

WUR of May 3rd, 2015... “Embracing Global Goals, Scope and Action: Becoming Global Actors... Claiming the ‘All’” (Dft 22)

Here's a song to celebrate our Flyin' High Day: Freedom... Leisure... Independence... Happiness Is Global Humans... Day this May 1st:

“LettheGoodTimesRoll.mp3”: “Let the good times roll!...” [B.B. King]

[“150503redemption.mp3”:]

Today's show: “Establishing a 'safe' place to plan and express our love: places for the cultivation of soul-sufficiency” (Part 3)

...and part of the process of creating these 'safe' spaces... part of that 'safety' is this process of helping each other get 'big'... and that's how I define 'healing'... because it's reclaiming the lost 'self'...

I was looking at a photo of Mingus near the end...
...and saw my swollen face in his...
...how many of the ones who love us most...
...have they taken from our midst...
...how many of the most courageous...
(...and I'm not talking me...)
...have they 'saved' us from...
How much longer...
...will we let it go on?
...simply to hold back the day...
...when we finally live free...
...and be each other's bedazzling...

[“150503abilitytoexpresslove.mp3”:]

April 28, 2015... Sisters and Brothers: As you know... how we can express our love... the importance of this...

(...because that's really what this is about... truly... the ability to express our love... 'power' has intentionally made our world hazardous on every level... in order to suppress our love... and our ability to express it...

...we're going to continue to delve into this issue... it's much deeper than I realized going in... six years ago...)

As you know... how we can express our love... the importance of this... has recently been brought to my attention (to my *soul's* salvation...) and... in that context...

(...and it must be said: the fact that I have put good-hearted folks – and one in particular who sets me aflame... my whole world rocking... a far greater heart than mine... as I walked in blind... – at risk... is my only regret...

– it's such an odd feeling... to be so simultaneously happy... and so worried... it almost makes you feel guilty... to be so happy... feel so light... at such a price...)

...I've been pondering this notion... of 'power' (and we-the-people... until we talk about it... and reconceive our allegiance...) believing that it 'develops us' as it uses us... as it makes us cogs in their machine...

There are (at least) two sides to this that we'll be considering today... the first we've discussed before... and I've written about on the page: “Founding & Realizing A Test Site – not modeled on ‘democracy’... but on freedom – Premised On “Leisure IS Happiness...” –

(...and our bodies know this... and when we trust ourselves enough to listen... we hear that... we know that... that we can't begin to be happy if we're being rushed around... compelled... coerced... to implement the objectives... the

orders... of others... we have to own ourselves to be happy... no living thing wants to be in a cage... and we have not discussed the fact that we are living in a cage... in a class system... where our human energy is compelled...)

[“150503leveltowhat.mp3”:]

So I've been pondering this notion of how we could imagine ourselves being 'developed' as we're being 'made-use-of'... made 'cogs' in their machine... in our earlier discussions of this issue... when we discussed De Tocqueville's contribution to global-'power's self-concept and definition of their objectives... their goals... we discussed this in the context of what De Tocqueville thought of as 'the leveling effect of commerce'... – that it tends toward an 'equality of conditions'. But we should keep in mind as we read... that he is rooted in the notion that this process is 'civilizing'... he doesn't see within the scope of his notion of 'humanity'... the earth-connected indigenous... has no notion of the earth itself being the source... the fuel for... a broadening to a universal beauty and truth... of each individual one of us:

Men are not corrupted by the exercise of power or debased by the habit of obedience; but by the exercise of a power which they believe to be illegal and by obedience to a rule which they consider to be usurped and oppressive... [This is a good expression of C.L.R. James' point that “...passive obedience is precisely the basis of bourgeois (I would say 'class'...) society... They want us to be 'happy' with whatever is our assigned 'place'...” and we've had... in this space... elaborated discussions of that point... because it's never discussed over the airwaves and it's a really important discussion: How is it that folks can be 'happy' to be obedient?... Are we born that way?... No. We've discussed for a while how what feels happy is 'self-definition'... being 'big'... claiming ourselves... naming ourselves... that's what makes us happy... and energized... So how is it that someone can be 'happy' to be obedient?... which... De Tocqueville says... in that state they are not debased... Really? Just the opposite. I guess the point here is: what 'power' makes us to be is 'reality'... that's essentially what he's saying... – P.S]

[“150503debasedbywage.mp3”:]

As soon as land was held on any other than a feudal tenure, and personal property began in its turn to confer influence and power, every improvement which was introduced in commerce or manufacture was a fresh element of the equality of conditions. Henceforward every new discovery, every new want which it engendered, and every new desire which craved satisfaction, was a step towards the universal level. [...and by 'universal level' we should hear 'a single pattern of thought'... the definition of 'totalitarianism'... Voice names what exists – that's why it's so critical we stop mis-naming reality to our children – if no one names totalitarianism for what it is... it can't be discussed. It's all around us... covered by 'the wage'... 'the price'... of a human being... wearing the face of normality. Notice – not even 'the Left' over the airwaves will say this... that we are debased by the wage... – P.S] The taste for luxury, the love of war, the sway of fashion, and the most superficial as well as the deepest passions of the human heart, co-operated to enrich the poor and to impoverish the rich. [And by 'impoverish the rich'... he's talking about the destruction of the old feudal order... inherited wealth based in a connection to the possession of land... and not in the restless drive for 'Perfection' that bedevils the Plato's Tribesmen... P.S.]

From the time when the exercise of the intellect became the source of strength and of wealth, it is impossible not to consider every addition to science, every fresh truth, and every new idea as a germ of power placed within the reach of the people. Poetry, eloquence, and memory, the grace of wit, the glow of imagination, the depth of thought, and all the gifts which are bestowed by Providence with an equal hand, turned to the advantage of the democracy; and even when they were in the possession of its adversaries, they still served its cause by throwing into relief the natural greatness of man; its conquests spread, therefore, with those of civilization and knowledge; and literature became an arsenal, where the poorest and the weakest could always find weapons to their hand.

In perusing the pages of our history, we shall scarcely meet with a single great event, in the lapse of seven hundred years, which has not turned to the advantage of equality. (Alexis de Tocqueville, “Author's Preface”, *Democracy in America*)

And this is a book I am absolutely certain 'power' uses as propaganda with our young people... because his words can be so mis-understood... and encouraged to be so mis-understood... like Plato's... it's a perfect propaganda tool for 'power' (and I use the word 'propaganda' exclusively to mean “power's attempts to manipulate our thinking”...)

We must not mistake his argument... he is wedded utterly to 'class'... Rather... he believes in the inevitability of 'social equality' between the 'classes'. And I think we're seeing indications of the influence of his thinking here in the US right now... we could include in that category the granting of legal equality to 'sexual minorities'... gays, lesbians, bisexuals,

transgendered... to all formerly discriminated-against groups... that in granting 'legal equality' (which begins the process of conferring 'social equality'...) we are seeing an expression of what De Tocqueville is talking about in terms of everybody becoming 'equal'... he is not talking about the elimination of 'class'... Just the opposite... he's saying that "to preserve 'class' we have to ensure there is 'social equality between the 'classes' and the various social groups..."

The issue for us to consider today is this: as we grow bigger... we global humans... as our knowledge of the world... our Brothers and Sisters... and how our imprisonment 'works'... as all this increases... 'power' wants to halt that process.

[Please listen again to some of our earlier thoughts on 'education'.... As the global-economy collapses... as the resources of the planet get consumed... or have been... 'power' has to figure out... since they can no longer buy off enough people with the wage... how they're going to buy us off... those who are left... and we're going to be talking about that....]

"150430educationcon.mp3": "Practical solutions... guidance – guidance that reflects the actual circumstances of our lives – is precisely what we've been denied... and this is what makes our Good Three's contribution so important... and no less so Kropotkin's... whose words... built on here suggests this: that 'power' uses 'education' (under 'class') to provide the 'objective evidence' of 'natural inequality'... and 'science' (including Marxist theory...) as the legitimating ideology (full-spectrum propaganda-coverage...) 'Vetting' of the media is made automatic by the "class' education project"... and that the 'education process' alone ensures that only the thought-parameters established by 'power' are allowed to see the light of day... the airwaves..." [From our February 22, 2015 show.]

"150430scarcityframe.mp3": "...the 'class'-system is based on the assumption of 'scarcity' (...because... if we think about it... if 'knowledge' is scarce... belongs to only a few... that can easily form the mental frame for 'scarcity' overall... because if we don't know what to do to preserve our own lives... reproduce ourselves... we are condemned to be slaves to Necessity...) – the belief that 'there isn't enough... stuff...' and that we-the-people are not sufficient... and that we believe this... contrary to reality... because this is the substance of our 'education', both official and the unspoken 'education' embedded in our social relations... utterly dependent... And so... therefore... we also said... the flip-side of the story "The Elevation of The Few"... is our diminishment... in our own eyes. And truly... with this lens in our possession... the media-display becomes one long parade of illustration... of our conditioning to not see our own abundance." [From our January 25, 2015 show.]

["150503theystackthedeck.mp3":]

...because I do believe that a lot of the apparent 'natural disasters' are not... and certainly the manufactured crises of 'under-the-table-paid-for-terrorist-groups' that cause havoc and destroy our hope – try to... let's don't let that work...

It seems to me De Tocqueville is right... that 'commerce' does tend toward a 'universal level' – if not an 'equality of conditions' – recalling our earlier point that 'universal level' implies 'single pattern of thought'... i.e. totalitarianism. This has ever been the direction Plato's Tribe intends to take all of us... globally... while telling us... per Bentham... that as long as we're all 'happy'... our particular place in their 'grand scheme' is 'objectively' fine... being 'objectively' defined... by the 'system' of 'education'... they will ever and always while they exist... stack the deck – always have... always will... while class exists – so... as we said during the February 22, 2015 show... it is on this – the 'system of education' – on which they intend to rely... which is why those they intend for 'low-slotted' positions... are slaughtered by 'terrorists' (across the ideological spectrum... and continents...) when they aspire (against this planned assignment...) higher...

Of course De Tocqueville did not really believe in an 'equality of conditions'... because that would mean... if he's honest... 'equality of education'... and this 'men who exercise power' would never allow.

So as existing crises deepen... and in particular as more folks are cut loose from employment – or forced into accepting less-and-less... of everything... and those who accept 'less-and-less'-jobs... and find themselves patching them together... and rushing... rushing... rushing: even in those situations... the legitimacy of 'the state' breaks down – and those kicked to the curb for real... find they have more time... more time to think... more and more folks will be thinking about bigger things... even the biggest things. What has 'power' done in the past when there were 'too many people' – when we started talking to

each other globally... getting rowdy... what has 'power' done: starved... crushed... blown our bodies up... in all the 'crises' made especially just for us...

...all the while... the supposed more 'realistic' (than 'democracy'...) model of 'China' is shoved at us. Haven't we been hearing this for some time now?... 'power's appreciation of how Chinese global-statesmen 'successfully' 'control' billions of commoner-Chinese... and so... "isn't there a need" ... they say disingenuously... "to 'rethink' 'democracy'?..."

Last week we noted Karl Popper's point that Marx insufficiently credited the influence of 'the big fist'... the 'power'-guys'... who resist (refuse) all constraints upon their movements... and... (and this is *my* point...) operate behind scenes to create the 'reality' they need.

We can now add to this... that he didn't credit sufficiently the influence of "*global* 'power'"...

...or the degree to which it lives ('power') in each and every one of us under 'class': its ranking system... its 'productivity-emphasis'... its 'mind'-deification... all of which nullify our love for our Brothers and Sisters...

So as we said in that wordbeat... that the 'scarcity'-mindset is reinforced by the notion of 'knowledge' being scarce... in other show we've said that it's also reinforced... undergirded... by the 'wage work system' in many senses but in particular by the fact that parents have to go out and sell their human energy... and so children are left alone... when they need the tribe... full time... so because appreciation of our children... and love... and time... and attention... has been made a scarce commodity... our children are taught... with no words spoken about it... that love... attention... is something they have to 'earn'... and they grow up with this hunger for it... this need to be 'seen'... to be acknowledged... to be 'of use'... making them... ready soil for 'power' to plant its seeds in.

["150503economicruse.mp3":]

So how do we seize this moment? How do we take back our lives?

It seems to me that with this question our Good Three posed: "[is]... the world-scale centralizing of capital... historically far enough advanced (as suggested by 'the absolute general law') to replace the interstate system's market-regulation via hegemony?..." they are asking if concentrated wealth in the hands of the Miniscule Few can wield an 'authority' equivalent to the 'authority of the market'... 'market-authority' – an equivalent authority based in the undisputed superiority of one set of global-state statesmen –

...to squash us... beat us down...

...and what I've learned... is that that – this squeeze on us materially...

(...which is what the market is about... and what it's for... what the concentration of all the resources of the planet into tiny... Miniscule Few... hands is for [to get us to do their bidding: "hunger will tame the fiercest animals..." – that's been their m.o. for a long time ... thousands and thousands of years... it has served them well... and now 'power' is geared up to fix this class system in place permanently...] so this is a critical juncture... we don't want them to figure out how to snatch from our hands the advantage of... as our Good Three put it... 'electronification'...)

...but this 'economic ruse' is but one among their 'High Tech Tools'...

...add to that: controlling discourse – our communications – on the Internet... and over the airwaves... and the physical elimination of dissent... by means of their development of EMF weaponry...

...all of which they're doing now. Do any of us doubt their objective... is to install hardcore totalitarianism?

So what can counter all this? What do we do about it?

As to this matter of the loss of the 'martial-capability' of states... which we questioned during the April 19, 2015 show... our Good Three may only mean this in the sense they profess: that there are no hegemons (hegemonic states) left...

...nor can there ever be again...

...and in truth... 'hegemons' are but tools... the hidden and bidden global-state-statesmen have ever pulled the strings since they created the global-economy...

...and the true 'competition' has always been... since then... to identify the truly 'great' 'men'... of 'world-historic' proportions'...

...in truth but abandoned children.

These then... are the two ends of our dilemma... the harsh reality that must be faced: our strings are pulled by a Tiny Few... for no other reason than to see... their ignoble vision become reality... to determine who... in their competition for 'Most Misanthropic'... will reign 'supreme'...

...and the other side of this ignoble-ness... we-the-people mirror it internally... our mindset has been shaped to reflect... the priorities of 'power' perfectly...

...until now...

...as we finally see...

...their ship is sinking.

Friendly amendment: their creation 'capitalism' is sinking... that ship of Compelled Silence... which is the wage-work system... into which we've all been driven... with all our safe harbors inundated... washed into their sea of blood.

They of course – those global-state-statesmen – knew all along it was meant to take on water... to bloat... to sink... to cast we hapless-many in the drink...

But before then they'd fully intended to winnow our numbers such... that the survivors would be grateful much (a state of mind encouraged and supported – reinforced – by all the apocalyptic... 'fear-your-neighbors' propaganda...

...and have they ever been rolling that out thick and heavy... and the opposite is true... I must say... particularly as lots of good-hearted folks [including my son... addicted to this show I forget the name of... some vampire show...] the *opposite* happens when we have a crisis like an earthquake or whatever... we pull together... we help each other... the love we have within us is finally able to be expressed – that's the truth... not their so-called 'apocalypse'... please... let's remember that... don't be duped... even if you're hooked in the stories... because it's about forming a crew... 'power' knows what stories will hook us... we have to provide the counter-balance to that... with our discussions...

[“150503habitofobedience.mp3”:]

It's been difficult for us to come to grips with the reality that there are folks with this level of... essentially self-hate... because “I am thee... thee are me...” we are each other... and you cannot commit genocide... you cannot commit murder of any kind... without there being an element of self-loss in it... because we're all connected...

So... before they rolled out 'next-level' 'governance'... they'd fully intended to winnow our numbers such... that the survivors would be grateful much (a state of mind encouraged and supported – reinforced – by all the apocalyptic... 'fear-your-neighbors' propaganda...) thankful for the wondrous 'science'... the 'magic' of which was used to 'save' our lives...

...so grateful we'd gladly accept... whatever crumbs they'd generously give us.

De Tocqueville's notion: 'leveling effect of commerce'... requiring the general imposition of 'the habit of obedience...' is... no less than Marx's 'general law of capitalist accumulation'... attempting to capture an extremely destructive process...

...in which... we're told... we 'develop' because that which is stolen from us... and from the earth overall... increases in quantity. De Tocqueville of course doesn't think about the depredations upon the earth required to force the globe into a common habit of obedience.

(And this is of course Bentham's obsession as well: all these guys around the same time processing heads-rolling after the French Revolution and trying to figure out how to instill 'discipline'... how to have us do it for them – internalize discipline – and Bentham said... “have the parents do it... duh...” and they did.)

Marx... on the other hand... who does acknowledge this earth-impact... and our – we-the-people's – resulting general immiseration...

...doesn't think about the common imposition of 'the habit of obedience' as the necessary concomitant to the devastation of the earth...

...i.e.... we have to go along... with what is clearly insane.

[“150503seeyadontneedya.mp3”:]

Let's consider... as we read... the full implications of Marx's “absolute general law of capitalist accumulation”:

We again meet here the previously defined law [in *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 644: the tendency of the rate of profit to fall as “the capitalist mode of production develops and an ever larger quantity of capital is required to employ the same amount of labour-power...”] the previously defined law that the relative decrease of the variable capital, [...'variable'... and this refers to us... we-the-people... 'variable' meaning: “how low can we make them go?” – 'power' is asking right this second... – P.S.] hence the development of the social productiveness of labour, [...see... while we're driven low... we're supposed to be happy because 'we're' being 'developed' – our 'social existence'... i.e. our collective... concretized... capitalized selves... our 'stolen-human-energy-vested-in-objects' form... is growing... (yea!...) now... us individually... not so much... Now that's crazy. Why do we accept that deal? We should be talking about that... – P.S.] involves an increasingly large mass of total capital to set in motion the same quantity of labour-power and squeeze out the same quantity of surplus-labour. Consequently, the possibility of a relative surplus of labouring people [...you feel me... it's time for 'heart'... phony 'Reason' and phony 'Rationality' has had its day – it's time for 'heart' to reclaim the intellectual discourse... because we are not happy with this deal... we do not want to see ourselves referred to as 'laboring people who are a “relative surplus”... meaning... that 'the economy' is all that matters... and not us... and 'the economy' being but the tool of global-'power' to privatize all the resources of the globe... and roll out its installed totalitarian state... But here's the catch that caught Marx's eye: that because there's a 'relative surplus' of us... this surplus of us grows “proportionately to the advances made by capitalist production...” – P.S.] develops proportionately to the advances made by capitalist production not because the productiveness of social labour *decreases*, but because it *increases* [... automation... 'electronification' of processes... instantaneous communication and flow of information... which to acquire converted huge amounts of the earth into physical things and money (financialization)... – and as all that 'social labor' increases... 'power' don't need us no more... it stole our substance and now it's time ('power' believes...) to say “bye... see ya... don't need ya...” Alright... so what does 'power' do? Now... Marx could see far but he couldn't see as far as into the diseased souls of these guys... plug in the technology... and you have a lot of room for a lot of misanthropy... a lot of genocide... a lot of blood-flow... a lot of phony-crises... and 'natural disasters'... – P.S.] It does not therefore arise out of an absolute disproportion between labour and the means of subsistence, or the means for the production of these means of subsistence, but out of a disproportion occasioned by capitalist exploitation of labour, a disproportion between the progressive growth of capital and its relatively shrinking need for an increasing population. (*Capital*, Vol. 3, p. 222)

[“150503talkaboutpower.mp3”:]

The rate of profit falls – and ever-expanding growth in the 'rate of profit' is what defines 'capitalism' – as the 'rate of profit' falls as 'capitalism' 'develops'...

...so 'capitalism' is doomed (was doomed from its onset...) – Immanuel Wallerstein was simply telling the obvious truth...

...can we please start talking about 'power'?

... 'capitalism' is done... 'power' ain't... is the point... that we have to start discussing...

So as the rate of profit falls as 'capitalism' 'develops'...

...in earth-terms: the more of the earth (the physical resources of the planet...) are converted to 'capital'... (i.e. quantified and put in private hands...) – which... as crises deepen... ever-tends to its money-form ('financialization')... no more 'earth' to buy... plus... they know some difficult times are arriving and so it's good to have your stash... whence conveyed to fewer and fewer hands...

...as this happens... there is less and less earth to do anything with... i.e. 'employ' us... we... the source of everything... we... the ones who make everything...

...nothing needs to be 'produced'... there is too much 'stuff' as it is (and they've already automated our humble tasks...) and so there's 'too many' of us (by their lights...) 'too many' stomachs... and we become 'superfluous'.

Marx concludes by saying that the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall is “in every respect the most important law of modern political economy... It is from the historical standpoint the most important law.” [*Capital*, III] It implies “that the material productive power already present, already worked out, existing in the form of fixed capital, together with the scientific power, population etc., in short all conditions... for the reproduction of wealth, i.e. the abundant development of the social individual – that the development of the productive forces brought about by the historical development of the productive forces brought about by the historical development of capital itself, when it reaches a certain historical development of capital itself, when it reaches a certain point, suspends the self-valorization of capital, instead of positing it... (Roman Rosdolsky, *The Making of Marx's 'Capital'*, 1968, p. 381 – 382)

We are at that point. Marx is right... this is the most important thing for us to be thinking about: as our social... collective... concretized... existence... stands in vast quantity hierarchically over us... and runs us via automation and electrification... we ain't needed anymore... And... no more 'capitalism'... This is why I'm focusing on this issue of 'obedience' right now... it seems like 'the point'... this issue of 'obedience'... that Marx did not devote enough time to... the point we just made: that you cannot have the accumulation of the entire resources of the planet into this Tiny Few's hands... unless you've had... prior to this... the broad imposition of the habit of obedience... and Marx didn't have time to get to this... So we have to finish that work... Right? We have to talk about the other side of our twin-dilemma: the fact that we've internalized this mess...

Apologies... for ending the show early... but these days I find... each day it seems like they 'up' the level of intensity on me... in every sense... I can't go for a walk these days... and I try to go every day... without it suddenly turning into Grand Central Station or something... Point being: not feeling able to continue at this moment... so we're going to continue this next week.

[End of May 3, 2015 show]

[“150510.mp3”:]

Marx concludes by saying that the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall is “in every respect the most important law of modern political economy... It is from the historical standpoint the most important law.” [*Capital*, III] It implies “that the material productive power already present, already worked out, existing in the form of fixed capital, together with the scientific power, population etc., in short all conditions... for the reproduction of wealth, i.e. the abundant development of the social individual – that the development of the productive forces brought about by the historical development of the productive forces brought about by the historical development of capital itself, when it reaches a certain historical development of capital itself, when it reaches a certain point, suspends the self-valorization of capital, instead of positing it. Beyond a certain point, the development of the powers of production becomes a barrier for capital; hence the capital-relation a barrier for the development of the productive powers of labour. When it has reached this point, capital, i.e. wage-labour, enters into the same relation towards the development of social wealth and of the forces of production, as did the guild system, serfdom, slavery, and is necessarily stripped off as a fetter. The last form of servitude assumed by human activity, that of wage-labour on one side, capital on the other, is thereby cast off like a skin, and this casting-off itself is the result of the mode of production corresponding to capital; the material and mental conditions of the negation of wage-labour and of capital, themselves already the negation of earlier forms of unfree social production, are themselves results of its production process.

“The growing incompatibility between the productive development of society and its hitherto existing relations of production expresses itself in bitter contradictions, crises, spasms. The violent destruction of capital not by relations external to it, but rather as a condition of its self-preservation, is the most striking form in which advice is given it to be gone, and to give room to a higher state of social production.”

The third section of the *Rough Draft* ends with this prognosis of “breakdown.” (Roman Rosdolsky, *The Making of Marx's 'Capital'*, 1968, p. 381 – 382)

(Hasn't the Political Theater produced by the Right of late been amusing?... their relentless... no matter how nonsensical... attempts to 'blame' the sinking global-economy... and the loss of the hegemonic status of the US... on the Left... as they tear and scrape... fangs all a'froth... in their single-minded attempt... to regain the office of US president?)

Within the social relations of capitalism, however, the workers need an enormous effort to combat the limitations of their wage-labour status, the status more impotent today within the production process than in any previous epoch of capitalism; for never before has the individual performance of a worker been reduced to such fragments and fractions of fragments of a job as is his contribution to the present-day high-grade socialised labour process. At the same time, the productivity of his labour has increased a thousandfold compared to the labour done in the one-man shops of the Middle Ages. But the productivity is not his in terms of his individual labour, and taking his individual operations as a standard of judgment the productivity is that of the capital in whose employment he works and dependent on the efficiency of the management. Hence the managerial fetishism that pervades our society, the accepted belief that modern industrial establishments or indeed large-scale establishments of any kind cannot be run without their hierarchy of managers in control of every detail of production and of organisation and in particular, of course of the workers. This fetishism accrues to the socialisation of labour by the fact that it is in the wrong hands, wielded by management in the service of capital and for the exploitation of labour instead of being the foundation for working class power in a society of production.... As seen from that angle the functions and conditions of [workers'] own socialised labour take on an appearance as of an object-nature extraneous to them, to be studied, elaborated, and enforced upon them by separate agents. (Alfred Sohn-Rethel, “The dual economics of transition,” *The Labour Process and Class Strategies*, 1976)

So this transition-moment we're in... is a 'getting our own back'-moment... and that starts within... becoming 'soul-sufficient'...

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[Today's reading: we continue with Chapter 5 of Giovanni Arrighi's, Terence K. Hopkins', and Immanuel Wallerstein's *Antisystemic Movements*... “1968: The Great Rehearsal”... – P.S.]

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[“150503.mp3”:]

1968: A Rehearsal of What?

[During our April 19, 2015 show... our Good Three asked...]

If 1968 is analogous to 1848 as a failed world-scale revolution and as a world-historical great rehearsal, for what sort of world-revolution may it be the great rehearsal? Can we on analogy project today's underlying secular trends, specify what was new about yesterday's new social movements, and thereby sketch in advance likely trajectories of the confrontation and progressive social changes they suggest? As we move chronologically towards the 1990s and the 2000s, our historical social system, the capitalist world-economy, continues to be faced with difficulties in four principal arenas.

[...and the first one was the shake-up in the geo-political scene... the claims of the global statesmen of China... and Russia... and India... rising... as they jockey for place... no hegemonic state to cast the deciding vote. Recall they said:]

...Hegemony is giving way to its conceptual counterpoint, the condition of rivalry... The possible realignments of alliances between the five major actors – the US, the USSR, Western Europe, Japan, and China – are only now beginning. And everyone is approaching such realignments most gingerly and most fearfully. Hence, US hegemony is being eroded without any clear, and therefore reassuring, world order to replace it...

[...and then they wondered whether... and how... the total consumption of the earth... that pot of cash they sit on... conveyed with it the necessary control mechanisms to... in my words... keep the cattle herded...]

We proceed now to the other difficulties Plato's Tribe face in their self-less determination... to rule the human race... – P.S.]

Second, the contradiction between labor and capital, given both the increasing centralization of capital and the increasing marginalization of large sectors of the labor force, will remain elemental. The new social movements have increased the worldwide pressure for higher wage-levels with world capital seeking ever more to respond to this pressure by reducing the size of labor input. As a result, there has performed been a rising level of material well-being for a significant sector of workers and a deepening relative immiseration of many others, hence an absolute and relative increase in the inequalities of well-being among the world's workers. There has been thus a widening scope for the mechanism of unequal exchange in world-scale accumulation.

At the same time, capital's increasing search for safe havens from organized labor unrest carries with it of course a growing relocation of industrial proletarianization and hence of collective efforts to control that process and / or to ameliorate its effects. The net result may well be an increasingly class-conscious focus to the nationalist sentiment that pervades the zones outside the core, particularly in semi-peripheral states. Similar phenomena are increasingly occurring in socialist states, notably (but certainly not only) in Poland.

Third, the ability of states to control their civil societies is diminishing. Historically, it is through the constitution of civil society, and its subsequent extension – notably, through the 1848-engendered 'incorporation of the working classes into society' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – that one traces the successive transformations of the monarchies and patriciates of the nascent capitalist world-economy into its constituent and still evolving states. The organizing contradiction from the inception of stateness, state power versus civil rights and liberties, remains central to the state – civil society relation. Over time, of course, the scope of each has greatly expanded, thus sharpening the struggle, which the post-1968 world-scale 'human rights' movements profoundly reflect. The notion that ruling strata seek to legitimate their rule – so that they are as morally obligated to command as those they claim to rule are morally obligated to comply – is both very old and very widespread.

Weber's central theoretical claim – that certain beliefs in popular consciousness are an indispensable condition of routine compliance and so of the 'stability' of the relational network administering the rules – remains plausible....

[A restatement... it seems... of Bentham's point (or Plato's... for that matter... that 'the people' must be trained to obey by strictly controlling what thoughts are allowed into our consciousness... for 'governance' to occur... – P.S.)]

...However, the very increase in the efficiency of the ways in which each state controls its civil society, the expansion of an instrumental bureaucracy, itself creates the limits of its efficacy by generating an ever more widespread skepticism among those whom the bureaucracy is administering. The reach of authority has come to be more and more denied, as both the US and USSR governments, among others, have increasingly discovered. 1968 symbolized the outburst of such skepticism. For a while, the coming to state power of old social movements limited this corrosion of authority. But these new regimes were quickly swept up in the increasingly 'anti-state' consciousness of the mass of the population.

This process has been spectacularly abetted by the impact of new technology on the ability of states to control their space. Electronification is physically different from electrification and does not so much abridge the space of social relations as abridge the capacity to control social relations through controlling their space. The implications for stateness remain to be explicated – and experienced. But the control of populations through controlling the space they and their relations with one another occupy – as citizenry, as communities, as individuals – is in the process of being fundamentally undermined in the two key directions formed by the modern world-system's spatial jurisdictions, within states and between states.

Fourth, the demands of the disadvantaged status-groups – of gender, of generation, of ethnicity, of race, of sexuality – will get ever stronger. We must hear Gallaudet here and add the physically handicapped, who comprise the true pariah stratum of historical capitalism. All six status-group relations are deeply different one from another, and even more so in their specificities in the world's social structures, but they share three features. Each was a ground of a new left reproach of the old left. Each in a very real sense is as much a contradiction among the people as an element of the capital – labor or state – civil society contradiction. And the oppressed of each explicitly seek not the turning of the tables but social equality, not only structurally but ideologically as well (in the sense of the elimination from social consciousness of *presumptions* of superiority / inferiority in relations of gender, generation, ethnicity, race, sexuality, able-bodiedness).

We therefore project probable realignments in the alliance systems of the interstate system along with increased sharp economic fluctuations, a sharpened (and in particular a geographically widened) class struggle, an increasing inability of states to control their civil societies, and a persistent reinforcement of the claims to equality by all the disadvantaged status-groups. It is very unclear, in the nature of things, where this will lead. After 1848, the world's old left were sure that 1917 would occur. They argued about how and where and when. But the middle-range objective of popular sovereignty was clear. After 1968, the world's antisystemic movements – the old and the new ones together – showed rather less clarity about the middle-range objective. They have tended therefore to concentrate on short-range ones. There is clearly a danger that if organizations concentrate on short-range objectives, even in the name of long-range ideals, they may sacrifice middle-range success or even middle-run survival.

We have no answer to the question: 1968, rehearsal for what? In a sense, the answers depend on the ways in which the worldwide family of antisystemic movements will rethink its middle-run strategy in the ten or twenty years to come. 1917, for good or ill, was the result of an enormous amount of collective and conscious effort by the world's old left in the years following 1848. No doubt it was also the result of structural developments in the capitalist world-economy. But it would not have happened without human organization and revolutionary programs.

The risks of drifting are very clear. The tenants of the status quo have not given up, however much their position is weakened structurally and ideologically. They still have enormous power and are using it to reconstruct a new inegalitarian world order. They could succeed. Or the world could disintegrate, from a nuclear or an ecological catastrophe. Or it could be reconstructed in the ways in which people hoped, in 1848, in 1968.

[This concludes Giovanni Arrighi's, Terence K. Hopkins', and Immanuel Wallerstein's *Antisystemic Movements*]