NOTES

PREFACE

1. On the declining sovereignty of nation-states and the transformation of sovereignty in the contemporary global system, see Saskia Sassen, *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).
2. On the concept of Empire, see Maurice Duverger, "Le concept d'empire," in Maurice Duverger, ed., *Le concept d'empire* (Paris: PUF, 1980), pp. 5–23. Duverger divides the historical examples into two primary models, with the Roman Empire on one side and the Chinese, Arab, Mesoamerican, and other Empires on the other. Our analyses pertain primarily to the Roman side because this is the model that has animated the Euro-American tradition that has led to the contemporary world order.
3. "Modernity is not a phenomenon of Europe as an *independent* system, but of Europe as center." Enrique Dussel, "Beyond Eurocentrism: The World System and the Limits of Modernity," in Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds., *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 3–31; quotation p. 4.
4. Two interdisciplinary texts served as models for us throughout the writing of this book: Marx's *Capital* and Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*.
5. Ours is certainly not the only work that prepares the terrain for the analysis and critique of Empire. Although they do not use the term "Empire," we see the work of numerous authors oriented in this direction; they include Fredric Jameson, David Harvey, Arjun Appadurai, Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said, Giovanni Arrighi, and Arif Dirlik, to name only some of the best known.

1.1 WORLD ORDER

1. Already in 1974 Franz Schurmann highlighted the tendency toward a global order in *The Logic of World Power: An Inquiry into the Origins, Currents, and Contradictions of World Politics* (New York: Pantheon, 1974).

2. On the permutations of European pacts for international peace, see Leo Gross, "The Peace of Westphalia, 1648–1948," *American Journal of International Law,* 42, no. 1 (1948), 20–41.
3. Danilo Zolo, *Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government,* trans. David McKie (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), is the one who expresses most clearly the hypothesis that the paradigm of the project of the new world order should be located back in the Peace of Vienna. We follow his analysis in many respects. See also Richard Falk, "The Interplay of Westphalia and Charter Conception of International Legal Order," in C. A. Blach and Richard Falk, eds., *The Future of International Legal Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 1:32–70.
4. Hans Kelsen, *Das Problem des Souveränität und die Theorie des Völkerrechts: Beitrag zu einer Reinen Rechtslehre* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1920), p. 205. See also *Principles of International Law,* (New York: Rinehart, 1952), p. 586.
5. Kelsen, *Das Problem des Souveränität,* p. 319.
6. See Hans Kelsen, *The Law of the United Nations* (New York: Praeger, 1950).
7. On the legal history of the United Nations, see Alf Ross, *United Nations: Peace and Progress* (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1966); Benedetto Conforti, *The Law and Practice of the United Nations* (Boston: Kluwer Law International, 1996); Richard Falk, Samuel S. Kim, and Saul H. Mendlovitz, eds., *The United Nations and a Just World Order* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991).
8. On the concept of "domestic analogy" both from the genealogical point of view and from that of international juridical politics, see Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan, 1977); and above all Hidemi Suganami, *The Domestic Analogy and World Order Proposals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For a critical and realistic perspective against conceptions of a "domestic analogy," see James N. Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
9. See Norberto Bobbio, *Il problema della guerra e le vie della pace* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984).
10. For Norberto Bobbio's position on these arguments, see primarily *Il terzo assente* (Turin: Edizioni Sonda, 1989). In general, however, on recent lines of internationalist thought and on the alternative between statist and cosmopolitan approaches, see Zolo, *Cosmopolis.*
11. See the work of Richard Falk, primarily *A Study of Future Worlds* (New York: Free Press, 1975); *The Promise of World Order* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); and *Explorations at the Edge of Time* (Philadelphia:

Temple University Press, 1992). The origin of Falk's discourse and its idealist reformist line might well be traced back to the famous initial propositions posed by Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, *World Peace through World Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

12. In Section 2.4 we will discuss briefly the work of authors who challenge the traditional field of international relations from a postmodernist perspective.
13. "Capitalism was from the beginning an affair of the world-economy . . . It is a misreading of the situation to claim that it is only in the twentieth century that capitalism has become 'world-wide.'" Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 19. The most complete reference on this point is Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System,* 3 vols. (New York: Academic Press, 1974–1988). See also Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 1995).
14. See, for example, Samir Amin, *Empire of Chaos* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1992).
15. For our analyses of the Roman Empire we have relied on some of the classic texts, such as Gaetano de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani,* 4 vols. (Turin: Bocca, 1907–1923); Hermann Dessau, *Geschichte der römanischen Keiserzeit,* 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924–1930); Michael Rostovzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926); Pietro de Francisci, *Genesi e struttura del principato augusteo* (Rome: Sampaolesi, 1940); and Santo Mazzarino, *Fra Oriente ed Occidente* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1947).
16. See Johannes Adam Hartung, *Die Lehre von der Weltherrschaft im Mittelalter* (Halle, 1909); Heinrich Dannenbauer, ed., *Das Reich: Idee und Gestalt* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1940); Georges de Lagarde, "La conception médiéval de l'ordre en face de l'umanisme, de la Renaissance et de la Reforme," in Congresso internazionale di studi umanistici, *Umanesimo e scienza politica* (Milan: Marzorati, 1951); and Santo Mazzarino, *The End of the Ancient World,* trans. George Holmes (New York: Knopf, 1966).
17. See Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars,* 2nd ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1992). The renewal of just war theory in the 1990s is demonstrated by the essays in Jean Bethke Elshtain, ed., *Just War Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992).
18. One should distinguish here between *jus ad bellum* (the right to make war) and *jus in bello* (law in war), or really the rules of the correct conduct of war. See Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars,* pp. 61–63 and 90.
19. On the Gulf War and justice, see Norberto Bobbio, *Una guerra giusta? Sul conflitto del Golfo* (Venice: Marsilio, 1991); Ramsey Clark, *The Fire*

This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1992); Jürgen Habermas, *The Past as Future,* trans. Max Pensky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); and Jean Bethke Elshtain, ed., *But Was It Just? Reflections on the Morality of the Persian Gulf War* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

20. For the influence of Niklas Luhmann's systematism on international juridical theory, see the essays by Gunther Teubner in Gunther Teubner and Alberto Febbrajo, eds., *State, Law, and Economy as Autopoietic Systems* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1992). An adaptation of John Rawls's ethico-juridical theories was attempted by Charles R. Beitz in *Political Theory and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
21. This concept was introduced and articulated in James Rosenau, "Governance, Order, and Change in World Politics," in James Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, *Governance without Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
22. At one extreme, see the set of essays assembled in V. Rittenberger, ed., *Beyond Anarchy: International Cooperation and Regimes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
23. See Hans Kelsen, *Peace through Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).
24. On Machiavelli's reading of the Roman Empire, see Antonio Negri, *Il potere costituente* (Milan: Sugarco, 1992), pp. 75–96; in English, *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State,* trans. Maurizia Boscagli (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
25. For a reading of the juridical passage from modernity to postmodernity, see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus: A Critique of the State-Form* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), chaps. 6 and 7.
26. It is strange how in this internationalist debate almost the only work of Carl Schmitt that is taken up is *Der Nomos der Erde im Völkerrecht des Jus Publicum Europaeum* (Cologne: Greven, 1950), when really precisely in this context his more important work is *Verfassungslehre,* 8th ed. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1993), and his positions developed around the definition of the concept of the political and the production of right.
27. In order to get a good idea of this process it may be enough to read together the disciplinary classics of international law and international economics, linking their observations and prescriptions, which emerge from different disciplinary formations but share a certain neorealism, or really a realism in the Hobbesian sense. See, for example, Kenneth Neal Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: Random House, 1979);

and Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

28. In order to get an initial idea of the vast and often confused literature on this topic, see Gene Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, eds., *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Arnold Kanter and Linton Brooks, eds., *U.S. Intervention Policy for the Post–Cold War World* (New York: Norton, 1994); Mario Bettati, *Le droit d'ingérence* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1995); and Maurice Bernard, *La fin de l'ordre militaire* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Politiques, 1995).
29. On the ethics of international relations, in addition to the propositions of Michael Walzer and Charles Beitz already cited, see also Stanley Hoffmann, *Duties beyond Borders* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981); and Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel, eds., *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
30. We are refering here to the two classic texts: Montesquieu, *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline,* trans. David Lowenthal (New York: Free Press, 1965); and Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 3 vols. (London: Penguin, 1994).
31. As Jean Ehrard has amply shown, the thesis that the decline of Rome began with Caesar was continually reproposed throughout the historiography of the age of Enlightenment. See Jean Ehrard, *La politique de Montesquieu* (Paris: A. Colin, 1965).
32. The principle of the corruption of political regimes was already implicit in the theory of the forms of government as it was formulated in the Sophistic period, which was later codified by Plato and Aristotle. The principle of "political" corruption was later translated into a principle of historical development through theories that grasped the ethical schemes of the forms of government as cyclical temporal developments. Of all the proponents of different theoretical tendencies who have embarked on this endeavor (and the Stoics are certainly fundamental in this regard), Polybius is the one who really described the model in its definitive form, celebrating the creative function of corruption.

1.2 BIOPOLITICAL PRODUCTION

1. The passage from disciplinary society to the society of control is not articulated explicitly by Foucault but remains implicit in his work. We follow the excellent commentaries of Gilles Deleuze in this interpretation. See Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* (Paris: Minuit, 1986); and "Post-scriptum

sur les sociétés de contrôle," in *Pourparlers* (Paris: Minuit, 1990). See also Michael Hardt, "The Withering of Civil Society," *Social Text,* no. 45 (Winter 1995), 27–44.

2. See primarily Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1978), 1:135–145. For other treatments of the concept of biopolitics in Foucualt's opus, see "The Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century," in *Power/Knowledge,* ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), pp. 166–182; "La naissance de la médecine sociale," in *Dits et écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 3:207–228, particularly p. 210; and "Naissance de la biopolitique," in *Dits et écrits,* 3:818–825. For examples of work by other authors following Foucault's notion of biopolitics, see Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, eds., *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 133–142; and Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1979).
3. Michel Foucault, "Les mailles du pouvoir," in *Dits et écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 4:182–201; quotation p. 194.
4. Many thinkers have followed Foucault along these lines and successfully problematized the welfare state. See primarily Jacques Donzelot, *L'invention du social* (Paris: Fayard, 1984); and François Ewald, *L'état providence* (Paris: Seuil, 1986).
5. See Karl Marx, "Results of the Immediate Process of Production," trans. Rodney Livingstone, published as the appendix to *Capital,* trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), 1:948–1084. See also Antonio Negri, *Marx beyond Marx,* trans. Harry Cleaver, Michael Ryan, and Maurizio Viano (New York: Autonomedia, 1991).
6. See Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment,* trans. John Cumming (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972).
7. See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
8. See, for example, Peter Dews, *Logics of Disintegration: Poststructuralist Thought and the Claims of Critical Theory* (London: Verso, 1987), chaps. 6 and 7. When one adopts this definition of power and the crises that traverse it, Foucault's discourse (and even more so that of Deleuze and Guattari) presents a powerful theoretical framework for critiquing the welfare state. For analyses that are more or less in line with this discourse, see Claus Offe, *Disorganized Capitalism: Contemporary Transformations of Work and Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985); Antonio Negri, *Revolution Retrieved: Selected Writings* (London: Red Notes, 1988); and the essays by Antonio Negri included in Michael Hardt and Antonio

Negri, *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 23–213.

9. The notions of "totalitarianism" that were constructed during the period of the cold war proved to be useful instruments for propaganda but completely inadequate analytical tools, leading most often to pernicious inquisitional methods and damaging moral arguments. The numerous shelves of our libraries that are filled with analyses of totalitarianism should today be regarded only with shame and could be thrown away with no hesitation. For a brief sample of the literature on totalitarianism from the most coherent to the most absurd, see Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951); and Jeanne Kirkpatrick, *Dictatorships and Double Standards* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982). We will return to the concept of totalitarianism in more detail in Section 2.2.
10. We are referring here to the thematics of *Mobilmachtung* that were developed in the Germanic world primarily in the 1920s and 1930s, more or less from Ernst Jünger to Carl Schmitt. In French culture, too, such positions emerged in the 1930s, and the polemics around them have still not died down. The figure of Georges Bataille is at the center of this discussion. Along different lines, on "general mobilization" as a paradigm of the constitution of collective labor power in Fordist capitalism, see Jean Paul de Gaudemar, *La mobilisation générale* (Paris: Maspero, 1978).
11. One could trace a very interesting line of discussions that effectively develop the Foucauldian interpretation of biopower from Jacques Derrida's reading of Walter Benjamin's "Critique of Violence" ("Force of Law," in Drucilla Cornell, Michel Rosenfeld, and David Gray Carlson, eds., *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice* [New York: Routledge, 1992], pp. 3–67) to Giorgio Agamben's more recent and more stimulating contribution, *Homo sacer: il potere sovrano e la nuda vita* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995). It seems fundamental to us, however, that all of these discussions be brought back to the question of the productive dimensions of "bios," identifying in other words the materialist dimension of the concept beyond any conception that is purely naturalistic (life as "zoè") or simply anthropological (as Agamben in particular has a tendency to do, making the concept in effect indifferent).
12. Michel Foucault, "La naissance de la médecine sociale," in *Dits et écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 3:210.
13. See Henri Lefebvre, *L'ideologie structuraliste* (Paris: Anthropos, 1971); Gilles Deleuze, "A quoi reconnait-on le structuralisme?" in François Châtelet, ed., *Histoire de la philosophie,* vol. 8 (Paris: Hachette, 1972), pp. 299–335;

and Fredric Jameson, *The Prison-House of Language* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

14. When Deleuze formulates his methodological differences with Foucault in a private letter written in 1977, the primary point of disagreement comes down precisely to just such a question of production. Deleuze prefers the term "desire" to Foucault's "pleasure," he explains, because desire grasps the real and active dynamic of the production of social reality whereas pleasure is merely inert and reactive: "Pleasure interrupts the positivity of desire and the constitution of its plane of immanence." See Gilles Deleuze, "Désir et plaisir," *Magazine Littéraire,* no. 325 (October 1994), 59–65; quotation p. 64.
15. Félix Guattari has perhaps developed the extreme consequences of this type of social critique, while carefully avoiding falling into the anti–"grand narrative" style of postmodernist argument, in his *Chaosmosis,* trans. Paul Bains and Julian Pefanis (Sydney: Power Publications, 1995). From a metaphysical point of view, among the followers of Nietzsche, we find roughly analogous positions expressed in Massimo Cacciari, *DRAN: méridiens de la décision dans la pensée contemporaine* (Paris: L'Éclat, 1991).
16. In English, see primarily the essays in Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, eds., *Radical Thought in Italy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). See also Christian Marazzi, *Il posto dei calzini: la svolta linguistica dell'economia e i suoi effetti nella politica* (Bellinzona: Edizioni Casagrande); and numerous issues of the French journal *Futur antérieur,* particularly nos. 10 (1992) and 35–36 (1996). For an analysis that appropriates central elements of this project but ultimately fails to capture its power, see André Gorz, *Misère du présent, richesse du possible* (Paris: Galilée, 1997).
17. The framework on which this line of inquiry is built is both its great wealth and its real limitation. The analysis must in effect be carried beyond the constraints of the "workerist" (*operaista*) analysis of capitalist development and the state-form. One of its limitations, for example, is highlighted by Gayatri Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 162, who insists on the fact that the conception of value in this line of Marxist analysis may function in the dominant countries (including in the context of certain streams of feminist theory) but completely misses the mark in the context of the subordinated regions of the globe. Spivak's questioning is certainly extremely important for the problematic we are developing in this study. In fact, from a methodological point of view, we would say that the most profound and solid problematic complex that has yet been elaborated for the critique of biopolitics is found in feminist theory, particularly Marxist and socialist

feminist theories that focus on women's work, affective labor, and the production of biopower. This presents the framework perhaps best suited to renew the methodology of the European "workerist" schools.

18. The theories of the "turbulence" of the international order, and even more of the new world order, which we cited earlier (see primarily the work of J. G. Ruggie), generally avoid in their explanation of the causes of this turbulence any reference to the contradictory character of capitalist relations. Social turbulence is considered merely a consequence of the international dynamics among state actors in such a way that turbulence can be normalized within the strict disciplinary limits of international relations. Social and class struggles are effectively hidden by the method of analysis itself. From this perspective, then, the "productive bios" cannot really be understood. The same is more or less the case for the authors of the world-systems perspective, who focus primarily on the cycles of the system and systemic crises (see the works of Wallerstein and Arrighi cited earlier). Theirs is in effect a world (and a history) without subjectivity. What they miss is the function of the productive bios, or really the fact that capital is not a thing but a social relationship, an antagonistic relationship, one side of which is animated by the productive life of the multitude.
19. Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 1995), for example, claims such a continuity in the role of capitalist corporations. For an excellent contrasting view in terms of periodization and methodological approach, see Luciano Ferrari Bravo, "Introduzione: vecchie e nuove questioni nella teoria dell'imperialismo," in Luciano Ferrari Bravo, ed., *Imperialismo e classe operaia multinazionale* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1975), pp. 7–70.
20. See, from the perspective of political analysis, Paul Kennedy, *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Random House, 1993); and from the perspective of economic topography and socialist critique, David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).
21. Marx, *Capital,* 1:742.
22. On this point the bibliography we could cite is seemingly endless. In effect, theories of advertising and consumption have been integrated (just in time) into the theories of production, to the point where we now have ideologies of "attention" posed as economic value! In any case, for a selection of the numerous works that touch on this field, one would do well to see Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York: Pantheon, 1989); Gary Cross, *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge,

1993); and, for a more interesting analysis from another perspective, The Project on Disney, *Inside the Mouse* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995). The production of the producer, however, is not only the production of the consumer. It also involves the production of hierarchies, mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, and so forth. It involves finally the production of crises. From this point of view, see Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-market Era* (New York: Putnam, 1995); and Stanley Aronowitz and William DiFazio, *The Jobless Future* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

23. We are indebted to Deleuze and Guattari and their *A Thousand Plateaus* for the most fully elaborated phenomenological description of this industrial-monetary-world-nature, which constitutes the first level of the world order.
24. See Edward Comor, ed., *The Global Political Economy of Communication* (London: Macmillan, 1994).
25. See Stephen Bradley, ed., *Globalization, Technologies, and Competition: The Fusion of Computers and Telecommunications in the 90s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Business School Press, 1993); and Simon Serfaty, *The Media and Foreign Policy* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
26. See Jürgen Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action,* trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984). We discuss this relationship between communication and production in more detail in Section 3.4.
27. See Hardt and Negri, *Labor of Dionysus,* chaps. 6 and 7.
28. Despite the extremism of the authors presented in Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King, eds., *Globalization, Knowledge, and Society* (London: Sage, 1990), and the relative moderation of Bryan S. Turner, *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity* (London: Sage, 1990), and Mike Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture, Nationalism, Globalization, and Modernity* (London: Sage, 1991), the differences among their various positions are really relatively minor. We should always keep in mind that the image of a "global civil society" is born not only in the minds of certain postmodernist philosophers and among certain followers of Habermas (such as Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato), but also and more importantly in the Lockean tradition of international relations. This latter group includes such important theorists as Richard Falk, David Held, Anthony Giddens, and (in certain respects) Danilo Zolo. On the concept of civil society in the global context, see Michael Walzer, ed., *Toward a Global Civil Society* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995).
29. With the iconoclastic irony of Jean Baudrillard's more recent writings such as *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place,* trans. Paul Patton (Bloomington:

Indiana University Press, 1995), a certain vein of French postmodernism has gone back to a properly surrealist framework.

30. There is an uninterrupted continuity from the late cold war notions of "democracy enforcing" and "democratic transition" to the imperial theories of "peace enforcing." We have already highlighted the fact that many moral philosophers supported the Gulf War as a just cause, whereas juridical theorists, following the important lead of Richard Falk, were generally opposed. See, for example, Richard Falk, "Twisting the U.N. Charter to U.S. Ends," in Hamid Mowlana, George Gerbner, and Herbert Schiller, eds., *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 175–190. See also the discussion of the Gulf War in Danilo Zolo, *Cosmopolis: Prospects for World Government,* trans. David McKie (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997).
31. For a representative example, see Richard Falk, *Positive Prescriptions for the Future,* World Order Studies Program occasional paper no. 20 (Princeton: Center for International Studies, 1991). To see how NGOs are integrated into this more or less Lockean framework of "global constitutionalism," one should refer to the public declarations of Antonio Cassese, president of the United Nations Criminal Court in Amsterdam, in addition to his books, *International Law in a Divided World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), and *Human Rights in a Changing World* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).
32. Even the proposals to reform the United Nations proceed more or less along these lines. For a good bibliography of such works, see Joseph Preston Baratta, *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on U.N. Reform and World Federalism* (New York: Greenwood, 1987).
33. This is the line that is promoted in some of the strategic documents published by the U.S. military agencies. According to the present Pentagon doctrine, the project of the enlargement of market democracy should be supported by both adequate microstrategies that are based on (both pragmatic and systemic) zones of application and the continual identification of critical points and fissures in the antagonistic strong cultural blocs that would lead toward their dissolution. In this regard, see the work of Maurice Rounai of the Strategic Institute in Paris. See also the works on U.S. interventionism cited in Section 1.1, note 28.
34. One should refer, once again, to the work of Richard Falk and Antonio Cassese. We should emphasize, in particular, how a "weak" conception of the exercise of judicial functions by the U.N. Court of Justice has gradually, often under the influence of Left political forces, been transformed into a "strong" conception. In other words, there is a passage

from the demand that the Court of Justice be invested with the functions of judicial sanction that come under the authority of the U.N. structure to the demand that the court play a direct and active role in the decisions of the U.N. and its organs regarding norms of parity and material justice among states, to the point of carrying out direct intervention in the name of human rights.

35. See Max Weber, *Economy and Society,* trans. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), vol. 1, chap. 3, sec. 2, "The Three Pure Types of Authority," pp. 215–216.

1.3 ALTERNATIVES WITHIN EMPIRE

1. We mean to "flirt with Hegel" here the way Marx described in the famous postscript to volume 1 of *Capital* (trans. Ben Fowkes [New York: Vintage, 1976]) of January 24, 1873 (pp. 102–103). As they did to Marx, Hegel's terms seem useful to us to frame the argument, but quickly we will run up against the real limit of their utility.
2. This presentation is admittedly simplified, and many studies present much more sophisticated discussions of place. It seems to us, however, that these political analyses always come back to a notion of "defending" or "preserving" the bounded local identity or territory. Doreen Massey argues explicitly for a politics of place in which place is conceived not as bounded but as open and porous to flows beyond, in *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), in particular p. 5. We would contend, however, that a notion of place that has no boundaries empties the concept completely of its content. For an excellent review of the literature and an alternative conception of place, see Arif Dirlik, "Place-based Imagination: Globalism and the Politics of Place," unpublished manuscript.
3. We will return to the concept of the nation at greater length in Section 2.2.
4. "I view location as a fundamental material attribute of human activity but recognize that location is socially produced." David Harvey, *The Limits of Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 374. Arjun Appadurai also discusses "the production of locality" in a way consistent with Harvey and with our argument in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 178–199.
5. Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature,* trans. Willard Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).
6. This methodological connection between critique and construction that rests firmly on the basis of a collective subject was articulated well in

Marx's own historical writings and developed by various traditions of heterodox Marxist historiography in the twentieth century, such as the work of E. P. Thompson, the Italian workerist writers, and the South Asian subaltern historians.

7. See, for example, Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994), which is perhaps the best articulation, in its own delirious way, of the contemporary consciousness of the triumph of capital.
8. For a good example of this deconstructionist method that demonstrates its virtues and its limitations, see the work of Gayatri Spivak, in particular her introduction to Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 3–32.
9. See Arif Dirlik, "Mao Zedong and 'Chinese Marxism,' " in Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino, and Rebecca Karl, eds., *Marxism beyond Marxism* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 119–148. See also Arif Dirlik, "Modernism and Antimodernism in Mao Zedong's Marxism," in Arif Dirlik, Paul Healy, and Nick Knight, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Mao Zedong's Thought* (Atlantic Heights, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1997), pp. 59–83.
10. On the tactical ambiguities of the "national politics" of the socialist and communist parties, see primarily the work of the Austro-Marxists, such as Otto Bauer's *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdomocratie* (Vienna: Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1924); and Stalin's influential "Marxism and the National Question," in *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (New York: International Publishers, 1935), pp. 3–61. We will return to these authors in Section 2.2. For a special and particularly interesting case, see Enzo Traverso, *Les marxistes et la question juive* (Paris: La Brèche, 1990).
11. On the cycle of anti-imperialist struggles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (seen from the Chinese perspective), see Rebecca Karl, *Staging the World: China and the Non-West at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming).
12. On the hypothesis that struggles precede and prefigure capitalist development and restructuring, see Antonio Negri, *Revolution Retrieved* (London: Red Notes, 1988).
13. This notion of the proletariat might thus be understood in Marx's own terms as the personification of a strictly economic category, that is, the subject of labor under capital. As we redefine the very concept of labor and extend the range of activities understood under it (as we have done elsewhere and will continue to do in this book), the traditional distinction

between the economic and the cultural breaks down. Even in Marx's most economistic formulations, however, proletariat must be understood really as a properly *political* category. See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 3–21; and Antonio Negri, "Twenty Theses of Marx," in Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino, and Rebecca Karl, eds., *Marxism beyond Marxism* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 149–180.

14. See Michael Hardt, "Los Angeles Novos," *Futur antérieur,* no. 12/13 (1991), 12–26.
15. See Luis Gomez, ed., *Mexique: du Chiapas à la crise financière,* Supplement, *Futur antérieur* (1996).
16. See primarily *Futur antérieur,* no. 33/34, *Tous ensemble! Réflections sur les luttes de novembre-décembre* (1996). See also Raghu Krishnan, "December 1995: The First Revolt against Globalization," *Monthly Review,* 48, no. 1 (May 1996), 1–22.
17. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1963), p. 121.
18. See Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on Control Societies," in *Negatiations,* trans. Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 177–182.
19. In opposition to the theories of the "weakest link," which not only were the heart of the tactics of the Third International but also were largely adopted by the anti-imperialist tradition as a whole, the Italian *operaismo* movement of the 1960s and 1970s proposed a theory of the "strongest link." For the fundamental theoretical thesis, see Mario Tronti, *Operai e capitale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1966), esp. pp. 89–95.
20. One can find ample and continuous documentation of these techniques of disinformation and silencing in publications ranging from *Le Monde Diplomatique* to *Z Magazine* and the *Covert Action Bulletin*. Noam Chomsky has tirelessly worked to unveil and counter such disinformation in his numerous books and lectures. See, for example, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988). The Gulf War presented an excellent example of the imperial management of communication. See W. Lance Bennett and David L. Paletz, eds., *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and Douglas Kellner, *The Persian Gulf TV War* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).
21. This operation of flattening the struggles in the form of an inverted homology with the system is adequately represented by the (in other

respects quite impressive and important) work of Immanuel Wallerstein and the world systems school. See, for example, Giovanni Arrighi, Terence Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements* (London: Verso, 1989).

22. Keeping in mind the limitations we mentioned earlier, one should refer here to the work of Félix Guattari, particularly the writings of his final period such as *Chaosmosis,* trans. Paul Bains and Julian Pefanis (Sydney: Power Publications, 1995).

POLITICAL MANIFESTO

1. Louis Althusser, "Machiavel et nous," in *Écrits philosophiques et politiques,* vol. 2, ed. François Matheron (Paris: Stock/IMEC, 1995), pp. 39–168; subsequently cited in text.
2. See Baruch Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise,* vol. 1 of *Chief Works,* trans. R. H. M. Elwes (New York: Dover, 1951).

2.1 TWO EUROPES, TWO MODERNITIES

1. Robert Musil, *The Man without Qualities,* trans. Sophie Wilkins (New York: Knopf, 1995), 2:1106.
2. Johannes Duns Scotus, *Opus Oxoniense,* Book IV, Distinctio XIII, Quaestio I, in *Opera Omnia,* vol. 8 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969), p. 807.
3. Dante Alighieri, *De Monarchia,* ed. Louis Bertalot (Frankfurt: Friedrichsdorf, 1918), Book I, chap. 4, p. 14.
4. Nicholas of Cusa, "Complementum theologicum," in *Opera,* vol. 2 (Frankfurt: Minerva, 1962), chap. 2, fol. 93b (facsimile reproduction of edition edited by Jacques Le Fevre [Paris: 1514]).
5. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Of Being and Unity,* trans. Victor Hamm (Milwaukee: Marquette Univesity Press, 1943), pp. 21–22.
6. Carolus Bovillus (Charles de Bovelles), *Il libro del sapiente,* ed. Eugenio Garin (Turin: Einaudi, 1987), chap. 22, p. 73.
7. Francis Bacon, *Works,* ed. James Spalding, Robert Ellis, and Donald Heath (London: Longman and Co., 1857), 1:129–130.
8. Galileo Galilei, *Opere* (Florence: G. Berbèra Editore, 1965), 7:128–129.
9. William of Ockham, *A Short Discourse on the Tyrannical Government,* trans. John Kilcullen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Book III, chap. 16, p. 104. The translator renders the phrase "multitudo fidelium" as "congregation of the faithful."
10. See Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928).

11. This revolutionary aspect of the origins of modernity can be read in its clearest and most synthetic form in the work of Spinoza. See Antonio Negri, *The Savage Anomaly,* trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).
12. The various nineteenth- and twentieth-century philosophical frameworks of negative thought, from Nietzsche to Heidegger and Adorno, are fundamentally right to foresee the end of modern metaphysics and to link modernity and crisis. What these authors generally do not recognize, however, is that there are two modernities at play here and that the crisis is a direct result of their conflict. For this reason they are unable to see the alternatives within modernity that extend beyond the limits of modern metaphysics. On negative thought and crisis, see Massimo Cacciari, *Krisis: saggio sulla crisis del pensiero negativo da Nietzsche a Wittgenstein* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976).
13. On these passages in European modernity, see Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope,* 3 vols., trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986); and (in a completely different intellectual and hermeneutic context) Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).
14. Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism,* trans. Russell Moore (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989), pp. 72–73.
15. Baruch Spinoza, *Ethics,* in *The Collected Works of Spinoza,* ed. Edwin Curley, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), Part IV, Proposition 67, p. 584.
16. Ibid., Part V, Proposition 37, p. 613.
17. Our discussion draws on the work of Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment,* trans. Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951); Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1972); and Michel Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment?" in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth,* vol. 1 of *The Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984,* ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: New Press, 1997), pp. 303–319.
18. See Jacques Chevalier, *Pascal* (Paris: Plon, 1922), p. 265.
19. René Descartes, "Letter to Mersenne (15 April 1630)," in *Philosophical Letters,* ed. Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), p. 11. For the original French version, see *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. Charles Adam and Paul Tannery (Paris: Vrin, 1969), 1:145.
20. See Antonio Negri, *Descartes politico o della ragionevole ideologia* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1970).

21. For a more recent example that continues along this transcendental line of European complacency, see Massimo Cacciari, *Geo-filosofia dell'Europa* (Milan: Adelphi, 1994).
22. See Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation,* trans. E. F. J. Payne, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1966).
23. Ibid., "Preface to the Second Edition," p. xxi.
24. G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right,* trans. H. B. Nisbet, ed. Allen Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), §258 Addition, p. 279 (translation modified).
25. Thomas Hobbes, *The Elements of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), Part II, Book 10, paragraph 8, p. 150.
26. Jean Bodin, *On Sovereignty: Four Chapters from the Six Books of the Commonwealth,* ed. and trans. Julian Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 23 (from Book I, chap. 8).
27. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *On the Social Contract,* in *The Collected Writings of Rousseau,* vol. 4, ed. Roger Master and Christopher Kelly (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994), Book I, chap. 6, p. 138.
28. See Bodin, *On Sovereignty*.
29. C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
30. See Arif Dirlik, *The Postcolonial Aura* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997).
31. Adam Smith, *The Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), Book IV, chap. ii, paragraph 9, p. 456.
32. Ibid., Book IV, Chapter ix, paragraph 51, p. 687.
33. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right,* §261, p. 283.
34. See Michel Foucault, "La 'gouvernementalité,' " in *Dits et écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 3:635–657.
35. See our discussion of Foucault's notion of biopower in Section 1.2.
36. See primarily Max Weber, *Economy and Society,* 2 vols., trans. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).
37. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra,* trans. Thomas Common (New York: Modern Library, 1967), chap. 35, "The Sublime Ones," p. 111.

2.2 SOVEREIGNTY OF THE NATION-STATE

1. For an extensive analysis of both the common form and the variants throughout Europe, see Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (London: New Left Books, 1974).
2. See Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); and his essay

"Christus-Fiscus," in *Synopsis: Festgabe für Alfred Weber* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1948), pp. 223–235. See also Marc Leopold Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France,* trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

3. For an analysis that links the economic transition from feudalism to capitalism to the development of modern European philosophy, see Franz Borkenau, *Der Übergang vom feudalen zum bürgerlichen Weltbild: Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie der Manufakturperiode* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1934). For an excellent discussion of the philosophical literature on this problematic, see Alessandro Pandolfi, *Genéalogie et dialectique de la raison mercantiliste* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996).
4. See Pierangelo Schiera, *Dall'arte de governo alle scienze dello stato* (Milan, 1968).
5. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
6. See Étienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 86–106. See also Slavoj Žižek, "Le rêve du nationalisme expliqué par le rêve du mal radical," *Futur antérieur,* no. 14 (1992), pp. 59–82.
7. The relevant essays by Luxemburg are collected in Rosa Luxemburg, *The National Question,* ed. Horace Davis (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976). For a careful summary of Luxemburg's positions, see Joan Cocks, "From Politics to Paralysis: Critical Intellectuals Answer the National Question," *Political Theory,* 24, no. 3 (August 1996), 518–537. Lenin was highly critical of Luxemburg's position primarily because she failed to recognize the "progressive" character of the nationalism (even the bourgeois nationalism) of subordinated countries. Lenin thus affirms the right to national self-determination, which is really the right to secession for all. See V. I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1951), pp. 9–64.
8. Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth,* trans. M. J. Tooley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), Book VI, chap. 6, p. 212 (translation modified).
9. For excellent interpretations of Bodin's work that situate it solidly in the dynamics of sixteenth-century Europe, see Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); and Gérard Mairet, *Dieu mortel: essai de non-philosophie de l'État* (Paris: PUF, 1987). For a more general view that traces the development of the notion of sovereignty in the long history of European political thought, see Gérard Mairet, *Le principe de souveraineté* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

10. See Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1924). See also the articles gathered by Wilhelm Dilthey in *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation,* vol. 2 of *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914).
11. With the notable exception of the work by Otto von Gierke, *The Development of Political Theory,* trans. Bernard Freyd (New York: Norton, 1939).
12. See Friedrich Meinecke, *Historicism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook,* trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).
13. To recognize the seeds of Hegel's idealism in Vico, see Benedetto Croce, *The Philosophy of Giambattista Vico,* trans. R. G. Collingwood (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964); along with Hayden White, "What Is Living and What Is Dead in Croce's Criticism of Vico," in Giorgio Tagliacozzo, ed., *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), pp. 379–389. White emphasizes how Croce translated Vico's work into idealist terms, making Vico's philsophy of history into a philosophy of spirit.
14. See Giambattista Vico, *De Universi Juris principio et fine uno,* in *Opere giuridiche* (Florence: Sansoni, 1974), pp. 17–343; and Johann Gottfried Herder, *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind,* trans. Frank Manuel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).
15. Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, in a rather different context, declares the absolute priority of the nation explicitly: "The nation exists prior to everything, it is the origin of everything." See *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?* (Geneva: Droz, 1970), p. 180.
16. On the work of Sieyès and the developments of the French Revolution, see Antonio Negri, *Il potere costituente: saggio sulle alternative del moderno* (Milan: Sugarco, 1992), chap. 5, pp. 223–286.
17. For an excellent analysis of the distinction between the multitude and the people, see Paolo Virno, "Virtuosity and Revolution: The Political Theory of Exodus," in Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, eds., *Radical Thought in Italy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 189–210.
18. Thomas Hobbes, *De Cive* (New York: Appleton Century-Crofts, 1949), Chapter XII, section 8, p. 135.
19. See Étienne Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 37–67. We will return to the question of the nation in the colonial context in the next chapter.
20. See, for example, Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).

21. See Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État*.
22. See Roberto Zapperi's Introduction, ibid., pp. 7–117.
23. Well over one hundred years later Antonio Gramsci's notion of the national-popular was conceived as part of an effort to recuperate precisely this hegemonic class operation in the service of the proletariat. For Gramsci, national-popular is the rubric under which intellectuals would be united with the people, and thus it is a powerful resource for the construction of a popular hegemony. See Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), 3:2113–20. For an excellent critique of Gramsci's notion of the national-popular, see Alberto Asor Rosa, *Scrittori e popolo,* 7th ed. (Rome: Savelli, 1976).
24. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation,* trans. R. F. Jones and G. H. Turnbull (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979).
25. We should note that the various liberal interpretations of Hegel, from Rudolf Haym to Franz Rosenzweig, only succeeded in recuperating his political thought by focusing on its national aspects. See Rudolf Haym, *Hegel und sein Zeit* (Berlin, 1857); Franz Rosenzweig, *Hegel und der Staat* (Munich, 1920); and Eric Weil, *Hegel et l'État* (Paris: Vrin, 1950). Rosenzweig is the one who best understands the tragedy of the unavoidable connection between the nation and ethicality in Hegel's thought. See Franz Rosenzweig, *The Star of Redemption,* trans. Willaim Hallo (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); and the excellent interpretation of it, Stéphane Moses, *Système et révélation: la philosophie de Franz Rosenzweig* (Paris: Seuil, 1982).
26. "[Socialists] must therefore unequivocally demand that the Social-Democrats of the *oppressing* countries (of the so-called "great" nations in particular) should recognize and defend the right of the *oppressed* nations to self-determination in the political sense of the word, i.e., the right to political separation." Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination,* p. 65.
27. See Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," in *Malcolm X Speaks* (New York: Pathfinder, 1989), pp. 23–44. For a discussion of Malcolm X's nationalism, particularly in his efforts to found the Organization of Afro-American Unity during the last year of his life, see William Sales, Jr., *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Boston: South End Press, 1994).
28. Wahneema Lubiano, "Black Nationalism and Black Common Sense: Policing Ourselves and Others," in Wahneema Lubiano, ed., *The House That Race Built* (New York: Vintage, 1997), pp. 232–252; quotation p. 236. See also Wahneema Lubiano, "Standing in for the State: Black

Nationalism and 'Writing' the Black Subject," *Alphabet City,* no. 3 (October 1993), pp. 20–23.

29. The question of "black sovereignty" is precisely the issue at stake in Cedric Robinson's critique of W. E. B. Du Bois's support for Liberia in the 1920s and 1930s. Robinson believes that Du Bois had uncritically supported the forces of modern sovereignty. See Cedric Robinson, "W. E. B. Du Bois and Black Sovereignty," in Sidney Lemelle and Robin Kelley, eds., *Imagining Home: Culture, Class, and Nationalism in the African Diaspora* (London: Verso, 1994), pp. 145–157.
30. Jean Genet, "Interview avec Wischenbart," in *Oeuvres complètes,* vol. 6 (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), p. 282. In general, on Genet's experience with the Black Panthers and the Palestinians, see his final novel, *Prisoner of Love,* trans. Barbara Bray (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1992).
31. Benedict Anderson maintains that philosophers have unjustly disdained the concept of nation and that we should view it in a more neutral light. "Part of the difficulty is that one tends unconsciously to hypostatize the existence of Nationalism-with-a-big-N (rather as one might Age-with-a-capital-A) and then classify 'it' as *an* ideology. (Note that if everyone has an age, Age is merely an analytical expression.) It would, I think, make things easier if one treated it as if it belonged with 'kinship' and 'religion,' rather than with 'liberalism' or 'fascism.' " Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* p. 5. Everyone belongs to a nation, as everyone belongs to (or has) an age, a race, a gender, and so forth. The danger here is that Anderson *naturalizes* the nation and our belonging to it. We must on the contrary denaturalize the nation and recognize its historical construction and political effects.
32. On the relationship between class struggle and the two World Wars, see Ernst Nolte, *Der Europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917–1945* (Frankfurt: Propyläen Verlag, 1987).
33. The primary text to be conidered in the context of Austrian social-democratic theorists is Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna: Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1924). English translations of exerpts from this book are included in *Austro-Marxism,* trans. Tom Bottomore and Patrick Goode (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
34. See Joseph Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question," in *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (New York: International Publishers, 1935), pp. 3–61.
35. We adopt this term from, but do not follow in the political perspective of, J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1952).

36. Cited in Roberto Zapperi's Introduction to Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État,* pp. 7–117; quotation p. 77.

2.3 THE DIALECTICS OF COLONIAL SOVEREIGNTY

1. "The darker side of the Renaissance underlines . . . the rebirth of the classical tradition as a justification of colonial expansion." Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), p. vi.
2. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *In Defense of the Indians,* ed. Stafford Poole (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), p. 271. See also Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Gines de Sepulveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974).
3. Quoted in C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins,* 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 196.
4. Aimé Césaire, *Toussaint Louverture: la révolution française et le problème colonial* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1961), p. 309.
5. See Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), p. 88.
6. Karl Marx, *Capital,* trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), 1:925.
7. Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India," in *Surveys from Exile,* vol. 2 of *Political Writings* (London: Penguin, 1973), p. 306.
8. Karl Marx, "The Native States," in *Letters on India* (Lahore: Contemporary India Publication, 1937), p. 51.
9. Marx, "The British Rule in India," p. 307.
10. Karl Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India" in *Surveys from Exile,* vol. 2 of *Political Writings* (London: Penguin, 1973), p. 320.
11. Aijaz Ahmad points out that Marx's description of Indian history seems to be taken directly from Hegel. See Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992), pp. 231 and 241.
12. Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," p. 320.
13. Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London: Verso, 1988), pp. 3 and 11.
14. See Elizabeth Fox Genovese and Eugene Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. vii.
15. Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery,* p. 8.
16. The relationship between wage labor and slavery in capitalist development is one of the central problematics elaborated in Yann Moulier Boutang,

De l'esclavage au salariat: économie historique du salariat bridé (Paris: Presses universitaries de France, 1998).

17. This is one of the central arguments of Robin Blackburn's *Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*. See, in particular, p. 520.
18. Moulier Boutang, *De l'esclavage au salariat,* p. 5.
19. Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 38. On the Manichaean divisions of the colonial world, see Abdul JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," *Critical Inquiry,* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985), 57–87.
20. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* p. 42.
21. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), pp. 4–5 and 104.
22. Cultural anthropology has conducted a radical self-criticism in the past few decades, highlighting how many of the strongest early veins of the discipline participated in and supported colonialist projects. The early classic texts of this critique are Gérard Leclerc, *Anthropologie et colonialisme: essai sur l'histoire de l'africanisme* (Paris: Fayard, 1972); and Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973). Among the numerous more recent works, we found particularly useful Nicholaus Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
23. This argument is developed clearly in Valentin Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), see esp. pp. 64, 81, and 108.
24. Ranajit Guha, *An Indian Historiography of India: A Nineteenth-Century Agenda and Its Implications* (Calcutta: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, 1988), p. 12.
25. *An Inquiry into the causes of the insurrection of negroes in the island of St. Domingo* London and Philadelphia: Crukshank, 1792), p. 5.
26. See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 1–40.
27. See Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), pp. 216–222.
28. Jean-Paul Sartre, "Black Orpheus," in *"What Is Literature?" and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 296.
29. Jean-Paul Sartre, "Preface," in Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* p. 20.
30. "In fact, negritude appears like the upbeat [*le temps faible*] of a dialectical progression: the theoretical and practical affirmation of white supremacy is the thesis; the position of negritude as an antithetical value is the moment of negativity. But this negative moment is not sufficient in itself,

and these black men who use it know this perfectly well; they know that it aims at preparing the synthesis or realization of the human being in a raceless society. Thus, negritude is *for* destroying itself; it is a "crossing to" and not an "arrival at," a means and not an end." Sartre, "Black Orpheus," p. 327.

31. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* p. 52.
32. Ibid., pp. 58–65.
33. See Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," in *Malcolm X Speaks* (New York: Pathfinder, 1989), pp. 23–44.
34. We should remember that within the sphere of communist and socialist movements, the discourse of nationalism not only legitimated the struggle for liberation from colonial powers but also served as a means of insisting on the autonomy and differences of local revolutionary experiences from the models of dominant socialist powers. For example, Chinese nationalism was the banner under which Chinese revolutionaries could resist Soviet control and Soviet models, translating Marxism into the language of the Chinese peasantry (that is, into Mao Zedong thought). Similarly, in the subsequent period, revolutionaries from Vietnam to Cuba and Nicaragua insisted on the national nature of struggles in order to assert their autonomy from Moscow and Beijing.
35. Charter of the United Nations, Article 2.1, in Leland Goodrich and Edvard Hambro, *Charter of the United Nations* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1946), p. 339.
36. Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London: Zed Books, 1986), p. 168.

CONTAGION

1. Louis-Ferdinand Céline, *Journey to the End of the Night,* trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: New Directions, 1983), p. 145 (translation modified); subsequently cited in text.
2. See Cindy Patton, *Global AIDS / Local Context,* forthcoming; and John O'Neill, "AIDS as a Globalizing Panic," in Mike Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization, and Modernity* (London: Sage, 1990), pp. 329–342.

2.4 SYMPTOMS OF PASSAGE

1. Arif Dirlik, *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 52–83; quotation p. 77.
2. See, for example, Jane Flax, *Thinking Fragments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 29.

3. For an explanation of how many postmodernist theorists conflate the varieties of modernist thought under the single rubric of "the Enlightenment," see Kathi Weeks, *Constituting Feminist Subjects* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), chap. 2.
4. bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), p. 25.
5. Jane Flax, *Disputed Subjects* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 91.
6. What is necessary for a postmodernist critique is first to identify what "modernist" means in the field and then to pose a successor paradigm that is in some way consistent with some form of postmodernist thinking. Consider, for example, a field that might at first sight seem an unlikely candidate for such an operation: public administration, that is, the study of bureaucracies. The modernist paradigm of research that dominates the field is defined by a "prescription of neutral public administration ascribed to Wilson (separation of politics from administration), Taylor (scientific management), and Weber (hierarchical command)." Charles Fox and Hugh Miller, *Postmodern Public Administration: Toward Discourse* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1995), p. 3. Scholars who are convinced that this paradigm is outdated and leads to undemocratic governmental practice can use postmodernist thinking as a weapon to transform the field. In this case, they propose "non-foundational discourse theory" as a postmodernist model that will create more active public interactions and thus democratize bureaucracy (p. 75).
7. See James Der Derian and Michael Shapiro, eds., *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1989); Jim George, *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1994); and Michael Shapiro and Hayward Alker, Jr., eds., *Territorial Identities and Global Flows* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
8. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 18.
9. Gyan Prakash, "Postcolonial Criticism and Indian Historiography," *Social Text,* no. 31/32 (1992), 8.
10. See Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), pp. 282–303.
11. Edward Said, "Arabesque," *New Statesman and Society,* 7 (September 1990), 32.
12. Anders Stephanson gives an excellent account of the conceptions of the United States as a "new Jerusalem" in *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).
13. "Like most visions of a 'golden age,' the 'traditional family' . . . evaporates on close examination. It is an ahistorical amalgam of structures,

values, and behaviors that never co-existed in the same time and place." Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), p. 9.

14. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 142.
15. "The fundamentalism of the humiliated Islamic world is not a tradition of the past but a postmodern phenomenon: the inevitable ideological reaction to the failure of Western modernization." Robert Kurz, "Die Krise, die aus dem Osten Kam," translated into Italian in *L'onore perduto del lavoro,* trans. Anselm Jappe and Maria Teresa Ricci (Rome: Manifestolibri, 1994), p. 16. More generally, on contemporary fallacies around notions of tradition and group identity, see Arjun Appadurai, "Life after Primordialism," in *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 139–157.
16. Akbar Ahmed, *Postmodernism and Islam* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 32.
17. Rahman, *Islam and Modernity,* p. 136.
18. Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations* (New York: Random House, 1992), pp. 8 and 3.
19. See Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 27–47.
20. See, for example, Jean Baudrillard, *Selected Writings,* ed. Mark Poster (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); and Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyper-reality,* trans. William Weaver (London: Picador, 1986), pp. 3–58.
21. Stephen Brown, *Postmodern Marketing* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 157. Whereas marketing practice is postmodernist, Brown points out, marketing theory remains stubbornly "modernist" (which here means positivistic). Elizabeth Hirschman and Morris Holbrook also bemoan the resistance of marketing theory and consumer research to postmodernist thinking in *Postmodern Consumer Research: The Study of Consumption as Text* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1992).
22. See George Yudice, "Civil Society, Consumption, and Governmentality in an Age of Global Restructuring: An Introduction," *Social Text,* no. 45 (Winter 1995), 1–25.
23. William Bergquist, *The Postmodern Organization: Mastering the Art of Irreversible Change* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1993), p. xiii. See also the essays in David Boje, Robert Gephart, Jr., and Tojo Joseph Thatchenkery, eds., *Postmodern Management and Organizational Theory* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1996).
24. See Avery Gordon, "The Work of Corporate Culture: Diversity Management," *Social Text,* 44, vol. 13, no. 3 (Fall/Winter 1995), 3–30.

25. See Chris Newfield, "Corporate Pleasures for a Corporate Planet," *Social Text,* 44, vol. 13, no. 3 (Fall/Winter 1995), 31–44.
26. See Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991); and David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

2.5 NETWORK POWER: U.S. SOVEREIGNTY AND THE NEW EMPIRE

1. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist,* ed. Max Beldt (Oxford: Blackwell, 1948), p. 37. This passage is from Federalist no. 9, written by Hamilton.
2. See J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); and J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
3. On the Atlantic passage of the republican tradition from the English Revolution to the American Revolution, see Antonio Negri, *Il potere costituente* (Milan: Sugarco, 1992), chaps. 3 and 4, pp. 117–222; and David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
4. Again, see Negri, *Il potere costituente.* See also J. G. A. Pocock, "States, Republics, and Empires: The American Founding in Early Modern Perspective," in Terence Ball and J. G. A. Pocock, eds., *Conceptual Change and the Constitution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), pp. 55–77.
5. See Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire,* trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), Book VI, pp. 302–352.
6. See Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1994), in particular the Author's Introduction, 1:3–16.
7. See Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1963).
8. We are refering directly here to Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner's, 1950); but see also Michael Walzer, *Exodus and Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).
9. For detailed analyses of the conflicts within the Constitution, see primarily Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself* (New York: Knopf, 1986).
10. Throughout his reading of Polybius in the *Discourses,* Machiavelli insists on the necessity that the Republic expand so as not to fall into corruption. See Negri, *Il potere costituente,* pp. 75–97.
11. The combination of reformism and expansionism in the "Empire of Right" is presented wonderfully by Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny:*

American Expansion and the Empire of Right (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

12. Virgil, Ecologue IV, in *Opera,* ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), verses 4–5, p. 10. The original reads, "Ultima Cumaei uenit iam carminis aetas; / magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo."
13. Bruce Ackerman proposes a periodization of the first three regimes or phases of U.S. constitutional history. See *We The People: Foundations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), in particular pp. 58–80.
14. "What one shared above all was a sense of an entirely new kind of country, uniquely marked by social, economic, and spatial *openness*." Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny,* p. 28.
15. Marx explained the economic origins of the United States when analyzing the American economist Henry Charles Carey. The United States is "a country where bourgeois society did not develop on the foundation of the feudal system, but developed rather from itself." Karl Marx, *Grundrisse,* trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York: Vintage, 1973), p. 884. Marx also discusses the difference of capitalist development in the United States (along with the other settler colonies, such as Australia), in *Capital,* trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), 1:931–940. For Tocqueville's analysis of the socioeconomic roots of the United States, see *Democracy in America,* vol. 1, chaps. 2 and 3, pp. 26–54.
16. Thomas Jefferson "saw expansion as the indispensable concomitant of a stable, secure, and prosperous Empire of Liberty." Robert Tucker and David Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 162.
17. U.S. Constitution, Article I, section 2. On the three-fifths rule, see John Chester Miller, *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* (New York: Free Press, 1977), pp. 221–225.
18. For a brief history of the crises in the Constitution precipated by black slavery from the Constitutional Convention to the Civil War, see Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself,* pp. 96–105.
19. On the emergence of the U.S. industrial working class as a powerful force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see David Brody, *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on Twentieth-Century Struggles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 3–47; Stanley Aronowitz, *False Promises: The Shaping of American Working-Class Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 137–166; and Bruno Ramirez, *When Workers Fight: The Politics of Industrial Relations in the Progressive Era, 1898–1916* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978).

20. For a good analysis of the relationship between U.S. expansionism and European imperialism in terms of foreign policy, see Akira Iriye, *From Nationalism to Internationalism: U.S. Foreign Policy to 1914* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).
21. Cited in Frank Ninkovich, "Theodore Roosevelt: Civilization as Ideology," *Diplomatic History,* 20, no. 3 (Summer 1986), 221–245; quotation pp. 232–233. Ninkovich demonstrates clearly how Roosevelt's imperialism was solidly grounded in the ideology of the "spread of civilization."
22. On Woodrow Wilson and the fortunes of progressive internationalism, see Thomas Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
23. See Antonio Negri, "Keynes and the Capitalist Theory of the State," in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 23–51.
24. The effects of Monroe's original declaration were ambiguous at best, and Ernst May has argued that the doctrine was born as much from domestic political pressures as international issues; see *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975). The doctrine only really became an effective foreign policy with Theodore Roosevelt's imperialist campaigns, and particularly with the project to build the Panama Canal.
25. For the long history of U.S. military interventions in Latin America and particularly in Central America, see Ivan Musicant, *The Banana Wars: A History of United States Military Intervention in Latin America* (New York: Macmillan, 1990); Noam Chomsky, *Turning the Tide: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace* (Boston: South End Press, 1985); Saul Landau, *The Dangerous Doctrine: National Security and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988).
26. William Chafe poses 1968 as a shift of regime in the United States from the perspective of a social historian: "Any historian who uses the word 'watershed' to describe a given moment runs the risk of oversimplifying the complexity of the historical process. However, if the word is employed to signify a turning point that marks the end to domination by one constellation of forces and the beginning of domination by another, it seems appropriate as a description of what took place in America in 1968." William Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 378. Chafe captures precisely what we mean by a shift in the constitutional regime, that is, the end of domination by one constellation of forces and the beginning of domination by another. For Chafe's analysis of the republican spirit of the movements, see pp. 302–342.

2.6 IMPERIAL SOVEREIGNTY

1. Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: 'What Is Enlightenment?' " in *Political Writings,* ed. Hans Reiss, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 54–60.
2. Michel Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment," in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth,* vol. 1 of *The Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984,* ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: New Press, 1997), pp. 303–319.
3. Ibid., p. 315.
4. On the relationship between modern metaphysics and political theory, see Antonio Negri, *The Savage Anomaly,* trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).
5. We find versions of this spatial configuration of inside and outside among many of the contemporary philosophers we most admire—even writers such as Foucault and Blanchot who move away from the dialectic, and even Derrida, who dwells on that margin between inside and outside that is the most ambiguous and most murky point of modern thought. For Foucault and Blanchot, see Foucault's essay "Maurice Blanchot: The Thought from Outside," trans. Brian Massumi, in *Foucault/Blanchot* (New York: Zone Books, 1987). For Derrida, see *Margins of Philosophy,* trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
6. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p. ix.
7. We are thinking here primarily of Hannah Arendt's notion of the political articulated in *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).
8. For Los Angeles, see Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (London: Verso, 1990), pp. 221–263. For São Paulo, see Teresa Caldeira, "Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation," *Public Culture,* no. 8 (1996); 303–328.
9. See Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994).
10. Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).
11. "We have watched the war machine . . . set its sights on a new type of enemy, no longer another State, or even another regime, but 'l'ennemi quelconque' [the whatever enemy]." Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 422.
12. There are undoubtedly zones of deprivation within the world market where the flow of capital and goods is reduced to a minimum. In some cases this deprivation is determined by an explicit political decision (as in the trade sanctions against Iraq), and in other cases it follows from the

implicit logics of global capital (as in the cycles of poverty and starvation in sub-Saharan Africa). In all cases, however, these zones do not constitute an outside to the capitalist market; rather they function within the world market as the most subordinated rungs of the global economic hierarchy.

13. For an excellent explanation of Foucault's concept of the diagram, see Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault,* trans. Seán Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), pp. 34–37.
14. See Étienne Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 17–28; quotation p. 21. Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield identify something very similar as liberal racism, which is characterized primarily by "an antiracist attitude that coexists with support for racist outcomes," in "White Mythologies," *Critical Inquiry,* 20, no. 4 (Summer 1994), 737–757, quotation p. 737.
15. Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" pp. 21–22.
16. See Walter Benn Michaels, *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); and "Race into Culture: A Critical Genealogy of Cultural Identity," *Critical Inquiry,* 18, no. 4 (Summer 1992), 655–685. Benn Michaels critiques the kind of racism that appears in cultural pluralism, but does so in a way that seems to support a new liberal racism. See Gordon and Newfield's excellent critique of his work in "White Mythologies."
17. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* p. 178.
18. Ibid., p. 209.
19. See Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997). On her formulation of the reactionary reversal of the slogan "The personal is the political," see pp. 175–180. For her excellent analysis of the "intimate public sphere," see pp. 2–24.
20. The liberal order of Empire achieves the kind of "overlapping consensus" proposed by John Rawls in which all are required to set aside their "comprehensive doctrines" in the interests of tolerance. See John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). For a critical review of his book, see Michael Hardt, "On Political Liberalism," *Qui Parle,* 7, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 1993), 140–149.
21. On the (re)creation of ethnic identities in China, for example, see Ralph Litzinger, "Memory Work: Reconstituting the Ethnic in Post-Mao China," *Cultural Anthropology,* 13, no. 2 (1998), pp. 224–255.
22. Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on Control Societies," in *Negotiations,* trans. Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 177–182; quotation p. 179.

23. See Phillipe Bourgois, *Ethnicity at Work: Divided Labor on a Central American Banana Plantation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
24. See Aristotle, *De generatione et corruptione,* trans. C. J. F. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). In general, on the philosophical conceptions of generation and corruption, see Reiner Schürmann, *Des hégémonies brisées* (Mouvezin: T.E.R., 1996).

REFUSAL

1. See in particular Gilles Deleuze, "Bartleby, ou la formule," in *Critique et clinique* (Paris: Minuit, 1993), pp. 89–114; and Giorgio Agamben, "Bartleby o della contingenza," in *Bartleby: la formula della creazione* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 1993), pp. 47–92.
2. J. M. Coetzee, *The Life and Times of Michael K* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 151.
3. Étienne de La Boétie, *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude,* trans. Harry Kurz (New York: Free Life Editions, 1975), pp. 52–53. In French, *Discours de la servitude volontaire,* in *Oeuvres complètes* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1967), pp. 1–57; quotation p. 14.

INTERMEZZO: COUNTER-EMPIRE

1. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus,* trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Lane, and Helen Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), p. 239.
2. One of the best historical accounts of the IWW is contained in John Dos Passos's enormous novel *USA* (New York: Library of America, 1996). See also Joyce Kornbluh, ed., *Rebel Voices: an I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964).
3. "It would be possible to write a whole history of the inventions made since 1830 for the sole purpose of providing capital with weapons against working-class revolt." Karl Marx, *Capital,* trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), 1:563.
4. On the changing relation between labor and value, see Antonio Negri, "Twenty Theses on Marx," in Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino, and Rebecca Karl, eds., *Marxism Beyond Marxism* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 149–180; and Antonio Negri, "Value and Affect," *boundary2,* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1999).
5. Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus,* p. 29 (translation modified).
6. One of the most important novels of the Italian Resistance is Elio Vittorini's *Uomini e no* (Men and not men) in which being human means being against. Nanni Balestrini's tales about class struggle in Italy in the 1960s and 1970s take up this positive determination of being-against. See

in particular *Vogliamo tutto* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1971); and *The Unseen,* trans. Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1989).

7. Yann Moulier Boutang argues that the Marxian concept of the "industrial reserve army" has proven to be a particularly strong obstacle to our understanding the power of this mobility. In this framework the divisions and stratifications of the labor force in general are understood as predetermined and fixed by the quantitative logic of development, that is, by the productive rationalities of capitalist rule. This rigid and univocal command is seen as having such power that all forms of labor power are considered as being purely and exclusively determined by capital. Even unemployed populations and migrating populations are seen as springing from and determined by capital as a "reserve army." Labor power is deprived of subjectivity and difference since it is considered completely subject to the iron laws of capital. See Yann Moulier Boutang, *De l'esclavage au salariat* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1998).
8. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power,* trans. Walter Kaufman and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Vintage, 1968), p. 465 (no. 868, November 1887–March 1888).
9. We describe exodus as one of the motors of the collapse of Real Socialism in our *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 263–269.
10. The first passage is from Walter Benjamin, "Erfahrung und Armut," in *Gesammelte Schriften,* ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäussen (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972), vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 213–219; quotation p. 215. The second passage is from "The Destructive Character," in *Reflections,* ed. Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), pp. 302–303.
11. On the migrations of sexuality and sexual perversion, see François Peraldi, ed., *Polysexuality* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1981); and Sylvère Lotringer, *Overexposed: Treating Sexual Perversion in America* (New York: Pantheon, 1988). Arthur and Marilouise Kroker also emphasize the subversiveness of bodies and sexualities that refuse purity and normalization in essays such as "The Last Sex: Feminism and Outlaw Bodies," in Arthur and Marilouise Kroker, eds., *The Last Sex: Feminism and Outlaw Bodies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993). Finally, the best source for experiments of corporeal and sexual transformations may be the novels of Kathy Acker; see, for example, *Empire of the Senseless* (New York: Grove Press, 1988).
12. On posthuman permutations of the body, see Judith Halberstam and Ira Livingston, "Introduction: Posthuman Bodies," in Judith Halberstam and Ira Livingston, eds., *Posthuman Bodies* (Bloomington: Indiana University

Press, 1995), pp. 1–19; and Steve Shaviro, *The Cinematic Body* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993). For another interesting exploration of the potential permutations of the human body, see Alphonso Lingis, *Foreign Bodies* (New York: Routledge, 1994). See also the performance art of Stelarc, such as Stelarc, *Obsolete Body: Suspensions* (Davis, Calif.: J. P. Publications, 1984).

13. The primary texts that serve as the basis for a whole range of work that has been done across the boundaries of humans, animals, and machines are Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991); and Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus,* esp. pp. 1–8. Numerous studies have been published in the 1990s, particularly in the United States, on the political potential of corporeal nomadism and transformation. For three of the more interesting feminist examples from very different perspectives, see Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Camilla Griggers, *Becoming-Woman in Postmodernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); and Anna Camaiti Hostert, *Passing* (Rome: Castelvecchi, 1997).
14. Control and mutation are perhaps the defining themes of cyberpunk fiction. It is sufficient to see the seminal text, William Gibson, *Neuromancer* (New York: Ace, 1984). The most fascinating explorations of these themes, however, are probably found in the novels of William Burroughs and the films of David Cronenberg. On Burroughs and Cronenberg, see Steve Shaviro, *Doom Patrols: A Theoretical Fiction about Postmodernism* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1997), pp. 101–121.
15. This counsel against normalized bodies and normalized lives was perhaps the central principle of Félix Guattari's therapeutic practice.
16. "The proletariat . . . appears as the heir to the nomad in the Western world. Not only did many anarchists invoke nomadic themes originating in the East, but the bourgeoisie above all were quick to equate proletarians and nomads, comparing Paris to a city haunted by nomads." Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 558, note 61.
17. See Antonio Negri's essay on Jacques Derrida's *Specters of Marx,* "The Specter's Smile," in Michael Spinker, ed., *Ghostly Demarcations* (London: Verso, 1999) pp. 5–16.

3.1 THE LIMITS OF IMPERIALISM

1. For sources on the imperialism debate from Kautsky to Lenin, see the excellent bibliography provided in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., *Imperialismus*

(Cologne: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1970), pp. 443–459. For the debates over imperialism that developed between the two World Wars and continued up to the 1960s, see the bibliography in Dieter Senghaas, ed., *Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972), pp. 379–403. For a useful English-language summary of the debates, see Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).

2. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse,* trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York: Vintage, 1973), p. 408; subsequently cited in text. For Marx's discussion of the internal "barriers" of capitalist production, see also *Capital,* vol. 3, trans. David Fernbach (London: Penguin, 1981), pp. 349–375.
3. The following argument raises the specter of *underconsumptionist* theories, which argue that the inability to consume all the commodities produced is capitalism's fatal flaw and will necessarily lead to collapse. Many Marxist and non-Marxist economists have convincingly argued against any idea that the capitalist tendency to produce too much or consume too little will be catastrophic. For an evaluation of underconsumptionist arguments in Marx and Luxemburg, see Michael Bleaney, *Under-consumption Theories* (New York: International Publishers, 1976), pp. 102–119 and 186–201; and Ernest Mandel, Introduction to Karl Marx, *Capital,* vol. 2, trans. David Fernbach (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 69–77. See also Nikolai Bukharin's influential critique of Rosa Luxemburg in *Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital,* ed. Kenneth Tarbuck, trans. Rudolf Wichmann (London: Allen Lane, 1972), pp. 151–270. We should point out that economic necessity based on quantitative calculations is sometimes the form but never the substance of Marx's or Luxemburg's arguments. Any necessity is really historical and social. What Marx and Luxemburg identified was an economic barrier that helps explain how capital has historically been driven or induced to expand, to move outside itself and incorporate new markets within its realm.
4. For Marx's analysis of the abstinence theory of capitalist consumption, see *Capital,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), pp. 738–746, and *Capital,* 3:366.
5. "The total mass of commodities, the total product, must be sold, both that portion which replaces constant and variable capital and that which represents surplus-value. If this does not happen, or happens only partly, or only at prices that are less than the price of production, then although the worker is certainly exploited, his exploitation is not realized as such for the capitalist and may even not involve any realization of the surplus value extracted." Marx, *Capital,* 3:352.

6. Ibid., 3:353.
7. On the expansion of production and markets, see Marx, *Grundrisse,* p. 419; *Capital,* 1:910–911; 2:470–471; 3:349–355.
8. "The *true barrier* to capitalist production is *capital itself.*" Marx, *Capital,* 3:358.
9. Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital,* trans. Agnes Schwarzchild (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), pp. 365–366 and 467. Luxemburg's analysis of capitalist accumulation, her critiques of Marx, and her theory of the collapse of capitalism have all been highly contested ever since her book first appeared. For good summaries of the issues at stake, see Mandel's Introduction to *Capital,* 2:11–79, especially pp. 62–69; Joan Robinson, Introduction to Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital,* pp. 13–28; and Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 202–207.
10. Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800,* trans. Miriam Kochan (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 308.
11. Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital,* p. 358.
12. Ibid., p. 372.
13. Rudolf Hilferding, *Finance Capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development,* ed. Tom Bottomore (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 314.
14. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 40.
15. On uneven development and the geographical differences of capitalist expansion, see David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); and Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984).
16. Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital,* p. 446.
17. "Like the power of which it is the most global expression, imperialism is not a notion that can form the object of any explicit definition that orginates from economic concepts. Imperialism can only be grasped on the basis of a fully developed theory of the state." Michel Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation,* trans. David Fernbach (London: New Left Books, 1979), p. 30.
18. See primarily V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), and *Notebooks on Imperialism,* vol. 39 of *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977).
19. See Hilferding, *Finance Capital,* in particular pp. 183–235. Hilferding's analysis relies heavily on Marx's theory of the equalization of the general rate of profit through competition; see *Capital,* 3:273–301.

20. Karl Kautsky, "Zwei Schriften zum Umlernen," *Die Neue Zeit,* April 30, 1915, p. 144. Excerpts from Kautsky's writings on imperialism are included in *Karl Kautsky: Selected Political Writings,* ed. and trans. Patrick Goode (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 74–96.
21. V. I. Lenin, "Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, Imperialism and the World Economy," in *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 22:103–107; quotation p. 106. See also Lenin, *Imperialism,* pp. 111–122. We should note here that although Lenin is certainly correct in claiming that Kautsky's position is a deviation from Marx's method when he ignores the potential conflicts and practical opportunities of the present situation, Kautsky's reading of the tendency toward a unified world market does indeed find resonance in Marx's work, particularly in his articles on colonialism in India, where he posed a linear tendency of imperialist development toward the formation of a world market. See in particular Karl Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," in *Surveys from Exile,* vol. 2 of *Political Writings* (London: Penguin, 1973), pp. 319–325.
22. Lenin, "Preface to N. Bukharin's Pamphlet, Imperialism and the World Economy," p. 107.
23. See Antonio Negri, *La fabbrica della strategia: 33 lezioni su Lenin* (Padua: CLEUP, 1976).
24. On Lenin's debt to Hobson, see Giovanni Arrighi, *The Geometry of Imperialism: The Limits of Hobson's Paradigm,* trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Verso, 1978), pp. 23–27.
25. Cecil Rhodes, cited in Lenin, *Imperialism,* p. 79.
26. It is particularly important to give credit where credit is due today, when we seem to be confronted with numerous versions of historical revisionism. Poor Gramsci, communist and militant before all else, tortured and killed by fascism and ultimately by the bosses who financed fascism—poor Gramsci was given the gift of being considered the founder of a strange notion of hegemony that leaves no place for a Marxian politics. (See, for example, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* [London: Verso, 1985], especially pp. 65–71.) We have to defend ourselves against such generous gifts!
27. See Roman Rosdolsky, *The Making of Marx's "Capital,"* trans. Peter Burgess (London: Pluto Press, 1977).
28. On the missing volume on the wage, see Antonio Negri, *Marx Beyond Marx,* trans. Harry Cleaver, Michael Ryan, and Maurizio Viano (New York: Autonomedia, 1991), pp. 127–150; and Michael Lebowitz, *Beyond*

Capital: Marx's Political Economy of the Working Class (London: Macmillan, 1992). On the question of the existence of a Marxist theory of the state, see the debate between Norberto Bobbio and Antonio Negri in Norberto Bobbio, *Which Socialism?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987).

29. Marx, *Grundrisse,* p. 408.
30. Fernand Braudel, *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism,* trans. Patricia Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), p. 64.

CYCLES

1. "I occasionally get just as tired of the slogan 'postmodern' as anyone else, but when I am tempted to regret my complicity with it, to deplore its misuses and its notoriety, and to conclude with some reluctance that it raises more problems than it solves, I find myself pausing to wonder whether any other concept can dramatize the issues in quite so effective and economical a fashion." Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p. 418.
2. Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power, and the Origins of Our Times* (London: Verso, 1994).
3. Ibid., p. 332.

3.2 DISCIPLINARY GOVERNABILITY

1. See James Devine, "Underconsumption, Over-investment, and the Origins of the Great Depression," *Review of Radical Political Economics,* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1983), 1–27. On the economic crisis of 1929, see also the classic analysis of John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Great Crash, 1929* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954), which focuses on speculation as the cause of the crisis; and, more recently, Gérard Duménil and D. Lévy, *La dynamique du capital: un siècle d'économie americaine* (Paris: PUF, 1996). More generally, on the theoretical problems that the 1929 crisis bequeathed to twentieth-century political economy, see Michel Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation,* trans. David Fernbach (London: New Left Books, 1979); and Robert Boyer and Jacques Mistral, *Accumulation, inflation, crises* (Paris: PUF, 1978).
2. John Maynard Keynes was perhaps the person with the clearest foresight at the Versailles Conference. Already at the conference and then later in his essay "The Economic Consequences of Peace," he denounced the political egotism of the victors which would become one of the contributing factors to the economic crisis of the 1920s.
3. This type of interpretation of the economic and political crisis of 1929 should be contrasted very strongly to "revisionist" historiographical con-

ceptions in the style of François Furet, Ernst Nolte, and Renzo De Felice. It demonstrates the great importance of the *economic* element in the definition of the political choices of the twentieth century. The revisionist histories, on the contrary, read the developments of the century as a linear progression of ideas that are often posed in dialectical opposition, with fascism and communism occupying the defining poles. See, for example, François Furet, *Le passé d'une illusion: essai sur l'idée communiste au XXe siècle* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1995), especially the chapter in which he discusses the relationship between communism and fascism (pp. 189–248).

4. See Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), pp. 82–133.
5. It is above all the "liberal" historiography of authors such as Arthur Meier Schlesinger that has insisted on the synthetic characteristics of American progressivism. See his *Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1865–1940,* 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1941). See also Arthur Ekirch, Jr., *Progressivism in America: A Study of the Era from Theodore Roosevelt to Woodrow Wilson* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974).
6. This is the central development traced by Michel Aglietta in *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation,* and by Benjamin Coriat in *L'atelier et le chronomètre* (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1979). See also Antonio Negri, "Keynes and the Capitalist Theory of the State," in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 23–51; and "Crisis of the Planner-State: Communism and Revolutionary Organisation," in *Revolution Retrieved* (London: Red Notes, 1988), pp. 91–148. A good analysis of the New Deal and Keynesianism is also provided by Suzanne de Brunhoff, *The State, Capital, and Economic Policy,* trans. Mike Sonenscher (London: Pluto Press, 1978), pp. 61–80.
7. The notion of discipline developed by Michel Foucault certainly has a different focus from the one we employ here, but we are refering to the same practices and the same globality of application. Foucault's primary theoretical concerns are that discipline is deployed through institutional architectures, that the power of discipline is located not in some central source but in the capillary formations at its point of exercise, and that the subjectivities are produced by internalizing discipline and enacting its practices. This is all equally valid for our consideration here. Our primary focus, however, is on how the practices and relationships of disciplinarity that originated in the factory regime came to invest the entire social terrain as a mechanism of both production and government, that is, as a regime of social production.

8. The fundamental text that describes this development and anticipates its results is Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* trans. John Cumming (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), which was written in the mid-1940s. Numerous other works followed in the description of disciplinary society and its implacable development as a "biopolitical society," works coming out of different cultural and intellectual traditions but completely coherent in defining the tendency. For the two strongest and most intelligent poles of this range of studies, see Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), for what we might call the Anglo-German pole; and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1977), for the Latin pole.
9. Freda Kirchwey, "Program of Action," *Nation,* March 11, 1944, pp. 300–305; cited in Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 103.
10. On the spread of the New Deal model to the other dominant countries after the Second World War, see Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987), pp. 347–437; and Franz Schurmann, *The Logic of World Power: An Inquiry into the Origins, Currents, and Contradictions of World Politics* (New York: Pantheon, 1974).
11. On the history of the decolonization process in general, see Marc Ferro, *Histoire des colonisations: des conquêtes aux indépendences, XIIIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1994); Frank Ansprenger, *The Dissolution of the Colonial Empires* (London: Routledge, 1989); and R. F. Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918–1981* (London: Macmillan, 1985).
12. On the effect of U.S. hegemony on decolonization struggles, see Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 1994), pp. 69–75; and François Chesnais, *La mondialisation du capital,* rev. ed. (Paris: Syros, 1997).
13. Harry S. Truman, *Public Papers* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 176; cited in Richard Freeland, *The Truman Doctrine and the Origins of McCarthyism* (New York: Schocken, 1971), p. 85. On the rigid bipolar ideological divisions imposed by the cold war, see again Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers,* pp. 373–395; and Schurmann, *The Logic of World Power.*
14. On the decentering of manufacturing and service production (coupled with the centralization of command), see two books by Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital: A Study in International Investment and*

Labor Flow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), especially pp. 127–133; and *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 22–34. More generally, on the mobility of capital and the countervailing or limiting factors, see David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 417–422.

15. See Wladimir Andreff, *Les multinationales globales* (Paris: La Découverte, 1995); and Kenichi Ohmae, *The End of the Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economies* (New York: Free Press, 1995).
16. On the resistances of peasants to capitalist discipline, see James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 235 and passim.
17. On the economic projects of modernization in Mao's China, see Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After,* 2nd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1986), pp. 113–139.
18. Robert Sutcliffe, for example, writes, "No major country has yet become rich without having become industrialized . . . Greater wealth and better living standards under any political system are closely connected with industrialization." Robert Sutcliffe, *Industry and Underdevelopment* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1971).
19. On global and peripheral Fordism, see primarily Alain Lipietz, *Mirages and Miracles: The Crises of Global Fordism,* trans. David Marcey (London: Verso, 1987); and "Towards a Global Fordism?" *New Left Review,* no. 132 (1982), 33–47. On the reception of Lipietz's work among Anglo-American economists, see David Ruccio, "Fordism on a World Scale: International Dimensions of Regulation," *Review of Radical Political Economics,* 21, no. 4 (Winter 1989), 33–53; and Bob Jessop, "Fordism and Post-Fordism: A Critical Reformulation," in Michael Storper and Allen Scott, eds., *Pathways to Industrialization and Regional Development* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 46–69.
20. See, for example, Giovanni Arrighi and John Saul, "Socialism and Economic Development in Tropical Africa," in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp. 11–43; John Saul, "Planning for Socialism in Tanzania," in Uchumi Editorial Board, ed., *Towards Socialist Planning* (Dar Es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972), pp. 1–29; and Terence Hopkins, "On Economic Planning in Tropical Africa," *Co-existence,* 1, no. 1 (May 1964), 77–88. For two appraisals of the failure of economic development strategies and planning in Africa (but which both still imagine the possibility of an "alternative" socialist development), see Samir Amin, *Maldevelopment: Anatomy of a*

Global Failure (London: Zed Books, 1990), especially pp. 7–74; and Claude Ake, *Democracy and Development in Africa* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1996).

21. For an interesting personal account of the Bandung Conference and its significance, see Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference* (New York: World, 1956). The major speeches delivered at the conference are included in George McTurnan Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956). On the nonalignment movement, see Leo Mates, *Nonalignment: Theory and Current Policy* (Belgrade: Institute for International Politics and Economics, 1972); and M. S. Rajan, *Nonalignment and Nonalignment Movement* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1990).
22. On nomadism and the constitution of subjectivities, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), especially pp. 351–423.
23. On the formal and real subsumption in Marx, see primarily Karl Marx, *Capital,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), pp. 1019–38.

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATIONS

1. Karl Marx, *Capital,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), p. 918.
2. See primarily Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale,* trans. Brian Pearce (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974); and Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

3.3 RESISTANCE, CRISIS, TRANSFORMATION

1. On crisis and the restructuring of capitalist production in the 1960s and 1970s, see Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide* (New York: Basic Books, 1984). On the financial and economic crisis, see Robert Boyer and Jacques Mistral, *Accumulation, inflation, crises* (Paris: PUF, 1978).
2. See Antonio Negri, "Marx on Cycle and Crisis," in *Revolution Retrieved* (London: Red Notes, 1988), pp. 43–90.
3. See the historical essays "Do You Remember Revolution?" written collectively and "Do You Remember Counter-revolution?" by Paolo Virno in Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, eds., *Radical Thought in Italy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 225–259. See also Paolo Carpignano, "Note su classe operaia e capitale in America negli anni

sessanta," in Sergio Bologna, Paolo Carpignano, and Antonio Negri, *Crisi e organizzazione operaia* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976), pp. 73–97.

4. On the "welfare explosion of the 1960s," see Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York: Pantheon, 1971), in particular pp. 183–199. See also Piven and Cloward, *The New Class War: Reagan's Attack on the Welfare State and Its Consequences* (New York: Pantheon, 1982).
5. See Luciano Ferrari Bravo, "Introduzione: vecchie e nuove questioni nella teoria dell'imperialismo," in Luciano Ferrari Bravo, ed., *Imperialismo e classe operaia multinazionale* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1975), pp. 7–70.
6. Claude Ake goes so far as to characterize the entire world capitalist system as a conflict between "bourgeois countries" and "proletarian countries" in *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa* (London: Zed Books, 1978), p. 11.
7. This Third Worldist perspective is implicit in much of the writing of Immanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank, and Samir Amin.
8. For a thorough historical account of the events and the protagonists at the Bretton Woods Conference, see Armand Van Dormael, *Bretton Woods: Birth of a Monetary System* (London: Macmillan, 1978). For a historical account that gives a broader view of the comprehensive U.S. preparation for hegemony in the postwar period by posing the economic planning at Bretton Woods together with the political planning at Dumbarton Oaks, see George Schild, *Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks: American Economic and Political Postwar Planning in the Summer of 1944* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
9. Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 1994), p. 278–279.
10. On the international financial crisis that began in the 1970s with the collapse of the Bretton Woods mechanisms, see Peter Coffey, *The World Monetary Crisis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974); and Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century,* pp. 300–324.
11. On Eurodollar finance as an element of the crisis, see Jeffry Frieden, *Banking on the World: The Politics of American International Finance* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), pp. 79–122.
12. On the convertibility of the dollar and the Nixon maneuver in 1971, see David Calleo and Benjamin Rowland, *America and the World Political Economy: Atlantic Dreams and National Realities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), pp. 87–117; and Coffey, *The World Monetary Crisis,* pp. 25–42.
13. On the limits of Fordism and the need for capital to find a post-Fordist schema of production and accumulaton, see Benjamin Coriat, *L'atelier et*

le robot: essai sur le fordisme et la production de masse à l'âge de l'électronique (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1990).

14. Fredric Jameson argues that the social struggles of the 1960s in the First World, particularly in the United States and France, follow in the line of (and even derive from) the powerful decolonization and liberation movements in the Third World during the 1950s and 1960s. See Fredric Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s," in *Ideologies of Theory: Essays, 1971–1986* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 2:178–208, especially pp. 180–186.
15. See Giovanni Arrighi, "Marxist Century, American Century: The Making and Remaking of the World Labor Movement," in Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, Andre Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Transforming the Revolution: Social Movements and the World System* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990), 54–95.
16. Robin Kelley provides an exemplary account of the dynamics of proletarian refusal and the creation of alternative forms of life in his wonderful U.S. black working-class history, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994).
17. In ecological thought, too, at least in its most productive paradigms, we can see clearly that the "nature" in question is equally human and nonhuman; ecology involves not just the preservation of things, but the production of relationships and the production of subjectivity as well. See Félix Guattari, *Les trois écologies* (Paris: Galilée, 1989); and Verena Andermatt Conley, *Ecopolitics: The Environment in Poststructuralist Thought* (London: Routledge, 1997). Franco Piperno continues this "ecological" line of thought, albeit in a different register, in *Elogio dello spirito pubblico meridionale* (Rome: Manifestolibri, 1997).
18. In her effort to think the importance and real limits of the "outside," Rosa Luxemburg may have been the first great ecological thinker of the twentieth century. The best examples of Marxist ecological thought in authors such as André Gorz and James O'Connor adopt a form of argument similar to Luxemburg's anti-imperialist position (although their work does not derive directly from hers): capitalist production necessarily implies an expansion into and destruction of nature, which not only has tragic consequences for life on the planet but also undermines the future viability of capitalism itself. For André Gorz, see *Ecology as Politics,* trans. Patsy Vigderman and Jonathan Cloud (Boston: South End Press, 1980); for James O'Connor, see "Capitalism, Nature, Socialism: A Theoretical Introduction," *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism,* 1, no. 1 (1989), 11–38.
19. "Late capitalism thus appears as the period in which all branches of the economy are fully industrialized for the first time; to which one could

further add . . . the increasing mechanization of the superstructure." Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism,* trans. Joris De Bres (London: Verso, 1978), pp. 190–191.

20. "This purer capitalism of our own time thus eliminated the enclaves of precapitalist organization it had hitherto tolerated and exploited in a tributary way." Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 36.
21. We do not mean to suggest that capital can perpetually through technological advances reconcile its destructive relationship with its (human and nonhuman) environment. What technological advance can do is shift the terrain of conflict and defer the crisis, but limits and antagonisms remain.
22. Stanley Aronowitz offers a useful reassessment of the panoply of U.S. social movements in the 1960s in *The Death and Rebirth of American Radicalism* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 57–90.
23. Again see Kelley, *Race Rebels,* especially pp. 17–100 on the hidden histories of resistance.
24. On the history of the refusals posed by U.S. feminist movements in the 1960s and 1970s, see Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).
25. See, for example, Judith Butler, "Merely Cultural," *New Left Review,* no. 227 (January–February 1998), 33–44. The most influential text for the political interpretation of "new social movements" along these lines is Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985).
26. See Antonio Negri, *The Politics of Subversion: A Manifesto for the Twenty-first Century,* trans. James Newell (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989).
27. Fredric Jameson, for example, argues that the collapse of the Soviet Union was "due, not to its failure, but to its success, at least as far as modernization is concerned." See his "Actually Existing Marxism," in Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino, and Rebecca Karl, eds., *Marxism Beyond Marxism* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 14–54; quotation p. 43. More generally on how cold war propaganda (from both sides) blinded us to the real movements of social history within the Soviet regime, see Moshe Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System* (New York: Pantheon, 1985).
28. See Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed,* trans. Max Eastman (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1937); and Cornelius Castoriadis, *Devant la guerre* (Paris: Fayard, 1981). See also a series of article by Denis Berger on the collapse of the Soviet Union, "Perestroïka: la révolution réellement existante?" *Futur antérieur,* no. 1 (1990), 53–62; "Que reste-t-il de la perestroïka?" *Futur antérieur,* no. 6 (1991), 15–20; and "L'Unione Soviétique à l'heure du vide," *Futur antérieur,* no. 8 (1991), 5–12.

29. It seems to us that one could make a parallel argument about the changing social practices of the Chinese proletariat in the post-Mao era leading up to the "Cultural Fever" movement in the 1980s. See Xudong Zhang, *Chinese Modernism in the Era of Reforms* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997). Zhang makes clear the fabulous creativity released during this period.

3.4 POSTMODERNIZATION

1. The texts that set the terms for an enormous literature that debates the periodization of the phases of modern production are Daniel Bell, *Coming of Post-industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); and Alain Touraine, *Post-industrial Society,* trans. Leonard Mayhew (New York: Random House, 1971).
2. See Manuel Castells and Yuko Aoyama, "Paths towards the Informational Society: Employment Structure in G-7 Countries, 1920–90," *International Labour Review,* 133, no. 1 (1994), 5–33; quotation p. 13.
3. On the false historical analogies that contributed to the debt crisis of Third World countries, see Cheryl Payer, *Lent and Lost: Foreign Credit and Third World Development* (London: Zed Books, 1991).
4. The classic presentations of the theories of underdevelopment and dependency are Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967); and Fernando Enrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America,* trans. Marjory Mattingly Urquidi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). For a very concise critique of stages of development arguments, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 3–5.
5. The discourse of development was an illusion, but it was a real and effective illusion that established its own structures and institutions of power throughout the "developing" world. On the institutionalization of development, see Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 73–101.
6. For a critique of the developmentalist ideology of dependency theories, see ibid., pp. 80–81.
7. See, for example, Claude Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1981), p. 136. This is also the general framework presented in the work of Andre Gunder Frank and Samir Amin.
8. Robert Musil, *The Man without Qualities,* trans. Sophie Wilkins (New York: Knopf, 1995), 2:367.

9. François Bar, "Information Infrastructure and the Transformation of Manufacturing," in William Drake, ed., *The New Information Infrastructure: Strategies for U.S. Policy* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1995), pp. 55–74; quotation p. 56.
10. See Robert Chase and David Garvin, "The Service Factory," in Gary Pisano and Robert Hayes, eds., *Manufacturing Renaissance* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1995), pp. 35–45.
11. See Castells and Aoyama, "Paths towards the Informational Society," pp. 19–28.
12. Manuel Castells describes the most subordinated regions of the global economy as a "Fourth World." See his essay "The Informational Economy and the New International Division of Labor," in Martin Carnoy, Manuel Castells, Stephen Cohen, and Fernando Enrique Cardoso, *The New Global Economy in the Information Age* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), pp. 15–43.
13. Castells and Aoyama, "Paths towards the Informational Society," p. 27.
14. Pierre Levy, *Collective Intelligence: Mankind's Emerging World in Cyberspace* (New York: Plenum Press, 1997).
15. On the comparison between the Fordist and Toyotist models, see Benjamin Coriat, *Penser à l'envers: travail et organisation dans l'entreprise japonaise* (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1994). For a brief history of the early developments of Toyota production methods, see Kazuo Wada, "The Emergence of the 'Flow Production' Method in Japan," in Haruhito Shiomi and Kazuo Wada, eds., *Fordism Transformed: The Development of Production Methods in the Automobile Industry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 11–27.
16. We are thinking primarily of Jürgen Habermas's conceptual division between communicative and instrumental action in works such as *The Theory of Communicative Action,* trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984). For an excellent critique of this Habermasian division, see Christian Marazzi, *Il posto dei calzini: la svolta linguistica dell'economia e i suoi effetti nella politica* (Bellinzona, Switzerland: Casagrande, 1995), pp. 29–34.
17. For a definition and analysis of immaterial labor, see Maurizio Lazzarato, "Immaterial Labor," in Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, eds., *Radical Thought in Italy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 133–147. See also the glossary entry on immaterial labor at the end of the same collection, p. 262.
18. Peter Drucker understands the passage toward immaterial production in extreme terms. "The basic economic resource—'the means of production,' to use the economist's term—is no longer capital, nor natural

resources (the economist's 'land'), nor 'labor.' *It is and will be knowledge.*" Peter Drucker, *Post-capitalist Society* (New York: Harper, 1993), p. 8. What Drucker does not understand is that knowledge is not given but produced and that its production involves new kinds of means of production and labor.

19. Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism* (New York: Knopf, 1991), p. 177. What is most important to Reich is in fact that advantage—and finally national dominance—will be won in the global economy along the lines of these new divisions, through the geographical distribution of these high- and low-value tasks.
20. See Karl Marx, *Capital,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), pp. 131–137.
21. See Dorothy Smith, *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), especially pp. 78–88.
22. Marx in his time conceived cooperation as the result of the actions of the capitalist, who functioned like an orchestra conductor or a field general, deploying and coordinating productive forces in a common effort. See *Capital,* 1:439–454. For an analysis of the contemporary dynamics of social and productive cooperation, see Antonio Negri, *The Politics of Subversion: A Manifesto for the Twenty-first Century,* trans. James Newell (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989).
23. See Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
24. On the network enterprise, see Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 151–200.
25. Bill Gates, *The Road Ahead* (New York: Viking, 1995), p. 158.
26. A number of Italian scholars read the decentralization of network production in the small and medium-sized enterprises of northern Italy as an opportunity to create new circuits of *autonomous labor.* See Sergio Bologna and Andrea Fumagalli, eds., *Il lavoro autonomo di seconda generazione: scenari del postfordismo in Italia* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1997).
27. On the growth of "producer services" in concentrated centers of control, see Sassen, *The Global City,* pp. 90–125.
28. Peter Cowhey, "Building the Global Information Highway: Toll Booths, Construction Contracts, and Rules of the Road," in William Drake, ed., *The New Information Infrastructure* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1995), pp. 175–204; quotation p. 175.
29. On rhizomatic and arborescent structures, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 3–25.

30. On the false egalitarian promises of the "information superhighway" in the United States, see Herbert Schiller, *Information Inequality: The Deepening Social Crisis in America* (New York: Routledge, 1996), especially pp. 75–89. For a more global analysis of the unequal distribution of information and technology, see William Wresch, *Disconnected: Haves and Have-Nots in the Information Age* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

3.5 MIXED CONSTITUTION

1. For an analysis of the passages of Marx's and Engel's work that deal with the theory of the state, see Antonio Negri, "Communist State Theory," in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 139–176.
2. See M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia,* 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1993). The complex relationship among the Dutch administration, traditional Javanese authorities, and economic powers at the beginning of the twentieth century is described beautifully in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's great four-volume historical novel, *The Buru Quartet,* trans. Max Lane (London: Penguin Books, 1982–1992).
3. See Brian Gardner, *The East India Company* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1971); and Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords* (New York: Atheneum, 1986).
4. Marx argued that the greater concentration and centralization of capital acted against the forces of competition and was thus a destructive process for capital. See Karl Marx, *Capital,* vol. 3, trans. David Fernbach (London: Penguin, 1981), pp. 566–573. Lenin took up this same argument in his analysis of the monopoly phase of capital: monopolies destroy competition, which is the foundation of capitalist development. See V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), pp. 16–30.
5. See, for example, Richard Barnet and John Cavanagh, *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994).
6. The concept of the "autonomy of the political," which belongs to the tradition of political theology, was given its first great definition by the political theologian Thomas Hobbes. The concept was raised to even greater heights by Carl Schmitt; see principally *The Concept of the Political,* trans. George Schwab (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1976); and *Verfassungslehre,* 8th ed. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1993). The political is understood here as the foundation of every social relation-

ship and the originary evaluation or "decision" that constructs the sphere of power and thus guarantees the space of life. It is interesting to note that Schmitt's conception of the political is ineluctably tied to the juridical definition of the nation-state and inconceivable outside of its realm. Schmitt himself seems to recognize this fact after having witnessed the catastrophe of the German nation-state. See Carl Schmitt, *Der Nomos der Erde im Völkerrecht des jus publicum europaeum* (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1950). The most extensive consideration of Schmitt's conception of the political that we know is contained in Carlo Galli, *Genealogia della politica: C. Schmitt e la crisi del pensiero politico moderno* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996). This critique of Scmitt's concept of the "autonomy of the political" should also be applied to the various positions that in some way derive from his thought. At two extremes we can cite Leo Strauss, who tried to appropriate Schmitt's concept under his own liberal conception of natural right, and Mario Tronti, who sought to find in the autonomy of the political a terrain that could support a compromise with liberal political forces in a period when the Western European communist parties were in deep crisis. For Strauss's interpretation of Schmitt's text and their ambiguous relationship, see Heinrich Meier, *Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: The Hidden Dialogue,* trans. J. Harvey Lomax (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). For Tronti, see *L'autonomia del politico* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1977).

7. There are numerous excellent critiques of the media and their purported objectivity. For two good examples, see Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Pantheon, 1981); and Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988).
8. See, for example, Elise Boulding, "IGOs, the UN, and International NGOs: The Evolving Ecology of the International System," in Richard Falk, Robert Johansen, and Samuel Kim, eds., *The Constitutional Foundations of World Peace* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), pp. 167–188; quotation p. 179.
9. For characterizations of the activities of various kinds of NGOs, see John Clark, *Democratizing Development: The Role of Voluntary Organizations* (West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 1990); Lowell Livezey, *Nongovernmental Organizations and the Ideas of Human Rights* (Princeton: The Center of International Studies, 1988); and Andrew Natsios, "NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation?" in Peter Diehl, ed., *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Independent World* (Boulder: Lynne Reiner, 1997), pp. 287–303.

10. James Petras, "Imperialism and NGOs in Latin America," *Monthly Review,* 49 (December 1997), 10–27.
11. See Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire,* trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), Book VI, pp. 302–352.
12. See G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).
13. On the transformation from a model of bodies to a functional model in the U.S. Constitution, see Antonio Negri, *Il potere costituente: saggio sulle alternative del moderno* (Milan: Sugarco, 1992), chap. 4, pp. 165–222.
14. It is interesting to note here that, at least since the constitutionalism of the Weimar Republic, the continental European tradition of constitutional thought has also adopted these principles, which were presumed to belong only to the Anglo-Saxon world. The fundamental texts for the German tradition in this regard are Max Weber, *Parlament und Regierung im neugeordneten Deutschland* (Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1918); Hugo Preuss, *Staat, Recht und Freiheit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1926); and Hermann Heller, *Die Souveranität* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1927).
15. Generally the analyses that come from the Left are the ones that insist most strongly that the genesis of Empire activates the "bad" forms of government. See, for example, Étienne Balibar, *La crainte des masses* (Paris: Galilée, 1997), a book which in other regards is extremely open to the analysis of the new processes of the (mass) production of subjectivity.
16. For an analysis of these processes and a good discussion of the relevant bibliography, see Yann Moulier Boutang, "La revanche des externalités: globalisation des économies, externalités, mobilité, transformation de l'économie et de l'intervention publique," *Futur antérieur,* no. 39–40 (Fall 1997), pp. 85–115.
17. It should be clear from what we have said thus far that the theoretical condition underlying our hypotheses has to involve a radically revised analysis of reproduction. In other words, any theoretical conception that regards reproduction as simply part of the circulation of capital (as classical economics, Marxian theory, and neoclassical theories have done) cannot deal critically with the conditions of our new situation, particularly those resulting from the political-economic relations of the world market in postmodernity. Our description of biopower in Section 1.2 is the beginning of such a revised analysis of reproduction. For the definition of some fundamental elements that relate to the integration of labor, affect, and biopower, see Antonio Negri, "Value and Affect" and Michael Hardt, "Affective Labor," *boundary2,* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1999).

18. We are refering once again to the work of Michel Foucault and to Gilles Deleuze's interpretation of it. See our discussion in Section 1.2.
19. This first variable and the analysis of the functioning of the network in constitutional terms relates in certain respects to the various autopoietic theories of networks. See, for example, the work of Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela. For an excellent analysis of systems theory in the context of postmodern theories, see Cary Wolfe, *Critical Environments* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).
20. The various advances in systems theories contribute also to our understanding of this second variable. Niklas Luhmann's work has been the most influential for the analysis of autopoietic systems in terms of legal and social philosophy.
21. Jameson offers an excellent critique of "the conception of mass culture as sheer manipulation." He argues that although mass culture is "managed," it nonetheless contains utopian possibilities. See Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," in *Signatures of the Visible* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 9–34.
22. See Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994); and *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* (London: Verso, 1990).
23. Fredric Jameson, "Totality as Conspiracy," in *The Geopolitial Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 9–84.
24. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* ed. C. B. Macpherson (London: Penguin, 1968), p. 200.
25. See Brian Massumi, ed., *The Politics of Everyday Fear* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

3.6 CAPITALIST SOVEREIGNTY

1. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus,* trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Lane, and Helen Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), p. 224.
2. On Deleuze and Guattari's conception of the axiomatic of capital, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus,* trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 452–473.
3. Robert Blanché, *Axiomatics,* trans. G. B. Keene (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 30–31.
4. There is, of course, one element of transcendence and segmentation that is essential to the functioning of capital, and that is class exploitation. This is a boundary, however flexible or indiscernible it may be at times, that capital must maintain throughout society. Class divisions continue

to be centrally effective in the new segmentations that we investigate later in this section.

5. See Michel Foucault, "La 'gouvernementalité,'" in *Dits et écrits* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 3:635–657; and *Il faut defendre la société* (Paris: Seuil/Gallimard, 1997).
6. See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 257–259.
7. See Michael Hardt, "The Withering of Civil Society," *Social Text,* no. 45 (Winter 1995), 27–44.
8. For an excellent explanation of Foucault's conception of the diagram, see Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault,* trans. Seán Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), pp. 34–37.
9. On the relation between identity and belonging and on the constitution of a "whatever" subjectivity, see Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community,* trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
10. Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital,* trans. Agnes Schwarzchild (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), p. 446.
11. The classic work in this regard is Samir Amin's *Accumulation on a World Scale,* trans. Brian Pearce (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974).
12. See Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London: Verso, 1990), pp. 221–263.
13. Michel Aglietta has demonstrated clearly in structural terms the violent and dictatorial powers of monetary regimes. See his *La violence de la monnaie* (Paris: PUF, 1982). See also the essays in Werner Bonefeld and John Holloway, eds., *Global Capital, National State, and the Politics of Money* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

4.1 VIRTUALITIES

1. On this style of political theorizing, see C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962); and Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
2. On the immanent relation between politics and ontology, see Antonio Negri, *The Savage Anomaly,* trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); and Baruch Spinoza, *Theologico-Political Treatise,* in *The Chief Works of Spinoza,* vol. 1, trans. R. H. M. Elwes (New York: Dover Press, 1951), pp. 1–278.
3. On postmodern right and postmodern law, see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Labor of Dionysus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), chap. 6, pp. 217–261.

4. See Rémi Brague, *Du temps chez Platon et Aristote* (Paris: PUF, 1982).
5. G. W. F. Hegel, *Science of Logic,* trans. A. V. Miller (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International, 1989), pp. 327–385.
6. The measure of value means its orderly exploitation, the norm of its social division, and its capitalist reproduction. Certainly Marx goes beyond Marx, and one should never pretend that his discussions of labor and value are only a discourse on measure: beyond value, labor is always the living power of being. See Antonio Negri, "Twenty Theses on Marx," in Saree Makdisi, Cesare Casarino, and Rebecca Karl, eds., *Marxism Beyond Marxism* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 149–180.
7. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* trans. Terence Irwin (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1985), p. 119 (1129b30).
8. On the virtual, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?,* trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Graham Burchell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); and Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism,* trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (New York: Zone, 1988), pp. 94–103. Our conception of virtuality and its relationship to reality is somewhat different from the one that Deleuze derives from Bergson, which distinguishes between the passage from the virtual to the actual and that from the possible to the real. Bergson's primary concern in this distinction and in his affirmation of the virtual-actual couple over the possible-real is to emphasize the creative force of being and highlight that being is not merely the reduction of numerous possible worlds to a single real world based on resemblance, but rather that being is always an act of creation and unforeseeable novelty. See Henri Bergson, "The Possible and the Real," in *The Creative Mind,* trans. Mabelle Andison (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), pp. 91–106. We certainly do recognize the need to insist on the creative powers of virtuality, but this Bergsonian discourse is insufficient for us insofar as we also need to insist on the reality of the being created, its ontological weight, and the institutions that structure the world, creating necessity out of contingency. On the passage from the virtual to the real, see Gilbert Simondon, *L'individu et sa genèse physico-biologique* (Paris: PUF, 1964); and Brian Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect," *Cultural Critique,* no. 31 (Fall 1995), 83–109.
9. Marx's discussions of abstraction have a double relation to this discourse of virtuality and possibility. One might do well in fact to distinguish between two Marxian notions of abstraction. On the one hand, and on the side of capital, abstraction means separation from our powers to act, and thus it is a negation of the virtual. On the other hand, however, and on the side of labor, the abstract is the general set of our powers to act,

the virtual itself. See Antonio Negri, *Marx Beyond Marx,* trans. Harry Cleaver, Michael Ryan, and Maurizio Viano (New York: Autonomedia, 1991); and Karl Marx, *Grundrisse,* trans. Martin Nicolaus (New York: Vintage, 1973), pp. 83–111.

10. On the relation between the singular and the common, see Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community,* trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
11. See primarily Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals,* trans. Walter Kaufman and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Vintage, 1967).
12. See Bernard Aspe and Muriel Combes, "Du vampire au parasite," *Futur antérieur,* no. 35–36 (1996), 207–219.
13. On the priority of resistance to power, see Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault,* trans. Seán Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 89: "The final word on power is that *resistance comes first*."
14. This dialectic of obstacle and limit, with respect to the power of the mind on the one hand and political power on the other, was well understood by that current of the phenomenology of subjectivity that (in contrast to the Heideggerian current) recognized Nazism and thus the capitalist state as the true limit of historical progress. From Husserl to Sartre we find the central effort to transform limit into threshold, and in many ways Foucault takes up this same line. See Edmund Husserl, *Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology,* trans. David Carr (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1970); Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique of Dialectical Reason,* trans. Quentin Hoare (London: Verso, 1990); and Deleuze, *Foucault.*
15. See Jacques Rancière, *La mesentante: politique et philosophie* (Paris: Galilée, 1995).
16. One example of such a Kantian reverie is Lucien Goldmann, *Mensch, Gemeinschaft und Welt in der Philosophie Immanuel Kants* (Zurich: Europa Verlag, 1945).
17. See Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," in *Early Writings,* trans. Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton (London: Penguin, 1975), pp. 211–241.
18. See Paul Virilio, *L'insecurité du territoire* (Paris: Stock, 1976).
19. On the importance of the linguistic in the contemporary economy, see Christian Marazzi, *Il posto dei calzini: la svolta linguistica dell'economia e i suoi effetti nella politica* (Bellinzona: Casagrande, 1995).
20. See Giorgio Agamben, *Homo sacer: il potere sovrano e la nuda vita* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995).
21. On this conception of the machinic, see Félix Guattari, *L'inconscient machinique: essais de schizo-analyse* (Fontenay-sous-Bois: Encres/Recherches,

1979); and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus,* trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Lane, and Helen Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983).

22. Karl Marx, *Capital,* vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1976), pp. 554–555.
23. Obviously when we speak about a materialist telos we are speaking about a telos that is constructed by subjects, constituted by the multitude in action. This involves a materialist reading of history which recognizes that the institutions of society are formed through the encounter and conflict of social forces themselves. The telos in this case in not predetermined but constructed in the process. Materialist historians such as Thucydides and Machiavelli, like the great materialist philosophers such as Epicurus, Lucretius, and Spinoza, have never negated a telos constructed by human actions. As Marx wrote in the introduction to the *Grundrisse,* it is not the anatomy of the ape that explains that of humans but, vice versa, the anatomy of humans that explains that of the ape (p. 105). The telos appears only afterwards, as a result of the actions of history.

4.2 GENERATION AND CORRUPTION

1. See Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, *Considerations of the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline,* trans. David Lowenthal (New York: Free Press, 1965); and Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 3 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1993).
2. See Machiavelli, *Discourses,* trans. Leslie Walker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); and Antonio Negri, *Il potere costituente* (Milan: Sugarco, 1992), pp. 75–96.
3. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* trans. George Lawrence (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).
4. G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 170.
5. Massimo Cacciari provides a stimulating analysis of the fortunes and decline of the idea of Europe with his usual erudition in *Geo-filosofia dell'Europa* (Milan: Adelphi, 1994).
6. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science,* trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 99 (sec. 24).
7. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Werke,* ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967), vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 77; cited in Cacciari, *Geofilosofia dell'Europa,* p. 9. The original passage reads, "Ich habe den Geist Europas in mich genommen—nun will ich den Gegenschlag thun!"
8. See Franz Rosenzweig, *The Star of Redemption,* trans. William Hallo (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

9. Walter Benjamin, "Theses of the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations,* trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), pp. 253–264; quotation p. 254 (Thesis 2).
10. On the fortunes of European irrationalism, see Georg Lukács, *The Destruction of Reason,* trans. Peter Palmer (London: Merlin, 1980).
11. We are referring primarily to Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida.
12. See Hans Jürgen Krahl, *Konstitution und Klassenkampf* (Frankfurt: Neue Kritik, 1971).
13. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Notebooks, 1914–16,* ed. G. H. von Wright and G. E. M. Anscombe, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 79–80 (August 1 and 2 and September 2, 1916).
14. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus,* trans. D. F. Pears and B. F. McGuinness (London: Routledge, 1961), p. 74.
15. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Viking, 1963).
16. Gilles Deleuze often sings the praises of American literature for its nomadism and deterritorializing powers. It seems that for Deleuze, America represents a liberation from the closed confines of European consciousness. See, for example, "Whitman" and "Bartleby, ou la formule," in *Critique et clinique* (Paris: Minuit, 1993), pp. 75–80 and 89–114.
17. Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
18. See Antonio Gramsci, "Americanism and Fordism," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), pp. 279–318.
19. Hannah Arendt has become a favorite author for political theorists in the United States and Europe who want to reconceive politics. See, for example, the essays in Bonnie Honig, ed., *Feminist Interpretations of Hannah Arendt* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); and Craig Calhoun and John McGowan, eds., *Hannah Arendt and the Meaning of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
20. On the philosophical conceptions of generation and corruption, see Reiner Schürmann, *Des hégémonies brisées* (Mouvezin: T.E.R., 1996).

4.3 THE MULTITUDE AGAINST EMPIRE

1. Saint Augustine, *The City of God,* trans. Henry Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 430 (Book XI, Chapter 1).
2. Plotinus, *Enneads,* trans. Stephen MacKenna (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), p. 63 (1.6.8).

3. On the military powers of Empire, see Manuel De Landa, *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines* (New York: Zone, 1991).
4. On the constitution of time, see Antonio Negri, *La costituzione del tempo* (Rome: Castelvecchi, 1997); and Michael Hardt, "Prison Time," *Genet: In the Language of the Enemy, Yale French Studies,* no. 91 (1997), 64–79. See also Eric Alliez, *Capital Times,* trans. Georges Van Den Abeel (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
5. See Jürgen Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action,* trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984). André Gorz similarly recognizes only a fraction of the proletariat as relating to the new communicative lines of production in *Farewell to the Working Class,* trans. Michael Sonenscher (Boston: South End Press, 1982).
6. Here we are following the intriguing etymology that Barbara Cassin gives for the term "philosophy."
7. On the constitutive notion of the encounter, see Louis Althuser's late works written after his confinement in the 1980s, in particular "Le courant souterrain du matérialisme de la rencontre," in *Écrits philosophiques et politiques,* vol. 1 (Paris: STOCK/IMEC, 1994), pp. 539–579.