Globalization in political key

About the globalization has to stand out that is intended to introduce this as a determinant totality, but undetermined itself, being so that we require identify the levers, the instruments from which is driven and interests that encourage, hence that what we underpins a reading strategy that analyze politically, without neglecting the long-term. A vision that cannot be but political and in whose center is the problem of power. It is what is intended in these pages and for this we resort to establish an initial starting point.

The great intellectual and Italian revolutionary Antonio Gramsci, in one of the most cited passages of his work, said:

“The history of subaltern social groups is necessarily fragmented and episodic […] yet […] exist a tendency to unification in the historical activity of these groups, but this tendency is continually interrupted by the activity of the ruling groups. Subaltern groups are always subject to the initiatives of the dominant groups, even when they rebel and rise up.” (Gramsci, 2000: 178).

Later, he argues that “the historical unity of the ruling classes is realized in the State, and their history is essentially the history of States and of groups of States” (Gramsci, 2000: 182). Capitalism in the deployment of its development becomes State and this for the reason that Marx detected from its very early work: bourgeois society is found forced to “organize itself no longer locally, but nationally, and to give a general form to its average interests” (Marx y Engels, 1987: 71). The social form propitious to its deployment is that of the nation-State which, outwards, in its external relations, organizes (the bourgeois society) as nationality (“illusory community”, Marx comes to say) and inwards, in the negotiation of the conflicts or in establishing of codes of command and obedience, the structure as State (“real abstraction” Marx goes on to say as well). The establishment of a social regime whose organizing principle is that of private property (which found expression in the juridical subsystem of law), namely: the establishment of an intersubjective relationship as very specific pattern of power goes through the deployment of capitalism in the propensity that this has to embrace the world. Hence that, in the construction of its institutional architecture the States as such (a history as long to compromise to these as

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modern institutions), those who manage to establish hierarchical power relations over others (who manage to "assert their difference") let set an imprint in the relational character of its mechanisms and organizational systems, the imprint of the coloniality. The history of the nation-State in those regions of the world that went through processes of conquest, colonization and exploitation is that of the establishment and the struggle to get rid of that modern/colonial dictated (as they could not get rid of that legacy that projected with some isomorphism, not solely on its bi-centennial conformation, disymmetrical relations with their own "internal colonies").

The classical german philosophy, with which in due course Marx is discussing starts from this premise: the property is the first determination of the person. Hence that philosophy derived the right to property as inalienable, as fundamental human right of liberalism. However, and in a kind of rapture to the liberal imaginary, the property is no longer a right of the person but a right of institutions and corporate, of complexes and mega-organizations that snatch it to the people (Hinkelammert, 2010). This is not just a juridical battle but a political battle between the people and the capitalist system. What is currently shown in the social arena, and almost anywhere in the whole world, is a conflictivity situation against labor and against the hacer [to make] of subaltern groups that is expressed in the loss of rights, and the loss of "the right to have rights", the dispute to contain the destruction of the regime of rights advented so in a privileged side of the class struggle. The other side of the issue is the one that illuminates the notation which the historian Howard Zinn offers us just for be this, his perspective of analysis. To the great critic of the u.s. system:

“The protection of corporate property is deemed more important than the protection of human life. Indeed, the Supreme Court decided in the late nineteenth century that a corporation was «a person» and so protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, more protected, in fact, than black people, for whom that amendment was originally written.” (Zinn, 2002: 19).

A wider deployment of what Marx identified as the fetishism of commodities could hardly be documented. The corporeal and concrete human person is displaced (in both enjoy rights entity with) by the (abstract) system of property of the capital. Thereby is given for carried out the fetishistic reversal of the process: the person is objectified and the thing is personified. With the nation State something analogous occurs since ends up establishing a kind of illusion or mirage (hence that Marx at some moment qualifies it as "apparent form") as it is believed to be structured around an original or imagined community (and therefore, in a historical movement), when strictly speaking, is setting limits for the establishment of an abstract principle, that of the private thing and the manner in what that principle is universalized. The state is another field exposed to fetishism, in this case, as "fetishization of power." The state performs an essential role, worth saying imperative in the creation and upholding of the conditions for the capital accumulation. The key point of discussion seems to still be in what that the derivationist debate contributed in the seventies, that is, point out that the State is not an "intrinsic entity", worth to say abstract, but a "material condensation of a relationship of forces among classes and class fractions, such as this is expressed within the State in a necessarily specific form" (Poulantzas, 1979: 154).

Globalization, extractivism and autonomies

The episode of this long history that, in its most recent figure is named as globalization thus corresponds to an integral offensive, a total and prolonged war on the part of such pattern of power to impose a "global dictatorship of the big property" (Duchrov and Hinkelammert, 2004). This is a strengthening strategy of a pattern of power which in its present form has experienced the dangerous transition from being "a neoliberalism of peace" to become "a neoliberalism of war" (González Casanova, 2002).

The set made up of the alliance between internal and external exploiters does not seem to yield in his "endless accumulation of capital." The conditionality of economic measures from the financial and commercial arrangements so effective at the time of rise of neoliberalism has been called into
serious question after the onset of the crisis, and worsens by leaps and bounds as more sectors and branches of the economy tend to resent the actual or estimated low in their rates of profitability. For such reason, the project of domination, exploitation and appropriation seems to be displacing its conditionality to a political, military and territorial scheme, with the danger that it signifies this shift, regaining then its vast importance (which never ceased to be such) both the appropriation and expropriation of social and public wealth existing as the taking-over (privatization) and the alleged conversion into commodities and property rights the natural, strategic, genetic, biotic and cultural commons goods (through broad and deep processes of desnationalization or territorial occupation). Neoliberalism wrapped as it is in a crisis of its political and economic domination, seems steer not only the system as a whole, but to the civilization as such, to the resolution of its contradictions in the deepest level of its conflictivity, in the material devastation of productive forces and on the threshold of a “war of mass destruction” and global, able to devalue the leftover capital or to accommodate a portion of it which otherwise would remain unused at not finding productive handhold acceptable levels of performance.

The requirement to include a whole range of traditional goods, non-renewable raw materials, new materials and strategic resources in the goals, objectives and investment portfolios of large multinational consortiums, in speculative schemes of large investment funds, or the manias, panics and cracks that come with wide variety of equities institutions and instruments promotes direct or indirect mechanisms or if it is the case promoting socially diluted processes through the unintentional action, which transmute the abstract actions of the capitalist automatic subject (without country or fixed or static handhold) in effective and concrete processes of invasion, territorial occupation and transgression of the ecological border, which results in a macro planetary process of wealth transferring (in its material form, and not only monetary) from the South (generously endowed at megadiversity), to the industrialized North (with its late or truncated industrialization inlays in the South itself), with a countless proliferation of “undesirable effects” and “collateral damages” preferably situated at the southern flanks of geography. The combination results perverse and the cocktail truly explosive, for it is that the States action is converted into a field of dispute (and of it are not exempt even those who assume themselves to be or claim to represent a government of or from the social movements). Depending on the way in which hegemonic rearrangements be established, institutionality of the States can take, in most of the cases indeed, the assignment of the protection of the value form that valorizes itself (thereby making destructive use-values, in policial, military or paramilitary strategies, engulfing what is produced in the armament sector) or, conversely and not by established policy willingness but by the boost of the struggle of the downtrodden and those directly affected, being demanded the State institutionality as long as privileged entity of the social mediation, to jurisdictionally establish law principles which give guarantees and protection of territories, communities and groups. In the resistance spaces which reach the greatest degrees of politicization and that aspire to build emancipatory territorialities these struggles are leading to self-determination processes and to self-managed security strategies by communities themselves or based on their authorities and customary codes (the case of “las juntas de buen gobierno” [good government committees] in Chiapas, or “la policía comunitaria” [community policing] in Guerrero), and in those deployments which achieve a much wider scope than that of any locality these claims are beginning to give expression into new agreements, unpublished historical commitments or assembly constituent processes that tend to regain the sense of the plural (since by recognizing the diversity of cultures, integrates the sense which to the nature, as spatiality of the common and conferred of an own dignity, bestow the ancestral forms of sociality or the most advanced strata of the alternative pensar/hacer [thinking/making]) or they establish and confer it a whole new meaning to the lifeworld (Sumak Qamaña, “vivir bien” [living good] in Aymara, in Bolivia, or Sumak Kawsay, “buen vivir” [well-living] in Quechua in Ecuador), when from the deteriorated neoliberal republic it gives way to the plurinational.

The peculiarity of the historical crisis of our epoch does not derive from that covers various levels, that is to present a multidimensional character but that in its progression has gone devastating diverse spaces: a) of the production, circulation, distribution and consumption, b) geographic, energy, environmental and of the ecosystems ones, c) of the “domestic units” to entire
large cities or nations that remain torn in smithereens. The experience of such ravages as "plundering planned" that suffer protected territorial areas, rural communities, peasants and workers contingents is nothing but the way in which the capital outsources its crisis, the manner in which faces with its "relative limits" and seems to approach (as an asymptote) to their "absolute limits" without thereby comes to be experienced, but it is that "state of permanence at the limits" which is experienced as crisis. The characterization of capital that Marx do is no other, that universality that can only be expressed in its real forms of appear, and that as long as "automatic subject" which displaces and subsumes the real and corporeal subject, experiences the valorization of value as self-valorization to the extent in which constantly fires that passage or transfer “from one form into the another [...] subject of a process in which, while constantly assuming the form in turn [...] it changes its own magnitude” (Marx, 1984: 188), an assertion that cannot but be understood in correspondence to how, in the first drafting of his work has defined it: Capitalism in its growth dynamism and in his attempt to accumulation (the abstract time of its economic logic) ends up go beyond the nature cycles and the ones of those elements (fossils) that are in its energy-base (concrete time of life and matter). Hence that, the capital displace its actions from the level of the commodity and money, when there the profit possibilities become hinder, toward those in which better operates the extraction of surplus and wealth currently, "accumulation by dispossession", regardless precipitate with it "resource wars" inasmuch as, in the hydrocarbons is reached the tops of the production (peak oil), or in the large-scale open sky mega mining the environmental devastation and pollution of aquifers is uppercase because the obtaining of precious metals or other materials operates with increasingly lower rates (in proportion to the territories involved) because the "high-grade deposits" are almost exhausted. It is also the case of hydroelectric megaprojects or the exportation of agrofuels which are nothing but covert forms of transfer the vital resource toward industrializing schemes and to the deprivation of water to entire communities: another way also to outsourc the "ecological limit".2 

The complexity of this crisis demands from alternative thinking the search for its "other possible worlds" and not exclusively as containment or overcoming of capitalism but to the way of alternatives to development and modernity itself. This situation explodes the constitutive conflict accompanying the long history of modernity conformation, which operates between the emerging societal ordering that paves the way to capitalism (a modern rational individual subject that stands in dominant, appropriator, predator and expropriating to its other, non-humans and humans not recognized as human, degraded in their ontological status) and civilizational and cultural pre-existing frameworks that keep better safeguard the millennial wisdoms and centenaries balances between the entities that form their symbolism, world views, and worlds of wider spatialities and generous in its sense of the communal.3 

The maps of what is at stake and the resistances cartography are colored green and get dirty their hands and body in the mud of the land and wetlands, and in the worst cases are painted red with blood shed by environmental activists and their exemplary struggles: to the economic plundering adds this environmental devastation and human tragedy. If in globalization is manifested this drama, it is because the big capital and the multinational consortiums sustain a program that aims to colonize, appropriate and exploit the four historical naciónes

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2 Two examples from Mexico would be relevant, first the ecological tragedy in the Gulf of Mexico of the oil deposit of Macondo, where the exploitation of deepwater fields in saving costs schemes by oil majors, , which led to this unfortunate phrase from president Obama that "it was time to kick ass" and even worse in the federative entity of San Luis Potosi, where the Cerro de San Pedro, was reduced to dust, from July 2005 to March 2010, by open sky operations of Canada’s New Gold Inc., through its subsidiary, Minera San Xavier, which even without the corresponding legal permits to exploit this gold and silver deposit, just 8 kilometers from the state capital, never stopped their activities and threatens to enlarge.

3 The example could not be more suitable: the sacred and ancestral Wiricuta lands, corresponding to the Wixarica people, are currently experiencing the destruction threat of the Canadian mega mining with support or omission of the Mexican state.
modes of existence of "fictitious commodities" (in the Polanyi's terminology): land (or nature, in a
general sense), money, knowledge and living labor capacity. In effect we can consent that "the
globalization [...] refers to a certain geographic scale of human activity" (Taylor, 2002: 2) but does
so in the ruthless exercise to appropriate the complete geography of the human pensar/hacer
[thinking/doing] displacing, nullifying or invisibilizing all those social relationships that are not
guided by the principle of self-valorising of value and profitability. If it's to speak of Empire, it is
in that precise sense; globalization is the attempt to impose the rule of the capital. It is in this
plane where globalization is connected with the processes of extractivism and neo-extractivism
with the struggle for commons and make them Common Goods of the Humanity, with the
defense of the communal and of the emancipatorial territoriality strategies. In correspondence
with this argument it is that we can affirm, without falling into an arbitrary judgment that
globalization is set as a levee or a structure that limits the exercise of autonomy or the
construction of "autonomous spaces" given the fact that subaltern groups (in the experimental
process of the struggle to stop being it or in the most elementary of ensuring the conditions for
survival) tend to display their performance, or to inhabit such societal spaces in which are
concentrated so valuable and, in some cases scarce "fictitious commodities" and for such
circumstance live in own flesh the unbridled aggression of the system. If in this sense
全球化 limts and delimits, in another very different, extends and expands: the scale and
scope of operations of both companies as holding and large corporations, armies and also police
and parapolice forces that go beyond in its scope national borders, in surgery, humanitarian wars
or blitz operations or in open violation 'of international legality the adoption of preventive war.
The imposition of private property, the product of a power relationship, and the obtaining of
profits, perquisites, royalties or patent rights and intellectual property, in the form of an extended
deployment of not only the accumulation of capital but of the social relations of capitalist type
and the contradictions inherent to it, it spreads to the mode of any systematic long-term
combination of two types of complex regulations, the entrepreneurial or big entrepreneurial and
the police or military-industrial, both subsystems that operate differentially to the bosom of the
States and in relations between States. What within States is experienced as enlargement
(intensive and extensive) of the absolute mercantilization of life corresponds to modalities in
which globalization determines the international imposition of accomplished facts over the right
of nations, people, communities and groups. Thus the nation-state as privileged mediation to be
operated this process or as a transmission belt for the power relations between world capital and
the suffering corporeality of living labor, also worldwide, is set as a field of struggle between two
forces, on one side that of the entrepreneurial and military complex, and on the other, the
alternative and contra-systemic movements: the powerful States (whether in the form of its
corporate or armies) assert themselves to external and propel the internal deconfiguration of the
pre-existing equilibriums in the weaker States or in peripheralization process(to the point of not
only weaken their sovereign condition but decree their classification as "failed States" with which
opens an imminent threat of intervention or of effective colonization). Globalization thus opens
up to an interpretation alien to all simplicity and linearity because its dynamics are very different,
this does not consist in a game of "zero sum" in which corresponds to more market less state, nor
consists this in the end of the state; quite the contrary and in a seemingly paradoxical fact, says
one of the specialists on the subject:
“explanations for the global era of today must realize that such era emerges from a period
dominated by the nation-state. This last one is the issue that almost all are bent on ignore when it
comes to analyzing the global. It is necessary to account for the partial disassembly of the
national, a transformation that consists at the same time of denationalization processes and
globalization processes” (Sassen, 2010: 17 – 18).

4 A fictitious commodity is 'something which is shaped like commodity (in other words, which can be bought and
sold), but that has not been created in a work process whose objective is to obtain profits, nor is subject to typical
competitive pressures of the market forces to rationalize its production and reduce the period of rotation of the
invested capital' (Jessop, 2008: 16).

What this process has shown, it's a new type of market and a new type of state, because in nonlinear dynamics at the time established it knocks down universal principles and strengthens targeted objectives, disregards, in short, of the "historic compromise" that gave stability and sustenance to the previous order.

Globalization: A complex articulation of "corporate complexes"

Globalization in its conformation articulates the market's invisible hand and the visible hand of the state, the activation of formal and informal principles of accumulation and the use of illegal and legal principles to consolidate their ends at the sole discretion of instrumental rationality. Indeed, there is an increase in the management of social processes through mercantile modalities and a weakening or dismemberment of certain obligations of the State but it is of those functions that this device complies" social welfare functions or provider indirect salary. The social state is weakened (decreasing subsidies and support programs) but the competitive state is affirmed (financing the capital or by lowering the tax burden), functions are removed to the State and it's removed from strategic sectors, but is tend to concentrate decisions in one of its parts (the Executive, as this is the only one with whom the international or supranational organisms negotiate or deal) and becomes an active promoter of processes of privatization and denationalization, not in otherwise consisted the imposition of the criteria of so-called "Washington Consensus" (Thwaites, 2010).

Much so that the transition that globalization operates on the state see it wane its function as regulatory power but increase it sees as a power-concentrator of arms and armies, and as a promoter of conflicts and. The state tends to be erected (in scenarios of sharpening of the class struggle, by the very situation of social polarization that entail the found logics of impoverishment and enrichment), into a delimiter and contentious power. However it continues to occupy a significant place as mediation of capitalism, since as stated by Anibal Quijano:

"It would seem strange that in this context, the massive popular complaints against the lack of salaried employment and a more equitable distribution of income, goods and services, against the elimination of the legal rights of salaried employees for negotiate the conditions of sale of their labor-power, this is against the flexibilization and precarization of work, they are directed above all to the State. It is not, if it takes into account that until there are not other effective options on the scene, concrete manner, the State continues to be, in capitalism, not just a tool of the dominators and exploiters but also an arena of social struggles for the limits, conditions and modalities of domination and exploitation" (Quijano, 2011: 373)

From the Latin American tradition of critical thinking, Pablo González Casanova (1998) has attempted to recover some unfrequented dimensions in this debate and has proposed so "to think that globalization is a process of domination and appropriation of the world". Domination of both States and of markets, societies and peoples, exercised "in political-military terms, financial-technological' and socio-cultural." The process of appropriation of natural resources, riches, and of the surplus produced is done in innovative ways yes, but in which the complex subsystems of the "big corporation" and "the military-industrial complex "do nothing but promote processes that are placed in a clear comparison with a history that is of long duration: that of combination and use of the power of the states from which big corporations are globally projected to increase profit margins, giving idle installed capacities use, or promote a predatory use of the surplus and devaluing of capital on one hand, and the other, producer of "destructive forces of the system" (in this set of processes' is made use in very complex configurations of the greatest scientific and technological development but also of parasite forms or criminal, macro and micro social processes, geopolitical and biopolitical strategies).

The administrative modalities, organizational and power management by both types of systems (the corporate entrepreneurial and the military-industrial) can only be analyzed as corresponding
forms and members of the long-term capitalist cycles and of the forms in which there they have been hegemonic replacements or transitions. By bringing our analysis backward in the time we can take to other forms of interaction or interconnection (preceding to the current ordering or assembly) that confirmed if you appreciate the other preferred modalities of world scale (that of the classic imperialism at late nineteenth century, of Amsterdam's cycle in the seventeenth century or even before, that of the "long sixteenth century"). The large multinational corporation find as remote referents, the joint stock company, the Dutch statutory company and the Company of East and West Indies (Arrighi and Silver, 2001). By contrast, the "system of the pentagon" as the modality not only most advanced but above all the mostly structured in its operational logic appears to establish a before and after (from the postwar of 1945 is a fundamental underpinning for the upholding of u.S. hegemony) with relation to 'previous modalities of conflict management, invasions, interventions and wars, and contingents that are mobilized in the battle arena or the fields of litigation, negotiation, espionage, intelligence, counter-insurgency or counter-information. The possibility of establishing an analog analysis would start to establish the processes of continuity and discontinuity historical between, for example, the pax americana currently in crisis and the pax britannica of that time.

On the side of the military-industrial complex (a term which, as is known, is due to Dwight D. Eisenhower who uttered in his farewell speech in January 1961), this consists in the use of the instruments of the state to promote territorial greed of powerful interest groups that have carried the U.S. to a high degree of deployment of military Keynesianism and the setting of a state of permanent war whose main beneficiaries and operators become those embodied in the «iron triangle»: a) the federal bureaucracy that concentrates the instruments of power projection of the u.S. "imperial presidency", b) the committees and subcommittees of the u.S. senate embroiled in the assignment of defense and security budgets c) The entrepreneurial and banking cupolas that are recycled from private to public sector and vice versa (Saxe-Fernández, 2006).

Say, to finish that fascist State has been the most finished concretion of the articulation between the big capital and the military industrial complex, both as a synthesis of aggression and threat to human life. Therefore, as even said Johan Galtung, in turn, the holocaust is "modernity in extremis". Today, the entire world is experiencing a conformation in which diverse forms of societal fascism are taking place, not exclusively within the state entity, but disaggregated in a multiplicity of social relationships that involve that character and aim, both at geo-politics level as the bio-politics to a negation of human existence of population clusters increasingly numerous. This is an attack on Enlightenment values and to the emancipatory project the modernity which promises and is the kind of historical crossroad at which our time places us.

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