

ACCUMULATION AND REGULATION (THE GRID AND THE FORK): Critical Dynamics of Advanced Capitalism since the Second Industrial Revolution

F O R D I S M				P O S T F O R D I S M					
MACRO variables	1890s-1920s			30s & 40s	50s & 60s	70s	80s & 90s	00s	2010s & 2020s?
	national-liberal regulation: Belle époque	Great War & Revolution	Roaring 20s: liberal restoration attempt	BIFURCATION I – regulation crisis: Great Depression & World War	postkeynesian reformism: welfare/warfare state	social crisis of global accumulation	neoliberal revolution: global corporate state	BIFURCATION II – regulation crisis: Great Recession & Global War	ANTIDYSTOPIAN FUTURE: transnational progressivism & activist democracy
Technology, Infosphere, Biosphere <i>exogenous</i>	second industrial revolution and start of industrialism: electromechanic tech, electric lighting, industrial chemicals and dyes; combustion engine; diffusion of mass dailies, radio and telephone, silent movies;; coal key energy input, extensive agriculture	industrialism: motorization, aviation, tanks, rise of oil as key energy input; radars and early computers, sound cinema, mass propaganda; agricultural crisis and wartime subsistence agriculture	industrialism: white goods, autopia, aerospace, plastics, cosmetics, the pill and antibiotics; mass publishing, broadcasting television; gasoline and natural gas, petrochemicals, nuclear energy, regulated and subsidized intensive agriculture: green revolution	transition from industrialism to informationalism starting from US West Coast, independent radio stations, satellites, commercial TV, mimeograph flyers and samiszdats, mass non-fiction and popular comics, two oil crises, environmental limits to intensive growth	third industrial revolution start of informationalism: rise of ICT, liberalization of networks, biotechnologies, semiotic and status goods; the Internet explosion: e-mail, Web browser; PC, CD, modem, router, cellular telephony, cable/satellite TV, global media conglomerates; global warming from fossil energy, OGM vs organic agriculture	informationalism: networking, open source, P2P, genomics, neuroscience; ecocide: global inurbation, sharp decrease in biodiversity, polar melting, droughts and floods	informationalism: wireless net, knowledge-sharing, stem-cell cloning and genetic therapies, nano, crypto, quantum; solar/wind energy, hydrogen from non-CO ₂ emitting sources, low-entropy agriculture, reforestation		
Accumulation (The dynamics of Capital) <i>main endogenous</i>	intensive: mass production of investment and intermediate goods, élite consumerism, international financial cartels, monopolistic competition	intensive: high productivity growth, overproduction and underconsumption crisis, then expansionary war economy	intensive: scale economies, mass production and mass consumerism of consumer durables, multinational groups, oligopolistic competition	transition from intensive to flexible: profitability crisis due to high costs, stagnation in productivity, structural rigidities, scale diseconomies, bureaucratic elephantiasis, environmental constraint; crisis epicenter: US and EEC	flexible: low productivity growth, economies of scope, customized mass consumption, transnational market concentration, competition among global production/communication/knowledge networks	flexible: high productivity growth, systemic diseconomies, overinvestment crisis and sagging mass demand, monopolistic concentration and omnimedia oligopolies	modulable: high productivity growth, reduction of energy consumption and/or carbon emissions, expansion of consumer demand from formerly excluded individuals and collective groups, regulated competition among nimble organizations and economic regions		
Regulation (the State and	decline and crisis of	conflictual: right vs	keynesian/fordist:	conflictual: crisi of	neoliberal/monetarist: labor's	conflictual: global	neokeynesian/schumpeterian:		

<p>the Capital-Labor nexus) <i>main endogenous</i></p>	<p>classical liberal regulation based on government-bosses alliance, industrial reserve army of labor, low wages, monetary and budgetary orthodoxy, little social legislation and spending, polarized income and wealth distribution; direct action, mass strikes, Second and Third International (mayday and world workers' movement) 8-hour day, Sundays off</p>	<p>left, class violence and war, employers' confederations vs industrial unions, sitdown strikes, militarization of labor force, contro sinistra, worktime and leisure regulation for white and blue collars: paid weekend and holidays, monetary and fiscal policies first restrictive then expansionary; crisis epicenters: US and Germany</p>	<p>capital-labor compromise guaranteed by state, national and sectorial employers' and union federations, nationalization of utilities and heavy industry, moderately expansionary monetary and fiscal policies, cost-of-living wage adjustments, full male employment, high wages, high social spending, rebalanced income distribution, consumerized leisure: generalization of weekend and increase in overtime work</p>	<p>neocorporativism, working-class protest and rank-and-file insurgency, doistributional conflicts, stagflation, expansionary fiscal policy, restrictive monetary policy, expansion in insubordinate free time (demonstrations, wildcat strikes, absenteeism)</p>	<p>defeat and subalternity of state to large corporations, financial deregulation, monetarism: high unemployment, low wages, deinstitutionalization of employment relation, squeeze in social spending, polarized income and wealth distribution, restrictive monetary and fiscal policies, expansion/fragmentation of worktime</p>	<p>movement vs megacorps e US-sponsored wars, lower-class resistance to welfare cuts and privatizations, middle-class resistance to digital enclosures; no copyright & free media, temps and precarians against social exclusion, expansionary monetary policy, restrictive fiscal policy, tendential saturation of waketime by worktime and/or consumption; crisis epicenters: Asia, Americas</p>	<p>flexicurity, redistribution of productivity toward labor, new welfare oriented toward individuals and pools of talent, re-regulation of labor market, basic income, actual reduction in worktime, right to continuous education and income stability, participated democracy/technology, expansionary monetary policy, alternative/complementary currencies, generalized access to global commons reduction of inequalities</p>
<p>Business Organization, Labor Process and Unionism) <i>endogenous</i></p>	<p>single-product firms, authoritarian/paternalist organization, mass migrations, craft unionism, industrial unionism, birth of the white collar and first feminization of labor</p>	<p>rise of multiproduct/multidivision firm, repression of working-class movement in Axis powers, stakhanovism and forced labor in USSR, curbs in migration, WWII full employment in US, interethnic industrial unionism, feminization of heavy industrial work</p>	<p>expansion of multidivisional multinationals, supply-oriented hierarchical/bureaucratic organization, human resource management, neocorporativism; big business big labor partnership, male re-gendering of wage labor, controlled migrations, rise of educated middle class, public sector unionism</p>	<p>transnational conglomerate (keiretsu) hierarchical (management)/horizontal (line production), robotization / flexible automation, shop-floor radical unionism, white collars' democratic emancipation</p>	<p>transnational network firm: horizontal organization, lean but mean, toyotism: just-in-time and zero-stock manufacturing; tertiarization and feminization of employment, mass migrations, flexibilization, deskilling/upgrading of labor force, restructuring and downsizing, deunionization and co-management/company unionism, expansion of technical/knowledge labor and professional strata: precariat and cognitariat: dual labor markets</p>	<p>flat organization of oligopolistic megacorporations affected by governance and political/social constraints. outsourcing/offshoring netowrks, individualization and disgregation of labor, social/conflictual unionis, flexworkers' syndicalism, polarization of job tasks and pay scale, widening of gap in earnings, networkers/ networked divide</p>	<p>disbembering of megamonopolies, multinodal network organization, cosmopolitization of labor force at all skill levels, stakeholder capitalism, solidarist networks of information/knowledge sharing, empowerment of marginalized communities, heteronomous groups of social and media activists, transnational unionism</p>

<p>MACRO variables</p>	<p>1890s-1920s from laissez-faire</p>	<p>30s & 40s BIFURCATION I</p>	<p>50s & 60s postkeynesian reformism</p>	<p>70s global social crisis</p>	<p>80s & 90s neoliberal revolution</p>	<p>00s BIFURCATION II</p>	<p>2010s & 2020s? a possible antidystopian future</p>
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<i>(continues)</i>	liberalism to nationalism and socialism						
Ideology & Political Mobilization <i>exogenous</i>	socialism, liberalism, anarchosyndicalism, nationalism, modernism, leninism	fascism/nazism, communism/stalinism, popular front/ liberal democracy	social democracy, christian democracy, managerialism, antimperialist marxism, generational anarchism, third-world nationalism	global democratic revolution; East-West European movement; feminist revolution, islamic revolution, marxist guerrillas/ radical marxism	neoliberalism, nationalism, postmodernism, environmentalism, multiculturalism, islamic nationalism, liberation theology, developmental national capitalism, queer movement	bushist neoconservatism, Sunni fundamentalism, Shia ascendancy, Chinese nationalism, antiglobalization movement: (egalitarianism, transgenderism, cyberanarchism)	libertarian democracy, social ecologism, indio socialism, neosyndicalism, informational commonalism, heretic marxism, new genderism, south-north transnationalism
Geopolitics & Balance of Power <i>weakly exogenous</i>	unbalanced multipolar: first concert then league of nations, german attempt at hegemony blocked by Franco-British with US help; British primacy in decline, rise of US and Germany; first anti-colonial movements, first genocides; two Russian revolutions, Mexican revolution, white army vs red army civil war, reds-whites civil war in rest of Europe, early spread of reactionary regimes, creation of Comintern	potential hegemony Germany/Japan: systemic world war vs Allies and USSR: soviet industrialization and defeat of nazi <i>Lebensraum</i> ; genocide of European Jews and ethnic/ political/ sexual minorities; Communist Russia dominating land power in Eurasia after Stalingrad; US is hegemon on Atlantic (inherits British naval power) and on Pacific (defeat of Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere); civil wars: antifascism vs fascism	stable bipolar: creation of UN, Cold War, military/ideological competition between USA and USSR, NATO vs Warsaw Pact, Common Market vs COMECON, free world vs popular democracies; decolonization, non-aligned countries, proAmerican and proSoviet dictatorships; Nippo-European economic miracle: reduction of economic gap with USA	unstable bipolar: Soviet stagnation, post-Vietnam American crisis, China-US rapprochement, reactionary counterrevolutions, secret wars, anti-imperialist terrorism	unbalanced multipolar: American rearmament and hyperpower, decline and implosion of Soviet Empire, neoliberal cosmopolitanism, European unification, rise of Asian tigers, China's state capitalism and nationalist India; nationalist civil wars and ethnic genocides, first panafrican war	9/11 and 7-7: first global war; systemic conflict against transnational jihadi megaterrorism (and rise of Iran); US drive for global hegemony, competition/coopetition with regional rivals in Asia (China) and Europe (EU), G4 quest for security council	balanced multipolar: New Global Democracy under UN control, Liberal North America, Federal Social Europe, Bolivarist Latin America, Asian Prosperity Non-Aggression Pact, Pan-Islamic Union hegemonized by Iran African Union under South African leadership
World Finance & International Commerce <i>weakly endogenous</i>	Black Tuesday: Wall Street crash, crisis of gold standard, postwar inflationary crises, monetary	currency crises, deflation and competitive devaluation, drop in	dollar standard (fixed exchange rate), moderate inflation, low capital mobility, creation of GATT, IMF, World Bank,	dollar's convertibility crisis and end of Bretton Woods regime: floating exchange rate, high inflation,	flexible exchange rates and financial deregulation: yo-yo movement in mark-dollar-yen parities (Plaza & Reverse Plaza);	crisis of New Economy, monetary unifications, currency areas in competition for financial	reregulation: semi-fixed exchange rates among regional currency areas, limitation of speculative financial flows, liberalization of Northern markets to

	<p>stabilizations, American loans and German reparation, trends in terms of trade in favor of industrial goods, rising protectionism, wartime economic blockades</p>	<p>prices of agricultural and other, manufacturing prices stay stable, widespread protectionism, autarky, bank failures, end of international financial system; financial reconstruction at Bretton Woods/ industrial reconstruction with Marshall Plan</p>	<p>progressive liberalization of trade and reduction in tariffs, growing US trade deficit, dollar and pound devaluation with respect to D-mark and yen, growth in Nippo-German reserves: imported inflation; prices of primary goods slowly decline, prices of secondary goods slowly rise</p>	<p>euro/petrodollars: newly-found freedom of capital movement leads to creation of world financial market, neoprotectionism of South vs North, demise of Phillips' curve, non-tariff protectionism, price rise of primary goods: terms of trade favorable to LDCs and Soviet Union: third-world and eastern bloc indebtedness</p>	<p>stock exchange booms and busts, reduction of inflation and budget deficits, accelerated liberalization of capital movements, then trade: US becomes net capital importer, drop in prices of raw materials; debt crisis in Latin America, Africa and Balkans; economic regionalism: creation of EU, Mercosur, NAFTA, WTO, European monetary integration, euramerican trade tensions and amerasian financial wars</p>	<p>domination (¥€\$), creeping deflation in the system's core, US double deficit, currency crises in emerging economies (Mexico, East Asia, Russia, Argentina), Cina enters WTO; trade tensions between G8 and G22, decreasing manufacturing prices and increase in price of energy and commodities</p>	<p>Southern exports, universal microcredit guaranteed by international agencies/NGOs, global environmental and labor standards; global stabilization in prices of raw materials and agricultural commodities, stable industrial prices, slow rise in agricultural prices</p>
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