

Empire Part 3

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VI. (3.6) Capitalist Sovereignty, or Administering the Global Society of Control (325-350)

A. Introduction (325-332)

1. Contradiction of modern sovereignty and capital
 - a. Modern sovereignty as transcendence, as overcoding and striation
 - (1) transcendence of sovereign
 - (2) fixed boundaries of territories, populations, social functions, etc
 - b. Capital as immanence, conjunction of deterritorialized and decoded flows
 - (1) immanent features of capitalism
 - (a) primitive accumulation deterritorializes labor
 - (b) monetarization creates common measure of value
 - (c) laws of capital functioning are historically variable:
 - i) rate of profit
 - ii) rate of exploitation
 - iii) realization of surplus value
 - (2) in other words, capital functions as an axiomatic [relations prior to terms]
 - (a) reciprocal determination prior to determination in any one field
 - (b) set of relations that are incarnated differently in different circumstances
 - (3) or in still other terms, capital sets up a "smooth space"
2. History of modernity is history of attempts to mediate this contradiction [tends to immanence]
 - a. Move from absolutism to governmentality
 - b. Withering of civil society as mediator of immanent capital and transcendent sovereignty
 - (1) Fordist - Keynesian big gov / big labor vs Imperial decline of big labor
 - (2) can be seen as move from disciplinary to control society
 - (a) discipline is immanent to subjectivities, although institutions are transcendent
 - (b) HN reading of Foucault
 - i) dispositif as general strategy behind actual exercise
 - ii) diagram as virtual design [locus of virtual sovereignty]
 - iii) institutions as incarnations of diagram
 - (c) today in control society:
 - i) collapse of transcendent institutions
 - a) extension of discipline
 - b) hybrid subjectivities
 - ii) such immanence corresponds to axiomatics of capital
 - a) modern subjectivities: mass produced, fixed, replaceable parts
 - b) pomo subjectivities: simultaneous production in multiple sites: hybrid

B. A Smooth World (332-336)

1. Conflict of imperialism and capitalism [striation vs smooth space]
2. End of effectiveness of "Third World" as outside point of resistance [see p. 264]
 - a. Localists argue "Third World" is abstraction from real difference
 - b. Vs. world systems theory nomenclature of core and periphery which lumps together
 - (1) HN: both are outmoded logics of locating TW as point of resistance / revolution
 - (2) no more outside: all economies are mixes and hybrids differing only in degree
 - (a) in the former TW there's hi-tech info production
 - (b) in the core there's
 - i) sweatshop industrial labor in core
 - ii) and agriculture and raw material extraction [Louisiana]

3. Revolutionary nationalism is just nostalgia

- a. Decline of nation state not just rhetoric to disempower revolutionary nationalists
- b. Nations are inherently state-telic and transcendent sovereignty over the multitude

C. The New Segmentations (336-339)

1. Immanence / smooth space do not = equality: Empire = proximity of unequal populations
2. This potential urban crisis must be finessed by new segmentations
 - a. Architecture, public planning, public transportation
 - b. Politics of labor: lower cost of labor
 - (1) by fostering competition among labor: temporal flexibility and spatial mobility
 - (2) process of re-proleterianization: e.g., length of working day
 - c. Financial and monetary flows
 - (1) finance capital goes to low labor cost areas

- (2) recalcitrant countries are destroyed by capital flight
- d. Fear of violence, poverty, unemployment:
 - (1) content of communication is fear
 - (2) struggle among the poor for work to allay this fear
- D. Imperial Administration (339-343)
 - 1. How does administration work in an immanent but still segmented Empire?
 - a. Modern administration
 - (1) linear integration of conflicts
 - (2) rational normalization of social life
 - b. Imperial administration
 - (1) fractal
 - (2) control of differences
 - 2. Three negative principles of Imperial administration
 - a. Separation of political ends from bureaucratic means: "procedural autonomy"
 - (1) differential and multiple instrumental logics
 - (2) not universality and uniformity, but singularity and adequacy
 - b. Disseminating and differentiating of social groups: treat everyone differently
 - c. Fundamentally non-strategic administration: legitimated through indirect means
 - (1) police and military logics
 - (2) economic logics
 - (3) ideological and communicative logics
 - 3. These three are unified by the basic value of Imperial administration: local effectiveness
 - a. Analogies with medieval European feudalisms vs monarchies or modern mafias vs states
 - b. Legitimacy and consent garnered in Empire by local effectiveness
- E. Imperial Command (343-348)
 - 1. Imperial command
 - a. Separate from administration
 - b. Exercised through biopolitical control: not discipline and normalization
 - c. Destruction of the myth of the People ruled by its legitimate representatives
 - 2. Government of the multitude w/in real subsumption: prevention of absolute democracy
 - 3. Three means of Imperial control: the bomb (Washington); money (NY); ether (LA)
 - a. The bomb: [monarchic] force horizon of absolute control of biopower
 - (1) modern state monopoly on legitimate force
 - (a) civil peace: remove arms from the anarchic mob
 - (b) national defense: defend against outside enemy
 - (2) Empire:
 - (a) civil peace: police action
 - (b) national defense:
 - i) nuclear horizon is unthinkable for interstate wars
 - ii) wars are now only civil wars subject to Imperial police action
 - b. Money: [aristocratic] regulation of economic exchanges
 - (1) neither determinate location nor transcendent status
 - (2) immanent control of market through networks regulated in global cities
 - c. Ether: [democratic] management of communications
 - (1) sovereignty doesn't control communications, but is articulated through it
 - (2) completely deterritorialized space of communication
- F. Big Government Is Over! (348-350)
 - 1. Gingrich battle cry in 94 fell apart because of need to regulate new info superhighway
 - 2. HN want to appropriate that battle cry:
 - a. In modernity, big government was agent of redistribution of social wealth
 - b. In postmodernity, it is only despotism, regulating production of subjectivities
 - 3. No more nostalgia for state Power: but does that mean HN are only anarchists?
 - a. But state or anarchy is only a hylomorphic forced choice
 - b. That ignores the self-ordering capacity of the multitude
 - c. Especially now in networked and co-operative communicative society