

MARXISM AND EDUCATION

This series assumes the on-going relevance of Marx's contributions to critical social analysis and aims to encourage continuation of the development of the legacy of Marxist traditions in and for education. The remit for the substantive focus of scholarship and analysis appearing in the series extends from the global to the local in relation to dynamics of capitalism and encompasses historical and contemporary developments in political economy of education as well as forms of critique and resistances to capitalist social relations. The series announces a new beginning and proceeds in a spirit of openness and dialogue within and between Marxism and education, and between Marxism and its various critics. The essential feature of the work of the series is that Marxism and Marxist frameworks are to be taken seriously, not as formulaic knowledge and unassailable methodology but critically, as inspirational resources for renewal of research and understanding, and as support for action in and upon structures and processes of education and their relations to society. The series is dedicated to the realization of positive human potentialities as education and thus, with Marx, to our education as educators.

Series Editor: *Anthony Green*

Renewing Dialogues in Marxism and Education: Openings

Edited by Anthony Green, Glenn Rikowski, and Helen Raduntz

Critical Race Theory and Education: A Marxist Response

Mike Cole

Revolutionizing Pedagogy: Education for Social Justice Within and Beyond Global Neo-Liberalism

Edited by Sheila Macrine, Peter McLaren, and Dave Hill

Marxism and Education beyond Identity: Sexuality and Schooling

Faith Agostinone-Wilson

Blair's Educational Legacy: Thirteen Years of New Labour

Edited by Anthony Green

Racism and Education in the U.K. and the U.S.: Towards a Socialist Alternative

Mike Cole

Marxism and Education: Renewing the Dialogue, Pedagogy, and Culture

Edited by Peter E. Jones

Educating from Marx: Race, Gender, and Learning

Edited by Shahrzad Mojab and Sara Carpenter

*Education and the Reproduction of Capital: Neoliberal Knowledge
and Counterstrategies*

Edited by Ravi Kumar

*Social Change and Education in Greece: A Study in Class Struggle
Dynamics*

Spyros Themelis

Education and Social Change in Latin America

Edited by Sara C. Motta and Mike Cole

*Mass Education, Global, Capital, and the World: The Theoretical
Lenses of István Mészáros and Immanuel Wallerstein*

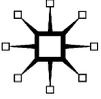
Tom G. Griffiths and Robert Imre

Mass Education, Global Capital, and the World

**The Theoretical Lenses of István
Mészáros and Immanuel Wallerstein**

Tom G. Griffiths and Robert Imre

palgrave
macmillan



Mass Education, Global Capital, and the World
Copyright © Tom G. Griffiths and Robert Imre, 2013.
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2013
All rights reserved.

First published in 2013 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world,
this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited,
registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies
and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States,
the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-43693-4 ISBN 978-1-137-01482-5 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137014825

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the
Library of Congress.

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Knowledge Works (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: December 2013

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

*For two Williams: the memory of my father Bill and vitality of our
son Guillermo*

For Zsuzsa, Bibi and Rezi

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| <i>Series Editor's Preface</i> | ix |
| Anthony Green | |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | xxix |
| Chapter 1 | |
| Wallerstein and Mészáros: Scholars for the Twenty-First Century | 1 |
| Chapter 2 | |
| Wallerstein's World-Systems Analysis | 11 |
| Chapter 3 | |
| Mass Education and Human Capital in the Capitalist World-System | 41 |
| Chapter 4 | |
| Educating Critical Citizens for an Alternative World-System | 67 |
| Chapter 5 | |
| Mass Labor: Reviving the Concept of Community and Collectivity | 99 |
| Chapter 6 | |
| Work in the Post-Industrial World | 119 |
| Chapter 7 | |
| Global Capital: From the Polanyi Thesis to World-Systems and beyond Capital | 143 |
| Chapter 8 | |
| Conclusion | 159 |

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| <i>Notes</i> | 167 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 171 |
| <i>Index</i> | 185 |

Series Editor's Preface

István Mészáros and Immanuel Wallerstein: Mass Education, Global Capital, and World-Systems Analysis

This volume is a first for the Marxism and Education Series in three distinct respects. One, its focus is specifically devoted to theoretical and methodological, abstractive, and analytical concerns rather than directly substantive descriptive contemporary and 'historical' aspects of and for critical practices. It is thus deliberately taking focused, abstracted overview and commentary as its agenda, though of course it provides many items of substantive reported analysis deployed to carry the knowledge in descriptive anchoring points.

Two, as a monograph, it focuses on the work of two contemporary 'Marxist' scholar activists, Immanuel Wallerstein and István Mészáros, and respective research movements, World Systems Theory, and Budapest School Humanist Marxism, which are not generally considered together, nor are they typically associated with problematics in radical education.

Three, in terms of recognizable objects in conventional education practices, the book is a kind of 'textbook.' Thus, while it does something quite original, the unique conjoining in reconsideration of the work of these eminent scholar activists, it does so as a practical *re-contextualisation* to constitute an educational resource rather than as origination. Its aim is bringing these authors' work to the attention of a new potential readership. In this sense, the book is a device or pretext largely for initiation, scholarly reproductive ground-clearing prior to more creative production, rather than the scientific/critical/philosophical purposes of posing and *making new knowledge* by committed collaborative scholar activists.¹

Overall, then, this work is self-consciously an “introduction,” effectively formed as informative, for description and demonstration rather than for proposing a transformative synthesis through argument in its own right. Nevertheless, it is a text to be engaged with, constituted, and built anew in ‘writerly’ forms of creative engagement and developed from as an ‘elementary’, framing of some foundational elements of material practices.²

There is no denying that such elements have a variety of critical energy sources, not the least of which is realizing arguments indicative of meta-level resonances and methodological forms where there are massive issues at stake intimated at—as well as directly aired—here. The task of this preface is not to preempt the volume’s specific *contents* but to highlight some of this book’s *significant contexts* and thus locate it in relation to the series—recontextualizing the recontextualization, if you like.

Finally, where Marx wrote about education, his treatment was somewhat fragmentary; nevertheless it was actively constructivist and ‘critical’ with respect to pedagogy and institutionalized forms as well as providing intimations of future possibilities, as seen from his mid-nineteenth century contexts.³ While he did not develop a theory of education, as such, nor is this at issue here, his work as general theory and methodology is the necessary pre-text in the context of practices.

The series intends to maintain the open-ended legacy of Marxism and the struggles for socialist transformation in non-sectarian mode, thereby constantly regenerating a radical ‘educational’ resource. The overarching theme is *pedagogy of critique* viewed through the organizing contexts of *recognizing ourselves in struggle*. It is useful to remind ourselves that this series is concerned with Marxism and education, not declaring definitive assessment on the work of Marx, nor addressing his writings or activist practices as if they could possibly contain the last word, or in idealist mode, the essentialist key or the secret of history. It is impossible to frame such final judgements, though searching for them in Marx and the Marxist traditions is inspirational practice indeed.

Marx’s legacy is in providing tools in conceptual, theoretical, and modeling frameworks for transformative practices, scholarly activism in critical representation and direct material, highly contextualized engagement as contributions to progressive struggles in an emergent critical ‘totality’ in process. It is open in form, unfinished textuality to be re-made, extended in innumerable ways, and thereby

demonstrating undogmatic methodological protocols requiring ever-active interpretation for 'application,' and references for action in our here and now.

Marx, as reported by Engels, appears to have used the famously intriguing remark, "I am not a Marxist," opening extensive possibilities for Marx-*ism* as an organic movement of critical practice to be made and remade in action, simultaneously including various symbolic and rhetorical forms, as it has been, of course for good and ill, since the mid-nineteenth century⁴ (6). Dogmatism is out of the question; pursuing and practicing Marxism as *education in and through contingent and contextualized struggle is the ever-renewing order of any day*. As Huxley put it,

If we are to achieve progress, we must learn to uncrystalize our dogmas (1947). In full form, this is realism and demands that dialectics is our fate, the human condition for irresolvable final resolution to the conundrum of uncertainty, questioning everything but sustained with open materialist expectation of progress.

There are four framing elements: (1) Educating the educators, (2) Interesting times, or the present conjuncture, (3) Articulating historical materialism in/as critical realist practices, (4) What is to be done in the face of neo-liberal strategies of class struggle from above? Each of these contexts can only be addressed superficially, suggesting some pertinent themes to stimulate analysis which may be critical of and, more ambitiously, possibly critical to progressive practices in relation to the intriguing textual resources that follow in Tom Griffiths and Rob Imre's presentation.

As will become clear, I draw liberally upon some of the methodological themes in *critical realism*. Roy Bhaskar's work, which has now become *dialectical critical realism*, was emergent in major part through his engagement with Marx and Marxism and has influenced my perspectives and appreciation of the historical materialism and the struggle for democratic socialism since the early 1980s.⁵

Educating the Educators

This theme is time-honored for well over 150 years, productively constituting Marxism *on* education, and dialectically instantiating Marxism *as* education, and even longer still, given that Marx's originating formulation is responding as much to Plato as to Feuerbach.

Thus, Marx announced the provocative Third Thesis on Feuerbach (Marx:1845):

The materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that men change circumstances and that it is essential to *educate the educator* himself. This doctrine must, therefore, divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society. The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionary practice*. [Emphasis added]

What Marx is getting at here—and it is the life-source of the Marxism and Education Series—is that no one will be educating the educators, other than the educators themselves, namely *our*-selves in the contexts of struggling for radical progressive transformation of all levels of social reality. Revolutionary dialectics necessitate self-discovery, in and for itself, in transformative social movement and collective practices of mass action. Objectivity and subjectivity flowing in mutuality of practices located within constraining conditions, circumstances to be changed by working *within*, *with*, and *against* the very circumstances into which we are thrown. Transcending extant social forms, addressing the circumstances and pre-requisites of struggle, inevitably involves changing ourselves as a part of the circumstances of our social relations if we are to identify and make analytical topics of the structural conditions for those struggles, patterns of constraints as well as opportunities for movement. However this complex consideration may be interpreted and actively adopted in practice, it entails identity in individuality and most importantly in forming social collectivity in commonality, and, dialectically, as both topics and resources of, in, and for these struggles.

‘I’ and ‘we’ are both problematic and necessarily part of the circumstances, and indeed, we are *always already* in struggle: the shimmering dialectics as critical practices of restraint, renewal, and vitality. Deploying metaphorical assistance of conventional educational terminology for critically alternative conceptions and practices for the moment, we can mark the agenda of boundaries for transgression in varieties of socio-historical curriculum, pedagogy, and/or andragogy,⁶ constituting necessary conditions for radical assessment, ‘certification’ and ‘credentialization,’ awarding ourselves ‘grades,’ namely social recognition of our *knowing what we know*. That is to say, at stake here is assessing reflexively in practices of our claims to knowledge of *where*, *what*, and *who* we are within critical awareness

of our historical conditions of existence. Progressively, this refers to the fitness of that *knowing* for conditional practices that are intended to be both materially effective, as well as *doing* 'good' on the open horizon of humanity's materiality of time/space possibilities. Thus, knowing *what our doing does*, and *what our knowing knows* are issues already high on the agenda for coming to terms with the constitutive *depth* and *multi-dimensional layering* of social reality and our practices of understanding and representing social reality while actively participating in and partially constituting it.

These considerations are vital to constituting social critique. Thus, zooming in for a moment in potential radical *situationist* activist mode:⁷ the slogan "Eat the rich" is a useful "educative" text for seriously playful practice which provokes possibilities of critical pedagogy at every level (including moral, ethical, political, economic, aesthetic, etc.) in relation to production, consumption, and forming identity in relation to negativities, *things to be put right* in our present conditions of existence. As 'educative' inquiry, then: *How* do we cook them? *How* do we eat them? *What sauces might we embellish them with?* *How* do we combine to forge the appropriate culinary tools for preparing the rich for our feast? And, tellingly as a reflexive pedagogic tool, therefore, *Who* exactly are 'the rich'? This could be important when we identify them while foraging in and/or cultivating our improving eco-system, especially if we pose the obvious mirror question: *Are we the rich?*

As practical *conscientization*, this echoes and extends Freirian normative work, and with Gramsci, potentially counter-hegemonic organic intellectual labor for critical pedagogy, not simply as abstracted 'science' or 'philosophy,' but practical epistemology necessitating complex reflexivity to address human *being in objectivity, subjectivity, and uncertainty*.

Foundations are to be made and shifted in the making. This is practical *ontology*, too, constituting the *real* while instantiating it in *being of the totality of practices*, realizing pedagogy of critique. It is transitive *life-world* work in social phenomenological terms, as well.⁸ Delicately pulling the stray thread for the productive problematic, *Who are the rich?* as it manifests itself in our 'experiences,' is potentially productive to our understanding systems of social relations, materials for immanent critiquing constraints in systematicity that are constitutive of potentially radical knowledge, and realizing critical appreciation from within our systems of social relations. Such analysis frames our powers and capacities, while recognizing responsibility for our

'selves' *within* and *without*, the vast arrays of properties of structured and structuring social relations operating in social 'depth.'

In other words, the problem is 'educational,' autodidactically addressing *systems* of social relations as patterned in chaotic moments of complex emergence taking *form* and thereby congealing, consolidating as potential 'fact' in structuration for *alienation* to be overcome. It constitutes dialectics of *reification*, too, as processual and patterned in reproductive negativities of objectification in both critical reality of social phenomenology of/in 'experience' and with respect to emergent opportunities in 'constraining' realities. Alternatively put, this is about identifying social facts with potential for emancipation, for making communities, not commodities.

Interesting Times

So far as Marxism is concerned, capitalism is the ever-present generative source of its own invention, its renewable topic for state policy formation, and its ever-present critical resource, the life blood for practices of resistance, opposition, and radical mobilization. Thus, so long as there is capitalism, there will be Marxism: analyzing, describing, and generating critique in the face of political economy's immanent capacity for structural crisis and self-crippling injustices and irrationality—constraints on the development of ingenuity for humane possibilities for realizing good and beautiful social forms.

In these terms, the present crisis is systemic in contradictory forms and as deeply, if not more deeply, penetrating mass society in 'modernity' than any in living memory, certainly since the 1930s. While this situation is even more sharply reinforcing the already existing social inequalities locally, regionally, nationally, and globally, it constitutes in Marxist terms a form of the already structural necessity of 'class war from above' on behalf of corporate capital, to realize global plutocratic hegemony. Among many forms, this is conducted through 'civilized' and 'civilizing' practices of effectively blaming the victims. The dominant system of social relations in production of creditable value thus socially constitutes the systemic 'losers,' the 'downsiders,' by expropriating their individual and collective value, realizing multiple modes of differentiation for alienation to reinforce economic powers of appropriation top-down and thereby increasing the potential for their exploitation as commodified individual and collective human energy; this is done, moreover, with the 'upsiders' acquiescence constituted in the well-formed, educated 'majority.'

Dominant modes of government present the current crisis situation as a temporary 'technical' problem of adjustments to *system imbalance*. The Marxist critical response is to explain it as the chronic immanent characteristic of the system of social relations, rendering the capital's own technical vocabulary into an ideology of irrational domination that is stratifying moral and ethical responsibilities in a meta-vocabulary of fatality, TINA ("there is no alternative"), current austerity, and sharpening social inequalities. Thus, 'Stay calm, the recession is only temporary,' is the 'expert' elite assessment. In the meantime, a generation of millions of citizens—potential labor power in capitalist mode—remains outside its conventions of productive commodified potential to produce and is displaced into non-existence, rendered redundant while the degradation of the global eco-system is only slightly slowed, if at all, by this very downturn in industrial production and domestic consumption.

The system is not only in technical imbalance but teetering on the edge of financial and democratic institutional disarticulation and collapse. Global plutocracy is thus emergent in contradiction, as ever more deeply consolidating class *for and in itself*, capitalizing further on financial and economic shock (Klein: 2007) while separate and separating in accumulation of unearned, unaccountable credit, reinvigorating financial capitalization for its empowerment through privatizing the historically emergent global commons.

What then is at stake here? The hegemonic rhetorical forms currently seem to suggest that socialism for the rich requires capitalism for the rest in order to ensure everyone's freedom against the threat of a variety of potential barbarisms. The magical multi-dynamic paraphernalia of fetishistic powers gripping tightly in greed and fear of loss of control instantiates and holds to account liberal rationalizations of 'freedoms' on the one hand, and benign necessity of 'lesser' evils—the fatalist pragmatics of utilitarian satisfaction in 'This is as good as it can be'—on the other. This is so, not least while the dominant system self-presents, too, as practicing the possibility of just selection by 'merit' as the realistic condition of liberty and liberalism's promise for modernity, namely institutionalizing 'education' as *the* functional allocation system articulating spheres of *reproduction* in connecting 'family' forms and the spheres of economic *production*.

All of this is in play while inequalities of income and wealth are clearly increasing at all levels, nationally and internationally. The keystones of Marxism are in demonstrating how this operates systematically, both as transitive cultural forms and as material realities. It does so through *immanent structural* critique complementary to *ideology*

critique,⁹ thus undoing the very frames in language and culture, the rhetorics and representational tropes of systemic 'capital,' empowerment, and the critique of political economy. As ideology critique, it aims to expose the lies of liberalism, showing genesis and effects of real structures of opportunities to 'freely choose' repressive self control, for instance, or by identifying acquiescence in the face of alternative indignation and resistance at the deepening and spread of precarity. Thus, we demonstrate how liberal socio-cultural mechanisms of control are effectively deployed in alluring promises of modernizing material hope, and democracy through spreading wealth as opportunities for 'more.'

Pedagogy of critique aims to put to the test social relations of state and civil society—the political forms, relations in production and economy as critique of political economy, and necessarily critical reflexivity in empowering/disempowering cultural forms for mobilizing alternative progressive powers. Today's class exercise, then: Tell all this to the many and various people and practices on the streets across Brazil or Egypt... or to the 'beneficiaries' of new illegal migrant legislation/tightening borders for US sovereignty¹⁰ and so on, by listening in solidarity to their own pedagogic protocols, teaching and learning in action.

Dear reader, when you engage with this text, you will, of course, have far more to consider as curriculum items in topicality for critical social movement in your own *here and now* than when these words were written in July 2013. Such are some of the vagaries of radical critical praxis mediated through corporate publishing in contemporary hard copy book form!

In these 'interesting times,' critical analysis means to work with and through the problematics that recognize positive social change cannot be done 'from above' because upside/downside is itself the material time/space constituting the distributional dividing line of struggle in society; the progressive anti-capital will-to-power is a stratified problematic which must be addressed and is necessarily at stake to be understood *at*, and connected *to* each 'level' of the social. Moreover, this calls for generative collective auto-didacticism from below of a very intensive, very high, and fully grounded order. This work is itself, as meta-work in struggle, part of the very fabric of that struggle which divides society into these 'two parts': *educators* and the *to-be-educated* by demonstrating what lies behind and below the constitutive surfaces of the dominant life-world.

It is dialectical work, too, as will be suggested next in a little more detail, for activist-educating the educators requires shifting the

above/below 'line,' while demonstrating from below what the line is and showing its inhuman/inhumane effects and inevitable irrationality for both oppressors and oppressed. The targets are structures of oppression, generalizing commodification of everything in and through structures of ownership, distribution, and exchange-as-capitalization and the repressive illiberal consequences of 'liberal' practices.

Historical Materialism in/as Critical Realist Practices

Rousseau (1762) remarks in *The Social Contract* "Every time I see a mansion being built in the capital, I fancy I can see the whole countryside covered with hovels," and while prefiguring so much—from the French Revolution through to urban and rural transformation into the twenty-first century—we might even more broadly acknowledge that dialectical interconnectedness and complex causalities abound in social reality; furthermore, there are innumerable empirical routes to radical political economy directly and indirectly associated with 'education.' For instance, through the scrutiny of urban gentrification and urban/rural relational structures, or its detailed specifications of current school/university building and funding programs, both in context of education and social class formation, and so on, with endless critical possibilities. What we 'see,' immersed in our life-world 'data' of what we "experience," is always a possible pretext for practicing depth ontology: self-critical practices for constructing system-critical representational work while articulating an alternatively expansive critical epistemology. It involves re-seeing in articulation with 'depth' across several dimensions concerning what is systematic in *emergence*, and *structural* to our social relations as patterns of opportunities and constraints. This is both social and/or 'material' and itself 'thrown,' in existentialist terminology, in relation to transitive forms, that is, prior representations.¹¹ The keynote legacy of Enlightenment scientific and ethical thinking for Marxism and its own productive legacies are in methodological realism, and in openness and tireless rigour. This is also so in alliance with existential uncertainty and an anti-authoritarian commitment to refusing either swift resorting to any specific 'authority,' or to imposed 'consensus' for viable factuality.

This is all to be realized in open practices and ongoing benefits of empirical analysis, always intransigently opposed to empiricist and idealist methodologies.¹² Beliefs, that is, the unquestionable, are methodologically irrelevant. As assumptions, however, they are of

course important to recognize in conducting empirical research, and are to be identified, described, and made ever-dialogically open to revision in the light of the community of empirical science practices. Science, art, and life-world are thus in continuous moral and ethical renewal, restless in normative productive critique.

In these terms, the central object for Marxism and education is the capitalist mode of production and its transformative potential to be recognized as *real*, not in existence because it is imagined to be so as constituted in 'experience.' It is complex and multiform *as real*. It can only be represented in abstracted form because the historically extant 'now' is far more complex than the historical case studies any critical investigator is forced to construct in disciplined investigative imagination, as Marx knew only too well in his historical, let alone his journalistic, outputs. It is constituted in descriptive modeling to reassemble and thus *resemble* 'reality' more or less accurately as trends, at best, and in empirical detail as complex partial 'case-study' wholes, including fuzziness with respect to boundaries of relative autonomy of elements in the contextualizing totality of one or other of the constituent parts.

Analytical autonomy is rendered problematic, not misrecognized as a methodological absolute, and such relativity is generally the main topic of investigation to the extent that the inquiries are concerned with emergent systems in patterns of constraining relations. It can have many specifications that are never absolutely settled as truth in positive knowledge of relational forms and mechanisms.

So, autonomy is not relative to the knowledge forms of its representational media but requires maintaining constant openness and criticality about forms of measurement and representational procedures for understanding relational forms *as* and *of* the real. This scientific and communicative ethic is vital to providing meta-forms (background considerations) for Marxism as historical materialist practices in realist critical knowledge modes, not the least of which is educating the educators, for instance.

With realism,¹³ we recognize that what we know is always attempting to address 'objects' different from and not true by virtue of being logically constituted in our ways of knowing them, the epistemological fallacy of relativism. That is to say, as openly dialogical work, such investigative practices are about focusing on things other than simply recycling themselves in thought, hypostatized in logical forms of representation. There are always issues, questions, puzzles, and uncertainties to energize the domain of knowledge as empirical science even, or perhaps especially so, at the levels by which they approach

cosmology and paradoxes in abstracted theory of everything. Perfect knowledge is impossible from the intimate to the infinite.

However—and here is the rub, for so much that is central to this way of practicing knowledge production as critical realism in historical materialist mode¹⁴ reality is bi-modal—it has both intransitive and transitive forms and dimensions. It is constituted, too, in *both/and*, not just *either/or* in this respect. Thus, synthesis requires analysis, and analysis requires synthesis. Reality of social and cultural forms is at any moment of time/place identifiable forms, any historical nodal point, an emergent of objectivity in subjectivity, and subjective appropriation of the objective, subjective objectification.

The transitive real is the emergent life-world of cultural discursive forms, and is 'real' in that it is instantiated in the social mind, with an infinite collection of nodal 'individual' variants (both personal and collective) in historical practices mediated in language, and its ontological prerequisite for epistemology as *real* cultural practices. This, in turn, is what makes for the possibility of productive 'scientific' communication through *questioning everything*, rigorous 'testing' of both assumptions and 'observations' in a public or 'commons' of critical practices. There are no 'foundations.'

This is also what makes for the possibility of critical 'artistic' communications in realism too, and the ever problematic traversing of the boundaries between these, apparently 'alternative' practical life-worlds.¹⁵ As *commons* in this context, language forms are at best always available to address both 'sides,' and there is both the possibility of repair as well as re-jigging by openly introducing 'novel' assumptions or recontextualization to create critical moments for inquiry and potential explanation.¹⁶

Clearly, the latter model of knowledge practices is an abstracted 'idealization' and the reality of scientific practices, especially where they relate to power, policy and material support for their own conditions of existence, as well as competitive career-making, can and do fall short for much of these practices. Bias is thus an ever-present possibility. And most importantly *differends*—irresolvable moments in the boundaries which are at stake—can occur, constituting irreconcilable explanatory modes applicable to the 'same' information as it is recast as data in alternative analyses (Lyotard: 1988).

Importantly too, in *artistic practices* of modernity and engaging with borders to be crossed as pedagogy of critique, *ambiguity* and ambivalence are the stock-in-trade in modes of *critical realism* as forms of explanatory 'description' and potentially capturing senses of the *real-as-surreal*. They 'capitalize,' too, as educative practices, on

the already known of the becoming-educated, making forms of pedagogy never simply 'transmission,' but always dialoguing and opening, however apparently closed the contexts and direction of transmission between 'teacher' and 'pupil.'

Thus it is only *apparently* paradoxical in critical materialist terms that the educator always has to be educated by the novice in order to do educating, and on the other hand, 'teachers' already know more than they suspect they know and also 'learn' so much in the process of "teaching' about what they 'know.' This is especially so when it comes to 'education' in collective, indeed in 'mass' contexts, too, in and for progressive social movements where *leadership* is an ever-present critical democratic focus of attention, a resource ever-problematic in individual and collective terms.

What becomes of 'experience' is recognized within the construction of collectivities based on wider causal processes but cannot reliably do a closing theory of history, because human action is always possible to generate disruptive alternatives to any specific nodal system based on relatively accurate reflexive analysis of structures. However, this can never be achieved with total accuracy. Reliability and validity in knowledge is always at risk of falling under the more or less decisive influence of major unknowns both in the inaccuracy of there being unknown unknowns, and in contingencies in the dynamics of unforeseeable emergent structures.

The point of analytical Marxist games theory, for instance, is that where it tries to deal with the 'social,' it tends to obscurantism by depiction of paradoxical impossibilities of resolution or into banalities of common senses, and more generally as it has only a narrow space of applicability which is abstracted and 'experimentally' unreal in itself. This is emergent on its forms of methodological individualism, not so different from the possessive individualism of neo-classical economic theory, trading an a-historicism for an anti-historicism.

On this account, critical materialist work defends an emergentist methodology¹⁷ that can be best expressed by taking seriously the idiomatic 'common sense' that the 'whole is greater than the sum of its parts' in dialog with representations which often make it difficult to 'see the wood for the trees.' For radical pedagogy of social critique then, dialogical closure for critical mobilization is likely to be chronically postponed and disrupted, frequently disrupted, too, by emergent sectarian splitting.

The purpose of such methodological theorizing as productive meta-theory, is to generate an analytical tool set by which we understand the duality of agency and structure. As the argument goes,

people interact to create social structures that are then irreducible to the individuals involved; that is, *social structures are the emergent products of human interaction* and vice versa. The objective in empirical praxis for this approach is to demonstrate that the maxim is honored in *productive critical work* rather than obfuscation in *disguised circularity*, reproducing but not 'resolving' the problem, though very possibly doing so in intriguing and engaging ways. The aim must be shifting into explanatory power by progressively moving beyond circularity and restatement of the problematic.

The prize in knowledge is in an effective argument and explanatory description to show the plausible direction of causal processes and describe the mechanism(s) in play *whereby the structures move*. Put in other, more lyrical, terms derived from Marx for this occasion, it is about *composing the music by which the circumstances will dance to their own tune*.¹⁸

The critical conditions of our own transitivity are rarely simply chosen in full 'awareness' when making 'new' knowledge because in critical praxis we are always already within that which we *want* to change, and that which we *need* to change is always already within us. As dialectics, this is to be worked out at many 'levels' to be addressed in ever more realistically complex fashion, indeed across multiple dimensions of the real as our emergent history of making and being made. Thus, human beings make history but not in conditions of their own making (Marx:1852), that is, dialectics of methodological dualism underpins explanatory work accounting for duality of specific historical structures in structuration.¹⁹ The latter cannot 'reduce' social reality to experience, or intentionality, but it is contingent on emergent properties in both directions in and through collective and individual practices.

Herein lies both challenge and support for aspects of Humanist Marxism, for instance, accepting the ethical irreducibility of the human individual, but thereby notably opening up to liberal sensibilities, while accepting that structuration disrupts this, too. Moreover, the *topic* for policy, morality, and ethics, as well as *the necessary knowledge resource* for generating really useful knowledge, requires maintaining in focus 'educating the educators' here, our meta-theoretical resource as praxis in pedagogy of critique.

Human practices are never 'free' in any absolute terms; the freedom of the will to act is both individually and collectively constrained. Thus, such circumstances provide both topics and resources for normative science *and* ethics. Actions are always about praxis, always dynamic, always in struggle, and always uncertain of outcomes. This

is so because perfectly consensual 'democracy' is impossible though an effectively energizing myth, and perfectly totalitarian dictatorship is also virtually impossible across any time/space though a recycled founding myth of 'democratic' alternatives. Complex forms of these 'realities' tend to involve middle ranges of conventionally majoritarian liberal democratic/social democratic socio-political theory and methodology though polarization is ever possible, as is evident in the present conjuncture, especially of the authoritarian racist and neo-fascist politics on the move, and in dehumanizing bureaucratic alienated practices always possible in the regulation and distribution of 'services' and 'rights,' too. Our job is to realize this in the struggle for socialism.

These methodological considerations are background, vital for generating 'data' for critical research and formulating activist policy, and inevitably throw up dilemmas and issues for self-educating pedagogy of critique for radical movements. Occupy, for instance, with its democratic, 'anarchist' consensualism, tends to hamper its own collective organization and strength in 'movement.'

A concomitant theme is that, as with much of neo-Marxism, this kind of theorizing challenges unitary 'workerist' models of class formation for generating real power in production relations, and is thus highly problematic for socialist movement where trade unions are weakened by state forms, legislation for labor regulation, underpinning continuing, etc. If this is elevated into an alternative socialist philosophical ethics, such as by abstracting Rawls' second principle alone, it is likely to be self-defeating, too.²⁰

The point is to be realistic and critical, and to recognize immense complexity while acknowledging that capital is continuing in the ascendant now and looking very likely to continue to do so for in our present foreseeable future. The struggle is not reducible to ethics, as such, though without ethical and moral energy, it is without purpose or direction; it is *hope-less*, too. Such themes indicate primary, if ambiguous, strength of ethical aspects of humanist Marxism, perhaps, along with its capacity for embracing complexity and historical specificity of the here and now complementing agnosticism on class essentiality in struggle.

What Is to Be Done?

Classically to quote Marx conjoining immanent and ideology critique (Marx: 1967) for 'class' struggles, capital is *thing-like* and is 'objective,'

but it is not simply that. It is necessary therefore to approach capital as “a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things.” The ‘thing’-like and the ‘fantastical’ appearances are of constant importance in the life-world of radical practices and require investigation to be articulated through both deconstructive and complementary empirical research practices for the politics of remaking the life-world of materialist critiques. This continues to be pertinent and effectively problematic in articulating world-systems and in humanist Marxist senses, and, most significantly here, in generating practical knowledge for acting on their progressive relations. Such themes stand as the central motifs, pretexts for this text concerning *What is to be done?* and for reflexive re-contextualization for generalizing progressive practice of possible democratic socialism, realizing progressive post-capitalist relations of social production and reproduction.

This is always already normative work, too, and is so because alienation cuts in both directions, reifying while it fetishizes in property relations, turning social relational forms into one meaning, a thing to be owned by an individual (both personal and corporative) into another ‘thing,’ a characteristic essentially constitutive of the individual as virtual property, or as a *non-thing* reflective of the endless potentiality for the global human condition of negativity in capital. Or have bourgeois social forms of state/civil society progressively moved on, defanging the menaces of the market into restrainable, regulable entities to realize benign powers of state capitalism, or indeed, of possibilities for the ‘market of socialism’?

Educating the educators maintains a critical focus on these issues in the popular transformative curriculum for socialism, methodologically most especially so in contra-empiricist depth ontology in critical pedagogy for ongoingly realizing the opportunities and constraints in that baseline social agenda, our pre-figurative objectification of the patterns of social relations for reproducing our social relations, as de-reified entities. These may be represented in critique, exposing the ‘hidden’ depths, mechanisms of repression lurking below surfaces to be explained and realized in the critical practices for exposing such dis/empowerments.

The teacherly labor processes invoked are of course dialectical, too, in social and cultural contexts, and dialogical in ethical forms of recognizing both ‘expertise’ and capacity in rational good sense, while renewing senses of ever-open questioning of any authority’s potential for congealing possibilities in misrecognizing ‘isms’ and fallibilities in

its practices. These practices constitute irreducible methods of truths, dogma for our fate in rote learning for repressive political economy ever displaced from expressing critique.

Finally, broad 'lessons' for the practical educative issues in *What is to be done?* can only be recognized in reflexive practices with respect to identifying progressive historical outcomes. Alternative conditions of possibility are almost always available to address the expression of human needs, to reverse fatalism in acquiescence or submission to direct force in master/slave relations. These are potentialities recognizable as absences, for instance in species of necessary invisibility sliding across the points of tension in *being and nothingness*, and in the *solitudes*,²¹ all as yet to be critically *realized as expressions of critique in thought, words and actions*. Art, philosophy, and science are all potentially available in combination, as for instance (amongst innumerable other personalities and genres), in the work of Sartre and Garcia-Marquez indicated here and above.

By Way of Summary and Conclusion

This book provides innumerable vital topics, resources in activist scholarship, and pointers to potentially mapping practical routes for transcending neo-liberal hegemony in relation to addressing theory and practices of class in Marxism (as well as in Marx, where much remained open for his never-to-be-completed future consideration); the ever-rejuvenating debates concerning variable political practices around *social democracy versus socialism*; identifying the routes to possible democratic communist social relations *on a mass scale*; addressing what can be learned from history so far, *if anything*; radically renewing around anarchism and the primacy of political forms, namely, the 'problem' of state powers and routes for socialism following the 'demise' of twentieth century 'Marxist' regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR; considering current enthusiasm for Latin America's "pink tide"²² in relation to world systems and humanist Marxist analyses and their possible rearticulations; learning lessons for the real and realistic sources of non-violent democratic powers in the context of apparent contradictions between democracy and economy, especially in the face of technical versus democratic state 'solutions' to both capitalism's deep crises (the austerity salvation) and the inhumanity of reified categorizing of human individuals apparent to humanist Marxism strictures realized in so-far-existing socialisms. Moreover, how can progressive actions be achieved without lapsing into abstractive methodological individualism in either direction,

namely repeating history as tragedy or possibly as farce in the absence of a viable Fifth International?²³

The histories of twentieth century socialisms provide much to ponder. Overall, taking forward the complex potentials in social and historical emergence in openness constitutes a challenging agenda, given the present fragility of radical leftism. The tools we have are the here and now, our life-worlds of social mind—transitive while institutionalized in ‘common sense,’ and in multi-layered cultural forms of the habits of practice in joy, frustration, anger, and terror, too, as understanding and energizing creativity in cooperation and respect for individuation while glimpsing their emergence in historical time/place contingencies.

Systemic totality is ever more evident. In the Marxist ‘traditional’ legacy for radical praxis, capitalism and its state forms must wither, and the problems of democratic socialism en route to communism must emerge and become ‘superior’ in new forms of social relations of production, distribution, and exchanges and require taking on all the problems consequent of these new social forms for progressive practices in formation.

In summary then, this preface has suggested a wide and loosely integrated collection of issues, any or all of which complement and contextualize the themes of this book for the Marxism and Education Series and perhaps provide an epistemological agenda, plus realist ontological methodological pointers. The normative ethics of “From each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs” and its companion in dialectical mode, “The well-being of the one necessitates and requires the well-being of all,” in combination articulate individuality in collectivity *across* and *within* social and economic production and its relations with distribution of credits and benefits. In these respects, the problematic *real* of social reality is ‘fundamentally’ relational, too, as emergent and constituted in depth, as layered structures, each ‘layer’ itself structured in depth as well (in the processes of its emergence in its contexts of being) at any particular stratum or perhaps more appropriately, specific dimension in multi-dimensional time/spaces of humanized nature.

So this book is a context for questioning, grounding reflexivity, and posing issues in dialoguing and action for progress. It is not a resource for locating certainty, nor authority in narrative direction and destination, nor should it be. Its generative value arises to the extent it is open, while seriously and responsibly groping agnostically in these terms so far as ‘destiny’ is concerned. All this is vital work and necessary contributions to the popular ‘university’ of good sense

for generating and mobilizing topics and resources for Marxist pedagogy of critique.

In holistic terms, this educational resource is everywhere and in everything, therefore potentially available in the ongoing universal instantiation of progressive educational 'spirit.' As Marx famously put it, "Philosophers have contemplated the world, the point however is to change it" (Marx: 1845). In this context, massive expansions in modern communications technology provide opportunities in all manner of web sites, the blogosphere, social media, numerous Marxist universities, and endless free-access on-line journals, etc. But most especially there are the ever-renewed sites of economic struggles in production, on the streets and in the fields, forests, plains, and jungles as well as endless real and virtual times and places to be 'occupied' and redefined as circumstances for instantiating critique and transformative making of our times and places, humanizing nature.

Thus, while new communications technologies provide extraordinary opportunities for democratization through progressive exposure, as does whistle-blowing, they are also sites of surveillance, of course, enabling and repairing repressive state capitalist forms on both national and emergent global scales. These are contexts and contents for the arts and sciences of demonstrating tensions in commodification, alienation, and control, contradictions and potentials for progressive transformation, and transcendence, if not the transcendental. All this stands progressively in contradistinction to reified theory of inevitability in historical direction, congealing hope into technicist immobilizing complacency, and blunting critical reflexivity. Capitalism itself continuously provides contexts of renewal for such creative destruction, which must include itself in thought and action, too.

As with every manuscript, indeed any educative moment, this book is a rich'menu-script'; and in line with the spirit of the Marxism and Education Series, provides numerous contexts for educating the educators, and a vehicle to do so in addressing the widest of possible horizons. It is a valuable contribution and model for future secondary and tertiary critical scholarship to play its effective part for the Marxism and Education Series in relation to the task of articulating reconsiderations of Marxism in contemporary struggles for twenty-first century democratic socialism.

Let's allow Marx and Engels some last regenerative words for our reconsideration as they reflected on their lifetimes in struggle:

So far as we are concerned, after our whole past only one way is open to us. For nearly 40 years we have raised to prominence the idea of

the class struggle as the immediate driving force of history, and particularly the class struggle between bourgeois and the proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; hence, we can hardly go along with people who want to strike this class struggle from the movement. At the founding of the International, we expressly formulated the battle cry: The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. (Marx and Engels: 1879)

...for their 'moment,' and for ours, too.

ANTHONY GREEN, July 2013

Acknowledgments

There are always too many people who sit behind an endeavor like this to acknowledge, so we begin with an open-ended acknowledgment to all involved in the ideas, the thinking, and the reading and debates that directly and indirectly brought us to this point.

As one of the authors, I, Tom Griffiths, am indebted to colleagues in the CIEGUN (Comparative and International Education Group University of Newcastle) writing group who responded to drafts of a couple of chapters, and to our Faculty of Education and Arts for its Research Programme scheme which has supported CIEGUN's work, and which provided a fellowship to free some time to work on this project.

I must of course acknowledge the impact of Wallerstein's work on my own teaching, research, and activism, dating back to my doctoral study of Cuba's revolutionary education from a world-systems perspective that began almost twenty years ago. As is apparent in this volume, this incisive analysis continues to inspire and excite this politically engaged academic. I would also like to acknowledge the love (and patience) of my compañera Euridice, with whom I sat on a *La Habana* beach reading *The Agonies of Liberalism: What Hope Progress?* among other essays, a long time ago, and who has endured my obsession with world-systems analysis ever since. And Guillermo, the great light of our life, the hopes and dreams of a better world contained here are for you, and for us together, now and in the interesting times ahead of us.