

WUR of September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015... “Embracing Global Goals, Scope and Action: Becoming Global Actors... Claiming the ‘All’” – Segue From *Antisystemic Movements...* To Alice (Dft 17)

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*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 24)

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[“150927contemptisalltheyknow.mp3”:]

September 22, 2015... Drones in the sky!... [Human] drones on the ground!... The fascist global-state is all around!...

(I counted at least five arrayed around me each time I tried to approach my car after my walk in the early morning [the 4:30 AM hour...] at Lakeshore Park this past Tuesday... apparently determined that I get hammered that morning... after saying during the last show that it was hard for them to target me there...

...and... now something else... as I write this [on Saturday, September 26<sup>th</sup>...] I've just seen... in the space of one week... my fourth license plate with the word fragment 'MEM'. Now in what I'm about to say you have to understand that... because they know words are my thing... in the past... these... people... these 'power'-guy henchmen... have put license plates [on separate cars] with the same word in my face for me to see. For a while it was 'RIP' ['rest in peace'...] 'COW' was a favorite... 'MEM' is suggestive of 'Memnon' who was the son of the goddess of the dawn... and who came to the aid of Troy and was killed... I think it's a warning – one of their endless attempts at intimidation I suspect... but I must call attention to it. So please... keep my son in your heart... help me preserve him...)

When I wrote the description that follows yesterday at 3:30 AM I'd just returned home from an upload with a swollen head (and chest... and... etc.... – even though I'd 'cleared mucus' before I left...) I could feel the growing pressure and swelling as I drove so I'd pulled over... doused the lights... leaned over and looked to my right... and there it was flying low in the sky: flashing lights floating near by... the hovering drone... which then proceeded on... leaving me with these blended feelings that have become my home.

I think it's time to start calling this global-state 'fascist'. Not just because of the continuously building body-count and looming ocean-death... etc.... etc.... but also because they hate it... these Plato's Tribesmen... hate the thought that even Plato might – at this point – say they're 'wolves' (apologies to our righteous wolf-friends...) instead of 'dogs' (ditto...) For these folk it's all about 'obedience-training' (the flip-side of 'conquest'... Alice calls this dynamic the 'cycle of contempt'...) – that's what they got... that's all they know... So they *hate* all things natural (earth-grown...) because we will not obey. Their precept “make them hunger...” is just “make them obey...” alternatively phrased. It explains their vision of 'the *Republic*' – in which *all* things obey – it explains everything they do... everything they've done... for the last two hundred years.

But we cannot grow our gifts... and then share them without coercion... we cannot become 'big'... being obedient... and 'power' so sets things... that if you choose to be 'big'... and particularly if what you want is for others to be 'big'... and you help them to do it... as Coleen did... you will be targeted...

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[“150927coleengragen.mp3”:]

Coleen Gragen... the woman who started Hand To Hand Martial Arts Center in Oakland, California... has been coming up for me... partly... I think... because my son is still training with folks connected to it... and we've been having intense conversations about what a martial arts practice would be that was relevant to the current threat facing our global humanity... a threat that has engulfed the planet.

How would a martial arts practice address *that* threat?

And it seemed Coleen was standing there looking at me.

I think about her a lot. Now that I'm receiving this 'punishment' for speaking out about this 'global-elite'... I see... there is zero-chance they didn't also 'punish' Coleen. I see her last ten to twelve years (at least) differently through this current lens: the inevitability of agents crawling through her life... her school... doing their Iago-act... planting despair in people's heads... the 'Lyme disease' she came down with... then... her decision to buy land and get out of Oakland... the heavy weight that always seemed to be on her...

So... what 'school of martial arts' can confront this threat?... You see... Coleen thought about such questions as this... as: how to make the martial arts relevant... relevant to the real threats to our existence... as humans. Given that we are one world now... given... as Popper said... we are here to defend the 'weak' from the 'strong' (granting that such terms vary by vantage... as well as over the course of our lives... while clearly identifying these ten thousand guys as fiendish predators... fixed immutables of 'class'... who dissolve only with 'class' itself...)

So... what would such a school look like? It would embrace all humanity... it would embrace tenderness... But... as Marcuse said... we have a responsibility to be concrete in this matter:

But the very scope and effectiveness of the democratic introjection [i.e. the internalization of 'the state'... which in practical terms means the incorporation of 'utilitarianism' in one's mental frames... – P.S.] have suppressed the historical subject, the agent of revolution: free people are not in need of liberation [what he means by that is that we have been trained to think we're 'free'... if we're in that 'privileged' category... – P.S.], and the oppressed [who are under no illusions... – P.S.] are not strong enough to liberate themselves. These conditions redefine the concept of Utopia: liberation is the most realistic, the most concrete of all historical possibilities [because our bodies want it... – P.S.] and at the same time the most rationally and effectively repressed – the most abstract and remote possibility [to deeply-obedience-trained minds... – P.S.]. (*Eros and Civilization*, p. xv)

We are still confronted with the demand to state the “concrete alternative.” The demand is meaningless if it asks for a blueprint of the specific institutions and relationships which would be those of the new society: they cannot be determined a priori; they will develop, in trial and error, as the new society develops.... However, the questions cannot be brushed aside by saying that what matters today is the destruction of the old, of the powers that be, making way for the emergence of the new....

But the demand to state the concrete alternatives is justified... Negative thinking [i.e.: a world based on 'freedom' (non-coercion) is the *opposite* of a world based on 'coercion' (force)... – P.S.] draws whatever force it may have from its empirical basis: the actual human condition in the given society, and the “given” possibilities to transcend this condition, to enlarge the realm of freedom. In this sense, negative thinking is by virtue of its own internal concepts “positive”: oriented toward, and comprehending a future which is “contained” in the present. (Herbert Marcuse, “An Essay on Liberation,” p. 86 – 7)

I quibbled with Marcuse a bit... in *Beginning Again*... over the phrase 'future contained in the present'... not seeing what he did then... that that future exists in every un-(class-)trained infant... and that we all carry within us the potential... to *be* it... *be*... that inherent freedom...

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[“150927coleencouragecreativity.mp3”:]

And I definitely can testify to that... and... as I said... Coleen's been very 'up' for me... and with a lot of grief that I was 'asleep' when I had the chance to know her... because... those of us who are 'seeing reality'... we need the support of each other... particularly once we're targeted... because it is very... very difficult confronting the 'hidden-ness' of these people who operate behind scenes... it's very difficult to grapple with something that hides itself... that's why we've been focusing so much in recent shows on this notion of 'outing' hidden 'power' (it sort of explains why they love these EMF weapons... they're a perfect complement to their overall tactic... the hidden-ness of the assault is pretty insidious – and the word 'bully' for these folk don't even begin to touch it... and I have the sense that they think of themselves as 'warriors'... because of their attachment to Plato's ideologies and 'propaganda playbook'... and his advice to them... And the notion that you can... rig the rules of a game and celebrate yourself for winning... is just so bizarre to me... that you can beat up on folk when they have no means of fighting back... have no means of *seeing* the weaponry that you're using... is beyond 'cowardly'... we have no words for that...

In the March 22, 2015 show... we considered the words of Gramsci... that we ended with last week... from the perspective of 'voice'... and suppressed creativity – themes derived from our translation of Gramsci into 'earth-speak'. I suggested that by the phrase 'economic group'... we should hear the words 'creative element': "our love and joy seized and directed to serve... 'the system' – us... striving to sing our songs..." – that... in the language of 'power'... our creativity is simply an 'economic quality'...

...a 'creative element' artificially held back... which is what the second excerpt addresses... from the November 25, 2012 broadcast.

["150322gramsci\_3.mp3": "I'm asking us to consider... hear... by those words ('economic group'...) that in earth-speak... this means 'the creative element' – our love and joy seized and directed to serve... 'the system' – us... striving to sing our songs... In the language of 'power' these are 'economic' qualities... So when Gramsci says... if a 'intellectual' is not firmly anchored... in that song... he's anchored elsewhere... What he's struggling with here is this issue of 'authentic leadership'..." [From the March 22, 2015 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

["121125cantfig.mp3": "There are problems 'power' can't figure out... because it can't see that we're not cattle. What Terence Hopkins sees quite clearly... is that this is 'power's vulnerability... Firstly... that states will want their sovereignty because the people they sit on will ever want to be free [i.e. to grow our gifts continuously...] and will ever push back against the walls... the limits of our captivity... until they fall... If... instead of 'economic growth' we heard 'transfers of the wealth of our common earth...' we might begin to see beyond the present system of death... to the future of *our* creation... based in our abundance..." [From the November 25, 2012 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

...and see that an intentional suppression requires an intentional summoning... a 'bringing forth' of our energy... consciously. This is what Coleen was doing.

["150927transformingforce.mp3":]

Back in March I heard those words of Gramsci as being about the question of 'authentic leadership'... which they are I think... but... now that we've exposed Marx's (unconscious) utilitarianism... I hear more today... I hear it reproduced here... in the assumption of 'conquest'... of "Might Makes Right"... in the focus on "the conquest of 'production'" as the locus of our freedom. 'Voice'... 'song'... and their suppression... are there... I think... but as an unacknowledged background melody.

And although I still hear in the words 'economic capacity' the words 'creative force': that from which comes our ability to live – that being ultimately the earth... and we-the-people in that 'earth' being key...

...today... I want to consider more deeply... what was acknowledged back in March as our 'silencing' (our lack of a voice individually and as 'a people') but not developed: that a 'make-use-of' (utilitarian) mindset... the primacy of 'production'... for 'power'... of 'accumulation'... stifles as it consumes...

...i.e. I want to consider more deeply Gramsci's observation that the 'transforming force' (transforming to a free future...) in this global social arrangement called 'class' – an arrangement long-since drained of vitality... an arrangement already dead... needing now but our act of burying – comes from a strong 'economic capacity' that's being artificially held back... us.

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["150927imaginefreedhumanenergy.mp3":]

And I feel that deeply... thanks to Coleen... I see the frustration she felt... because I feel it myself now... to see our Brothers and Sisters not tapping into that energy... that source... Because I've been through that process and know it... I have certainty... I have faith in my Sisters and Brothers... and so I ask you to please imagine that world in which every human being has access to their full capacity... their full power as a living thing – as a free... uncoerced... living thing...

'Artists' are students of energy – because that's what we're talking about here... energy... having access to our energy...

(...and that's... perhaps the most stark difference... in some respects... between those who have tapped into true power... and those who worship this false 'power'... the 'power' to 'command' others... to cause harm... to destroy... the 'power' that makes them obsessed with turning their Brothers and Sisters into puppets: that contrast being then... when you've tapped into true power... it's just the opposite... you want every human being to be fully powerful... that's what you want... more than anything... that's what you want. Because we can't have a world truly premised on freedom if that is not the case... That's what I see now... That's what Bruce Lee saw...)

'Artists' are students of energy – studious attendants to the pulsations of life – to which they seek to become sensitive receptors... and for which to be tender advocates...

So when we say that “we are all artists”... it simply means that that is our inherent capacity.

The Akira Kurosawa film *Seven Samurai* is a useful tool... I think... for exploring... in group discussion... this process (...and I would love to participate in a group discussion of this film... please keep me in mind if you organize one...)

...as well as a metaphor for the monumental challenge before us...

...for what could be more monumental than the suppression of our energy as a collective humanity for millennia... and our now... finally... overcoming it: the theft of our souls... and our now... finally... recovering them...

(...in the film... earth-connected folk [but under conditions of 'class'... under compulsion – and to get beyond 'class' requires a *global* effort... i.e.... it was waiting for this moment... for this technology: “the conditions have changed...” and we must base our thinking on these changed conditions. We have instantaneous communication... we have the Internet... we have the means to organize a one-day global General Strike... almost over night... over and over until we get our freedom... These are new conditions. We are that elephant who can now look down and see that that chain is gone... and that it's time to walk free... It's time for us to act on that new information...] So... these are folk... in *Seven Samurai*... inexperienced with confronting 'power'... who seek the help of 'artists' – students of life's pulsations – in order to get 'power' off their backs... [we have to work together to do that...])

In this word 'energy' we see the crux of our containment... as well as our strategy for getting free.

When the bifurcation of humanity is the premise for (what we're told is...) 'thought' – that there must be 'slaves' for it to exist... one side-effect... when we find we cannot think (authentically... and our body... if only unconsciously... feels the distinction...) is fear that we will never escape that 'slave' category...

...so here is yet another circular trap (another way 'power' hides...) the source for an intentionally constructed 'repetition compulsion' (to use Alice's language...) in which our lack of thought and resulting fear mutually reinforce – and 'power' hides in our self-blame...

...never discussed is... as we've said... that a bifurcated condition for 'thought' destroys authentic thought...

...never discussed is the stifling effect on thought of separating us...

...never discussed is our wasted energy in fear... confusion... and the endless repetition of compulsions...

This matters because we have to *see* how 'the system' reproduces itself so we can *thoughtfully* de-commission it... starve it of our energy... as we grow our free future... which... I'm arguing... is about *creating* our happiness... which gives us a lever here in the U.S.

If the 'martial arts' exist to defend the 'weak'... help all we can get 'big'... and to therefore establish happiness... this... within a global system of 'class'... will cause the artists who practice it to clash... with global-'power'... which cannot exist if we do not forfeit authentic lives... our full gifts... our happiness.

But... if we do not... choose to defend the 'weak'... help all we can get 'big'... and to therefore establish happiness – what will become of us?

Artists! – musicians... actors... Marxists... martial artists (and in this circumstance we must all become 'martial' artists... we are at war...) – must start us down the path to the restoration of souls...

We are at war... do not doubt it... a war to preserve the human being... a war to establish a free humanity...

...in the establishment of the conditions that allow for our self-creation as global-humans... and in so doing... our happiness.

It is the global perspective – unifying across nation – that is critical (I don't know of any contemporary but Bruce Lee who was actively trying to do this... bring us together across the false divisions... – then again... please forgive my being remiss in failing to mention Martin Luther King... Bob Marley... John Coltrane... to name three of the most glaring omissions... Sly... Michael Jackson – but I guess what I was getting at... was having a clear sense of how to do it: 'fully developing individualities'... with a global perspective... in defense of the 'weak'... in determined opposition to bullies... to the 'power'-guys... the global-state-statesmen... this requires organization...)

[“150927criticaldiscussions.mp3”:]

'Defending the weak' must be a global motive as... with the resources of the planet tapped out... nation-states hunkering down... 'improving conditions' in one's small piece of the planet is no threat to 'power'... on the contrary... that's 'prettying up' 'power's mess... while leaving their control of us unaffected... they *want* our eyes narrowly focused.

So we broaden out... with our voices and acts... we fight back... we claim the world... joining hands with others of like-minds... we're open-tribes... a school... bringing... creatively presenting... the 'taboo' (for 'power'...) discussions:

- Are we all artists?
- Is claiming our 'art'... being it... about claiming our 'wholeness'?... mind... body... and spirit?
- Does it not then require listening to your body?
- If you say you're a person who 'listens to her body'... what does that mean?
- What does it mean to be fully alive?
- Should our energy... as human beings... as living things... be compelled by the state or the market?
- How does our practice expand our human energy? Is it limitless? Is it held back by the current 'system'?
- Why is 'decision-making' disproportionately allocated... in the current 'system'?
- Why is there 'hierarchy' in the existing global-system? (Staying focused on the global-setting avoids the inevitable attempts by the global-state-statesmen to derail this discussion with irrelevant side-issues.)
- Why 'class'?
- Why is there coercion?
- What are the forms coercion takes in our lives?
- What would it mean to live our lives without coercion?
- What would it mean to be a 'fully-developing individuality'?... to be 'self-creating'?
- Do we need each other – globally – to be 'fully-developing'?
- What would a society... a global “'community of communities'... of 'fully-developing individualities'” look like?
- How do we link hands – link our practice – globally?

• As we flesh out that picture of a world based in non-coercion... how do we share that developing picture with others around the world... and exchange ideas?

...dedicating our practice to freeing human energy globally...

[“150927towakefolkup.mp3”:]

...and this is exciting... this should make us all feel very hopeful... because this is what we all want and 'power' cannot offer this as a perk... it is hella exciting seeing one's energy grow and expand under one's own initiative... under only the sway of the earth growing through and in us... that is hella exciting... once you embark on that process. And I'm really seriously trying to figure out... why a 'martial arts *per se*' practice has to be augmented... and I know this was the path that Coleen was on... and Bruce Lee... and Socrates: “What is needed to wake folk up?”... you know?... and so I look at my own experience – and I asked this question in *Waking Up*... “Why was the martial arts not enough?”... and I'm more and more convinced that we have the answer now... that there are these missing pieces that have to be integrated holistically in our practice: awareness that there is a 'war' on full-developing individualities... awareness of 'hidden-power'... that we have to dedicate our practice to freeing human energy globally – pieces that we have to consciously incorporate...

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[“150927firstfullstride.mp3”:]

[Today's reading: continuing our interlude: Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*... before returning to the chapter "Poisonous Pedagogy" in Alice Miller's *For Your Own Good*...]

...now... from the contemplation of a future without coercion... we traverse the centuries and take a jarring journey into the past... prepare yourselves to be pushed into the cattle-car and silenced... we are now entering a space in which only the bullies (behind scenes...) and the managers (of us... we-the-'cattle'...) are allowed to speak (wait a minute... not so jarring... this is our current reality...) Keep in mind as we read that we're seeing the first full-stride of these new-born 'power'-guys... hidden from even Marx's discerning eye – and let's not ignore that suppressed conversation: “why is 'decision-making' disproportionately allocated?”... – P.S.]:

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... [If so... he did a damn poor job of it... truly incompetent... unless we conclude... that the man was a buffoon... But 'History' proved otherwise... Rather... let us consider that this could be... an example of hidden-'power'... planning behind scenes... never revealing the intention... to create 'scarcity'... – P.S.]

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 [...now that strikes me as a really twisted way to describe it... this is the same tactic we saw in the 'foreclosure crisis'... and in every scheme of 'power' to transfer wealth massively... “cause indebtedness and strip us of what little we have...” – P.S.], 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 idees napoleoniennes*, published in Paris in 1839.” (editor)] which the second Bonaparte has to uphold.  
...

The economic development of small-holding property [...again... in the words 'economic development' let's hear instead... 'transfers of the wealth of our common earth... – P.S.] 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...

[“150927wehavebeenstripped.mp3”:]

...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... [There we have it... that tactic hasn't changed since... This is called “make them hunger”... “strip their ability to be self-sufficient... strip their access to land – it has not changed since... this conscious tactic to destroy our ability to live... except by going hat-in-hand to them... that's what they want... they are determined to get it. Do we understand that this is a war for our very existence as free humans? You can see the tactic then... it hasn't changed a bit... it is on-going... it has accelerated... So what do you think lies at the end of it? It ain't a pretty picture. *They* decide who lives... who dies... *They* decide if there's 'too many of us' or not... and they decide what happens to those they consider 'superfluous'... They decide – those ten thousand guys. Are we ready to take this serious? Are we ready to start talking about it?... and then organizing...for our freedom? We have the means. It is possible. Our thinking has to catch up with the technology. *We can* get free... We simply have to begin discussing it... meeting together and picturing it... visualizing it... We're going to be talking more about this... – P.S.]

[“150927peasantbloodsucked.mp3”:]

...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 [...this attribution to an imposed scarcity (i.e.... a result born of force... coercion) of some 'natural' inherent 'development' and an 'historical role' – proposing the existence of 'inevitable' 'economic laws' that produce it... is doing 'power's work for it... weaving the curtain that 'power' stands behind... – P.S.], 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 “*idee napoleonienn*e,” which the second Napoleon has to carry out – is called upon to defend this “material” order by force. This “*ordre materiel*” 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 [...translation into 'earth-speak': “disconnect the earth-connected – and so soul / self-sufficient – from their earth-connectedness... in order to force them into a dependent relation to 'power'... subject to its 'grand' objectives... – P.S.] 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. [Now that we have lived this... “state centralization”... now that we have seen what it means to have 'consent' imposed by the elimination of all other options... we must begin challenging this assumption of the inevitability – because ordained by 'History' – of 'power's appropriation of our planet... – P.S.]

[“150927disordersavesorder.mp3”:]

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... Only... disorder [can save] order!

[I've been pondering in what sense *The Eighteenth Brumaire* is 'class analysis'... and for whom it represents... as the word 'class' itself serves 'power' as both ideological tool and weapon... depending on one's relationship to 'Plato's Tribesmen'... i.e. ... that it's reality is prescribed by those with the 'power' to do so... and we-the-people have been silenced...

...and as those who speak 'officially'... speak 'falsely'... and their public presentation is only so much 'role-playing'... – why does Marx take their speech for what they really think?... – P.S.]

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.... As against the bourgeoisie, Bonaparte looks on himself, at the same time, as the representative of the peasants and of the people in general, who wants to make the lower classes of the people happy within the frame of bourgeois society.... But, above all, Bonaparte looks on himself as the chief of the Society of December 10, as the representative of the *lumpenproletariat* to which he himself, his *entourage*, his government and his army belong, and whose prime consideration is to benefit itself and draw California lottery prizes from the state treasury. And he vindicates his position as chief of the Society of December 10 with decrees, without decrees and despite decrees.

This contradictory task of the man explains the contradictions of his government, the confused groping about which seeks now to win, now to humiliate first one class and then another and arrays all of them uniformly against him, whose practical uncertainty forms a highly comical contrast to the imperious, categorical style of the government decrees, a style which is faithfully copied from the Uncle.

Industry and trade, hence the business affairs of the middle class, are to prosper in hothouse fashion under the strong government. The grant of innumerable railway concessions. But the Bonapartist *lumpenproletariat* is to enrich itself. The initiated play *tripotage* [hanky-panky] on the *bourse* with the railway concessions.... Leonine agreement of the Bank with the government. The people are to be given employment. Initiation of public works.... Dissolution of actual workers' associations, but promises of miracles of association in the future. The peasants are to be helped. Mortgage banks that expedite their getting into debt and accelerate the concentration of property. But these banks are to be used to make money out of the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans. No capitalist wants to agree to this condition, which is not in the decree, and the mortgage bank remains a mere decree, etc. etc.

Bonaparte would like to appear as the patriarchal benefactor of all classes. But he cannot give to one class without taking from another. Just as at the time of the Fronde it was said of the Duke of Guise that he was the most *obligeant* man in France because he had turned all his estates into his partisans' obligations to him, so Bonaparte would fain be the most *obligeant* man in France and turn all the property, all the labour of France into a personal obligation to himself. He would like to steal the whole of France in order to be able to make a present of her to France or, rather, in order to be able to buy France anew with French money, for as the chief of the Society of December 10 he must needs buy what ought to belong to him. And all the state institutions, the Senate, the Council of State, the legislative body, the Legion of Honour, the soldiers' medals, the washhouses, the public works, the railways, the *etat major* [General Staff] of the National Guard to the exclusion of privates, and the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans – all become parts of the institution of purchase. Every place in the army and in the government machine becomes a means of purchase. But the most important feature of this process, whereby



France is taken in order to give to her, is the percentages that find their way into the pockets of the head and the members of the Society of December 10 during the turnover....

[The shadow-state needs shadow-troops... with shadow-orders... that they execute... When 'power' wants to operate 'extra-legally'... they convene impromptu 'December 10' societies... – P.S.]

[September 27, 2015 show ends here]

[The shadow-state needs shadow-troops... with shadow-orders... that they execute... When 'power' wants to operate 'extra-legally'... they convene impromptu 'December 10' societies. Earlier in the book Marx describes the Society of December 10 in this way:

This society dates from the year 1849. On the pretext of founding a benevolent society, the *lumpenproletariat* of Paris had been organized into secret sections, each section being led by Bonapartist agents, with a Bonapartist general at the head of the whole. Alongside decayed *roues* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, *lazzaroni*, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaus* [procurers], brothel keepers, porters, *litterati*, organ-grinders, ragpickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars – in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term *la bohème*; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December 10. A “benevolent society” – in so far as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefitting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation. This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself *chief of the lumpenproletariat*, who here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, who recognizes in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally, is the real Bonaparte, the Bonaparte sans phrases. An old crafty *roue*, he conceives the historical life of the nations and their performances of state as comedy in in the most vulgar sense, as a masquerade where the grand costumes, words and postures merely serve to make the pettiest knavery.... In his Society of December 10, he assembles ten thousand rascally fellows, who are to play the part of the people, as Nick Bottom that of the lion. At a moment when the bourgeoisie itself played the most complete comedy, but in the most serious manner in the world, without infringing any of the pedantic conditions of French dramatic etiquette, and was itself half deceived, half convinced of the solemnity of its own performance of state, the adventurer, who took the comedy as plain comedy, was bound to win....

[Take this drama to the world stage and you have hidden-'power' today (just think 'ISIS' and drug cartels... 'Boko Haram' and infiltrators-of-police-forces... agent provocateurs of all sorts... etc.... – or in my micro-micro situation: students and the 'low-income'... including immigrants and formerly-incarcerated... and I suppose some bored Plato's Tribesmen-sympathizers eager for action...) for the human-weaponry Marx names... – plotting and planning behind scenes (they live to scheme – it's the only way they can feel smarter than everyone else... and they definitely need to feel smarter than everyone else...) while keeping us... not just ignorant of their actions – that goes without saying – but... as Marx says... ignorant of the play... ignorant that there *is* a play going on... oblivious that we are the puppets... while the hidden 'adventurers' as Marx termed them – and is that not a good word to use... to describe Plato's Tribe?... out to deceive the world while designing the global-stage as a House of Horrors – hand us sentences drenched in blood... our own... and the blood of our Brothers and Sisters... – P.S.]

...Only when he has eliminated his solemn opponent, when he himself now takes his imperial role seriously and under the Napoleonic mask imagines he is the real Napoleon, does he become the victim of his own conceptions of the world, the serious buffoon who no longer takes world history for a comedy but his comedy for world history....

[It may be... it's worth our consideration certainly... that Marx has alighted here... unwittingly (as he could not see the aftermath... as we have...) at a moment of initiation – of the almost-but-one first generation Plato's Tribesmen... first fruit if not First Cause – of the plan to re-invent and realize... Plato's Vision and Handbook... Because ... it seems to me... this is not buffoonery... but 'hidden-power' cracking its knuckles... experimenting... and readying itself... for 'play' on a larger stage... – P.S.]

What the national *ateliers* were for the socialist workers, what the *Gardes mobile* were for the bourgeois republicans, the Society of December 10 was for Bonaparte, the party fighting force peculiar to him. On his journeys the detachments of this society packing the railways had to improvise a public for him, stage public enthusiasm, roar *vive l'Empereur*, insult and thrash republicans, of course, under the protection of the police. On his return journeys to Paris they had to form the advance guard, forestall counter-demonstrations or disperse them. The Society of December 10 belonged to him, it was

*his* work, his very own idea. Whatever else he appropriates is put into his hands by the force of circumstances; whatever else he does, the circumstance do for him or he is content to copy from the deeds of others. But Bonaparte with official phrases about order, religion, family and property in public, before the citizens, and with the secret society of the Schufterles and Spiegelbergs [a note at the back reads: “characters in Schiller’s drama *Die Rauber* (The Robbers), who plunder and murder unimpeded by any moral scruples...”], the society of disorder, prostitution and theft, behind him – that is Bonaparte himself as original author, and the history of the Society of December 10 is his own history....

[This cannot be the first use of this tactic... is it Machiavellian?... the 'Bonaparte's are Italian... – P.S.]

...Now it happened by way of exception that people’s representatives belonging to the party of Order came under the cudgels of the Decembrists. Still more, Yon, the Police Commissioner assigned to the National Assembly and charged with watching over its safety, acting on the deposition of a certain Alais, advised the Permanent Commission that a section of the Decembrists had decided to assassinate General Changarnier and Dupin, the President of the National Assembly, and had already designated the individuals who were to perpetuate the deed.... One comprehends the terror of M. Dupin. A parliamentary enquiry into the Society of December 10, that is, the profanation of the Bonapartist secret world, seemed inevitable. Just before the meeting of the National Assembly Bonaparte providently disbanded his society, naturally only on paper, for in a detailed manner at the end of 1851 Police Prefect Carlier still sought in vain to move him to really break up the Decembrists.

The Society of December 10 was to remain the private army of Bonaparte until he succeeded in transforming the public army into a Society of December 10. Bonaparte made the first attempt at this shortly after the adjournment of the National Assembly, and precisely with the money just wrested from it. As a fatalist, he lives in the conviction that there are certain higher powers which man, and the soldier in particular, cannot withstand. Among these powers he counts, first and foremost, cigars and champagne, cold poultry and garlic sausage. Accordingly, to begin with, he treats officers and non-commissioned officers in his Elysee apartments to cigars and champagne, to cold poultry and garlic sausage. On October 3 he repeats this manoeuvre with the mass of the troops at the St. Maur review, and on October 10 the same manoeuvre on a still larger scale at the Satory army parade. The Uncle remembered the campaigns of Alexander in Asia, the Nephew the triumphal marches of Bacchus in the same land. Alexander was a demigod, to be sure, but Bacchus was a god and moreover the tutelary deity of the Society of December 10.

After the review of October 3, the Permanent Commission summoned War Minister d’Hautpoul. He promised that these breaches of discipline should not recur. We know how on October 10 Bonaparte kept d’Hautpoul’s word. As Commander-in-Chief of the Paris army, Changarnier had commanded at both reviews. He, at once a member of the Permanent Commission, chief of the National Guard, the “saviour” of January 29 and June 13, the “bulwark of society,” the candidate of the party of Order for presidential honours, the suspected Monk of two monarchies, had hitherto never acknowledged himself as the subordinate of the War Minister, had always openly derided the republican Constitution and had pursued Bonaparte with an ambiguous lordly protection. Now he was consumed with zeal for discipline against the War Minister and for the Constitution against Bonaparte. While on October 10 a section of the calvary raised the shout: “*Vive Napoleon! Vivent les saucissons!*” [“Hurrah for Napoleon! Hurrah for the sausages!”] Changarnier arranged that at least the infantry marching past under the command of his friend Neumayer should preserve an icy silence. As a punishment, the War Minister relieved General Neumayer of his post in Paris at Bonaparte’s instigation, on the pretext of appointing him commanding general of the fourteenth and fifteenth military divisions. Neumayer refused this exchange of posts and so had to resign. Changarnier, for his part, published an order of the day on November 2, in which he forbade the troops to indulge in political outcries or demonstrations of any kind while under arms. The Elysee newspapers attacked Changarnier; the papers of the party of Order attacked Bonaparte; the Permanent Commission held repeated secret sessions in which it was repeatedly proposed to declare the country in danger; the army seemed divided into two hostile camps, with two hostile general staffs, one in the Elysee, where Bonaparte resided, the other in the Tuileries, the quarters of Changarnier. It seemed that only the meeting of the National Assembly was needed to give the signal for battle. The French public judged this friction between Bonaparte and Changarnier like that English journalist who characterized it in the following words:

“The political housemaids of France are sweeping away the glowing lava of the revolution with old brooms and wrangle with one another while they do their work.”

Meanwhile, Bonaparte hastened to remove the War Minister, d’Hautpoul, to pack him off in all haste to Algiers and to appoint General Schramm War Minister in his place. On November 12, he sent to the National Assembly a message of American prolixity [‘prolix’: “(of speech or writing)... using or containing too many words; tediously lengthy... – P.S.],

overloaded with detail, redolent of order, desirous of reconciliation, constitutionally acquiescent, treating of all and sundry but not of the *questions brulantes* [burning questions] of the moment. As if in passing he made the remark that according to the express provisions of the Constitution the President alone could dispense of the army. The message closed with the following words of great solemnity:

“Above all things, France demands tranquility... But bound by an oath, I shall keep within the narrow limits that it has set for me... As far as I am concerned... elected by the people and owing my power to it alone, I shall always bow to its lawfully expressed will. Should you resolve at this session on a revision of the Constitution, a Constituent Assembly will regulate the position of the executive power. If not, then the people will solemnly pronounce its decision in 1852. But whatever the solutions of the future may be, let us come to an understanding, so that passion, surprise or violence may never decide the destiny of a great nation... What occupies my attention, above all, is not who will rule France in 1852, but how to employ the time which remains at my disposal so that the intervening period may pass by without agitation or disturbance. I have opened my heart to you with sincerity; you will answer by frankness with your trust, my good endeavours with your cooperation, and God will do the rest.”

The respectable, hypocritically moderate, virtuously commonplace language of the bourgeoisie reveals its deepest meaning in the mouth of the autocrat of the Society of December 10 and the picnic hero of St. Maur and Satory.

The burgraves of the party of Order did not delude themselves for a moment concerning the trust that this opening of the heart deserved. About oaths they had long been *blasé*; they numbered in their midst veterans and virtuosos of political perjury. Nor had they failed to hear the passage about the army. They observed with annoyance that in its discursive enumeration of lately enacted laws the message passed over the most important law, the elector law, in studied silence, and, moreover, in the event of there being no revision of the Constitution, left the election of the President in 1852 to the people. The electoral law was the leaden ball chained to the feet of the party of Order, which prevented it from walking and so much the more from storming forward! Moreover, by the official disbandment of the Society of December 10 and the dismissal of the War Minister d'Hautpoul, Bonaparte had with his own hand sacrificed the scapegoats on the altar of the country. He had blunted the edge of the expected collision. Finally, the party of Order itself anxiously sought to avoid, to mitigate, to gloss over any decisive conflict with the executive power. For fear of losing their conquests over the revolution, they allowed their rival to carry off the fruits thereof. “Above all things, France demands tranquillity.” This was what the party of Order had cried to the revolution since February [1848], this was what Bonaparte's message cried to the party of Order. “Above all things, France demands tranquillity.” [“The people will choose totalitarianism over chaos...” we are told Plato said... – P.S.] Bonaparte committed acts that aimed at usurpation, but the party of Order committed “unrest” if it raised a row about these acts and construed them hypochondriacally. The sausages of Satory were quiet as mice when no one spoke of them. “Above all things, France demands tranquillity.” Bonaparte demanded, therefore, that he be left in peace to do as he liked and the parliamentary party was paralyzed by a double fear, by the fear of again evoking revolutionary unrest and by the fear of itself appearing as the instigator of unrest in the eyes of its own class, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie.... (p. 75 – 81)

[I think we have a sense now of the Society of December 10... Before returning to the conclusion of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*... and from there to Alice... let's step back and view events from the perspective of the 'world-system'... In the September 13, 2015 show... we asked about the word 'class'... sought the origins of its current use... used as an ideological weapon of the 'global-state-statesmen' against we-the-people... and as an ideological tool to indoctrinate their children... Since then I've found Immanuel Wallerstein's answer... in his 2011 book... *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789 – 1914*... which is very relevant to this discussion... and in particular the chapter... “The Liberal State and Class Conflict, 1830 – 1875”... which... as I write this (on September 19, 2015) I'm strongly considering that we read together (although to interject yet another interjection at this point might seem unwieldy... but... I'm thinkin' on it... Here's how that chapter starts... – P.S.):

“The Liberal State and Class Conflict, 1830 – 1875”, Chapter 3 in Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789 – 1914*... (page 77 – 141)

During the first half of the nineteenth century, socialism as a concept was still not separate from “bourgeois democracy” as a concept or, as Labrousse (1949b, 7) says, “Jacobinism and socialism remained muddled in political life.” In some sense, it probably remained for at least a century thereafter that a full distinction of the two concepts did not exist. Nonetheless, liberalism (which seems to me a better locution than “bourgeois democracy”) and socialism began to have diverging trajectories as political options after 1830. Indeed, as Hobsbawm (1962, 284) argues:

Practical liberals... shied away from political democracy... The social discontents, revolutionary movements, and the socialist ideologues of the post-Napoleonic era intensified this dilemma [of relying upon the majority to carry out the dictates of reason] and the 1830 Revolution made it acute. Liberalism and democracy appeared to be adversaries rather than allies.

[The following quote from the opening chapter of this book by Wallerstein should help clarify how he is using the term 'liberal' and 'liberalism':

“Liberalism started ideological life on the left of the political spectrum, or at least on the center-left. [From the little I’ve digested thus far from this book by Wallerstein... he uses 'liberals' as I use 'Plato’s Tribesmen'... the 'power'-guys... post-French Revolution... We shall have to consider whether that comparison is accurate as we go along... but if there is any correspondence at all... to apply the term 'left' to these guys... in any sense of the word... from where I sit... invalidates it... – P.S.] Liberalism defined itself as the opposite of conservatism, on the basis of what might be called a “consciousness of being modern” (Minogue, 1963, 3). Liberalism proclaimed itself universalist. Sure of themselves and of the truth of this new world-view of modernity, liberals sought to propagate their views and intrude the logic of their views within all social institutions, thereby ridding the world of the “irrational” leftovers of the past. To do this, they had to fight conservative ideologues, whom they saw as obsessed with fear of “free men” – men liberated from the false idols of tradition.

“Liberals believed, however, that progress, even though it was inevitable, could not be achieved without some human effort, without a political program. Liberal ideology was thus the belief that, in order for history to follow its natural course, it was necessary to engage in conscious, continual, intelligent reformism, in full awareness that “time was the universal friend, which would inevitably bring greater happiness to ever greater numbers” (Schapiro, 1949, 13). [Straight-up Bentham... of course... who at least was honest... but these guys can absolutely not be taken at their word – not these guys... with their 'lordly lies' and their training as infants to keep secrets. Secrecy is their watchword... hiding their m.o.... public presentation necessarily the dissemination of propaganda... – P.S.]

“...To be sure, the center is merely an abstraction, and a rhetorical device. One can always locate oneself in central position simply by defining the extremes as one wishes. Liberals are those who decided to do this as their basic political strategy. Faced with the normality of change, liberals would claim a position between the conservatives – that is, the right, who wanted to slow down the pace of normal change as much as possible – and the “democrats” (or radicals or socialists or revolutionaries) – that is, the left, who wanted to speed it up as much as possible. In short, liberals were those who wished to control the pace of change so that it occurred at what they considered to be an optimal speed. But could one really know what is the optimal speed? Yes, said the liberals, and their metastrategy was precisely geared to achieving this end.”

[What I want to know is... what happened to the language 'world bourgeoisie'... 'world elite'... 'world right'... the “managers of the status quo...” of *Antisystemic Movements* – true... he uses 'world right' in his chapter of *Does Capitalism Have A Future?*... which is more straight-forward... and states their totalitarian ambition more baldly... perhaps we will discover the answer in the course of our reading...

[Returning to Chapter 3... “The Liberal State and Class Conflict, 1830 – 1875”... – P.S.]:

The concept of class and class conflict was not a contribution of socialist ideologues, much less of Karl Marx. It is a Saint-Simonian idea, developed and pursued by Guizot as part of the liberal project. Saint-Simon’s view of the class structure in the modern industrial world was that there were *three* classes: the property owners, the propertyless, and the savants [It seems to me a clear debt here to Plato... – P.S.]. He saw the class conflict between the “industrials” (those who work) and the idlers as a transitional phase, to be superseded by a harmonious society [...and another debt here... to Bentham... as well as to Plato... – P.S.] of productive industrial classes under the aegis of the savants [...the 'philosopher-kings'... – P.S.], a meritocratic vision in which the old aristocracy of birth would be replaced by an aristocracy of talent (Manuel, 1956; Iggers, 1958b). For Guizot, the concept of class was an essential element in his efforts to “legitimate the political aspirations of the bourgeoisie” (Fossert, 1955, 60).

But in 1830, Guizot and his friends succeeded, as they were simultaneously succeeding in Great Britain, in establishing a form of middle-class rule “as a permanent *juste milieu* or golden mean between the extremes of revolution and reaction” (Starzinger, 1965, viii). The Chamber of Deputies on August 7, 1830, suppressed the Preamble to the Charter of 1814 “as wounding the national dignity by appearing to *grant* to Frenchmen rights which belong to them essentially” (Collins,

1970, 90). The liberals politically and the *grande bourgeoisie* socially had at last won their *droit de cite*. [Wallerstein's note (partially) reads: "Both L'homme (1960, 36) and Pouthas (1962, 258) speak of the substitution of one class for the other as the dominant force..."]

Since, in addition, this coincided with a period of accelerating economic and social change, the most urgent problems facing France and Great Britain had now become the "social problems" of industrialism, and especially those of the "new proletariat, the horrors of uncontrolled break-neck urbanization" (Hobsbawm, 1962, 207). Class conflict would therefore come to mean something different from what Saint-Simon and Guizot had had in mind. The Revolution of 1830 itself came at a moment of particular economic difficulty for the workers (high unemployment, unusually high wheat prices). It provided evidence of the utility of political uprising and served to stimulate workers' consciousness, a sense of having common interest "solely as proletarians," a sense of the "dignity of the worker" (Festy, 1908, 330). The liberals perceived this change immediately.

The conservatization of the French regime contrasted with what was happening in the other liberal states. A liberal pope, Pius IX, had been elected in 1846, to the dismay of Metternich (Bury, 1948, 425). If Belgium remained "calm" in 1848, "it was because it had made its revolution, peacefully, in 1847. (Dhondt, 1949, 124) Similarly, the liberals and radicals had won their internal struggle against the Sonderbund in Switzerland in 1847, with the diplomatic support of the British but amid French hesitation (Halperin, 1948, 1:157). Indeed, this was a moment of temporary breakdown of the entente cordiale. At home, the British had handled well the chartist challenge at the same time that Sir Robert Peel was steering through the Repeal of the Corn Laws ["Materially the repeal of the Corn Laws would protect the poorer classes in time of scarcity against any disastrous rise in food prices. Morally, it gave them assurances that, unenfranchised though most of them were, their welfare was an object of concern to an aristocratic Government and Parliament" (Gash, 1977, 97)], such that the "specter of Communism" passed them by as well. The crisis of 1847 "provoked no revolutionary disturbance" (Halevy, 1947, 181), although the Irish had to pay the price for this [the Irish potato famine occurred just at the time of the debate on the Corn Laws... that the Irish famine became a ploy in the intra-Conservative political game is clear from Clark's account of repeal: "The traditional remedy for famine was to suspend the Corn Laws and open the ports. But Peel told his Cabinet that if he did this (in the case of Ireland at this time) he could not promise to reimpose them, and a majority in the Cabinet felt they could not support him in this policy on these terms. He therefore retired, but the Whigs could not, or would not, form a government. Peel therefore returned to office at the Queen's request (and) repealed the Corn Laws himself."]

Nonetheless, the weakening of the liberal project in France, one of the two pillar states, provided enough tinder for the revolutionary flame to be ignited throughout the nonliberal [meaning "non-'bourgeois'"] parts of Europe. To be sure, Metternich and the Austrians blamed the British, accused of being too liberal, for the uprisings, but the blame is more legitimately placed at the feet of the French, who got cold feet and were not liberal enough...

[Returning now to the conclusion of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*... – P.S.]

Bonaparte would like to appear as the patriarchal benefactor of all classes. But he cannot give to one class without taking from another. Just as at the time of the Fronde it was said of the Duke of Guise that he was the most *obligant* man in France because he had turned all his estates into his partisans' obligations to him, so Bonaparte would fain be the most *obligant* man in France and turn all the property, all the labour of France into a personal obligation to himself. He would like to steal the whole of France in order to be able to make a present of her to France or, rather, in order to be able to buy France anew with French money, for as the chief of the Society of December 10 he must needs buy what ought to belong to him. And all the state institutions, the Senate, the Council of State, the legislative body, the Legion of Honour, the soldiers' medals, the washhouses, the public works, the railways, the *etat major* [General Staff] of the National Guard to the exclusion of privates, and the confiscated estates of the House of Orleans – all become parts of the institution of purchase. Every place in the army and in the government machine becomes a means of purchase. But the most important feature of this process, whereby France is taken in order to give to her, is the percentages that find their way into the pockets of the head and the members of the Society of December 10 during the turnover...

(p. 122 – 135)

... – P.S.]

[Returning to Alice... and 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....