

[This is Part 7 of our “Moving Forward” series... revisiting the *Waking Up Radio* conversation of September 30, 2012:

“150414movingforwardpt7.mp3”: “...and I think it's important for us to remember that while we have to struggle to the truth... because 'power' has a monopoly on the media... and always has... and in terms of how we can interconnect with each other... they know how critical... at least since Plato they've been very clear... that the power of thought is dangerous... and rulers know this... have known this... and because they can devote their lives to planning...” “...you said 'the power of thought is dangerous' and I wanted to talk about that for a second... and make a distinction... The way I would phrase it is: 'the power of thought is powerful in conjunction with the sharing of ideas'... that if an individual says, 'I am free... I don't let the system control me...' that that is not an 'earth-based' assessment of what's going on... So: 'power of thought' in conjunction with 'the free-flow exchange of ideas'... with... as Kropotkin put it: 'going to the people'...” “Yes precisely... and in fact that ['going to the people'] is what the media is doing in a very 'efficient' way... because when Helen Caldicott or Col. Ann Wright says something like: 'the military trains people to become violent'... we are all... thinking that at the same time... so... it is a form of collective thinking... we're all thinking together... there isn't the exchange... that's the next step... that's how thought develops... And so the media is a critical piece in terms of speeding up the process... so that's why it has been obvious to 'power' for millennia how important it is to control how thoughts get out... what thoughts get out... and particularly in this moment with these accelerated means – the speed with which things can get out – ...it's a safe bet that they have been planning for this moment for decades if not centuries... the moment when the planet has been consumed to the degree that it can no longer adequately fund their game of 'supremacy'... and by 'fund' I mean 'fund our energy'... 'fund keeping us bought-off or complacent.' It's a global game of 'supremacy' they play which requires our unconscious complicity... And when you are in the 'end game'... which we are in... it is a very dangerous moment... So you can bet they have been thinking about... 'how do we neutralize the Pacifica Network'... 'how do we make sure that no rogue element advocating a mass movement to end wage work'... which is so incredibly obvious...” “If we talked to one another... and that's where I want to go with this: talking about the fears around responsibility...” [Spoken word is from our September 30, 2012 radio broadcast.]

Today's show: “Creating the Spaces We Need” (Part 1)

[“150419systemdisintegration.mp3”:]

April 14, 2015... Sisters and Brothers: Until we build the numbers we need... that create the physical spaces which receive our 'founding energy'... spaces in which we seed a healthy alternative to this diseased system... all who long for love... truth... and beauty to be the axis that turns the wheel of our new world... are at risk...

“If we talked to one another...” about our fears... my son will be saying in the next word-beat in the “Moving Forward” series... we would finally overcome 'power's chief strategy: our atomization (achieved through many means... and primarily... up to now... through the wage work system...) and we're going to be thinking as we conclude our reading of *Antisystemic Movements*... and absorb the thinking of our Good Three (because it's very rich and has never been – as far as I'm aware – adequately followed up on...) we're going to be thinking more about how that atomization is achieved as the world-economy contracts... because of the consumption of the planet... and 'power' is unable to keep us all 'occupied'...

What does 'atomization' mean when so many people are cut loose from 'employment'?

If we talked to each other about our fears we would overcome 'power's chief strategy: our atomization'...which leads to dissent being isolated... and eliminated... with ease.

It feels to me very solemn... this moment we're in... on the cusp of something completely different... full of fear... and full of anticipation...

...and promise...

We will get there... to that space in which we breathe together... laugh... and plan... but the challenges are serious. Folks with means are afraid to 'get involved'... the 'power'-guys display... to intimidate... an astonishing array of technology and

weaponry... thoughts out in the broad populace have been so exceedingly controlled that the bridge to new thoughts seems effectively closed.

What to do?

Safety is no doubt an issue....

...and yet...

...the moment is pregnant. The earth commands. I follow.

What we have to keep in mind and ponder... are time- and space-frames: the global 'class'-system is disintegrating... it can no longer generate the necessary 'legitimacy'... *anywhere in the world...*

...which means we are confronted with a global 'power' that easily feels threatened... and as a result is taking the offensive...

...but the needed thoughts... though it may seem otherwise... are already out there... else the reaction from 'power' would be more measured...

...we need only...

...figure out a way...

...to call the question [of what world do we want].

—

["150419webringthehope.mp3":]

I want to call attention to two points our Good Three make... one from last week... the other from today:

...pre-1968 power relations between capital and labor have never been restored. In this connection, we should not be deceived by the experience of particular national segments of the capital-labor relation. What must be assessed is the likelihood that the commands of the functionaries of capital be obeyed by their subordinates over the entire spatial domain of the capitalist world-economy, and over a period of time long enough to allow for the interplay of commands and responses to affect the relations of production and the distribution of resources. From this point of view, the central fact of the 1970s and 1980s has been the growing frustration experienced by the functionaries of capital in their global search for safe havens of labor discipline. Many of the locales that in the early 1970s seemed to provide capitalist production with a viable alternative to the restive labor environments of the core zone [are themselves no longer safe...]

Looking long... and broad... as our Good Three advise... we can see multiple processes unfolding simultaneously...

...we see the loosening of the hold of states – of the notion of the legitimacy of 'status-power-groupings' (to use their language... mine would be 'the internalized state'... in its various forms / expressions... but basically boiling down to 'citizen / barbarian' being the core distinction of 'class'... of the 'power'-guys' system...) – on our minds... and as our Good Three show us... this is a well-established... and on-going... process...

...we see that we... as individuals... are striving for clarity... hunger to know the truth...

...while at the same time... we see the loosening of the hold of 'the economy' (i.e. 'class' quantified...) over our minds as well...

So... while...

There is no denying that from all these points of view 1968 is dead and buried and cannot be revived by the thoughts and actions of the nostalgic few. Granted this, we must nonetheless distinguish carefully between the movements and ideologies of 1968 and the underlying structural transformations that preceded and outlived those movements and

ideologies. These structural transformations are the outcome of secular trends of the capitalist world-economy, and as such cannot be reversed by any unfavorable conjuncture that might ensue from their open manifestation.

It is in examining the underlying structure of things that we gain our footing... achieve the clarity we need... the certainty... to serve in a leadership capacity... membership in which is self-selected and dedicated...

...those of us who choose to do this are the doctors... the Miklos'... the givers of hope who take pains to see and accept the full strategic picture... the diagnosticians who take it all in... with passion and love... what is being done to ourselves and our brothers and sisters... grateful for the chance to help bend our collective energy to a future when coercion is off our backs...

...trusting our voicings of the truth... knowing that reality shifts to the open and free the more our longing for it is repeated... that voice names what exists (which is why it's so important that it be honest...) that claiming the right to name our experience of dispossession for what it is... is the first step to reclaiming the planet...

As Miklos showed us... to study the long-term trends that (as they are in motion... and will deliver the outcome they are burdened with...) that reveal our unburdened (of coercion) future... means we bring the necessary hope that builds the momentum we need to get to our freedom...

...means that we create the 'safe' spaces that foster the study and sharing and practicing of ideas for bringing about the living brotherhood and sisterhood of global humanity...

...because that's what we want... we want force off our backs.

[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.]

["150419democracycon.mp3":]

...our reading resumes...

[And...] Finally [of the legacies of 1968...], in the 1970s and 1980s, civil society at large has been far less responsive to the commands of the bearers (or would-be bearers) of state power than it had been before 1968. Although a general phenomenon, this diminished power of states over civil society has been most evident in the semiperiphery, where it has taken the form of a crisis of "bourgeois" and "proletarian" dictatorships alike. Since 1973, "bourgeois" dictatorships have been displaced by democratic regimes in southern Europe (Portugal, Greece, Spain), East Asia (Philippines, South Korea), and in Latin America (most notably Brazil and Argentina).

Alongside this crisis, indeed preceding and following it, has developed the crisis of the so-called dictatorships of the proletariat. Notwithstanding the many and real differences that set the Prague Spring and the Chinese Cultural Revolution apart, the two movements had one thing in common: they were assaults on the dictatorship of the officials (primarily but not exclusively on the dictatorship of the Communist Party's officials) dressed up as a dictatorship of the proletariat. In China, the assault was so violent and unrestrained as to deal a fatal blow to that dictatorship. Subsequently, party rule could be re-established (as it has been) only by accommodating demands for greater grassroots democracy and economic decentralization. In Czechoslovakia, a nonviolent and restrained assault was put down speedily through Soviet military intervention. Yet, between 1970 and 1980 the challenge re-emerged in a more formidable fashion in Poland, eventually shaking the Soviet leadership's confidence in the possibility of patching up a crumbling hegemony indefinitely by means of repression and purely cosmetic changes in party dictatorship.

This tendency has been most evident among Third World states. The oil-producing states were able to take advantage of the new balance of power in the interstate system by charging after 1973 a much higher rent for the use of their natural resources than they were ever able to do before 1968. This advantage lasted about ten years. A few other Third World states have been able to step up their own industrialization by taking advantage of the relocation of industrial activities from core countries. How much of a gain this will constitute by the 1990s remains to be seen. But most Third World states, caught between higher prices for energy

resources and stiffer competition from newly industrializing countries, have experienced even greater impoverishment and underdevelopment than they did before 1968.

Similar considerations apply to the other subordinate groups. Thus, over the last fifteen years the progressive breakdown of generational, gender, and ethnic barriers to the circulation of elites (which has benefitted quite a few members of each group) has been accompanied by youth unemployment, double exploitation of women, and the immiseration of “minorities” on an unprecedented scale. As for the change in the balance of power between labor and capital, its benefits have accrued mostly to workers engaged in stepping up the automation of labor processes, or in servicing the expanded markets for elites, or in running the relocated plants in their new locations. For the rest, the gains of the late 1960s and early 1970s have been eroded, at first by the great inflation of the 1970s and then by the unemployment of the 1980s. It is probably too early to assess who is benefitting and who is losing in material terms from the crisis of dictatorships. But here too the preliminary record seems to indicate that the material benefits of greater democracy have accrued only to a small fraction of the population.

[“150419sonsofthemother.mp3”:]

In all directions we are faced with the apparent paradox that a favorable change in the balance of power has brought little or no change in material benefit to the majority of each subordinate group. This apparent paradox has the simple explanation that the reproduction of material welfare in the capitalist world-economy is conditional upon the political and social subordination of the actual and potential laboring masses. To the extent that this subordination is lessened, the propensity of the capitalist world-economy to reproduce and expand material welfare is lessened too.

[Is not the requirement that we be subjects inherent... not just in the 'capitalist world-economy'... but in the logic of 'rule' itself... across 'class'-time? And why should this premise of 'rule' be sacrosanct? Why should we relinquish our right to give to ourselves our own 'reproduction'... setting 'economic' categories aside so that we – as opposed to 'things' – may move about freely... and pursue our happiness?

Here again we see the trap that is 'economic theory' leaves us nowhere to go... stuck in its 'logic'... In its frame and definitions we remain 'labor' – never human beings – *ad infinitum*...

...but in earth-speak... there is an opening... a road... a path... to freedom...

Recall Whitman's “laws for creations”:

Each of us inevitable,
Each of us is limitless – each of us with his or her right upon the earth,
Each of us allow'd the eternal purports of the earth,
Each of us here as divinely as any is here....

—

Laws for creations,
For strong artists and leaders...
All must have reference to the ensemble of the world, and the compact truth of the world,
There shall be no subject too pronounced – all works shall illustrate the divine law of indirections.

What do you suppose creation is?
What do you suppose will satisfy the soul, except to walk free and own no superior?
What do you suppose I would intimate to you in a hundred ways, but that man or woman is as good as God?
And that there is no God any more divine than Yourself?
And that that is what the oldest and newest myths finally mean?
And that you or any one must approach creations through such laws?

—

Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice,
Be not dishearten'd, affection shall solve the problems of freedom yet,
Those who love each other shall become invincible,

They shall yet make Columbia victorious.

Sons of the Mother of All, you shall yet be victorious...

(Were you looking to be held together by lawyers?
Or by an agreement on a paper? or by arms?
Nay, nor the world, nor any living thing, will so cohere.)

(Walt Whitman, *Over the Carnage Rose Prophetic A Voice*)

[“150419workableplan.mp3”:]

What meaning this thing – 'material welfare' – to a soul enslaved? What worth a 'benefit' conditional upon our subordination?
... our 'agreeing' to relinquish our power as living beings?... 'The economy' is merely 'class'-relations quantified... and if 'the economy' is sacrosanct... so is 'class'... – P.S.]

...To the extent that this subordination is lessened, the propensity of the capitalist world-economy to reproduce and expand material welfare is lessened too. [Only because 'rule' has been made sacrosanct... made to *seem* the 'necessary' footing... of the 'modern' way of life... – P.S.]

The history of the capitalist world-economy since 1973 has been the history of its adjustment to the social upheavals of the previous five years. The adjustment has been problematic, leading some to speak of a general crisis of capitalism, because of the scope, suddenness, and simultaneity of the changes in power relations ushered in by the social upheavals. When changes in power relations are limited and piecemeal, as they usually are, the capitalist world-economy can accommodate without difficulty imperceptible changes in the overall allocation of resources and distribution of rewards. But when the changes are numerous, significant, and simultaneous, as they were in the period 1968 – 1973, their accommodation involves long and serious disruptions in established patterns of social and economic life.

The inadequate access to means of production, of exchange, and of protection that characterizes subordinate groups makes the latter particularly vulnerable to these disruptions...

[...what if... in the academic halls of the Left... there had been a concerted effort to follow up on von Werlhof's point...

...and the point just made: embrace the most vulnerable... embrace 'all of us'... recognizing in so doing that 'generalization of immiseration' is 'power's plan for 'all of us'... Von Werlhof's point:

...that: "...An alternative is possible only if we, men and women, succeed in getting back forever not simply the wage, but much more – namely the means of production: our bodies...

...and of course if we own our bodies there's no such thing as putting them on the market... for hire – paid... to follow orders... to do what you're told to if you want to live – that's a set-up for fascism... and this has to be the conversations... not in this tiny space... but in the streets... we have to start acknowledging that 'facism-creep' that is all around us right now... And it may just seem accelerated here in the Bay Area because it's been such a fount of 'progressivism' that it's been massively infiltrated... seriously... I had no idea until I put myself in the crosshairs... but it's good to know... we have to know the truth... Miklos is right... we have to face the full... harsh... reality... to develop authentic planning...
"...self-esteem begins with a workable plan..." for real.

[“150419technologybasket.mp3”:]

...and 'workable' means 'seeing reality'...

“...An alternative is possible only if we, men and women, succeed in getting back forever not simply the wage, but much more – namely the means of production: our bodies and our children, our houses and our land, our knowledge and our creativity, and the results of our labor...”?

... 'follow up'... not just among themselves... but beyond those halls... and out into the world of we commoners... to let us know... that heart... love... truth... beauty – was about to supersede 'economic theory'?... – P.S.]

... We should not be surprised, therefore, if most members of the subordinate groups have experienced little or no improvement over the last fifteen years in their material welfare, notwithstanding, nay even because of, the improvement in their power position. One may wonder, however, whether this failure of a more favorable balance of power to deliver welfare might not be swinging the balance of power back in favor of dominant groups.

[I don't think we need to 'wonder' on that one anymore. They took the technology and ran with it. They put *all* their eggs in that 'Technology' basket... that 'Weapons Technology' basket. The argument in this space is that... so long as 'class' remains unchallenged... so long as the originating-concession – that First Cause – of our bodies' loss remains unchallenged... there can be no 'improvement' worthy of claiming our ambition... as 'power's ultimate aim will ever be to impose permanent conditions of enslavement – differentially expressed – on all of us. There simply is no turning 'power' away from – whatever it temporarily concedes out of necessity – its totalitarian vision of a permanent global 'class' system... – P.S.]

The cultural and political backlash of the late 1970s and of the 1980s against everything that 1968 stood for seems to suggest that this is indeed what is happening. While still paying lip-service to Third World solidarity, Third World states have been engaged in widespread feuding and intense economic competition among themselves. [Sown by hidden-'power' do not doubt... and not just through the economic means of 'debt'... and the international financial institutions... – P.S.] The younger generations, the women, the 'minorities' have all switched, albeit to different degrees, from collective to individual concerns, while class solidarity and unity of political purpose among workers are in most places at an historical low. And in the epicenters of the struggle for political democracy, the desire for more and greater freedoms is often paralyzed by fears of economic disruption. [Do we see how effectively the con 'the economy' silences dissent... once we have been slotted into our 'nation' boxes?... – P.S.]

There is no denying that from all these points of view 1968 is dead and buried and cannot be revived by the thoughts and actions of the nostalgic few. Granted this, we must nonetheless distinguish carefully between the movements and ideologies of 1968 and the underlying structural transformations that preceded and outlived those movements and ideologies. These structural transformations are the outcome of secular trends of the capitalist world-economy, and as such cannot be reversed by any unfavorable conjuncture that might ensue from their open manifestation.

Thus, [Let me say at the outset that I'm still pondering this 'thus'... because... it seems to imply multiple things and I'm not sure which... if any... they mean... but let's read it first... – P.S.] Adam Smith long ago pointed out the negative long-term impact of an ever widening and deepening division of labor on the martial qualities of the peoples that are most directly involved in it. The greater specialization and mechanization of war activities themselves could counter this negative impact, but only up to a point. At the beginning of our century, Joseph Schumpeter made a similar point in support of his argument that capitalist development undermines the capabilities (as opposed to the propensities) of states to engage in imperialist wars:

The competitive system absorbs the full energies of most of the people at all economic levels. Constant application, attention, and concentration of energy are the conditions of survival within it, primarily in the specifically economic professions, but also in other activities organized on their model... In a purely capitalist world, what was once energy for war becomes simply energy for labor of every kind. (Joseph Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes*, 1955, p. 69)

[We are going to have to think more about what our Good Three and Mr. Schumpeter are saying here... in terms of the reduction of the ability [of the 'power'-guys] to engage in imperialist wars... because we are making a different argument here... that that was not necessarily to 'power's disadvantage... whether or not it anticipated and planned for it... – and it is this focus on 'the martial qualities of the people' that I'm pondering here... what it is they're getting at... whether they're talking about the erosion of the ability of the state to compel loyalty and allegiance... or whether they're talking about the erosion of the capacities of the people for true 'innovation' and creativity... we're going to have to think about this... I want to make sure we're doing full justice to this awesome work by our Good Three... which never got adequate attention from all the pundits out there... – P.S.]

To this we need only to add that the spatial unevenness of capitalist development has tended to undermine the martial qualities of peoples precisely in those states where it tended to concentrate wealth. Up to a point, core states have been able to counter the ensuing change in balance of power implicit in this tendency through an ever-increasing capital intensity of war. But at a certain point – as the experience of the US in Vietnam and of the USSR in Afghanistan have shown in exemplary fashion – further increases in the capital intensity of war bring rapidly decreasing returns, particularly when it comes to policing the periphery of the world-economy.

[What 'power' is engaged in at the moment... because they fear what is being called 'the periphery'... and the fact that there are some 'been-wide-awake' folk in this so-called 'periphery'... – that their main concern is locking us down... here in the so-called 'West'... because we have those [technological] resources (that would allow us to facilitate the unification...) and so they want us to remain... indifferent... – P.S.]

["150419statepowererosion.mp3":]

The same processes that undermine the power of core states over peripheral states over the *longue durée* of the capitalist world-system also undermine the power of capital over labor, of dominant over subordinate status-groups, of states over civil society. An ever widening and deepening division of labor makes capital increasingly vulnerable to workplace acts of protest and passive resistance on the part of subordinate workers, regardless of the level of class consciousness and organization expressed by those acts. In order to reproduce, or re-establish, the command of capital over labor in the workplace, the functionaries of capital are induced to mobilize an ever-growing proportion of the labor force in wage activities but by so doing they revolutionize power relations between the genders and among age-groups and 'ethnicities.' [I love the dynamism of their thinking here... I've said this before... it is like jazz... the 'I-feed-off-you'... the living interplay... They recognize that this is ever in play... ever dynamic... – 'power's play ever-dependent on our staying asleep... And... remember... that we are now in a moment when they can't... though they want to... expand the proportion of us in the 'labor force'... in this moment... and we're talking 'globally' – always... 'globally' we have to base our understanding... our assessment... our planning... our strategizing... – on the 'overall'... the global scene... – P.S.] Last but not least, the growing complexity of the division of labor within and across political jurisdictions makes the exercise of state power over civil society increasingly problematic.

These are the kinds of process that prepared the ground for, and eventually gave rise to, the movements of 1968....

[Let's keep in mind that they are writing almost thirty years ago... and we must situate the out-flows from 1968 that they're describing in that moment... the moment in which they write... i.e.... they are now realities... realities that we take for granted – both the leveling of status-power-relations... and... despite that... the generalization of immiseration to *everyone*... – P.S.]

["150419longueduree.mp3":]

These are the kinds of process that prepared the ground for, and eventually gave rise to, the movements of 1968. Being processes of the *longue durée*, their unfolding spans the entire lifetime of the capitalist world-economy. The explosions of 1968 and their aftermath can be interpreted as symptom of the fact that the system is approaching its historical asymptote. 1968, with its successes and failures, was thus a prelude, better, a rehearsal, of things to come.

[And we do appreciate what they're saying: that they are looking over the entire course – five centuries plus – of what has been named the 'capitalist world-system'... so when they are saying that they are looking at 1968 as a 'rehearsal'... that is not speculation... they have been studying the long-term structural trends that drive the processes that comprise that 'system' of 'accumulation'... trends that are bringing to us the outcomes of 1968... and as they are about to say... that's in flux too... that's in movement too... and that it depends on us... – P.S.]

1968: A Rehearsal of What?

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.

First, the interstate system is marked by a military stand-off between the US and the USSR and the evident inability of either to control matters of consequence in states of the periphery. Hegemony is giving way to its conceptual counterpoint, the condition of rivalry. [We should think more about this: 'hegemony is giving way to its conceptual counterpoint, the condition of rivalry'... – P.S.] 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. [And by 'everyone'... they mean the 'power'-guys... the global-state-statesmen... those looking at that whole 'world order'... trying to figure out their place in it... and how to keep 'their people' subjected... – P.S.] Hence, US hegemony is being eroded without any clear, and therefore reassuring, world order to replace it. [Eurozone?... No... US?... Can't do it... You see what I mean about the dynamism

of the moment... about how everything is in flux... everything is on the table... is up for grabs... let's grab our lives back!... We are not going to have a moment more opportune... They are ready to roll in global fascism... They just have to get all their players in line behind it... and get us... here in the 'West'... and perhaps especially the US... locked down... by figuring out how to nullify the Internet... and the capacity for instantaneous communication – the capacity it brings us for organizing on a world-scale... literally we can organize a global General Strike overnight... if the consciousness is there to do it... if we start talking about it... if we put our agenda out in the streets... not be afraid to say the so-called illegitimate thoughts... the thoughts not sanctioned by the official media. We have to make our media the only one that matters... the 'people's media'... the media of our voices in the streets... and let those seeds blossom in multiple 'safe' planning spaces... – P.S.] Meanwhile, markets of all sorts – capital, capital goods, labor, wage-goods (ordinary), wage-goods ('durable') – are evolving at a rapid pace....

[“150419titanic.mp3”:]

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. Meanwhile, markets of all sorts – capital, capital goods, labor, wage-goods (ordinary), wage-goods ('durable') – are evolving at a rapid pace....

[The sixth major actor... the earth... in the master's tongue appears as 'the market'... or 'the economy'... but... as our source and mother tongue exerts a continuous pressure of her own 'realignment'... restoration of balance... expressed in the 'explosions of 1968... – P.S.]

...They are becoming less and less regulated social mechanisms of the circuits of capital and more and more loci of speculation...

[...and so... clearly... all the various financial meltdowns in the subsequent thirty years were entirely predictable and predicted by our Good Three... so let's don't kid ourselves that any of this was not clearly understood by the 'power'-guys... what was about to happen and was / is inevitable... because... as our Good Three say... these are *structural* trends that cannot be reversed... just like the Titanic... after so much water taken in... it's not going anywhere but down... – P.S.]

...They are becoming less and less regulated social mechanisms of the circuits of capital and more and more loci of speculation (what liberals call 'market forces') and increasingly show (as on 19 October 1987 in equity prices) the kind of jagged price movements which are at once their hallmark and the reason for their always and everywhere being objects of regulation.

Possibly the Group of Seven (with the IBRD, IMF, and BIS) can impose renewed order. Possibly the transnationals' ingestion of markets through vertical integration (and the analogous organization of their counterparts in countries of existing socialism) is sufficient for them to absorb and so to dampen the price movements. Whether, in this sense, the world-scale centralizing of capital is historically far enough advanced (as suggested by 'the absolute general law') to replace the interstate system's market-regulation via hegemony, we shall see.

[End of April 19, 2015 show...]

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 perforce 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*]