

5. THE NEW ALLIANCE

I. A MOLECULAR METHOD OF AGGREGATION

The transformations which trouble a society require a new type of organization. Leninism or anarchism are no longer anything today but phantasms of defeat, voluntarism, and disenchantment, a forced faith or solitary rebellion, an antithetical form of repression or a simple abstract assertion of singularity. The organizational choices of the future movement should be rethought independently of the ideological and political references to the traditional workers' movement which led that movement to defeat. The collapse of the two extreme models – Leninism and anarchism – leave altogether open the question of the machines of struggle which the movement must make use of in order to be capable of winning. Their multifunctional and uniquely characterized articulation of the singularities which constitute them imply that the form of these machines no longer repeats the centralist project and no longer retains the illusion of filtering democracy through centralist structures. One always finds in pseudo-democratic centralism a traced copy of statist models. In it, the repressive and bureaucrat-ic characteristics of the state of Richelieu, Robespierre, and Rothschild are replayed and illusorily reversed. For too long, the revolutionary movement has, through passivity or refusal, been subject to this homology. How can the state be destroyed by an organism which puts up with hegemony, even on a formal level? But how can such a task be made a primary concern of an “other” movement, a different one

which is founded on the self-valorization and the self-production of singularities?

Obviously, we have no model of organizational replacement, but at least we know what we no longer want. We refuse everything which repeats the constitutive models of representative alienation and the rupture between the levels where political will is formed and the levels of its execution and administration. As always happens, in the real course of a revolutionary process, the new organizational “proposals” correspond to the new essence of the social productive force. And they are its fluidity, the multivalence of its conceptual references, its permanent capacity of abstraction, its pragmatic efficiency, and its power to deterritorialize undermining every attempt to divide and stratify the forces inside the organizational process. The formation, execution and administration of political direction should no longer be separated, because that constitutes a repression of the collective labor force’s new characteristics. The time of Montesquieu and the separation of powers is over. The alienated relationships developed by pseudo-democratic centralism on the executive and administrative levels, regardless of how it presents itself, are in the process of disappearing from the political horizon of the revolution (from which Rousseau and the notion of the alienation of individual wills shall also be removed).

But, up to this point, our attempt at redefinition has only progressed negatively: more positively, what signifies the organization of revolutionary subjectivity?

Let’s advance a step at a time and try to better answer the question.

The supposedly “definitive” argument of those who uphold the traditional models of organization consists in affirming that only one centralized form can prove sufficiently efficacious in constituting general fronts of struggle; that is all the more true in capitalism’s current phase of development, and this would imply as well an excess of centralizing force in the organization of the oppressed.

All of this is rather stupid. It would only be true if soci-

ety's current submission to capital was dependent on a rule relating accumulated value to the quantity of exploitation and if a specific form of command were necessarily associated with a particular kind of social production. But isn't this precisely the sort of measure and the type of relationship that we have left behind? The generalization of capitalist exploitation is visibly accompanied by a change in the nature of the repressive functions, such that every structural regulation tends to be eliminated. Properly speaking, there is no longer value to be reappropriated. If the law of value continued to function, at a level of abstract generality, one could perhaps once again conceive of Leninist type organizational projects. But there is no such thing. Capitalist command is presently developing in direct and antagonistic engagement with the free and proliferating singularities. Whatever rigid and repressive nets it throws after this wild faun, it will not succeed in reaching or catching either its mode of temporalization or its essential riches and goals.

Given these conditions, the task of organizing new proletarian forms must be concerned with a plurality of relations within a multiplicity of singularities – a plurality focused on collective functions and objectives that escape bureaucratic control and overcoding, in the sense that the plurality develops towards optimizing the processes of involved singularities. What is at stake here then is a functional multicentrism capable, on the one hand, of articulating the different dimensions of mass intellectuality, and on the other hand of actively neutralizing the destructive power of capitalist arrangements. This is the first positive characteristic of the new revolutionary subjectivity. Its cooperative, plural, anti-centralist, anti-corporatist, anti-racist, anti-sexist dimensions further the productive capacities of the singularities. Only qualified in this way will proletarian struggles be able to reconstitute coherent and effective fronts of struggle. These organizational processes should be conceived as being essentially dynamic: each singularity is given impetus by objectives which are not only local but which themselves expand more and more until

they begin to define points of transsectoral contact nationally and internationally.

Global projects of society, based in closed ideologies, thus lose all relevance, all operative ability. It is no longer a matter of being founded in abstract syntheses, but in open processes of analysis, critique, verification, and concrete, singular realization. From a molecular point of view, each attempt at ideological unification is an absurd and indeed reactionary operation. Desire, on a social terrain, refuses to allow itself to be confined to zones of consensus, in the arenas of ideological legitimation. Why ask a feminist movement to come to a doctrinal or programmatic accord with ecological movement groups or with a communitarian experiment by people of color or with a workers' movement, etc.? Ideology shatters; it only unifies on the level of appearance. On the contrary, what is essential is that each movement shows itself to be capable of unleashing irreversible molecular revolutions and of linking itself to either limited or unlimited molar struggles (and only collective analysis and critique can decide which) on the political and syndical terrain of defending the general rights of the national and/or international community...

The invention and construction of these new organizational schemas imply the creation of permanent mechanisms for analyzing the internal goals of the social subjectivity's own processes of self-production. This is the *sine qua non* for guaranteeing a real questioning of the modes of collective functioning and for preventing the emergence of sectarian tendencies.

This seems to us to be the positive starting-point of a revolutionary method of organization adequate to the collective subjectivity bearing it: a scientific method in its mode of analysis, yet open to historical processes and capable of imagination. "Work in progress" in the chain links of singularities, all oriented toward their self-production and multiplication. A method, therefore, which is constitutive of an organization which continually remakes itself, a method thereby conjoined to the productive forces which have made

the singularities and their development the basis of material and spiritual wealth.

II. MACHINES OF STRUGGLE

The analysis has progressed; experience has accumulated. The method has already been given some verification. Is it possible to rethink and begin to realize the organizational forms of this new revolutionary subjectivity? To pose this question already implies a confrontation with the difficulties, the material modalities, the obstacles, the enemies of the collective liberation project. How to conceive the composition and reconstruction of the movements? How to rebegin developing each of them in their extensive articulations? We find ourselves faced with numerous, heterogeneous topics and with fluctuating options – the different organized structures of the movement are not only jealous of their singularity, but they seem sometimes to open themselves only for defensive struggles, for the reinforcement and the permanent affirmation of that singularity. In addition, their logics are presented according to changing and multiple matrices; they're always rearticulating the rhizome of their different autonomous components in a different way. It goes without saying that the problem of ideological agreement or disagreement is no longer posed here in terms of the usual political logic – neither one belongs to the same ideological universe. On the contrary, the first problem to be resolved is arranging for the coexistence of multiple ideological dimensions and developing an analysis and a confrontation which, without trying to overcome specific differences, nevertheless tries to prevent them from degenerating into passive and mute divisions. We therefore imagine a process of recomposition which takes for granted conflictual variations within the dynamics of singularization, respecting each's wealth and responsibility for carrying human productivity.

That said, it is nonetheless necessary to construct machines of struggle, organizational devices which are open to these dynamics and to this functional multicentrism.

These machines of struggle will be all the more effective in that their field of action will be limited and in that they will establish for themselves the fundamental goal of perfecting the singularization processes.

Such modes of organizational crystallization appeared in North America in the 1960s, at the time of the different campaigns of the movement. The same thing in Germany in the 1970s, where the development of the alternative movement revealed the existence of lines of differentiation going in the direction of both maximizing singularization and in materially recomposing the possibilities of struggle. An open method, therefore, that takes substance from its openness to engender an open organization.

It frequently happens – as much in Arab, Slavic, Latin American as in Anglo-Saxon countries – that this experimentation with new forms of organization develops from within a religious imaginary. Undoubtedly, one must distinguish between religious motivations which attach to an act of liberation and those which are reterritorialized around theological alienation.

It is a fact that in a world whose sole “burrs” can only be non-significant ruptures, the reconquest of the value of witness, of personal engagement, of singular resistance, and of basic solidarity has become an essential motor of transformation. In order to constitute a machine of struggle, the movements are obliged to assume, as completely as possible, a contradictory relation between singularity and capitalist society, between ethics and politics. And this is scarcely conceivable except on the condition that the forms of militancy are totally reinvented. We should lead the analysis and critique of militancy and of previous experiences, when they make us sad, when they become historically tarnished, because they constitute obstacles to a liberating praxis. But it strikes us as impossible that a new open method of organization could be founded without concretely redefining a new militancy – whatever the breadth of its motivations. That is, a certain social crystallization of desire and of generosity runs through all singularities.

One can expect from this way of conceiving things not only the birth of new organizations, changed machines of struggle, but equally a profound modification of their propositional context, in particular a redefinition of the “Rights of Man” guaranteeing and encouraging communitarian constructions. Generally speaking, this entails a renewal of constitutional mechanisms and of their capacity to register the conflicts and social changes which will be posed.

Only that subjectivity engaged in the singular processes of production can break the codes and norms of the production of subjectivity of IWC. It is only on this path that democracy can be reestablished. Juridical innovation necessarily takes place via the institutionalization of the real movement. The only acceptable juridical norm – corresponding in other words to the “instances of justice” inscribed in groups of people themselves – is the image-movement of the real. Inversely, IWC presents us with societies in which rights are overthrown and in which the legal codes and constitutions are either put aside, or function as simple umbrellas for illegal practices on the part of castes acting in their own interest.

Taking charge of these constitutional problematics should no longer be overlooked and abandoned, as was the case in the movement for a long time, but belongs properly to the revolutionary orchestrations of political will. It is the relation between political will and the constitution of the state which is inverted here. It will be for the first time the second, not the reverse, as conservative ideologues suggest and as reactionary practices impose. This reversal does not imply renouncing the existence of a coherent juridical tradition. On the contrary, it derives from the will to promote in that tradition a higher rationality, a greater care for truth and justice, by integrating within its mechanisms a capacity for reading the essential mutational processes. In sum, the “spirit of the laws” must acquire a sharp sensibility and intelligence regarding the profound progressive transformations of the social “market.”

It is interesting to note that the recent apologists of the market and its miracle-working power are outraged opponents of any promotion of this kind of market.

The fact is that at the current level of the capitalist crisis and the relations of force between the classes, such political and institutional free market devices, by facilitating and inciting collective liberty's potential, would destroy, even annul the conditions of the liberal-bourgeois market of exploitation. It is thus clear that, while we contest the state's pretensions to lord over social conflict in a contractual manner (a practice which is invariably a source of totalitarianism), we do not for all that speak for those falsely naive attempts to seize the processes of social singularization, only pretending to acknowledge them under the aegis of a corporate project (which they try then to integrate into what is pompously called the "social economy." The pseudo-Proudhonian ideology cloaking certain of these attempts has no other goal than to render them captive to an expanded capitalist market.) Corporatism, however it presents itself, should be overturned; it can only generate ersatz, false solutions to the problematics of new subjectivities. All statist manipulations, the ingratiating as well as the disgraceful, must be relentlessly combated. Statism and corporatism are two faces of the same obstacle to the development of autonomies and of singularities. We repeat: the machines of struggle, carried by new proletarian subjectivities, tend to essentially deepen the singularity of the collective situation from which they emanate, without in any way damaging their oppositional, revolutionary relation with the state.

This is only a paradox if one misapprehends the movement's liberating goals and, especially, the interest of each of its components in the disappearance of techniques of power and group manipulations inherent in traditional systems of representation "in the name of," supposedly, the general will. We have had our account of Menenius Agrippa and his apologists! Thus the machines of struggle will develop their productive activities and political action in direct contact with, and the same texture as the distinct contexts within

which they are formed. They will engage in production and reproduction simultaneously. Within production, in order to prepare society's capacity for autonomous and communist management of human activities, and in order to construct a new type of economy founded on collective arrangements which connect different modalities of semiotic and machinic practice. And, within the whole of society, in order to set up the reproduction and organization of the distribution and functions of work time, self-managed and as-free-as-possible. Thus, a promotion of the collective as much as of initiative, of creation and of individual responsibility. As we know, the neoliberal sycophants love to return to the mythologies of the boss, as the sole guarantor of the rational ordering of complex productive processes, as the only possible agent of the dynamization of the force of labor, etc.... At the same time, they try to discredit self-management as being synonymous with mediocracy, (impossible to apply on a large scale, etc.). All their reasoning proceeds from a total misapprehension of the means of collective semiotization which are now at work in all the significant arenas of science and technology. A certain conception of treelike hierarchies and oppressive disciplines has undoubtedly become passé. It no longer has to do with a simple question of taste or of democratic prejudice. The extensive arrangement, in rhizome, of machinic components, of informational components, and of decision-making components has become an absolute necessity, if production is to keep up, to further society, science, art, in sum, human life on this planet. After a few centuries of socialist and/or capitalist domination, production and society have become one and the same thing. There is no turning back from this fact. Machines of revolutionary struggle are themselves obliged to become disposed for producing new social realities and new subjectivities.

We emphasize again that the definition, the general program of this multidimensional liberation does not belong to these machines of struggle; it belongs to the rhizomatic multiplicity of singularity processes, within each of their

production sites, which they transform, remaking and, should the case arise, multiplying the power that this liberation authorizes.

From now on, organizing signifies first: work on oneself, in as much as one is a collective singularity; construct and in a permanent way reconstruct this collectivity in a multivalent liberation project. Not in reference to a directing ideology, but within the articulations of the real. Perpetually recomposing subjectivity and praxis is only conceivable in the totally free movement of each of its components, and in absolute respect of their own times – time for comprehending or refusing to comprehend, time to be unified or to be autonomous, time of identification or of the most exacerbated differences.

Liberation, production, the constitution of new social arrangements, all arise from distinct levels – equally important – on the basis of which the machines of struggle develop. The experiences of community and solidarity seen by the second half of this century illuminate the original paradigms of those new organizations which we call machines of struggle. It's necessary now to deploy their free play and their power. It is clear that only the direct experience of struggle will determine their contour – to try to describe in advance what the machines of struggle of new proletarian subjectivities will be on a practical level (of desire and cognition) would run contrary to their essential mode, which depends on what one no longer dares to call “the masses.”

III. TODAY, NEW LINES OF ALLIANCE

At the end of a period of defensive retrenchment – the result of the current repressive wave under the aegis of capitalist and/or socialist organization – a special form of alliance can and must be realized between the constitutive categories of the new proletariat and the most dynamic sectors of productive society. Distinguishing this alliance is, first, that it can break the corporatist obstacles to restructuring, which have shown themselves to be particularly effective amongst the industrial working classes as well as in

the tertiary service and scientific sectors of social production. The basic revolutionary sequence presently confronting us concerns the possibilities of making the working classes, the tertiary production sectors, and those innumerable components of the universe of the precarious connect and interact. The movement will have to take up this problematic of conjunction with all of their intelligence and energy. Not because the working class would remain the determining element of the revolutionary process. Neither that the tertiary, intellectual, marginal, etc. sectors would be the bearers of essential economic changes. There's nothing to gain from entertaining such historic misunderstandings. It is clear that the discourses on workers' centrality and hegemony are thoroughly defunct and that they cannot serve as a basis for the organization of new political and productive alliances, or even simply as a point of reference. Breaking with this sort of trap, the true question concerns the invention of a system, not of unification, but of multivalent engagement of all social forces which are not only in the process of articulating new subjective forces, but also of breaking the blocks of capitalist power – in particular their powers of mass media suggestion on a considerable portion of the oppressed.

It would be fictive and artificial to expect to find these new affiliations only at ruptures in the structure, in areas of friction in the labor market and the corporatist reorganization of different segments of the working class. Such an attitude would still be part of the spirit of IWC, which is always more ready to apply repression than to consider attempts to liberate production. Now, we have seen that the question of recomposing the movement's conjunctive unity goes hand in hand with that of the self-production of emancipation – at once intrinsically singular and externally offensive in their tendency – by each of its components. Now self-production implies effective and unreserved recognition of everything that really participates in new types of cooperation and subjectivity, unalloyed with the dominant power formations. The new anticapitalist alliance will destroy the corporatist

chains of repression and help replace their viewpoint with those of a collective self-transformation.

Instead of new political alliances, we could say just as well: new productive cooperation.

One always returns to the same point, that of production – production of useful goods, production of communication and of social solidarity, production of aesthetic universes, production of freedom...

The fact is that the center of gravity of these productive processes has been displaced toward the molecular web of marginal and minority concerns. Nevertheless, it's not a matter of founding a new religion and creating point by point oppositions between the whole group of guaranteed workers and the precarious workers. On the contrary, it has to do with finishing with the latter representing themselves as a heterogeneous ensemble, excluded in essence from the "true realities" of production, as all the representational coordinates of capitalism and/or socialism beguile them into thinking... Yet such a transformation implies as well that numerous sectors of the working class and the privileged categories of the productive proletariats give themselves other "representations" than those which they possess today and which, for the most part, are part of the corporatist regime. The molecular revolutions, the new subjective arrangements, autonomies and processes of singularization are capable of restoring a revolutionary meaning to the struggles of the working class and indeed many sectors of the collective force of labor, which are now reduced to vegetating in their sociological stratifications. We believe that the proletarian recomposition can head off the IWC strategy of precarization of the labor market, and of pitting against each other those social segments which find themselves confronting the same market. On a small or a large scale, the potentials for molecular revolution appear every time that processes of detotalization and of deterritorialization encroach on the stratification of corporatism. Now, if it's true that the fundamental question is the inversion of the corporatist tendency, it seems equally true that the motor of

that diminution of “social entropy” resides in consistently making a decompartmentalization of productive society the revolutionary project. And not only as an ideal horizon, as a communist ethics, but above all as a strategic struggle capable of taking the movement out of its current “failure neurosis.” The most demoralizing situations and the most negative comparisons of apparent strength can rapidly change as soon as the precariousness of the current forms of IWC domination appears in an even more pronounced way. Even the most “conservative” segments of the working class are beginning to manifest their unrest, their impatience, and their disgust in regard to those who are supposed to represent them. The idea, for so long accepted in good faith, by virtue of which there existed only one political economy as a reference point – that of IWC – has had its day. The dismantling of companies, of branches of industries, of entire regions, the social and ecological costs of the crisis can no longer be written off as a necessary reconversion of the system. In fact, it has been clear for some time that this is not an ordinary crisis, but a radical attempt to destroy more than half a century’s worth of “acquired advantages” and social victories of the reformism which corresponded to the previous forms of capitalism.

Obviously this does not mean that capitalism is in the process of collapsing on its own and that we have come, almost despite ourselves, to the eve of the “Great Night.” What is certain is that capitalism and/or socialism intend to install a regime of frenzied disciplinization over the entire planet, in which each segment of the collective labor force, each people, each ethnic group will be forced to submit to permanent control. In this regard, the guaranteed workers will be placed under the same regime as the precarious, and everything will be nuances, minute non-empirical transitions. No longer will anyone be able to assume a true statutory guarantee.

The traditional working classes should resign themselves to this. But what could the meaning of their revolt be if they do not understand that they no longer represent a social

majority – neither numerically, nor as an ideal value, not even as a produced economic value? They are obliged, if they want to legitimate their rebellion, to socially recompose themselves, in alliance with the immense mass of exploited people, of marginalized people, which includes the large majority of young, women, immigrants, the sub-proletariats of the Third World and minorities of every kind. The principle task has become the reunification of the traditional components of the class struggle against exploitation with the new liberation movements and communist projects.

It is on this terrain that the new lines of alliance will be drawn. We draw a line through the tradition of the Third International, a black line over its totalitarian and/or corporatist results. A new revolutionary movement is in search of itself. It is born both inside and outside the traditional workers' movement; it proliferates and potentially converges along a front intrinsically unified by exploitation. It will destroy the repressive norms of the workday and of the capitalist appropriation of the totality of lifetime. New domains of struggle become possible everywhere. But the privileged point, the hot point in the production of new machines of revolutionary struggle resides within the zones of marginalized subjectivity. And there as well, it goes without saying, not in and of themselves – but because they are inscribed in the meaning of creative production processes considered in their evolutionary position, that is, not arbitrarily isolated within the capitalist economic sphere.

The social imaginary can recompose itself only through radical changes. In this regard, one should take into account that marginal phenomena are part of a context which does not define them as being at the margin, but which, on the contrary, confers on them a central place in the capitalist strategy. The marginal subjectivities, in as much as they are the product and the best “analysers” of command tendencies, are also those which resist it the best. The physical, bodily, plastic and external aspects of the liberation experiences of marginal subjects become equally the material of a new form of expression and creation. Language and image

here are never ideological but always incarnated. Here, more than anywhere else, one can find the symptoms of the appearance of a new right to transformation and communitarian life, under the impetus of subjects in revolt.

New alliances: as a project of the production of singularities and as the possibility of conferring on this project a subversive social meaning. The self-analytical method of the forms of social subjectivity becomes revolutionary substance in the sense that it permits the semiotic understanding and political amplification of the implosion points of corporatism and the upheaval of its own lines of alliance. The common consciousness has already perceived this process of conjunction; the revolutionary imagination has begun to apprehend it; what remains is to make it the basis of the constitution of the future movement.