

## 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