

The Common, Democracy and Basic Income

Nam Young Chung

Every man shall have his wage till the day of his death, whether he work or not, so long as he works when he is fit. Every woman shall have her wage till the day of her death, whether she work or not, so long as she works when she is fit –keeps her house or rears her children. (D. H. Lawrence, in a letter written in 1915)

1. We are living in an age defined by the coexistence of two vector of forces in a strange asymmetry : one is the gigantic vector that perpetuates modernity and the other is the rather small-sized one that tries to move out of the gravity of modernity into the open, that is, alter-modernity.

2. Seen from the side of alter-modernity, modernity is a land to leave, a shell to shed, or a prison-house of life to escape from.

3. The world of modernity is held in the firm grasp of the duopoly of capital (economic power) and state (political power). (These are the two Master Turnkeys.)

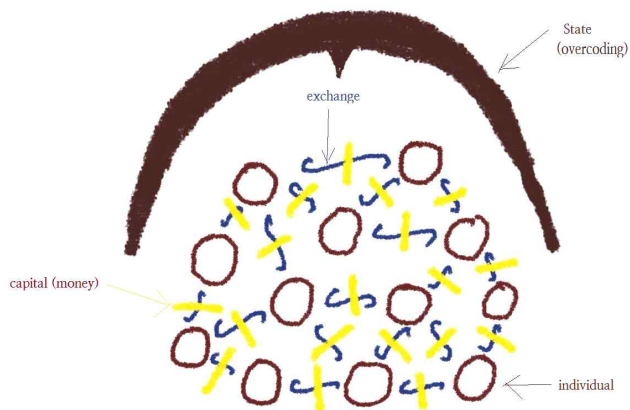


4. The rule of the duopoly rests on the generalized relations of exchange, for capital, and the collectivization based on identity, for state. The former is related to the universality(*Allgemeinheit*) specific to capitalism,¹⁾ and the latter is related to the universality peculiar to state.²⁾

5. In a modern society, the income of most of the citizens principally takes the form of wage (and is complemented more or less by the welfare policy of the government). Wage is a portion of capital (variable capital) that has been exchanged with the labor power.

1) This can be called a kind of membership in the world of capital.

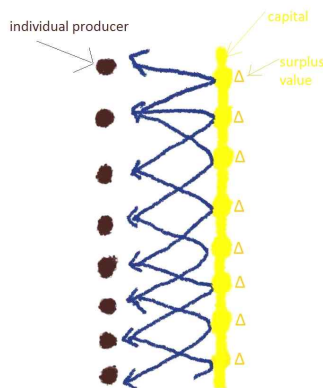
2) This is literally the citizenship in a nation.



The formula 'labor = wage = income' is the necessary consequence of the generalized relations of exchange, which constitutes a big impediment to the adoption of the basic income (BI).

6. The regime of generalized relations of exchange has a hidden presupposition that an individual is recognized as a member of the society only after he has exchanged his labor power with the wage.³⁾

There are some who fail in this exchange. Capitalists ignore them, and governments handle them with welfare policies.



7. According to Marx, the essence of capital is the increase of its value, i.e. the production of surplus value.⁴⁾ As is well known, exchange based on the relations of equivalence does not bring about the increase of value. Generalized exchange serves as a hypocritical surface hiding the in-equality and un-freedom that is the real creator of surplus value.⁵⁾ The exchangeism of capital is an illusion, an appearance, a mask, a false rationalization. In reality, capital appropriates alien labour without exchange.⁶⁾

3) "On the basis of exchange values, labour is posited as general only through exchange." "In the first case the social character of production is *posited only post festum* with the elevation of products to exchange values and the exchange of these exchange values." Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of Critique of Political Economy* (Rough Draught), Trans. by Martin Nicolaus (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993) p.171, p.172. All quotations, except one, from Marx in this paper are from this book. So, from now on, I will indicate only the number of the page to which the quotation belongs.

4) "[V]alue is capital only as self-immortalizing and self-multiplying value[.]"(639)

5) "In present bourgeois society as a whole, this positing of prices and their circulation etc. appears as the surface process, beneath which, however, in the depths, entirely different processes go on, in which this apparent individual equality and liberty disappear."(247)

6) "This exchange of equivalents proceeds; it is only the surface layer of a production which rests on the appropriation of alien labour *without exchange*, but with the *semblance of exchange*. This system of exchange rests on *capital* as its foundation, and, when it is regarded in isolation from capital, as it appears on the surface, as an *independent* system, then it is a mere *illusion*, but a *necessary illusion*. Thus there is no longer any ground for astonishment that the system of exchange values – exchange of equivalents measured through labour – turns into, or rather reveals as its hidden background, the *appropriation of alien labour without exchange*, complete separation of labour and property."(509)

8. So the imposition, by capital, of the equation 'income = wage' upon the society is far from just; capital is imposing on society what it does not impose on itself. Regardless of this injustice, the equation has been working in modern societies as a powerful presence.

9. Since the so-called information revolution, capital has been suffering a really serious crisis. This crisis is totally different in nature from those which the theory of business cycle used to deal with. This crisis is composed of some paradoxical consequences of the logic of capitalist development itself. First, the 'law of value' that has all the way supported the regime of generalized exchange has collapsed, or is collapsing.⁷⁾⁸⁾ The ratio of exchange between commodities has lost its anchor of rationality. If the 'socially necessary labor time' contained in the commodities does not determine the ratio of exchange, what or who determines it now? Whatever or whoever it may be, isn't it a kind of political power insofar as it does not follow the law of the market?

10. Second, the principle of scarcity is also collapsing as infinitely reproducible immaterial products have come to occupy a prevailing position among the commodities. This principle is the foundation for the private ownership and the generalized exchange. As there is not enough to be owned in common, some own it to the exclusion of others, and as there is not enough to be shared, one must trade what one already has with what one needs from others. 'The second enclosure'⁹⁾ can be read, somewhat paradoxically, as the desperate struggle of capital to survive in this dismantling of the principle of scarcity.

11. Third, the place previously occupied by the machinery as 'fixed capital' – "*Machinery* appears, then, as the most adequate form of *fixed capital*, and fixed capital, in so far as capital's relations with itself are concerned, appears as *the most adequate form of capital* as such"(694) – is now occupied by the information. But the machinery was, even when it was "the most adequate form of *fixed capital*", "condemned to an existence within the confines of a specific use value."⁽⁶⁹⁴⁾ On the contrary, information is not, we can say, confined within a specific use value, as it is an immaterial product and can be reproduced infinitely.¹⁰⁾ And information operates only in connection with human brain, which means that, in a sense, humans are fixed capital.¹¹⁾ (Until, at least, the advent of autonomously

7) This was already inferred by Marx from his analysis of the logic of capital. "As soon as labour in the direct form has ceased to be the great well-spring of wealth, labour time ceases and must cease to be its measure, and hence exchange value [must cease to be the measure] of use value. The *surplus labour of the mass* has ceased to be the condition for the development of general wealth, just as the *non-labour of the few*, for the development of the general powers of the human head. With that, production based on exchange value breaks down, and the direct, material production process is stripped of the form of penury and antithesis."⁽⁷⁰⁵⁾

8) See 12 below.

9) The enclosure occurring in the area of digital products, resulting in intellectual property, copyright, patent, license, etc.

10) According to Marx's argument, information, as it is not "condemned to an existence within the confines of a specific use value," does more "correspond to the concept of capital."⁽⁶⁹⁴⁾

11) "The saving of labour time [is] equal to an increase of free time, i.e. time for the full

thinking, self-conscious AI.) It is true that the capital, still in power, can largely control the flow of information, but there is no knowing when the flow of information will come to overflow or outflow the flow of capital (money).

12. In fact, what has dealt a crucial blow to the law of value is the information (or knowledge) that has become directly productive power. Another factor that is weakening this law is the heightening of the social connectedness, i.e. of cooperation. In a production system of complex and wide-ranging cooperation, we cannot exactly identify the amount each individual contributes to the production. “As soon as the division of labour is developed, almost every piece of work done by a single individual is a part of a whole, having no value or utility of itself. *There is nothing on which the labourer can seize: this is my produce, this I will keep to myself.*” (Hodgskin, *Labour Defended*, p. 25, 1, 2, XI.)”(709)

13. If we regard the globe itself as one mega machine of production, the formation of which has been possible largely by the desire of the capital to reduce the time of circulation to zero,¹²⁾ all the people on this globe can also be regarded as participators, potential or actual, in the production. The reality of this participation, cooperation, connection cannot be adequately addressed by ‘the public’ (state), or by ‘the private’ (capital); only ‘the common’ can cope with its full meaning.

14. ‘The common’ involves those social relation where all members participate in all the affairs of the society, including management of resources, production, and distribution of the products. According to the logic of the private, an individual can be a member of a society only through the mediation of capital; and according to the logic of the public, an individual can be a citizen of a country only when he is subject to the state, which is only

development of the individual, which in turn reacts back upon the productive power of labour as itself the greatest productive power. From the standpoint of the direct production process it can be regarded as the production of fixed capital, this fixed capital being man himself. It goes without saying, by the way, that direct labour time itself cannot remain in the abstract antithesis to free time in which it appears from the perspective of bourgeois economy. Labour cannot become play, as Fourier would like, although it remains his great contribution to have expressed the suspension not of distribution, but of the mode of production itself, in a higher form, as the ultimate object.”(711-12) “And as Christian Marazzi notes, the current passage in capitalist production is moving toward an ‘anthropogenetic model,’ or in other words, a biopolitical turn of the economy. Living beings as fixed capital are at the center of this transformation, and the production of forms of life is becoming the basis of added value. This is a process in which putting to work human faculties, competences, and knowledges—those acquired on the job but, more important, those accumulated outside work interacting with automated and computerized productive systems—is directly productive of value. One distinctive feature of the work of head and heart, then, is that paradoxically the object of production is really a subject, defined, for example, by a social relationship or a form of life.” Antoni Negri and Michael Hardt, *Commonwealth*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 132-33.

12) Marx called this “the annihilation of space by time”(die Vernichtung des Raums durch die Zeit).(524)

a part of a society that has become a pseudo-whole, the One imposed on the Many (overdoding).

15. From the viewpoint of 'the common,' capital has no business to impose the formula 'income = wage' on the society. A new and adequate form of income must be invented. I think that to construct a commons, a community independent of state and capital, and there foster the ability of self-provisioning among commoners, is the most fundamental solution. But, as we all know, fundamental solutions generally take a long, long time to be effected. And there is no clear distinction between what is fundamental and what is not when it comes to the actual effectuation of the solution. So the demand for BI can be one good move for advancing under the present circumstances. We don't have to oppose the commons movement and BI movement each to the other, nor separate them from each other. They can be overlapped, or can be put in a synergistic relation with each other.

16. The real question with BI is not that of 'more wage' or 'more profit.' What is involved is the question of paradigm shift, a shift from modernity to alter-modernity. For BI is an income system that is not based on the regime of generalized equivalence that has supported capitalism the whole time. And for this system to be institutionalized properly, a wholly different kind of desire and consciousness is necessary, a desire that does not aim at 'more wage.'

17. 'More wage' or 'more welfare' is a demand confined within the horizon set up by the capital, for it does not escape the bounds set by the ratio between variable capital and constant capital. This means that our social life is basically represented by the capital.¹³⁾ Our life is 'economic' life, and the enhancement of life is 'economic growth.' Just as the political representation has nothing to do with real democracy, so the economic life mediated by the capital has nothing with the economy in a real sense.

18. The real economy lies in minimizing the time spent on acquiring the means of subsistence, and maximizing the time disposable by every individual for the achievement of the fullness of his being.¹⁴⁾ BI can contribute significantly toward shifting to this new paradigm, for it can help individuals give more time and energy to the free development of their individuality.

19. Capitalism, in fact, has developed the ability to reduce the socially necessary labor

13) In short, everything can have a price.

14) "Free development of individualities, and hence not the reduction of necessary labour time in order to posit surplus labour, but in general the reduction of the necessary labour of society to a minimum, to which then corresponds the artistic, scientific, etc., development of individuals, made possible by the time thus set free and the means produced for all of them."(706) "For real wealth is the developed productive power of all individuals. Then wealth is no longer measured by labour time but by DISPOSABLE TIME."(708)

time. But capitalists have exerted this ability only to increase superfluous labor time.¹⁵⁾ Further, contemporary capital, with its impotence and old greed, has come to add the fetter of debt-slavery to that of wage-slavery; the general shortage of wage for even acquiring means of life has come to be complemented in the form of debt. Marx would be amazed at this. For Marx, it would not be the rule of capitalism, but a romantic exception, if capitalists lend money to workers.¹⁶⁾ Now these “aberrations, excesses, exceptions” have become a normal condition.

20. What does this paradoxical condition mean? This suggests us an imbalanced increase of the constant capital in relation to the variable capital. Even a part of former wages are being absorbed, in the form of interests, into the capital. This accelerates both the fall of the rate of profit, and of the purchasing power of the workers. Owing to the aforesaid crisis, the break-through for capital is not clearly visible. The gloomy situation of double slavery, in which workers forsakenly find themselves, means just as gloomy a situation for the capital.

21. So BI can help capital just as it can help workers. That BI can help capital in crisis, can work toward winning the assent of the capitalists to the BI.¹⁷⁾ Let's not grudge at this. What is a really important thing about BI is the significance it can have for the paradigm shift of our life, the liberation of life imprisoned in modernity, the transition from modernity to alter-modernity.

22. As said earlier, there is, contained in the BI, the refusal of generalized exchange relations that have supported capital. This capitalist exchangeism comes from the general need for exchange (and the need to work for exchange). And, again, the general need for exchange comes from the lack or absence of self-provisioning. The precapitalist societies, including the primitive societies which are called ‘subsistence economy’, were all societies of self-provisioning, *autarkies*. In other words, the productive power of the producers were not separated from the means of production and the means of life. This separation first occurred, in the history of humanity, with the beginning of modernity and capitalism. The separation is coextensive with the occurrence of alienated labor. So the refusal of capitalist exchangeism implies the refusal of labor, that is, alienated labor.¹⁸⁾

23. Is the refusal of labor necessarily the refusal of participation in the production? No! Rather the opposite is true. No to the refusal of labor can mean Yes to the participation

15) “[I]t diminishes labour time in the necessary form so as to increase it in the superfluous form”(706)

16) “This kind of credit belongs to the romantic, sentimental part of political economy, to its aberrations, excesses, exceptions, not to the rule”, Karl Marx, “Comments on James Mill.”

17) For an opinion that argues that BI will enhance the efficiency of the market, see http://www.huffingtonpost.com/scott-santens/why-should-we-support-the_b_7630162.html.

18) Every labor is, insofar as it is a labor employed by capital, an alienated labor.

in the community. The advent of the alienated labor, the labor-for-exchange, was the result of the collapse of the self-provisioning communities. Modern states replaced the communities, and the alienated labor replaced the self-provisioning activity ('commoning').

24. This replacement has been regarded by many as a progress, an evolution in history. This progressivism or social evolutionism constitutes the Euro-centrism or Occidento-centrism. From this prejudiced point of view, primitive societies were at the embryonic or animal stage, far from the stage of properly human society we find in the modern European societies.¹⁹⁾

25. Fortunately, since decades ago we have seen significant anthropological studies of primitive societies disrupt this prejudiced view. These studies found that the primitive societies, while called 'subsistence economies', are actually the first 'affluent societies' and 'leisure societies.' The primitive tribes did not have to spend much time on acquiring enough means of subsistence; they spent the rest of time on satisfying other needs, social or political. "The term, subsistence economy, is acceptable for describing the economic organization of those societies, provided it is taken to mean *not* the necessity that derives from a *lack*, an incapacity inherent in that type of society and its technology; but the contrary: the refusal of a useless *excess*, the determination to make productive activity agree with the satisfaction of needs."²⁰⁾

26. Generally the producers in the pre-capitalist societies, however small the size of their production might be, lived their life as a human being. They produced for human purposes; production itself, or the production of excess, was not their aim.²¹⁾ In contradistinction to this, the life in the capitalist world is really the life of an animal for most of us: we must work for life to acquire means of subsistence and it is never enough. BI can help us return from this life of an animal back to the life of a decent human being.

27. In the primitive societies, as described by anthropologists such as Pierre Clastres, politics controlled economy, and society controlled politics. Also in the commons of the other eras, classical or feudal, the political as an autonomous power, separated from the community, never existed. Politics was no more than a common decision of the rules for managing the common resources. No command-obedience relation was possible. Thus the democracy in the pre-modern societies was a regime where politics and economy were not

19) For this, see Pierre Clastres, "Copernicus and the Savages", *Society against the State*, Trans. Robert Huerey and Abe Stein (Zonebooks : New York, 1989).

20) Pierre Clastres, "Society against State", *Society against State*, p. 195.

21) "Thus the old view, in which the human being appears as the aim of production, regardless of his limited national, religious, political character, seems to be very lofty when contrasted to the modern world, where production appears as the aim of mankind and wealth as the aim of production."(488)

separated from each other. Does this belong to an irrevocable past? Is the chasm between politics and economy now an eternal condition of human society? The fight for the adoption of BI may be an instance of test; the adoption of BI would demonstrate that an economic practice that goes against the logic of capitalist economy can be institutionalized by means of the political movement.

28. The adoption of BI seems to be a complement of the flaws in the private sector with the public sector. This judgement is not wholly wrong. If one agrees to the adoption of BI for the reason that, for example, it can enhance the efficiency of the market, this agreement stays within the bounds of the duopoly composed of the public and the private. But if you agree to it for the reason that BI can help us overcome the separation between politics and economy, and pass from the animal life to the human life, this agreement is already flying over the bounds of the public and the private. For the public and the private are the two dimensions that constitute the animal life we are now leading.

29. Then we need another concept (another horizon of thinking) than the one composed of the public and the private. This means that we need another kind of community or polity than the state. But what relation does this new type of community have with the old communities (primitive communities, commons in the feudal societies, etc.) in the pre-capitalist eras? Can the old communities be a model for our future even if their charms have the effect of destroying the Euro-centrism or social evolutionism.²²⁾

30. Here some insights of Marx come pat to our purpose. In the pages of *Grundrisse* that deal with the pre-capitalist economies, Marx extracts a major thread of history running from the societies before capitalism, through capitalism, to post-capitalism : three successive forms (hence stages) of society.²³⁾ Here Marx may be open to the critique that he sees history as a rigid linear succession. But it should be pointed out that ① the passage from the first form to the second form is not regarded as a an entirely desirable one²⁴⁾; ② the second form (capitalism) is presented, unmasked of its perpetuality, only as

22) "In earlier stages of development the single individual seems to be developed more fully, because he has not yet worked out his relationships in their fullness, or erected them as independent social powers and relations opposite himself. It is as ridiculous to yearn for a return to that original fullness as it is to believe that with this complete emptiness history has come to a standstill. The bourgeois viewpoint has never advanced beyond this antithesis between itself and this romantic viewpoint, and therefore the latter will accompany it as legitimate antithesis up to its blessed end."(162)

23) "Relations of personal dependence (entirely spontaneous at the outset) are the first social forms, in which human productive capacity develops only to a slight extent and at isolated points. Personal independence founded on *objective* [*sachlicher*] dependence is the second great form, in which a system of general social metabolism, of universal relations, of all-round needs and universal capacities is formed for the first time. Free individuality, based on the universal development of individuals and on their subordination of their communal, social productivity as their social wealth, is the third stage. The second stage creates the conditions for the third." (158)

24) Later in the debates about the remaining old communities in Russia, Marx clearly stated that the passage to capitalism is not a necessary one, and that a passage directly to the third form is

a temporary period of transition; ③ at the same time, the “historical destiny (*Bestimmung*)” of capitalism—creating the conditions of the third form—is acknowledged.(325) So the succession is not to be characterized by ‘ever-increasing progress.’

31. What most characterizes the third form is the end of ‘the mediation through the exchange values.’ In the second form which is based on the exchange values, “labour is *posited* as general only through *exchange*.”(171) Now in the third form, “the *presupposition is itself mediated*; i.e. a communal production, communality, is presupposed as the basis of production. The labour of the individual is posited from the outset as social labour”(172)²⁵⁾

32. Seen from a different angle, there are three types of distribution for the three forms : ① “a distribution based on a natural or political super- and subordination of individuals to one another,” ② “private exchange of all products of labour, all activities and all wealth,”(capitalism) ③ “free exchange among individuals who are associated on the basis of common appropriation and control of the means of production”(159) To regard wages as the only possible form of income is to regard the second form as the only possible form of distribution.

33. This theory of three forms of society, or universality, is at the same time a theory of three forms of individuality. For example, the “merely *objective bond*”(161) that characterizes capitalism, is “their [the individuals] product. It is a historic product. It belongs to a specific phase of their development.”(162)²⁶⁾ The third stage is that of “[f]ree individuality, based on the universal development of individuals and on their subordination of their communal, social productivity as their social wealth.”(158) The nature of

possible.

25) “Thus, whatever the particular material form of the product he creates or helps to create, what he has bought with his labour is not a specific and particular product, but rather a specific share of the communal production. He therefore has no particular product to exchange. His product is not an *exchange value*. The product does not first have to be transposed into a particular form in order to attain a general character for the individual. Instead of a division of labour, such as is necessarily created with the exchange of exchange values, there would take place an organization of labour whose consequence would be the participation of the individual in communal consumption. In the first case the social character of production is *posited* only *post festum* with the elevation of products to exchange values and the exchange of these exchange values. In the second case the *social character of production* is presupposed, and participation in the world of products, in consumption, is not mediated by the exchange of mutually independent labours or products of labour. It is mediated, rather, by the social conditions of production within which the individual is active. Those who want to make the labour of the individual directly into *money* (i.e. his product as well), into *realized exchange value*, want therefore to determine that labour *directly* as general labour, i.e. to negate precisely the conditions under which it must be made into money and exchange values, and under which it depends on private exchange.”(172)

26) In original German: “Aber es ist abgeschmactt, jenen nur sachlichen Zusammenhang als den naturwüchsigen, von der Natur der Individualität (im Gegensatz zum reflektierten Wissen und Wollen) unzertrennlichen und ihr immanenten, aufzufassen. Er ist ihr Produkt. Er ist ein historisches Produkt. Er gehört einer bestimmten Phase ihrer Entwicklung an.”

universality of a society can be conceived only in connection of this individuality.

34. The concept that captures the specific way individuals are connected into a polity/community in the third form of society, is 'the common.' (This is the universality specific to the third form.) While 'the public' of modernity is a pseudo-whole imposed from outside on the society, 'the common' is immanent in the individuals as differential relations that constitute their 'power'(puissance). The absence of the mediation through the exchange values is common to the first form and the third form. (In this sense we can call the universality of the first form a primitive type of 'the common.')

But the statement "the *presupposition is itself mediated*" cannot be applied to the first form. It is very important to the development of "free individuality" in the third form.

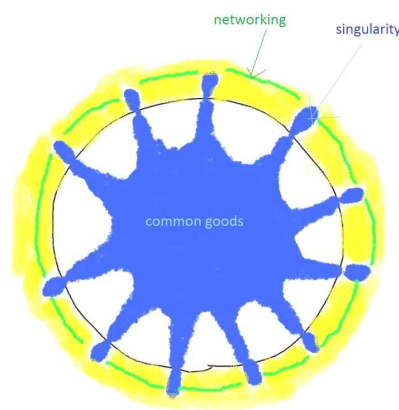
35. In the first form, individuality is, we can say, in immediate unreflective unity with the universality. So it cannot happen that an individual reflects on the distance between him and the community, and uses the reflection as a motive of new action that may change the form of the society. Individuals are immediately the community, and the community is "a single totality"(Pierre Clastres).

36. In the third form, the said distance—this is difference and difference is the source of becoming—is not only reflected on but works in the direction of increasing the puissance of individuals. Now individuals, liberated from immediate unity with the society, and having in themselves the relations to 'the common,' can produce a new becoming, according to his desire, and construct, by co-becoming with others, a new form of society, a new form of life.

37. In the second form, universality holds individuality under subjection, but the third form of universality, 'the common', is a function of the becomings of individuals. The concept that captures "free individuality" of the third form is 'singularity;'²⁷⁾ and the individuality subject to the modern universality, is 'identity.'²⁸⁾

27) 'Singularity' is "a concept with a long history in European thought, from Duns Scotus and Spinoza to Nietzsche and Deleuze. (See *De Homine 2* at the end of Part 5 on this alternative line of European thought.) With respect to identity, the concept of singularity is defined by three primary characteristics, all of which link it intrinsically with multiplicity. First of all, every singularity points toward and is defined by a multiplicity outside of itself. No singularity can exist or be conceived on its own, but instead both its existence and definition necessarily derive from its relations with the other singularities that constitute society. Second, every singularity points toward a multiplicity within itself. The innumerable divisions that cut throughout each singularity do not undermine but actually constitute its definition. Third, singularity is always engaged in a process of becoming different—a temporal multiplicity. This characteristic really follows from the first two insofar as the relations with other singularities that constitute the social multiplicity and the internal composition of the multiplicity within each singularity are constantly in flux." Antoni Negri and Michael Hardt, *Commonwealth*, pp. 338–39. Here, discussing Marx's insights on the three stages, I am applying 'singularity' only to the third stage; however, this should not be prescriptive. Anthropologists such as Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, Harry Walker etc., are using the concept of 'singularity' in describing the primitive societies, including the still remaining ones.

38. The interrelation of ‘the common’ and singularity constitutes democracy in the real sense of the word, the absolute democracy. This implies the abolition of all the structures based on the mechanism of ‘mediation’ (political representation, mass media, etc.), the abolition of the separation between politics and economy, and the resingularization of all the identities. In a democracy, we manage the resources all together, produce all together, and appropriates the fruits all together. All this is not for the production of excess, but for the increase of the singular puissance of all the individuals. Increased puissances will be connected and networked again into a new and higher level of ‘the common.’ Democracy means no other than this creative common life of becoming.



39. The passage from modernity to alter-modernity is one from the world of the public and the private to the world of ‘the common,’ from the world of capital and state to the world of commons, from the world of identity to the world of singularity, and from slavery to freedom. The highest meaning BI can have lies in being an accelerator of this passage. As is

usual with every passage, another world does not begin exactly the day one world ends. Two worlds are coexisting already: one as an actual world, the other as a virtual one. Every real change begins in the plane of virtuality, and a real significance of a thing lies on this plane. So does the real significance of BI.



The real activity of life is the great activity of the *developing consciousness*, physical, mental, intuitional, religious – all-round consciousness. This is the real business of life, and is the great game of grown men. All that other affair, of work and money, should be settled and subordinated to this, the great game of real living, of developing ourselves physically, in subtlety of movement, and grace and beauty of bodily awareness, and of deepening and widening our whole consciousness, so that we really become men, instead of remaining the poor, cramped, limited slaves we are.

But we must first wring the neck of the money bird, and settle the

28) Identity has two aspects: one is related to the state or state-like poilties, and the other is related to capital.

simple question of food, warmth, and shelter.
 (D. H. Lawrence, in a letter written in 1928)

