

Citizenization and Re-citizenization in the 'Empire'-like Globalizing Society

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「帝国」的地球社会における市民化と再市民化

米ソ冷戦終結後、世界が大きく変わりつつあり、「帝国」と呼ばれるような新しい支配システムが形成されつつあるなかで、アメリカにたいする同盟関係、批判的立場、激しい反発などを示しながら、世界各国および市民たちの動きが展開している。このような新しい地球社会状況をとらえるためには、ハバマスの新近代主義、ルーマンの超近代主義などでは十分でなく、フーコーやドゥルーズやガタリなどのポスト構造主義でも十分でない。西洋的知性の限界を本気で乗り越えようとしたデリダの思想と、それに刺激され、植民地化された体験をふまえて、まだ明らかにされていない植民地犠牲者や、新たに生み出されていく内的植民地の犠牲者たちの声を聞きながら、社会をとらえ直す必要性を強調したスピヴァクなどのポストコロニアリズムとに学びつつ、「帝国」的システムを批判的にとらえていくことが必要である。そのために著者は、ハートとネグリの「帝国」論を評価しつつもそれを乗り越える立場から、帝国と市民社会をキーとする新しい社会発展論を展開し、地球社会の現状を、一方にまだまだ市民化されていない多くの社会があるのにたいして、他方ですでに市民化されたのに再度主権を剥奪されていく、つまり脱市民化されていく社会がある状況としてとらえる。未市民化社会ではさらなる市民化が必要であり、脱市民化社会では、市民たちがあらためてもう一度主権を回復していく再市民化が必要である。このような視覚から現代世界を見直してみると、成長しつつある東アジア諸社会、発展しつつあるヨーロッパ連合、それ自体脱市民化されつつあるアメリカなどとの対比で、ナショナリズムにとらわれて「鎖国」気味の現代日本の危うい状況が浮かび上がってくる。

1. Realities of Our Contemporary Society

The world has been drastically changing after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The United States, the only Super-Power, has been constructing, whether intentionally or unintentionally, a new system which has been called an 'Empire'.

It is not only a consumptive society made and accelerated by electronic-informational marketization but a world-ruling system based on bio-political production symbolized in fast food, jeans, my cars, cellular phones and so forth.

This system has been stirring strong resistance so as to activate some terrorism such as suicide bombings in societies where they cannot accept this sort of consumptive society due to poverty and/or religion.

As the United States has been trying to suppress this terrorism with all its powers, the Empire has resembling to a sort of old military empire by

negating its new aspects with the recovering military-industrial complex that has surpassed even the Cold War.

Europe, on the other hand, has been forming a new type of united nation-states, the European Union, based on its realistic social democracy and environmentalism and resisting the US to some extent with its diplomatic internationalism.

The United Kingdom, however, has been taking a different road with its own globalism retaining the image of the British Empire and committing to the American warfare which has been expanding the image of 'Empire', while making a split in the EU.

Moreover, the extension of the EU to relatively developing countries has been coming to internalize 'North-South problems' and raising fear of leveling down of living conditions among the people of the core states so as to give rise to uncertain future in terms of ratification of the Constitutional Treaties.

Thus, the future of the EU cannot be optimistic and yet they will be striving to survive their ideas of social democracy, environmentalism and internationalism.

In East Asia there have been appearing huge changes of economic, social, cultural and political conditions along with the rapid economic growth of China.

The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) which has been claiming an East Asian community since earlier has welcomed China's approach while Korea has been pretty eager to expand its relationships with China.

The problems that this area has been retaining since the Cold War age will be settled down more and more by China's leadership as its potentiality is increased in economic, political and military terms so that the American power is gradually pulled out.

Japan, while still having pretty big economic power, has been gradually marginalized in East Asia as its political power is internally closed with its gradually strengthened tendency to national isolation (*sakoku*).

The other big problem is who will internalize what part of the South of the Globe which still has huge population, and introduce them into the global society.

It is easily predictable that USA internalizes Latin America, Europe Mideast, and the expanding East to South Asia the other part of Asia, among which Asia seems to have the keenest sensitivity to postcolonial phenomena.

Asia, Africa and Latin America (AALA) will play much more substantial roles in the global social formation such as the reform of United Nations through reorganization of the Security Council and others than the 1950s to 60s when the new AALA nations were accepted in the international society.

2. Directions of Social Theories

What kind of social theory can cope with these changing realities?

After the radical critiques of social theories in the 1960s, there emerged Jurgen Habermas's neo-modernism and Niklas Luhmann's ultra-modernism in Germany while were developed variations of the post-modernism by Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari and the deconstructionism by Jacques Derrida in France.

Habermas's neo-modernism is most easily understandable for the people who have been accustomed to Marxian critical and practical thinking, since it postulates an ideal communication situation, *Diskurs*, on the basis of the Modernity, criticizes the reality of contemporary society as some of its alienated forms and tries to open a new perspective for a society where *Diskurs* is realized (Habermas, 1981, 1985).

However, this cannot simply be the basis of a new social theory because the Western Modernity has spread and been decentralized all over the world so that *Diskurs* is considered as a sort of its ideological construction.

Luhmann's ultra-modernism, on the contrary, denies this ideal state of Modernity, reduces all social phenomena into the flows of communication and tries to explain them as more or less structured forms of communication which persist short or long whether they have risen from what part of the world society, *die Weltgesellschaft* (Luhmann, 1984).

While it is universal as a theory such as Georg Simmel's sociology explaining all social phenomena as 'forms of socialization', we need some more sophisticated frameworks to analyze actually our contemporary society which has huge substantial contents.

The post-modernist social theories, which were first created by Foucault and intentionally developed by Deleuze and Guattari to the global scale, can give us something to mediate social theories and our contemporary society.

In Foucault's theory human bodies produce discourses each other so as to construct in their whirlpools "powers" to create and maintain social structures, which in turn reproduce in the same whirlpools human bodies which support and reinforce themselves (Foucault, 1972, 1984, 1986).

In Deleuze and Guattari's theory these desiring machines, human bodies, while obsessed by the 'Oedipus imperialism' that would continuously enclose them within sexual and authoritative taboos, produced primitive land machines, despotic lord machines, state machines repeatedly becoming war machines, and finally civilized capitalism machines (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972).

Therefore, in order to get out of the civilized capitalism machines which repeatedly reinforce the Oedipus imperialism in spite of seemingly wrestling and beating it, we should return to the 'rhizome', the layer of molecular

unconsciousness on which our bodies are based, repeatedly deterritorialize the old machines for organless bodies and new existing planes for them, and seek an ensemble of abstract machines which enable us to create new ways of life for human beings and societies (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980).

And, since this task should be performed by our bodies themselves which are manifolds of various desires, we ultimately no longer have and need any speaker or representation in the repeatedly decentralized world through the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of contemporary capitalism.

However, Derrida has already pointed out that even this human-and-society view, which has been repeatedly decentralized and individualized, has its own limits that it does not doubt the unlimited possibility of western symbolism itself which cuts off any impurities (Derrida, 1967a).

Deconstruction is to reflect our recognition, to pick up deliberately what has been cut off by our judgment or decision and to reconstruct with them the reduced reality into another more relevant reality. In this sense deconstruction is a recognition which itself is doomed to be an object of another deconstruction, because it is itself a recognition including judgment or decision which may cut off the impurities (Derrida, 1967b).

Especially the position to attach importance to the role of language and to consider supreme the spoken-out coincidence between recognition and reality is a modern Western tradition inherited from Classical Greece and Ancient Israel through Christianity and Islamism so that to see this universal unconsciously is inevitably confined in a West-centrism (Derrida, 1967b).

Thus deconstruction cannot be but radical deconstruction, that is to say *deconstruction of deconstruction*, that must inevitably deconstruct even the assertion by bio-political unmasking or molecular reconstruction of anti-Oedipus that we no longer need any speaker or representation.

3. Deconstruction of Deconstruction

Back to the reality of contemporary society, it is natural that this deconstruction of deconstruction has been raised by the people who liberated themselves from the colonialism of European, American and Japanese imperialist powers and who have been struggling to become autonomous not only politically and economically but also socially and culturally.

Franz Fanon foresaw even in the national liberation struggles after World War II some postcolonial tasks to be pursued down to the very origins of civilization and racism (Fanon, 1952, 1959, 1961a, 1961b). Edward Said reconstructed 'orientalism' as the discriminative recognition of the Non-west by the West in order to open roads for both to overcome it so that we settle

down such problems as the Palestine one (Said, 1978, 1993). Stuart Hall tried to open roads to get out of states of postcolonial bewilderment toward various types of cultural self-recognition or identity based on Britain's New Left studies of workers' life and some Althusserian theories of ideology (Hall, 1988, Hall & Gay, 1996). And in these streams Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak postulated the problem most clearly and tried to show how to solve it in her own post-colonialism (Spivak, 1988, 1999).

What Spivak has revealed in her critical reconstruction, that is to say her deconstruction, of the position of *sati* (suttees) in the Indian history is that they have been buried down with neither words nor opportunities to speak between the contradictory interpretations of British colonists or colonialists on the one hand and the indigenous magnates on the other. The former prohibited by law the custom of suttees' immolation as savage while the latter criticized and protested the prohibition as one-sided and violent by those who did not understand the tradition and culture of the colonized society.

Spivak has claimed that, if we see from the position of these subalterns, suttees, we cannot take Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari's assertions that we no longer need any speaker or representation, but we must advance more Derrida's deconstruction over the Western limits in order to give these subalterns words and opportunities to speak out.

In order to show the universality of women as subalterns exemplified in this process Spivak has also referred to a young lady who committed to and took some crucial responsibility of the Indian Independence Movement so as to be overwhelmed to commit suicide leaving a bodily sign of menstruation in order to exclude any conventional interpretation that she must have taken that action because of her unintentional pregnancy resulted from an illicit love affair and so on.

Thus the deconstruction-of-deconstruction-ism, in wrestling the reality of our contemporary society through continuously repeating deconstruction of deconstruction, has been pointing out not only that Western social theories or Western types of social recognition still have fundamental faults if seen from societies ever colonized by European, American and Japanese imperialist powers, but also that the basic way of social formation to make use of ethnicities, women etc. as internal colonies has been working in many cases even in, or especially in, the advanced societies so that deconstruction of deconstruction should be repeatedly done in a global scale including these advanced and seemingly highly civilized societies.

Moreover, Japan, which once performed colonialism and has been made one of the objects of the post-colonial critiques by ex-colonial nations, has another aspect of semi-colonialness that it has been forced to take a dependent or semi-colonial position in military, political, economic, social and

cultural terms even after the recovery of state sovereignty following the American military occupation just after World War II.

This semi-colonial position or the problem of semi-colonialness is not easily realized because it is the problem of dependence among advanced nations especially after the postwar economic growth although it is shared not only by Germany and Italy but also even Britain and France who were the American allies during the War.

It is one of the most important tasks for the people, who wish to grasp our drastically changing society in order to clarify our way of life, to take into account the problems raised by the post-colonialism in the context of semi-colonialness, to deconstruct the multi-layered structures by repeating discoveries of internal colonies and thus to repeat deconstruction of deconstruction in wrestling the realities of our contemporary society.

4. The 'Empire'-like System

A society is in most cases first realized as a problem, a sort of oppression. In this sense a society is a stratification.

We should not forget, however, that any stratification cannot build itself without any community as its basis, because there would be no stratification, no rule or oppression of one group by another if there were no presupposition that people would live together.

This basic recognition which sheds light on the one-sidedness of the old historical view of class struggles is also quite important for the position to deconstruct social theories by taking over problems raised by post-colonialism in the context of semi-colonialness.

A society expands as a higher stratification based on a wider community to the extent that societies (tribes, nations, ethnicities etc.) encounter each other, commit warfare and consolidate one another.

And a myth is told in order to explain, mitigate and, if possible, overcome contradictions between community and stratification; from it develops a religion, of which the aspects of social government are reified into a state; it makes use of and exercises control on markets, which are continuous expansion of exchanges based on ecological systems, in order to create and develop cities; and through the expansion of all these apparatuses a society becomes systematized and develops into a civilized social system.

The primary form of social system that is more than a class society as an integration of community and stratification is, therefore, an empire where a state, which has acquired a considerable size by making use of more or less universal religion, controls subsistent economy in its territory and the

market economy in and out of its borders by utilizing cities as strategic bases.

Empires pursue principally unlimited expansion to the extent that their religions as leading ideas proclaim the universality of civilization or human salvation, and encounter each other so that some prosper while many others decline. Thus they had woven the human history ever since several thousand years ago until the twentieth century.

The secondary form of social system, a new system which overcomes empires, is a civil society, a society of citizens, which appeared in the European Commercial Renaissance of the 11th and 12th centuries, expanded their self-government against the Ecclesiastic Authority and Feudal Powers, developed through the Crusades in the Mediterranean Coast and in Northern Germany and finally overthrew the Absolutist Powers after the Great Voyages and the Reformation.

A civil society is a social system which separates on the basis of market economy its state from religions (*separation of religion and state*), puts the state under the control of citizens basically in a form of universal suffrage (*civic democracy*) and enables the principally unlimited expansion both denotatively and connotatively with the world view and world control liberated from the transcendental absolute (*science and technology*).

Thus the civil society theoretically overcomes in all aspects empires, primary social systems, which are based on agriculture as the basic productive forces and as a matter of fact by the end of the twentieth century all the empires were forced to decline by civil societies.

However, in this process, powerful nation states built on some civil societies became imperialist powers through the competitive colonization of the whole world, triggered two World Wars on their territorial redivision of the world in the first half of the twentieth century, and drove the humankind into a crisis of self extermination in a nuclear war between the Nuclear-armed 'Liberal' Imperialism and the Nuclear-armed 'Social' Imperialism in the second half of the same century.

After the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Nuclear-armed Social Imperialism, a system has been emerging on the basis of globalization, the mutually accelerated multiple processes of *marketization*, *informationalization* and *electronization* (*computerization*) in the global scale and this is the 'Empire'-like system, a system of world control developing mainly from the United States (Hardt and Negri, 2000).

Therefore, even in inquiring into this 'Empire'-like world control system, we should not miss the difference between the primary and secondary systems of human social system, the difference between the empires and the civil society.

Civil societies integrated by nation states were called, on their roads to world powers, British Empire, French Empire, German Empire, Japanese

Empire, American Empire, Soviet Empire etc. based on memories of the past, for the camouflage of real desires, to justify or to criticize them, but all forms of imperialism including nuclear-armed or social ones are various transitional stages of civil society.

As stated above, empires as primary social systems almost entirely disappeared by the end of the twentieth century and therefore we should consider the 'Empire'-like system by repeating deconstruction of deconstruction in the one thousand year history of civil society since the eleventh century self-governing cities in Europe.

5. Pre-citizenness and De-citizenization

The 'Empire'-like system is a world control system which has been built on the American mass consumption economy expanded by informationalization and electronization after Fordism, has been spread all over the world with not only military but also political, cultural and social means especially after World War II, and has been mentioned as an Empire because it frequently cites the ideas of freedom and human rights from the American Constitution as its imperium.

The consumptive economy, rolling in it not only workers but peasants and other people all over the world, has been expanding from material to symbolic aspects of life so that its structural powers, constructed through exchanges of discourses, have been remolding our human bodies in the global scale.

Against this background the people, who would not accept this consumptive economy due to their religious beliefs, culture and quality of life, have been doing strong protests by such means as suicide bombings, which the 'Empire'-like system have been trying to suppress with the military forces of 'Multi-national Army' actually organized around the American Army.

The Cause for attacks on the protests by means of suicide bombings etc. is that they are terrorism which have not been conducts representing the people's will and that the societies yielding them are not civil societies according to the American values in that the system of universal suffrage have not been established there so as to show people's will institutionally clear.

During the Cold War against the Soviet Union, the United States used to overlook or support various forms of military and/or development despotism emerging in these pre-civil societies as far as they did not go on the Soviet side, and especially the US created and supported a despotic puppet government in Vietnam to counter the national liberation movements. After the Cold War the US has been giving political and/or military watches and

attacks on societies considered as 'rogue states' or 'the axis of evil' where people are not citizenized yet so as to stop becoming hotbeds for terrorism.

Among them North Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, started as a state which is homologous to China, the People's Republic of China. Therefore, if we go beyond the criticism against the despotism based on a hereditary individual cult, we may have to criticize China's political system which is not a representative democracy in the Western sense.

Actually the United States has been criticizing China on the lack of freedom, human rights and democracy.

Among other developing nations, there are considerable societies which are not citizenized yet in terms of institutionalization of universal suffrage and also considerable ones which are not enough citizenized yet due to more or less insufficient functioning of the institutionalized universal suffrage because of unjust elections and so forth.

If we seriously accept problems raised by post-colonialists, we should take into account these problems of pre-citizenness of which they, the post-colonialists, are also acutely aware.

On the other hand, advanced nations have been mostly citizenized in terms of the establishment of universal suffrage whether deeply rooted or not enough yet.

However, the United States, especially after September 11th, 2001, have been inclined to launch wars against problem states by neglecting or making light of even discussions in the United Nations so that the sovereignty of the other advanced nations than the US are neglected or maliciously considered. The sovereignty of many citizens, who are against and protest the one-sided wars, is actually neglected or brutally considered because their governments support or join the American wars.

In semi-colonial Japan where the Security Pact with the United States is seemingly put upon the pacifist Constitution, there have been many such cases. Even not only in Germany and Italy which have similar positions to that of Japan as the defeated in World War II, but in France and Britain there have also appeared such cases.

Moreover, even in the United States, citizens' will is not exactly reflected on the politics due to the complicated system of Presidential Election and others so that more and more of them come to feel alienated from the arbitrary decisions of the President who has been once elected.

This is remarkable signs of de-citizenization that the sovereignty of citizens is actually deprived so the citizens become non-citizens just in the society that has been already citizenized.

As citizens are, against the historical background, persons who wish to decide how their society should be and to what direction it should go, so they are the sovereigns as far as we call the right to do this the sovereignty. The

'Empire'-like system is a system which has developed from the history of civil societies and, in including both pre-citizen and de-citizenized societies in its 'territory', has been revealing the crisis of civil societies in the global scale.

6. Directions of Citizenization and Re-citizenization

Thus, the 'Empire'-like system is a huge contradiction in itself which has been intentionally or unintentionally de-citizenizing already citizenized nations while leaving a wide range of pre-citizen nations un-citizenized. It has been trying to attain its goals to citizenize some specified nations with some kinds of means which are just contrary to democracy that should be the proper means for citizenization.

Negation should be negated to reach a higher level of social formation.

Insufficiently citizenized nations will more citizenize themselves not only through economic growth and increasing political autonomy but with various forms of social activation and cultural creation in order to contribute to fortification of the international society and to realization of a global civil society. They will do so with not only their activities in the United Nations but any other activities in various fields such as social and cultural consciousness raising.

The post-colonialism itself has already been a forerunner of these contributions as sorts of consciousness raising which Fanon, Said, Hall, Spivak and others have done on the bases of their experiences in West Indies, Algeria, Egypt, Palestine, India and so on.

The East Asian growing zone expanded from the Asian NIEs to the greater ASEAN has opened a way for China to participate into their conception of East Asian Community and China has been growing along this line so as to become a huge resistance which cannot be forced with its increasing existence to follow the imperium of the 'Empire'-like system.

There are some possibilities for China to create another new 'Empire'-like system if we see it in the historical context. Many people have already manifested fears of them, but to what direction China will actually move depends on how its political system of people's democracy will adapt to its actually electro-informationally marketizing society based on the growing economy. It will also depend on responses of Japan, other East Asian nations, India, Russia and others.

Problems of North Korea and Taiwan, which are the heritages from the Cold War age, are expected to be peacefully solved to the extent that China's importance is more and more increased in comparison with the United States through various types of citizenization of the former.

The European Union, which has already been a considerable resistance in and against the present 'Empire'-like system, will coordinate itself with the unique globalism the United Kingdom has been sticking to on the one hand, will overcome some North-South problems introduced by inviting more or less developing nations on the other, and will possibly become a core of the international and global society with its social democracy, environmentalism and internationalism all of which have been pretty solidly fostered in the history of this region.

Moreover, we may see Europe has potentialities to citizenize not only its own people but the international and global society as a whole by its historical experiences of civil societies in resisting the pressures of de-citizenization by the 'Empire'-like system although it cannot escape either from the basic logic of the capitalist world economy as one of the major bases of global activities of multinational corporations as well as the United States.

The American society, which is just under the 'Empire'-like system, has been steadily inclined to the conservative side since the 1970s.

However, this series of reaction would have been mostly predicted if we took into account a huge stream of the New Deal of the 1930s, World War II of the 1940s and the civil rights movements, anti-Vietnam-War movements, university reform movements, feminist movements, ethnicity movements and others in the 1950s and 60s.

The 'Empire'-like system, which has been constructed on the history of at least two centuries, no need to refer to the one-thousand year history of civil society itself, may be a gigantic trick deliberately set in order to citizenize the whole world, although there is no word of apology for the people who have been victimized by terrorism and 'wars against terrorism'.

In this sense, the American society has also been de-citizenized so that American citizens should face the reality of our contemporary society.

In all these conditions Japan will be marginalized and left off in the Far East unless it would actively break the tendency to national isolation (*sakoku*) which has been increasing after the burst of its bubbling economy. Japan also should seriously consider the problems raised by post-colonialism with an acute sense of semi-colonialness and start its own re-citizenization realizing the status quo that we have been de-citizenized in many aspects of our everyday life.

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