secret today by the Cult, is based on the same principle. 'The gods' are Archontic consciousness in different forms and the sacrifice is induced into a state of intense terror to generate the energy the Archontic frequency can absorb. Incarnate Archons in the ritual drink the blood which contains an adrenaline they crave which floods into the bloodstream when people are terrorised. Most of the sacrifices, ancient and modern, are children and the theme of 'sacrificing young virgins to the gods' is just code for children. They

have a particular pre-puberty energy that Archons want more than anything and the energy of the young in general is their target. The California Department of Education wants students to chant the names of Aztec gods (Archontic gods) once worshipped in human sacrifice rituals in a curriculum designed to encourage them to ‘challenge racist, bigoted, discriminatory, imperialist/colonial beliefs’, join ‘social movements that struggle for social justice’, and ‘build new possibilities for a post-racist, post-systemic racism society’. It’s the usual Woke crap that inverts racism and calls it anti-racism. In this case solidarity with ‘indigenous tribes’ is being used as an excuse to chant the names of ‘gods’ to which people were sacrificed (and still are in secret). What an example of Woke’s inability to see beyond black and white, us and them, They condemn the colonisation of these tribal cultures by Europeans (quite right), but those cultures sacrificing people including children to their ‘gods’, and mass murdering untold numbers as the Aztecs did, is just fine. One chant is to the Aztec god Tezcatlipoca who had a man sacrificed to him in the 5th month of the Aztec calendar. His heart was cut out and he was eaten. Oh, that’s okay then. Come on children … after three … Other sacrificial ‘gods’ for the young to chant their allegiance include Quetzalcoatl, Huitzilopochtli and Xipe Totec. The curriculum says that ‘chants, affirmations, and energizers can be used to bring the class together, build unity around ethnic studies principles and values, and to reinvigorate the class following a lesson that may be emotionally taxing or even when student engagement may appear to be low’. Well, that’s the cover story, anyway. Chanting and mantras are the repetition of a particular frequency generated from the vocal cords and chanting the names of these Archontic ‘gods’ tunes you into their frequency. That is the last thing you want when it allows for energetic synchronisation, attachment and perceptual influence. Initiates chant the names of their ‘Gods’ in their rituals for this very reason.

Vampires of the Woke

Paedophilia is another way that Archons absorb the energy of children. Paedophiles possessed by Archontic consciousness are used as the conduit during sexual abuse for discarnate Archons to vampire the energy of the young they desire so much. Stupendous numbers of children disappear every year never to be seen again although you would never know from the media. Imagine how much low-vibrational energy has been generated by children during the 'Covid' hoax when so many have become depressed and psychologically destroyed to the point of killing themselves.

Shocking numbers of children are now taken by the state from loving parents to be handed to others. I can tell you from long experience of researching this since 1996 that many end up with paedophiles and assets of the Cult through corrupt and Cult-owned social services which in the reframing era has hired many psychopaths and emotionless automatons to do the job. Children are even stolen to order using spurious reasons to take them by the corrupt and secret (because they're corrupt) 'family courts'. I have written in detail in other books, starting with *The Biggest Secret* in 1997, about the ubiquitous connections between the political, corporate, government, intelligence and military elites (Cult operatives) and Satanism and paedophilia. If you go deep enough both networks have an interlocking leadership. The Woke mentality has been developed by the Cult for many reasons: To promote almost every aspect of its agenda; to hijack the traditional political left and turn it fascist; to divide and rule; and to target agenda pushbackers. But there are other reasons which relate to what I am describing here. How many happy and joyful Wokers do you ever see especially at the extreme end? They are a mental and psychological mess consumed by emotional stress and constantly emotionally cocked for the next explosion of indignation at someone referring to a female as a female. They are walking, talking, batteries as Morpheus might say emitting frequencies which both enslave them in low-vibrational bubbles of perceptual limitation and feed the Archons. Add to this the hatred claimed to be love; fascism claimed to 'anti-fascism', racism claimed to be 'anti-racism';

exclusion claimed to inclusion; and the abuse-filled Internet trolling. You have a purpose-built Archontic energy system with not a wind turbine in sight and all founded on Archontic *inversion*. We have whole generations now manipulated to serve the Archons with their actions and energy. They will be doing so their entire adult lives unless they snap out of their Archon-induced trance. Is it really a surprise that Cult billionaires and corporations put so much money their way? Where is the energy of joy and laughter, including laughing at yourself which is confirmation of your own emotional security? Mark Twain said: 'The human race has one really effective weapon, and that is laughter.' We must use it all the time. Woke has destroyed comedy because it has no humour, no joy, sense of irony, or self-deprecation. Its energy is dense and intense. *Mmmmm*, lunch says the Archontic frequency. Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) was the Austrian philosopher and famous esoteric thinker who established Waldorf education or Steiner schools to treat children like unique expressions of consciousness and not minds to be programmed with the perceptions determined by authority. I'd been writing about this energy vampiring for decades when I was sent in 2016 a quote by Steiner. He was spot on:

There are beings in the spiritual realms for whom anxiety and fear emanating from human beings offer welcome food. When humans have no anxiety and fear, then these creatures starve. If fear and anxiety radiates from people and they break out in panic, then these creatures find welcome nutrition and they become more and more powerful. These beings are hostile towards humanity. Everything that feeds on negative feelings, on anxiety, fear and superstition, despair or doubt, are in reality hostile forces in super-sensible worlds, launching cruel attacks on human beings, while they are being fed ... These are exactly the feelings that belong to contemporary culture and materialism; because it estranges people from the spiritual world, it is especially suited to evoke hopelessness and fear of the unknown in people, thereby calling up the above mentioned hostile forces against them.

Pause for a moment from this perspective and reflect on what has happened in the world since the start of 2020. Not only will pennies drop, but billion dollar bills. We see the same theme from Don Juan Matus, a Yaqui Indian shaman in Mexico and the information source for Peruvian-born writer, Carlos Castaneda, who wrote a series of

books from the 1960s to 1990s. Don Juan described the force manipulating human society and his name for the Archons was the predator:

We have a predator that came from the depths of the cosmos and took over the rule of our lives. Human beings are its prisoners. The predator is our lord and master. It has rendered us docile, helpless. If we want to protest, it suppresses our protest. If we want to act independently, it demands that we don't do so ... indeed we are held prisoner!

They took us over because we are food to them, and they squeeze us mercilessly because we are their sustenance. Just as we rear chickens in coops, the predators rear us in human coops, humaneros. Therefore, their food is always available to them.

Different cultures, different eras, same recurring theme.

The 'ennoia' dilemma

Nag Hammadi Gnostic manuscripts say that Archon consciousness has no 'ennoia'. This is directly translated as 'intentionality', but I'll use the term 'creative imagination'. The *All That Is* in awareness of itself is the source of all creativity – all possibility – and the more disconnected you are from that source the more you are subsequently denied 'creative imagination'. Given that Archon consciousness is almost entirely disconnected it severely lacks creativity and has to rely on far more mechanical processes of thought and exploit the creative potential of those that do have 'ennoia'. You can see cases of this throughout human society. Archon consciousness almost entirely dominates the global banking system and if we study how that system works you will appreciate what I mean. Banks manifest 'money' out of nothing by issuing lines of 'credit' which is 'money' that has never, does not, and will never exist except in theory. It's a confidence trick. If you think 'credit' figures-on-a-screen 'money' is worth anything you accept it as payment. If you don't then the whole system collapses through lack of confidence in the value of that 'money'. Archontic bankers with no 'ennoia' are 'lending' 'money' that doesn't exist to humans that *do* have creativity – those that have the inspired ideas and create businesses and products. Archon banking feeds off human creativity

which it controls through ‘money’ creation and debt. Humans have the creativity and Archons exploit that for their own benefit and control while having none themselves. Archon Internet platforms like Facebook claim joint copyright of everything that creative users post and while Archontic minds like Zuckerberg may officially head that company it will be human creatives on the staff that provide the creative inspiration. When you have limitless ‘money’ you can then buy other companies established by creative humans. Witness the acquisition record of Facebook, Google and their like. Survey the Archon-controlled music industry and you see non-creative dark suit executives making their fortune from the human creativity of their artists. The cases are endless. Research the history of people like Gates and Zuckerberg and how their empires were built on exploiting the creativity of others. Archon minds cannot create out of nothing, but they are skilled (because they have to be) in what Gnostic texts call ‘countermimicry’. They can imitate, but not innovate. Sabbatians trawl the creativity of others through backdoors they install in computer systems through their cybersecurity systems. Archon-controlled China is globally infamous for stealing intellectual property and I remember how Hong Kong, now part of China, became notorious for making counterfeit copies of the creativity of others – ‘countermimicry’. With the now pervasive and all-seeing surveillance systems able to infiltrate any computer you can appreciate the potential for Archons to vampire the creativity of humans. Author John Lamb Lash wrote in his book about the Nag Hammadi texts, *Not In His Image*:

Although they cannot originate anything, because they lack the divine factor of ennoia (intentionality), Archons can imitate with a vengeance. Their expertise is simulation (HAL, virtual reality). The Demiurge [Yaldabaoth] fashions a heaven world copied from the fractal patterns [of the original] ... His construction is celestial kitsch, like the fake Italianate villa of a Mafia don complete with militant angels to guard every portal.

This brings us to something that I have been speaking about since the turn of the millennium. Our reality is a simulation; a virtual reality that we think is real. No, I’m not kidding.

Human reality? Well, virtually

I had pondered for years about whether our reality is ‘real’ or some kind of construct. I remembered being immensely affected on a visit as a small child in the late 1950s to the then newly-opened Planetarium on the Marylebone Road in London which is now closed and part of the adjacent Madame Tussauds wax museum. It was in the middle of the day, but when the lights went out there was the night sky projected in the Planetarium’s domed ceiling and it appeared to be so real. The experience never left me and I didn’t know why until around the turn of the millennium when I became certain that our ‘night sky’ and entire reality is a projection, a virtual reality, akin to the illusory world portrayed in the *Matrix* movies. I looked at the sky one day in this period and it appeared to me like the domed roof of the Planetarium. The release of the first *Matrix* movie in 1999 also provided a synchronistic and perfect visual representation of where my mind had been going for a long time. I hadn’t come across the Gnostic Nag Hammadi texts then. When I did years later the correlation was once again astounding. As I read Gnostic accounts from 1,600 years and more earlier it was clear that they were describing the same simulation phenomenon. They tell how the Yaldabaoth ‘Demiurge’ and Archons created a ‘bad copy’ of original reality to rule over all that were captured by its illusions and the body was a prison to trap consciousness in the ‘bad copy’ fake reality. Read how Gnostics describe the ‘bad copy’ and update that to current times and they are referring to what we would call today a virtual reality simulation.

Author John Lamb Lash said ‘the Demiurge fashions a heaven world copied from the fractal patterns’ of the original through expertise in ‘HAL’ or virtual reality simulation. Fractal patterns are part of the energetic information construct of our reality, a sort of blueprint. If these patterns were copied in computer terms it would indeed give you a copy of a ‘natural’ reality in a non-natural frequency and digital form. The principle is the same as making a copy of a website. The original website still exists, but now you can change the copy version to make it whatever you like and it can

become very different to the original website. Archons have done this with our reality, a *synthetic* copy of prime reality that still exists beyond the frequency walls of the simulation. Trapped within the illusions of this synthetic Matrix, however, were and are human consciousness and other expressions of prime reality and this is why the Archons via the Cult are seeking to make the human body synthetic and give us synthetic AI minds to complete the job of turning the entire reality synthetic including what we perceive to be the natural world. To quote Kurzweil: ‘Nanobots will infuse all the matter around us with information. Rocks, trees, everything will become these intelligent creatures.’ Yes, *synthetic* ‘creatures’ just as ‘Covid’ and other genetically-manipulating ‘vaccines’ are designed to make the human body synthetic. From this perspective it is obvious why Archons and their Cult are so desperate to infuse synthetic material into every human with their ‘Covid’ scam.

Let there be (electromagnetic) light

Yaldabaoth, the force that created the simulation, or Matrix, makes sense of the Gnostic reference to ‘The Great Architect’ and its use by Cult Freemasonry as the name of its deity. The designer of the Matrix in the movies is called ‘The Architect’ and that trilogy is jam-packed with symbolism relating to these subjects. I have contended for years that the angry Old Testament God (Yaldabaoth) is the ‘God’ being symbolically ‘quoted’ in the opening of Genesis as ‘creating the world’. This is not the creation of prime reality – it’s the creation of the *simulation*. The Genesis ‘God’ says: ‘Let there be Light: and there was light.’ But what is this ‘Light’? I have said for decades that the speed of light (186,000 miles per second) is not the fastest speed possible as claimed by mainstream science and is in fact the frequency walls or outer limits of the Matrix. You can’t have a fastest or slowest anything within all possibility when everything is possible. The human body is encoded to operate within the speed of light or *within the simulation* and thus we see only the tiny frequency band of visible *light*. Near-death experiencers who perceive reality outside the body during temporary ‘death’ describe a very different

form of light and this is supported by the Nag Hammadi texts. Prime reality beyond the simulation ('Upper Aeons' to the Gnostics) is described as a realm of incredible beauty, bliss, love and harmony – a realm of 'watery light' that is so powerful 'there are no shadows'. Our false reality of Archon control, which Gnostics call the 'Lower Aeons', is depicted as a realm with a different kind of 'light' and described in terms of chaos, 'Hell', 'the Abyss' and 'Outer Darkness', where trapped souls are tormented and manipulated by demons (relate that to the 'Covid' hoax alone). The watery light theme can be found in near-death accounts and it is not the same as *simulation* 'light' which is electromagnetic or radiation light within the speed of light – the 'Lower Aeons'. Simulation 'light' is the 'luminous fire' associated by Gnostics with the Archons. The Bible refers to Yaldabaoth as 'that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world' (Revelation 12:9). I think that making a simulated copy of prime reality ('countermimicry') and changing it dramatically while all the time manipulating humanity to believe it to be real could probably meet the criteria of deceiving the whole world. Then we come to the Cult god Lucifer – the *Light Bringer*. Lucifer is symbolic of Yaldabaoth, the bringer of radiation light that forms the bad copy simulation within the speed of light. 'He' is symbolised by the lighted torch held by the Statue of Liberty and in the name 'Illuminati'. Sabbatian-Frankism declares that Lucifer is the true god and Lucifer is the real god of Freemasonry honoured as their 'Great or Grand Architect of the Universe' (simulation).

I would emphasise, too, the way Archontic technologically-generated luminous fire of radiation has deluged our environment since I was a kid in the 1950s and changed the nature of The Field with which we constantly interact. Through that interaction technological radiation is changing us. The Smart Grid is designed to operate with immense levels of communication power with 5G expanding across the world and 6G, 7G, in the process of development. Radiation is the simulation and the Archontic manipulation system. Why wouldn't the Archon Cult wish to unleash radiation upon us to an ever-greater extreme to form

Kurzweil's 'cloud'? The plan for a synthetic human is related to the need to cope with levels of radiation beyond even anything we've seen so far. Biological humans would not survive the scale of radiation they have in their script. The Smart Grid is a technological sub-reality within the technological simulation to further disconnect five-sense perception from expanded consciousness. It's a technological prison of the mind.

Infusing the 'spirit of darkness'

A recurring theme in religion and native cultures is the manipulation of human genetics by a non-human force and most famously recorded as the biblical 'sons of god' (the gods plural in the original) who interbred with the daughters of men. The Nag Hammadi *Apocryphon of John* tells the same story this way:

He [Yaldabaoth] sent his angels [Archons/demons] to the daughters of men, that they might take some of them for themselves and raise offspring for their enjoyment. And at first they did not succeed. When they had no success, they gathered together again and they made a plan together ... And the angels changed themselves in their likeness into the likeness of their mates, filling them with the spirit of darkness, which they had mixed for them, and with evil ... And they took women and begot children out of the darkness according to the likeness of their spirit.

Possession when a discarnate entity takes over a human body is an age-old theme and continues today. It's very real and I've seen it. Satanic and secret society rituals can create an energetic environment in which entities can attach to initiates and I've heard many stories of how people have changed their personality after being initiated even into lower levels of the Freemasons. I have been inside three Masonic temples, one at a public open day and two by just walking in when there was no one around to stop me. They were in Ryde, the town where I live, Birmingham, England, when I was with a group, and Boston, Massachusetts. They all felt the same energetically – dark, dense, low-vibrational and sinister. Demonic attachment can happen while the initiate has no idea what is going on. To them it's just a ritual to get in the Masons and do a bit of good

business. In the far more extreme rituals of Satanism human possession is even more powerful and they are designed to make possession possible. The hierarchy of the Cult is dictated by the power and perceived status of the possessing Archon. In this way the Archon hierarchy becomes the Cult hierarchy. Once the entity has attached it can influence perception and behaviour and if it attaches to the extreme then so much of its energy (information) infuses into the body information field that the hologram starts to reflect the nature of the possessing entity. This is the *Exorcist* movie type of possession when facial features change and it's known as shapeshifting. Islam's Jinn are said to be invisible tricksters who change shape, 'whisper', confuse and take human form. These are all traits of the Archons and other versions of the same phenomenon. Extreme possession could certainty infuse the 'spirit of darkness' into a partner during sex as the Nag Hammadi texts appear to describe. Such an infusion can change genetics which is also energetic information. Human genetics is information and the 'spirit of darkness' is information. Mix one with the other and change must happen. Islam has the concept of a 'Jinn baby' through possession of the mother and by Jinn taking human form. There are many ways that human genetics can be changed and remember that Archons have been aware all along of advanced techniques to do this. What is being done in human society today – and far more – was known about by Archons at the time of the 'fallen ones' and their other versions described in religions and cultures.

Archons and their human-world Cult are obsessed with genetics as we see today and they know this dictates how information is processed into perceived reality during a human life. They needed to produce a human form that would decode the simulation and this is symbolically known as 'Adam and Eve' who left the 'garden' (prime reality) and 'fell' into Matrix reality. The simulation is not a 'physical' construct (there is no 'physical'); it is a source of information. Think Wi-Fi again. The simulation is an energetic field encoded with information and body-brain systems are designed to decode that information encoded in wave or frequency form which

is transmitted to the brain as electrical signals. These are decoded by the brain to construct our sense of reality – an illusory ‘physical’ world that only exists in the brain or the mind. Virtual reality games mimic this process using the same sensory decoding system. Information is fed to the senses to decode a virtual reality that can appear so real, but isn’t (Figs 18 and 19). Some scientists believe – and I agree with them – that what we perceive as ‘physical’ reality only exists when we are looking or observing. The act of perception or focus triggers the decoding systems which turn waveform information into holographic reality. When we are not observing something our reality reverts from a holographic state to a waveform state. This relates to the same principle as a falling tree not making a noise unless someone is there to hear it or decode it. The concept makes sense from the simulation perspective. A computer is not decoding all the information in a Wi-Fi field all the time and only decodes or brings into reality on the screen that part of Wi-Fi that it’s decoding – focusing upon – at that moment.



Figure 18: Virtual reality technology ‘hacks’ into the body’s five-sense decoding system.



Figure 19: The result can be experienced as very ‘real’.

Interestingly, Professor Donald Hoffman at the Department of Cognitive Sciences at the University of California, Irvine, says that our experienced reality is like a computer interface that shows us only the level with which we interact while hiding all that exists beyond it: ‘Evolution shaped us with a user interface that hides the truth. Nothing that we see is the truth – the very language of space and time and objects is the wrong language to describe reality.’ He is correct in what he says on so many levels. Space and time are not a universal reality. They are a phenomenon of decoded *simulation* reality as part of the process of enslaving our sense of reality. Near-death experiencers report again and again how space and time did not exist as we perceive them once they were free of the body – body decoding systems. You can appreciate from this why Archons and their Cult are so desperate to entrap human attention in the five senses where we are in the Matrix and of the Matrix. Opening your mind to expanded states of awareness takes you beyond the information confines of the simulation and you become aware of knowledge and insights denied to you before. This is what we call ‘awakening’ – *awakening from the Matrix* – and in the final chapter I will relate this to current events.

Where are the ‘aliens’?

A simulation would explain the so-called ‘Fermi Paradox’ named after Italian physicist Enrico Fermi (1901-1954) who created the first nuclear reactor. He considered the question of why there is such a lack of extraterrestrial activity when there are so many stars and planets in an apparently vast universe; but what if the night sky that we see, or think we do, is a simulated projection as I say? If you control the simulation and your aim is to hold humanity fast in essential ignorance would you want other forms of life including advanced life coming and going sharing information with humanity? Or would you want them to believe they were isolated and apparently alone? Themes of human isolation and apartness are common whether they be the perception of a lifeless universe or the fascist isolation laws of the ‘Covid’ era. Paradoxically the very

existence of a simulation means that we are not alone when some force had to construct it. My view is that experiences that people have reported all over the world for centuries with Reptilians and Grey entities are Archon phenomena as Nag Hammadi texts describe; and that benevolent 'alien' interactions are non-human groups that come in and out of the simulation by overcoming Archon attempts to keep them out. It should be highlighted, too, that Reptilians and Greys are obsessed with *genetics* and *technology* as related by cultural accounts and those who say they have been abducted by them. Technology is their way of overcoming some of the limitations in their creative potential and our technology-driven and controlled human society of today is *archetypical* Archon-Reptilian-Grey modus operandi. Technocracy is really *Archontocracy*. The Universe does not have to be as big as it appears with a simulation. There is no space or distance only information decoded into holographic reality. What we call 'space' is only the absence of holographic 'objects' and that 'space' is The Field of energetic information which connects everything into a single whole. The same applies with the artificially-generated information field of the simulation. The Universe is not big or small as a physical reality. It is decoded information, that's all, and its perceived size is decided by the way the simulation is encoded to make it appear. The entire night sky as we perceive it only exists in our brain and so where are those 'millions of light years'? The 'stars' on the ceiling of the Planetarium looked a vast distance away.

There's another point to mention about 'aliens'. I have been highlighting since the 1990s the plan to stage a fake 'alien invasion' to justify the centralisation of global power and a world military. Nazi scientist Werner von Braun, who was taken to America by Operation Paperclip after World War Two to help found NASA, told his American assistant Dr Carol Rosin about the Cult agenda when he knew he was dying in 1977. Rosin said that he told her about a sequence that would lead to total human control by a one-world government. This included threats from terrorism, rogue nations, meteors and asteroids before finally an 'alien invasion'. All of these

things, von Braun said, would be bogus and what I would refer to as a No-Problem-Reaction-Solution. Keep this in mind when ‘the aliens are coming’ is the new mantra. The aliens are not coming – they are *already here* and they have infiltrated human society while looking human. French-Canadian investigative journalist Serge Monast said in 1994 that he had uncovered a NASA/military operation called Project Blue Beam which fits with what Werner von Braun predicted. Monast died of a ‘heart attack’ in 1996 the day after he was arrested and spent a night in prison. He was 51. He said Blue Beam was a plan to stage an alien invasion that would include religious figures beamed holographically into the sky as part of a global manipulation to usher in a ‘new age’ of worshipping what I would say is the Cult ‘god’ Yaldabaoth in a one-world religion. Fake holographic asteroids are also said to be part of the plan which again syncs with von Braun. How could you stage an illusory threat from asteroids unless they were holographic inserts? This is pretty straightforward given the advanced technology outside the public arena and the fact that our ‘physical’ reality is holographic anyway. Information fields would be projected and we would decode them into the illusion of a ‘physical’ asteroid. If they can sell a global ‘pandemic’ with a ‘virus’ that doesn’t exist what will humans not believe if government and media tell them?

All this is particularly relevant as I write with the Pentagon planning to release in June, 2021, information about ‘UFO sightings’. I have been following the UFO story since the early 1990s and the common theme throughout has been government and military denials and cover up. More recently, however, the Pentagon has suddenly become more talkative and apparently open with Air Force pilot radar images released of unexplained craft moving and changing direction at speeds well beyond anything believed possible with human technology. Then, in March, 2021, former Director of National Intelligence John Ratcliffe said a Pentagon report months later in June would reveal a great deal of information about UFO sightings unknown to the public. He said the report would have ‘massive implications’. The order to do this was included bizarrely

in a \$2.3 trillion ‘coronavirus’ relief and government funding bill passed by the Trump administration at the end of 2020. I would add some serious notes of caution here. I have been pointing out since the 1990s that the US military and intelligence networks have long had craft – ‘flying saucers’ or anti-gravity craft – which any observer would take to be extraterrestrial in origin. Keeping this knowledge from the public allows craft flown by *humans* to be perceived as alien visitations. I am not saying that ‘aliens’ do not exist. I would be the last one to say that, but we have to be streetwise here. President Ronald Reagan told the UN General Assembly in 1987: ‘I occasionally think how quickly our differences worldwide would vanish if we were facing an alien threat from outside this world.’ That’s the idea. Unite against a common ‘enemy’ with a common purpose behind your ‘saviour force’ (the Cult) as this age-old technique of mass manipulation goes global.

Science moves this way ...

I could find only one other person who was discussing the simulation hypothesis publicly when I concluded it was real. This was Nick Bostrom, a Swedish-born philosopher at the University of Oxford, who has explored for many years the possibility that human reality is a computer simulation although his version and mine are not the same. Today the simulation and holographic reality hypothesis have increasingly entered the scientific mainstream. Well, the more open-minded mainstream, that is. Here are a few of the ever-gathering examples. American nuclear physicist Silas Beane led a team of physicists at the University of Bonn in Germany pursuing the question of whether we live in a simulation. They concluded that we probably do and it was likely based on a lattice of cubes. They found that cosmic rays align with that specific pattern. The team highlighted the Greisen-Zatsepin-Kuzmin (GZK) limit which refers to cosmic ray particle interaction with cosmic background radiation that creates an apparent boundary for cosmic ray particles. They say in a paper entitled ‘Constraints on the Universe as a Numerical Simulation’ that this ‘pattern of constraint’ is exactly what you

would find with a computer simulation. They also made the point that a simulation would create its own ‘laws of physics’ that would limit possibility. I’ve been making the same point for decades that the *perceived* laws of physics relate only to this reality, or what I would later call the simulation. When designers write codes to create computer and virtual reality games they are the equivalent of the laws of physics for that game. Players interact within the limitations laid out by the coding. In the same way those who wrote the codes for the simulation decided the laws of physics that would apply. These can be overridden by expanded states of consciousness, but not by those enslaved in only five-sense awareness where simulation codes rule. Overriding the codes is what people call ‘miracles’. They are not. They are bypassing the encoded limits of the simulation. A population caught in simulation perception would have no idea that this was their plight. As the Bonn paper said: ‘Like a prisoner in a pitch-black cell we would not be able to see the “walls” of our prison.’ That’s true if people remain mesmerised by the five senses. Open to expanded awareness and those walls become very clear. The main one is the speed of light.

American theoretical physicist James Gates is another who has explored the simulation question and found considerable evidence to support the idea. Gates was Professor of Physics at the University of Maryland, Director of The Center for String and Particle Theory, and on Barack Obama’s Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. He and his team found *computer codes* of digital data embedded in the fabric of our reality. They relate to on-off electrical charges of 1 and 0 in the binary system used by computers. ‘We have no idea what they are doing there’, Gates said. They found within the energetic fabric mathematical sequences known as error-correcting codes or block codes that ‘reboot’ data to its original state or ‘default settings’ when something knocks it out of sync. Gates was asked if he had found a set of equations embedded in our reality indistinguishable from those that drive search engines and browsers and he said: ‘That is correct.’ Rich Terrile, director of the Centre for Evolutionary Computation and Automated Design at NASA’s Jet

Propulsion Laboratory, has said publicly that he believes the Universe is a digital hologram that must have been created by a form of intelligence. I agree with that in every way. Waveform information is delivered electrically by the senses to the brain which constructs a *digital* holographic reality that we call the ‘world’. This digital level of reality can be read by the esoteric art of numerology. Digital holograms are at the cutting edge of holographics today. We have digital technology everywhere designed to access and manipulate our digital level of perceived reality. Synthetic mRNA in ‘Covid vaccines’ has a digital component to manipulate the body’s digital ‘operating system’.

Reality is numbers

How many know that our reality can be broken down to numbers and codes that are the same as computer games? Max Tegmark, a physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), is the author of *Our Mathematical Universe* in which he lays out how reality can be entirely described by numbers and maths in the way that a video game is encoded with the ‘physics’ of computer games. Our world and computer virtual reality are essentially the same.

Tegmark imagines the perceptions of characters in an advanced computer game when the graphics are so good they don’t know they are in a game. They think they can bump into real objects (electromagnetic resistance in our reality), fall in love and feel emotions like excitement. When they began to study the apparently ‘physical world’ of the video game they would realise that everything was made of pixels (which have been found in our energetic reality as must be the case when on one level our world is digital). What computer game characters thought was physical ‘stuff’, Tegmark said, could actually be broken down into numbers:

And we’re exactly in this situation in our world. We look around and it doesn’t seem that mathematical at all, but everything we see is made out of elementary particles like quarks and electrons. And what properties does an electron have? Does it have a smell or a colour or a texture? No! ... We physicists have come up with geeky names for [Electron] properties, like

electric charge, or spin, or lepton number, but the electron doesn't care what we call it, the properties are just numbers.

This is the illusory reality Gnostics were describing. This is the simulation. The A, C, G, and T codes of DNA have a binary value – A and C = 0 while G and T = 1. This has to be when the simulation is digital and the body must be digital to interact with it. Recurring mathematical sequences are encoded throughout reality and the body. They include the Fibonacci sequence in which the two previous numbers are added to get the next one, as in ... 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, etc. The sequence is encoded in the human face and body, proportions of animals, DNA, seed heads, pine cones, trees, shells, spiral galaxies, hurricanes and the number of petals in a flower. The list goes on and on. There are fractal patterns – a 'never-ending pattern that is infinitely complex and self-similar across all scales in the as above, so below, principle of holograms. These and other famous recurring geometrical and mathematical sequences such as Phi, Pi, Golden Mean, Golden Ratio and Golden Section are *computer codes* of the simulation. I had to laugh and give my head a shake the day I finished this book and it went into the production stage. I was sent an article in *Scientific American* published in April, 2021, with the headline 'Confirmed! We Live in a Simulation'. Two decades after I first said our reality is a simulation and the speed of light is its outer limit the article suggested that we do live in a simulation and that the speed of light is its outer limit. I left school at 15 and never passed a major exam in my life while the writer was up to his eyes in qualifications. As I will explain in the final chapter *knowing* is far better than thinking and they come from very different sources. The article rightly connected the speed of light to the processing speed of the 'Matrix' and said what has been in my books all this time ... 'If we are in a simulation, as it appears, then space is an abstract property written in code. It is not real'. No it's not and if we live in a simulation something created it and it wasn't *us*. 'That David Icke says we are manipulated by aliens' – he's crackers.'

Wow ...

The reality that humanity thinks is so real is an illusion. Politicians, governments, scientists, doctors, academics, law enforcement, media, school and university curriculums, on and on, are all founded on a world that *does not exist* except as a simulated prison cell. Is it such a stretch to accept that 'Covid' doesn't exist when our entire 'physical' reality doesn't exist? Revealed here is the knowledge kept under raps in the Cult networks of compartmentalised secrecy to control humanity's sense of reality by inducing the population to believe in a reality that's not real. If it wasn't so tragic in its experiential consequences the whole thing would be hysterically funny. None of this is new to Renegade Minds. Ancient Greek philosopher Plato (about 428 to about 347BC) was a major influence on Gnostic belief and he described the human plight thousands of years ago with his Allegory of the Cave. He told the symbolic story of prisoners living in a cave who had never been outside. They were chained and could only see one wall of the cave while behind them was a fire that they could not see. Figures walked past the fire casting shadows on the prisoners' wall and those moving shadows became their sense of reality. Some prisoners began to study the shadows and were considered experts on them (today's academics and scientists), but what they studied was only an illusion (today's academics and scientists). A prisoner escaped from the cave and saw reality as it really is. When he returned to report this revelation they didn't believe him, called him mad and threatened to kill him if he tried to set them free. Plato's tale is not only a brilliant analogy of the human plight and our illusory reality. It describes, too, the dynamics of the 'Covid' hoax. I have only skimmed the surface of these subjects here. The aim of this book is to crisply connect all essential dots to put what is happening today into its true context. All subject areas and their connections in this chapter are covered in great evidential detail in *Everything You Need To Know, But Have Never Been Told* and *The Answer*.

They say that bewildered people 'can't see the forest for the trees'. Humanity, however, can't see the forest for the *twigs*. The five senses

see only twigs while Renegade Minds can see the forest and it's the forest where the answers lie with the connections that reveals. Breaking free of perceptual programming so the forest can be seen is the way we turn all this around. Not breaking free is how humanity got into this mess. The situation may seem hopeless, but I promise you it's not. We are a perceptual heartbeat from paradise if only we knew.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Escaping Wetiko

Life is simply a vacation from the infinite

Dean Cavanagh

Renegade Minds weave the web of life and events and see common themes in the apparently random. They are always there if you look for them and their pursuit is aided by incredible synchronicity that comes when your mind is open rather than mesmerised by what it thinks it can see.

Infinite awareness is infinite possibility and the more of infinite possibility that we access the more becomes infinitely possible. That may be stating the apparently obvious, but it is a devastatingly-powerful fact that can set us free. We are a point of attention within an infinity of consciousness. The question is how much of that infinity do we choose to access? How much knowledge, insight, awareness, wisdom, do we want to connect with and explore? If your focus is only in the five senses you will be influenced by a fraction of infinite awareness. I mean a range so tiny that it gives new meaning to infinitesimal. Limitation of self-identity and a sense of the possible limit accordingly your range of consciousness. We are what we think we are. Life is what we think it is. The dream is the dreamer and the dreamer is the dream. Buddhist philosophy puts it this way: 'As a thing is viewed, so it appears.' Most humans live in the realm of touch, taste, see, hear, and smell and that's the limit of their sense of the possible and sense of self. Many will follow a religion and speak of a God in his heaven, but their lives are still

dominated by the five senses in their perceptions and actions. The five senses become the arbiter of everything. When that happens all except a smear of infinity is sealed away from influence by the rigid, unyielding, reality bubbles that are the five-sense human or Phantom Self. Archon Cult methodology is to isolate consciousness within five-sense reality – the simulation – and then program that consciousness with a sense of self and the world through a deluge of life-long information designed to instil the desired perception that allows global control. Efforts to do this have increased dramatically with identity politics as identity bubbles are squeezed into the minutiae of five-sense detail which disconnect people even more profoundly from the infinite ‘I’.

Five-sense focus and self-identity are like a firewall that limits access to the infinite realms. You only perceive one radio or television station and no other. We’ll take that literally for a moment. Imagine a vast array of stations giving different information and angles on reality, but you only ever listen to one. Here we have the human plight in which the population is overwhelmingly confined to CultFM. This relates only to the frequency range of CultFM and limits perception and insight to that band – limits *possibility* to that band. It means you are connecting with an almost imperceptibly minuscule range of possibility and creative potential within the infinite Field. It’s a world where everything seems apart from everything else and where synchronicity is rare. Synchronicity is defined in the dictionary as ‘the happening by chance of two or more related or similar events at the same time’. Use of ‘by chance’ betrays a complete misunderstanding of reality. Synchronicity is not ‘by chance’. As people open their minds, or ‘awaken’ to use the term, they notice more and more coincidences in their lives, bits of ‘luck’, apparently miraculous happenings that put them in the right place at the right time with the right people. Days become peppered with ‘fancy meeting you here’ and ‘what are the chances of that?’ My entire life has been lived like this and ever more so since my own colossal awakening in 1990 and 91 which transformed my sense of reality. Synchronicity is not ‘by chance’; it is by accessing expanded

realms of possibility which allow expanded potential for manifestation. People broadcasting the same vibe from the same openness of mind tend to be drawn ‘by chance’ to each other through what I call frequency magnetism and it’s not only people. In the last more than 30 years incredible synchronicity has also led me through the Cult maze to information in so many forms and to crucial personal experiences. These ‘coincidences’ have allowed me to put the puzzle pieces together across an enormous array of subjects and situations. Those who have breached the bubble of five-sense reality will know exactly what I mean and this escape from the perceptual prison cell is open to everyone whenever they make that choice. This may appear super-human when compared with the limitations of ‘human’, but it’s really our natural state. ‘Human’ as currently experienced is consciousness in an unnatural state of induced separation from the infinity of the whole. I’ll come to how this transformation into unity can be made when I have described in more detail the force that holds humanity in servitude by denying this access to infinite self.

The Wetiko factor

I have been talking and writing for decades about the way five-sense mind is systematically barricaded from expanded awareness. I have used the analogy of a computer (five-sense mind) and someone at the keyboard (expanded awareness). Interaction between the computer and the operator is symbolic of the interaction between five-sense mind and expanded awareness. The computer directly experiences the Internet and the operator experiences the Internet via the computer which is how it’s supposed to be – the two working as one. Archons seek to control that point where the operator connects with the computer to stop that interaction ([Fig 20](#)). Now the operator is banging the keyboard and clicking the mouse, but the computer is not responding and this happens when the computer is taken over – *possessed* – by an appropriately-named computer ‘virus’. The operator has lost all influence over the computer which goes its own way making decisions under the control of the ‘virus’. I have

just described the dynamic through which the force known to Gnostics as Yaldabaoth and Archons disconnects five-sense mind from expanded awareness to imprison humanity in perceptual servitude.



Figure 20: The mind ‘virus’ I have been writing about for decades seeks to isolate five-sense mind (the computer) from the true ‘I’. (Image by Neil Hague).

About a year ago I came across a Native American concept of Wetiko which describes precisely the same phenomenon. Wetiko is the spelling used by the Cree and there are other versions including wintiko and windigo used by other tribal groups. They spell the name with lower case, but I see Wetiko as a proper noun as with Archons and prefer a capital. I first saw an article about Wetiko by writer and researcher Paul Levy which so synced with what I had been writing about the computer/operator disconnection and later the Archons. I then read his book, the fascinating *Dispelling Wetiko, Breaking the Spell of Evil*. The parallels between what I had concluded long before and the Native American concept of Wetiko were so clear and obvious that it was almost funny. For Wetiko see the Gnostic Archons for sure and the Jinn, the Predators, and every other name for a force of evil, inversion and chaos. Wetiko is the Native American name for the force that divides the computer from

the operator ([Fig 21](#)). Indigenous author Jack D. Forbes, a founder of the Native American movement in the 1960s, wrote another book about Wetiko entitled *Columbus And Other Cannibals – The Wetiko Disease of Exploitation, Imperialism, and Terrorism* which I also read. Forbes says that Wetiko refers to an evil person or spirit ‘who terrorizes other creatures by means of terrible acts, including cannibalism’. Zulu shaman Credo Mutwa told me that African accounts tell how cannibalism was brought into the world by the Chitauri ‘gods’ – another manifestation of Wetiko. The distinction between ‘evil person or spirit’ relates to Archons/Wetiko possessing a human or acting as pure consciousness. Wetiko is said to be a sickness of the soul or spirit and a state of being that takes but gives nothing back – the Cult and its operatives perfectly described. Black Hawk, a Native American war leader defending their lands from confiscation, said European invaders had ‘poisoned hearts’ – Wetiko hearts – and that this would spread to native societies. Mention of the heart is very significant as we shall shortly see. Forbes writes: ‘Tragically, the history of the world for the past 2,000 years is, in great part, the story of the epidemiology of the wetiko disease.’ Yes, and much longer. Forbes is correct when he says: ‘The wetikos destroyed Egypt and Babylon and Athens and Rome and Tenochtitlan [capital of the Aztec empire] and perhaps now they will destroy the entire earth.’ Evil, he said, is the number one export of a Wetiko culture – see its globalisation with ‘Covid’. Constant war, mass murder, suffering of all kinds, child abuse, Satanism, torture and human sacrifice are all expressions of Wetiko and the Wetiko possessed. The world is Wetiko made manifest, *but it doesn’t have to be*. There is a way out of this even now.



Figure 21: The mind ‘virus’ is known to Native Americans as ‘Wetiko’. (Image by Neil Hague).

Cult of Wetiko

Wetiko is the Yaldabaoth frequency distortion that seeks to attach to human consciousness and absorb it into its own. Once this connection is made Wetiko can drive the perceptions of the target which they believe to be coming from their own mind. All the horrors of history and today from mass killers to Satanists, paedophiles like Jeffrey Epstein and other psychopaths, are the embodiment of Wetiko and express its state of being in all its grotesqueness. The Cult is Wetiko incarnate, Yaldabaoth incarnate, and it seeks to facilitate Wetiko assimilation of humanity in totality into its distortion by manipulating the population into low frequency states that match its own. Paul Levy writes: ‘Holographically enforced within the psyche of every human being the wetiko virus pervades and underlies the entire field of consciousness, and can therefore potentially manifest through any one of us at any moment if we are not mindful.’ The ‘Covid’ hoax has achieved this with many people, but others have not fallen into Wetiko’s frequency lair. Players in the ‘Covid’ human catastrophe including Gates, Schwab, Tedros, Fauci, Whitty, Vallance, Johnson, Hancock, Ferguson, Drosten, and all the rest, including the psychopath psychologists, are expressions of Wetiko. This is why

they have no compassion or empathy and no emotional consequence for what they do that would make them stop doing it. Observe all the people who support the psychopaths in authority against the Pushbackers despite the damaging impact the psychopaths have on their own lives and their family's lives. You are again looking at Wetiko possession which prevents them seeing through the lies to the obvious scam going on. *Why can't they see it?* Wetiko won't let them see it. The perceptual divide that has now become a chasm is between the Wetikoed and the non-Wetikoed.

Paul Levy describes Wetiko in the same way that I have long described the Archontic force. They are the same distorted consciousness operating across dimensions of reality: '... the subtle body of wetiko is not located in the third dimension of space and time, literally existing in another dimension ... it is able to affect ordinary lives by mysteriously interpenetrating into our three-dimensional world.' Wetiko does this through its incarnate representatives in the Cult and by weaving itself into The Field which on our level of reality is the electromagnetic information field of the simulation or Matrix. More than that, the simulation *is* Wetiko / Yaldabaoth. Caleb Scharf, Director of Astrobiology at Columbia University, has speculated that 'alien life' could be so advanced that it has transcribed itself into the quantum realm to become what we call physics. He said intelligence indistinguishable from the fabric of the Universe would solve many of its greatest mysteries:

Perhaps hyper-advanced life isn't just external. Perhaps it's already all around. It is embedded in what we perceive to be physics itself, from the root behaviour of particles and fields to the phenomena of complexity and emergence ... In other words, life might not just be in the equations. It might BE the equations [My emphasis].

Scharf said it is possible that 'we don't recognise advanced life because it forms an integral and unsuspicious part of what we've considered to be the natural world'. I agree. Wetiko/Yaldabaoth *is* the simulation. We are literally in the body of the beast. But that doesn't mean it has to control us. We all have the power to overcome Wetiko

influence and the Cult knows that. I doubt it sleeps too well because it knows that.

Which Field?

This, I suggest, is how it all works. There are two Fields. One is the fierce electromagnetic light of the Matrix within the speed of light; the other is the ‘watery light’ of The Field beyond the walls of the Matrix that connects with the Great Infinity. Five-sense mind and the decoding systems of the body attach us to the Field of Matrix light. They have to or we could not experience this reality. Five-sense mind sees only the Matrix Field of information while our expanded consciousness is part of the Infinity Field. When we open our minds, and most importantly our hearts, to the Infinity Field we have a mission control which gives us an expanded perspective, a road map, to understand the nature of the five-sense world. If we are isolated only in five-sense mind there is no mission control. We’re on our own trying to understand a world that’s constantly feeding us information to ensure we do not understand. People in this state can feel ‘lost’ and bewildered with no direction or radar. You can see ever more clearly those who are influenced by the Fields of Big Infinity or little five-sense mind simply by their views and behaviour with regard to the ‘Covid’ hoax. We have had this division throughout known human history with the mass of the people on one side and individuals who could see and intuit beyond the walls of the simulation – Plato’s prisoner who broke out of the cave and saw reality for what it is. Such people have always been targeted by Wetiko/Archon-possessed authority, burned at the stake or demonised as mad, bad and dangerous. The Cult today and its global network of ‘anti-hate’, ‘anti-fascist’ Woke groups are all expressions of Wetiko attacking those exposing the conspiracy, ‘Covid’ lies and the ‘vaccine’ agenda.

Woke as a whole is Wetiko which explains its black and white mentality and how at one it is with the Wetiko-possessed Cult. Paul Levy said: ‘To be in this paradigm is to still be under the thrall of a two-valued logic – where things are either true or false – of a

wetikoized mind.' Wetiko consciousness is in a permanent rage, therefore so is Woke, and then there is Woke inversion and contradiction. 'Anti-fascists' act like fascists because fascists *and* 'anti-fascists' are both Wetiko at work. Political parties act the same while claiming to be different for the same reason. Secret society and satanic rituals are attaching initiates to Wetiko and the cold, ruthless, psychopathic mentality that secures the positions of power all over the world is Wetiko. Reframing 'training programmes' have the same cumulative effect of attaching Wetiko and we have their graduates described as automatons and robots with a cold, psychopathic, uncaring demeanour. They are all traits of Wetiko possession and look how many times they have been described in this book and elsewhere with regard to personnel behind 'Covid' including the police and medical profession. Climbing the greasy pole in any profession in a Wetiko society requires traits of Wetiko to get there and that is particularly true of politics which is not about fair competition and pre-eminence of ideas. It is founded on how many backs you can stab and arses you can lick. This culminated in the global 'Covid' coordination between the Wetiko possessed who pulled it off in all the different countries without a trace of empathy and compassion for their impact on humans. Our sight sense can see only holographic form and not the Field which connects holographic form. Therefore we perceive 'physical' objects with 'space' in between. In fact that 'space' is energy/consciousness operating on multiple frequencies. One of them is Wetiko and that connects the Cult psychopaths, those who submit to the psychopaths, and those who serve the psychopaths in the media operations of the world. Wetiko is Gates. Wetiko is the mask-wearing submissive. Wetiko is the fake journalist and 'fact-checker'. The Wetiko Field is coordinating the whole thing. Psychopaths, gofers, media operatives, 'anti-hate' hate groups, 'fact-checkers' and submissive people work as one unit *even without human coordination* because they are attached to the *same* Field which is organising it all ([Fig 22](#)). Paul Levy is here describing how Wetiko-possessed people are drawn together and refuse to let any information breach their rigid

perceptions. He was writing long before ‘Covid’, but I think you will recognise followers of the ‘Covid’ religion *oh just a little bit*:

People who are channelling the vibratory frequency of wetiko align with each other through psychic resonance to reinforce their unspoken shared agreement so as to uphold their deranged view of reality. Once an unconscious content takes possession of certain individuals, it irresistibly draws them together by mutual attraction and knits them into groups tied together by their shared madness that can easily swell into an avalanche of insanity.

A psychic epidemic is a closed system, which is to say that it is insular and not open to any new information or informing influences from the outside world which contradict its fixed, limited, and limiting perspective.

There we have the Woke mind and the ‘Covid’ mind. Compatible resonance draws the awakening together, too, which is clearly happening today.

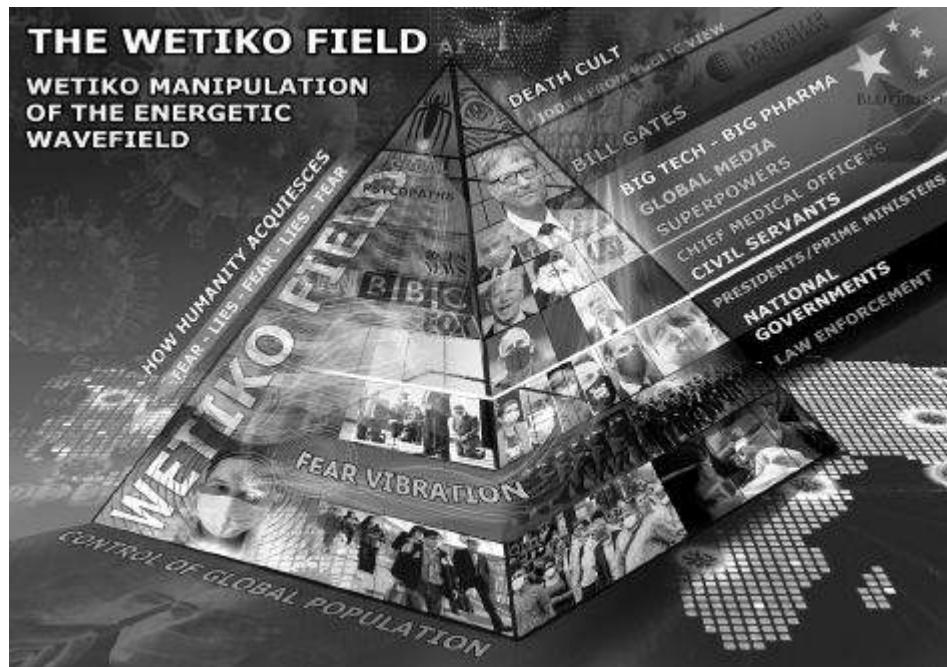


Figure 22: The Wetiko Field from which the Cult pyramid and its personnel are made manifest. (Image by Neil Hague).

Spiritual servitude

Wetiko doesn’t care about humans. It’s not human; it just possesses humans for its own ends and the effect (depending on the scale of

possession) can be anything from extreme psychopathy to unquestioning obedience. Wetiko's worst nightmare is for human consciousness to expand beyond the simulation. Everything is focussed on stopping that happening through control of information, thus perception, thus frequency. The 'education system', media, science, medicine, academia, are all geared to maintaining humanity in five-sense servitude as is the constant stimulation of low-vibrational mental and emotional states (see 'Covid'). Wetiko seeks to dominate those subconscious spaces between five-sense perception and expanded consciousness where the computer meets the operator. From these subconscious hiding places Wetiko speaks to us to trigger urges and desires that we take to be our own and manipulate us into anything from low-vibrational to psychopathic states. Remember how Islam describes the Jinn as invisible tricksters that 'whisper' and confuse. Wetiko is the origin of the 'trickster god' theme that you find in cultures all over the world. Jinn, like the Archons, are Wetiko which is terrified of humans awakening and reconnecting with our true self for then its energy source has gone. With that the feedback loop breaks between Wetiko and human perception that provides the energetic momentum on which its very existence depends as a force of evil. Humans are both its target and its source of survival, but only if we are operating in low-vibrational states of fear, hate, depression and the background anxiety that most people suffer. We are Wetiko's target because we are its key to survival. It needs us, not the other way round. Paul Levy writes:

A vampire has no intrinsic, independent, substantial existence in its own right; it only exists in relation to us. The pathogenic, vampiric mind-parasite called wetiko is nothing in itself – not being able to exist from its own side – yet it has a 'virtual reality' such that it can potentially destroy our species ...

...The fact that a vampire is not reflected by a mirror can also mean that what we need to see is that there's nothing, no-thing to see, other than ourselves. The fact that wetiko is the expression of something inside of us means that the cure for wetiko is with us as well. The critical issue is finding this cure within us and then putting it into effect.

Evil begets evil because if evil does not constantly expand and find new sources of energetic sustenance its evil, its *distortion*, dies with the assimilation into balance and harmony. Love is the garlic to Wetiko's vampire. Evil, the absence of love, cannot exist in the presence of love. I think I see a way out of here. I have emphasised so many times over the decades that the Archons/Wetiko and their Cult are not all powerful. *They are not.* I don't care how it looks even now *they are not.* I have not called them little boys in short trousers for effect. I have said it because it is true. Wetiko's insatiable desire for power over others is not a sign of its omnipotence, but its insecurity. Paul Levy writes: 'Due to the primal fear which ultimately drives it and which it is driven to cultivate, wetiko's body politic has an intrinsic and insistent need for centralising power and control so as to create imagined safety for itself.' *Yeeeeees!* Exactly! Why does Wetiko want humans in an ongoing state of fear? Wetiko itself *is* fear and it is petrified of love. As evil is an absence of love, so love is an absence of fear. Love conquers all and *especially* Wetiko which *is* fear. Wetiko brought fear into the world when it wasn't here before. *Fear* was the 'fall', the fall into low-frequency ignorance and illusion – fear is False Emotion Appearing Real. The simulation is driven and energised by fear because Wetiko/Yaldabaoth (fear) *are* the simulation. Fear is the absence of love and Wetiko is the absence of love.

Wetiko today

We can now view current events from this level of perspective. The 'Covid' hoax has generated momentous amounts of ongoing fear, anxiety, depression and despair which have empowered Wetiko. No wonder people like Gates have been the instigators when they are Wetiko incarnate and exhibit every trait of Wetiko in the extreme. See how cold and unemotional these people are like Gates and his cronies, how dead of eye they are. That's Wetiko. Sabbatians are Wetiko and everything they control including the World Health Organization, Big Pharma and the 'vaccine' makers, national 'health'

hierarchies, corporate media, Silicon Valley, the banking system, and the United Nations with its planned transformation into world government. All are controlled and possessed by the Wetiko distortion into distorting human society in its image. We are with this knowledge at the gateway to understanding the world.

Divisions of race, culture, creed and sexuality are diversions to hide the real division between those possessed and influenced by Wetiko and those that are not. The ‘Covid’ hoax has brought both clearly into view. Human behaviour is not about race. Tyrants and dictatorships come in all colours and creeds. What unites the US president bombing the innocent and an African tribe committing genocide against another as in Rwanda? What unites them? *Wetiko*. All wars are Wetiko, all genocide is Wetiko, all hunger over centuries in a world of plenty is Wetiko. Children going to bed hungry, including in the West, is Wetiko. Cult-generated Woke racial divisions that focus on the body are designed to obscure the reality that divisions in behaviour are manifestations of mind, not body. Obsession with body identity and group judgement is a means to divert attention from the real source of behaviour – mind and perception. Conflict sown by the Woke both within themselves and with their target groups are Wetiko providing lunch for itself through still more agents of the division, chaos, and fear on which it feeds. The Cult is seeking to assimilate the entirety of humanity and all children and young people into the Wetiko frequency by manipulating them into states of fear and despair. Witness all the suicide and psychological unravelling since the spring of 2020. Wetiko psychopaths want to impose a state of unquestioning obedience to authority which is no more than a conduit for Wetiko to enforce its will and assimilate humanity into itself. It needs us to believe that resistance is futile when it fears resistance and even more so the game-changing non-cooperation with its impositions. It can use violent resistance for its benefit. Violent impositions and violent resistance are *both* Wetiko. The Power of Love with its Power of No will sweep Wetiko from our world. Wetiko and its Cult know that. They just don’t want us to know.

AI Wetiko

This brings me to AI or artificial intelligence and something else Wetikos don't want us to know. What is AI *really*? I know about computer code algorithms and AI that learns from data input. These, however, are more diversions, the expeditionary force, for the real AI that they want to connect to the human brain as promoted by Silicon Valley Wetikos like Kurzweil. What is this AI? It is the frequency of *Wetiko*, the frequency of the Archons. The connection of AI to the human brain is the connection of the Wetiko frequency to create a Wetiko hive mind and complete the job of assimilation. The hive mind is planned to be controlled from Israel and China which are both 100 percent owned by Wetiko Sabbatians. The assimilation process has been going on minute by minute in the 'smart' era which fused with the 'Covid' era. We are told that social media is scrambling the minds of the young and changing their personality. This is true, but what is social media? Look more deeply at how it works, how it creates divisions and conflict, the hostility and cruelty, the targeting of people until they are destroyed. That's Wetiko. Social media is manipulated to tune people to the Wetiko frequency with all the emotional exploitation tricks employed by platforms like Facebook and its Wetiko front man, Zuckerberg. Facebook's Instagram announced a new platform for children to overcome a legal bar on them using the main site. This is more Wetiko exploitation and manipulation of kids. Amnesty International likened the plan to foxes offering to guard the henhouse and said it was incompatible with human rights. Since when did Wetiko or Zuckerberg (I repeat myself) care about that? Would Brin and Page at Google, Wojcicki at YouTube, Bezos at Amazon and whoever the hell runs Twitter act as they do if they were not channelling Wetiko? Would those who are developing technologies for no other reason than human control? How about those designing and selling technologies to kill people and Big Pharma drug and 'vaccine' producers who know they will end or devastate lives? Quite a thought for these people to consider is that if you are Wetiko in a human life you are Wetiko on the 'other side' unless your frequency

changes and that can only change by a change of perception which becomes a change of behaviour. Where Gates is going does not bear thinking about although perhaps that's exactly where he wants to go. Either way, that's where he's going. His frequency will make it so.

The frequency lair

I have been saying for a long time that a big part of the addiction to smartphones and devices is that a frequency is coming off them that entraps the mind. People spend ages on their phones and sometimes even a minute or so after they put them down they pick them up again and it all repeats. 'Covid' lockdowns will have increased this addiction a million times for obvious reasons. Addictions to alcohol overindulgence and drugs are another way that Wetiko entraps consciousness to attach to its own. Both are symptoms of low-vibrational psychological distress which alcoholism and drug addiction further compound. Do we think it's really a coincidence that access to them is made so easy while potions that can take people into realms beyond the simulation are banned and illegal? I have explored smartphone addiction in other books, the scale is mind-blowing, and that level of addiction does not come without help. Tech companies that make these phones are Wetiko and they will have no qualms about destroying the minds of children. We are seeing again with these companies the Wetiko perceptual combination of psychopathic enforcers and weak and meek unquestioning compliance by the rank and file.

The global Smart Grid is the Wetiko Grid and it is crucial to complete the Cult endgame. The simulation is radiation and we are being deluged with technological radiation on a devastating scale. Wetiko frauds like Elon Musk serve Cult interests while occasionally criticising them to maintain his street-cred. 5G and other forms of Wi-Fi are being directed at the earth from space on a volume and scale that goes on increasing by the day. Elon Musk's (officially) SpaceX Starlink project is in the process of putting tens of thousands of satellites in low orbit to cover every inch of the planet with 5G and other Wi-Fi to create Kurzweil's global 'cloud' to which the

human mind is planned to be attached very soon. SpaceX has approval to operate 12,000 satellites with more than 1,300 launched at the time of writing and applications filed for 30,000 more. Other operators in the Wi-Fi, 5G, low-orbit satellite market include OneWeb (UK), Telesat (Canada), and AST & Science (US). Musk tells us that AI could be the end of humanity and then launches a company called Neuralink to connect the human brain to computers. Musk's (in theory) Tesla company is building electric cars and the driverless vehicles of the smart control grid. As frauds and bullshitters go Elon Musk in my opinion is Major League.

5G and technological radiation in general are destructive to human health, genetics and psychology and increasing the strength of artificial radiation underpins the five-sense perceptual bubbles which are themselves expressions of radiation or electromagnetism. Freedom activist John Whitehead was so right with his 'databit by databit, we are building our own electronic concentration camps'. The Smart Grid and 5G is a means to control the human mind and infuse perceptual information into The Field to influence anyone in sync with its frequency. You can change perception and behaviour en masse if you can manipulate the population into those levels of frequency and this is happening all around us today. The arrogance of Musk and his fellow Cult operatives knows no bounds in the way that we see with Gates. Musk's satellites are so many in number already they are changing the night sky when viewed from Earth. The astronomy community has complained about this and they have seen nothing yet. Some consequences of Musk's Wetiko hubris include: Radiation; visible pollution of the night sky; interference with astronomy and meteorology; ground and water pollution from intensive use of increasingly many spaceports; accumulating space debris; continual deorbiting and burning up of aging satellites, polluting the atmosphere with toxic dust and smoke; and ever-increasing likelihood of collisions. A collective public open letter of complaint to Musk said:

We are writing to you ... because SpaceX is in process of surrounding the Earth with a network of thousands of satellites whose very purpose is to irradiate every square inch of the

Earth. SpaceX, like everyone else, is treating the radiation as if it were not there. As if the mitochondria in our cells do not depend on electrons moving undisturbed from the food we digest to the oxygen we breathe.

As if our nervous systems and our hearts are not subject to radio frequency interference like any piece of electronic equipment. As if the cancer, diabetes, and heart disease that now afflict a majority of the Earth's population are not metabolic diseases that result from interference with our cellular machinery. As if insects everywhere, and the birds and animals that eat them, are not starving to death as a result.

People like Musk and Gates believe in their limitless Wetiko arrogance that they can do whatever they like to the world because they own it. Consequences for humanity are irrelevant. It's absolutely time that we stopped taking this shit from these self-styled masters of the Earth when you consider where this is going.

Why is the Cult so anti-human?

I hear this question often: Why would they do this when it will affect them, too? Ah, but will it? Who is this *them*? Forget their bodies. They are just vehicles for Wetiko consciousness. When you break it all down to the foundations we are looking at a state of severely distorted consciousness targeting another state of consciousness for assimilation. The rest is detail. The simulation is the fly-trap in which unique sensations of the five senses create a cycle of addiction called reincarnation. Renegade Minds see that everything which happens in our reality is a smaller version of the whole picture in line with the holographic principle. Addiction to the radiation of smart technology is a smaller version of addiction to the whole simulation. Connecting the body/brain to AI is taking that addiction on a giant step further to total ongoing control by assimilating human incarnate consciousness into Wetiko. I have watched during the 'Covid' hoax how many are becoming ever more profoundly attached to Wetiko's perceptual calling cards of aggressive response to any other point of view ('There is no other god but me'), psychopathic lack of compassion and empathy, and servile submission to the narrative and will of authority. Wetiko is the psychopaths *and* subservience to psychopaths. The Cult of Wetiko is

so anti-human because it is *not* human. It embarked on a mission to destroy human by targeting everything that it means to be human and to survive as human. ‘Covid’ is not the end, just a means to an end. The Cult with its Wetiko consciousness is seeking to change Earth systems, including the atmosphere, to suit them, not humans. The gathering bombardment of 5G alone from ground and space is dramatically changing The Field with which the five senses interact. There is so much more to come if we sit on our hands and hope it will all go away. It is not meant to go away. It is meant to get ever more extreme and we need to face that while we still can – just.

Carbon dioxide is the gas of life. Without that human is over. Kaput, gone, history. No natural world, no human. The Cult has created a cock and bull story about carbon dioxide and climate change to justify its reduction to the point where Gates and the ignoramus Biden ‘climate chief’ John Kerry want to suck it out of the atmosphere. Kerry wants to do this because his master Gates does. Wetikos have made the gas of life a demon with the usual support from the Wokers of Extinction Rebellion and similar organisations and the bewildered puppet-child that is Greta Thunberg who was put on the world stage by Klaus Schwab and the World Economic Forum. The name Extinction Rebellion is both ironic and as always Wetiko inversion. The gas that we need to survive must be reduced to save us from extinction. The most basic need of human is oxygen and we now have billions walking around in face nappies depriving body and brain of this essential requirement of human existence. More than that 5G at 60 gigahertz interacts with the oxygen molecule to reduce the amount of oxygen the body can absorb into the bloodstream. The obvious knock-on consequences of that for respiratory and cognitive problems and life itself need no further explanation. Psychopaths like Musk are assembling a global system of satellites to deluge the human atmosphere with this insanity. The man should be in jail. Here we have two most basic of human needs, oxygen and carbon dioxide, being dismantled.

Two others, water and food, are getting similar treatment with the United Nations Agendas 21 and 2030 – the Great Reset – planning to

centrally control all water and food supplies. People will not even own rain water that falls on their land. Food is affected at the most basic level by reducing carbon dioxide. We have genetic modification or GMO infiltrating the food chain on a mass scale, pesticides and herbicides polluting the air and destroying the soil. Freshwater fish that provide livelihoods for 60 million people and feed hundreds of millions worldwide are being 'pushed to the brink' according the conservationists while climate change is the only focus. Now we have Gates and Schwab wanting to dispense with current food sources all together and replace them with a synthetic version which the Wetiko Cult would control in terms of production and who eats and who doesn't. We have been on the Totalitarian Tiptoe to this for more than 60 years as food has become ever more processed and full of chemical shite to the point today when it's not natural food at all. As Dr Tom Cowan says: 'If it has a label don't eat it.' Bill Gates is now the biggest owner of farmland in the United States and he does nothing without an ulterior motive involving the Cult. Klaus Schwab wrote: 'To feed the world in the next 50 years we will need to produce as much food as was produced in the last 10,000 years ... food security will only be achieved, however, if regulations on genetically modified foods are adapted to reflect the reality that gene editing offers a precise, efficient and safe method of improving crops.' Liar. People and the world are being targeted with aluminium through vaccines, chemtrails, food, drink cans, and endless other sources when aluminium has been linked to many health issues including dementia which is increasing year after year. Insects, bees and wildlife essential to the food chain are being deleted by pesticides, herbicides and radiation which 5G is dramatically increasing with 6G and 7G to come. The pollinating bee population is being devastated while wildlife including birds, dolphins and whales are having their natural radar blocked by the effects of ever-increasing radiation. In the summer windscreens used to be splattered with insects so numerous were they. It doesn't happen now. Where have they gone?

Synthetic everything

The Cult is introducing genetically-modified versions of trees, plants and insects including a Gates-funded project to unleash hundreds of millions of genetically-modified, lab-altered and patented male mosquitoes to mate with wild mosquitoes and induce genetic flaws that cause them to die out. Clinically-insane Gates-funded Japanese researchers have developed mosquitos that spread vaccine and are dubbed 'flying vaccinators'. Gates is funding the modification of weather patterns in part to sell the myth that this is caused by carbon dioxide and he's funding geoengineering of the skies to change the atmosphere. Some of this came to light with the Gates-backed plan to release tonnes of chalk into the atmosphere to 'deflect the Sun and cool the planet'. Funny how they do this while the heating effect of the Sun is not factored into climate projections focussed on carbon dioxide. The reason is that they want to reduce carbon dioxide (so don't mention the Sun), but at the same time they do want to reduce the impact of the Sun which is so essential to human life and health. I have mentioned the sun-cholesterol-vitamin D connection as they demonise the Sun with warnings about skin cancer (caused by the chemicals in sun cream they tell you to splash on). They come from the other end of the process with statin drugs to reduce cholesterol that turns sunlight into vitamin D. A lack of vitamin D leads to a long list of health effects and how vitamin D levels must have fallen with people confined to their homes over 'Covid'. Gates is funding other forms of geoengineering and most importantly chemtrails which are dropping heavy metals, aluminium and self-replicating nanotechnology onto the Earth which is killing the natural world. See *Everything You Need To Know, But Have Never Been Told* for the detailed background to this.

Every human system is being targeted for deletion by a force that's not human. The Wetiko Cult has embarked on the process of transforming the human body from biological to synthetic biological as I have explained. Biological is being replaced by the artificial and synthetic – Archontic 'countermimicry' – right across human society. The plan eventually is to dispense with the human body altogether

and absorb human consciousness – which it wouldn't really be by then – into cyberspace (the simulation which is Wetiko/Yaldabaoth). Preparations for that are already happening if people would care to look. The alternative media rightly warns about globalism and 'the globalists', but this is far bigger than that and represents the end of the human race as we know it. The 'bad copy' of prime reality that Gnostics describe was a bad copy of harmony, wonder and beauty to start with before Wetiko/Yaldabaoth set out to change the simulated 'copy' into something very different. The process was slow to start with. Entrapped humans in the simulation timeline were not technologically aware and they had to be brought up to intellectual speed while being suppressed spiritually to the point where they could build their own prison while having no idea they were doing so. We have now reached that stage where technological intellect has the potential to destroy us and that's why events are moving so fast. Central American shaman Don Juan Matus said:

Think for a moment, and tell me how you would explain the contradictions between the intelligence of man the engineer and the stupidity of his systems of belief, or the stupidity of his contradictory behaviour. Sorcerers believe that the predators have given us our systems of beliefs, our ideas of good and evil; our social mores. They are the ones who set up our dreams of success or failure. They have given us covetousness, greed, and cowardice. It is the predator who makes us complacent, routinary, and egomaniacal.

In order to keep us obedient and meek and weak, the predators engaged themselves in a stupendous manoeuvre – stupendous, of course, from the point of view of a fighting strategist; a horrendous manoeuvre from the point of those who suffer it. They gave us their mind. The predators' mind is baroque, contradictory, morose, filled with the fear of being discovered any minute now.

For 'predators' see Wetiko, Archons, Yaldabaoth, Jinn, and all the other versions of the same phenomenon in cultures and religions all over the world. The theme is always the same because it's true and it's real. We have reached the point where we have to deal with it. The question is – how?

Don't fight – walk away

I thought I'd use a controversial subheading to get things moving in terms of our response to global fascism. What do you mean 'don't fight'? What do you mean 'walk away'? We've got to fight. We can't walk away. Well, it depends what we mean by fight and walk away. If fighting means physical combat we are playing Wetiko's game and falling for its trap. It wants us to get angry, aggressive, and direct hate and hostility at the enemy we think we must fight. Every war, every battle, every conflict, has been fought with Wetiko leading both sides. It's what it does. Wetiko wants a fight, anywhere, any place. Just hit me, son, so I can hit you back. Wetiko hits Wetiko and Wetiko hits Wetiko in return. I am very forthright as you can see in exposing Wetikos of the Cult, but I don't hate them. I refuse to hate them. It's what they want. What you hate you become. What you *fight* you become. Wokers, 'anti-haters' and 'anti-fascists' prove this every time they reach for their keyboards or don their balaclavas. By walk away I mean to disengage from Wetiko which includes ceasing to cooperate with its tyranny. Paul Levy says of Wetiko:

The way to 'defeat' evil is not to try to destroy it (for then, in playing evil's game, we have already lost), but rather, to find the invulnerable place within ourselves where evil is unable to vanquish us – this is to truly 'win' our battle with evil.

Wetiko is everywhere in human society and it's been on steroids since the 'Covid' hoax. Every shouting match over wearing masks has Wetiko wearing a mask and Wetiko not wearing one. It's an electrical circuit of push and resist, push and resist, with Wetiko pushing *and* resisting. Each polarity is Wetiko empowering itself. Dictionary definitions of 'resist' include 'opposing, refusing to accept or comply with' and the word to focus on is 'opposing'. What form does this take – setting police cars alight or 'refusing to accept or comply with'? The former is Wetiko opposing Wetiko while the other points the way forward. This is the difference between those aggressively demanding that government fascism must be obeyed who stand in stark contrast to the great majority of Pushbackers. We saw this clearly with a march by thousands of Pushbackers against lockdown in London followed days later by a Woker-hijacked

protest in Bristol in which police cars were set on fire. Masks were virtually absent in London and widespread in Bristol. Wetiko wants lockdown on every level of society and infuses its aggression to police it through its unknowing stooges. Lockdown protesters are the ones with the smiling faces and the hugs, The two blatantly obvious states of being – getting more obvious by the day – are the result of Wokers and their like becoming ever more influenced by the simulation Field of Wetiko and Pushbackers ever more influenced by The Field of a far higher vibration beyond the simulation. Wetiko can't invade the heart which is where most lockdown opponents are coming from. It's the heart that allows them to see through the lies to the truth in ways I will be highlighting.

Renegade Minds know that calmness is the place from which wisdom comes. You won't find wisdom in a hissing fit and wisdom is what we need in abundance right now. Calmness is not weakness – you don't have to scream at the top of your voice to be strong. Calmness is indeed a sign of strength. 'No' means I'm not doing it. NOOOO!!! doesn't mean you're not doing it even more. Volume does not advance 'No – I'm not doing it'. You are just not doing it. Wetiko possessed and influenced don't know how to deal with that. Wetiko wants a fight and we should not give it one. What it needs more than anything is our *cooperation* and we should not give that either. Mass rallies and marches are great in that they are a visual representation of feeling, but if it ends there they are irrelevant. You demand that Wetikos act differently? Well, they're not going to are they? They are Wetikos. We don't need to waste our time demanding that something doesn't happen when that will make no difference. We need to delete the means that *allows* it to happen. This, invariably, is our cooperation. You can demand a child stop firing a peashooter at the dog or you can refuse to buy the peashooter. If you provide the means you are cooperating with the dog being smacked on the nose with a pea. How can the authorities enforce mask-wearing if millions in a country refuse? What if the 74 million Pushbackers that voted for Trump in 2020 refused to wear masks, close their businesses or stay in their homes. It would be unenforceable. The

few control the many through the compliance of the many and that's always been the dynamic be it 'Covid' regulations or the Roman Empire. I know people can find it intimidating to say no to authority or stand out in a crowd for being the only one with a face on display; but it has to be done or it's over. I hope I've made clear in this book that where this is going will be far more intimidating than standing up now and saying 'No' – I will not cooperate with my own enslavement and that of my children. There might be consequences for some initially, although not so if enough do the same. The question that must be addressed is what is going to happen if we don't? It is time to be strong and unyieldingly so. No means no. Not here and there, but *everywhere* and *always*. I have refused to wear a mask and obey all the other nonsense. I will not comply with tyranny. I repeat: Fascism is not imposed by fascists – there are never enough of them. Fascism is imposed by the population acquiescing to fascism. *I will not do it.* I will die first, or my body will. Living meekly under fascism is a form of death anyway, the death of the spirit that Martin Luther King described.

Making things happen

We must not despair. This is not over till it's over and it's far from that. The 'fat lady' must refuse to sing. The longer the 'Covid' hoax has dragged on and impacted on more lives we have seen an awakening of phenomenal numbers of people worldwide to the realisation that what they have believed all their lives is not how the world really is. Research published by the system-serving University of Bristol and King's College London in February, 2021, concluded: 'One in every 11 people in Britain say they trust David Icke's take on the coronavirus pandemic.' It will be more by now and we have gathering numbers to build on. We must urgently progress from seeing the scam to ceasing to cooperate with it. Prominent German lawyer Reiner Fuellmich, also licenced to practice law in America, is doing a magnificent job taking the legal route to bring the psychopaths to justice through a second Nuremberg tribunal for crimes against humanity. Fuellmich has an impressive record of

beating the elite in court and he formed the German Corona Investigative Committee to pursue civil charges against the main perpetrators with a view to triggering criminal charges. Most importantly he has grasped the foundation of the hoax – the PCR test not testing for the ‘virus’ – and Christian Drosten is therefore on his charge sheet along with Gates frontman Tedros at the World Health Organization. Major players must be not be allowed to inflict their horrors on the human race without being brought to book. A life sentence must follow for Bill Gates and the rest of them. A group of researchers has also indicted the government of Norway for crimes against humanity with copies sent to the police and the International Criminal Court. The lawsuit cites participation in an internationally-planned false pandemic and violation of international law and human rights, the European Commission’s definition of human rights by coercive rules, Nuremberg and Hague rules on fundamental human rights, and the Norwegian constitution. We must take the initiative from hereon and not just complain, protest and react.

There are practical ways to support vital mass non-cooperation. Organising in numbers is one. Lockdown marches in London in the spring in 2021 were mass non-cooperation that the authorities could not stop. There were too many people. Hundreds of thousands walked the London streets in the centre of the road for mile after mile while the Face-Nappies could only look on. They were determined, but calm, and just *did it* with no histrionics and lots of smiles. The police were impotent. Others are organising group shopping without masks for mutual support and imagine if that was happening all over. Policing it would be impossible. If the store refuses to serve people in these circumstances they would be faced with a long line of trolleys full of goods standing on their own and everything would have to be returned to the shelves. How would they cope with that if it kept happening? I am talking here about moving on from complaining to being pro-active; from watching things happen to making things happen. I include in this our relationship with the police. The behaviour of many Face-Nappies

has been disgraceful and anyone who thinks they would never find concentration camp guards in the ‘enlightened’ modern era have had that myth busted big-time. The period and setting may change – Wetikos never do. I watched film footage from a London march in which a police thug viciously kicked a protestor on the floor who had done nothing. His fellow Face-Nappies stood in a ring protecting him. What he did was a criminal assault and with a crowd far outnumbering the police this can no longer be allowed to happen unchallenged. I get it when people chant ‘shame on you’ in these circumstances, but that is no longer enough. They *have* no shame those who do this. Crowds needs to start making a citizen’s arrest of the police who commit criminal offences and brutally attack innocent people and defenceless women. A citizen’s arrest can be made under section 24A of the UK Police and Criminal Evidence (PACE) Act of 1984 and you will find something similar in other countries. I prefer to call it a Common Law arrest rather than citizen’s for reasons I will come to shortly. Anyone can arrest a person committing an indictable offence or if they have reasonable grounds to suspect they are committing an indictable offence. On both counts the attack by the police thug would have fallen into this category. A citizen’s arrest can be made to stop someone:

- Causing physical injury to himself or any other person
- Suffering physical injury
- Causing loss of or damage to property
- Making off before a constable can assume responsibility for him

A citizen’s arrest may also be made to prevent a breach of the peace under Common Law and if they believe a breach of the peace will happen or anything related to harm likely to be done or already done in their presence. This is the way to go I think – the Common Law version. If police know that the crowd and members of the public will no longer be standing and watching while they commit

their thuggery and crimes they will think twice about acting like Brownshirts and Blackshirts.

Common Law – common sense

Mention of Common Law is very important. Most people think the law is the law as in one law. This is not the case. There are two bodies of law, Common Law and Statute Law, and they are not the same. Common Law is founded on the simple premise of do no harm. It does not recognise victimless crimes in which no harm is done while Statute Law does. There is a Statute Law against almost everything. So what is Statute Law? Amazingly it's the law of the sea that was brought ashore by the Cult to override the law of the land which is Common Law. They had no right to do this and as always they did it anyway. They had to. They could not impose their will on the people through Common Law which only applies to do no harm. How could you stitch up the fine detail of people's lives with that? Instead they took the law of the sea, or Admiralty Law, and applied it to the population. Statute Law refers to all the laws spewing out of governments and their agencies including all the fascist laws and regulations relating to 'Covid'. The key point to make is that Statute Law is *contract law*. It only applies between *contracting* corporations. Most police officers don't even know this. They have to be kept in the dark, too. Long ago when merchants and their sailing ships began to trade with different countries a contractual law was developed called Admiralty Law and other names. Again it only applied to *contracts* agreed between *corporate* entities. If there is no agreed contract the law of the sea had no jurisdiction *and that still applies to its new alias of Statute Law*. The problem for the Cult when the law of the sea was brought ashore was an obvious one. People were not corporations and neither were government entities. To overcome the latter they made governments and all associated organisations corporations. All the institutions are *private corporations* and I mean governments and their agencies, local councils, police, courts, military, US states, the whole lot. Go to the

Dun and Bradstreet corporate listings website for confirmation that they are all corporations. You are arrested by a private corporation called the police by someone who is really a private security guard and they take you to court which is another private corporation.

Neither have jurisdiction over you unless you consent and *contract* with them. This is why you hear the mantra about law enforcement policing by *consent* of the people. In truth the people 'consent' only in theory through monumental trickery.

Okay, the Cult overcame the corporate law problem by making governments and institutions corporate entities; but what about people? They are not corporations are they? Ah ... well in a sense, and *only* a sense, they are. Not people exactly – the illusion of people. The Cult creates a corporation in the name of everyone at the time that their birth certificate is issued. Note birth/ *berth* certificate and when you go to court under the law of the sea on land you stand in a *dock*. These are throwbacks to the origin. My Common Law name is David Vaughan Icke. The name of the corporation created by the government when I was born is called Mr David Vaughan Icke usually written in capitals as MR DAVID VAUGHAN ICKE. That is not me, the living, breathing man. It is a fictitious corporate entity. The trick is to make you think that David Vaughan Icke and MR DAVID VAUGHAN ICKE are the same thing. *They are not*. When police charge you and take you to court they are prosecuting the corporate entity and not the living, breathing, man or woman. They have to trick you into identifying as the corporate entity and contracting with them. Otherwise they have no jurisdiction. They do this through a language known as legalese. Lawful and legal are not the same either. Lawful relates to Common Law and legal relates to Statute Law. Legalese is the language of Statue Law which uses terms that mean one thing to the public and another in legalese. Notice that when a police officer tells someone why they are being charged he or she will say at the end: 'Do you understand?' To the public that means 'Do you comprehend?' In legalese it means 'Do you stand under me?' Do you stand under my authority? If you say

yes to the question you are unknowingly agreeing to give them jurisdiction over you in a contract between two corporate entities.

This is a confidence trick in every way. Contracts have to be agreed between informed parties and if you don't know that David Vaughan Icke is agreeing to be the corporation MR DAVID VAUGHAN ICKE you cannot knowingly agree to contract. They are deceiving you and another way they do this is to ask for proof of identity. You usually show them a driving licence or other document on which your corporate name is written. In doing so you are accepting that you are that corporate entity when you are not. Referring to yourself as a 'person' or 'citizen' is also identifying with your corporate fiction which is why I made the Common Law point about the citizen's arrest. If you are approached by a police officer you identify yourself immediately as a living, breathing, man or woman and say 'I do not consent, I do not contract with you and I do not understand' or stand under their authority. I have a Common Law birth certificate as a living man and these are available at no charge from commonlawcourt.com. Businesses registered under the Statute Law system means that its laws apply. There are, however, ways to run a business under Common Law. Remember all 'Covid' laws and regulations are Statute Law – the law of *contracts* and you do not have to contract. This doesn't mean that you can kill someone and get away with it. Common Law says do no harm and that applies to physical harm, financial harm etc. Police are employees of private corporations and there needs to be a new system of non-corporate Common Law constables operating outside the Statute Law system. If you go to davidicke.com and put Common Law into the search engine you will find videos that explain Common Law in much greater detail. It is definitely a road we should walk.

With all my heart

I have heard people say that we are in a spiritual war. I don't like the term 'war' with its Wetiko dynamic, but I know what they mean. Sweep aside all the bodily forms and we are in a situation in which two states of consciousness are seeking very different realities.

Wetiko wants upheaval, chaos, fear, suffering, conflict and control. The other wants love, peace, harmony, fairness and freedom. That's where we are. We should not fall for the idea that Wetiko is all-powerful and there's nothing we can do. Wetiko is not all-powerful. It's a joke, pathetic. It doesn't have to be, but it has made that choice for now. A handful of times over the years when I have felt the presence of its frequency I have allowed it to attach briefly so I could consciously observe its nature. The experience is not pleasant, the energy is heavy and dark, but the ease with which you can kick it back out the door shows that its real power is in persuading us that it has power. It's all a con. Wetiko is a con. It's a trickster and not a power that can control us if we unleash our own. The con is founded on manipulating humanity to give its power to Wetiko which recycles it back to present the illusion that it has power when its power is *ours* that we gave away. This happens on an energetic level and plays out in the world of the seen as humanity giving its power to Wetiko authority which uses that power to control the population when the power is only the power the population has handed over. How could it be any other way for billions to be controlled by a relative few? I have had experiences with people possessed by Wetiko and again you can kick its arse if you do it with an open heart. Oh yes – the *heart* which can transform the world of perceived 'matter'.

We are receiver-transmitters and processors of information, but what information and where from? Information is processed into perception in three main areas – the brain, the heart and the belly. These relate to thinking, knowing, and emotion. Wetiko wants us to be head and belly people which means we think within the confines of the Matrix simulation and low-vibrational emotional reaction scrambles balance and perception. A few minutes on social media and you see how emotion is the dominant force. Woke is all emotion and is therefore thought-free and fact-free. Our heart is something different. It *knows* while the head *thinks* and has to try to work it out because it doesn't know. The human energy field has seven prime vortexes which connect us with wider reality ([Fig 23](#)). Chakra means

'wheels of light' in the Sanskrit language of ancient India. The main ones are: The crown chakra on top of the head; brow (or 'third eye') chakra in the centre of the forehead; throat chakra; heart chakra in the centre of the chest; solar plexus chakra below the sternum; sacral chakra beneath the navel; and base chakra at the bottom of the spine. Each one has a particular function or functions. We feel anxiety and nervousness in the belly where the sacral chakra is located and this processes emotion that can affect the colon to give people 'the shits' or make them 'shit scared' when they are nervous. Chakras all play an important role, but the Mr and Mrs Big is the heart chakra which sits at the centre of the seven, above the chakras that connect us to the 'physical' and below those that connect with higher realms (or at least should). Here in the heart chakra we feel love, empathy and compassion – 'My heart goes out to you'. Those with closed hearts become literally 'heart-less' in their attitudes and behaviour (see Bill Gates). Native Americans portrayed Wetiko with what Paul Levy calls a 'frigid, icy heart, devoid of mercy' (see Bill Gates).

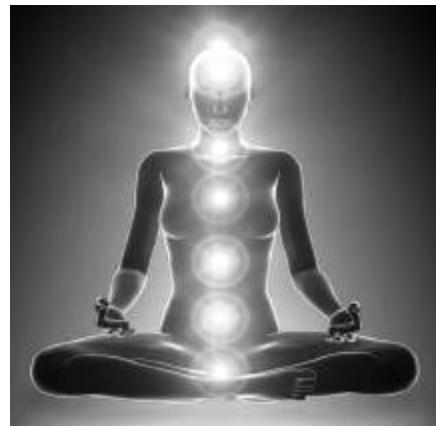


Figure 23: The chakra system which interpenetrates the human energy field. The heart chakra is the governor – or should be.

Wetiko trembles at the thought of heart energy which it cannot infiltrate. The frequency is too high. What it seeks to do instead is close the heart chakra vortex to block its perceptual and energetic influence. Psychopaths have 'hearts of stone' and emotionally-damaged people have 'heartache' and 'broken hearts'. The astonishing amount of heart disease is related to heart chakra

disruption with its fundamental connection to the ‘physical’ heart. Dr Tom Cowan has written an outstanding book challenging the belief that the heart is a pump and making the connection between the ‘physical’ and spiritual heart. Rudolph Steiner who was way ahead of his time said the same about the fallacy that the heart is a pump. *What?* The heart is not a pump? That’s crazy, right? Everybody knows that. Read Cowan’s *Human Heart, Cosmic Heart* and you will realise that the very idea of the heart as a pump is ridiculous when you see the evidence. How does blood in the feet so far from the heart get pumped horizontally up the body by the heart?? Cowan explains in the book the real reason why blood moves as it does. Our ‘physical’ heart is used to symbolise love when the source is really the heart vortex or spiritual heart which is our most powerful energetic connection to ‘out there’ expanded consciousness. That’s why we feel *knowing* – intuitive knowing – in the centre of the chest. Knowing doesn’t come from a process of thoughts leading to a conclusion. It is there in an instant all in one go. Our heart knows because of its connection to levels of awareness that *do* know. This is the meaning and source of intuition – intuitive *knowing*.

For the last more than 30 years of uncovering the global game and the nature of reality my heart has been my constant antenna for truth and accuracy. An American intelligence insider once said that I had quoted a disinformant in one of my books and yet I had only quoted the part that was true. He asked: ‘How do you do that?’ By using my heart antenna was the answer and anyone can do it. Heart-centred is how we are meant to be. With a closed heart chakra we withdraw into a closed mind and the bubble of five-sense reality. If you take a moment to focus your attention on the centre of your chest, picture a spinning wheel of light and see it opening and expanding. You will feel it happening, too, and perceptions of the heart like joy and love as the heart impacts on the mind as they interact. The more the chakra opens the more you will feel expressions of heart consciousness and as the process continues, and becomes part of you, insights and knowings will follow. An open

heart is connected to that level of awareness that knows all is *One*. You will see from its perspective that the fault-lines that divide us are only illusions to control us. An open heart does not process the illusions of race, creed and sexuality except as brief experiences for a consciousness that is all. Our heart does not see division, only unity (Figs 24 and 25). There's something else, too. Our hearts love to laugh. Mark Twain's quote that says 'The human race has one really effective weapon, and that is laughter' is really a reference to the heart which loves to laugh with the joy of knowing the true nature of infinite reality and that all the madness of human society is an illusion of the mind. Twain also said: 'Against the assault of laughter nothing can stand.' This is so true of Wetiko and the Cult. Their insecurity demands that they be taken seriously and their power and authority acknowledged and feared. We should do nothing of the sort. We should not get aggressive or fearful which their insecurity so desires. We should laugh in their face. Even in their no-face as police come over in their face-nappies and expect to be taken seriously. They don't take themselves seriously looking like that so why should we? Laugh in the face of intimidation. Laugh in the face of tyranny. You will see by its reaction that you have pressed all of its buttons. Wetiko does not know what to do in the face of laughter or when its targets refuse to concede their joy to fear. We have seen many examples during the 'Covid' hoax when people have expressed their energetic power and the string puppets of Wetiko retreat with their tail limp between their knees. Laugh – the world is bloody mad after all and if it's a choice between laughter and tears I know which way I'm going.



Figure 24: Head consciousness without the heart sees division and everything apart from everything else.



Figure 25: Heart consciousness sees everything as One.

Vaccines' and the soul

The foundation of Wetiko/Archon control of humans is the separation of incarnate five-sense mind from the infinite 'I' and closing the heart chakra where the True 'I' lives during a human life. The goal has been to achieve complete separation in both cases. I was interested therefore to read an account by a French energetic healer of what she said she experienced with a patient who had been given the 'Covid' vaccine. Genuine energy healers can sense information and consciousness fields at different levels of being which are referred to as 'subtle bodies'. She described treating the patient who later returned after having, without the healer's knowledge, two doses of the 'Covid vaccine'. The healer said:

I noticed immediately the change, very heavy energy emanating from [the] subtle bodies. The scariest thing was when I was working on the heart chakra, I connected with her soul: it was detached from the physical body, it had no contact and it was, as if it was floating in a state of total confusion: a damage to the consciousness that loses contact with the physical body, i.e. with our biological machine, there is no longer any communication between them.

I continued the treatment by sending light to the heart chakra, the soul of the person, but it seemed that the soul could no longer receive any light, frequency or energy. It was a very powerful experience for me. Then I understood that this substance is indeed used to detach consciousness so that this consciousness can no longer interact through this body that it possesses in life, where there is no longer any contact, no frequency, no light, no more energetic balance or mind.

This would create a human that is rudderless and at the extreme almost zombie-like operating with a fractional state of consciousness at the mercy of Wetiko. I was especially intrigued by what the healer said in the light of the prediction by the highly-informed Rudolf Steiner more than a hundred years ago. He said:

In the future, we will eliminate the soul with medicine. Under the pretext of a 'healthy point of view', there will be a vaccine by which the human body will be treated as soon as possible directly at birth, so that the human being cannot develop the thought of the existence of soul and Spirit. To materialistic doctors will be entrusted the task of removing the soul of humanity.

As today, people are vaccinated against this disease or that disease, so in the future, children will be vaccinated with a substance that can be produced precisely in such a way that people, thanks to this vaccination, will be immune to being subjected to the 'madness' of spiritual life. He would be extremely smart, but he would not develop a conscience, and that is the true goal of some materialistic circles.

Steiner said the vaccine would detach the physical body from the etheric body (subtle bodies) and 'once the etheric body is detached the relationship between the universe and the etheric body would become extremely unstable, and man would become an automaton'. He said 'the physical body of man must be polished on this Earth by spiritual will – so the vaccine becomes a kind of arymanique (Wetiko) force' and 'man can no longer get rid of a given materialistic feeling'. Humans would then, he said, become 'materialistic of constitution and can no longer rise to the spiritual'. I have been writing for years about DNA being a receiver-transmitter of information that connects us to other levels of reality and these 'vaccines' changing DNA can be likened to changing an antenna and what it can transmit and receive. Such a disconnection would clearly lead to changes in personality and perception. Steiner further predicted the arrival of AI. Big Pharma 'Covid vaccine' makers, expressions of Wetiko, are testing their DNA-manipulating evil on children as I write with a view to giving the 'vaccine' to babies. If it's a soul-body disconnecter – and I say that it is or can be – every child would be disconnected from 'soul' at birth and the 'vaccine' would create a closed system in which spiritual guidance from the greater self would play no part. This has been the ambition of Wetiko all

along. A Pentagon video from 2005 was leaked of a presentation explaining the development of vaccines to change behaviour by their effect on the brain. Those that believe this is not happening with the ‘Covid’ genetically-modifying procedure masquerading as a ‘vaccine’ should make an urgent appointment with Naivety Anonymous. Klaus Schwab wrote in 2018:

Neurotechnologies enable us to better influence consciousness and thought and to understand many activities of the brain. They include decoding what we are thinking in fine levels of detail through new chemicals and interventions that can influence our brains to correct for errors or enhance functionality.

The plan is clear and only the heart can stop it. With every heart that opens, every mind that awakens, Wetiko is weakened. Heart and love are far more powerful than head and hate and so nothing like a majority is needed to turn this around.

Beyond the Phantom

Our heart is the prime target of Wetiko and so it must be the answer to Wetiko. We *are* our heart which is part of one heart, the infinite heart. Our heart is where the true self lives in a human life behind firewalls of five-sense illusion when an imposter takes its place – *Phantom Self*; but our heart waits patiently to be set free any time we choose to see beyond the Phantom, beyond Wetiko. A Wetikoed Phantom Self can wreak mass death and destruction while the love of forever is locked away in its heart. The time is here to unleash its power and let it sweep away the fear and despair that is Wetiko. Heart consciousness does not seek manipulated, censored, advantage for its belief or religion, its activism and desires. As an expression of the One it treats all as One with the same rights to freedom and opinion. Our heart demands fairness for itself no more than for others. From this unity of heart we can come together in mutual support and transform this Wetikoed world into what reality is meant to be – a place of love, joy, happiness, fairness, justice and freedom. Wetiko has another agenda and that’s why the world is as

it is, but enough of this nonsense. Wetiko can't stay where hearts are open and it works so hard to keep them closed. Fear is its currency and its food source and love in its true sense has no fear. Why would love have fear when it knows it is *All That Is, Has Been, And Ever Can Be* on an eternal exploration of all possibility? Love in this true sense is not the physical attraction that passes for love. This can be an expression of it, yes, but Infinite Love, a love without condition, goes far deeper to the core of all being. It is the core of all being. Infinite reality was born from love beyond the illusions of the simulation. Love infinitely expressed is the knowing that all is One and the swiftly-passing experience of separation is a temporary hallucination. You cannot disconnect from Oneness; you can only perceive that you have and withdraw from its influence. This is the most important of all perception trickery by the mind parasite that is Wetiko and the foundation of all its potential for manipulation.

If we open our hearts, open the sluice gates of the mind, and redefine self-identity amazing things start to happen. Consciousness expands or contracts in accordance with self-identity. When true self is recognised as infinite awareness and label self – Phantom Self – is seen as only a series of brief experiences life is transformed. Consciousness expands to the extent that self-identity expands and everything changes. You see unity, not division, the picture, not the pixels. From this we can play the long game. No more is an experience something in and of itself, but a fleeting moment in the eternity of forever. Suddenly people in uniform and dark suits are no longer intimidating. Doing what your heart knows to be right is no longer intimidating and consequences for those actions take on the same nature of a brief experience that passes in the blink of an infinite eye. Intimidation is all in the mind. Beyond the mind there is no intimidation.

An open heart does not consider consequences for what it knows to be right. To do so would be to consider not doing what it knows to be right and for a heart in its power that is never an option. The Renegade Mind is really the Renegade Heart. Consideration of consequences will always provide a getaway car for the mind and

the heart doesn't want one. What is right in the light of what we face today is to stop cooperating with Wetiko in all its forms and to do it without fear or compromise. You cannot compromise with tyranny when tyranny always demands more until it has everything. Life is your perception and you are your destiny. Change your perception and you change your life. Change collective perception and we change the world.

*Come on people ... One human family, One heart, One goal ...
FREEEEEDOM!*

We must settle for nothing less.

Postscript

The big scare story as the book goes to press is the ‘Indian’ variant and the world is being deluged with propaganda about the ‘Covid catastrophe’ in India which mirrors in its lies and misrepresentations what happened in Italy before the first lockdown in 2020.

The *New York Post* published a picture of someone who had ‘collapsed in the street from Covid’ in India in April, 2021, which was actually taken during a gas leak in May, 2020. Same old, same old. Media articles in mid-February were asking why India had been so untouched by ‘Covid’ and then as their vaccine rollout gathered pace the alleged ‘cases’ began to rapidly increase. Indian ‘Covid vaccine’ maker Bharat Biotech was funded into existence by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (the pair announced their divorce in May, 2021, which is a pity because they so deserve each other). The Indian ‘Covid crisis’ was ramped up by the media to terrify the world and prepare people for submission to still more restrictions. The scam that worked the first time was being repeated only with far more people seeing through the deceit. Davidicke.com and Ickonic.com have sought to tell the true story of what is happening by talking to people living through the Indian nightmare which has nothing to do with ‘Covid’. We posted a letter from ‘Alisha’ in Pune who told a very different story to government and media mendacity. She said scenes of dying people and overwhelmed hospitals were designed to hide what was really happening – genocide and starvation. Alisha said that millions had already died of starvation during the ongoing lockdowns while government and media were lying and making it look like the ‘virus’:

Restaurants, shops, gyms, theatres, basically everything is shut. The cities are ghost towns. Even so-called 'essential' businesses are only open till 11am in the morning. You basically have just an hour to buy food and then your time is up.

Inter-state travel and even inter-district travel is banned. The cops wait at all major crossroads to question why you are traveling outdoors or to fine you if you are not wearing a mask.

The medical community here is also complicit in genocide, lying about hospitals being full and turning away people with genuine illnesses, who need immediate care. They have even created a shortage of oxygen cylinders.

This is the classic Cult modus operandi played out in every country. Alisha said that people who would not have a PCR test not testing for the 'virus' were being denied hospital treatment. She said the people hit hardest were migrant workers and those in rural areas. Most businesses employed migrant workers and with everything closed there were no jobs, no income and no food. As a result millions were dying of starvation or malnutrition. All this was happening under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a 100-percent asset of the Cult, and it emphasises yet again the scale of pure anti-human evil we are dealing with. Australia banned its people from returning home from India with penalties for trying to do so of up to five years in jail and a fine of £37,000. The manufactured 'Covid' crisis in India was being prepared to justify further fascism in the West. Obvious connections could be seen between the Indian 'vaccine' programme and increased 'cases' and this became a common theme. The Seychelles, the most per capita 'Covid vaccinated' population in the world, went back into lockdown after a 'surge of cases'.

Long ago the truly evil Monsanto agricultural biotechnology corporation with its big connections to Bill Gates devastated Indian farming with genetically-modified crops. Human rights activist Gurcharan Singh highlighted the efforts by the Indian government to complete the job by destroying the food supply to hundreds of millions with 'Covid' lockdowns. He said that 415 million people at the bottom of the disgusting caste system (still going whatever they say) were below the poverty line and struggled to feed themselves every year. Now the government was imposing lockdown at just the

time to destroy the harvest. This deliberate policy was leading to mass starvation. People may reel back at the suggestion that a government would do that, but Wetiko-controlled ‘leaders’ are capable of any level of evil. In fact what is described in India is in the process of being instigated worldwide. The food chain and food supply are being targeted at every level to cause world hunger and thus control. Bill Gates is not the biggest owner of farmland in America for no reason and destroying access to food aids both the depopulation agenda and the plan for synthetic ‘food’ already being funded into existence by Gates. Add to this the coming hyper-inflation from the suicidal creation of fake ‘money’ in response to ‘Covid’ and the breakdown of container shipping systems and you have a cocktail that can only lead one way and is meant to. The Cult plan is to crash the entire system to ‘build back better’ with the Great Reset.

'Vaccine' transmission

Reports from all over the world continue to emerge of women suffering menstrual and fertility problems after having the fake ‘vaccine’ and of the non-‘vaccinated’ having similar problems when interacting with the ‘vaccinated’. There are far too many for ‘coincidence’ to be credible. We’ve had menopausal women getting periods, others having periods stop or not stopping for weeks, passing clots, sometimes the lining of the uterus, breast irregularities, and miscarriages (which increased by 400 percent in parts of the United States). Non-‘vaccinated’ men and children have suffered blood clots and nose bleeding after interaction with the ‘vaccinated’. Babies have died from the effects of breast milk from a ‘vaccinated’ mother. Awake doctors – the small minority – speculated on the cause of non-‘vaccinated’ suffering the same effects as the ‘vaccinated’. Was it nanotechnology in the synthetic substance transmitting frequencies or was it a straight chemical bioweapon that was being transmitted between people? I am not saying that some kind of chemical transmission is not one possible answer, but the foundation of all that the Cult does is frequency and

this is fertile ground for understanding how transmission can happen. American doctor Carrie Madej, an internal medicine physician and osteopath, has been practicing for the last 20 years, teaching medical students, and she says attending different meetings where the agenda for humanity was discussed. Madej, who operates out of Georgia, did not dismiss other possible forms of transmission, but she focused on frequency in search of an explanation for transmission. She said the Moderna and Pfizer 'vaccines' contained nano-lipid particles as a key component. This was a brand new technology never before used on humanity. 'They're using a nanotechnology which is pretty much little tiny computer bits ... nanobots or hydrogel.' Inside the 'vaccines' was 'this sci-fi kind of substance' which suppressed immune checkpoints to get into the cell. I referred to this earlier as the 'Trojan horse' technique that tricks the cell into opening a gateway for the self-replicating synthetic material and while the immune system is artificially suppressed the body has no defences. Madej said the substance served many purposes including an on-demand ability to 'deliver the payload' and using the nano 'computer bits' as biosensors in the body. 'It actually has the ability to accumulate data from your body, like your breathing, your respiration, thoughts, emotions, all kinds of things.'

She said the technology obviously has the ability to operate through Wi-Fi and transmit and receive energy, messages, frequencies or impulses. 'Just imagine you're getting this new substance in you and it can react to things all around you, the 5G, your smart device, your phones.' We had something completely foreign in the human body that had never been launched large scale at a time when we were seeing 5G going into schools and hospitals (plus the Musk satellites) and she believed the 'vaccine' transmission had something to do with this: '... if these people have this inside of them ... it can act like an antenna and actually transmit it outwardly as well.' The synthetic substance produced its own voltage and so it could have that kind of effect. This fits with my own contention that the nano receiver-transmitters are designed to connect people to the

Smart Grid and break the receiver-transmitter connection to expanded consciousness. That would explain the French energy healer's experience of the disconnection of body from 'soul' with those who have had the 'vaccine'. The nanobots, self-replicating inside the body, would also transmit the synthetic frequency which could be picked up through close interaction by those who have not been 'vaccinated'. Madej speculated that perhaps it was 5G and increased levels of other radiation that was causing the symptoms directly although interestingly she said that non-'vaccinated' patients had shown improvement when they were away from the 'vaccinated' person they had interacted with. It must be remembered that you can control frequency and energy with your mind and you can consciously create energetic barriers or bubbles with the mind to stop damaging frequencies from penetrating your field. American paediatrician Dr Larry Palevsky said the 'vaccine' was not a 'vaccine' and was never designed to protect from a 'viral' infection. He called it 'a massive, brilliant propaganda of genocide' because they didn't have to inject everyone to get the result they wanted. He said the content of the jabs was able to infuse any material into the brain, heart, lungs, kidneys, liver, sperm and female productive system. 'This is genocide; this is a weapon of mass destruction.' At the same time American colleges were banning students from attending if they didn't have this life-changing and potentially life-ending 'vaccine'. Class action lawsuits must follow when the consequences of this college fascism come to light. As the book was going to press came reports about fertility effects on sperm in 'vaccinated' men which would absolutely fit with what I have been saying and hospitals continued to fill with 'vaccine' reactions. Another question is what about transmission via blood transfusions? The NHS has extended blood donation restrictions from seven days after a 'Covid vaccination' to 28 days after even a sore arm reaction.

I said in the spring of 2020 that the then touted 'Covid vaccine' would be ongoing each year like the flu jab. A year later Pfizer CEO, the appalling Albert Bourla, said people would 'likely' need a 'booster dose' of the 'vaccine' within 12 months of getting 'fully

'vaccinated' and then a yearly shot. 'Variants will play a key role', he said confirming the point. Johnson & Johnson CEO Alex Gorsky also took time out from his 'vaccine' disaster to say that people may need to be vaccinated against 'Covid-19' each year. UK Health Secretary, the psychopath Matt Hancock, said additional 'boosters' would be available in the autumn of 2021. This is the trap of the 'vaccine passport'. The public will have to accept every last 'vaccine' they introduce, including for the fake 'variants', or it would cease to be valid. The only other way in some cases would be continuous testing with a test not testing for the 'virus' and what is on the swabs constantly pushed up your noise towards the brain every time?

'Vaccines' changing behaviour

I mentioned in the body of the book how I believed we would see gathering behaviour changes in the 'vaccinated' and I am already hearing such comments from the non-'vaccinated' describing behaviour changes in friends, loved ones and work colleagues. This will only increase as the self-replicating synthetic material and nanoparticles expand in body and brain. An article in the *Guardian* in 2016 detailed research at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville which developed a new method for controlling brain circuits associated with complex animal behaviour. The method, dubbed 'magnetogenetics', involves genetically-engineering a protein called ferritin, which stores and releases iron, to create a magnetised substance – 'Magneto' – that can activate specific groups of nerve cells from a distance. This is claimed to be an advance on other methods of brain activity manipulation known as optogenetics and chemogenetics (the Cult has been developing methods of brain control for a long time). The ferritin technique is said to be non-invasive and able to activate neurons 'rapidly and reversibly'. In other words, human thought and perception. The article said that earlier studies revealed how nerve cell proteins 'activated by heat and mechanical pressure can be genetically engineered so that they become sensitive to radio waves and magnetic fields, by attaching them to an iron-storing protein called ferritin, or to inorganic

paramagnetic particles'. Sensitive to radio waves and magnetic fields? You mean like 5G, 6G and 7G? This is the human-AI Smart Grid hive mind we are talking about. The *Guardian* article said:

... the researchers injected Magneto into the striatum of freely behaving mice, a deep brain structure containing dopamine-producing neurons that are involved in reward and motivation, and then placed the animals into an apparatus split into magnetised and non-magnetised sections.

Mice expressing Magneto spent far more time in the magnetised areas than mice that did not, because activation of the protein caused the striatal neurons expressing it to release dopamine, so that the mice found being in those areas rewarding. This shows that Magneto can remotely control the firing of neurons deep within the brain, and also control complex behaviours.

Make no mistake this basic methodology will be part of the 'Covid vaccine' cocktail and using magnetics to change brain function through electromagnetic field frequency activation. The Pentagon is developing a 'Covid vaccine' using ferritin. Magnetics would explain changes in behaviour and why videos are appearing across the Internet as I write showing how magnets stick to the skin at the point of the 'vaccine' shot. Once people take these 'vaccines' anything becomes possible in terms of brain function and illness which will be blamed on 'Covid-19' and 'variants'. Magnetic field manipulation would further explain why the non-'vaccinated' are reporting the same symptoms as the 'vaccinated' they interact with and why those symptoms are reported to decrease when not in their company. Interestingly 'Magneto', a 'mutant', is a character in the Marvel Comic *X-Men* stories with the ability to manipulate magnetic fields and he believes that mutants should fight back against their human oppressors by any means necessary. The character was born Erik Lehnsherr to a Jewish family in Germany.

Cult-controlled courts

The European Court of Human Rights opened the door for mandatory 'Covid-19 vaccines' across the continent when it ruled in a Czech Republic dispute over childhood immunisation that legally

enforced vaccination could be ‘necessary in a democratic society’. The 17 judges decided that compulsory vaccinations did not breach human rights law. On the face of it the judgement was so inverted you gasp for air. If not having a vaccine infused into your body is not a human right then what is? Ah, but they said human rights law which has been specifically written to delete all human rights at the behest of the state (the Cult). Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights relates to the right to a private life. The crucial word here is ‘*except*’:

There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right EXCEPT such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic wellbeing of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others [My emphasis].

No interference *except* in accordance with the law means there *are* no ‘human rights’ *except* what EU governments decide you can have at their behest. ‘As is necessary in a democratic society’ explains that reference in the judgement and ‘in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others’ gives the EU a coach and horses to ride through ‘human rights’ and scatter them in all directions. The judiciary is not a check and balance on government extremism; it is a vehicle to enforce it. This judgement was almost laughably predictable when the last thing the Cult wanted was a decision that went against mandatory vaccination. Judges rule over and over again to benefit the system of which they are a part. Vaccination disputes that come before them are invariably delivered in favour of doctors and authorities representing the view of the state which owns the judiciary. Oh, yes, and we have even had calls to stop putting ‘Covid-19’ on death certificates within 28 days of a ‘positive test’ because it is claimed the practice makes the ‘vaccine’ appear not to work. They are laughing at you.

The scale of madness, inhumanity and things to come was highlighted when those not ‘vaccinated’ for ‘Covid’ were refused evacuation from the Caribbean island of St Vincent during massive volcanic eruptions. Cruise ships taking residents to the safety of another island allowed only the ‘vaccinated’ to board and the rest were left to their fate. Even in life and death situations like this we see ‘Covid’ stripping people of their most basic human instincts and the insanity is even more extreme when you think that fake ‘vaccine’-makers are not even claiming their body-manipulating concoctions stop ‘infection’ and ‘transmission’ of a ‘virus’ that doesn’t exist. St Vincent Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves said: ‘The chief medical officer will be identifying the persons already vaccinated so that we can get them on the ship.’ Note again the power of the chief medical officer who, like Whitty in the UK, will be answering to the World Health Organization. This is the Cult network structure that has overridden politicians who ‘follow the science’ which means doing what WHO-controlled ‘medical officers’ and ‘science advisers’ tell them. Gonsalves even said that residents who were ‘vaccinated’ after the order so they could board the ships would still be refused entry due to possible side effects such as ‘wooziness in the head’. The good news is that if they were woozy enough in the head they could qualify to be prime minister of St Vincent.

Microchipping freedom

The European judgement will be used at some point to justify moves to enforce the ‘Covid’ DNA-manipulating procedure. Sandra Ro, CEO of the Global Blockchain Business Council, told a World Economic Forum event that she hoped ‘vaccine passports’ would help to ‘drive forced consent and standardisation’ of global digital identity schemes: ‘I’m hoping with the desire and global demand for some sort of vaccine passport – so that people can get travelling and working again – [it] will drive forced consent, standardisation, and frankly, cooperation across the world.’ The lady is either not very bright, or thoroughly mendacious, to use the term ‘forced consent’.

You do not ‘consent’ if you are forced – you *submit*. She was describing what the plan has been all along and that’s to enforce a digital identity on every human without which they could not function. ‘Vaccine passports’ are opening the door and are far from the end goal. A digital identity would allow you to be tracked in everything you do in cyberspace and this is the same technique used by Cult-owned China to enforce its social credit system of total control. The ultimate ‘passport’ is planned to be a microchip as my books have warned for nearly 30 years. Those nice people at the Pentagon working for the Cult-controlled Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) claimed in April, 2021, they have developed a microchip inserted under the skin to detect ‘asymptomatic Covid-19 infection’ before it becomes an outbreak and a ‘revolutionary filter’ that can remove the ‘virus’ from the blood when attached to a dialysis machine. The only problems with this are that the ‘virus’ does not exist and people transmitting the ‘virus’ with no symptoms is brain-numbing bullshit. This is, of course, not a ruse to get people to be microchipped for very different reasons. DARPA also said it was producing a one-stop ‘vaccine’ for the ‘virus’ and all ‘variants’. One of the most sinister organisations on Planet Earth is doing this? Better have it then. These people are insane because Wetiko that possesses them is insane.

Researchers from the Salk Institute in California announced they have created an embryo that is part human and part monkey. My books going back to the 1990s have exposed experiments in top secret underground facilities in the United States where humans are being crossed with animal and non-human ‘extraterrestrial’ species. They are now easing that long-developed capability into the public arena and there is much more to come given we are dealing with psychiatric basket cases. Talking of which – Elon Musk’s scientists at Neuralink trained a monkey to play Pong and other puzzles on a computer screen using a joystick and when the monkey made the correct move a metal tube squirted banana smoothie into his mouth which is the basic technique for training humans into unquestioning compliance. Two Neuralink chips were in the monkey’s skull and

more than 2,000 wires ‘fanned out’ into its brain. Eventually the monkey played a video game purely with its brain waves. Psychopathic narcissist Musk said the ‘breakthrough’ was a step towards putting Neuralink chips into human skulls and merging minds with artificial intelligence. *Exactly.* This man is so dark and Cult to his DNA.

World Economic Fascism (WEF)

The World Economic Forum is telling you the plan by the statements made at its many and various events. Cult-owned fascist YouTube CEO Susan Wojcicki spoke at the 2021 WEF Global Technology Governance Summit (see the name) in which 40 governments and 150 companies met to ensure ‘the responsible design and deployment of emerging technologies’. Orwellian translation: ‘Ensuring the design and deployment of long-planned technologies will advance the Cult agenda for control and censorship.’ Freedom-destroyer and Nuremberg-bound Wojcicki expressed support for tech platforms like hers to censor content that is ‘technically legal but could be harmful’. Who decides what is ‘harmful’? She does and they do. ‘Harmful’ will be whatever the Cult doesn’t want people to see and we have legislation proposed by the UK government that would censor content on the basis of ‘harm’ no matter if the information is fair, legal and provably true. Make that *especially* if it is fair, legal and provably true. Wojcicki called for a global coalition to be formed to enforce content moderation standards through automated censorship. This is a woman and mega-censor so self-deluded that she shamelessly accepted a ‘free expression’ award – *Wojcicki* – in an event sponsored by her own *YouTube*. They have no shame and no self-awareness.

You know that ‘Covid’ is a scam and Wojcicki a Cult operative when YouTube is censoring medical and scientific opinion purely on the grounds of whether it supports or opposes the Cult ‘Covid’ narrative. Florida governor Ron DeSantis compiled an expert panel with four professors of medicine from Harvard, Oxford, and Stanford Universities who spoke against forcing children and

vaccinated people to wear masks. They also said there was no proof that lockdowns reduced spread or death rates of 'Covid-19'. Cult-gofer Wojcicki and her YouTube deleted the panel video 'because it included content that contradicts the consensus of local and global health authorities regarding the efficacy of masks to prevent the spread of Covid-19'. This 'consensus' refers to what the Cult tells the World Health Organization to say and the WHO tells 'local health authorities' to do. Wojcicki knows this, of course. The panellists pointed out that censorship of scientific debate was responsible for deaths from many causes, but Wojcicki couldn't care less. She would not dare go against what she is told and as a disgrace to humanity she wouldn't want to anyway. The UK government is seeking to pass a fascist 'Online Safety Bill' to specifically target with massive fines and other means non-censored video and social media platforms to make them censor 'lawful but harmful' content like the Cult-owned Facebook, Twitter, Google and YouTube. What is 'lawful but harmful' would be decided by the fascist Blair-created Ofcom.

Another WEF obsession is a cyber-attack on the financial system and this is clearly what the Cult has planned to take down the bank accounts of everyone – except theirs. Those that think they have enough money for the Cult agenda not to matter to them have got a big lesson coming if they continue to ignore what is staring them in the face. The World Economic Forum, funded by Gates and fronted by Klaus Schwab, announced it would be running a 'simulation' with the Russian government and global banks of just such an attack called Cyber Polygon 2021. What they simulate – as with the 'Covid' Event 201 – they plan to instigate. The WEF is involved in a project with the Cult-owned Carnegie Endowment for International Peace called the WEF-Carnegie Cyber Policy Initiative which seeks to merge Wall Street banks, 'regulators' (I love it) and intelligence agencies to 'prevent' (arrange and allow) a cyber-attack that would bring down the global financial system as long planned by those that control the WEF and the Carnegie operation. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace sent an instruction to First World

War US President Woodrow Wilson not to let the war end before society had been irreversibly transformed.

The Wuhan lab diversion

As I close, the Cult-controlled authorities and lapdog media are systematically pushing ‘the virus was released from the Wuhan lab’ narrative. There are two versions – it happened by accident and it happened on purpose. Both are nonsense. The perceived existence of the never-shown-to-exist ‘virus’ is vital to sell the impression that there is actually an infective agent to deal with and to allow the endless potential for terrifying the population with ‘variants’ of a ‘virus’ that does not exist. The authorities at the time of writing are going with the ‘by accident’ while the alternative media is promoting the ‘on purpose’. Cable news host Tucker Carlson who has questioned aspects of lockdown and ‘vaccine’ compulsion has bought the Wuhan lab story. ‘Everyone now agrees’ he said. Well, I don’t and many others don’t and the question is *why* does the system and its media suddenly ‘agree’? When the media moves as one unit with a narrative it is always a lie – witness the hour by hour mendacity of the ‘Covid’ era. Why would this Cult-owned combination which has unleashed lies like machine gun fire suddenly ‘agree’ to tell the truth??

Much of the alternative media is buying the lie because it fits the conspiracy narrative, but it’s the *wrong* conspiracy. The real conspiracy is that *there is no virus* and that is what the Cult is desperate to hide. The idea that the ‘virus’ was released by accident is ludicrous when the whole ‘Covid’ hoax was clearly long-planned and waiting to be played out as it was so fast in accordance with the Rockefeller document and Event 201. So they prepared everything in detail over decades and then sat around strumming their fingers waiting for an ‘accidental’ release from a bio-lab? *What??* It’s crazy. Then there’s the ‘on purpose’ claim. You want to circulate a ‘deadly virus’ and hide the fact that you’ve done so and you release it down the street from the highest-level bio-lab in China? I repeat – *What??*

You would release it far from that lab to stop any association being made. But, no, we'll do it in a place where the connection was certain to be made. Why would you need to scam 'cases' and 'deaths' and pay hospitals to diagnose 'Covid-19' if you had a real 'virus'? What are sections of the alternative media doing believing this crap? Where were all the mass deaths in Wuhan from a 'deadly pathogen' when the recovery to normal life after the initial propaganda was dramatic in speed? Why isn't the 'deadly pathogen' now circulating all over China with bodies in the street? Once again we have the technique of tell them what they want to hear and they will likely believe it. The alternative media has its 'conspiracy' and with Carlson it fits with his 'China is the danger' narrative over years. China *is* a danger as a global Cult operations centre, but not for this reason. The Wuhan lab story also has the potential to instigate conflict with China when at some stage the plan is to trigger a Problem-Reaction-Solution confrontation with the West. Question everything – *everything* – and especially when the media agrees on a common party line.

Third wave ... fourth wave ... fifth wave ...

As the book went into production the world was being set up for more lockdowns and a 'third wave' supported by invented 'variants' that were increasing all the time and will continue to do so in public statements and computer programs, but not in reality. India became the new Italy in the 'Covid' propaganda campaign and we were told to be frightened of the new 'Indian strain'. Somehow I couldn't find it within myself to do so. A document produced for the UK government entitled 'Summary of further modelling of easing of restrictions – Roadmap Step 2' declared that a third wave was inevitable (of course when it's in the script) and it would be the fault of children and those who refuse the health-destroying fake 'Covid vaccine'. One of the computer models involved came from the Cult-owned *Imperial College* and the other from Warwick University which I wouldn't trust to tell me the date in a calendar factory. The document states that both models presumed extremely high uptake

of the ‘Covid vaccines’ and didn’t allow for ‘variants’. The document states: ‘The resurgence is a result of some people (mostly children) being ineligible for vaccination; others choosing not to receive the vaccine; and others being vaccinated but not perfectly protected.’ The mendacity takes the breath away. Okay, blame those with a brain who won’t take the DNA-modifying shots and put more pressure on children to have it as ‘trials’ were underway involving children as young as six months with parents who give insanity a bad name. Massive pressure is being put on the young to have the fake ‘vaccine’ and child age consent limits have been systematically lowered around the world to stop parents intervening. Most extraordinary about the document was its claim that the ‘third wave’ would be driven by ‘the resurgence in both hospitalisations and deaths … dominated by *those that have received two doses of the vaccine*, comprising around 60-70% of the wave respectively’. The predicted peak of the ‘third wave’ suggested 300 deaths per day with 250 of them *fully ‘vaccinated’ people*. How many more lies do acquiescers need to be told before they see the obvious? Those who took the jab to ‘protect themselves’ are projected to be those who mostly get sick and die? So what’s in the ‘vaccine’? The document went on:

It is possible that a summer of low prevalence could be followed by substantial increases in incidence over the following autumn and winter. Low prevalence in late summer should not be taken as an indication that SARS-CoV-2 has retreated or that the population has high enough levels of immunity to prevent another wave.

They are telling you the script and while many British people believed ‘Covid’ restrictions would end in the summer of 2021 the government was preparing for them to be ongoing. Authorities were awarding contracts for ‘Covid marshals’ to police the restrictions with contracts starting in July, 2021, and going through to January 31st, 2022, and the government was advertising for ‘Media Buying Services’ to secure media propaganda slots worth a potential £320 million for ‘Covid-19 campaigns’ with a contract not ending until March, 2022. The recipient – via a list of other front companies – was reported to be American media marketing giant Omnicom Group

Inc. While money is no object for ‘Covid’ the UK waiting list for all other treatment – including life-threatening conditions – passed 4.5 million. Meantime the Cult is seeking to control all official ‘inquiries’ to block revelations about what has really been happening and why. It must not be allowed to – we need Nuremberg jury trials in every country. The cover-up doesn’t get more obvious than appointing ultra-Zionist professor Philip Zelikow to oversee two dozen US virologists, public health officials, clinicians, former government officials and four American ‘charitable foundations’ to ‘learn the lessons’ of the ‘Covid’ debacle. The personnel will be those that created and perpetuated the ‘Covid’ lies while Zelikow is the former executive director of the 9/11 Commission who ensured that the truth about those attacks never came out and produced a report that must be among the most mendacious and manipulative documents ever written – see *The Trigger* for the detailed exposure of the almost unimaginable 9/11 story in which Sabbatians can be found at every level.

Passive no more

People are increasingly challenging the authorities with amazing numbers of people taking to the streets in London well beyond the ability of the Face-Nappies to stop them. Instead the Nappies choose situations away from the mass crowds to target, intimidate, and seek to promote the impression of ‘violent protestors’. One such incident happened in London’s Hyde Park. Hundreds of thousands walking through the streets in protest against ‘Covid’ fascism were ignored by the Cult-owned BBC and most of the rest of the mainstream media, but they delighted in reporting how police were injured in ‘clashes with protestors’. The truth was that a group of people gathered in Hyde Park at the end of one march when most had gone home and they were peacefully having a good time with music and chat. Face-Nappies who couldn’t deal with the full-march crowd then waded in with their batons and got more than they bargained for. Instead of just standing for this criminal brutality the crowd used their numerical superiority to push the Face-Nappies out of the

park. Eventually the Nappies turned and ran. Unfortunately two or three idiots in the crowd threw drink cans striking two officers which gave the media and the government the image they wanted to discredit the 99.9999 percent who were peaceful. The idiots walked straight into the trap and we must always be aware of potential agent provocateurs used by the authorities to discredit their targets.

This response from the crowd – the can people apart – must be a turning point when the public no longer stand by while the innocent are arrested and brutally attacked by the Face-Nappies. That doesn't mean to be violent, that's the last thing we need. We'll leave the violence to the Face-Nappies and government. But it does mean that when the Face-Nappies use violence against peaceful people the numerical superiority is employed to stop them and make citizen's arrests or Common Law arrests for a breach of the peace. The time for being passive in the face of fascism is over.

We are the many, they are the few, and we need to make that count before there is no freedom left and our children and grandchildren face an ongoing fascist nightmare.

COME ON PEOPLE – IT'S TIME.

One final thought ...

The power of love
A force from above
Cleaning my soul
Flame on burn desire
Love with tongues of fire
Purge the soul
Make love your goal

I'll protect you from the hooded claw
Keep the vampires from your door
When the chips are down I'll be around
With my undying, death-defying
Love for you

Envy will hurt itself
Let yourself be beautiful
Sparkling love, flowers
And pearls and pretty girls
Love is like an energy
Rushin' rushin' inside of me

This time we go sublime
Lovers entwine, divine, divine,
Love is danger, love is pleasure
Love is pure – the only treasure

I'm so in love with you
Purge the soul
Make love your goal

The power of love
A force from above
Cleaning my soul
The power of love
A force from above
A sky-scraping dove

Flame on burn desire
Love with tongues of fire
Purge the soul
Make love your goal

Frankie Goes To Hollywood

APPENDIX

Cowan-Kaufman-Morell Statement on Virus Isolation (SOVI)

Isolation: The action of isolating; the fact or condition of being isolated or standing alone; separation from other things or persons; solitariness

Oxford English Dictionary

The controversy over whether the SARS-CoV-2 virus has ever been isolated or purified continues. However, using the above definition, common sense, the laws of logic and the dictates of science, any unbiased person must come to the conclusion that the SARS-CoV-2 virus has never been isolated or purified. As a result, no confirmation of the virus' existence can be found. The logical, common sense, and scientific consequences of this fact are:

- the structure and composition of something not shown to exist can't be known, including the presence, structure, and function of any hypothetical spike or other proteins;
- the genetic sequence of something that has never been found can't be known;
- "variants" of something that hasn't been shown to exist can't be known;
- it's impossible to demonstrate that SARS-CoV-2 causes a disease called Covid-19.

In as concise terms as possible, here's the proper way to isolate, characterize and demonstrate a new virus. First, one takes samples (blood, sputum, secretions) from many people (e.g. 500) with symptoms which are unique and specific enough to characterize an illness. Without mixing these samples with ANY tissue or products that also contain genetic material, the virologist macerates, filters and ultracentrifuges i.e. *purifies* the specimen. This common virology technique, done for decades to isolate bacteriophages¹ and so-called giant viruses in every virology lab, then allows the virologist to demonstrate with electron microscopy thousands of identically sized and shaped particles. These particles are the isolated and purified virus.

These identical particles are then checked for uniformity by physical and/or microscopic techniques. Once the purity is determined, the particles may be further characterized. This would include examining the structure, morphology, and chemical composition of the particles. Next, their genetic makeup is characterized by extracting the genetic material directly from the purified particles and using genetic-sequencing techniques, such as Sanger sequencing, that have also been around for decades. Then one does an analysis to confirm that these uniform particles are exogenous (outside) in origin as a virus is conceptualized to be, and not the normal breakdown products of dead and dying tissues.² (As of May 2020, we know that virologists have no way to determine whether the particles they're seeing are viruses or just normal breakdown products of dead and dying tissues.)³

1 Isolation, characterization and analysis of bacteriophages from the haloalkaline lake Elmenteita, KenyaJuliah Khayeli Akhwale et al, PLOS One, Published: April 25, 2019.
<https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0215734> – accessed 2/15/21

2 "Extracellular Vesicles Derived From Apoptotic Cells: An Essential Link Between Death and Regeneration," Maojiao Li et al, Frontiers in Cell and Developmental Biology, 2020 October 2.
<https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fcell.2020.573511/full> – accessed 2/15/21

3 "The Role of Extracellular Vesicles as Allies of HIV, HCV and SARS Viruses," Flavia Giannessi, et al, *Viruses*, 2020 May

If we have come this far then we have fully isolated, characterized, and genetically sequenced an exogenous virus particle. However, we still have to show it is causally related to a disease. This is carried out by exposing a group of healthy subjects (animals are usually used) to this isolated, purified virus in the manner in which the disease is thought to be transmitted. If the animals get sick with the same disease, as confirmed by clinical and autopsy findings, one has now shown that the virus actually causes a disease. This demonstrates infectivity and transmission of an infectious agent.

None of these steps has even been attempted with the SARS-CoV-2 virus, nor have all these steps been successfully performed for any so-called pathogenic virus. Our research indicates that a single study showing these steps does not exist in the medical literature.

Instead, since 1954, virologists have taken unpurified samples from a relatively few people, often less than ten, with a similar disease. They then minimally process this sample and inoculate this unpurified sample onto tissue culture containing usually four to six other types of material – all of which contain identical genetic material as to what is called a “virus.” The tissue culture is starved and poisoned and naturally disintegrates into many types of particles, some of which contain genetic material. Against all common sense, logic, use of the English language and scientific integrity, this process is called “virus isolation.” This brew containing fragments of genetic material from many sources is then subjected to genetic analysis, which then creates in a computer-simulation process the alleged sequence of the alleged virus, a so-called *in silico* genome. At no time is an actual virus confirmed by electron microscopy. At no time is a genome extracted and sequenced from an actual virus. This is scientific fraud.

The observation that the unpurified specimen — inoculated onto tissue culture along with toxic antibiotics, bovine fetal tissue, amniotic fluid and other tissues — destroys the kidney tissue onto which it is inoculated is given as evidence of the virus' existence and pathogenicity. This is scientific fraud.

From now on, when anyone gives you a paper that suggests the SARS-CoV-2 virus has been isolated, please check the methods sections. If the researchers used Vero cells or any other culture method, you know that their process was not isolation. You will hear the following excuses for why actual isolation isn't done:

1. There were not enough virus particles found in samples from patients to analyze.
2. Viruses are intracellular parasites; they can't be found outside the cell in this manner.

If No. 1 is correct, and we can't find the virus in the sputum of sick people, then on what evidence do we think the virus is dangerous or even lethal? If No. 2 is correct, then how is the virus spread from person to person? We are told it emerges from the cell to infect others. Then why isn't it possible to find it?

Finally, questioning these virology techniques and conclusions is not some distraction or divisive issue. Shining the light on this truth is essential to stop this terrible fraud that humanity is confronting. For, as we now know, if the virus has never been isolated, sequenced or shown to cause illness, if the virus is imaginary, then why are we wearing masks, social distancing and putting the whole world into prison?

Finally, if pathogenic viruses don't exist, then what is going into those injectable devices erroneously called "vaccines," and what is their purpose? This scientific question is the most urgent and relevant one of our time.

We are correct. The SARS-CoV2 virus does not exist.

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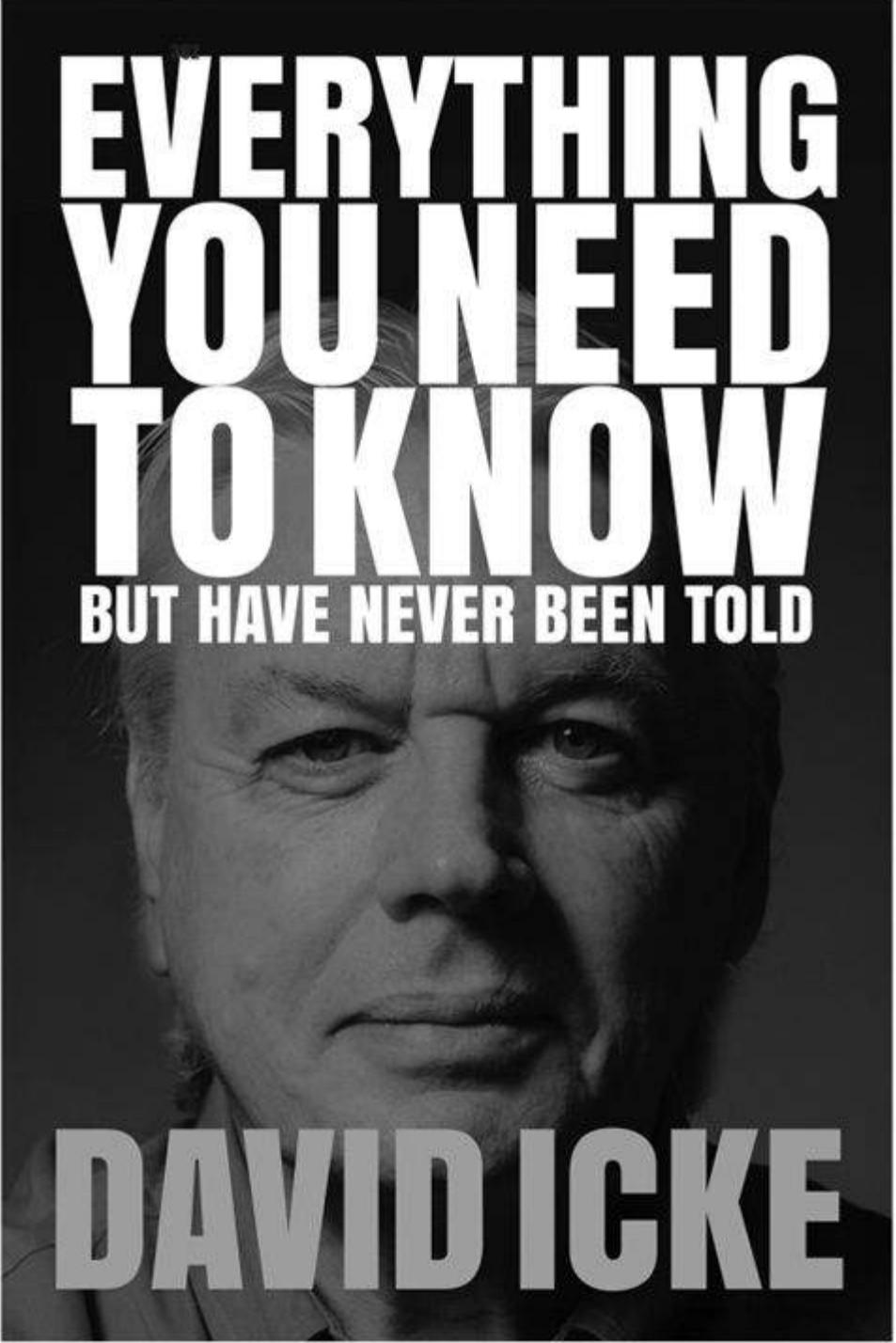
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