
Today's show: “Establishing a 'safe' place to plan and express our love: places for the cultivation of soul-sufficiency... which necessarily means: helping each other get 'big' – the process of reclaiming... sharing... and expanding our original 'selves'...” (Part 19)

[“150823leadershipisfluid.mp3”:]

We give our allegiance to the state because we have no other allegiance and we are communal beings and must plant our ‘solidarity’ somewhere. The state ensures we can have no other allegiance... the global-statesmen brook no challenges – these are not folks to whom we can entrust our earth... especially... the earth in us... the ‘ownership’ of which... once transferred to else but self... is lost. [From our September 4, 2014 commentary (in the menu under the title “Introducing Our Discussion of: *Antisystemic Movements...*”)]

August 18, 2014... Sisters and Brothers: What we discover... when we set our feet on that path to the truth... is that it's very well-trodden... many others have sought that fruit...

...and the insights we've found... they've been long-pondered too.

To reclaim our human energy... these are key: It is on the ground of ethics... and ethics only... that we can achieve our freedom successfully... and secondly... that we must step forward with confidence... with certainty... with an assurance of step of feet following deep prints... from our ancestors left... for our feet to find them...

I went first to Neuchatel, and then spent a week or so among the watchmakers in the Jura Mountains. I thus made my first acquaintance with that famous Jura Federation which for the next few years played an important part in the development of socialism, introducing into it the no-government, or anarchist, tendency.

In 1872 the Jura Federation was becoming a rebel against the authority of the general council of the International Workingmen's Association. The association was essentially a workingmen's movement, the workers understanding it as such and not as a political party. In east Belgium, for instance, they had introduced into the statutes a clause in virtue of which no one could be a member of a section unless employed in a manual trade; even foremen were excluded.

The workers were, moreover, federalist in principle. Each nation, each separate region, and even each local section had to be left free to develop on its own lines. But the middle-class revolutionists of the old school who had entered the International, imbued as they were with the notions of the centralized, pyramidal secret organizations of earlier times, had introduced the same notions into the Workingmen's Association. Besides the federal and national councils, a general council was nominated at London, to act as a sort of intermediary between the councils of the different nations. Marx and Engels were its leading spirits. It soon appeared, however, that the mere fact of having such a central body became a source of substantial inconvenience. The general council was not satisfied with playing the part of a correspondence bureau; it strove to govern the movement, to approve or to censure the action of the local federations and sections, and even of individual members. When the Commune insurrection began in Paris, – and “the leaders had only to follow,” without being able to say whereto they would be led within the next twenty-four hours, – the general council insisted upon directing the insurrection from London. It required daily reports about the events, gave orders, favored this and hampered that, and thus put in evidence the disadvantage of having a governing body, even within the association. The disadvantage became still more evident when, at a secret conference held in 1871, the general council, supported by a few delegates, decided to direct the forces of the association toward electoral agitation. It set people thinking about the evils of any government, however democratic its origin. This was the first spark of anarchism. The Jura Federation became the centre of opposition to the general council.

The separation between leaders and workers which I had noticed at Geneva in the Temple Unique did not exist in the Jura Mountains. There were a number of men who were more intelligent, and especially more active than the others; but that was all... [What Peter observed is what I've observed too...: that 'leadership' is fluid... a result of many factors... that changes over the course of a lifetime... as we gain experience... as we absorb new information... Never is it fixed or given... – P.S.]

...From Neuchatel I went to Sonvilliers. In a little valley in the Jura hills there is a succession of small towns and villages, of which the French-speaking population was at that time entirely employed in the various branches of watchmaking; whole families used to work in small workshops.... [And... please... let us not be duped by the 'power'-guys attempts to make our 'decentralization' for us – let's reject their offer to design it... and assign it – with ironic tags like 'sharing economy' appended... – P.S.]

...The very organization of the watch trade, which permits men to know one another thoroughly and to work in their own houses, where they are free to talk, explains why the level of intellectual development in this population is higher than that of workers who spend all their life from early childhood in the factories. There is more independence and more originality among the petty trades' workers. But the absence of a division between the leaders and the masses in the Jura Federation was also the reason why there was not a question upon which every member of the federation would not strive to form his own independent opinion. Here I saw that the workers were not a mass that was being led and made subservient to the political ends of a few men; their leaders were simply their more active comrades, – initiators rather than leaders. The clearness of insight, the soundness of judgment, the capacity for disentangling complex social questions, which I noticed amongst these workers, especially the middle-aged ones, deeply impressed me; and I am firmly persuaded that if the Jura Federation has played a prominent part in the development of socialism, it is not only on account of the importance of the no-government and federalist ideas of which it was the champion, but also on account of the expression which was given to these ideas by the good sense of the Jura watchmakers. Without their aid, these conceptions might have remained mere abstractions for a long time. [And without you – to take note of them... and share them... with us... we who... in this moment... so need them – where would we be?... – P.S.]

[“150823watchmakersofjura.mp3”:]

The theoretical aspects of anarchism, as they were then beginning to be expressed in the Jura Federation, especially by Bakunin; the criticisms of state socialism – the fear of an economic despotism, far more dangerous than the merely political despotism – which I heard formulated there; and the revolutionary character of the agitation, appealed strongly to my mind. But the equalitarian relations which I found in the Jura Mountains, the independence of thought and expression which I saw developing in the workers, and their unlimited devotion to the cause appealed far more strongly to my feelings; and when I came away from the mountains, after a week's stay with the watchmakers, my views upon socialism were settled. I was an anarchist.... (p. 281 – 7)

There was, however, one point which I did not accept without having given to it a great deal of thinking and many hours of my nights. I clearly saw that the immense change which would deliver everything that is necessary for life and production into the hands of society [I appreciate his use of this word 'society' in this context... acknowledging that we – the 99.999% – are everything... – P.S.] – be it the Folk State of the social democrats or the unions of freely associated groups, which the anarchist advocate – would imply a revolution far more profound than any of the revolutions which history had on record. Moreover, in such a revolution the workers would have against them, not the rotten generation of aristocrats against whom the French peasants and republicans had to fight in the last century, – and even that fight was a desperate one, – but the middle classes [...those 'classically-trained'... mission-imbued... newly minted and gleaming-fanatic... Plato's Tribesmen... – P.S.], which are far more powerful, intellectually and physically, and have at their service all the potent machinery of the modern state. [And hasn't it just got exponentially worse than when he wrote those words? ... with the power of our creativeness... our inventiveness... unfortunately used... devoted to... weapons of death placed in their hands... is that trajectory... that tendency... not obvious?... is it not clear how urgent is our situation right now? ... how urgently we need to begin discussing an alternative (globally...) based in our *ethical* stance... not in some 'science' which is supposedly going to 'prove' that our future freedom is inevitable... no it is not... the folks who promoted that were also trained in this 'classically statist' manner... – P.S.] However, I soon noticed that no revolution, whether peaceful or violent, had ever taken place without the new ideals having deeply penetrated into the very class whose economical and political privileges were to be assailed. [Take note: all who may be listening to those agent provocateurs who want to pose a movement for global freedom as a matter of: “let's demonize some section of our 99.999%...” – listen... if they claim to be 'anarchists'... listen... to one of its founders speak... Is this not a revealing... a portentous... vantage from which to view our current situation... – has anyone taken it in?... how we... the 99.999% are doing on this score... because that tiny ten thousand – who operate the interstate system and work behind scenes to pull the strings of all the nation-state machineries – is really not the point... is insignificant... if we... the vast... vast everything... begin talking about it (but maybe we are talking about that one percent... The folk he's talking about may very well be that one percent... that the agents of the state encourage us to believe is the problem... So... it is that one percent that we need to think about as we listen to Kropotkin's words: those who are wealthy... but who aren't a member

of that very exclusive tribe who have been trained to think of us as the cattle to keep herded... who have no 'nation' allegiance... who have only a 'tribe' allegiance... to 'rule'... to 'supremacy'... only... – P.S.] I had witnessed the abolition of serfdom in Russia, and I knew that if a consciousness of the injustice of their privileges had not spread widely within the serf-owners' class itself (as a consequence of the previous evolution and revolutions accomplished in Western Europe), the emancipation of the serfs would never have been accomplished as easily as it was accomplished in 1861. And I saw that the idea of emancipating the workers from the present wage-system was making headway amongst the middle classes themselves. The most ardent defenders of the present economical conditions had already abandoned the idea of *right* in defending their present privileges, – questions as to the *opportuneness* of such a change having already taken its place. [So... clearly... he's right... – we have to make our case... paint our global picture... show how we can all gleam authentic... how we... each one... show our brilliance... and that the global human society we make becomes a showcase of beauty mated with practicality and economy... simply because of that freedom-to-be-what-we-are that we embrace... – P.S.] They did not deny the desirability of some such change, they only asked whether the new economical organization advocated by the socialists would really be better than the present one; whether a society in which the workers would have a dominant voice would be able to manage production better than the individual capitalists actuated by mere considerations of self-interest manage it at the present time.

Besides, I began gradually to understand that revolutions – that is, periods of accelerated rapid evolution and rapid changes – are as much in the nature of human society as the slow evolution which incessantly goes on... And each time that such a period of accelerated evolution and reconstruction on a grand scale begins, civil war is liable to break out on a small or large scale. The question is, then, not so much how to avoid revolutions, as how to attain the greatest results with the most limited amount of civil war, the smallest number of victims, and a minimum of mutual embitterment. [I don't think that at this juncture... given what we understand now... given what we've learned from Karl Popper... and Alice Miller... and Martin Bernal... about the degree to which our containment is about the thoughts we have been systematically conditioned to think... and given the circumstance of the Internet and instantaneous global communication... that... in transmitting these new thoughts... it is really not a matter of any sort of violent conflict... it is a matter of those ideas taking root in enough hearts that believe in them... to work tirelessly to continue transmitting those ideas... the 'wave' that Gramsci talked about... the 'tenderness' that Gustav Landauer talked about... the softening of hearts... that is how we get a truly new social arrangement... in which all of us... every human being gets to live their gifts... gets to be free... – P.S.]

[“150823pariscommune.mp3”:]

[Kropotkin's objective was to so prepare us... so prepare our thoughts... that we could make sure the transition was as peaceful as possible... – P.S.] The question is, then, not so much how to avoid revolutions, as how to attain the greatest results with the most limited amount of civil war, the smallest number of victims, and a minimum of mutual embitterment. For that end there is only one means; namely, that the oppressed part of society should obtain the clearest possible conception of what they intend to achieve, and how, and that they should be imbued with the enthusiasm which is necessary for that achievement; in that case they will be sure to attach to their cause the best and the freshest intellectual forces of the privileged class.

The Commune of Paris was a terrible example of an outbreak with insufficiently determined ideals. When the workers became, in March, 1871, the masters of the great city, they did not attack the property rights vested in the middle classes. On the contrary, they took these rights under their protection. The leaders of the Commune covered the National Bank with their bodies, and notwithstanding the crisis which had paralyzed industry and the consequent absence of earnings for a mass of workers, they protected the rights of the owners of the factories, the trade establishments, and the dwelling-houses at Paris with their decrees. However, when the movement was crushed, no account was taken by the middle classes of the modesty of the communalistic claims of the insurgents. Having lived for two months in fear that the workers would make an assault upon their property rights, the rich men of France took upon them just the same revenge as if they had made the assault in reality. Nearly thirty thousand of them were slaughtered, as is known, – not in battle, but after they had lost the battle. If they had taken steps towards the socialization of property, the revenge could not have been more terrible.

If, then, – my conclusion was, – there are periods in human development when a conflict is unavoidable... let these conflicts take place not on the ground of vague aspirations, but upon definite issues [like the ownership of our bodies... – P.S.]; not upon secondary points... but upon broad ideas which inspire men by the grandness of the horizon which they bring into view. In this last case the conflict itself will depend much less upon the efficacy of firearms and guns than upon the force of the creative genius which will be brought into action in the work of reconstruction of Society. It will depend

chiefly upon the constructive forces of Society taking for the moment a free course; upon the inspirations being of a higher standard and so winning more sympathy even from those who, as a class, are opposed to the change. The conflict, being thus engaged on larger issues, will purify the social atmosphere itself...

With these ideas I returned to Russia. (p. 289 – 292)

(Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, written around 1898; a note by Nicolas Walter, who wrote the 'Introduction', reads: "...Kropotkin himself would have preferred the more neutral title *Around One's Life* (which was in fact used for the French edition); but he was overruled by his editors.")

The chief difficulty we face is not one of an overwhelming disproportion in resources... between we-the-ninety-nine-point-nine-nine-nine-percent... and the tiny-ten-thousand... but rather one of an overwhelming 'certainty'-disproportion between us... and 'the tiny ten' – and this because they have kept us busy working... surviving... and so unable to develop our thought...

The tiny-ten-thousand know... have known for two and a half centuries... what they want: their own 'rule' fixed in place... we... beat-down and captured by our given ranks (and this as a global fixity...) their position continuously fed by young people bred to ensure their 'supremacy' is never questioned... *ad infinitum*...

The chief difficulty we face... is that the 'power'-guys plan... they organize... they act... in concert... act... attack... in secret... they keep themselves hidden... and they reinforce with each other a sense of legitimacy (and they control our thoughts... with the propaganda and the education system...) committing acts which an independent judgment would see as heinous...

...and existing trends suggest that that 'certainty'-disproportion will only get worse...

There is a noose called 'economic hardship' around the necks of we-hard-pressed-to-exist that is progressively tightening – and the escalating debt that comes from it increasingly constricts our options... as the interest accumulates in their pockets –

...our ability to achieve the freedom we long to see... and leave for the children... will not get any easier with more time passing...

What the spirit of freedom needed... the missing structural-supports in our successful strategy... was its solid ethical basis – our claim is not based on 'scientific legitimacy'... it is based on what we have always known: our right to be free... in our hearts we know this... that our gifts do not exist to be marketed... – its global-range... and the technological-backbone needed to support global-decentralization: an instantaneous electronic communication network... available now... for us to realize our ancestors' dreams – and our own.

It is imperative that our love... our tenderness... live in this time of transition... that we organize our core-'selves' to reinforce and realize it.

[“150823picturetheworldwewant.mp3”:]

[Today's reading: we continue the chapter “Poisonous Pedagogy” in... Alice Miller's *For Your Own Good*... When we left off... we were hearing from some of the 'child-rearing pedagogues': their recommendations for the complete suppression of feelings in children... – P.S.]

The infant must perceive order and discipline before he becomes conscious of them, [I imagine what the infant 'perceives' in this ostentatious display of false-sanctity is very like what that puppy of Samuel Butler's did: nothing at all... but... rather... *felt* shock and confusion... – P.S.] so that he will proceed to the stage of awakening consciousness with good habits already formed and his imperious physical egoism under control... [“imperious physical egoism...” – i.e. those abilities in which the subjects excel over the tyrants (or 'statesmen'...) 'inciting' their obsession to suppress them – they hate that... being surpassed... because how can they appear to be 'gods' if they aren't supreme in all things?... And I do believe... they have used

their secret weaponry against precisely such folk... unfortunately: our most beautiful Brothers and Sisters... who model hope... who inspire us with their brilliance... – P.S.]

Thus, the adult must instill obedience by the exercise of his power, this is done with a severe glance, a firm word, possibly by means of physical force (which curbs bad behavior although it is unable to produce good behavior) and by means of punishment. Punishment, however, need not primarily cause physical pain but can utilize withdrawal of kindness and of expressions of love, depending on the type or frequency of the disobedience. For example, for a more sensitive child who is being quarrelsome, this can mean removing him from his mother's lap, refusal of his father's hand or of the bedtime kiss, etc. Since the child's affection can be gained by expressions of love, this same affection can be made use of [...now that's utilitarianism taken to its most hideous extreme... – P.S.] to make him more amenable to discipline. [We've pointed out that what Plato's Tribesmen do to us exposes their own sufferings unerringly... as infants. For instance... I've noticed they like to use what we love against us... just as their love for their parents was used against them... – P.S.]

... We have defined obedience as submission of the will to the legitimate will of another person... [Under a system of 'class' – which today is totalitarian – who has the 'power' to say what are the 'rules' we must bend to... if not the few who by thievery and manipulation acquire the resources to monopolize 'decision-making' (a.k.a... perpetuate into the future the instituted checks on our growth... individually and as 'a people'...) 'Legitimacy'... in a totalitarian 'order'... is a matter of “might makes right”...]

(...and by the way... of course those who have exclusive hold on global-Authority conspire to keep it. It is time to get over our shock that they do heinous things in secret... and start talking about what we want. The vast majority of us understand that 'power' acts clandestine. Only the propped-up media-intermediaries demand proof of it – that is their function. To engage in that diversion ['proving' hidden-'power' exists...] while our most-desperately abused Brothers and Sisters [and this does require that we have a global focus... because... sad to say... it does seem that there are enough folks in the U.S. who are willing to accept that deal... which each day gets worse and worse for us... but they plan to have us totally... tightly... under control before we (enough of us) really wake up – forced to enact 'cautionary' roles' in 'power's global 'Supremacy'-game... suffer that 'fate'... would provide an unseemly display of depravity. Rather... what we need... as Kropotkin says... is “a clear conception of what global-society we want...” it ain't hard... we start with our own bodies: sleeping-in... connecting with those we want to connect with... force gone from our lives... It is for the 'work' of discussing and fleshing out and promulgating this picture... that 'core'-leadership is needed: those willing to put in a little extra energy... to get us to 'the flow'... break through the logjam of inertia ... – P.S.)]

[“150823totalitarianmirror.mp3”:]

The will of the adult must be a fortress [...again... the child has become the enemy... the threat... the opponent... – P.S.], inaccessible to duplicity or defiance and granting admittance only when obedience knocks at the gates. [Enzyklopadie... quoted in Rutschky]

When still in diapers, the child learns to knock at the gates of love with “obedience,” and unfortunately often does not unlearn this ever after:

...Turning now to the second major point, how to instill obedience, we begin by showing how this can be done at a very early age. Pedagogy correctly points out that even a baby in diapers has a will of his own and is to be treated accordingly. [Enzyklopadie...]

If treatment of this sort is carried through consistently enough and early enough, then all the requirements will have been met to enable a citizen to live in a dictatorship without minding it; he or she will even be able to feel a euphoric identification with it, as happened in the Hitler period:

...for the health and vitality of a political commonwealth owe just as much to the flourishing of obedience to law and authority as to the prudent use of energy of its leaders. Likewise in the family, in all matters of child-rearing, the will that gives orders and the one that carries them out must not be regarded as antagonistic; they are both the organic expression of what is actually a single will. [Enzyklopadie...] [It's in this light that we can best understand the guidance Bentham provides in his “logic of 'the will'” – attempting to make totalitarian control into a 'science'... – P.S.]

Just as in the symbiosis of the “diaper stage,” there is no separation here of subject and object. If the child learns to view corporal punishment as “a necessary measure” against “wrongdoers,” then as an adult he will attempt to protect himself from punishment by

being obedient and will not hesitate to cooperate with the penal system. In a totalitarian state, which is a mirror of his upbringing, this citizen can also carry out any form of torture or persecution without having a guilty conscience. His “will” is completely identical with that of the government.

Now that we have seen how easy it is for intellectuals in a dictatorship to be corrupted, it would be a vestige of aristocratic snobbery to think that only “the uneducated masses” are susceptible to propaganda. Both Hitler and Stalin had a surprisingly large number of enthusiastic followers among intellectuals. Our capacity to resist has nothing to do with our intelligence but with the degree of access to our true self. Indeed, intelligence is capable of innumerable rationalizations when it comes to the matter of adaptation. Educators have always known this and have exploited it for their own purposes, as the following proverb suggests: “The clever person gives in, the stupid one balks.” For example, we read in a work on child raising by Grunewald (1899): “I have never yet found willfulness in an intellectually advanced or exceptionally gifted child” (quoted in Rutschky). [This is evidence... not of 'giftedness' in the child... but rather of the extent to which a child will... and so must... go... to capture the love of elusive parents... It is not lack of 'intelligence' that makes us balk... but rather a connection to an alternative allegiance... i.e., the earth... through our relations... – P.S.] Such a child can, in later life, exhibit extraordinary acuity in criticizing the ideologies of his opponents – and in puberty even the views by his own parents – because in these cases his intellectual powers can function without impairment. Only within a group – such as one consisting of adherents of an ideology or a theoretical school – that represents the early family situation will this person on occasion still display a naive submissiveness and uncritical attitude that completely belie his brilliance in other situations. Here, tragically, his early dependence upon tyrannical parents is preserved, a dependence that – in keeping with the program of “poisonous pedagogy” – goes undetected. This explains why Martin Heidegger, for example, who had no trouble in breaking with traditional philosophy and leaving behind the teachers of his adolescence, was not able to see the contradictions in Hitler's ideology that should have been obvious to someone of his intelligence. He responded to this ideology with an infantile fascination and devotion that brooked no criticism. [What distinguishes the groups (“core 'selves'”) that we form is our focus on becoming fully-developing individualities... through self- / soul-sufficiency... How else inoculate ourselves from the seductive pull – given our common experience (under 'class') of abandonment – of 'dependency'... i.e. returning to infancy in order to attempt (yet again...) to win love and acceptance... – P.S.]

In the tradition we are dealing with, it was considered obstinacy and was therefore frowned upon to have a will and mind of one's own. It is easy to understand that an intelligent child [...unnecessary qualification...I've never met one who wasn't... – P.S.] would want to escape the punishments devised for those possessing these traits and that he or she could do so without any difficulty. What the child didn't realize was that escape came at a high price.

[“150823.mp3”:]

The father receives his powers from God (and from his own father). The teacher finds the soil already prepared for obedience, and the political leader has only to harvest what has been sown [...time to recondition the soil... – P.S.]:

With the most forceful form of punishment, corporal chastisement, we come to the ultimate in punishment. Just as the rod serves as the symbol of parental discipline in the home, the stick is the primary emblem of school discipline. There was a time when the stick was the cure-all for any mischief in school as the rod was in the home. It is an age-old “indirect way of speaking from the soul,” common to all nations. What can be more obvious than the rule, “He who won't hear must be made to feel”? Pedagogical blows provide a forceful accompaniment to words and intensify their effect. The most direct and natural way of administering them is by that box on the ears, preceded by a strong pulling on the ear, which we still remember from our own youth. This is an unmistakable reminder of the existence of an organ of hearing and of its intended uses. It obviously has symbolic significance, as does a slap on the mouth, which is a reminder that there is an organ of speech and a warning to put it to better use.... The tried and true blow to the head and hair-pulling still convey a certain symbolism, too....

Even truly Christian pedagogy, which takes a person as he is, not as he should be, cannot in principle renounce every form of corporal chastisement, for it is exactly the proper punishment for certain kinds of delinquency: it humiliates and upsets the child, affirms the necessity of bowing to a higher order and at the same time reveals paternal love in all its vigor... [...“paternal love in all its vigor...” – what ironic words... given this is a 'love' stripped of its exuberance... – P.S.] We would be in complete sympathy if a conscientious teacher declared: I would rather not be a teacher at all than have to relinquish my prerogative of reaching for the ultima ratio of the stick when necessary.

...The father strikes his child and himself feels the smart, / Severity is a merit if you have a gentle heart,” writes the poet Ruckert. If the teacher is a true representative of the father, then he also knows how to display – with the stick when necessary

– a love that is often purer and deeper than that of many a natural father. And although we call the child's heart a sinful one, we believe we may still say: The childish heart as a rule understands this love, even if not always at the moment. [*Enzyklopadie...* quoted in Rutschky]

As an adult, this child will often allow himself to be manipulated by various forms of propaganda since he is already used to having his “inclinations” manipulated and has never known anything else: [...again... thought atrophies... or cannot take flight... under authoritarian oversight... – P.S.]

First and foremost, the educator must take care that these inclinations hostile and adverse to the higher will, instead of being awakened and nourished by early education (as so commonly occurs), be prevented by every possible means from developing or at least be eradicated as soon as possible...

Whereas the child should be as little acquainted as possible with those inclinations unfavorable to his higher development, he should, on the other hand, be zealously and frequently introduced to all the rest or at least to their first buddings.

Therefore, let the educator instill in the child at an early age abundant and enduring inclinations of the better sort. Let him rouse him often and in divers ways to merriment, joyfulness, delight, hope, etc., but occasionally, although less frequently and more briefly, let him also encourage fear, sadness, and the like. He will have opportunity enough for this by virtue of the fact that, in the normal course of events, some of the child's manifold needs, not only of the body but also and primarily of the soul, are satisfied, that others are not, and that there are various combinations of both conditions. He must arrange everything so that it be nature's doing and not his own, or at least so that this appear to be the case. The unpleasant occurrences in particular must not betray their origin if he is the one responsible for them. [K. Weiller, “Toward a Theory of the Art of Education”), 1805, quoted in Rutschky)

The person actually benefiting from this manipulation must not be detected... [This 'theory'... applied politically – globally and nationally – provides the ideological expression... of hidden-'power'. Here's an illustration – in what follows let's consider the possibility that this “hidden 'power'” described by Weiller is not just the pattern... but the basis... of all such that grow out of it... under 'class'.

We will be looking at events in France after the Revolution of 1789 – the event that initiated a wave of 'bourgeois' (the 'classically'-trained 'intellectual class' that is done with aristocratic pretensions...) revolt across Europe against the aristocracy and Napoleonic invasion... after which followed... in France... restoration of monarchy: Napoleon making himself emperor... followed by other monarchs... Napoleon's nephew using popular revolt and hunger for a republic to bring about a *coup d'etat* and strengthen the state (this is referred to as the Revolution of 1848...)

For our purposes... viewing from below... the actors on the political stage and their machinations are less important than the motive forces which generate them. What's interesting is that Karl Marx – whose *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* we will be quoting from at length – what's interesting is that Marx tells us this is his primary motive as well... identifying 'the class struggle' as the motive force: “I... demonstrate how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity [the nephew... “Napoleon the Little”... to use Victor Hugo's phrase...] to play a hero's part...” But... what we will be considering... is that assigning motive power to theoretical abstractions is not the same as seeing the forces that motivate the humans hidden in... the abstractions – some of those humans are open and honest about their actions... some are not – but none of them... in our analysis... are abstractions. And let us never forget that in this period about which Marx writes there are folks busily implementing... the recommendations of Jeremy Bentham... and establishing the 'classical heritage':

...by the beginning of the 19th century AD Germans were convinced that they were the 'intellectual instructors of mankind'. It was a self-assessment accepted by most 'progressive' Europeans and North Americans. German philosophy and education provided a middle way between bankrupt traditions and the French Revolution and atheism...

In France this Germanic trend is best represented by the popular philosopher and politician Victor Cousin, who flourished under the *grand bourgeois*, compromise regime of Louis Philippe. Cousin established French primary education on the Prussian model, and like Humboldt [in the wake of the French Revolution... “after the humiliation of the traditional government and its beloved army after their catastrophic defeat by Napoleon at Jena in 1806 (the Prussian monarchy turned to Humboldt to undertake reforms.) In 1809, among other reforms undertaken to face the French Revolutionary challenge, Humboldt was entrusted with the reorganization of the educational system. He based the new structure on *Bildung* (derived from his earlier sketch: 'On the Study of Antiquity and of the Greeks in Particular') which he believed would reanimate the German people after their crushing defeats.” (Martin Bernal, *Black Athena*, p. 283 – 4)] and like Humboldt, whom he greatly

admired, he reserved a special place in the whole educational system for the Ancients, and for the Greeks in particular. (p. 318 – 9)

[August 23, 2015 show ends here.]

[“150830.mp3”:]

The person actually benefiting from this manipulation must not be detected... [This 'theory'... applied politically – globally and nationally – provides the ideological expression... of hidden-'power'. Here's an illustration – in what follows let's consider the possibility that this “hidden 'power'” described by Weiller is not just the pattern... but the basis... of all such that grow out of it... under 'class'.

We will be looking at events in France after the Revolution of 1789 – the event that initiated a wave of 'bourgeois' (the 'classically'-trained 'intellectual class' that is done with aristocratic pretensions...) revolt across Europe against the aristocracy and Napoleonic invasion... after which followed... in France... restoration of monarchy: Napoleon making himself emperor... followed by other monarchs... Napoleon's nephew using popular revolt and hunger for a republic to bring about a *coup d'etat* and strengthen the state (this is referred to as the Revolution of 1848...)

For our purposes... viewing from below... the actors on the political stage and their machinations are less important than the motive forces which generate them. What's interesting is that Karl Marx – whose *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* we will be quoting from at length – what's interesting is that Marx tells us this is his primary motive as well... identifying 'the class struggle' as the motive force: “I... demonstrate how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity [the nephew... “Napoleon the Little”... to use Victor Hugo's phrase...] to play a hero's part...” But... what we will be considering... is that assigning motive power to theoretical abstractions is not the same as seeing the forces that motivate the humans hidden in... the abstractions – some of those humans are open and honest about their actions... some are not – but none of them... in our analysis... are abstractions. And let us never forget that in this period about which Marx writes there are folks busily implementing... the recommendations of Jeremy Bentham... and establishing the 'classical heritage':

...by the beginning of the 19th century AD Germans were convinced that they were the 'intellectual instructors of mankind'. It was a self-assessment accepted by most 'progressive' Europeans and North Americans. German philosophy and education provided a middle way between bankrupt traditions and the French Revolution and atheism...

In France this Germanic trend is best represented by the popular philosopher and politician Victor Cousin, who flourished under the *grand bourgeois*, compromise regime of Louis Philippe. Cousin established French primary education on the Prussian model, and like Humboldt [in the wake of the French Revolution... “after the humiliation of the traditional government and its beloved army after their catastrophic defeat by Napoleon at Jena in 1806 (the Prussian monarchy turned to Humboldt to undertake reforms.) In 1809, among other reforms undertaken to face the French Revolutionary challenge, Humboldt was entrusted with the reorganization of the educational system. He based the new structure on *Bildung* (derived from his earlier sketch: 'On the Study of Antiquity and of the Greeks in Particular') which he believed would reanimate the German people after their crushing defeats.” (Martin Bernal, *Black Athena*, p. 283 – 4)] and like Humboldt, whom he greatly admired, he reserved a special place in the whole educational system for the Ancients, and for the Greeks in particular. (p. 318 – 9)

Karl Marx:

Camille Desmoulins, Danton, Robespierre, Saint-Just, Napoleon, the heroes as well as the parties and the masses of the old French Revolution, performed the task of their time in Roman costume and with Roman phrases, the task of unchaining and setting up modern bourgeois society. The first ones knocked the feudal basis to pieces and mowed off the feudal heads which had grown on it. The other created inside France the conditions under which lone free competition could be developed, parceled landed property exploited, and the unchained industrial productive power of the nation employed; and beyond the French borders he everywhere swept the feudal institutions away, so far as was necessary to furnish bourgeois society in France with a suitable up-to-date environment on the European Continent. The new social formation once established, the antediluvian Colossi disappeared... bourgeois society in its sober reality had begotten its true interpreters and mouthpieces in the Says, Cousins, Royer-Collards, Benjamin Constants and Guizots; its real military leaders sat behind the office desks, and the hog-headed Louis XVIII was its political chief... (p. 16)

Finally, in its struggle against the [1848] revolution [in France], the parliamentary republic found itself compelled to strengthen, along with the repressive measures, the resources and centralization of governmental power. All revolutions perfected this machine instead of smashing it. The parties that contended in turn for domination regarded the possession of this huge state edifice as the principle spoils of the victor.

But under the absolute monarchy, during the first Revolution, under Napoleon, bureaucracy was only the means of preparing the class rule of the bourgeoisie. Under the Restoration, under Louis Philippe, under the parliamentary republic, it was the instrument of the ruling class, however much it strove for power of its own.

Only under the second Bonaparte does the state seem to have made itself completely independent... Bonaparte represents a class, and the most numerous class of French society at that, the small-holding peasants...

But let there be no misunderstanding. The Bonaparte dynasty represents not the revolutionary, but the conservative peasant... the peasant who wants to consolidate [his] holding... [but] the three years' rigorous rule of the parliamentary republic had freed a part of the French peasants from the Napoleonic illusion and had revolutionized them... but the bourgeoisie violently repressed them, as often as they set themselves in motion...

After the first revolution had transformed the peasants from semi-villeins into freeholders, Napoleon confirmed and regulated the conditions on which they could exploit undisturbed the soil of France which had only just fallen to their lot and slake their youthful passion for property. But what is now causing the ruin of the French peasant is his small holding itself, the division of the land, the form of property which Napoleon consolidated in France. It is precisely the material conditions which made the feudal peasant a small-holding peasant and Napoleon an emperor. Two generations have sufficed to produce the inevitable result: progressive deterioration of agriculture, progressive indebtedness of the agriculturist. The "Napoleonic" form of property, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the condition for the liberation and enrichment of the French country folk, has developed [...'power' hides in the passive tone... – P.S.] in the course of this century into the law of their enslavement and pauperization. And precisely this law is the first of the "*idees napoleoniennes*" ["an allusion to Louis Bonaparte's Book *Des idées napoleoniennes*, published in Paris in 1839." (editor)] which the second Bonaparte has to uphold. ...

The economic development of small-holding property has radically changed the relation of the peasants to the other classes of society. Under Napoleon, the fragmentation of the land in the countryside supplemented free competition [...'power' hides in the ideology of 'economic development'... in the economic propaganda... – P.S.] and the beginning of big industry in the towns. The peasant class was the ubiquitous protest against the landed aristocracy which had just been overthrown. The roots that small-holding property struck in French soil deprived feudalism of all nutriment. Its landmarks formed the natural fortifications of the bourgeoisie against any surprise attack on the part of its old overlords. But in the course of the nineteenth century the feudal lords were replaced by urban usurers; the feudal obligation that went with the land was replaced by the mortgage; aristocratic landed property was replaced by bourgeois capital. The small holding of the peasant is now only the pretext that allows the capitalist to draw profits, interest and rent from the soil, while leaving it to the tiller of the soil himself to see how he can extract his wages. The mortgage debt burdening the soil of France imposes on the French peasantry payment of an amount of interest equal to the annual interest on the entire British national debt. Small-holding property, in this enslavement by capital to which its development inevitably pushes forward, has transformed the mass of the French nation into troglodytes. Sixteen million peasants (including women and children) dwell in hovels, a large number of which have but one opening, others only two and the most favoured only three. And windows are to a house what the five senses are to the head. The bourgeois order, which at the beginning of the century set the state to stand guard over the newly arisen small holding and manured it with laurels, has become a vampire that sucks out its blood and brains and throws it into the alchemistic cauldron of capital. The *Code Napoleon* is now nothing but a codex of restraints, forced sales and compulsory auctions. To the four million (including children, etc.) officially recognized paupers, vagabonds, criminals and prostitutes in France must be added five million who hover on the margin of existence and either have their haunts in the countryside itself or, with their rags and their children, continually desert the countryside for the towns and the towns for the countryside. The interests of the peasants, therefore, are no longer, as under Napoleon, in accord with, but in opposition to the interests of the bourgeoisie, to capital. Hence the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the *urban proletariat*, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order. But strong and *unlimited government* – and this is the second "*idée napoleonnienne*," which the second Napoleon has to carry out – is called upon to defend this "material" order by force. This "*ordre matériel*" also serves as the catchword in all of Bonaparte's proclamations against the rebellious peasants...

One sees: *all "idees napoleoniennes" are ideas of the undeveloped small holding in the freshness of its youth; for the small holding that has outlived its day they are an absurdity. They are only the hallucinations of its death struggle, words that are*

transformed into phrases, spirits transformed into ghosts. But the parody of the empire [*des Imperialismus*] was necessary to free the mass of the French nation from the weight of tradition and to work out in pure form the opposition between the state power and society. With the progressive undermining of small-holding property, the state structure erected upon it collapses. The centralization of the state that modern society requires arises only on the ruins of the military-bureaucratic government machinery which was forged in opposition to feudalism.

The condition of the French peasants provides us with the answer to the riddle of the *general elections of December 20 and 21*, which bore the second Bonaparte up Mount Sinai, not to receive laws, but to give them.

Manifestly the bourgeoisie had now no choice but to elect Bonaparte...

As the executive authority which has made itself an independent power, Bonaparte feels it to be his mission to safeguard "bourgeois order." But the strength of this bourgeois order lies in the middle class. He looks on himself, therefore, as the representative of the middle class and issues decrees in this sense. Nevertheless, he is somebody solely due to the fact that he has broken the political power of this middle class and daily breaks it anew. Consequently, he looks on himself as the adversary of the political and literary power of the middle class. But by protecting its material power, he generates its political power anew. The cause must accordingly be kept alive; but the effect, where it manifests itself, must be done away with. But this cannot pass off without slight confusions of cause and effect, since in their interaction both lose their distinguishing features.... (p. 122 – 132)

... – P.S.]

[...skipping ahead...]

In the three scenes that follow, we see vivid examples of how the principles described above can be put into practice. I quote these passages at such length in order to give the reader an idea of the atmosphere these children (i.e., if not we ourselves, then at least our parents) breathed in daily. This material helps us to understand how neuroses develop. They are not caused by an external event but by repression of the innumerable psychological factors making up the child's daily life that the child is never capable of describing because he or she doesn't know that things can be any other way. [The totalitarian state – which is what we got today... must be systematically replaced... with new thoughts... – P.S.]

Until the time he was four, I taught little Konrad four essentials: to pay attention, to obey, to behave himself, and to be moderate in his desires.

The first I accomplished by continually showing him all kinds of animal, flowers, and other wonders of nature and by explaining pictures to him: the second by constantly making him, whenever he was in my presence, do things at my bidding; the third by inviting children to come play with him from time to time when I was present, and whenever a quarrel arose, I carefully determined who had started it and removed the culprit from the game for a time; the fourth I taught him by often denying him something he asked for with great agitation. Once, for example, I cut up a honeycomb and brought a large dishful into the room. "Honey! Honey!" he cried joyfully. "Father, give me some honey," pulled his chair to the table, sat down, and waited for me to spread a few rolls with honey for him. I didn't do it but set the honey before him and said: "I'm not going to give you any honey yet; first we will plant some peas in the garden; then, when that is done, we will enjoy a roll with honey together." He looked first at me, then at the honey, whereupon he went to the garden with me. Also, when serving food, I always arranged it so that he was the last one served. For example, my parents and little Christel were eating with us once, and we had rice pudding, which he especially liked. "Pudding!" he cried joyfully, embracing his mother. "Yes," I said, "it's rice pudding. Little Konrad shall have some, too. First the big people shall have some, and afterwards the little people. Here, Grandmother, is some pudding for you. Here, Grandfather, is some for you, too! Here, Mother, is some for you. This is for Father, this for Christel, and this? Whom do you think this is for?" "Onrad," he responded joyfully. He did not find this arrangement unjust, and I saved myself all the vexation parents have who give their children the first portion of whatever is brought to the table. [Salzmann (1796), quoted in Rutschky]

The "little people" sit quietly at the table and wait. This need not be demeaning. It all depends on the adult's intention – and here the adult in question shows unabashedly how much he enjoys his power and his bigness at the expense of the little ones.

Something similar occurs in the next story, in which telling a lie is the only possible way for the child to read in privacy:

A lie is something dishonorable. It is recognized as such even by those who tell one, and there probably isn't a single liar who has any self-respect. But someone who doesn't respect himself doesn't respect others either, and the liar thus finds himself excluded from human society to a certain extent....