



**CIRPES**

**CENTRE INTERDISCIPLINAIRE DE RECHERCHES SUR LA PAIX  
ET D'ETUDES STRATEGIQUES**

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**Empire of disorder and global civil society: european school and american school**

After George W.. Bush election as President of the US and the Twin Towers/Pentagon attacks of september 2001, a new form of world military power seems to be born : I would call this genesis a *strategical metamorphosis*. It does challenge the supreme power's traditional function of *protection* of the people and impose to the globalized civil society new political responsibilities, for two reasons :

1. because popular sovereignty and therefore democracy lost its main geographical definition, with the fading out of nation states sovereignty ;

2. because the Global Empire, even if it is *offensive*, is not anymore *conqueror* and therefore does not create *stateprotective territories* (that is : it does not behave in conformity with the Hobbesian definition of *sovereignty*, in fact it does not create a new scale of sovereignty).

Before jumping in this recent and actual process of transformation, we must first give definitions usable in my discipline (or interdiscipline) which I call "Strategy", then put the process in historical (II) and theoretical perspective (III) proposing some

## **I. Definitions**

### ***1.Strategy and identities***

I'm calling strategy the set of preable thinking about actions, being these actions related to representations and rational objectives aiming at the protection of human collective identities :

- political* identities : cities nations, empires ;
  - economical* identities : gangs, corporations, state monopoly, transnational corporations, international regulatory organizations ;
  - military* : armies, militias, gangs )
  - cultural* : linguistical, religious, juridical/
- Protection means protection against killing or starvation.

### ***2. Strategic Metamorphosis***

Economical Globalization is to be considered something more than an avatar of the liberal capitalist system, because it is including radical changes of general *forms* :of human activity and representations (*space /time ; production/destruction*)

- space* form (geographical inclusions , intersections, partition forms, punctualization of space targetting)
- time* form (timing & scenarios forms ; mastering of short term decisions and long term planning)
- economy* (production) forms
- war* (destruction) forms

Changes of 4 basic formal elements of any possible strategy (space, time, production, destruction) is more than a “change”, I prefer to call it, as a whole, a strategical metamorphosis

.Apparently separated , (as university disciplines are), two fields (economy and production , military and destruction ) moderated by political art in shaping the world space-time, constitute in fact one complex system of causation. It is certainly useful to ask for each historical period, which of these changes (if any) is dominating the whole system

### **3. Apotheosis of electronic short time decision making**

In this period of metamorphosis, I do consider we must demystify *the hierarchy of causes*, which has been imposed, as a religious belief, altogether by the classical liberals or neoliberals and by orthodox marxists, since the XIX<sup>o</sup> century.

As a useful tool, I quote a short paragraph of **Gramsci** in the *Note sull' Macchiavelli*,<sup>1</sup> in which he develops, in a non orthodox way, the concept of “relation of forces” in the classical hierarchy which gives the main causal role to economy. He is asserting that :

- the relation of *economical* forces must be defined as “*determinating pole*” (which sounds a classical definition of *infrastructure* in marxist terms)
- but the relation of *military* forces may be defined as “*decisive*” “blow after blow”(which proposes a new level of *causation* extracted from the traditional economic preponderance through its *time* definition)
- and thirdly, inbetween these two poles, the relation of *political* forces represented as an intermediary space of mediation, divided into several sub-mediation levels (corporativo, economico-politico, politico, politico-militar)

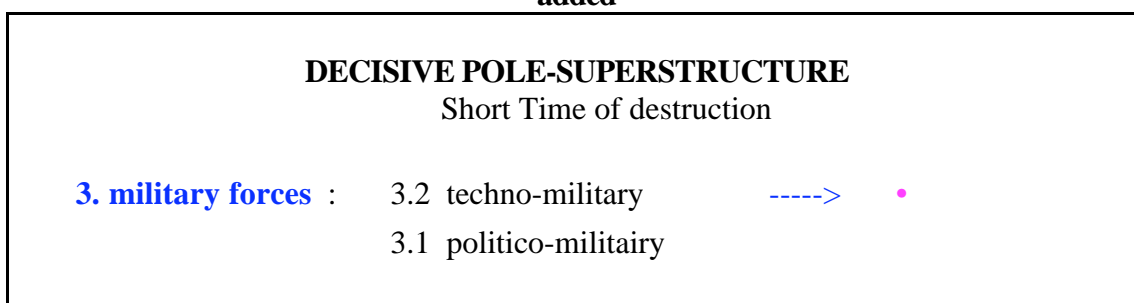
(see fig.1)

Gramsci seems to consider economics as determining in the long term time (*chronos* in greek) but the military as a main causation level, in short term decision time (*kairos* in greek)

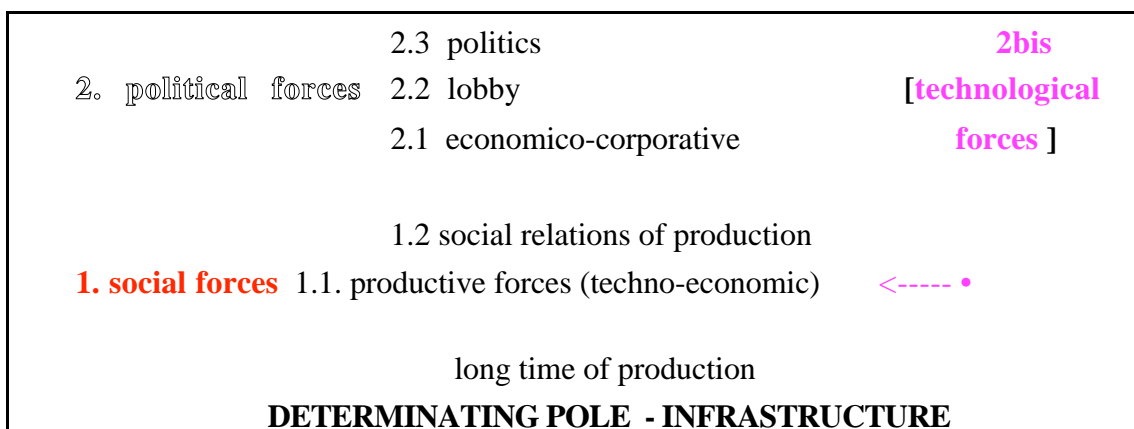
This way of hierarchization of the levels of social forces has been probably true from prehistory, antiquity and middle ages till modern times — till the industrial capitalism.

[But something has recently changed, technically, in mastering the time of \*decision\*](#)

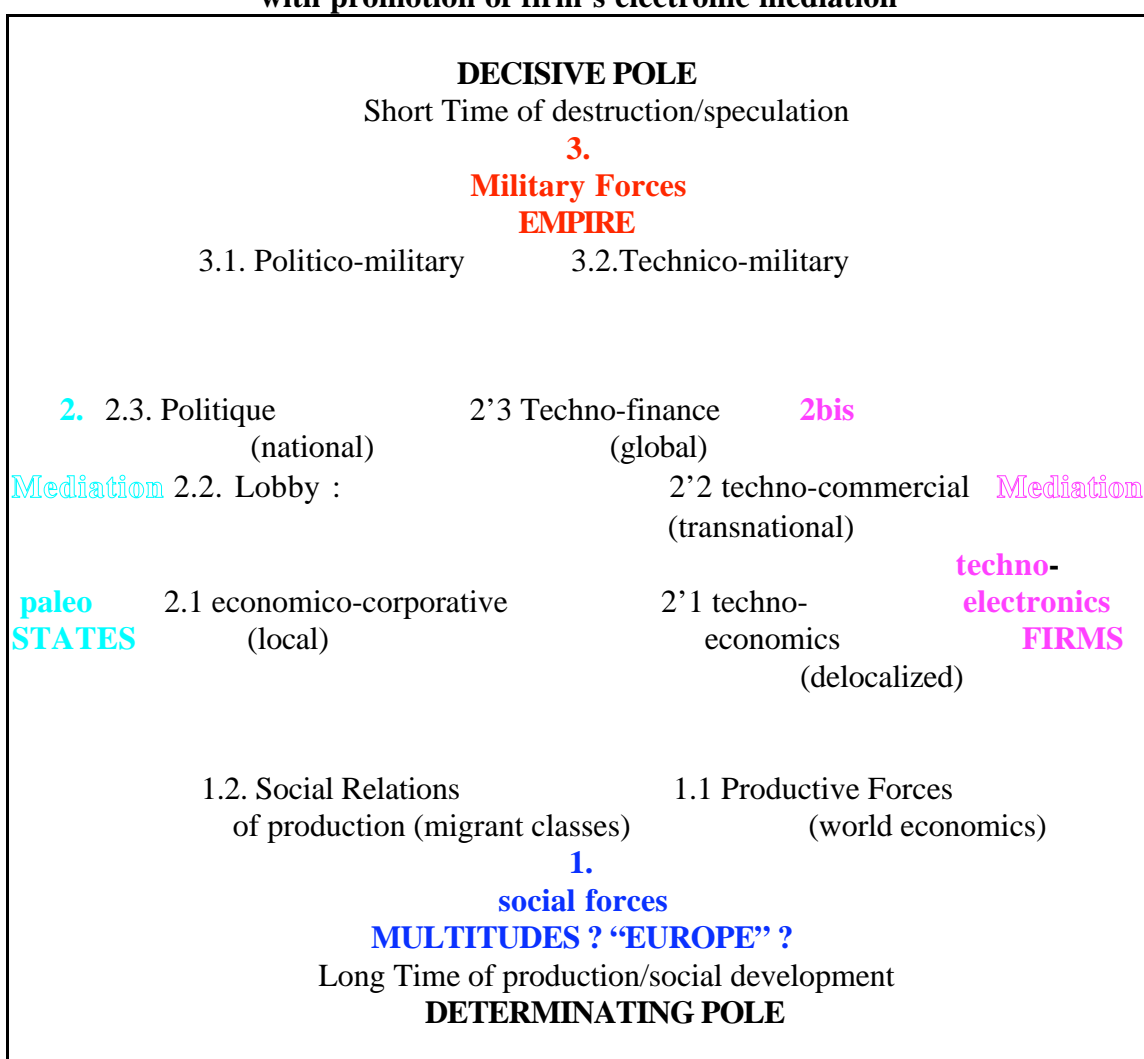
### **Gramscian Schema polarized hierarchy of relation of forces + techno circuit added**



<sup>1</sup>Gramsci, *Note sull' Machiavelli*, as a marxist, believes in the determining role of economic infrastructures in social and political life, but altogether he considers that superstructural relations (political, military ) develops with specific rules and can be influential in retro-action on the economic infrastructures. In the short extract quoted he establishes politics as a mediation between economic determining infrastructure and military decisive superstructure.



**Post gramscian Schéma ; Military dominant pole and double circle  
with promotion of firm's electronic mediation**



Mastering the short term time of decision is the dominating pattern in the military relation of forces).

It is suddenly more visible, today, that economic causation has been defined as *infrastructure* and as *determinating* the whole historical evolution, because economics

was *per se* the art and science of managing the *long time* : long term investment, basic in agriculture as in industry, and the *middle time* of production and commercialization.

To get full control over long term timing and management meant , therefore, to hegemonize those forces which were living on the pure control of short term timing : decisive destructive actions of predatory hunters or predatory military : *barbarians* . The solution was, for the rich long term producers, to buy frontier's barbarians, to transform the barbarians into mercenary military and to launch everybody toward external violence and predation.

But since the *electronical revolution*, those (military or businessmen) who dominate the short time, precision-decision timing, "*blow after blow*," try to dominate the long time players, **in a type of newish adolescent permanent putsch. In that sense, one can say today that :**

- Software dominates hardware
- Financial speculation dominates economy and production
- Destruction dominate production
- Global militarism tries to dominate global economy

#### ***'4. From hegemony through protection to domination through punishment***

This has been, just recently, put into light by the new imperial strategy under Bush's Administration, which seems to be able to grow hegemonical, through managing a global and precise capacity of punishment blows.

Though it is probably an illusion, as hegemony for Gramsci and for Aristotle is always a problem of middle time, middle class, intermediary mediation space between repression and consensus. For Aristotle, *internal peace* between rich and poor, stems out middle class mediation, the only able to establish *common measure* (in greek : *sum-metria* - *sum-metria*). Absolute superiority in mastering space time precision and global targeting and punishment may produce "domination" as a permanent effect of enforcement which create (if we accept Carl Schmitt concept) a form of acceptance, but no individual liberty and no popular freedom.

This US recent "empire of electronic targeting" is unable to assume the charge of long term techno-economical decision, which is currently accepted as a regulatory duty of human behaviour in political, social, humanitarian and ecological terms.

## **II. History**

We must take some historical distance, just to figure at what point we are coming recently, in strategical terms, in the art or science of government.

### ***Political morphisms***

Politics could be more or less determined by/or based on/ military criteria or economic criteria. Politics is the place which lies between these two hetero-chronical causes

Military : relation of destructive forces ;

Economy : relation of productive forces). Politics was intervening since thousands of years as mediation between carrot and stick, olive and arrow, in two types of

- middle space-time of negotiation
- virtual space-time of menace (killing or starvation)

The Sovereign, either autocratic or democratic has to avoid falling completely in one or the other pole of force relations, if he is willing to *keep* sovereignty and even if he is willing to *expand* sovereignty.

### ***Recent contemporary “time form” seen from long term history***

With these analytical tools, you can perceive that history of humankind comes ultimately to a new step of global development of the capitalist system ; we can define *capitalism* as the constant application of the Sciences and technology

- to the production of goods and services
- to accumulation of profit

But application of science develops also in the refinement of permanent observation and intelligence and death menace. All parameters have been slowly, or sometime rapidly improving, during centuries. These main parameters, *precision* and *range* of *observation* and *blow* , now (since 15 years or so) accelerated their progression. Missiles are just reaching “*metric scale* “of CPE (circle of probable error), and “global reach” missiles and global satellitarian observatories guiding global opr local missiles..

Electronical revolution is the cause for such big changes, so that we can even wonder if it is not necessary to add a 5th step in the classical four stages analysis adopted altogether by Marx and Weber :

- ancient slavery
- medieval feodality and serfdom
- modern capitalism
- imperialism

May be we should call it electronic or information system of world economy, or “globalized real time controlled mode of productio-destruction”.

### **III Theory:Schmitt, Hobbes Spinoza Negri**

If you accept that the strategic setting and even the *hierarchy of causations* is essentially variable, in the creation of power systems, you must admit also that you can compare them through an anthropological approach, better than with a philosophical one.

This means that, as a researcher, I may use the Big Thinkers of the political Science with a careful eclectism, and try to scrutinize their paradigms as representations and creeds of some unnown tribes with acceptance for their perfect human coherence and sometime, their capacity for opening new thought further than their own limits.

. Today what is at stake is a better understanding of what is that fundamental strategic mutation, and previous theories must be rechecked witout special respect, only for their capacity of reproblematising actuality using them as tools for transcend them and build some theoretical mutation.

#### ***1. Strategical paradigms of state genesis***

Any philosophy of power tries to comfort itself through the construction of strategical scenarios which you may call “strategical modules of political genesis”. They always have the structure of a genesis myth. If you run through them backward, as with a return ticket, you get a myth of the end of the world, an Apocalypse. These modules propose a story of the birth of state, through a sucessful passage in a chaotic period of disorders, and the management of colonial expeditions generally plays a positive role as

helping to expell to outside world internal tensions and expanding the stateness perimeter. The apocalyptical modules represent the death of the imperial states but also resurrection of humankind through liberation of the poeple enslaved by Imperium.

Let us try to exploit a limited sock of usable strategical paradigms of state and empire genesis.

### ***Hobbes and spinoza***

The authors which seems to me better adapted to de problematics of contemporary changes are **Hobbes** and **Spinoza**. Not only because they have been producing the concept of modern state and of democratic state, but also because in fact they are writing in the exact time of crisis when are born these two forms :

- Cromwell Republic, French Fronde and absolute Monarchy model for the first
- Then Jan de Witt liberal republic, democracy model for the second

To put it clearly : they are thinking, before the 1688 british “Glorious revolution”, the American Revolution and the French Revolution. They are theoreticians of *uncertainty* and they are thinking *the jump forward* as a risk of buying a return ticket, danger of returning backwards.

Precisely today’s “globalization” also means apparently going backward :

1. To middle ages, with its hierarchical sets of non-contiguous and networks sovereignties, and serfdom.
2. to ancient history for proclaimed Universal Empire under God’s protection and resurgent de facto slaveries

#### ***1. Hobbes : state : summing of poeple self protection***

For Hobbes, the jump from general civil war into stateness is represented as a contract between the poeple and the sovereign, but Leviathan, as *artificial man*, is only the personification or the organization of the function of poeple’s protection against the atoptical violence of *Behemoth*, (the civil war, the state of nature).

Therefore for Hobbes - contrary to Carl Schmitt - *obeying* is not the result of *consenting to the force* of the military power, imposing protection. It is only *the consensus of the poeple to its own power of free organization for its own protection , at any scale*.

Even if Hobbes’ conviction is that absolute Monarchy is the best formula for the protection of Poeple, (and in that sense the monarchy has a right to defend itself against the insurgents, especially the prebyterian Scots), he accepts that every form of Respublica (in english: Common-wealth) gets its legitimacy from the poeple as an organized function of common protection against dis-order..

Hobbes was physically coward but intellectually courageous. Afraid by protestant clerical extremists, he had chosen to take refuge in France even before King’s James decapitation. As a monarchist, being a political refugee in France he was accepted in the entourage of the prince of Wales pretending to the throne of England, his ex-pupil and protector ; but he did write in *Leviathan* : “*When the Sovereign is not anymore able to protect the poeple, he is not anymore the Sovereign*”.

French monarchists, in King Louis XIIIth’s court, were shocked by this formula and began to intrigate against him.- and rather than changing his thought , Hobbes preferred to flee again in exile, back in England, under Cromwell’s Commonwealth rule. Two years later, Cromwell, by the way, was taking the very Hobbesian title of Lord Protector

## 2. Spinoza : *demo-cracy summing of liberties*

For Spinoza the so called “Natural Right” is just *violence of lust*, driving to war of all against all. It is “*unreasonable*”, being “*without common measure*” (*a-sym-metric*, in greek) and tends toward general war and death.

Jumping into positive right is a common human act of reason, like in general jumping from individual to collective reason, with no need of any God’s intervention. Hobbes antipope conviction does not exclude god’s will in peace making, but only clerical intromission in politics. But for Spinoza a natural strategical consciousness of the multitudes drives to positive right and peace, as far as *collective reason is as “natural” as the “state of nature”*. Multitudes, in that process are transformed into “*poeple*” and

this means implicitly a preference for democracy. This “jump” may be represented as *redemption*, i.e. putting back to zero the power of debt computation to impose slavery. Sovereignty, for Spinoza is re-definition of *power as a sum of liberties*.

## 3. Carl Schmitt : *state = enforcing legitimacy and protection through military action*

For Carl Schmitt we still mentioned, The jump into ordered sovereignty depend on an offensive victorious military operation. This *strategic genetical module* has been produced as a authoritarian, quasi nazi pattern, and it is “natural” that in our epoch a sort of *coming back* of Carl Schmitt seems useful. We need somebody able to describe with realism the way authoritarian states established themselves on ruins of democracies with some *legitimacy*.

This could be a useful tool to control the way some new global fascism can expand at several scales and levels of organization in the global society. It is also a useful tool to give a practical definition of strategical “regression”.

It is possible to demonstrate that the specific representation of the Bush team in global strategy (war without end between axe of good and axe of evil) has something common with a revival of pre-enlightenments representations, and belongs to Schmittian rather than Hobbesian genealogy of protection and empire.

## 4. Negri : *birth of Empire ; without Pentagon ?*

For Negri : “*the concept of poeple was formed in the hegemonical tradition of modernity, Hobbes Rousseau and Hegel having produced the concept poeple by transcending the sovereign*”.

But In fact for both Hobbes and Spinoza *the concept of sovereign was formed as transcending the concept of people*, as collectively reasonable, and collectively able, by the way, to *chose its scale of security organization up (confederation Empire) or down (poeple, city), as a natural* right of the people’s sovereign liberty of defending its life.

*The Sovereign is nothig else than the poeple protecting himself from war and violence physical dimension of the defense of life*

Negri seems to be sure that for all the autors he quotes, “multitude was considered as Chaos” He is assimilating Leviathan and then poeple to a Schmittian creation of order.

He’s trying that way :to down grade the word “poeple” as being too much related to “jacobin authoritarian nation-state”, actually destroyed by globalization, and to promote the term multitude (existing in Hobbes and Spinoza) as something like “world global poeple without authoritarian world protector” ; and then directly assimilate *multitudes*

with *transnational popular movement* (like Seattle and Porto Alegre, peace anti-war-in-Iraq movement etc as anti-state but perhaps pro empire genesis.)

The question is now : *wether* the invention of *multitude* as concept of “global non-people” without any global sovereignty is a necessary step *or* has any strategical sense for building *democracy*. which mean *sovereign power-taking of the demos*

One has to see *if* and *how* the global Leviathan can really be in process of organization, without confronting global people. He is in fact “hoping” that globalization and empire has no military tool. There is no Pentagon in his genesis and it looks like a Clintonian utopia.

#### **IV Empire of disorder vs regional regulation republican systems**

##### ***Strategic pattern : genesis scenarios of new political form's***

After revising the way old or new masters attended, as midwives (sages femmes), the birth of Nations, states, democracy, empire, we shall admit that something like **strategical scenari** are useful tools to *classify*, and order in genealogical terms, the various setting of fundamental elements, actually composing new political forms and to *describe* in strategical terms several possible regressions to ancient patterns.

These forms appear as mediations between an economic innovation and a military innovation, that is mediations common measure, *summétria* between menace of death by starvation and menace of death through use of weapons, both menacing human life and liberty

In previous models, strategical identities were always partial,

Empire never really is “universal” the internal protection (against civil war) not necessarily create external peace but maybe victory. International state of nature was agreed as the normal state of the world inter-national society.

The challenge was, for every nation to win a game through successful expulsion (into colonial distant empire or neighbourhood) of socio-economical tensions. The challenge was, to the people of less developed countries to fight for liberation and liberty. This know how may cause external war, even world war (without eliminating civil war)

##### ***1. Space and time unification***

Today, the big, new, last transformation concerns the fact, that something really totally unified is born at the global level, as basic factor of power

***Unification of the military space*** (space of *global nuclear virtual war*; then space of the *menace of asymmetrical ubiquitous targeting*)

***Unification of economic spaces*** (*world trade markets, and* then, more perfect *world financial markets*)

But could it survive as a regulatory world system when it suppose in fact a world deregulation ?

And so is the military global power to be in charge of regulation of global economy ?

Is this hierarchy not opposed to any democracy ?

***The promotion of short time decision against long term determination*** through electronic revolution, both in economic and military tools, is eroding the regulatory functions and the political mediators, *states* : **States were seats of a mediation**

between logics of production of goods and men and logics of destructions of men and goods

## 2. Steps

This change has been completed in three steps, since the end of bipolarity (last step : Reagan) It is just now shaping the world into a fractal form of order/disorder dominated by the military “pole” in such a way that no *protection* neither global nor partial persists in the middle space traditionally occupied by political mediations

***During the cold war***, the system was first dominated by nuclear arms race in the framework of symmetric bipolarity with the Third World playing the role of mediator

***Afterwards***, around the soviet Ccollapse, american arms dominated without any competitive rival- not essentially nuclear armaments but essentially precision guided munitions, with precision targeting capacity on every point of the globe

***Under Clinton***, hegemony was kept under *domination of long time* through military negotiation and peace processes and economic negotiations on liberal norms and deregulations, progressing everywhere and specially in the Russian and Chinese ex communist states and third world ; Global empire is still able to master and moderate military and financial crisis , which are managed under the automatic or machinal software of the electronic global Leviathan

***Finally; US Empire produces two conceptual princips*** specially after 2001; progressively put in form during transition wars (Yugoslavia)

1. autonomy of warfare actions in relation with local economic interests
2. general paradigm of asymmetrical warfare at all scales of conflict

Consequence : delocalized perception of targeting and religious reference of world conflict

***Two reactions are taking paradigmatical forms of restauring politics at some scale***, as far as this new structure eliminates all proper *political mediation*,

1. Birth of a European module for economic re-regulation by promoting regional “levianthans” (on European Union pattern) prohibiting among its members all regional “Behemoth” and reproducing, at world scale, a pact passage to positive right by spinozian rationality = reinforcing UN
2. Open conflict of criteria between the Empire, Europe and several UNO members and organs about the principles of global empire, as it is repelled, when challenged by the international community (about the american war against Iraq)

This conflict of criteria between U>S and Europe could drive US toward pure unilateralism and announced destruction of United Nations, but destruction of the UN is not in the power of the US, nor in its Interest. Unilateralism is incompatible with the real structure of globalization of firms and production. Some way out of this aporia will emerge.