

WUR of November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015... “Embracing Global Goals, Scope and Action: Becoming Global Actors... Claiming the ‘All’” – Segue From *Antisystemic Movements*... To Marx... To Alice (Dft 10 – seems final)

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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 29)

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[“151101individualenergyasbasis.mp3”:]

October 26, 2015... Sisters and Brothers: What if we planned our next social arrangement from the stance of being continuously-developing *global* humans? What would that stance mean for planning?

What does it mean to claim the planet?... if not to work together with a global tribe to ensure that wherever we are on the planet we work to realize our vision of the world we want: us unbounded... human energy free... moving unconstrainedly... with freed capacity to realize our visions in the world.

The Internet makes it possible for us to have *direct* relations with each other. Let's think about what that means.

One thing it means is that honesty is furthered automatically... once 'power' is off our backs.

There are some things we can say for certain about the 'political organization' of freedom: that it is decentralized... that its basic unit will be the individual...

...now that may sound peculiar to the 'class'-trained human... but recall what Kropotkin thought about our 'association' under conditions of freedom:

The march forward in political institutions appears to us to consist in abolishing in the first place the State authority which has fixed itself upon society and which now tries to extend its functions more and more; and in the second place, in allowing the broadest possible development for the principle of free agreement, and in acknowledging the independence of all possible associations formed for definite ends, embracing in their federations the whole of society. The life of society itself we understand, not as something complete and rigid, but as something never perfect – something ever striving for new forms, and ever changing these forms in accordance with the needs of time. This is what *life* is in nature.

The 'state' that Kropotkin writes of is now – 'power'-produced-propagandistic-promulgations notwithstanding – a *global* state... we are... in a 'political' sense... one tribe... we have been made *physically* so (though spiritually we have always... necessarily... been so...) through the structural interconnections we have created... created while on leash... but for our Freedom-time... when there would be no leashes... when we allow “the broadest possible development for the principle of free agreement, and [acknowledge] the independence of all possible associations formed for definite ends, embracing in their federations the whole of society...” the whole of the globe.

So... let's consider what ends... what purposes... we will likely have... in freedom and in transition to freedom... for which we form our associations.

[“151101eachoneprecious.mp3”:]

Let's assume for a minute that our basic needs are met... because of the circumstances of 'overproduction' in the existing ('class'-) system... and because we help each other build Earthships (a structure built into the earth that I wrote about in *Waking Up*... in balance with the earth... oriented optimally to maintain a constant 70 degree temperature... that supports our self-sufficiency by growing its own food... generating its own electricity... 'fries' the owners' excrement which can then be used to fertilize the plants growing in it...) – a structure that uses discarded automobile tires and aluminum cans as wall insulation... a structure the primary cost of which is our labor...

Let's assume further... that those involved currently in the circulation of society's necessities – those who do the actual shipping of goods around the world... continue doing this for the transition... on a strictly volunteer basis...

...and let's assume this likewise for the communications networks and energy grids...

...and that we use the Internet to identify needs and wants and bottlenecks around the globe...

...then...

...what purposes beyond meeting basic needs – those basic needs met by the voluntary associations just discussed – would we have?

Each one of us individually has what he or she needs... because of Earthships and related self-sufficiency technologies (I'm thinking specifically of David Blume's argument in *Alcohol Can Be A Gas!*, (info@permaculture.com):

It's become a sort of heresy to talk about alcohol fuel or any form of alternative energy as a viable way out of our energy dilemma.... Rest assured, there is enough land to produce solar energy in many forms, including alcohol, for a world that makes energy-efficient design a priority. We can have a large cooperative cellulose distillery operation in each county, producing ethanol and biomass electricity to keep our essential services running. We can have small integrated farms that produce fuel, food, and building materials. We can eat well on locally produced food and locally processed products. We can even cogenerate our electricity and hot water at our homes using our cars running on alcohol in a pinch...

(I'm posting a pdf of our "Miklos Nyiszli's Lessons On Class": April 13, 2014 Show. [It was as I was uploading the audio for this April 13, 2014 show to the 'Miklos Nyiszli Page' that the 'Adobe' software I was using stopped working... and I had to figure out how to continue editing my website pages 'manually' – in html – so the audio files never got added to that page. Some of them I posted to the 'Miklos Nyiszli – Part 2' Page but because their posting was scattered... I've decided to post them here... as well as on the 'Missing Audio Files' Page...] During this show David Blume's book was discussed within the very context we're fleshing out today: the world we want and how to start planning for it – I hope you'll download and read it... and listen to the audio... as preparation for our upcoming show):

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["140413manageus.mp3": "In Founding & Realizing A Test-Site... we noted – or rather De Tocqueville does – that this is a long historical process (much longer than he discusses...) coterminous with 'class'... and that it was with the French Revolution that the dutiful sons of 'rule' finally got what Plato was trying to teach them... that the only way to successfully... to permanently... sit on the people is: if they ('power'... the philosopher-king-global-statesmen...) unite... while we (the people) are systematically riven (by them...) by divisions... and – and this is equally important – they cannot successfully sit on us... and thereby maintain their 'superior' position... unless the development of our thought-process is prevented. Just as 'power' was slow to grasp Plato (it took the French Revolution and Bentham to accomplish it...) 'power' has been likewise slow to 'get' De Tocqueville – or maybe just slow to accept his message... that we-the-people will never stop pushing to use our gifts... and that they must 'manage' it – this longing (preferably... for 'power'... in the way that Bentham said – and De Tocqueville heartily endorsed: "get them to internalize 'discipline'..." [and – going beyond this – De Tocqueville praised the U.S. way of de-centralizing our – we-the-people's – management... because it makes the state seem non-totalitarian.])" [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413powterms.mp3": "Yet the consumption of the planet... and the advance of the Internet... occurring at once... pose an unmeetable challenge for 'power'.... When De Tocqueville describes 'democracy' as an irresistible force he's but noting that we human beings are determined to grow our gifts... to get 'big'... and use our leadership (capacities.) This is the earth speaking in us. So what can 'power' do about it? What it does is to... simultaneously (again following Plato's guidance...) rank us... teach us to deify 'mind'... equate 'mind' with growing our gifts... while only allowing some to devote their lives to this 'mind-worship'... and... if all else fails... try to orchestrate a way to make us (the broad populace...) feel we're growing our gifts... our leadership (a quality... again... inherent in every human being... by virtue of our being living things.) So... 'leadership' is in all of us... and as the Piper's price (his blood-lust of consumption of the planet's resources...) has now fallen due... is weighing on us... 'power' has three choices... which in its desperation it unleashes all at once: first... appeals to nationalism... by creating external threats – the threat of war; second...

population-reduction... by unleashing catastrophic events; third... buy-off the former 'better-offs'... the ones it used to placate with jobs... with offers to let them use their 'leadership'... (And now that I've delved a bit into 'Campaign Sic-Rifkin-On-'Em'... I have to admit a fourth option... though it's really an amalgam of all of them... but for convenience let's call it "re-energize 'capitalism'"...) Which is the proper context... I think... for making sense of this series of overlapping orchestrations that we've been witnessing... from 'power's bought-and-paid-for media. This is what 'power' does... when it unleashes significant propaganda. It throws it at us from every angle... using multiple pundits but with single messages... variously stated... employing inter-linking... mutually-reinforcing... terms and concepts – all designed to paint a clear picture... of the future 'power' wants us to want (while always controlling the definitions): "local economies"... "worker-owned businesses or cooperatives"... "democratic' economics"... 'self-sufficiency' (of course what they call 'self-sufficiency' isn't 'individual self-sufficiency'...)" [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413planetprop.mp3": "And perhaps the most telling fact dropped along the way is that: youth today can't be bought with a wage... they want their 'work' to also be a contribution... they want their 'work' to be socially significant... probably because... the earth is in the throes of consumption... and the Internet has brought us all closer... and they care about their brothers and sisters.... So... 'power' asks itself... "how to control them?"... "how to manage this matter of shrinking resources... and swelling numbers of humans who no longer want to be 'factors of production?'... "how to push back into boxes the growing numbers who are determined to get out of them?" If not by controlling the menu of options available to them? (It's not about 'saving the planet'. There's an element in the emphasis on climate change disruption which is propagandistic... in the sense that... once again... we're not supposed to care about ourselves... Let's not be suckered at this juncture... not just because our freedom is long overdue... but also because it's only us – out of the boxes and out of harness – who can truly bring things back into balance... because it's our being used... our energy being stolen... which is the major imbalance that is the root of the problem.)" [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413questions.mp3": "What about all that 'legacy-disparity'? While the youth are building the 'healing economy'... (there... I grant you a new term to try to co-opt... go ahead... fill it with empty content...) Isn't what's needed that we-the-people free our souls of 'obedience'? ...the current terms of 'governance' disallow 'all of us' making the decisions... and rather, as Spearman said, ever tend us toward totalitarianism. How is this so-called 'new' vision not "the subordination of the individual to the collective purpose..."? as Diana Spearman described 'dictatorship'? 'Power' must end for our world to be based on reverence... instead of obedience." [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413pilot.mp3": "The more I probe this latest thrust... from 'power's 'Shape the Future' Project... in which they make use of Jeremy Rifkin (I listened to an interview with him yesterday... promoting his latest book...) particularly as there's quite a pile of spokesmen now stacked up (Venus... Zeitgeist... Thrive... the MIT guys... the pop-economists asking us to help save 'capitalism'... or 'the economy' – we're always supposed to put that first – all the 'visionary thinkers' telling us what our future will be...) the more it seems to me... we need strategy sessions... 'planning-ins' ('Planning-ins' to launch our transition... 'PILOTS'...) Because... truly... we must somehow make our voices louder... somehow get our priorities out there... those of us who want to move forward an alternative for popular discussion... demonstrate to our brothers and sisters that 'power's plans are being met with an alternative.... This cannot be only an academic discussion. ...seeing this... a strong sense of urgency in me surges... that says: we on the Left... that is, those of us who admit that 'power' is not engaged in 'objective' 'scholarship'... but is deadly committed to its 'future-vision'... we have to start talking about how to challenge it... meet it with an alternative vision that is not elitist... but rather is 'power's opposite.'" [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413coreofvis.mp3": "We learned from Sebastian de Grazia that 'power' has known for decades that 'wage work' is an antiquated system... and that it doesn't need us on leash anymore. It's long past time for us to figure out how to have our time back – that's the only way we can be happy.... So we have this right... here in the U.S.... to plan freedom... and it's just so completely reasonable to say "let's have a test site... – just the folks who want to... we're not trying to impose nothing on nobody. We just want whoever is interested... we need a sufficient little bit of land... we want to use all this amazing knowledge [Michael Reynolds' Earthship... David Blume's de-centralization of energy production...

e.g... each village having it's own energy co-op...] that people are putting on the table because they want all of us to be free [globally....] So this is reasonable. There's no reason aside from 'power' nakedly exposing itself why this shouldn't be... a test site..." [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413freeuscrit.mp3": "David Blume... argues that de-centralized production of alcohol... from a variety of plant sources... could allow all humans to be energy self-sufficient... "Rest assured, there is enough land to produce solar energy in many forms, including alcohol, for a world that makes energy-efficient design a priority. We can have a large cooperative cellulose distillery operation in each county, producing ethanol and biomass electricity to keep our essential services running. We can have small integrated farms that produce fuel, food, and building materials. We can eat well on locally produced food and locally processed products. We can even cogenerate our electricity and hot water at our homes using our cars running on alcohol in a pinch..." [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413telegraph.mp3": "The parade of 'power's prognosticators are revealing of their plans for us. But I've yet to hear our commensurate response – i.e. one global in scope... that penetrates the deep social relations of class (as 'power's does implicitly... never inviting discussion of course...) and attempts to enlist global humanity in this massive 'transition' project. Now that's largely a matter of our not having our own public media commons... our own shared public discussion space... our own shared voices to echo throughout our day to counter 'power's. But that we must figure out how to create such spaces could not be clearer.... "Immanuel Wallerstein explains the rationale for predicting the breakdown of the capitalist system. Over the next three or four decades capitalists of the world, overcrowding the global markets and hard pressed on all sides by the social and ecological costs of doing business, may find it simply impossible to make their usual investment decisions." [...he will be arguing that the sine qua non of 'capitalism' as a world system is not wage labor... or production for exchange and profit... or the class struggle... or the 'free market'... but rather the endless accumulation of capital... which Rosa Luxemburg told us a hundred years ago... So this historical situation will ultimately reach its systemic limitations... – P.S.] [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413rapist.mp3": "As with all 'power's propaganda about 'the future'... it uses the declarative voice. It brooks no challenge... no counter vision... and certainly no squawking from mere commoners. This is 'Big Boys Business' is what he's saying... the 'Big Boys Game'... the exclusive province of the Global Players... So we're told what we're going to get – and it's an appalling vision... all this "billions of sensors" business has always been 'power's longing: total surveillance of us and all life. But it's not what we want. Where are the healthy, happy babies in this vision? Where is the limitless time? Where is the boundless roving and the spanning of seas to explore new things? When 'power' salivates about how it can monitor the entire planet from it's Control Room atop the Panopticon... and waxes poetic about how we also should want it... should passionately wish to contribute our small bit to the "billions of brains" working on Total Surveillance... what it's lusting for is the end of our efforts to even try to be independent... the achievement of their deep longing that we will end all resistance... and become passionately 'self-regulating'... eagerly offer our allegiance... so what 'power' most wants is for us to turn our backs on our brothers and sisters. Where they keep in place the harshest regimes live the people they plan will feed the more 'privileged' sectors of the global economy. But they don't want us thinking about that. They want us to keep to our given tasks... and be obedient. (And... and I've said this before but it's not being discussed... 'power' wants to control the so-called 'knowledge resources': 'Knowledge Infinite'... for which they've always lusted.)" [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["140413corpcover.mp3": "...he thoughtfully leaves the dire predictions to the end... when he says: Extreme storms and floods... Droughts are proliferating everywhere... The impact on agriculture in the Middle East and North Africa over the next four decades because of climate change is equally alarming... Is it any wonder they're pushing so hard to create an 'economy' based on 'cooperation' (for us...) to get us to give generously of our time... and... willingly... continue to let them direct our lives. And every good fairy tale needs a villain... would it surprise you to learn it's corporations? ... 'power's traditional cover – the facade global-'power' apparently cannot do without... "scarcity' is self-justifying"... and if imposed universally reduces the need for economic ideology... 'capitalism's ideological function... in this stage of the game... is less about providing motivation – or legitimization and justification of 'rule' – and now almost exclusively about providing 'power' with needed cover... i.e. shielding its totalitarian planning from public scrutiny... and trying to

get we-the-people on 'it's side... And who is the only player strong enough to do battle with this villain? – the evil corporations – well, 'the state' of course... only Daddy has sufficient resources... we-the-people are way out of our league... we must go back to our bedtime stories... and let the Big Boys lead. He tells us there's an 'epic struggle' going on... and I agree... but of course his is not the 'epic struggle' that I see..." [From the April 13, 2014 *Waking Up Radio* show.]

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["151101personalexpansionisthebasis.mp3":]

Given that we will be free from Necessity and once again in possession of ourselves... our gifts... our time... our lives...

...given that we are global-humans... what are the conditions we need to establish to support our freedom... our need to explore our affinities and expand our possibilities limitlessly?... these form the purposes for which we need associations...

Recall: this is a new world now... a world designed especially to maximize freedom... endless exploration... and happiness for every human being... there is no need to compete for access to resources... no need to keep score... to rank our contributions or consumptions... we work together around specific needs cooperatively... voluntarily... each person beautifies as far as they can reach and discusses with others when they want to do more...

We do not attempt to coerce each other's energy... the education we design for ourselves is such that we are very sensitive to issues of coercion in all aspects of society... but particularly in childrearing... as we see it as our responsibility to support the inherent freedom and self-creative capacities of our children.

Consider: if we are to manifest (in the words of Kropotkin) "the fullest development of individuality..." "the greatest possible development of personal initiative in every individual and group, and to secure unity of action, not through discipline, but through unity of aims and mutual confidence..." – we need the globe for that. Think of our biggest spirits... our brightest lights... each of them embraced the globe in their hearts... actions... and minds. This does not negate village life... just the opposite... it infuses it with the incalculable richness of our personal expansiveness...

...our global associations and rich personal investigations do not negate village life... our communalism... – it just means that the village is not a unit of political organization.

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["151101wewanttobefullyalive.mp3":]

A recent solicitation from an organization that challenges the abusiveness of big corporations boasts among their achievements progress in these policy arenas: an amendment to overturn *Citizens United* and related Supreme Court decisions... environmental regulation... "workers' rights"... globalization... corporate welfare... etc.

People in organizations like this... and good hearted folk in Academia... believe they are working for we-the-people... perhaps even advancing the cause of our freedom... and in rare cases... as with Popper... our Good Three... Alice... and Bernal... they are indeed...

...but they have to have a 'global' (i.e. affecting all humanity...) political objective in order to do that... they have to know what they are dealing with... that there is an organized global resistance to our achieving our freedom...

(This is key... I've been thinking a lot about this... about how many good... good-hearted folk who believed in working with their Brothers and Sisters... and helping us to transform ourselves from within... lost their lives for want of knowing about these clandestine operators with their clandestine plans... and their belief in sculpting the reality they want... and eliminating those they consider 'unfit' from it... and... ultimately that's every single one of us... because with the exception of themselves... they believe the elderly are no longer needed... I would suspect that they even see themselves as 'humanitarians'...)

But while outing 'hidden power' 'historically' – for this is the good work that they do – helping us see where they came from... these 'power'-guys... the critical work of de-mystification... is important... it's not key to building numbers...

Most folks don't need to see the history of it... the trajectory 'Plato – Hegel – Bentham – Guizot'... disseminated through the elite universities to the next-generation-global-state-statesmen... to be moved to action in the cause of freedom...

...most folk may be curious about how these stunted souls merged their isolated smallness into a confederated One Stunted Smallness in time... but the sense of urgency that leads to action seeds in love... love for our last-gasping great gifts... from the earth and the ancestors... in ourselves and in our Brothers and Sisters...

We want our gifts to live... our souls to be 'big'... to be fully alive in dynamic interaction with all living things... without being smacked down by stunted souls who feel threatened when they see it...

...able to do so because they've stolen our earth's common resources... and converted them into a gun at our backs.

We want to be fully alive... we want our gifts to grow... and we need to see that it's possible...

...that is the longing we reach out to and support in our Brothers and Sisters... as we build this movement.

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[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*...]

[“151101classunmakesus.mp3”:]

[We are reading excerpts from Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire*... and Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789 – 1914*, in order to see the origins of the 'modern' 'centralist' bureaucratic nation-state in the fixed determination of 'statesmen' to repress us... we-the-people... in order to see that it is a new invention... the 'nation-state' (and we can un-make it...) an invention of self-conscious global-state-statesmen... a construction requiring that we remain as children... dependent on the 'adult' for our existence (this is where Kropotkin is at... giving us a good shake... and a clear historical analysis... to explain how 'power' tamed us – I hope you'll check out the pdf...)]

...yet... never before has this construction been as vulnerable as today to our interventions toward its de-legitimization... due to the Internet... This means that our discussions with the broader community will have some degree multiplied the impact... as ever was before...

...and we are reading Wallerstein to help us get clear... as we design our education work with the broader community... on this notion of 'progress'... given that it is their – these 'power'-guys' – core propaganda... their *raison d'être* and self-justification... Immanuel Wallerstein is showing us (particularly with Alice Miller's additional light...) how the notion of 'progress' is indeed but the notion of 'class'... crafted for slick installation in our heads – the con that 'progress' increases as 'class' deepens (by means of 'education'...) trained in us by our parents when we're infants – and from thence to 'society'... globally...

...it is in the light of our potential for the infinite expansion of our gifts that we need to view Guizot's tactic of our categorization... society's fragmentation... see it as conscious political strategy to destroy the power of self-developing individualities...

...for it is as individualities that we claim our bodies.

Each one of us is precious and unique... and before the 'statesmen' can throw us away like garbage... by manufacturing war... disease... and scarcity (this being the reality of their 'progress'...) we must first throw ourselves away...

This took time. It was not our natural inclination... naturally we are 'big'... the more we grow our gifts the more we resist the notion... and it had been our habit... to pass this capacity on to our children... so 'power' decided it must be broken – this expression of... and capacity for... our gifts' continuous growth – broken with... the propaganda of 'class'... and 'progress'... or: “'class' equals 'progress'”... – P.S.]:

The distinction made by many scholars between artisans and factory workers seems to be asserted primarily on the basis of differing workplace organization. But in fact the artisans were usually in “workshops,” which were not all that different in structure and even social organization from the rather small “factories” that existed in this era. I suspect the real difference was in the social origins of the two groups of workers. The “artisans” were males, and males who came for the most part from the immediate area. The “factory workers” were largely either women and children (Bezucha, 1974, 35) or “migrants,” which included both those who came from rural communities and workers speaking another language.

The most dramatic expression of protest by the “artisans” was that of the *canuts* of Lyon, first in 1831 and then in 1834. The struggles began right after the July Revolution, and included machine destruction and eviction of “foreign” workers. The background to this was an eighteenth-century militancy of journeymen, which had erupted in 1786 in the so-called tuppenny riot (*emeute de deux sous*), in which the journeymen sought to obtain a fixed minimum rate for finished cloth. The ongoing turmoil continued up to the French Revolution and the enactment of the *Loi Le Chapelier*. Bezucha (1974, 46) concludes that “the French Revolution, in fact, broke the momentum created prior to 1789 and may have retarded the development of a workers' movement in Lyon.” In the years between 1789 and 1830, however, the relatively stable system of the *compagnon* had been replaced by a more “fluid one of piece-work laborers” (Bezucha, 1974, 46)

Levasseur (1904, 2:6) asks the questions, Why Lyon? Why 1831? His answer is that Lyon was living off a luxury industry, silk, which made it more “sensitive... to economic crises and political turmoil.” The immediate issue, as in 1786, was a minimum wage, which had been agreed to by the prefect but subsequently revoked by the central government. The first strike was relatively nonpolitical. But discontent continued. There was a strike in Paris in 1832. The atmosphere was more and more politicized, partly by the dissatisfaction of the working classes with the politics of the July Monarchy, partly (at least in Lyon) by the agitation of the Italian nationalist forces. Mazzini's aide-de-camp, General Romorino, was often in Lyon recruiting persons for their attempts to liberate Savoy and Piedmont (Bezucha, 1974, 122). On February 14, 1834, a general strike was called. It did not succeed. The local Republican party was divided in its attitude. A repressive law caused a further reaction by the workers in April, an uprising in which some three hundred were killed. This attempt came to be viewed as a “landmark in the history of the European working class” (Bezucha, 1974, 124). This time the repression by the authorities was definitive. There was a “monster trial” in 1835, which the government used “to get rid of the republicans.” Faced with the beginnings of a serious class struggle by the urban working class, the liberal state initially reacted as repressively as did its predecessors.

The story was not very different in Great Britain. The moral equivalent of the July Revolution was the Reform Bill of 1832. Great Britain did not know “three glorious days” of “revolution.” Instead, there was a parliamentary battle in which the revolution was “voted” in, on the crucial second reading in 1831, by a single vote.

When, despite this, the bill was defeated in committee. Parliament was dissolved, and a pro-reform Parliament elected. At the time there was great awareness of events in France, and the possibilities of “worse” happening. Macaulay's speech on March 2, 1831, in favor of reform makes clear the reasoning of those who advocated it:

Turn where we may, within, around, the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, Reform, that you may preserve... Renew the youth of the State. Save property divided against itself. Save the multitude, endangered by its own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly civilised country that ever existed, from calamities that may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible. The time is short. If this Bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it ever remember their votes with unavailing remorse, amidst the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social orders.

Macaulay's argument was heard. And, exactly as in France, once the middle strata had won their *droit de cite*, attention turned immediately to containing the claims of the working classes. Chartism, “much the most important movement of working men” (Evans, 1983, 215) and a continuation of the old radical reform movement, was contemporaneous with and strongest during the great industrial depression from 1837 to 1843. It gained considerable notoriety and seemed a real menace to the authorities for several years. A large part of Chartist ranks were drawn from members of trade societies. But it also had support from middle-class radicals (Rowe, 1967, 85). The Chartist movement existed simultaneously with, and was in direct rivalry with, the free-trade movement of the Anti-Corn Law League. Halevy (1947, 9) raises the specter of a potential for “civil war.” Briggs (1959, 312) speaks of the two movements as representing “a contrast between two segments of a divided society.” Gash (1965, 2) says of the “Movement” (“a phrase borrowed from Continental politics”) that it “had an undeniable air of class war....

["151101theresultistheintention.mp3"]:

...The internal problems of Great Britain and France never became large enough that those powers could not concentrate attention on the geopolitics of the world-system. [And I'm certain it was pretty obvious to them that therein lay the 'solution' to their 'internal problems'... – P.S.] The July Revolution, repeated and confirmed by the independence of Belgium and the Reform Act of 1832, was to have an immediate effect on Europe. Whereas the relations of Great Britain and France between 1815 and 1830 had been correct, and those countries often found themselves on similar sides of world issues, the heritage of the two-century struggle for hegemony continued to ensure enough mutual suspicion to preserve a degree of distance. The July Revolution overcame that, affecting even the Tory government of Wellington before the Reform Bill was enacted Europe now entered the era of the entente cordiale, a marriage perhaps not of love but certainly of reason, one that would survive all subsequent quarrels until at least 1945. [And in our *Savage Continent* readings we suggest that “when 'power' remains hidden... the result is the intention”: WWII destroyed our growing global movement for freedom... – P.S.] The term itself was probably coined by Palmerston in 1831, although it did not come into official use until 1842 (Guyot, 1926, 220; Halevy, 1950, 3:73, n. 1). The geopolitical basis of the alliance was clear, “As a Liberal power, France was [after the July Revolution] in the nature of things the ally of Liberal England” (Halevy, 1950, 3:73). Great Britain could now pursue with greater ease its containment of absolutism in Europe and expand the circle of liberal states (Guyot, 1926, 88, 117)

But there were further motives. Great Britain and France faced the same internal problems, and even if France was not yet ready to embrace the free-trade nostrums of Great Britain, the entente cordiale seemed “in the eyes of democrats and socialists” as an “alliance of capitals” that was a *fait accompli*” (Guyot, 1926, 302). Was this so wrong? Indeed, the two effects were not separate. In pressuring other powers to follow their example, Great Britain and France, with the entente cordiale, “discouraged the international revolutionary propaganda which counted on the divisions among the powers” (Guichen, 1917, 424 – 425).

Furthermore, 1830 launched a pattern that would discourage such propaganda even further. For France at least, 1830 served to restore France to a sense of world centrality and nationalist pride. It was not Guizot but the French socialist Louis Blanc (1844, 4:143 – 144) who would write:

The July Revolution... was more than the *denouement* of a struggle against the Church and royalty; it was the expression of national sentiment that had been excessively repressed by the treaties of 1815. We were determined to shake off the yoke of these treaties and restore the European equilibrium.

One of the curious facts to note about the July Revolution was what happened in Algeria. Charles X's launching of the imperial venture had made Great Britain most unhappy, and Louis XVIII was ready to sacrifice it to appease the British. When, however, the French restrained themselves from direct intervention in Belgium, they felt they had done their share of pleasing the British, and simply continued the occupation, this time without British protest. One reason clearly was its effect on worker unrest within France. The “floating” population of Paris, the potential revolutionaries, were being encouraged to settle in Algeria. Indeed, in 1838 Leon Blondel, a high civil servant in Algeria, could say with some confidence: “Africa is an element of order in France” (cited in Tudesq, 1964, 2:815).

The liberal states thus combined legitimating the political role of the middle classes (and thereby receiving from them legitimation in turn) and internal repression of working-class discontent with an entente cordiale between themselves to ensure their dominance in the geopolitical arena. This seemed to work at first. But it was fragile, as the European revolution of 1848 was to demonstrate. More would have to be done to secure a stable political framework for the capitalist world-economy in the post-1789 situation. [And... again... as Hirschman suggests... a lot of megalomaniacal scheming can be hidden 'neath the ideology of 'an economy' that never stops eating... because of some supposed 'inherent logic of accumulation'... and that is the angle we have been pursuing here... we believe that these tiny tiny Few are motivated not by greed but... as De Tocqueville prophesied... by lust for 'power'... they want to be the only game in town... when it comes to defining what the world is... when we are all 'locked up' and 'safely disposed of'... when they no longer have to worry about us because they have machines [animate and inanimate... living and not...] handling it all... and us in fear of literally being annihilated – that's the point of having secret weaponry...– P.S.]

...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, unfranchised 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.)"]

["151101progressunmakesus.mp3":]

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. John Stuart Mill (1849, 7) was very severe on Louis-Philippe in assessing the causes of the February 1848 uprising in Paris, which was the beginning of the 1848 European revolutions:

No government can now expect to be permanent unless it guarantees progress as well as order; nor can it continue really to secure order, unless it promotes progress. [It certainly seems the global-state-statesmen have taken this advice to heart... although modified to say: "*seem* to guarantee 'progress'..." that message is drummed into all school-children and every other 'class'-bound human... across the globe – an associated set of messages actually: "not everyone is smart..." "the system identifies and rewards the 'smart ones'..." "the 'really smart' are busy making our lives easier..." "the system works hard to provide you with 'the good life' but you must do your part too... and keep your skills marketable... because 'science' is developing so fast... if you don't you could fall through the cracks (and of course that would be *your* fault..." – these are just a few of 'the system's key messages about 'progress'... – P.S.]

["151101enlightenedrepression.mp3":]

...It can go on as yet, with only a little of the spirit of improvement; while reformers have even a remote hope of effecting their objects through the existing system, they are generally willing to bear with it. But when there is no hope at all; when the institutions themselves seem to oppose an unyielding barrier to the program of improvement, the advance of tide heaps itself up behind them till it bears them down.

The tide – that is, the European revolution of 1848 – as all such great happenings, was made up of a mixture of movements and objectives. In France, it consisted essentially of the joining together of Europe's 'first great proletarian insurrection' (Tilly, 1971, 228) with the acute discontent of the left liberals who shared John Stuart Mill's view of the conservatization of the July Monarchy. Elsewhere in Europe, instates that were not as yet committed to liberalism, there were no proletarian insurrections; rather, there were liberal uprisings combined with nationalist uprisings. Two situations, with two solutions: Louis Napoleon handled the first; Palmerston, the rest.

The uprising of February 1848 illuminated the hopes of a 'social republic,' a vague socialist utopia that would provide jobs to the unemployed and liberation to all those who suffered indignities and inequalities. Everyone put forward their claims: the "artisans," who sought to restore their privileges and their mode of production; the peasants, who sought to reestablish traditional rights of collective usage; the women, who sought the extension of "universal" suffrage to include them; the slaves, who sought abolition. The pendulum was beginning to swing too far, and in June the forces of order under General Cavaignac reined in the unruly dangerous classes. "Pitiful provisional government!" cried Labrousse (1948,2) "It feared the social revolution as much as it did the counter-revolution."

Cavaignac could repress; he could not re-legitimize the state. Nor could the monarchs return; they had exhausted their credit. Into this void stepped Louis Napoleon, who sought to re-create a liberal, orderly, modern state and who, as Zeldin (1958, 6) puts it so well, "was not elected because he was [the] candidate [of the Party of Order], but... was their

candidate because they saw he was bound to win.” But what did Louis Napoleon represent? He represented, first of all, the Napoleonic tradition, which combined the legacy of the French Revolution, a commitment to scientific and industrial progress, and nationalism. During the 1840s, Louis Napoleon had been a sharp critic of the July Monarchy because he felt that, by distancing itself from progressive liberalism, it was “building on sand and would surely tumble.” And, unlike Guizot, he was aware that “with proper safeguards a democratic regime could be established without threatening the stability of the country.”

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The liberals acted in 1848 just as they had in 1830. Dismayed by a regime that had become too rigid, too illiberal, they rose up and quickly won the day. Then, dismayed by the possibility that the lower strata would be able to take advantage of the situation and push things too far, they renewed their links with the political groups they had just ousted from power, because 'the enemy, at present, is on the left' (Palmade, 1961, 255). When Louis Napoleon made his coup d'etat on December 2, 1851, the primary objective was to repress the left. The secondary objective was, however, to constrain the ability of conservative forces to act other than through him. One can, if one wants, emphasize the Caesarist – the so-called Bonapartist – element in the regime. If one does, however, one risks missing the degree to which the outcome of the repression, which was both real and effective, was that of a centrist regime, oriented to capitalist expansion, constructing a liberal compromise – one led not by a classical liberal but by an enlightened conservative.” (Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789 – 1914*, p. 77 – 92)

[November 1, 2015 show ends here.]

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