

The background of the entire image is a textured, light beige surface. Two hands are visible, one in the upper right and one in the lower left, both reaching towards the center. The hands are positioned as if they are about to touch, with the index fingers pointing towards each other. The lighting is soft, highlighting the contours of the hands.

IMMATERIAL SPHERES AND LIBERTARIAN ATTUNEMENTS

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Luis Fernando Ayerbe

Para Eliane
“É você
Só você
Que invadiu o centro do espelho”

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DECONFINEMENT

“Sun, that sun
Where is it, where does it go
If it gets lost
What colors there will be
I see through the thick wall
That sun I wait for”.
Iluminen la tierra, Aquelarre

Human relations in which power situations are present, however unequal, oppressive, and destructive they may be, or however anomic they may appear, are susceptible to understanding, explanation, and transformation into scientific knowledge. It relies on interpretative capacities that reveal processes and their actors, including those who are subjects of barbarism.

Indignation is fitting in the analysis of scenarios of violence, but I often find myself highlighting above all the distancing, the comprehensive prevalence of means-ends rationalities. Extreme fidelity to the Weberian separation of the vocation for science and politics?

I think of the character Tom, from *Dogville*, a kind of intellectual from the village that gives name to Lars von Trier’s film, in his relationship with Grace, a newcomer fleeing from a gangster’s persecution. The young woman

begins to render services to the community, in return for the refuge offered, and gradually becomes more and more exploited, until, at a certain point, she becomes the object of sexual abuse. Tom acquires a leading role, presenting himself as a mediator, ordering reality from arguments that seem admissible to both the victim and her tormentors.

Dogville's intellectual analyzes the context and elaborates scenarios about which it will be up to the actors of this story to make decisions, from positions of power whose disproportion anticipates the outcome. The film ends with the arrival in the village of the gangster who is supposedly pursuing Grace, but is in fact her father. When asked by him how to proceed with the villagers, she asks that they be executed. And so they are, with the exception of Tom, who is executed by Grace herself.

This is a work of fiction, and the nature of the scientific work is not in question here; the goal is to highlight situations in which the transition between intellection, consciousness, and action for change is evident. This being so, I pose some questions.

- When the community is alerted about the oppressive treatment perpetrated on Grace, against the religious values professed in Dogville, would the expected response be a shock of conscience capable of changing this behavior? In this case, does the enlightened person, bearer of recognized wisdom, hold the capacity and authority par excellence to order and aggregate collective judgments and conduct? Or would it be the reaction of those who are the victims of abuse, who begin looking at their oppressors as enemies, incorrigible and, therefore, unworthy of mercy,

and when they have the material strength, they eliminate them from the scene?

- Is it indignation or discomfort at what one observes or experiences that determines a change in behavior? With or without the mediation of an external agent that holds knowledge? By the material force of militancy that absorbs pedagogies of secular or religious philosophies? By the immaterial transmutation of energy of the individual and collective mind?

The analysis developed in this book explores these questions, inquiring about the projection of ideas and attitudes that visualize immaterial spheres as a strategic field of civilizing changes that interconnect individual, local, national, global, planetary, and cosmic dimensions. These variations express worldviews anchored in politics, ideology, and spiritualism, sometimes in dialogue with the field of scientific research.

We often find that reading and contacting ideas and positions with which we strongly disagree, situates us, by opposition, in the unveiling of openings that bring clarifications to our own perspective. Following this methodology, the first chapter begins with the exposition of existential threats to the American way of life present in the reading of the right wing identified with Donald Trump. Subsequently, approaches in the opposite direction are presented, showing that, in fact, the realization of the other possible world, desired as a libertarian perspective, corresponds to the fears invoked by the conservative reaction.

From antagonistic political-ideological views, common expectations of the end of a cycle are revealed, whose refe-

rence basis is the recent process of accelerated globalization under neoliberal hegemony. On one hand, an ethno-nationalist right wing emerges, aiming against a globalist project based on an anti-system conception, labeled as “cultural Marxism”. On the other side, currents of the left see in capitalist acceleration a catalyzing agent of technological, cognitive, and socioeconomic contradictions with the potential to render the system ungovernable. In the conservative reaction or in the belief in post-capitalist overcoming, a paradoxical convergence of fatalistic expectations operates.

The scenarios in which this dispute is played out are expressive of the growing prominence that communication networks of the digital age have acquired, bringing to the center of the analysis the meaning and scope of immateriality as a sphere of coexistence or conflict in human relations.

The second chapter further advances this discussion by presenting three variants: 1) the Noosphere, an encompassing dimension of the mind, bringing readings that envision it as a convergent direction of humanity, in the field of national strategy, especially of the United States and Russia, of civil society, of spirituality and science; 2) the General Intellect, a Marxian-inspired expression taken up by left currents that place at the center of the system’s dynamism the production and appropriation of knowledge, visualizing in the emancipation of the cognitive worker the epicenter of a post-capitalist transition; 3) Aquarius, a spiritualist reference of the so-called New Age, in frequent interlocution with multidisciplinary studies in research

centers and universities, which acquired global notoriety under the impulse of counterculture movements from the 1960s on, impacting on the premonitory dissemination of transmutations of planetary and cosmic reach.

The objective of the two chapters is to evidence a set of perspectives that have in the immaterial sphere the focus of their transforming expectations, in different directions, sometimes antagonistic. It is not a matter of a critical study of each approach, but of evidencing parallels that reveal a spirit of the times.

Departing from this labyrinth of visions about inhabiting the world, the third chapter lists the itinerary of questions that seek to give body to the question raised in the beginning about the presence of emotions in the analysis of politics, suggesting tunings in a libertarian sense.

To paraphrase the musician Fito Paez: Who said that all is lost? There will always be someone who will offer his heart.

1. CONSERVATIVE REACTION AND POST-CAPITALIST ACCELERATION

1.1 The sum of all fears

“The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations (...) It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade”. Karl Marx e Friedrich Engels (2008)

On July 21, 2017, the then director of the Strategic Planning Office at the National Security Council, Rich

Higgins, was informed of his resignation. When asked by the press about the reason, the White House replied that it was an internal matter, about which it was not up to them to give explanations. Unlike the official statement, Higgins attributed the fact to sectors opposed to the platform that elected Donald Trump, a kind of Deep State impervious to changes in government.

I lost my job because I was loyal to the president (...). There were some Trump supporters on the team, but we were fewer in number and almost all ignored (...). This meant that the remaining Obama staff should be replaced by people who would carry out the agenda of the new president. (Higgins, 2020).

In May, Higgins had released a report in which he expressed concerns about the destabilization of the Trump administration, targeting a wide range of sectors, to which he attributed a conspiracy based on “Cultural Marxism,” a kind of invisible hand capable of mobilizing a wide and unusual range of actors:

- Mainstream Media – The main mechanism for implementing narratives.
- Academia (...) a key channel for creating future adherents to cultural Marxist narratives and their derivative worldviews.
- The Deep State – The successful result of cultural Marxism is a bureaucratic state beholden to no one, certainly not to the American people (...)

- Global corporations & bankers – Exploitation of populations, free of national protections and notions of personal morality and piety.
- Democratic Leadership – (...) executes, sustains, and protects cultural Marxist action programs and facilitates the relentless expansion of the deep state.
- Republican Leadership – More afraid of being accused of being racist, sexist, homophobic, or Islamist than of not keeping their oaths to “support and defend the Constitution” (Higgins, 2017).

His abrupt dismissal makes explicit a delimitation of the Alt-right’s field of action, an important ideological support to Donald Trump’s candidacy. It is a heterogeneous current that includes sectors with agendas involving nationalism based on white supremacy, anti-immigration, anti-feminism, Islamophobia, neo-Nazism, declaring itself in antagonism to globalisms that it considers disintegrators of the “Judeo-Christian West”.

Articulated mainly around the Breitbart News portal, its director, Steve Bannon, takes over the coordination of Trump’s campaign strategy, who appoints him as special advisor after the inauguration. Isolated by the confrontation with sectors fearful that his militant extremism would become the most visible profile of the administration – aggravated by the incidents in Charlottesville of August 2017, when street clashes during a demonstration by white supremacist groups led to the death of an anti-discrimination activist – he submits the resignation.

When he was on the rise, Bannon even compared himself to Vladimir Lenin in his epic quest to destroy the sta-

te: “I want to overthrow everything and destroy the entire establishment today” (Radosh, 2016). Part of his ideology was presented in a conference held in 2014, during an event at the Vatican, when he warned about the existence of a serious crisis in the Judeo-Christian West, involving capitalism, faith and religion.

In the realm of capitalism, the crisis would express itself in the prevalence of two models that subvert the “spiritual and moral foundations of Christianity (...) One is the state-sponsored capitalism (...) that is seen in China and Russia (...). The second is a capitalism that seems to turn people into commodities” (Feder, 2016). In addition to secularization, in which he sees a loss of space for faith in the face of popular culture, Bannon warns of favorable cracks to the offensive of what would be the great enemy of the 21st century, the “Islamic jihadist fascism”.

Interestingly, Bannon’s nationalism runs in parallel course, rather than in contradiction, to market economics, clearly pointing out the limits of his “anti-establishment Leninism”:

More state intervention in the economy, in our lives, leads to complete failure (...). The nationalist agenda is doable without state intervention. Nationalism is about putting your country first. Nationalism does not say you have to have the state involved in affairs. (Bulla, 2019).

After Trump’s arrival in office, the reaction of the “commoditization capitalism” denounced by Bannon didn’t take long to unfold. The Economist magazine sets agendas on what to do.

The first step is to contain the damage (...). Moderate Republicans and U.S. allies need to tell the president why Bannon and those who share his ideology are wrong (...). It is also critical to convince Trump that it is alliances that guarantee US supremacy (...). If Trump really wants to put the US first, his priority should be to strengthen the country's diplomatic ties, not to treat its allies with contempt. What if the advice is ignored? U.S. allies need to keep multilateral institutions afloat for the day when Trump leaves the White House. (The Economist, 2017).

Higgins' demise and Bannon's resignation undermine the Alt-Right's presence at the center of the government. However, the goal of summoning the president to order has failed. With the prospect of reversing the "misguided course" attributed to Trumpism, the concentration of efforts will bet on the Democratic Party's candidacy in the 2020 elections, composed of Joe Biden and Kamala Harris, who win the race.

The electoral defeat, which implies a reversal of the presence of extremist ethno-nationalist currents within the state, does not mean that their ideology, as well as their vehicles of organization and expression, have faded away. The permanent agenda of this conservative reaction emphasizes the exaltation of existential fears in the preservation of a way of life under attack by a heterogeneous set of actors, imbued with narratives and agendas whose main denominator is "Cultural Marxism".

A precursor voice of this warning is Linda Kimball who, in 2007, called attention to the presence of a Left that, under a new guise, takes up traditions that seemed to have

been defeated with the end of the Soviet Union and the US victory in the Cold War.

Both communism and the New Left are alive and thriving here in America. They favor code words: tolerance, social justice, economic justice, peace, reproductive rights, sex education and safe sex, safe schools, inclusion, diversity, and sensitivity. All together, this is Cultural Marxism disguised as multiculturalism. (Kimball, 2019).

In terms of theoretical references, Kimball attributes to Italian communist activist Antonio Gramsci the broadening of revolutionary strategy by incorporating cultural hegemony as a field of struggle, and a notion of subject that goes beyond the proletariat.

In his “Prison Notebooks”, he suggested that the new proletariat be comprised of many criminals, women, and racial minorities. The new battleground, reasoned Gramsci, must become the culture, starting with the traditional family and completely engulfing churches, schools, media, entertainment, civic organizations, literature, science, and history. (op. cit., 2019).

An emblematic example of the strong presence of the Gramscian heritage promoted by the multiculturalist agenda would be the “psychological intimidations” of “political correctness”: “in order for someone not to be considered racist or fascist, not only must they be judgment-free, but they must also embrace the new moral absolutes: diversity, choice, sensitivity, sexual orientation, and tolerance” (Kimball, 2019).

In a later article, Kimball updates his analysis by incorporating the attacks of political correctness aimed at then-President Trump. At the same time, she warns of the threat of transhumanism, the idea behind the Great Reset agenda presented by the World Economic Forum at its June 2020 meeting:

Cultural Marxism (also multiculturalism) replaces the workers class with four oppressed races – blacks, LGBTQ+, illegal aliens, and women (...) victimized and oppressed by (...) the socially conservative mainly white Christian and conservative population, particularly Donald Trump and straight white men in general (...) Marxism is but one of many modern scientific utopian ideologies. Global Transhumanism with its utopian Great Reset is another (...) Utopian ideologies share in common the reduction of the human being to soulless aggregates of matter, holons, or with Transhuman Technocracy, digital assets. (Kimball, 2021).

The World Economic Forum (WEF) was founded in 1971, and is held annually in the colony of Davos, Switzerland, a meeting convened on a representative theme of the economic moment, with the presence of businessmen, intellectuals, government officials and political leaders. Historically considered an expression of the organic elites of global capital and the market liberalization agenda, the 2020 meeting, under the slogan “Covid-19: The Great Reset”, is proposed as the starting point of a post-neoliberal capitalism.

In the meeting's outcome document, the pandemic is presented as an acceleration of global trends anticipated by the 2008 financial crisis (Ayerbe, 2019), exposing economic, social, political, and environmental weaknesses associated with "neoliberal doctrine" and "its 'market fetishism' to which "COVID-19 delivered the coup de grace" (Schwab; Malleret, 2020).

The answer is a scenario where the State's increased presence in the economy and in social welfare, with an impact on income redistribution, health, environmental control, security and global governance will be inevitable. Coupled with this, the power of technology and the demands of physical distancing imposed by the pandemic operate as catalysts for changes that are here to stay, with the acceleration of automation, robotization, digital tracking, expanding possibilities for surveillance, prevention and risk control, while also affecting individual privacy.

Despite its ambitious name, the "Great Reset" does not present a programmatic agenda to be implemented, being basically a wake-up call based on an analysis of the systemic weaknesses exposed by the pandemic and aspects to be taken into account in the construction of a post-coronavirus world better prepared to face challenges of such impact and complexity. However, it operates as an unexpected trigger of reaction from right-wing media that denounce a globalist conspiracy.

In line with the disquiet demonstrated by Kimball, the "Great Reset" is presented as part of a transhumanist agenda, promoting digital technologies that, in addition to

replacing humans with machines, would lead to mind-control processes by implanting microchips (Newman, 2020).

This wave contributes to fuel the denialist offensive associating Covid-19 and the policies of social isolation, use of masks, mass testing and vaccination, with an artificially constructed catastrophism. In the US, it would be part of the Deep State's domination strategy against the Trump administration.

In line with this perspective, Joe Biden's victory is delegitimized as a dark plot under the scrutiny of higher forces. The following dialogue between the former Vatican nuncio to the US, Carlo Maria Viganò, and his interviewer, Steve Bannon, is enlightening.

Questioning the election results, Viganò denounces the globalist conspiracy played out by the alliance between Pope Francis and Joe Biden, from whom he repudiates his campaign promise "to condemn us to wear the mask," agreeing with Bannon in extolling the feud as a "historic battle between the children of light and the children of darkness.

Steve Bannon: You seem to suggest that the Trump administration may be instrumental in helping to bring the Church back to a pre-Franciscan Catholicism. How can the Trump administration do this, and how can American Catholics work to save the world from this globalist "reboot"?

Carlo Maria Viganò: Bergoglio's subservience to the globalist agenda is evident, and his contribution to the election of Joe Biden is equally evident. Just as Bergoglio's hostility and repeated attacks on President

Trump, whom he considers to be the main adversary, the obstacle to be removed, in view of the realization of the Great Reset, are evident. On the one hand, then, we have the Trump administration and those traditional values it has in common with Catholics; on the other, the Deep State of the self-proclaimed Catholic Biden, subservient to globalist ideology and its perverse, anti-human, anti-Christ, hellish agenda. (Calabrò, 2021).

The interview was released by Viganò on January 3, 2021, three days before Trump supporters stormed the Capitol seeking to prevent Congress from ratifying the results of the presidential election. Leading that incident was the QAnon movement.

A term that stands out among ultra-right groups operating on the internet, QAnon combines the letter Q, which encodes an alleged person inside the U.S. government with access to intelligence sources, responsible for leaking classified information, and Anon, short for anonymous. The group gains visibility in late 2017, becoming notable for promoting conspiracy theory about the existence of a global satanist network that exploits child sex trafficking, accusing prominent figures in politics and the private sector, such as former President Barack Obama, former Democratic Party candidate Hillary Clinton, and businessman George Soros. The main target of this alleged plot would be then-President Donald Trump, lauded as a figurehead of a patriotic movement waging a holy war against the Deep State.

Associated with the larger conspiracy, QAnon reverberates numerous accusations against public figures, whether from the political, business, or arts fields, culminating in the attribution of fraud in the 2020 presidential election, in alliance with the losing candidate in inflaming tempers that culminate in the invasion of the Capitol (Ruocco, 2021).

Incriminations against selected targets, which end up being disproved by facts or investigative actions, are part of the universe of the so-called Fake News, which long precedes the existence of the Internet. What stands out in QAnon is the adhesion of relevant sectors capable of turning this conspiratorial content into a mobilizing force. In the United States, it gained traction in the Republican Party, which was expressed in the congressional elections of Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia and Lauren Boebert of Colorado. On an international scale, groups are spreading that self-identify with the movement or replicate its operational methods.

As it will be discussed in the next chapter, this war of narratives in virtual spaces encroaching on the centrality of politics, is a symptom and evidence of a profuse trajectory in both scales and dimensions.

1.2. (I Can't Get No) Satisfaction

“Hello darkness, my old friend
I’ve come to talk with you again (...)
The words of the prophets
Are written on the subway walls
And tenement halls
And whispered in the sound of silence”.
Simon & Garfunkel, *The sound of silence*

Unlike conspiratorial subjectivities that claim preferential places in battles between “light” and “darkness,” the right’s disquiet with so-called “Cultural Marxism”, attributing Antonio Gramsci’s ideas to a powerful evil of origin, has credible foundations.

The claim of a Gramscian tradition is present in the left field, where the notion of subalternity is rescued, with implications for the strategy of social transformation: “The subaltern classes, by definition, are not unified and cannot unify until they can become ‘state’: their history is therefore interwoven with that of civil society” (Gramsci, 2002. p. 139).

As in the case of Linda Kimball, this is not a discussion of possible interpretative uses or abuses of the Italian Marxist’s work, but the portrayal of dichotomous views on good and evil that manifest convergent theoretical frameworks.

Chantal Mouffe, an author who places herself in the post-Marxist left field, questions the class reductionism predominant in the socialist strategy that guided the twen-

tieth century revolutions, taking up Gramsci's perspective on subaltern classes. Her focus is on what she calls a "critique of essentialism," contrasting the plurality of subjects with the conception of the proletariat as a unified agent pre-determined by capitalist relations of production:

There are many points of antagonism between capitalism and the various sectors of the population, and this means that when this struggle is seen as an extension of democratic principles, there will be a variety of anti-capitalist struggles. (Mouffe, 2020).

This thesis has concrete political ramifications. The idea of revolutionary rupture, which implies as an outcome the seizure of power and consequently the removal of the former dominant classes and their supporting economic, political, and military structures, is replaced by the notion of radical democracy, which seeks to combine respect for political pluralism with the search for equality in the other dimensions of social life.

What is at stake is not the "withering away" of the state and the institutions by which pluralism is organized, but a profound transformation of these institutions to put them at the service of a process of radicalizing democracy. The goal is not the seizure of state power, but, as Gramsci states, "to become the state." (Mouffe, op. cit).

From a similar perspective, although in the field of social movements, the experience initiated in the Mexican state of Chiapas in December 1994 by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) claims a left culture in

which the notions of subject and power acquire new meanings. Firstly, plurality is moulded from the perspective of “building a world where many worlds fit in” (EZLN, 1996), mobilizing

women, children, elders, youth, indigenous people, ecologists, homosexuals, lesbians, HIV-positive people, workers, and all those who are not only “left out” but who also “disturb” the world order and progress, rebel, organize, and fight. (EZLN, 1997).

Within the dimension of power, a citizen dispute is claimed. This is how Subcomandante Marcos, then spokesperson for the EZLN, explains it in an interview with Yvon Le Bot:

We would use the example that there is no citizen who complains about the police and proposes as a solution to become a policeman. If the police don't work, the citizen doesn't aspire to become a policeman, but rather to create a police force that does work. It's a bit like the EZLN's position. We criticize power, but our proposal is not to replace it, but to have a power that serves society, just like the fireman and the civil servant. (Le Bot, 1997, p. 302).

The Zapatista movement is one of the examples taken by John Holloway in developing his thesis of “changing the world without taking power” by breaking the “link between revolution and state control.”

The state illusion is only part of a larger illusion, which can be called the power illusion. This illusion refers to the idea that in order to change society we

have to gain positions of power, or at least we have to be powerful in some way. It seems to me that the Zapatista project is very different. It is not a project of us becoming powerful, but of dissolving power relations. (Holloway, 2001, p. 174).

The “plurality of subjects” highlighted by Mouffe, which also pervades the vision expressed by Zapatismo and Holloway, call into question the strategic conception of social transformation, centered on the idea of revolution as a single moment of rupture between two radically different worlds, symbolized by the conquest of state power.

In contrast, what is valued is a continuous process, without pre-fixed limits, of deepening democracy, inclusive and respectful of diversity and pluralism. There is no delimitation of actors, organizations, and projects of an alternative society, but the guarantee of institutional conditions that favor the flow of claims and free access to information and knowledge by the movements of society.

In this way, the dispute for hegemony among diverse civil society organizations, critical or favorable to the current order, takes place within the political system, which is not immutable. The quality of democracy reflects the correlation of forces between the various worlds that claim their spaces, without horizons of antagonistic character. In Mouffe’s words: “The important thing is that conflict, when it arises, does not take the form of an ‘antagonism’ (a struggle between enemies), but of an ‘agonism’ (a struggle between adversaries)” (op. cit., 2020).

This perspective is not contradictory to liberal conceptions guided by the recognition of equals, without exclu-

sions or preconditions, as the “right to have rights.” In Hannah Arendt’s words

Equality, in contrast to everything related to mere existence, is not a given, but results from human organization, because it is guided by the principle of justice. We are not born equal, we become equal as members of a group by virtue of our decision to grant ourselves reciprocally equal rights. (Arendt, 1998, p. 335).

According to this vision, the actions of parties and movements would be guided by the expansion of citizenship spaces, without predefined limits in terms of formulation of claims. The struggle for a world in which several worlds fit in, for the right to have rights, points to the constitution of a political system capable of recognizing pluralism, of guaranteeing the fundamental freedoms of organization and expression, and of establishing formal mechanisms to regulate competition between parties.

From a historical perspective, liberal approaches trace precedents of this lineage to the trajectory of Western capitalism. The imposition of limits on the power of the English monarchy by the nobility in the Magna Carta of 1215 inaugurated a process of demarcation of political spaces and rights guaranteed in writing, beginning with property and equality before the law for the aristocracy of the time. In the economic field, the Industrial Revolution marks a structural change in the relationship between human creativity and the generation of wealth. Machinery and large industry began to command a development process of unlimited scope.

Taking England of the 19th century as an example, David Landes praises what he considers “the society theoretically best prepared to achieve material progress and general enrichment” (Landes, 1998, p. 241). Among these characteristics, he includes the capacity for innovation, production and adaptation to cope with technological development; the transmission of knowledge through education; choices in the allocation of human resources that value competition, merit and initiative, providing opportunities for success compatible with demonstrated entrepreneurial ability; guarantees to private property rights, personal freedom against any form of arbitrariness, the obedience of contracts and a stable government, “more of laws than of men” (Landes, *op. cit.*, p. 242).

Despite recognizing that there are no examples of societies in which all the characteristics pointed out are present, “this paradigm, nevertheless, emphasizes the direction of history (...) and it is not a coincidence that the first industrial nation was the one that came closest to this new kind of social order” (*op. cit.*, p. 243). According to this interpretation, the combination of market economy and representative democracy, with explicit game rules of political and economic competition, which express the legality built by the organized society through its institutional representation, is a structural condition to stimulate innovation and entrepreneurship that would be inherent to capitalism.

From the 19th century onwards, the European colonizing impulse would tend more and more towards associating the international division of labor with capitalist rationality, benefiting from the advantages acquired in the

application of technological innovation to production for civilian and military consumption. Initially with England at the forefront, giving way later to the USA, the evolution of world development will be associated with a permanent dispute between Liberal Capitalism and several variants of statism (fascism, militarism, populism, communism).

From that point of view, the dispute is defined in the second half of the 20th century by the consolidation of three trends: 1) with the defeat of Nazi fascism, the capitalist powers adopt representative democracy as a form of government; 2) with the end of the Cold War, the period of systemic conflicts with non-capitalist states comes to an end; 3) the globalization of the economy accentuates the expansion of the market to the detriment of the state, even in countries governed by communist parties.

As we have seen, this euphoria with the convergence of humanity in the direction of “liberal democratic capitalism” proved to be precocious in the face of the malaise resulting from successive crises and global conflicts affecting the economy, the health, physical, food and environmental security. Responses emerge from diverse political-ideological views, but they reveal common expectations of the end of the cycle, although pointing to divergent exits: 1) return to a paradise lost somewhere in the past, 2) a great reset of the system, 3) post-capitalist acceleration.

In looking at the world from the horizon of the third dimension, one can also turn to the historical trajectory of England, with contrasting traditions of the liberal narrative. In the context of the 1649 revolution that deposed and beheaded King Charles I, two currents of popular ori-

gin, Calvinist Protestants, whose claims were precursors of nineteenth-century anarchist and socialist strands, gained expression: levelers and diggers.

The first, more moderate, constitutionalists, defended legal and religious equality. To political egalitarianism and freedom of worship, the latter, also called “true levelers,” added that of property, proposing the redistribution of land in favor of the poor.

These two lineages express nuances of a “leveling” perspective, which we can see both in movements and theorizations based on the radicalization of democracy, and in post-capitalist approaches.

Asserting the Marxist tradition that under capitalism’s inevitable advance, “all that is solid melts into air,” Nick Srnicek and Alex Williams present the Accelerationist Manifesto (MA) in 2013. Envisioning the crisis of neoliberal globalization as a detonator of contradictions with structural transformative potential, they propose the deepening of this trajectory, from the perspective of

releasing latent productive forces. Within this project, the material basis of neoliberalism does not need to be destroyed. It needs to be reshaped to achieve common goals. The existing capitalist infrastructure is not a stage to be demolished, but a launching pad for post-capitalism. (2017a, p. 41).

In a later book, Srnicek and Williams further characterize the systemic transformations, calling on the left to “mobilize around a post-labor consensus”. They assume the premise that the stage reached by technological development has created the material basis for the end of labor

without compromising the generation of wealth. In this sense, they propose a transition agenda guided by the reduction of the working week with no impact on wages, and the implementation of a Universal Basic Income (UBI), in which they consider the barriers to its viability to be political rather than economic. UBI could easily be financed by the

reduction of duplicative programs, increased taxes on the rich, estate taxes, consumption taxes, taxes on carbon emissions, cutbacks to military spending, cutbacks to subsidies for industry and agriculture, and strict measures against tax evasion. (Srnizek; Williams, 2017b).

UBI proposals are not the heritage of the left; the debate over the necessity and feasibility of its implementation also involves liberal perspectives that share the fears expressed in the “Great Reset.” In this camp lies Charles Murray of the American Enterprise Institute, an expression of the US conservative spectrum close to the Republican Party, who defends UBI as “our only hope for dealing with a future labor market unlike any other in human history and that represents our best hope for revitalizing American civil society” (Murray, 2016). Reinforcing the previous trajectory of this idea in the field of thought of liberals like Milton Friedman, he proposes an annual lifetime deposit of \$13,000 for every adult 21 and older, of which \$3,000 should be allocated to health insurance. The funding would be composed of the resources currently directed to social security, health care, housing, and other programs of the welfare state, stating that “under my UBI plan, the

entire bureaucratic apparatus of government social workers would disappear” (op. cit., 2016).

Expressing concern about the systemic threat present in anti-liberal political movements and leadership expressive of structural difficulties in providing inclusive social responses, Yuval Noah Harari argues for UBI as a possibility of “protecting the poor from job loss and economic exclusion, while protecting the rich from populist wrath” (2018). Harari situates UBI as part of the response to the dilemmas facing the future of capitalism:

If despite all our efforts a significant percentage of the human race is excluded from the labor market, we will have to explore new models of post-labor societies, post-labor economies, and post-labor politics. (2018).

Following this perspective, the entrepreneur Peter Diammandis, one of the founders of the Singularity University business school, based in the state of California, places on the sway of technological advancement, in addition to changes in employment, the possibilities of overcoming material limitations to human development, reducing costs and expanding services, which would make the institution of a UBI feasible:

This will decouple earning money to survive from working. You will have a job that is what you enjoy doing and you will get the money to pay for your food, transportation, and health (...) Technology will provide better health and education, reduce the cost of energy, and water. (Diammandis, 2017).

From a left position, Paul Mason sees in the UBI a more radical meaning, bearing elements of a process of post-capitalist transition that would already be underway, by

a) formalizing the separation between work and wages, and b) subsidizing the transition to a shorter working week, working day, or working life. What would be sought with both of these goals, in short, would be to socialize the costs of automation (...) a basic income suffused with taxes collected from the market economy would give people the opportunity to make themselves a place in the non-market economy and secure their positions in it. (Mason, 2016).

The liberal and left approaches presented reveal an important intersection in the views of Harari, Diammandis, Mason, Srnicek, and Williams: the glimpse of a post-labor society. However, there is a strategic bifurcation separating the defense of capitalism and its overcoming.

According to liberals, UPR is a policy to help against structural unemployment and economic exclusion; according to the left, it is part of an anti-system program. In this sense, Srnicek and Williams seek to rescue the universalist strategic dimension, relativizing the possibilities of change centered on atomized forms of struggle privileged in recent decades by social movements. Without questioning their importance as mobilizers of society, obtaining significant achievements, the left

must inevitably face the problem of universalism, that is, the idea that certain values, ideas, and goals can hold across all cultures (...) Anything that is not universal and competes with this will end up stifled

by an infinite series of capitalist relations. (Srnicek; Williams, 2017b).

Consistent with this stance, the Xenofeminist (XF) collective Laboria Cuboniks (2017) considers

insufficient any politics that exclusively values the local as a way to subvert the currents of global abstraction (2017, p. 122) (...) The viability of emancipatory abolitionist projects – the abolition of class, gender, and race – depends on a profound reworking of the universal. (op. cit., p. 126).

Laboria Cuboniks advocates libertarian goals whose assumptions, for opposite reasons, correspond to the evils denounced by the right under the label of “cultural Marxism” and “transhumanism”.

Freedom is not a given thing and, above all, it is not given to us by anything “natural” (...) XF is vehemently anti-naturalist (...) Technoscientific innovation must be linked to a collective theoretical and political thinking in which women, queers and gender dissidents have an incomparable role (2017, p. 118-119) (...) Our destiny is tied to technoscience, in which nothing is so sacred that it cannot be redesigned and transformed to expand our openness to freedom, extending it to the gendered and the human. (op. cit., p. 127).

Both from Srnicek and Williams’ perspective and that of the XF, the appropriation of capitalist acceleration as a horizon of systemic transition does not seem contradictory to the political conceptions based on agonism and the “right to have rights” discussed above. The dispute, regar-

dless of the universalist and radical transformative scope outlined in the emancipatory projects, takes place within the system, as a process, without revolutionary rupture. From this perspective, the strategy would involve a hegemonic dispute in the governability of capitalism, in which the foundations of its support are being undermined, concomitantly to the institution of the new. As Alejandro Galiano summarizes:

We don't have the strength to overcome it, and getting out of it is impossible. We must govern it: use it where it is necessary, fight it where it is harmful, and regulate it where it is insufficient. And, above all, parasitize it where we can: fight for civilizational leisure and for the social control of natural, digital, and financial revenues, both to capture and redistribute them, and to limit them. (Galiano, 2020).

Returning to the analysis initially proposed, the fears outlined by the right-wing reaction to globalism labeled as “cultural Marxism” are plausible, transitioning from the strategy of assault on power to the penetration of the institutions of liberal democracy and the introduction of narratives at odds with the civilizational oneness associated with a Western and Christian tradition. The Evil associated with the materialization of these “oppressive” nightmares is directly proportional to the Good of the realization of libertarian dreams.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, even in the diversity of references, mediations are postulated whose universalism refers to the omnipresence of immaterial spheres.

2. IMMATERIAL SPHERES

2.1. Noosphere

“We are in such a unique world, that to live is only to dream; and experience teaches me that the man who lives, dreams what he is, until he wakes up”.

Pedro Calderon de la Barca (2011)

In the mid 1990s, in parallel with the projection of neo-liberal globalism and the hegemony of the United States, which has its peak moment under Bill Clinton, reactions begin to acquire greater visibility that, through different agendas and methods of action, question the increase in the concentration of wealth and the consequent deepening of the polarization between winners and losers, as well as the standardization of the world in the image and likeness of the “Western and Christian” way of life.

The growing anti-globalization demonstrations, the emergence of social movements such as Zapatismo, and the increased visibility of terrorism with the escalation of Al Qaeda’s prominence, put the US security establishment on alert as to the challenges associated with a global reali-

ty in which private actors, driven by innumerable agendas, interact through networks without centralized control.

A leading institution in this line of approach is RAND. Founded in 1948 with the aim of integrating research with military planning, at the time linked to the Air Force, it later became a private think tank.

In the 1990s, John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt initiated, within RAND, studies on Netwars, in which terrorism, organized crime, and social movements were highlighted. In terms of the analytical challenge of that moment, the Zapatista uprising, associated with the third modality, stands out. The unprecedented international projection of a movement with indigenous roots, located in a marginal region of Mexico, is attributed to the global action of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), demonstrating capacity "to impress the media and use fax, e-mail, and other telecommunication systems to spread around the world" (Ronfeldt et al., 1998, p. 26).

Following the same perspective of analysis presented in the previous chapter, RAND researchers point to the disconnection of the Zapatistas' struggle from traditional political action, which has as its central goal the conquest of power. Despite the leftist nature attributed to the movement, it is recognized that the message against the system has in civil society its privileged interlocutor, seeking to broaden awareness and mobilization in favor of social change in their country, attracting global attention for a crusade of universal reach that unifies the group of the excluded and discontented.

For RAND researchers, networks set in motion decentralized networks that often block the response capacity of institutions responsible for maintaining order on a hierarchical structure. Tackling them requires an equivalent organization, calling attention to the need to resize the state, incorporating capacities for dialogue with emerging private actors. “This really leads to network versus network struggles, the government hierarchy may have to organize its own networks in order to prevail against adversarial networks” (Ronfeldt et. al, p. 79-80).

In the wake of these studies, Arquilla and Ronfeldt go on to observe the spread of networks that accompany the advancement of the Internet world, focusing on developments around the cybersphere and the infosphere, immaterial spaces of global interaction in which the emergence of an all-encompassing dimension, the “noosphere”, “a globe-circling ‘realm of the mind’ (...) around the globe”, is projected (2020, p. 1).

Of the three, cyberspace is the smallest: the infosphere is much larger, for it includes both nondigital and digital systems, information stocks, and flows of information; and the noosphere engulfs them both, partly because it is generally considered less of a technological realm and more of an ideational, cultural, and cognitive realm than the other two. (op. cit., p. 3).

The authors’ research resumes the studies conducted in the first decades of the 20th century by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, Vladimir Ivanovitch Vernadsky, and Edouard Le Roy, who saw in the Earth’s trajectory the formation of three spheres: the geosphere, a solid, inanimate layer; the

biosphere, which accompanies the proliferation of living beings, in which the transforming effect resulting from the interaction between human thought and nature is embodied in the creation of a sphere of the mind, the noosphere.

Arquilla and Ronfeldt consider that we are currently experiencing “an era of transition that is far from smooth or peaceful” (2020, p. 47), with “a war (...) for the control of the noosphere” (2020, p. 48). To face it, the US will have to take into account the insufficiency of the instruments and strategies based on Realpolitik in the face of a multiplicity of actors operating in territory articulated to the mind, the “noopolitics”. “While realpolitik is typically about whose military or economic wins, noopolitics is ultimately about whose story wins”, (2020, p. 70) which narrative to project against “myriad cognitive wars – ideological, political, religious, and cultural wars- (...) aimed at shaping people’s minds and asserting control over this or that part of the emerging noosphere” (2020, p. XIV).

Among the examples of war for the control of the noosphere, the authors highlight Russia’s actions since the rise of Vladimir Putin. It is not only a matter of cyber operations such as those that interfered in Hilary Clinton’s presidential campaign, supposedly aiming to favor Donald Trump’s candidacy, but also a sophisticated noo-political strategy to mobilize allies and manipulate right-wing sectors, “energizing such issues as nationalism, traditionalism, racism, and sexism, not to mention all sorts of conspiracy theories, to make Western societies more fractions than ever” (2020, p. 44). In parallel, they warn of a nebulous

zone populated by networks such as Al Qaeda, the Islamic State, QAnon, and WikiLeaks.

In this set of governmental and non-state actors, Arquilla and Ronfeldt identify a dark dimension of noopolitics, guided by

strategic narratives constructed around “plausible promises”, “sacred values”, and “viral conspiracy theories” that serve not only to attract recruits, enliven morale, and stimulate network building within and among their own kind but also to confront, disorient, divide, and destabilize their targets. (2020, p. 46).

In the opposite direction, propose that the U.S. adopt a noopolitics focused on global public goods and values that they interpret as constitutive of the nation and its insertion in the world:

The United States has long stood for cherished ideals – freedom, equality, opportunity. It has also stood for ethical ways of doing things: competing openly and fairly, working in concert with partners, seeking the common good, respecting others’ rights and responsibilities. (2020, p. 69).

Arquilla and Ronfeldt’s analysis is primarily aimed at preparing the U.S. to face challenges that go beyond traditional defense and security capacities, while also alerting to the actions of other actors, state or non-state, that have already entered the age of noopolitics.

Concomitant to the reasons of state and politics, the appropriation of the notion of noosphere as a setting for human interaction has ramifications that focus on socie-

ty, science, and spirituality. As with RAND researchers, the source reference points back to Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Vladimir Vernadsky.

The first, a scientist and Jesuit priest, made his religiosity explicit, with the conviction that “on the entire surface of the Noosphere, Christianity represents the only current of Thought bold and progressive enough to embrace practically and effectively the World” (Chardin, 1970, p. 329). Despite his declaration of faith, his work was censored by the Catholic Church until 1981.

The second, a member of the Soviet Union Academy of Sciences, an atheist, focused on the intellect: “the geological manifestations of scientific thought exert (...) a pressure on the inert and restrictive environment (...) of the biosphere. Thus the noosphere, the realm of reason, is created” (Vernadsky, 2017, p. 166). After his death, he became a public reference in Russia.

In a speech at the 2000 APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) ministerial meeting in Brunei, Vladimir Putin praises his legacy:

Mr. Vernadsky, our compatriot, in the early 20th century developed a theory for the noosphere – the environment that unifies humanity. It combines the interests of peoples and countries, nature and society, scientific knowledge and state policy. The principle of sustainable development was actually built on this theory. (Gordina; Limonad, 2008, p. 2).

The dimensions pointed out by Putin take concrete form in the Altai Republic, the Russian part of the Altai Mountains region, a plurinational geographical area

encompassing Kazakhstan, China, and Mongolia, a source of inspiration for initiatives and theorizations.

In 2014, the journal *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* devoted a special issue to the region. In one of the articles, Altai emerges as a “Eurasian anthropological cultural melting pot”, an epicenter of humankind conformation “of a new spiritual and environmental era (noosphere)” (Ivanov et. al., 2014, p. 55).

At an international conference on Modern Cultures held in Moscow in March 2019, Irina Zhernosenko, of the Altai State Institute of Culture, presents the region as a framework of experiments aimed at implementing a “noospheric concept of civilizational development” in which scientific and technological progress is “a means of achieving harmonious relations between man and nature, when a person’s main strength and energy is not expended on survival, but on the dissemination of his creative and spiritual potential” (2019, p. 831).

The author stresses a number of initiatives involving society and local government: conceptualization and debate in scientific forums on the noospheric model and Altai’s position in terms of civilization, integrating Eurasian and planetary scopes; development of natural reserves and protected areas; renewable energy, agricultural production complexes, industries based on technologies of indigenous origin, particularly biopharmaceuticals; sanatorium-spa networks, tourism, and strategic investment in education.

In this last aspect, the goal is to generate a “noospheric consciousness”, with a starting point in the communities of the ethnic-natural park of Karakol “Uch Enmek”.

Since 2006, a pedagogical experiment has been conducted in five schools (...) designed to become the basis for (...) a holistic and noospheric worldview for the younger generation: professing the primacy of the spiritual over the material and the principle of coevolution of the natural and social, (...) a model formed over one thousand years by the experience of the indigenous peoples of Eurasia. (2019, p. 831-32).

Speaking at the World Forum of Spiritual Culture, held in October 2010 in Astana, Kazakhstan, Roger Nelson, founder and coordinator of the Global Consciousness Project (GCP), situates the broader dimensions of the vision that guides his studies: “Knowing that a noosphere exists, however subtle and under development, can motivate us to be more aware of the interconnections it entails” (2010, p. 13).

The GCP began its activities in 1998 at Princeton University, USA, and is currently affiliated with the Institute of Noetic Sciences (IONS). The premise of the project is that attention-grabbing events set in motion a measurable global consciousness.

From equipment scattered in 70 locations around the world, data is collected and archived on the central laboratory server, allowing the contrasting levels of fluctuation arising from random collection on events of significant impact.

Scientific analysis of a huge database that should have been random shows signs of structure that is connected to our shared consciousness and emotions. The implication is that we become integrated into what we

might consider to be a global consciousness – although we do not know this directly. (Nelson, 2010, p. 4).

The funeral of Princess Diana on September 6, 1997, the attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001, the official announcement by the World Health Organization that the Coronavirus had reached pandemic status on March 11, 2020, the invasion of the Capitol in Washington on January 6, 2021, are all events expressive of a “global awareness”, gauged by the GCP from synchronization with significant fluctuations recorded in its database.

In the “Manifesto for the Noosphere”, José Argüelles, who also attended the event in Altana, includes among his references the research developed by the GCP. For him, the phenomena associated with a global consciousness would be evidence that the process of noospheric transition is in an advanced stage, establishing December 21, 2012 as the moment of conscious activation.

This precision is based on his studies about the conception of time in the Mayan civilization, converging with analysts and spiritualist movements that identify synchronicity with the calendar pointing to this date as the end of a 5,125-year cycle. Although convinced of the inevitability of the fulfillment of a prophecy prescribed hundreds of years ago, Argüelles does not disregard the energetic force that multitudinous adherence is capable of mobilizing, generating an event of global consciousness.

Reinforcing his perception of a transitional event at an advanced stage, Argüelles contextualizes parallel milestones of civilizational crisis resulting from the acceleration of

the industrial globalization cycle initiated at the end of the eighteenth century. The spread of the machine, mechanized life, and the technosphere would have reached its culmination with the generation of “a completely new sphere: the cybersphere, the artificial or virtual noosphere (in which) the separation between humanity and the natural order has reached its extreme limit” (Argüelles, 2012).

Argüelles’ manifesto, published after his death in 2011, is expressive of a life trajectory combining research, teaching, and spirituality. After his academic period as a university professor in the USA, he dedicated himself to motivating planetary convergences by structuring study groups, meditation groups, and events. In 2001, he participated in a meeting in the Republic of Altai, where he proposed to the local parliament the declaration of the region as the world’s first Noospheric reserve, an initiative carried forward in later forums held in Russia and Kazakhstan (op. Cit., 2012). His theorizations draw from conceptual precursors of the noosphere, Mesoamerican cosmology and Jungian psychology.

Just as the biosphere is the unified field of life and its support systems – the region for the transformation of cosmic energy on Earth, to use Vernadsky’s phrase – the noosphere is the unified field of mind. The psychic reflection of the biosphere (...) As in the “dreamtime” of our aboriginal ancestors, the noosphere is the collective unconscious driven to conscious awakening by the crucible of history. (Argüelles, 2012).

In a similar vein, Pedro Barbosa establishes a comprehensive framework of the noosphere, in which scien-

tific and esoteric knowledge converges. Drawing from his studies on hypertextuality, he points to the simultaneities between time and space established in internet search mechanisms, in which knowledge stored in a cloud is automatically accessible through links that open portals located anywhere in the world. All that is needed is to select texts, extract, cut and combine them, with the possibility of immediate electronic translation that makes everything intelligible in the desired language.

For Barbosa, the internet accomplishes “what Teilhard de Chardin dreamed of (...) only today it is no longer a purely mental noosphere, but rather an electronic sphere where information materializes” (Barbosa; Torres, 2017, p. 145). But all this is part of something bigger, as visions that refer to sacred scriptures that hold past, present, and future of the existence of the cosmos indicate. Lineages are situated here that range from “Hermetic, Hindu, Egyptian, Hebrew thought, (...) to neo esotericism, with the so-called akashic archive,” an ethereal record of “all knowledge of the universe (...) a kind of cosmic internet” (op. cit., p. 145).

Internet, the electronic cloud surrounding the earth, accessible through physically triggered links, the threshold between the material and the immaterial. Akasha, Sanskrit word, often translated as Heaven, incorporeal territory of spirituality, collective unconscious.

From the perspective of making the noosphere tangible, situating its meaning as planetary or cosmic convergence in process, the approaches of RAND, Altai, GCP, Argüelles and Barbosa introduce explanatory elements that

combine reasons of state, community actions, laboratory measuring and mysticism. An immaterial sphere transcendent in time and space is circumscribed as a scenario, populated by ancestral heredities that transmute into the collective unconscious.

Randomness, chance, finds fitting meaning, synchronicity. Or in Carl Jung's words, "an unconscious image reaches consciousness directly (literally) or indirectly (symbolized or suggested) in the form of a dream, association, or premonition, (and) an objective situation coincides with this content" (Jung, 2012).

What existed in parallel meets. The unconscious becomes conscious, the subjective becomes objective, the immaterial becomes material.

Would Marx differ? In the 19th century, with the end of capitalism as a horizon, he established a correspondence between the real and the intellectual: "material force must be deposed by material force, but theory also becomes material force as long as it penetrates the masses" (Marx, 2021).

2.2. General Intellect

"Of man's various instruments, the most amazing one is undoubtedly the book. The others are extensions of his body. The microscope, the telescope, are extensions of his sight; the telephone is an extension of the voice; then we have

the plow and the sword, extensions of his arm. But the book is something else: the book is an extension of memory and imagination". Jorge Luis Borges (2011)

The Industrial Revolution established new parameters in the conception of wealth of nations. Possessing abundant natural resources is no longer paramount when compared to the capacity and autonomy to invent machines that transform raw materials and labor into goods. With no limits as to climate, soil, water, territorial extension, only capital and human ingenuity.

As analyzed in the first chapter, according to the liberal perspective of development, there are prerequisites that the history of England would have sanctioned. The functioning of the market, with free competition, without interventionism that alters the balance of the economy, respect for private property, freeing the forces of creativity and entrepreneurship. This model has become hegemonic and, more than two centuries later, faces a wide range of questions.

Even from concerns and interests located in divergent fields of the political-ideological spectrum, a paradoxical convergence of finalist expectations operates. An ethno-nationalist right that identifies a threat tied to a globalist project based on an anti-system conception labeled "cultural Marxism"; a neoliberal right that recognizes the need for adjustments by proposing a "great reset"; left currents that debate capitalist acceleration as a detonator of technological, cognitive, and socioeconomic contradictions with the potential of making capitalism ungovernable.

On the left, analysts place Marx's "Fragment on Machines" as a reference source of the phenomenon of immateriality that would be at the core of the current structural changes in the system. Written in 1858, published posthumously as part of the manuscripts known as *Grundrisse*, it introduces the "general intellect" into the centrality of the productive process:

Nature does not build machines or locomotives, railroads, electric telegraphs, automatic spinning machines, etc. (...). They are organs of the human brain created by the human hand; the power of knowledge, objectified. The development of fixed capital indicates to what degree general social knowledge has become a direct force of production, and to what degree, hence, the condition of the process of social life itself have come under the control of general intellect and been transformed in accordance with it. (Marx, 2011, p. 944).

In Paul Mason's interpretation, Marx "imagined that information was stored and shared in a 'collective intellect,' which was to be the minds of all people on earth connected through social knowledge" (2016). From a perspective of evolution to the present, Paolo Virno associates the general intellect with a mass intellect, in which "the more generic attitudes of mind become valuable as productive resources, namely, the linguistic faculties, the disposition to learn, memory, the capacity to abstract and relate, and the inclination toward self-reflexivity" (2020, p. 77).

For Andrea Fumagalli, the predominance of knowledge and information as productive forces, together with the

interconnection of networks, would be an indication that capitalism has entered a “biocognitive” phase, in which “financial markets, knowledge and relations are the engine of accumulation” (2020, p. 54). While wages remain the primary form of surplus extraction, the main object of appropriation is the cognitive worker. In this category, Franco Berardi situates those who “process information in order to give birth to goods and services” (Berardi, 2020a, p. 88), in a semiotic capitalism governed “by technolinguistic automatisms inscribed in the interconnected global machine” (Berardi, 2020b, p. 13).

Under this prism, the emancipatory struggle must be waged primarily on the cognitive terrain: “Political action has to be replaced by a neurological reorganization of the general intellect with the activation of a technical platform for the self-organization of cognitariat and the reorientation of semioproduction according to social needs” (Berardi, 2021, p. 110).

In terms of historical antecedent, Berardi situates the international student movement, with its epicenter in the uprising in France in 1968, as “the conscious emergence of the general intellect, as the first manifestation of the self-consciousness of cognitive work” (Berardi, 2021, p. 18).

Referring to the same event, Maurizio Lazzarato sees 1968 as having a double meaning. As mass action that leaves the logic of representation and negotiation of parties, unions, employers and the State. As a trigger of responses from the establishment introducing new forms of domination supported by technological devices.

Under the name of noopolitics, in which he associates the Greek *noos* with intellect and with the name of an Internet provider company, Lazaratto identifies techniques directed to the control of the brain, in which “the attention (...) and the memory of individuals are mobilized, fixed and captured at the same time by signs, images and agency of enunciation (Lazaratto, 2006, p. 148).

Noopolitik can operate in opposite directions. By manipulating subjectivities based on the assumptions of capital, or by the emancipatory action of cooperation among brains. In this direction, Lazarratto points to the post-socialist movements, which for him would be a response guided by invention, as opposed to war, prevalent in the forms of party and union organization and conflict: “The logic of war is that of the conquest or division of a single possible world. The logic of invention is that of the creation and making of different worlds in the same world, which at the same time empties the power that allows one to stop obeying it” (Lazaratto, 2006, p. 201).

The Zapatista experience is present here, incorporated by Lazaratto in his critique of the absolutization of the cognitariat as an emancipatory subject, whether in a class approach replacing the proletariat, or by reducing the capacity for innovation and transformation to the techno-scientific component of the mind.

The illiterate Indians of Chiapas are opposed to the colonization of their ways of life by setting in motion the dynamics of brain cooperation (...) putting heterogeneous knowledge into play (the traditional knowledge of the Indians themselves and the knowledge of

the “academics,” who carry in their struggle the “tradition” of the forms of organization of the Mexican students). (op. cit., p. 120).

What is meaningful about these forms of struggle is the cooperation of brains, which results in the invention of new worlds that cross divisions between material and immaterial fields, redefining or creating institutionalities, rights, and interlocutions.

Situating herself within this debate, McKenzie Wark also relativizes the centrality attributed to the cognitive dimension. Taking issue with the characterization of a new capitalist phase, she asks whether what we are experiencing is still capitalism, or something worse. Based on the Marxist analysis of the “social formation” as a combination of modes of production in which the one that prevails defines the nature of the system, subordinating the others to its accumulation dynamics, Wark points to the existence of a post-capitalism in which capitalist, landowner, slave and informational forms of extraction and appropriation of surplus coexist. The fundamental contradiction is associated with the asymmetry in the ownership and distribution of information, in a social relation that opposes the “vectorialist” dominant class to the “hacker” dominated class.

If the capitalist class possesses the means of production, the vectorialist class possesses the vectors of information (...) that traverse space. They own the intensive vectors of computation, which accelerate time. They hold the copyrights, the patents, the trademarks that capture our attention, or attribute authorship to new techniques. They have the logisti-

cal systems that manage and monitor the status and movement of any resource. They have the financial tools that reflect the value of each resource, and that can apply to the markets that determine the possible value of any future combination of those resources. They possess the algorithms that classify and assign a particular piece of information in a particular circumstance. (2021, p. 75).

Far from being emancipatory, the post-capitalism described by Wark accentuates the scope and intensity of exploitation. It is worse than its predecessor because it exhausts the boundaries of the world for commodification, reaching a stage where it “can only cannibalize its own means of existence, both natural and social” (2021, p. 66).

On the opposite side of the contradiction, the hacker class “produces new information from old information” (Wark, 2021, p. 25). Their working time goes beyond “the seasonal cycle of the harvest or the worker’s clock; it is in fact something that happens when it happens, including time for rest” (op. cit. p. 60), since it is not about the repetition of a task, but the pressure to always generate distinctive products.

In this characterization, Wark seeks to establish nuance in the categories used by the biocognitive approach. “The power of the vectorialist class is not cognitive, and it is not a power over the ‘general intellect’ (...) It reaches as much to the human corporeality and sexuality as to its intellect” (2021, p. 78). On the other hand, he points to the material structure required by the process of information circulation and the equipment that enables its use, in which

he takes the physical storage and distribution networks of Amazon and Walmart as examples.

Beyond the differences in perspective, which do not seem antagonistic to us, there is convergence in indicating immaterial spheres in the process of autonomization as part of changes in science and technology. However, at the same time that the possibilities of wealth generation and human growth seem unlimited, the original ills of the system in terms of labor exploitation, inequality, and exclusion are accentuated (Ayerbe, 2019). In the opposite direction of the liberal reading, in the biocognitive approach of the general intellect as a productive force, the dominant social relations have already gone into rapid combustion.

Adapting to the new times of Jorge Luis Borges' quotation that opens this section, science has not advanced to the point of doing without instruments that allow the extension of memory, imagination, inventiveness, or that are extensions of sight, voice and hands. In this material field of production, distribution and consumption, capitalism still reigns.

Information condenses the main content of the surplus produced collectively by the networked interconnection of the general intellect, appropriated by the biocognitive (or vectorial) capital and transformed into goods. It is the product of the creative capacities of a cognitive (or hacker) class, which can become an anti-system subject by metamorphosing knowledge into a common public good.

On the trail of the first steps of this emancipatory potential is the counterculture of the 1960s, in which movements that claimed to change life coexisted, with

agendas focused on the student camp, pacifism, community life, social revolution, and spirituality. Recognized as a framework for releasing energies that broaden the forms and contents of social action, it impacts the mutation of senses and meanings along the lines of separation between material and immaterial dimensions.

2.3. Aquarius

“Every attachment blinds, and lends an imaginary halo of attraction to the desired object.” Paramahansa Yogananda (2006)

In the nineteenth century, the Chinese empire began to attract growing interest from Western powers, eager to take over a market that at the time was estimated at 300 million people. However, they were met with strong resistance from the country's authorities, whose tradition had been one of disdain in relation to offers of openness to commercial exchange.

The confidence of the ruling elite in the unquestionable and unwavering superiority of their way of life discouraged curiosity as to what was happening in the rest of the world. Why undertake relations with barbarian peoples who had nothing to offer and everything to gain from the achievements of the Middle Empire?

Despite this sense of superiority, they were not prepared to deal with the military power and expansionist

ambition of the great industrial and military power of the time, England, which started an overwhelming offensive to impose trade liberalization on China.

In 1842 and 1857, the emperor was forced to sign treaties allowing sea ports to be opened and inland rivers to be navigated for foreign goods to enter. The victory over the Chinese government was total and the aggressors got what they demanded. An inexhaustible market was open and ready to be occupied.

For unforeseen reasons, expectations were frustrated. Thirty years after the first treaty, China was exporting much more than it was importing, its tea and silk continued to attract Western consumers, but the same was not true for the Chinese, who were “inexplicably” indifferent to the goods of modern European industry, which included the world famous English fabrics.

Some merchants, attributing the fact to the negligence of the authorities and high taxes, even pressured the British government to force China to buy their goods, but the representatives of Queen Victoria in the country were already aware that the problem was another one: the Chinese did not need products that had never been part of their consumption habits.

The great powers swept away the emperor’s power like a hurricane, which after the initial devastating impact, gradually lost strength, diluting itself in the unusual void of the Chinese people’s indifference. Indifference became a lethal weapon.

The efficiency of any weapon is measured by its ability to neutralize its intended target. What becomes indi-

fferent is no longer an object of concern, it is freed. But how can the same process end another? The target is hit on what fuels its existence, the self-expectations about its power, influence, importance, and the ambition to be valued, emulated, desired or hated. Imaginary murder by Olympian ignorance, death by indifference.

The attitude of the Chinese population is not comparable to the Indian practices of civil disobedience and nonviolence led by Mahatma Ghandi against the British empire. Indifference is not a form of militancy, a consciousness-raising exercise driven by activists seeking to create a movement against a specific target. Indifference signals non-interest, without grandiloquent gestures. How can one conceive of a systematic search for what is not desired? Ignorance or rejection of offers are enough, making them lethal to those who unsuccessfully seek interlocution. The power of indifference is revealed in the spontaneity of not taking notice.

In the example of China in the 19th century, the lack of desire for Western goods did not require awareness. But indifference can also result from an acquired process, through the knowledge of other indifferences that one starts to share. It is a persuasion without words, awakening sensations that settle and remain. It is not the result of inductive action, of convincing, of propaganda. As Fernando Pessoa wrote: "Not to want is to be empowered (...) The greatest mastery of oneself is indifference to oneself" (1999).

In times of biocognitive capitalism, if indifference to its consumption appeals were incorporated into the habits

and customs of a significant part of the population, it would operate as a natural antibody against informational viruses and bacteria. This is no small thing in the face of a system in which intellect, information, communication, and emotions become indivisible from structures of domination that are subjectivized in various dimensions of life. In 1967, Guy Debord gave it the name “Society of the Spectacle”:

The spectacle is not a set of images, but a social relationship between people, mediated by images. It is the heart of the unreality of real society. Under all its particular forms of information or propaganda, advertising or direct consumption of entertainment, the spectacle constitutes the present model of socially dominant life (...) it is the moment when commodity reaches the total occupation of social life. (2003, p. 15).

Debord's work became one of the sources of inspiration for the social movements that would shake France in 1968, impacting, as we have seen, similar demonstrations around the world. I don't know if the Argentine rock artist Moris had read *Society of the Spectacle*, but in 1973 he recorded the song “Muchacho del Taller y la Oficina”, a cruel portrait of the alienated subjectivation of enjoyment, reduced to media contemplation of glamorous existences: “And your idol, lying by the pool, gives you the joy of life.”.

Rock imprinted on the world an existential mark of unprecedented scope in the interaction between form-content-transformation-abrangement-simultaneity-speed. A counterculture that globalizes itself by introducing universal meanings into the particularism of countless youthful subjectivities.

There are self-taught forms of learning that are fundamentally empirical, through repetition and accumulation of experiences that constitute a wisdom that aids in the course of daily life. But there is also the self-taught knowledge that comes from the access to a more or less structured world view, whether by ideology, politics, religiosity, art, sociability, which at some point invades the mind with ready answers to anxieties that seemed confusing. Unlike school knowledge, which is programmed, this eclectic drive presents a world that announces itself as infinite.

Rock icons condensed music and existence, projecting ways of life that incorporated their own artistic tastes, habits, inquietudes, and discoveries, often becoming models of emulation. The trajectory of the Beatles, an emblematic example for their notoriety and amplitude of influence, brought to the reality of legions of young people political and humanitarian gestures, such as the pacifist fight against the American intervention in Vietnam and the fight against hunger in Bangladesh; exaltations for the eroticization of life, proclaiming free love as opposed to war; the transcendence of material reality, adhering to the transcendental meditation of guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, or the LSD therapies conducted by psychologist Timothy Leary.

Ascending to higher states of consciousness, through hallucinogenic substances or shamanic initiation, has become an existential component of a counterculture of detachment from consumer society, clamoring for community spirit, and seeking connection with immaterial dimensions.

In 1961, Carlos Castaneda, an anthropology student at the University of California (UCLA), during a field research trip about the use of medicinal plants in indigenous rituals in northern Mexico, met the Yaqui Indian Don Juan Matus. From this encounter he became his apprentice, immersed in an initiation process as a “man of knowledge”. The experience is recounted in several books, two of which, *The Teachings of Don Juan* and *Journey to Ixtlan*, are the result, respectively, of Castaneda’s master’s thesis and doctoral dissertation defended at UCLA.

From the reading of this initiation experience, we highlight three teachings of Don Juan that reveal convergent parameters with the analysis conducted in this chapter:

1) The existence of immaterial spheres in which consciousness transcends the physical body: “our world is a double world, it has a twin. Its opposite and complementary world is a world populated by beings that possess consciousness but do not have an organism. For this reason, the shamans called them inorganic beings” (2001, p. 172).

2) The limits to human achievement expressed in the domain of the process that integrates science and machine: “the practical things in which scientists were interested led to the construction of ever more complex machines (which) cannot help man in any way in his inevitable commitment: his encounter with the infinite” (2001, p. 117-18).

3) Liberation through indifference, in detachment from one’s own story: “Don Juan said that everyone who knew me had an idea about me, and that I nourished this idea with everything I did (...) On the other hand, if you have no personal story, no explanation is necessary; no one is

angry or disappointed by your actions. And above all, no one ties you down with their thoughts” (1975, p. 34).

Carlos Castaneda’s shamanic experiences, as well as José Argüelles’ end-of-cycle projections based on Mayan cosmology, have become reference sources for the New Age, a movement in which heterogeneous currents converge, but which share the conviction that a process of planetary alignment is underway, in tune with the arrival of the astrological age of Aquarius. There is no consensus among spiritual, astronomical, and astrological viewpoints on the temporal delimitation of its beginning. Depending on the perspective, it is an event located in the 20th century, or still in gestation, pointing to different dates according to the interpretation.

In 1967, the musical *Hair* debuts, a work expressive of that period spirit, which follows the life of a group of young hippies in New York. In defiance of compulsory conscription for the Vietnam War and traditional family values, they counter them with the free love and sense of community associated with the coming of the Age of Aquarius. Their ideals are revealed in the lyrics of the song that opens the play, *Let the Sunshine In*:

When the Moon is in the seventh house/ And Jupiter
aligns with Mars/ Then peace will guide the planets/
And love will steers the stars/ This is the dawning of
the age of Aquarius/(...) Harmony and understanding/
Sympathy and trust abounding/ No more falsehood
or derisions/ Golden living dreams of visions/ Mystic
crystal revelation/ And the mind’s true liberation.

The sense of elevation in cosmic attunement brought by the New Age disseminates parameters of transcendence that strengthen individuality, impacting on religious institutionality. As Salomé Marivoet points out, the movement “is based on evolutionary axioms of humanity (...) in which non-physical entities (...) would communicate with earthly beings to provide them with information (...) that would enable humans to access more subtle states of vibration” (2015, p. 9). This spiritual interaction takes place “within individuals and in compliance with their free will, thus suppressing the mediating role of traditional ecclesiastical hierarchies” (Marivoet, 2015, p. 22).

With the globalization of communications in the 1960s, which later reached a new level with the development of the Internet, the diffusion and impact of adherence to the new spirituality increased in scope. At the same time, the opening of universities and research centers to multidisciplinary approaches enables the incorporation of themes that deal with extra physical phenomena. The principle assumed is that narratives of perceptual experiences of the mind or spirit, depending on the conception or belief of the person who reports them, even if they are beyond the radar of what can be measured with existing scientific instruments, does not condemn them to irrelevance, but may open new fronts of investigation.

The Global Consciousness Project at Princeton, the noospheric research programs at the Altai State Institute of Culture, and the receptiveness of the anthropology department at UCLA to approaches such as Castaneda’s are examples of this interaction between science and transcen-

dence, nurturing affinities toward the perspective of cooperation of the brains.

However, the heritage of the counterculture is also a source of nourishment for the system, which translates into the emergence of businesses and organizations whose material support is based on the commodification of values that reclaim the New Age. In the corporate sphere, a bourgeoisie that self-identifies with this tradition gains projection, with high visibility in the technological business world of California's Silicon Valley.

Informally dressed, liberal in their customs, they preach an egalitarian human destiny through the automatism of the diffusion of technology and its incorporation into the various dimensions of everyday life. McKenzie Wark includes them in the "vectorialist" class: just "as in the worldviews of capital in the age of feudalism, the ideology of California promised universal liberation, but its rise turned out to be only the liberation of a new ruling class" (2021, p. 97).

Despite this dichotomy of legacies, the counterculture movement contributed to make capitalism more open and tolerant to the diversity of values and ways of life. Its impact brought significant political consequences, as exemplified by the culture wars of the conservative reaction against multiculturalism, as discussed in the first chapter.

According to the understanding adopted here, we seek to highlight and put into relief libertarian attunements. As in the example of the Chinese non-action population that emptied the English strategy of content, rendering its material force ineffective, strands that identify with the Sixties tradition open escape portals to immaterial spheres.

Immaterial Spheres and Libertarian Attunements

Luis Fernando Ayerbe

The nomenclatures vary, following the diversity of perspectives: noosphere, general intellect, Aquarius, but there is a common conviction: the collective impact of mutations in the field of the mind, capable of metamorphosing senses and meanings embodied in ways of life that are harmful to humanity and the planet.

3. ITINERARIES

“The radical illusion of the world is a problem faced by all great cultures and that is solved through art and symbolization. What we invent in order to account for this malaise is a simulated real, which will henceforth supplant the real as its final solution, a virtual universe from which all that is dangerous and negative has been expelled”. Jean Baudrilhard (2012)

1. In the Matrix trilogy, by sisters Lilly and Lana Wachowski, bodies at rest, connected to a machine, live alternative existences according to scenarios made possible by immeasurable artificial intelligence, albeit with their finitude tied to the physiology of the physical creature.
2. In an episode of the Black Mirror series, created by Charlie Brooker, it is possible to be whoever you want to be in San Junipero, moving through environments recreated by an intelligence stored in a memory archive consolidated at the moment of passing, and stored in a material repository of past lives.

3. Science fiction and real life often inspire each other. Clothes, forms of communication, transportation, and building construction that are part of present-day tastes, habits, and landscapes have been visualized as futuristic settings for comics, television, and film.
4. Nowadays you don't have to die in order to settle in Junipero. All you need is time and money to buy land in the Metaverse, a virtual space in which the ownership of a parcel gives you the right and freedom to create the items that will be part of the setting, from the dream house, vehicle, clothing, as well as the ability to interact with human-looking avatars in the neighbourhood. Described by Mark Zuckerberg as "a persistent and synchronous environment in which we can be together" (Vazquez, 2021), it looks more like Baudrillard's description of "a virtual universe from which everything dangerous and negative has been expelled".
5. "Without leaving the door. One can know the world" (Lao Tse, 2021). The house is the center around which the world revolves. Like at a banquet where guests are served by waiters circulating with their trays, choosing and consuming until they are satisfied. Time passes, the desire returns, and one returns to the banquet. In the intervals of interaction with the off-line mode, the window, the balcony, and the screen continue to be invaded by images of

the unchosen spectacle of life outside the Metaverse. A parade of old and anxious faces looking for their place, only it was not assigned, because their place is to always be looking for a place.

6. Just like in *The Matrix* and *Junipero*, the Metaverse only works through idealized instruments, manufactured and traded in the material world. Even to inhabit the dream, one needs hands and machines that provide use value to the oneiric merchandise.
7. Arthur Rimbaud in his *Season in Hell*: “The hand that wields the quill is equivalent to the hand that guides the plow. – What a century of hands! – I shall never use my hands! Then domesticity pushes too far” (2021). Today the hand writes, ploughs, types, selects, copies, cuts, pastes, and spreads philosophy of life by sending emojis. Entrepreneur Steve Jobs advertised the replacement of the physical keyboard on his “smart phone” by announcing “the world in the palm of your hand.” Rimbaud would say: Domesticity has led us into a new century of hands!
8. In the *Matrix* everyday landscapes, there is an invitation to embrace the global being in territories announced as being open to creativity, in apparently unregulated work environments such as those of the multinational Google, where the cognitariat sell their working hours in the hope of inventing the

app that will project them to the level of success of their biocognitive boss.

9. When the spectacle is over there comes discomfort. Adversity reveals the face of invariable destiny. We enter Crisis Mode, quality criteria are relaxed in favor of a minimum of predictability. Desires are resigned. The logic of adjustment, of adherence to the bare minimum. Disbelief or disillusionment of individuals and societies with promises of cumulative and progressive conquests, opening doors to the seduction of performative catharsis.
10. A favorable scenario for the emergence of the lumpen, spectacularized in the Joker aesthetic of Todd Phillips and Scott Silver's film. Popular expression is reduced to the haunted image of jokers in insurgency against everything and everyone, diluting in the crowd an underworld character whose evils of origin and trajectory do not obscure his lumpen spirit: predatory and unlimited maximization of interests without distinctions of class, race, gender, environment, life. Barbarism as a method of survival or social ascension, the opportune companionship of fascism.
11. Free will without barriers. Like in the scene in Luis Buñuel's *The Phantom of Liberty*, where a sniper positioned atop a building shoots anonymous passers-by. "Lone wolves" who shoot randomly at scho-

ols, workplaces, and streets. Planes and drones bombarding cities. And on the opposite side, a collective of beings crushed without remorse, at the mercy of obscure power of choice about who to sacrifice for the “greater good”.

12. A substantial part of the world's tragedies stem from the actions of those who take themselves too seriously, turning their ephemeral existence into an all-or-nothing battlefield to install an inherently limited utopia of good and evil. As Eric Hobsbawm stated, “The real problem is not wanting a better world: it is believing in the utopia of a perfect world (...) only those with modest expectations of the world can avoid inflicting harm and suffering on it” (2000, p.192). Between utopian conservatism and leveler progressivism?
13. There are different conservatisms. The one that seeks to preserve traditions, habits, customs, and cosmovisions that give meaning to stories and life trajectories whose continuity generates comfort. Its existential claim does not mean questioning diversity, but rather the right to have rights. Preservationist of the home, of the environment, of nature.
14. There is the supremacist conservatism, which transforms a natural or constructed distinction into a factor of discrimination by stigma, forced subordination, which can become exclusionary by apartheid, genocide or territorial eviction.

15. Whether exclusionary or not, violent or not, the exaltation of supremacies elevate constructed identities. By skin color, religion, territory of residence and/or birth, family, political party, ideology, sexuality. Celebrated in ceremonies to extol “virtues”. Advertising, marketing, professionalized self-promotion of people, companies, organizations, and products. Parades that express, publicize, sell, and empower fashions, identities, prides, and institutions. Why hierarchize plurality?
16. The conservative reaction addressed in the first chapter is supremacist. Its fears and expectations of existential threat exalt a “metaverse” way of life that it believes can become paradise on earth. Attempts to materialize this utopia would presuppose a transition to exclusionary supremacism. While the structural possibilities of fascisms as an established order have never been perennial, the damage in the path of their attempts to emerge is unquantifiable.
17. We often come across ideas and positions with which we strongly disagree, but which place us in the glimpse of fears expressive of realistic scenarios. The uneasiness of this right with the hindrance of living with other worlds reveals the possibility of itineraries in tune with libertarian openings.
18. At the center of this unrest lies the threat of “cultural Marxism”, gaining expression through multicul-

turalism, political correctness, and globalism, operating in civil society, in national and international institutions and organizations, with an impact on the spirit of laws. The continuity and deepening of this process demonstrates the potentiality for relativizing identities that claim Western and Christian origins, becoming part of so many others of diverse scope and meaning that also demand their spaces. Without hierarchies and pre-established limits. The right to have rights.

19. The rejection of globalism points to a stateless elite that impoverishes national workers through job losses, precariousness, and lower wages. Although this rejection places politicians, businessmen, artists, intellectuals and social activists in an undifferentiated “cultural Marxist” conglomerate, there is convergence with the left in the association of part of this elite with neoliberalism, especially the biocognitive corporations. They diverge in the search for solutions: on the one hand, supremacist control of migrations by race, ethnicity, religion, regional origin and social condition. On the opposite side, establishment of universal levels of basic income, on the road to post-labor societies, building institutions consistent with the recognition of plurality, in equality and freedom.
20. US-led liberal capitalism and the socialism of the former Soviet Union fueled expectations and dispu-

tes over the quest for universalization as humanity's destiny. The post-capitalist universalism discussed here, although critical of these experiences, incorporates some of their premises: capitalist technological acceleration as a revolutionary productive force in the generation of wealth, socialist universal protection of material security guaranteed by the State. In both models, the freedom always invoked has become relative and problematic.

- 21.** Boris Groys illustrates this ambiguity well with the provocative statement that there was greater freedom in the former Soviet Union than in capitalist countries. What freedom is he referring to?

The only freedom that really counts is to not work. And in the communist countries ruled a bureaucracy that, at least that was my experience, was quite loose. So you can easily escape. Nobody can escape, however, the meshes of the market. You can't cheat the market because you depend on it, on the money it gives you to live on. There is a misconception in the West: life is full of wishes. But if you really free someone from his obligations, he goes to sleep. Real freedom is not working. That's why there was so much freedom in the communist countries, because nobody did anything. And that's why there is so little in a world dominated by the market. (Groys, 2008).

- 22.** Freedom associated with not working. Impossible under the empire of the market, limited in Soviet Statism to the cracks in the bureaucracy. As we have

seen in the first chapter, liberal and left analysts coincide in their vision of a post-labor society, without it affecting productivity and the generation of wealth. From this perspective, possibilities would open up for what Groys points out as true freedom.

23.It is possible to invent existences in the Metaverse, but within the limits of access and permanence of the dominant order. However, it is imaginable to transcend materialistic demarcations of being on the horizon of the post-working world, in noospheric projection, connectivity of the general intellect, and Aquarius regency. Sphere of brains in cooperation. Bringing nature, society and individuals closer together. Transmuting global consciousness into emancipatory practices.

24.Out of order? As in Caetano Veloso's song: "Something is out of order".

25.Orders enshrine material and ideal structures that hierarchize living beings, but do not exercise absolute control over possibilities of situating oneself in the world. There are strategists, in the vanguard of the idealization and legitimization of political, economic-social, spiritual orders. There are functionals, in the rearguard of support, out of interest, persuasion or alienation. There are artists, revealing portals of exit through creativity, unveiling and action. No one is denied the possibility of being or becoming an artist, for a moment or forever...

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