



NachDenkSeiten, the critical website

28th Pleisweiler talk with Prof. Mausfeld – 22nd October 2017

*How the „the bewildered herd“ can be kept on track:
New ways of „safeguarding stability“ within authoritarian neoliberalism*

I also would like to welcome you. Thank you very much for the warm reception, and thank you, Mr. Müller for inviting me to the Pleisweiler Gespräche, which in the past three decades have become an institution in the political public sphere.

If in the political public sphere something is critical and committed to the goals of solidarity and community, it is called “Gegenöffentlichkeit” (counter public). I’m especially happy to speak in this context because the NachDenkSeiten have pioneered the buildup of such a public sphere.

It is hardly surprising that *not everyone* finds this worthy of enthusiasm, and that is encouraging because it means that the stability of power feels challenged in a certain way. And that leads me already to my subject matter: safeguarding stability is something central to all relationships involving authority, because the central interest of power has always been to preserve the power. And there exists a newer and more recent development within neoliberalism towards more authoritarian if not outright totalitarian forms of domination.

I won’t talk about the reasons for this development in the context of the crises within capitalism during the seventieth, which led to a new eruption of distribution battles – there is a rich literature about all this. I merely want to deal with some consequences of this development. These consequences are largely invisible to us, namely the development towards an increasingly authoritarian and totalitarian neoliberalism. I will show you on the basis of several examples how the arsenal of safeguarding stability and domination has become more refined with the help of very novel techniques.

But I’d like to begin with looking at ourselves by quoting the Swedish writer Sven Lindqvist whose work mainly deals with questions regarding colonialism and racism. Sven Lindqvist writes:

“You already know enough. So do I. It is not knowledge we’re lacking. What is missing is the courage to understand what we know and to draw conclusions.” (Sven Lindqvist, 1992, *Exterminate All the Brutes*)

And indeed we do have enough knowledge. We know how the welfare state has been dismantled during the past decades, we know how much the state has been surrendered to the financial markets, we know to which degree the European Union has been militarized, we know how far the security and surveillance state has been expanded, etc. We know enough but we cannot manage to draw from this knowledge appropriate consequences for actions.

Schopenhauer once called this kind of knowledge “tattered shreds of knowledge” (*abgerissene Wissensfetzen*). We are stuffed – and daily more so – with tattered shreds of knowledge which somehow cannot be integrated properly. Knowledge which is not understood remains fragmented and we cannot draw consequences for actions from such knowledge. I’d like to illustrate this with the help of an example from another area, from perceptual psychology:



Figure 1

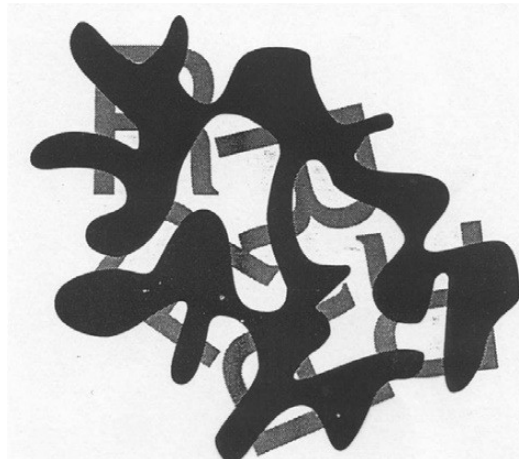


Figure 2

On fig. 1 you see tattered shreds of information and we have great difficulties to recognize a meaningful context of the whole – which connections exist between the individual shreds of information.

If I now give the system of perception the possibility to create a meaningful context by overlaying information as to why at certain places these shreds of information are not visible – mind you, I don’t change any of the existing shreds of information, I merely reveal the cause of fragmentation, and that you can see in fig. 2. Nothing changed, I merely showed the reasons of the fragmentation and immediately a meaningful whole emerges and we have no difficulties to recognize the context of meaning. Knowledge if understood opens the possibility to draw from it consequences for actions. And the question Lidqvist poses is: We have enough knowledge to act. What prevents us from doing so?

We obviously have difficulties to draw adequate consequences for actions because – out of fear or for other reasons – we are afraid to pick an argument with the centers of power. We have trouble dealing with power. We also must look at ourselves to find out the reasons for these blockades. And to do so we of course need a historical awareness of all the emancipatory battles which had been fought already so that we can have a better understanding of all this. Thus, we have a *twofold* task: we need to understand the organization of power and we need to find out, what it is that prevents us from reacting to this in an appropriate way.

Nevertheless, historically there were again and again times (especially of course after horrible historical developments such as wars etc.) when people were especially ready to draw conse-

quences from what they knew and to formulate some principles for actions and other guiding principles, hoping that thereby the extreme acts of violence in the past would not be repeated.

A special example is the time of enlightenment when collective consequences were drawn from the trails of blood which humanity had left behind during their history of civilization. And part of these consequences were certain principles especially the humanitarian universalism, the recognition of a principal equality of all human beings – which doesn't mean they are all the same but that all humans have the same value. This is a normative moral principle based on which there is the hope to avoid all excesses of violence based on racism etc.

Another principle is democracy. Democracy never was only an end in itself. On the one hand it was an end in itself as something which belonged to the fulfillment of one's humanness which means one would be able to influence on one's own social fate. But there was also a pragmatic aspect i.e. the hope: when people could decide which actions, they would collectively perform – and in this respect one especially alludes to war – then certain actions would no longer occur. A famous example for this is Immanuel Kant's essay "Perpetual Peace". In it Kant states that the moment we have a true democracy and people can decide which atrocities they themselves are affected by would be performed, then there would be no more war or at least its likelihood would be greatly reduced. Democracy has always been a pragmatic principle as well to protect us from certain developments which have prevailed throughout the history of mankind.

These include:

- All power structures that demonstrate their right to exist and must justify themselves to the public. If they fail to do so, they are illegitimate power structures and thus need to be eliminated.
- Each citizen should have an appropriate stake in all decisions which concern his or her own social life.
- Central areas of a society, especially economy, should not be excluded from democratic legitimization and control.

We should remember these principles when we try to understand what in fact democracy means. That is the center of democracy. Since these principles, especially democracy, are always intended to limit power, they were obviously not met with enthusiasm by the powerful. Thus, there have always been antidemocratic counterrevolutions against democratic movements. This pervades all of history: whenever there arose serious democratic movements there were massive antidemocratic counterrevolution.

Someone who expressed this in an efficacious way is Walter Lippmann. Here is an excerpt from an article in the German news magazine "Der Spiegel" dated 1964:

April 29th, 1964

WALTER LIPPMANN

is considered the most reputable journalist of America if not the entire world. The circulation of his twice weekly commentaries published in the "Washington Post" is unprecedented. They are copied and reprinted tens of millions of times by 170 newspapers in different countries.

He was one of the most influential journalists and public intellectuals at the time. Perhaps you have heard his name before. Lippmann is not a reactionary; considering those times Lippmann was a progressive thinker who tried from a certain perspective, namely that of the power elite, to find ways to social forms of organization which would correspond to an increasingly high-tech society. Lippmann was, if you want to, the pioneer and forward thinker of a society based on “elites”.

For us he is interesting because a couple of things come together in his person which are relevant till today, and one can say that as a pioneer thinker he stood in the beginning of these. For one thing: the treatment of mass media and propaganda. Lippmann carried out decisive investigations and wrote famous books which enormously influenced the public discourse. And, he was of the opinion that a modern society can only function if it keeps the “uninformed” somehow on track with the help of propaganda.

Moreover, Lippmann also was a co-founder of the concept of “democracy of elites”, which of course goes much further back, but he very carefully elaborated it and justified why democracy essentially can only work as a “democracy of elites”. Lippmann also came up with the idea of think tanks; he called them “intelligence bureaus”. One is able to safeguard power only if one covers the entire public area with a security net of think tanks which own the interpretational sovereignty in the intellectual field. And Lippmann also was the mastermind of neoliberalism. Thus, a lot comes together in his person.

One of his distinctions is precisely the one between “bewildered herd” / public and “responsible elite”. This is quite an interesting distinction and he writes that the public consist of “ignorant and meddling outsiders” whose role in a democracy be the one of “bystanders” not “participants”.

Citizens were only allowed to periodically transfer their voice to one of the “responsible men” and should then limit themselves again to their small manageable private world. That is precisely the model of democracy we have today and it goes back to Lippmann.

„The public must be put in its place [...] so that each of us may live free of the trampling and the roar of a bewildered herd. “

These are words so clear and lucid that no pioneer in the political field today would dare to use them. That’s the beauty of going back to the roots. There things are still spoken of the way they are. And here we also encounter the term used in the title of this talk, “the bewildered herd”. That means according to Lippmann, democracy can only function if it isn’t one.

This model was further developed prominently by Joseph Schumpeter [an Austrian-born American economist and political scientist; 1883-1959] and many others. Today this is our standard model of a capitalist elite democracy. Citizens can periodically make a selection out of a given spectrum determined by the elite. And Schumpeter quite openly states that this is similar to the given selection of consumer products. This is the standard model which you can find in all textbooks on democracy and this is the standard model of the capitalist Western democracy.

More pointedly: this is exactly Lincoln’s idea of democracy, however for a very tiny group only. For this is a “democracy of the elites, through the elites and for the elites”. That was the classical idea of Lincoln – without the (limitation to) elites. Historically this goes very far back and this also marks the beginning of the American constitution. One of the founding

fathers of the American constitution and one of the presidents of the United States formulated this very clearly:

„Those who hold, and those who are without property, have ever formed distinct interests in society.“ (James Madison, 1787, Federalist No. 10).

There is virtually a *basic* antagonism of a society which leads to the fact that interests exist and that conflicts of interests exist and those cannot be removed. One can only pay attention to how we can deal with them. At that time, at the time of the American revolution – just think of Thomas Payne for example – ideas of democracy found a lot of public resonance and the big landowners and slaveholders found that threatening. Thus, they did exactly what they had said from the very beginning. They answered the aspirations for more democracy with a counterrevolution and designed a constitution which guaranteed stability. That means especially, as Madison wrote:

It is the central task of a government “to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority“ (James Madison, *Constitutional Convention*, 26. Juni 1787).

It is the purpose and task of a constitution and a government to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. That is the central purpose of a constitution and the founding fathers were successful in ways which continue to influence today's world.

This means: since democracy basically means limiting power, thus a fight against illegitimate powers, the ruling elites always reacted with a counterrevolution whenever democracy had too much public resonance.

There is a basic new contribution from a Harvard legal historian who wrote a definitive work on the beginnings of the “American democracy”. He describes what in our text books and in the official narrative is considered the birth of constitutional democracy – namely the American constitution – as a counterrevolution of the owning class. He meticulously describes in his book – more than 800 pages – that the name “representative democracy” was invented in those days because it was said: democracy is an awesome word which appeases the masses. They have the feeling they have something to say in this. But what we introduce as “representative democracy” has nothing at all to do with democracy. Rather it is the safeguarding of elite domination.

In those days when democratic needs grew stronger it was a compromise formula. The founding fathers who held quite diverse political opinions agreed to say: we will call it representative democracy. Then we have, what we want, and the people don't grumble anymore, because they have a democracy.

“*Representative democracy*” was the historic magic formula which made it possible to have a nominal democracy and at the same time to secure the rule of the elites and protect the ownership regulations.

„The convention's predominant bent was not only nationalist but also striking antidemocratic – even by standard of the time.“ (Michael J. Klarman, 2016. *The Framers's Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution*. Oxford University Press).

Klarman writes that the whole intention was basically *anti-democratic*, we deal with a counterrevolution. That means, what we are dealing with permeates the entire history from the very beginning.

How does it continue? Let's jump ahead and then you will see for yourself that even at a time – we are now talking about 1968 – when many believed that the very delicate symbiosis of democracy and capitalism, which we had for some time, was still largely intact, Sebastian Haffner [1907-1999; a German journalist, historian and author] wrote:

“Nominally we live in a democracy. That means, the people rule themselves. However, as everyone knows, the people don't have the slightest influence on the government, neither in big politics nor in such administrative mundane questions such as sales tax and price increase of public transport ...

The disempowered people not only accepted their disempowerment – they actually became fond of it.” (Sebastian Haffner, 1968)

This is terrible. But Sebastian Haffner has – and this sensitivity for flaws and contradictions within the fabric was characteristic for him – put his finger right at this spot, at a time, when many believed that the symbiosis of capitalism and democracy was largely intact.

More than 40 years later we have a corresponding *empirical* study. Of course, things haven't changed for the better in these 40 years. And this empirical study of Princeton University shows: 70% of the people – namely the lower 70% on the scale of income and property – have no influence at all on political decisions (Gilens, M. & Page, B.I. [2014] *Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens*. Perspectives on Politics 12, 564-581.)

This means, the concept of “democracy of the elites” has been realized, has become a reality, for if 70 % have no influence at all on political decisions, then this is quite a terrific process of safeguarding stability.

Earlier one of the most distinguished democracy theorists of the last century, Sheldon Wolin, published at the age of 86 one more time an easy to read, non-technical book which may well offer the most clear and relentless analysis of the present state of democracy. In it he distinguishes a classical totalitarianism (like fascism) from an inverted totalitarianism.

Classical totalitarianism

- dependent on mass mobilization
- economy is subordinate to the state
- violence against dissidents is visible
- restriction of the range of opinions is visible
- ...

(Sheldon Wolin [2008]. *Democracy Incorporated: Managed Democracy and the Specter of inverted Totalitarianism*. Princeton University Press.)

Wolin writes that meanwhile the authoritarian neoliberalism emerged and with it we have an entirely new form of totalitarianism which is largely invisible for us. Therefore, it entails the

big problem namely, that we are not really prepared to defend against this *novel* form of totalitarianism. That makes it so difficult for us to deal with this new totalitarianism.

He describes the signs of this new totalitarianism which he calls the “inverted totalitarianism”:

- “Demobilization of the people into passive consumers through introducing insecurity, fear and apathy”
- state and society are subordinate to economy
- violence against dissidents is invisible
- restriction of the range of opinions is invisible
- ...

“The new system, the inverted totalitarianism, uses totalitarian violence without establishing concentration camps, without enforcing ideological unity and without violently suppressing dissidents, as long as they remain ineffective.”

In our country you can do anything, you can voice any opinion, but here is the important precondition: as long as it remains ineffective! As soon as something begins to threaten the stability, the state or the corresponding powerful groups show very different sides – we’ll come back to this later on.

He says: „The *United States* has become the showcase of how democracy can be managed without appearing to be suppressed.“ The USA are the textbook example of how a democracy can be managed without it appearing to be suppressed.

Thus, we find in the book of this theoretician of democracy a clear analysis of a novel form of totalitarianism which so far did not exist in history. And we have great difficulties to identify this as totalitarianism – this too we’ll talk about later.

If it comes to political topics one always finds intellectuals who are more than willing to provide this totalitarianism with an appearance of reasonable justification. Just now you have a contemporary example which was much discussed on TV and in other media, because our leading media are enthusiastic that finally someone expresses this. Jason Brennan says that:

“... most citizens have indeed a moral obligation to not participate in elections ... (since politically they are actually too stupid to do so)

... I arrive at the conclusion that some citizens should have no right to vote or, compared to other citizens, only a restricted right to vote.” (Jason Brennan, *Against Democracy*, Princeton University Press, 2016.)

There is the suggestion to place IQ tests in the polling booths, and you can only continue when you achieve a certain value in these ... - There is nothing which these sick “brains” cannot come up with and the most embarrassing thing is – but you know that from history – that always enough willing intellectuals turn up and provide a justification. The print media and TV were enthusiastic about this book.

Now I’d like to quickly look at the *traditional* ways of “safeguarding stability” and only briefly call it to mind; because we want to talk about the *new* ways of “safeguarding stability”. Traditionally, even in feudalism, the situation was like this: one could see the feudal land-

owner / king / seigneurs – they were visible. The centers of power were in one way or the other largely visible.

Madison says:

„Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society.“

There is an *antagonism* between the people in power and those subjected to power, and we should see now, how to deal with such an antagonism. But it is important - and we should never forget it: social controversies are always antagonistic; they are controversies between very basic different kinds of interests.

In the nineteen thirties, the famous German woodcutter Gerd Arntz (1900-1988) expressed this artistically in several succinct works – the antagonisms between those who have the power and those who are subjected to power.



An important trick of safeguarding stability has always been to deny that those who are subjected to power have common interests at all. If I succeed in denying that there is such an antagonism, then I naturally have already achieved a lot because I thereby disturbed the solidarity of those who are subjected to power.

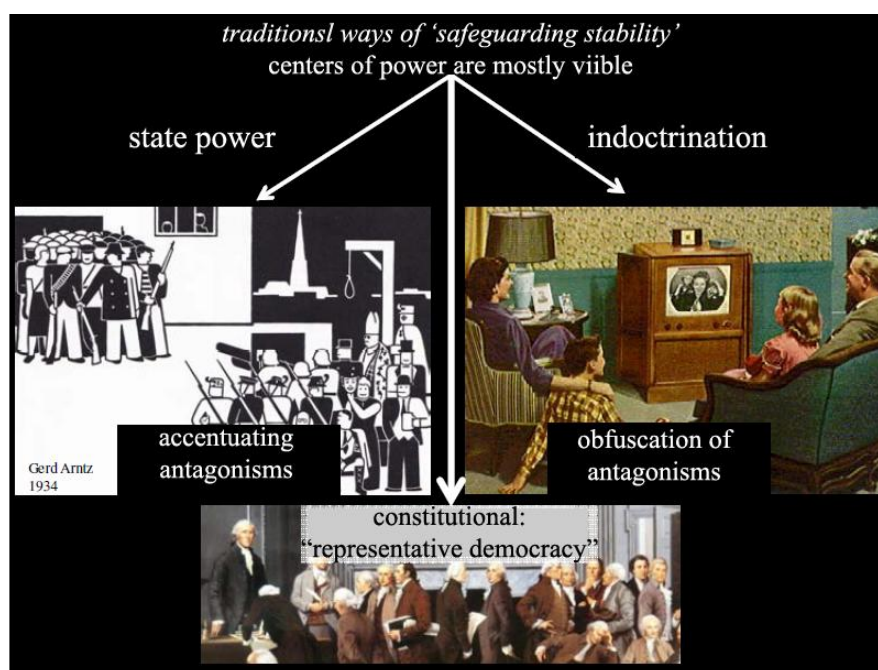
Noam Chomsky says in his recently published book *“Requiem for the American Dream”*:

“Those in power want to maintain class consciousness for themselves but eliminate it for everyone else.“ (Noam Chomsky [2017]. *Requiem for the American Dream: The 10 Principles of Concentration of Wealth & Power.*)

As Warren Buffet says: “There's *class* warfare, all right, but it's my *class*, the rich *class*, that's making *war*, and we're winning.” Those in power insist on class consciousness for themselves but they attempt to deny and suppress it for everyone else. – Sometimes Chomsky writes in a way which difficult to understand, but this is a wonderful book written in simple language. The subtitle is: “*The 10 Principles of Concentration of Wealth & Power*” and Chomsky basically works in the same way as Arntz does in his art form. Almost woodcut-like he carves out the ten principles of stabilization power and the concentration of wealth.

What are the *traditional* ways of safeguarding stability? One way we already described: the American constitution / representative democracy – one does it by way of a constitution, one includes in the constitution mechanisms for safeguarding stability – and the election procedure, to periodically every four years be allowed to select from a spectrum presented by the elites. That is an important method of safeguarding stability.

So, one can achieve this with the help of a constitution. But one can also do it with the help of the power of the state, which means, by *accentuating* the antagonisms. State power makes it clear to everyone, so to speak, where the power is located. Or one does it by way of indoctrination and that of course is a technique – namely to *deny*, that there exists such an antagonism at all. This is an *obfuscation* of antagonisms.



Another way – Mr. Müller already hinted at it with the talk by von Bülow – another important way of safeguarding stability is to insert into democracies centers of stability which are fundamentally divested of democratic control and are organized in an extremely authoritarian way. Thus, we build a society within which there are fixed authoritarian centers which the public has no access to at all and which are divested of democratic control. The military complex is such a center and the famous sociologist Lasswell wrote already in the 1940s: “We move towards a world of garrison states – a world in which the experts in violence are the most powerful group of societies.” (Harold Lasswell, 1941)

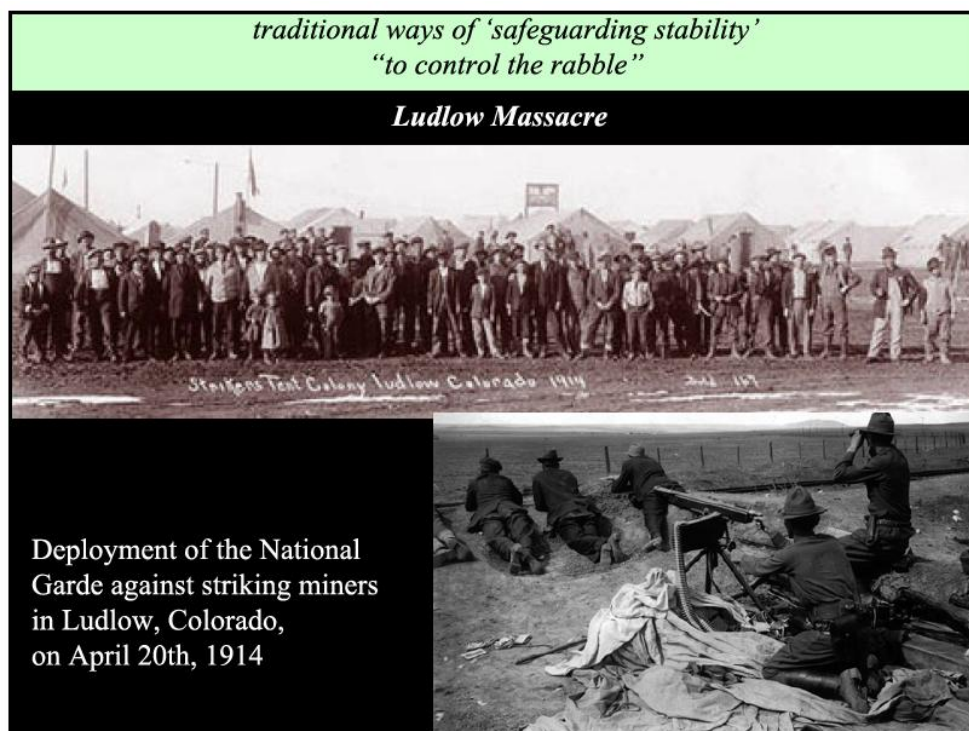
How can a society function democratically if the most powerful group in the state consists of experts in violence who naturally have an interest in practicing their expertise?

Authoritarian structures of power form a second pillar of stability: the secret services. The USA command 17 secret services with an official budget for 2016 of 53 Billion US Dollars. The most important ones are: CIA, NSA, NRO, NGA, DIA and FBI. In the USA alone there exist 1271 governmental organizations and 1931 private firms with a total of almost one million participating persons who are integrated into programs which under the banner of “counterterrorism” and “homeland security” form largely independent and authoritarian organized structures. (Dana Priest & William Arkin [2011]. *Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State*. New York: Little Brown.)

In Germany, it looks at the most quantitatively different but not qualitatively. The intelligence service and the secret agencies evade since a long time any democratic control, in Germany as well, and they form independently organized and basically authoritarian structures. The existence of such authoritarian centers of stability naturally safeguards the stability of the corresponding elites of power. Those are the traditional centers which can be found throughout history.

A further traditional method is simply sheer force. If the living conditions of those subjected to power dramatically deteriorate, it generally has the consequence that they organize into actions of solidarity. Solidarity always challenges the status of the ruling “elites” and must be shattered and prevented.

One famous example is the Ludlow Massacre in 1914. There were coal miners in Colorado who lived under appalling and inhumane conditions. They were mainly immigrants – and here we have another interesting technique: these diverse groups of immigrants were mixed in such a way that any cohesion or the rising of a social solidarity became impossible. Under these extreme living conditions strikes occurred. During these strikes again various groups of immigrants were incited against each other. Then private security firms were engaged as strike breaker – yes, such firms already existed in those days. And finally, the Colorado National Guard was employed which led to the infamous massacre. This is sheer force by the government for safeguarding stability.




The owner of this coal mine was the Rockefeller family which through this massacre came into public focus and John Rockefeller Jr. already instructed a PR expert, who at the time was quite famous, to improve his image. One means to this end was that he put a large part of his wealth into a foundation – the birth of the Rockefeller Foundation. And within a few years one of the most hated person in America turned into an admired philanthropist. That, by the way, also was the birth of the Public-Relations Industry. This PR-transformation of one of the most nefarious oligarchs into a philanthropist was further developed to ultimate perfection in the USA.

Thus, with the help of this example we can recognize many traditional components of safeguarding power: dividing etc. What is needed is a kind of textbook on emancipation movements. Our collective social historical memory is unbelievable bad. But it is deliberately bad, it is consciously decried. We would need a textbook on emancipation movements in which all these techniques are analyzed. These are highly interesting situations from which we can learn a lot, also about our own weak spots which are used – most of all about mechanisms of dividing. If we don't remember historical experiences of emancipation movements – and this happens of course intentionally – then we are doomed to repeat the experience of failing forever. This is a huge problem: we can learn a lot from these historic examples for the present and the future.

I'd like to cite a second example because it is the final victory or rather the birth of neoliberalism: the shattering of the unions in England. I need to only briefly deal with the miners' strike in England, you can find all this even in Wikipedia. There we can study the mechanisms of excessive police force, how by way of excessive police force violence has been provoked which then was used as pretext for further violence. And here we can already study a highly-refined arsenal of how through the mechanisms of dividing different union movements were shattered and incited against each other. Thus, within a relatively short time a highly solidary joint action simply collapsed.

traditional ways of 'safeguarding stability'
"to control the rabble"

British miners' strike
Battle of Orgreave, June 18th, 1984



"The managing editor accidentally **reversed the sequence** of actions by the police and the striking miners."

BBC 1991

"The team of BBC reporters couldn't record any police violence **due to malfunctioning cameras.**"

BBC 2014

Once again, an important role in all this is naturally played by the media. Films which the BBC broadcast at the time showed first some miners who wielded some sort of sticks or

something like that and following this policemen on horseback showed up. Later films surfaced which showed that the sequence was just the opposite. First the police started the violence and then the miners defended themselves. The BBC couldn't say anything against this and stated: "The managing editor accidentally reversed the sequence of actions by the police and the miners." (BBC 1991). Thereby however the problem of excessive police violence had not been addressed. They continued to deny it. Only much later private films surfaced which showed the unbelievable brutality of the police. Then the BBC couldn't deny it any longer but they continued to say:

"The team of BBC reporters couldn't record any police violence due to malfunctioning cameras." (BBC 2014)

Strangely enough we used cameras which always malfunctioned when there was police violence. You can see by this example: this too belongs into our textbook of emancipation movements. We should really study all these examples meticulously, it is well worth it. There we find all the elements which continue to be valid and applicable. The role of the media too hasn't changed since.

Let's take a quick look at the media. The subject is discussed at great length and for readers of the *NachDenkSeiten* redundant, but still let's dare to look at it once again briefly. Lippmann says almost casually, he doesn't emphasize this: „News and truth are not the same thing, and must be clearly distinguished.“ (Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* 1922)

News and truth have nothing to do with each other. This one wouldn't be allowed to say these days. He says, to put it pointedly: the expression "fake news" is tautological!

The interesting thing now is that in the past decades the media have undergone a historically rare degree of homogenization. They put themselves at the service of transatlantic power connections and thereby came again into focus. The interesting and surprising aspect here is that the media this surprises them. And that shows above all how extremely narrow the public space of discussion has become in the past few decades. For the discussion of the role of the media and the basic critique which touches the root of this, is as old as the media themselves. But today they pretend that they could play merely the role of an outsider which as an extreme position is literally absurd. Here too it is important to keep history in mind and to remember that this critique of the media has been formulated from the very beginning – in fact in a much more radical way than we are used to nowadays.

I'll give you one example. Upton Sinclair wrote a book in 1919 which was so influential and important that it was even translated into German. There one can read:

"Journalism is one of the means by which the economic autocracy has controlled democracy; it is the mundane propaganda between elections by which the consciousness of the citizens is kept in a state of silent approval, ..."

„...whereby the minds of the people are kept in a state of acquiescence, so that when the crisis of an election comes, they go to the polls and cast their ballots for either one of the two candidates of their exploiters.“ (*The Brass Check*, 1919 or *Der Sündenlohn. Eine Studie über den Journalismus*, 1921)

This discussion has always existed and the interesting question for us is: Why did the public space of discussion shrink in a literally unbearable way?

BUSINESS INSIDER Media Consolidation: <http://www.businessinsider.com/2012/01/10-ways-to-watch-the-2012-olympics-when-you-want-2012-1>



“It is difficult to bring someone to understand something, when his salary actually de-

means, what are the mechanisms by which one can bring people to an induced non-

In political sciences, this is occasionally called “cooptation”. In this way via the banality of

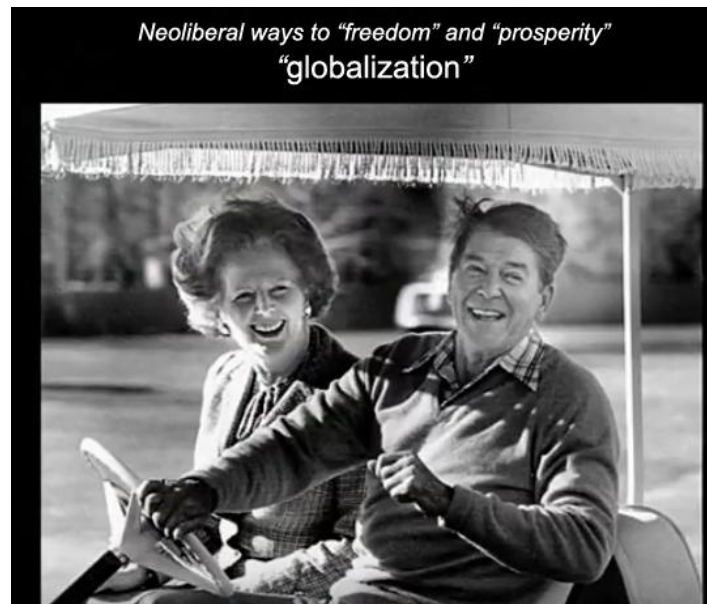


These are precisely those mechanisms which obviously are almost anthropological principles, where we become vulnerable to lick the boots of the powerful. These were different groups at different times.

In the present you will find many examples: transatlantic bootlickers permeate politics, journalism and the media – and let's say in Cem Özdemir (a German *politician*, since 2008 co-chair of the German *political* party Alliance '90/The Greens) you can surely find an especially instructive example for studying this Bruegl-principle.

In other words: the method of safeguarding stability is an institutionalized cooptation. We incorporate this into various institutions. The mechanisms of career in journalisms, universities and other areas are build in such a way that cooptation is something worthwhile for the individual. Parallel to this there is an internalized cooptation where it is placed into the person so to speak, where one adopts it as one's own. And then one really believes what one stands for.

Now we come to the new methods.



What is new? What has changed compared to the traditional methods of safeguarding stability? And the keyword with which neoliberalism began its triumphal march is: *globalization*. We must see what this is all about and why this creates the necessity for new methods of safeguarding stability.

With the "globalization" traditional methods and possibilities with which the old capitalism at least temporarily could cushion some of its social consequences were removed.

This leads to something which David Harvey describes: "... *globalization* is a project to restore the power of the capital over work." With "globalization" the balance of power was shifted extremely in favor of the capital. And one point was very problematic for the emancipation movement which the famous social historian Perry Anderson describes like this: "Internationalism has changed fronts." This is awful since internationalism was in fact the hope of emancipation movements. One would need to say: internationalism seems to have changed fronts, because internationalism originally was an emancipation project. Now internationalism has become a project of the financial capital and thereby the idea of internationalism has be-

come neoliberally poisoned. That is a big problem for liberals and for emancipation movements namely to deal with the fact that the idea of internationalism has been hijacked. Thus, we should find out what this “globalization” is all about.

To do that you must – whenever you deal with neoliberalism – very critically look at language because neoliberalism poisons words. Neoliberalism lives off its “false-dictionary”. Each word means the opposite of what it appears to mean.

The Austrian-British economist and philosopher Friedrich Hayek (1899-1992) had a certain fascination for the strategy of Bolshevism and for the possibilities that one can attain power simply by way of occupying people’s thinking. That’s why Hayek studied it:

“The most successful technique consists in keeping the old words but changing their meaning.” (Friedrich Hayek (1994), *Der Weg in die Knechtschaft*)

In this respect, he was a docile disciple of Bolshevism. You all know the examples from the false-dictionary of neoliberalism:

“freedom”	≠	freedom
“reforms”	≠	reforms
“stability”	≠	stability
“free market”	≠	free market
“free trade”	≠	free trade
“globalization”	≠	globalization

Nothing means what it appears to mean. We don’t have to explain this any further. But “*globalization*” too belongs to these words. “Globalization” has just about nothing to do with globalization. Now let’s look at the properties and consequences of “globalization”. This will be a bit fastidious but afterwards we can dissolve it again quickly.

Qualities and Consequences of “Globalization”

- **extreme shift of balance of power between capital and work**
- private players increasingly wield power and violence
- the **national welfare state** is converted into an **international competitive state**
 - productivity and actual wages severely drift apart
- the rich are “relieved” of contributions to the community, their opportunities for income without performance (*growing rich in sleep*) are promoted
 - promotion prospects, wealth and poverty are “bequeathed” within restricted social groups (*“refeudalization”*)
- legal developments are uncoupled from the democratic process and reprivatized
 - new **authoritarian constitutionalism** for the capital, which tries to legitimize new forms of ownership rights and to introduce legal limitations against alternatives to the “*disciplining neoliberalism*”

John Locke called the mechanisms for income without performance within feudalism “*growing rich in sleep*”. That is a brilliant mechanism one can get used to, and whoever got used to it doesn’t like to give it away again. New instruments were created by which one could become rich in sleep through an income without performance: shares and stocks, real estate and whatever else exists. Those are typical feudalistic structures. The inheritability within feudalism is merely somewhat more abstract on these levels (“refeudalization”). Moreover, the possibility for alternatives is blocked through legal means.

If this differentiation and nuancing appears to you too complicated, and rightly so, then you can confidently and without too much loss of intellectual subtlety simply call this “redistribution”. That’s enough:

Qualities and Consequences of “Globalization”

- **extreme shift of balance of power between capital and work**
- power and violence are increasingly wielded by private players
- the **national welfare state** is converted into an **international competitive state**
 - productivity and actual wages drift severely apart
- the rich are “relieved” of contributions to the community, their opportunities for income without performance (*growing rich in sleep*) are promoted
 - promotion prospects, wealth and poverty are “inherited” within restricted social groups (“refeudalization”)
- legal developments are uncoupled from the democratic process and reprivatized
 - new **authoritarian constitutionalism** for the capital, which tries to legitimize new forms of ownership rights and to introduce legal limitations against alternatives to the “*disciplining neo-liberalism*”

Redistribution is the real goal of all these mechanisms. That means, new mechanisms of safeguarding stability are introduced. A redistribution from the bottom to the top, from the south to the north, from the public into the private sector – that’s the meaning of all these activities.

Let’s now ask ourselves, how international is the “globalization” really, what indeed is being globalized and to whose benefit is “globalization” taking place? When we now unpack the word “*globalization*” and look at what exactly is global about the “globalization”, then surprising things surface.

“Globalization” is mainly a US-project

“The decisive forces of change towards a disciplining neoliberalism originated in the United States.” (Stephen Gill [2008]. *Power and Resistance in the New World Order*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.)

What do the representatives of this “globalization” themselves say? I quote in the following, also because it is easy and so beautiful, the chief commentator of the New York Times. He is a fervent representative of “globalization” and neoliberalism and of many other things. Not because he is, like Lippmann, a brilliant pioneer, one who thinks ahead, but because his lan-

guage is very powerful. He uses brilliant metaphors and expresses exactly what the ruling elites express in less powerful ways. Friedmann always gets to the heart of things and we can save ourselves a lot of trouble if we simply say: “Well, that’s how it is.”

“Globalization” is us.” (Thomas L. Friedman, 1997)

You can also write “us” in capitals, then it’s even more succinct.

“Globalization” is a US-project, and here he becomes even more solemn when he says: the USA are a spiritual value and a role model” for a “healthy global society”. Just as there is no alternative to the global capitalism of corporations “there is no better model for this healthy global society on earth than the USA.” (Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, 1999)

We are the best of all possible worlds and need to transfer this model to the entire global society. That is a religious impetus.

An influential military strategist in the USA says:

“The stronger a country resists globalization the more likely is a military intervention by the United States.” (Thomas P.M. Barnett [2004]. *The Pentagon’s New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*.)

This is very interesting because it throws light on those who benefit from “globalization”. “Globalization” is not a humanitarian project to improve the condition of mankind but one who resists “globalization” risks a military intervention.

These are at first merely statements. So, let’s now look at *empirical* data: the economist Sean Starrs carried out an investigation and concluded that among the worldwide 2000 leading corporations American corporations play a leading role in 18 of 25 segments and in 10 areas even hold a dominant position. (Sean Starrs [2013]. American Economic Power has not declined – It Globalized! Summoning the Data and taking Globalization seriously. *International Studies Quarterly*, 57, 817-830.)

This means: empirical studies too show us that “globalization” means a global distribution, a re-organization of the power of American corporations so to speak.

“The US elite networks control a gigantic power-network with extensive economical and military power. Elites of finances and corporations in the center of the US-American apparatus of state command many institutions which control creation of credit as well as global production.” (Herman Mark Schwartz [2017]. Elites and American structural power in the global economy. *International Politics*, 1-16. See also: W.K Carroll & J.P. Sapinski [2016] Neoliberalism and the transnational capitalist class. In: S. Springer, K. Birch & K. MacLeavy [eds.] *Handbook of Neoliberalism*, London: Routledge.)

This means: the word globalization has nothing to do with our traditional notions of internationalism. Considering all neoliberal reinterpretations of terms, we should not fall for the term “globalization”.

There is yet another interesting study by Citibank, which is relatively well known and acknowledges all this as well. It says: “globalization” has the consequence that the gap between rich and poor is widening and an increasingly smaller circle of the rich controls the development of national economies. And then they say: this could lead to discomfort because it increases the emancipatory potential and this in turn can threaten stability. Thus, they acknowledge the analyses and state that it is bad and increases the emancipatory potential. But then they reassure the investors by saying: we haven’t reached that point yet.

“Our conclusion is that one day it will probably come to a resistance against plutonomy. But we are not at this point yet.” (*Plutonomy: Buying Luxury, Explaining Global Ambulantes*, City Group, Equity Strategy, Industry Note 2005).

This is interesting, this reassurance of the investors. And our task will be, if you want to, to falsify this prediction.

“Globalization” is an entirely one-sided project. How can such a one-sided project be pushed through? Well, it is hardly surprising that the US-globalization depends on state power. Thus “globalization” can not be separated from the almost one thousand US-bases which cover the entire globe and are installed in about one-third countries worldwide. In this respect Friedman again speaks plain language:

“The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist -- McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the builder of the F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies is called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps.” (Thomas L. Friedman, *A Manifesto for the Fast World*. New York Times, March 28, 1999).

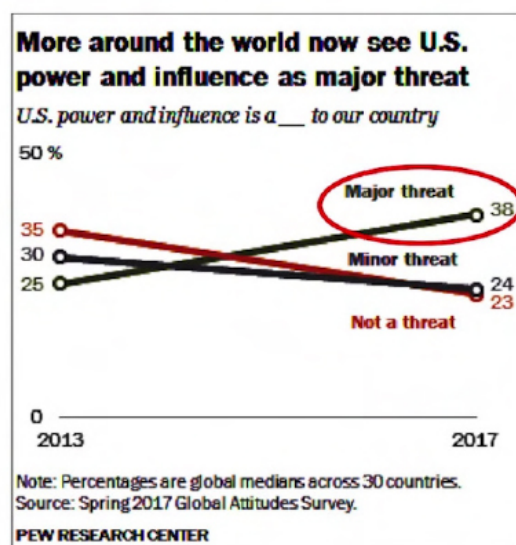
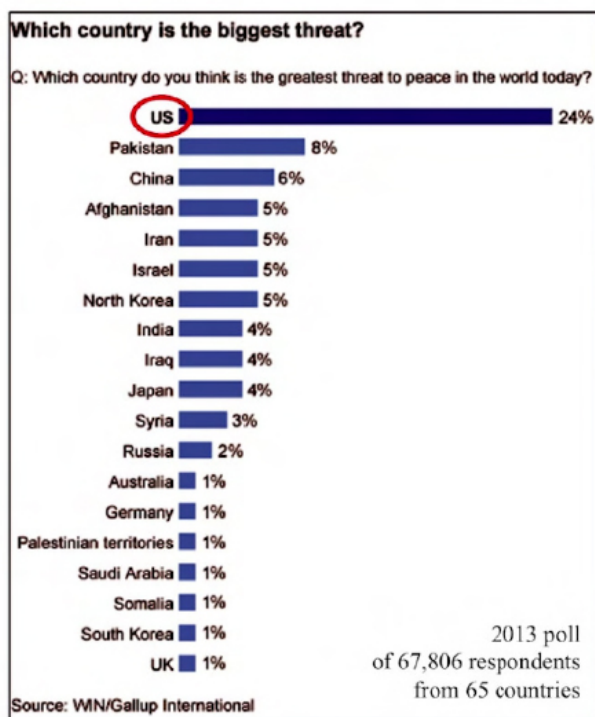


The only thing one could hold against him in this analysis would probably be the term „hidden hand“, because this hand is not so hidden at all – at least not for those who are impacted by it. That means, this hidden fist naturally doesn’t remain hidden to the world’s population and we therefore find – and you can follow this in polls through all decades – consistently

through the years always the same answer to the question, “which country is the biggest threat to world peace.

US-“globalization” is dependant on state force

“Which country constitutes the biggest threat to peace in the word?”



This is not very surprising and we now turn again to the example of history and historic memory. If you realize that the USA in the past 241 years of its history have been in 90% of these years at war or war-like status with other nations – in 90% of their 241 years of existence – then the US has a certain claim to the title “biggest threat to world peace”.

These are the traditional ways of safeguarding stability. Now we turn to the *new* ways. What has changed in neoliberalism?

For one, there is the disempowerment of the parliament because the parliament is supposed to be the representation of people, at least ideally. Therefore, the parliament must be disempowered.

Then we have a new form of indoctrination: “the end of ideology”, “there is no alternative” (disappearance of dissent). These are very novel forms which didn’t exist before. And we have various new forms of state power which increasingly become more hidden, and the disciplining in all institutions up to the individual – that too is new. The power diffuses into the individual because the new organization of power has the effect, that there need to be new mechanisms of safeguarding stability which must be adapted to the need of stability of the global marauding capital. Thus, totally new ways of requirements for stability come into existence.

Let’s look at a few examples: the disempowerment of the parliament in favor of the executive. Lobby groups now have a direct access to the parliament and the government. Here you find a

recent article from *The Atlantic* (“How Corporate Lobbyists Conquered American Democracy” - <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/04/how-corporate-lobbyists-conquered-american-democracy/390822/>)

All this began relatively early. Basically, everything that I tell you are old hats which have already been discussed in literature. But of course, and for good reasons all this never reached the public space of discussions.

Here is an example of Ralph Dahrendorf (a German-British sociologist, philosopher, political scientist and liberal politician, 1929-2009). It is quite unsuspecting. The “new authoritarianism” is barely noticeable to the populace.

Characteristics:

- “reaching decisions quickly and outside all controls, in the face of a basically disinterested and apathetic populace”
- “silencing the democratic discourse”
- “the executive evades the populace and its elected representatives.”

(Ralph Dahrendorf [2002]. *Die Krisen der Demokratie*, München.)

At this point the alarm should have sounded. The melody appears repeatedly, it is always the same theme. We only have one pseudo-discourse, determined by the media which however runs entirely opposite to those interesting questions for the populace which do exist. For decades now this last point has been addressed also by German professors of constitutional law. It doesn’t reach the public space of discourse, it remains in small niches. There can be dissent to the max – as we have seen before with Sheldon Wolin – as long as it doesn’t become efficacious.

Let’s look at a few examples. The NachDenkSeien did frequently report on this: “privatization of the freeways – one of the fastest amendments to the basic right of all times” – it went through just like that. The parliament merely had to rubber-stamp it, because these submittals came from the executive. Another example is the software called “Trojan” (horse) [Staatstrojaner], the law to enforce the network. The German newspaper “Süddeutsche Zeitung” also writes quite openly about this: “... one of the furthest reaching surveillance laws in the history of the federal republic of Germany – and hardly anyone noticed it.” (Süddeutsche Zeitung, *Der Staatstrojaner ist ein Einbruch ins Grundrecht*, 22.Juni 2017). At this point people should have actually taken to the streets. It’s written in the newspaper – it doesn’t matter. What happened?

A large portion of the decisions taken in the Bundestag are no longer roll-call votes; they are even taken by a Bundestag, which materially doesn’t constitute a quorum; meanwhile it has the right to declare itself that it in fact does have a quorum – almost under all circumstances. Look at the following picture: the dominant majority is the empty chair.



This means that the people have no possibility at all to track the voting behavior of individual delegates. They withdraw so to speak from their responsibility as representatives of the populace. You can see it in the picture above. It was taken during the 240th session where the decision re. the “Staatstrojaner” was taken. These are the representatives of the people who – as you can see from the faces – after an “*intense phase of deliberation*” decide, whether the furthest reaching surveillance law in the Federal Republic of Germany should become legal or not. This is the disempowerment of the executive.

Other examples: condemnation and criminalization of dissent have reached a totally new quality. By tendency this has always existed, but the systematics with which any form of potential efficacious dissent is now condemned and the attempt to legally prevent it, that’s quite unique.

Only a few examples from Spain – you all probably followed these discussions. “We need a system that frightens the demonstrators.” Legal systems are established which aim at preventively prohibiting demonstrations. Dissent can no longer exist. Dissent as such is already a sign of extremism and threatening.

Another example: Bavaria (officially the Free State of *Bavaria*, a landlocked federal state of Germany) introduces a “Gefährder-Law. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* writes quite openly about this as well. Just think about the category of a “Gefährder” (people who endanger, may become a threat). A Gefährder is someone who potentially represents a situation of greater injustice – one that rebels against and articulates a dissent. Every mature or responsible citizen is in this sense a “Gefährder” if he takes his maturity and responsibility serious. We now introduce a new criminal category: not someone who has done something, but someone who potentially may have or may perhaps will have done something which is not even properly defined. And for such a Gefährder they introduced a literally never ending custody. He or she can be detained for an arbitrary long time. Here too people should have actually taken to the streets en masse. This is an unbelievable removal of everything that constitutes democracy.

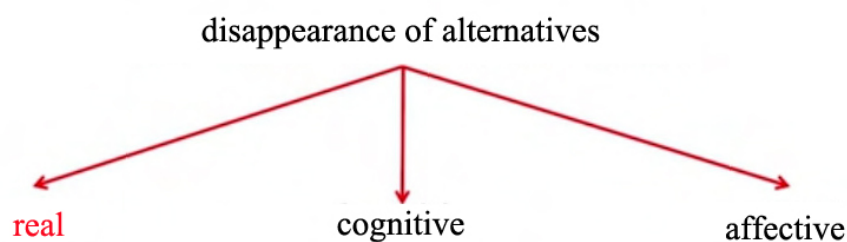
Of course, this is part of a continuity, the “Center of Defense against Disinformation” which has been planned, the “Law for the Protection of the People” („Ley Orgánica de protección de la seguridad ciudadana), Spain, 2015 – these laws always seem to have the same name – like e.g. „Decree of the President of the Reich for the protection of the German Populace“ 1933. I give you just one example so that you can better understand the context of “Fake News”, they are also part of this continuity. Fake News were outlawed: “Printed publications can be pro-

hibited if they contain obviously incorrect news whose distribution is suitable to threaten essential interests of the state.” [9 : „*Druckschriften können verboten werden, wenn in ihnen offensichtlich unrichtige Nachrichten enthalten sind, deren Verbreitung geeignet ist, lebenswichtige Interessen des Staates zu gefährden.*“] But what indeed are “incorrect news”? They are all that news which endanger the stability of the state. And again, it is important to keep the historic continuity in mind. All these things stand in very close continuity.

Now we come to one of the main tricks and that is indeed completely new: the “end of ideology”. The greatest ideology and possibly the most cunning one ever is the freedom of ideology. Friedman says:

“Nowadays the big separation of the world is not into East and West, North and South or capitalism versus communism. Today it’s all about world order and world disorder.” (Thomas L. Friedman, 1.5.2015)

It is only about “reasonable” and “unreasonable”. There is no more ideology, only “reason” and “unreason”. And whatever is “reasonable” must become reality. And whatever is “unreasonable” can no longer become reality since it is “unreasonable”. There can be no alternative to what is “reasonable”. Thus, we should outlaw the very idea of an alternative to what is reasonable because the idea of such an alternative is already unreasonable. – This is totalitarianism, the one of the end of ideology. This sounds philosophical, but it has tremendous consequences. We’ll look at this. There are no alternatives, alternatives disappear. This has real consequences and you can choose your own example:



“NO ALTERNATIVES PERMITTED”

1953 Iran, overthrow of premier minister Mossadegh
 1954 Guatemala, overthrow of president Jacob Árbenz Guzmán
 1964 Brazil, overthrow of president João Goulart
 1971 Bolivia, overthrow of Juan José Torres
 1973 Chile, overthrow of president Salvador Allende
 1970 et seq. *Operation Condor*
 1980 et seq. El Salvador, support of the civil war
 1981 et seq. *contra-war* in Nicaragua
 1983 invasion of Granada – *Operation Urgent Fury*
 2009 military coup in Honduras
 ...

Alternatives, which may become a real threat, must be eliminated. Alternatives are not permitted. There again is the invisible fist which must make sure that these alternatives do not become reality.

There *can* be no more alternatives because the players which now determine the world affairs are of a kind, we are not prepared for and whom we can't do anything about. Now the political players are the major corporations. These are nothing but private totalitarian structures which are by nature anti-democratic. A large corporation cannot be democratic. Those players are entirely removed from the control by society. With these internationally acting major corporations we created the most perfect form of totalitarian structure in the history of civilization. Something like this never existed before in the development of cultures. There is another reason why we are not prepared for this: they are largely invisible. They are committed to goals which are extremely hierarchic, extremely authoritarian and extremely pathological, namely to make profit even if the earth, the social fabric and the ecology is being destroyed in the process.

On a cognitive level alternatives disappear because they are no longer imaginable. As Harvey writes so clearly: we can imagine the end of the planet or, if you are creative enough the end of the universe. But nobody can imagine the end of capitalism. We simply cannot conceive of it anymore. The reason being, and that's a very important point which you find in the truly worthwhile book by Mirowski about neoliberalism: "neoliberalism is based on an industrial-scale manufacture of ignorance. Ignorance ... guarantees the neoliberal order. The neoliberal self feels comfortable in this ignorance." (Philip Mirowski [2013], *Never let a Serious Crisis go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown* [Verso, London, UK and New York, USA 2013] 480 pp.)

The entire stability of the neoliberal order rests on the industrial-scale manufacture of ignorance and to make sure that the neoliberal self feels comfortable in this ignorance through consumerism and all the other mechanisms we have.

The neoliberal order implants into the individual this feeling of powerlessness: "nothing can be changed anyway." The creation of a feeling of loss of control. Individual and collective social actions are subjectively perceived as futile and pointless.

This feeling certainly is known to all of us and creeps up on us at one time or the other, repeatedly. This feeling has been consciously induced with a lot of effort and the loving contribution of social sciences and psychology.

One very important means belongs here: "the center, the middle". This is something fantastic. Nowadays we all are the center, the middle. This belongs into the false-dictionary of terms because a term has been given a new context, because the center or middle is something great for all of us. "Center or middle" suggests harmony, balance, perhaps even comfort. "Middle, center, is quite a positive feeling because we don't like to belong to the extreme. Neoliberalism has given a new meaning to this term because it now actually describes an extreme position, the extremist position of a fight against democracy. And "middle, center" is even an extreme fundamentalist position, because it claims exclusivity: there can be no more alternatives. The "middle, center" is an extreme fundamentalist position claiming exclusivity and yet it fascinates all of us. We repeatedly fall for this term. And you can see how often this term is used in political rhetoric as means to attract people – always in the context of the neoliberal program.

Tony Blair: „a radical center in which you are able to make decisions for the future of the country“.

Gerhard Schröder 1998: There is no left or right economic policy but only good or bad economic policy.“

Emmanuel Macron 2017: neither right, nor left (ni droite, ni gauche).
Faschismus: „neither left nor right“.

The “radical middle or center” – another interesting neologism. Conflicting interests no longer exist. There are no contrasts of interest between employer and employee. It’s all about “reason”, about “rationally” finding the best approaches towards solutions. It is no longer meaningful to fight against something. It’s all about finding “the best” solution because ultimately employer und employee sit in the same boat, share the same interests, namely: to find “the best” solutions. “In the final analysis we all act in concert” – that’s the ideology and it is actually somehow even true except that we act at very different ends.

Another point is even more interesting in this respect – and you find this quite often these days – namely that someone says: “I’m neither right nor left”. “Left” means: to be in favor of an equitable distribution and a solidary society – and “right” means: to not be in favor of an equitable distribution. Someone who is neither right nor left can save himself only by saying: “Well, I’m totally apathetic!”

And it is interesting that the Italian fascism had exactly this slogan, “neither right nor left”. And there was something to it. This fascism was extremely anti-left, but it was also not right, because “right” in those days meant “reactionary” and “conservative”. But Fascism was revolutionary, it didn’t wish to conserve or preserve. It was a totalitarian system which wanted something entirely different. In a certain way, it was justified to say: “we are neither right nor left”. Here too it is worth it to look at history.

Meanwhile we have a subtle semantic shift of the term “democracy” which we don’t really notice. Nowadays democracy does no longer mean that we the people have anything to say. Nowadays the true democracy is called “input oriented democracy” and that’s *out*. Today we have an “output oriented democracy” where the input of the citizens doesn’t play any role at all because it’s all about “rationally” optimizing the output. And the term “rationally” must be placed in many quotation marks. This now is called, and that’s how it is written in the textbooks: an output-oriented democracy; we should find a “rational” solution. Now the only remaining question is: for whom? And here the neoliberal populism appears which says, we must make “uncomfortable truths” intelligible to the citizens. The people of course are “dumb” and only want to see *their own* interests and not those of the powerful elites. And thus, one should convey the “uncomfortable truths” of these “rational” solutions. If you don’t, it is called “populism”. This leads to what the famous political scientist Peter Mair said:

“The increasingly limited leeway for opposition within the system is one of the reasons why the political field has become such a fertile soil for populism.” (Peter Mair [2013]. *Ruling the void: The hollowing of Western democracy*. Verso Books.)

Look at the large cartel political parties in the German Bundestag. Within the system there is no opposition at all. This disappearance of opposition – you can no longer articulate a *basic* dissent within the system – has the result that the political field has become such a fertile soil for populism. Populism leads to the fact that the energy of change must find other ways, because within the system it has no longer any possibility to do anything at all. And therefore, these other ways can be quite ugly. Depending on what is offered as canalization, these other ways can very well express themselves as racist and other positions.

In this respect, a short marginal note may be interesting so that we don't lose track of this as well. In the USA, there is a digital public affairs firm called *Harris Media*, which is specialized on influencing elections with racist positions. It is an extreme rightwing, racist firm of the new media which does election propaganda online. Their customers include almost all European rightwing "firms" such as AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) etc. *Harris Media* became famous through Trump. It is specialized on systematic agitation against refugees, Islam, Palestinians etc. Apart from Trump one of the biggest constituents is Netanyahu. The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* recently covered exactly this. There exists, so to speak, an international network of these types of rightwing movements which employ such firms in their election propaganda, micro-targeting and everything else which goes with it. This too doesn't reach the public domain and for good reasons, I think. Because they realize, of course: only the Russians influence elections.

Now we have yet another way of safeguarding stability. The owning class tolerates and glorifies organized crime:

"The problem of justifying the *lex mercatoria* [transnational business law], which develops these days, lies mainly in the fact that its production is based on private contracts which liberated itself from any legal guidelines." (Ingeborg Maus, 2010, *Verfassung und Verfassungsgebung, Zur Kritik des Theorems einer 'Emergenz' supranationaler und transnationalen Verfassungen*.)

Thus, Ingeborg Maus (professor emeritus for political theory and history of political ideas) says that nowadays the public law itself is created under private law. Thus, norms emerge, as she beautifully put it, by the interested parties talking with themselves:

"The norms emerging here emanate from conversations of the interested parties amongst themselves and are no longer subject to testing by generalization of a democratically controlled procedure of legislation."

The large corporations converse with themselves about which laws they would like to have. This goes much faster through the executive than through the parliament, and therefore it is very important to leverage the parliament. They themselves create their own laws. This is a very important mechanism that many things we will then have and which are morally speaking criminal, are legally okay. Because the legal framework has already been created based on private law in such a way, that organized crime has become legalized.

If you are interested in deeper aspects of the subjects I have addressed here, it is always worthwhile to look at the works of Ingeborg Maus. She describes with unusual depth, precision and consequence or rather radicalism of her thinking many of these topics in a widely illuminating way. Thus, it is not surprising that Ingeborg Maus disappeared or rather made to disappear out of the academic field as well as the public discourse.

You know the examples, the tolerance and glorification of organized crime of the owning class. Here again the language is very interesting. If someone steals one Euro he is called a criminal. But if someone in a criminal way steals Billions of Euros he is called a "trickster". You find this in the automobile industry and in the cum-ex dealings – the organized crime of the rich is "trickery". And trickery after all is merely a venial "crime". One is unable or unwilling in this area – even as far as the cum-ex dealings are concerned – to close legal loopholes even if they are known for decades. And one shouldn't call these "loopholes" because

they were deliberately introduced. But if during any demonstration something happens, use of force or anything else that doesn't fit in, then immediately, within a very short time the laws are intensified. That means, in one area laws are immediately adapted to the need for security. In another area, the field of trickery, it is somehow not feasible to change the laws accordingly. Regarding this too one should preserve a certain sensitivity.

Another new mechanism in neoliberalism is the administration and disciplining of the "irrelevant". The politically "irrelevant *human capital*" must transform its objective economic exploitation into self-exploitation and one should optimize one's exploitability by others with the help of the "free market".

Now you may ask: "Who are these irrelevant ones?" Well, we are the irrelevant ones.

One needs an ideology based on which the individual sees him- or herself as human capital and transforms his or her objective economic exploitation into self-exploitation and optimizes the exploitability by others with the help of the free market. That means, one should relocate the social antagonisms into one's own person. What does that mean? One becomes one's own slave holder. The center of the ideology of the new liberalism is the statement, that everyone is him- or herself responsible for his or her own social situation. There are no suppressors, whom one could fight against for one is the entrepreneur of oneself. Everyone is a small "me-incorporated" which must optimize its exploitability by others for the sake of the market. We relocate the antagonisms into ourselves, the social fights in the external world now become a struggle within ourselves because we are entrepreneurs of ourselves, and this leads to a destructive struggle in the individual itself. This is the most perverted enhancement of alienation. And this enhanced alienation is used intentionally and consciously.

Such a form of alienation and de-solidarization can only be achieved if one is able to induce into the individual the necessary degree of fear and uncertainty. The neoliberalism developed systematically techniques to increase the degree of fear and uncertainty in the people in such a way that the individual is willing to become its own slave holder.

Systematic creation of uncertainty and fear

- economic: worry about your workplace and social status
- social: atomization and social uprooting
- psychological: fragmentation and disorientation
 - political lethargy and resignation
 - consumerism

"What is presently happening in the context of the crises of the working class can be called a kind of *accumulation of the commodity fear*; even the hardworking have no certain place within this society.

This has never happened historically to this extent."

Oskar Negt, 2011, *Arbeit und menschliche Würde* (work and human dignity)

The most important resources in neoliberalism are what Oskar Negt calls "the accumulation of the commodity of fear". We must induce fear! Only if the people experience a certain degree of fear are they ready for this perverted kind of alienation and for the relocation of social antagonisms into one's own person. This form of disciplining of the irrelevant ones we can

find in all polls. Germans have a great fear of: terrorism and immigration. As you all know: the chances that that impacts one are by far less than to slip in the bathtub and die. This too is written in the media. Our biggest fears are a mirror of the daily news. This is – remember Lippmann – what the media fabricate. This means: our fears are a product of what the media report. They tell us, which fears we should have. This has nothing at all to do with reality. This is induced reality. And this is a very important technique of domination. In a certain sense this is traditional, but the degree to which this is practiced is new. One example of Tacitus: “The people become threatening if they are without fear.” (“*teret vulgus, nisi metuat*”). This is a very old hat. But the systematization with which this is practiced today is certainly historically unique.

So now that we know about the irrelevant ones it becomes even more difficult: what do we do with the economically redundant ones? For neoliberalism produces economic “redundant one” en masse. They could find, under optimal conditions, back to actions of solidarity. To prevent this from happening, we need subtle techniques of disciplining and surveillance.

According to an estimate by Eurostat 18.916 million men and women were unemployed in the 28 member states of the European Union in July 2017, 14.860 million in the euro area.

So, we need an appropriate ideology: “One who doesn’t work should also not eat.” (Franz Müntefering, German politician and industrial manager, 2016)



*„Das neue Verhältnis zwischen
Arbeiter und Unternehmer“*

1896

*“The new relationship between
laborer and entrepreneur”* 1896

This means: in neoliberalism one no longer fights poverty but one fights the poor. This is a new direction of impact – from *welfare* to *workfare*. One who is not willing to be exploited as human capital is not entitled to a humane life.

To manage the “redundant ones” is a very important concern because neoliberalism produces them necessarily in large numbers. Again, we should proceed quite systematically – and here we don’t talk about exceptions or so-called “aberrations”. We speak about systematic major developments. And they exist because the old mechanisms of regulation within classical capitalism largely dropped away in globalization. Because the capital in the global competition about the highest return attempts to optimize this return. By doing so, quite a few mechanisms of regulation dropped away and this becomes apparent in the vast number of “redundant” ones.

From the perspective of city planning the redundant ones become visible in the growing number of slums. There are interesting studies in the USA which show that even these slums are built in such a way that no actions of solidarity can arise. For example, new highways and other roads are planned in such a way that they lead crisscross through these quarters to separate them sociologically as well. That is quite deliberately considered in city planning.

Another example is the extreme growth of the prison industry mainly in the USA. There we have the highest quota of prisoners worldwide. The reason for this is not that the crime rate is higher than elsewhere, but that the punishment for small and tiny offenses have been massively intensified, especially in drug related offenses.

Macron expressed this very clearly: “There are successful and those who are not” („gens qui réussissent et d’autres qui ne sont rien“, Emmanuel Macron, 29. Uni 2017). The “redundant ones” are all those who are “nothing”. Here one can see clearly the misanthropic attitude which permeates neoliberalism, a concept of man with its deep-seated contempt. We need a management of those who are nothing. And that is a very central part of neoliberal states. By disciplining and monitoring the losers – and the German Hartz IV regime is nothing but that – we create an extreme regime of surveillance of the losers.

“Nowadays in every area of social life control plays a prominent role – with only one surprising exception: the field of economics.” (David Garland (2002). *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*. Oxford University Press.)

“The expansive apparatus of penalties which enters into everything and permeates the lower strata of the social fabric is a central aspect of the neoliberal states. Only with disciplining surveillance of the losers is it possible to curb the social uncertainty and economic inequality which any neoliberal state produces.

The creation of social uncertainty in connection with “restrictive workfare” and “expansive prison fare” belongs to the central architecture of the neoliberal states.”

(Loïc Wacquant (2009). *Punishing the poor: The neoliberal government of social insecurity*. Duke University Press.)

The creation of social uncertainty – “prison fare” etc. – belongs to the central architecture of the neoliberal states, says Loïc Wacquant, one of the activists who academically study this. The book is called “A punishment of the poor” – that’s the nature of the neoliberal states.

This means, we now find a *two-facedness* of the state which was designed like this from the very beginning. Hayek wanted a weak state, but not in general like some representatives of the classical neoliberalism or the anarchistic capitalism and many other currents demanded. He wanted a *weak* state for the rich and the corporations, free path and tax relief for the rich

and the corporations. But at the same time Hayek wanted a *strong* state for the general public. Neoliberalism is thus not a position which fights against the state but one which wants to merely use the state for this dual purpose. And this leads to – and Wacquant has a beautiful image for this – the Centaurus-state:

“Neoliberalism doesn’t go along with a shrinking of government but with the creation of a Centaurus-state: a liberal head on an authoritarian body.” („liberal at the top and authoritarian at the bottom“, Loïc Wacquant [2009])

This dual being kicks downward and is upward a liberal head. The neoliberal state is exactly such a Centaurus-state. It is a subvention state for the rich and a repression state for the socially weak.

And he writes: “The USA serve as a living laboratory for the neoliberal future” of a management and disciplining of the “redundant ones”. He coined the expression “redundant ones”. For this management and disciplining of the “redundant ones” we have an entire system.

The African intellectual and political scientist Achille Mbembe goes even further. He writes:

The “Western community of shared values” pursues “necropolitics”: to express the power to be able to determine “who is going to live and who is going to die”. (Achille Mbembe [2011]. *Nekropolitik*. In: M. Pieper et al. *Biopolitik – in der Debatte*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.)

What does this mean? It means to divide the people in a part which is worthy of protection and another part whose lives are redundant and which therefore can be increasingly subjected to the death penalty, executions by firing squads of the police, murder via drones ... – whatever there is. Judith Butler also made this point. She said, that the Western community of shared values is primarily based on the distinction between deaths which are worthy of mourning for and deaths which are not. And Achille Mbembe writes: the most perfect form of necropolitics is the colonial occupation of Palestine through Israel.

Now let’s move on to another point, the creation of a system of organized irresponsibility. The so-called “*financial crisis*” of 2008, which in fact was, as you all know, not a financial crisis at all but literally a “*capital crime*”. It was not the consequence of the brazen “natural laws” of the “free market”, it was a deed or rather a misdeed. The financial crisis was a deed, an action, and not a natural phenomenon. In hindsight, we know that a relatively small circle of persons did this deed. They can be identified: Alan Greenspan, Hank Paulson etc. (“25 People to Blame for the Financial Crisis”;
<https://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/completelist/0,29569,1877351,00.html>)

The entire neoliberalism is a chain of “actions without actors”. We have a new category: we have “actions without actors”, i.e. things which can not be evaluated, neither morally nor legally. The NachDenkSeiten reported on this (2nd October 2017: Acquittal for Funke – the reprocessing of the financial crisis is nothing but a scandal;
<http://www.nachdenkseiten.de/?p=40396>) There are no longer responsible persons. We succeeded in establishing – and that too has a longer history – a “system of organized irresponsibility” (C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, 1963). Responsible people no longer exist. In the repression-state we have only downward responsible people but not upward. This is the same in politics.

Now let's see what the rationality of the "reasonable ones" looks like. Lippmann contrasts the "stupid populace" with the "reasonable elites". You know that. Not too long ago there was an investigation which came to the following conclusion: Tony Blair lied at the nation, the reasons for war were fabricated (Guardian, Chilcot: *Tony Blair was not 'straight with the nation' over Iraq war*, 6. Juli 2017 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jul/06/chilcot-tony-blair-was-not-straight-with-the-nation-over-iraq-war>). He led the nation to war for the wrong reasons. Chilcot continues: Blair did lie regarding the reasons for war but had been „from his perspective and standpoint, emotionally truthful“. To come up with such a phrasing is incredible! To say: "Yes, I did it, but from my perspective and my standpoint I was nothing but committed to the truth".

And of course, there were demands, and rightly so, to apply the standards under international law which were achieved during the development of international law especially during the Nürnberg trials, to Blair as well and thus to say, after what Blair had done he should have been brought to trial in some kind of Nürnberg tribunal or in Den Haag. Here again we find "a system or organized irresponsibility".

Now let's look at the convergence of authoritarian and democratic states. In this respect, China is an interesting case to study, since in China we have a situation where the mechanisms of stabilization have been worked out in a very subtle way, because China is a state which in the present moment is fraught with enormous problems of stability. By and large China has a neoliberal economy but a one-party rule.

China is "a special form of market economy, where increasingly neoliberal elements are interwoven with authoritarian and centralized control." (David Harvey [2005]. *A brief history of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.)

There you have textbooks and very subtle mechanisms, how to safeguard stability. One very important mechanism is this one: one has to fight against the threat of stability *even before* such a threat has occurred. That's like the "Gefährderhaft" (detention of someone who may become a threat) in Bavaria, Germany. No rifts are permitted and one has to remove a threat as soon as one can anticipate it. As far as the mechanisms for stabilization are concerned there is an intense cooperation on an academic level between Western security experts – USA, Israel and Germany – and Chinese security experts since both are anxious to learn from these things. Besides, they know very well that a great deal of what has been developed after 9/11 did not serve the defense against terrorism but it was developed so that it could be employed at any time against the *inner* enemy of stability,

This Chinese model is recommended by many as the best example of a future state. There are certain "disadvantages", of course, but if it is controlled by a group led by reason – here we have again the idea of Lippmann – then there are "big advantages" because one can enforce "reasonable solutions". There is all this democratic "prattle" – you know this from "Stuttgart 21" [Stuttgart 21 is a highly controversial railway and urban development project in Stuttgart, Germany]: they all still want to have a say but it was decided long ago what a "reasonable" solution is – and that doesn't exist. We can simply in authoritarian way enforce "reasonable" solutions. This found a great echo in Germany as well. China as an example surfaces repeatedly. In order to help "reason" to be victorious, we actually need an authoritarian state like China.

Here is an example from a book: the economic success of China evokes "doubts about the superiority of democracy" (Laszlo Tranovits [2011], *Weniger Demokratie wagen* [to dare less

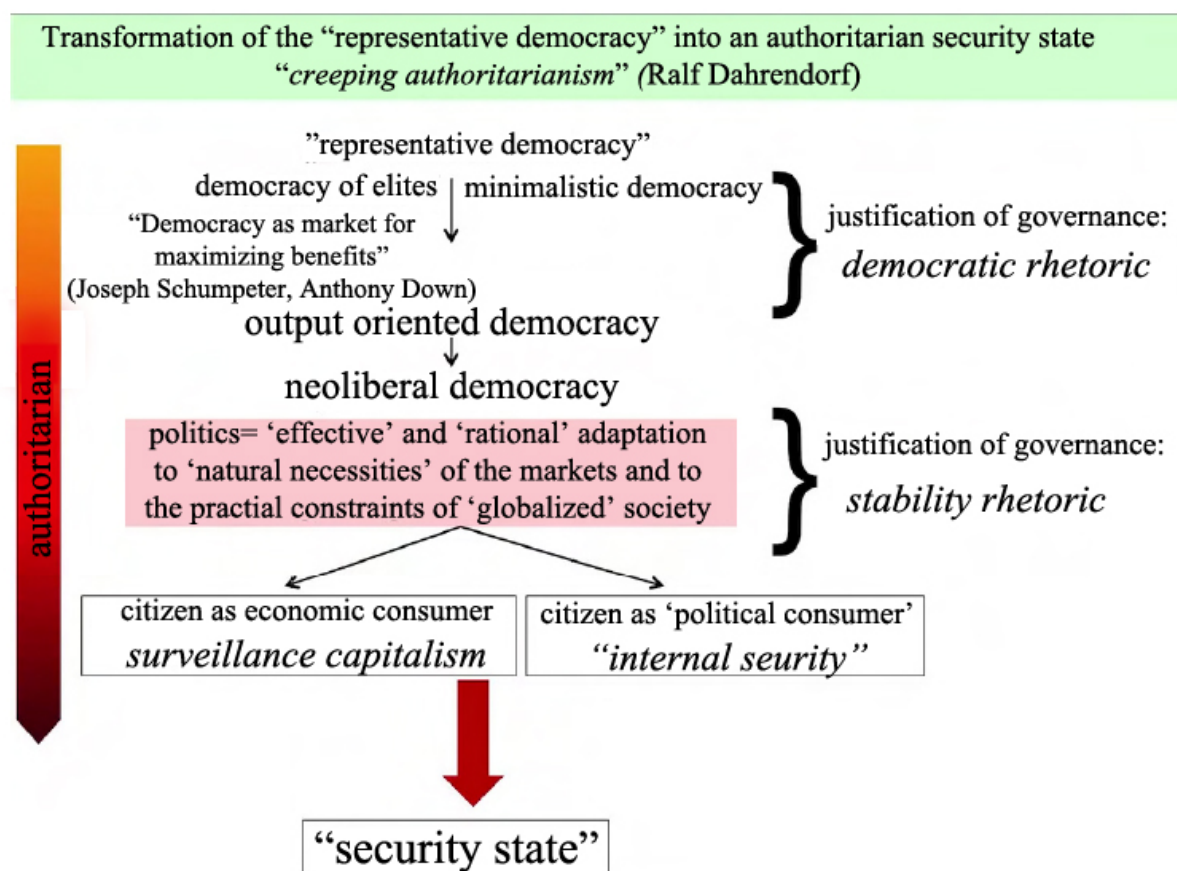
democracy] FAZ Verlag). This book was highly praised in the media, e.g. in the WDR [West Deutscher Rundfunk; a major German public broadcasting institution based in the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia in Cologne]: Trankovits “carefully analyzed why too much participation of and closeness to citizens could cripple Germany”.

Democracy actually is crap and nowadays this is said much more openly. Now something totally new quite openly surfaces which has been hidden before: one relinquishes much more openly the term “democracy” which earlier had played a certain propagandistic role and now openly states: “We need an authoritarian form of government because otherwise we can not help reason to prevail.”

After all, whether democracy or authoritarianism makes no differences – let’s just agree on what is reasonable! We need an output-oriented form of government because what ultimately counts is the success. This means: one comes out of the anti-democratic holes and articulates quite openly: “We need to dispense with democracy.” You find this already in the very beginning of neoliberalism:

Von Mises, Hayek and others state: enforcement of the neoliberal programs is dependant on authoritarian government as “makeshift of the moment”. Even fascism is bearable as “make-shift of the moment”. This authoritarian tradition is historically very old as well.

With this I come to the end and to an overview.



We have a development from a „representative democracy“ which has always been a ‚democracy of the elites‘ to an “output oriented democracy”. That however was still always accom-

panied by democratic rhetoric. One always claimed that one would strive towards democracy. Then comes the expression “neoliberal democracy” or “market-compliant democracy” as Angela Merkel put it. Politics is now only about the effective and rational adaptation to the ‘natural laws of the market’ – a deeply metaphysical-ideological term.

The democratic rhetoric now bit by bit recedes into the background and is replaced by a stability rhetoric. Here we have two aspects: the citizen as economic consumer – that’s the surveillance capitalism – and the citizen as ‘political consumer’ – that’s then the “internal security”. This finally leads to the intended goal of a “security state” and this transition is very interesting.

What was the purpose of the democratic rhetoric? In the very beginning we said: the ‘elites’ never wanted democracy because it limits their power. Democratic rhetoric however was meaningful because it pacified the citizens - it appeased their need for participation so to speak. It suggests “everyone has a say” and that has the function of pacifying. Democracy has the disadvantage that it always makes us believe that we can co-determine our fate. That is the disadvantage of the democratic rhetoric. This rhetoric promotes the potential for emancipatory change. This potential increased tremendously within neoliberalism and thus one would gladly rather do without it. Therefore, one says: we entirely dismiss the democratic rhetoric, it is outdated. We can skip that. We have already established so many mechanisms of stability that we now can turn to a new type of rhetoric, the rhetoric of stability.

Sheldon Wolin goes as far as to say: the term ‘democracy’ can no longer serve as a cover for something that is actually a deeply authoritarian manipulative system (“a cynical gesture used to camouflage deeply manipulative politics”). Sheldon Wolin says that the development of this novel totalitarianism which is globally orchestrated and for us hardly visible which sometimes gives itself a democratic face but which has developed an unbelievable arsenal of techniques to silence dissent – this is one of the most far-reaching political developments of our times.

Now the question arises which after all these depressing things may probably interest you the most: *What to do?*

And to not leave this question too abstract: *And who the hell will do it?* (David Harvey)

We have to look at this self critically for it could very well be that by “who” “we” are meant.

If we look back to history we can recognize two things. On the one hand, during the past decades and centuries great emancipatory advances were made in spite of many setbacks. Part of these emancipatory advances is the fact that here and now – at least in historical perspective – we live in a relatively free society. This fact alone should actually be occasion and reason for great hope.

On the other hand, however emancipatory and civilizing achievements have been attained *always and only* through long lasting and quite strenuous fights. This is a very difficult point for us because we actually don’t like to fight. Because fighting suggests danger and insecurity and what we really search for is harmony and security.

This we usually try to solve conflicts with others through exchange, dialogue and understanding. It is good that we have this natural need and a natural aversion against fighting.

But this makes us susceptible to a *categorical mistake* of serious consequences. For we tend to transfer interpersonal categories of solving conflicts such as dialogue and understanding to social antagonisms i.e. to *asymmetrical* power structures. This is a difficult point but one can simply realize this by again looking at history. Social achievements have always been wrested from the powerful with social battles. You can go back to the entire history: social achievements have always been wrested from the powerful with social battles not through empathic dialogues for example.

Today we profit from those who often with almost transpersonal engagement have fought these social battles and mostly against the apathy and disinterest of large portions of the people. And the social achievements we are so proud of today have been attained by those who fought these battles.

Hope, and we want to be hopeful in these respects, is always based on the premise that we too are ready to fight these social battles for the present and future generations.

In order to fight these social battles, we need something to fight for and not just something to fight against. This is a point where especially the enlightenment left us a vast wealth which still awaits its implementation.

Without social battles the path into authoritarian neoliberalism will continue which is destructive to the ecology, economy and society and ultimately self destructive for capitalism as well.

I'd like to end with the words of the 88 years old Noam Chomsky who describes in his new book, which I already mentioned, in very simple words his experiences of a life-long social struggle and thus reminds us who the hell is responsible for all this.

Chomsky says:

“What can we do? As good as everything we want to. (*If only we want to.*)

The fact is that we live in a relatively free society. This did not fall from heaven.

The liberties we have were fought for in hard, painful, courageous battles but now we own them. (That's no reason to proudly lean back because we did not attain them. It's up to us however to attain them for future generations.)

They are our inheritance which came to us through the battles of others.

There is much that can be done if the people organize (a very important point: individually nothing is possible. It only works again in actions of solidarity), if people fight for their rights as they have done in the past, and we can still win many victories.”

I thank you all.

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