

Holland, E. (2011) *Nomad Citizenship: Free-Market Communism and the Slow-Motion General Strike*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

## Preface

Bush and Clinton are both neoliberals x  
the modern state form is bipolar: despotic and civilized x  
they are not stages in a historical progression from despotic to civilized, the state oscillates between the two forms x  
understanding history in a nonlinear fashion means understanding it to oscillate between basins of attraction x  
seems he wants to read a thousand plateaus as a corrective to anti-Oedipus x  
schizophrenia outside the Oedipus complex; nomadism outside the state form xi  
transform citizenship not eliminate it; displace the monopoly of state citizenship with plural nomad citizenship xi  
displace capitalist free markets with truly free markets xi  
we can coordinate socialized production on a global scale xi  
freedom is key problem for affirmative nomadology xi  
his method is to do philosophical thought experiments in an effort to do practical experimentation in the real world, i.e. the slow-motion general strike xii  
these experiments should have the immediate advantages in the world today, but also improve the prospects for social change and freedom in the long-term xii  
the social contract and the labor contract our midst that skewer the founding violence that initiates them xii

## Introduction – Assays in Affirmative Nomadology

the point of philosophy is to create new concepts in response to problems that arise in a particular historical milieu xv  
his two main concepts are nomad citizenship and free-market communism xv  
transform communism and free it from a fatal entanglement with the state xvi  
the free market offers a corrective to state governed social relations xvi  
communism offers a corrective to the wage relation and capitalist exploitation [and alienation Marx would add from EPM] xvi  
the concept citizenship is already detaching itself from the state xvi  
diasporas, migration, globalization of capital flows, etc. xvii  
nomad citizenship seeks to expand the scope of democratic participation, both direct and indirect democracy xvii  
connects to Derrida and his idea of friendship and democracy xviii  
displaced and expanded the concept, just as Holland is doing with citizenship xviii

uses Carl Schmitt's idea of the political xviii

but instead of the friend-enemy distinction, the figure is the anonymous but mutually beneficial trading partner xviii

think the problem of social belonging anew xix

Hobbes replaces old-fashioned premodern compulsory hierarchical relations with voluntary contractual ones xix

this myth lies at the heart of the state and private capital accumulation xx

Marx (primitive accumulation) tells us that what really happened was people were forced into abject dependence on capital of the wage relation xx

philosophical concepts draw components from the concepts of other philosophers – he's going to use Iris Marion Young, Derrida, Rosanvallon xx

Rosanvallon promotes self-management as a critique of both liberal and Marxist theory xx

it is the viable alternative for the liberal present and for the Marxist idea of a future without politics xxi

immanence is a key component of group self-management, politics emerging from social relations themselves xxi

Mary Parker Follett and her idea of related difference xxi

affirmative nomadology doesn't just criticize it creates xxi

seeks out and highlights actual instances of alternative nonstate, noncapitalist forms of society – and then draws concepts from them xxi  
the key for Holland is to find immanently spontaneously self-organizing relations xxii

methodologically, in creating concepts, we select out which features of the current society we want to highlight xxiii

such as selecting certain features of communism to transform capitalist markets, or selecting certain features of markets to transform communism xxiii

using community to respond the problems alienation and individualism xxiii

the key is to organize difference rather than impose unity xxiii

more a pluralistic community of fate than a chosen community xxiv

this pluralism must be organized immanently without imposing order xxiv

free-market communism is a concept designed to do this XXIV

Nancy's communism might be useful xxiv

there is nothing essential in common, only a contingent being-with multiple others rather than belonging to a single united whole xxiv

for Deleuze and Guattari such communities are produced actively xxv

what they have in common is life on planet Earth, and they must restore connections to that life and earth xxv

communism is a concept that poses the problem of community as a

kind of being-with or a being-in-common that organizes multiple differences immanently xxvi

spontaneous collective intelligence or distributed decision-making xxvi

figuring out the conditions under which truly free markets at very large scales can generate immanently a common-good outcome xxvi

mechanisms to aggregate multiple decisions xxvii

communism ends capitalism but that is the least of our problems xxvii

how can we amplify existing practices and converge them to foster large-scale social transformation? xxviii

concept of the war machine xxviii

concept of pragmatics xxix

the division of labor is okay, the question is how to articulate increasing difference into complex social assemblages xxx

we must conceive and practice ways to starve capitalism xxx

to undo peoples generalized dependence on capital for survival xxx

it is not so much about class struggle as it is about the restoration and creation of the Commons as a source of life xxx

we thereby break our dependence on capital xxx

we require a minor or nomad reading of Marx [as in weak thought] xxi

as opposed to major Marxism and its Communist parties and communist states xxi

attention to connection, cooperation xxxi

his method is one of problem posing rather than problem solving xxxii

the point of creating concepts is to articulate problems productively so that we can begin to solve them in practice xxxii

## **Chapter 1 – From Political Philosophy to Affirmative Nomadology**

### *Why create concepts?*

concepts are active, they create their objects rather than just reflect them 1

Spinoza, Nietzsche – these are groups of concepts rather than flesh and blood people 1

to create new concepts is to resist 2

we extract concepts from historical contexts 2

to deal with chaos [the Dionysian] we invent concepts [the Apollonian] 2

conceptual personae, concepts as characters that act on stage and do the thinking for the philosopher, kind of like a character in fiction thinks for the author [e.g. the schizo for Deleuze and Guattari] 2-3

new conditions in the historical context force philosophers to think new concepts 3-4

criticism of the current milieu, the forces stifled by it 4-5

resistance to death, servitude, and the intolerable 5

critique is necessary, but active forces should always take priority over reactive ones (this is Deleuze in his book on Nietzsche) 5

so the emphasis is on finding alternatives to capitalism rather than struggling against it 5

Greek city state as an example of organization without social hierarchy [among

the citizens that is] 5  
immanence is constructed politically 5  
in capitalism immanence is constructed economically 6  
also a form of imminent self organization, to an extent 6  
relating the Platonic forms to the abstract measuring function of money 7  
an example of major or state philosophy 7  
in capitalism there is no longer a public sphere for reasoned discussion of political issues; it is mere technical discussion among professional politicians and bureaucrats 7  
philosophy must unsettle this situation to articulate new problems, new possibilities of life 8  
these articulations must connect with non-philosophy, with actual experimentation in real life, if they are to be meaningful 8  
he hopes nomad citizenship and free-market communism are examples of such articulations 8

*How to create concepts*

again: new articulations of problems rather than solutions 9  
major science stabilizes our understanding of the world 9  
for Deleuze and Guattari the schizophrenic subsumes the proletariat as the hero of the drama 9  
philosophy is creative, a relay between one practical orientation to the world and another 10  
it does not represent the world, it creates concepts, it diagnoses problems 10  
diagnostic rather than representative, unsettling rather than stabilizing 11  
philosophical mapping versus scientific tracing 11  
something comes into being by passing from the state of virtuality to actuality 12  
the virtual is real without being actual – e.g. the structure of the English language 12  
it is not abstract though, it is a residue or sediment left by previous utterances 12  
at its maximal limit virtuality is an infinity of possibilities, or chaos 12  
passing from virtuality to actuality is limiting possibility 13  
philosophy turns away from actuality by giving consistency to virtuality, which it does by extracting potentiality from actual states of affairs 13  
philosophy counter-actualizes actuality and re-establishes the potential of virtuality, it reopens the potential of actuality to be different 13  
political philosophy gives consistency [or maybe better, articulation] to the virtual by extracting certain features from real-world states of affairs, and combining these

features with concepts from other thinkers – this is how you create a new concept 13  
the point is to create a new possibility of life, a potential that is harbored in the virtual 14  
the key is to create modes of existence beyond the state and capitalism 14

#### *The concept of nomadism*

Nomos is the root of nomad 14  
polis ≠ nomos = means space outside city walls, not subject to the laws of the state 14  
chess is striated, go is smooth 15  
strategic value determined relative to other pieces on the board 15  
on the other side nomos as opposed to physis (nature) 15  
logos is the formal law of the city state, while nomos is custom or rule of thumb 15  
and embodied mode of measurement rather than abstracted one 16  
nomad science versus Royal or state science 16

#### *Nomad Science*

for Deleuze and Guattari the point is not to arrive at an understanding of ontology, it is to be political, to articulate problems posed by our current context 16-17  
state science extracts universal laws from variation 17  
nomad science does not extract the constant (board from a tree), it follows the variations or the singularities of matter (artist follows the wood) 17 [very ANT]  
singularities rather than constants, fluid dynamics 18  
a path that cannot be predicted, only followed 18  
Royal science functions in Taylorist fashion – lays down plans that merely have to be executed 19  
nomad science requires embodied expertise from the agent 19

#### *Nomad Music*

go = soccer = Jazz; chess = football = classical music 20-21  
free action is action not programmed in advance, action that does not require a bandleader 21  
the conductor has the power of life and death over instruments, the living embodiment of sovereign law 22  
subjects must be willing to obey the sovereign 22  
free action is itinerant, it follows singularities 23  
a free actor makes choices as a part of something larger that he does not control; he is active, engaged 23  
follows imminent rules in smooth space 24  
organization arises from the group's activity itself; it is not imposed 24

### *Affirmative Nomadology*

war machine is in opposition to the state and protects smooth space from striations 25

global capitalism is a kind of war machine 26

war machine is the reactive component of nomadism 27

he thinks we need to distinguish creative nomadism from the war machine 27

nomad's wage war while simultaneously creating something else – nomadism's purpose is to create alternative forms of organization in smooth space [i.e. a new land] 27

what nomadology does is relay concepts, extract principles from actually existing situations, and map their virtual potential as alternatives to capitalism and the state 28

takes the energy of the existing social movements and relays it to others moving in similar directions – that's what a philosophical concept can do, it can intervene, draw attention to actually existing alternatives, and give expression to alternative becomings so that they can become stronger and grow and connect with others 28

self organization can get relayed into philosophy, accelerated, and magnified in philosophy's deterritorialization of thought, and then relayed back out to other social movements 28

Deleuze and Guattari talk about the new people and the new earth in the future, but they don't say all that much about it 29

maybe it's something like an ancient Greek society of friends 29

## **Chapter 2 — Death-state citizenship**

the despotic state (what Foucault calls sovereign power) overcodes all pre-existing relations 31

civilized or liberal state (what Foucault calls biopower) 31

contractual, content-based 32

and yet during the Bush years the state returned to its despotic mode 32

[Negri disagrees in Goodbye Mr. Socialism, he does see this as an evolutionary change toward the civilized capitalist machine]

### *The problem defined: the state*

Accephalous societies, Pierre Clastres 33

ordinary circumstances: the chief leads by proposing recommendations and providing for the people 33-34

the chief's only real power is persuasive and based on his generosity – it only manifests when there is a problem to solve 35

war circumstances: one warrior assumes hierarchical supremacy over a band of other warriors, a war machine alongside society, which itself remains accephalous 34

the state is then thought to have emerged from this condition, and set up  
cephalous societies 35

on the basis of a fictional social contract and consent 35-36

in acephalous societies consent of the governed *really is* necessary 36  
the modern state takes the war chieftain's hierarchical authority and  
makes it permanent 36

instead of the war machine being temporary and alongside society, it  
becomes permanent and pervaded throughout society 36

organized violence is no longer temporary but permanent, and it gets  
directed inward 36-37

all states are police states 37

conflicts are subject to abstract law, rather than the embodied  
chieftain 37

the law speaks categorically, the chieftain pleads and cajoles 37  
capitalist exploitation is similarly considered a contractual relation between  
two free parties 38

the state make sure people keep their contracts 38

mediates conflicts 38

helps reproduce labor power 38

again Schmitt defining politics as friend-enemy relations; Derrida says that  
distinction is difficult to draw 40-41

### *The problem redefined: the death-state*

the state has three kinds of violence: the violence that establishes it, the  
violence of decision, the violence of enforcement 43

capitalism can profit from the production of the means of death 45

the state's role is to try to reinforce the resonance between the capital-  
economic mode of organization and the Oedipal-familial mode of organization 47  
affective citizenship, drawing on Spinoza and Nietzsche, has to do with  
belonging to a group that enhances one's feeling of power 47

strict father = obedience, discipline, respect for authority 48

nurturing mother = love, empathy, care 48

these give rise to difference concepts of justice 49

motherland as public provider, Fatherland as vindication and punishment  
49-50

[this is a whole analysis of the Bush years, which just seems like such  
a waste of time]

in the social contract citizens are supposed to gain security in exchange for  
handing over their powers to the state 52

they therefore become utterly dependent on the state 52

it is a fiction that the social contract is voluntary; it is a fiction  
that the nuclear family is natural and universal; it is a fiction that  
there is a free market in labor and labor contracts are voluntary 52

in the Bush years people were simplistic and thought in black-and-white terms  
[duh] 54

we were traumatized and so looked to the Fatherland 55  
lost the sense of social-connective justice, interdependence,  
vulnerability, and motherland 56

the difference between sovereignty and biopower: the despotic state loses its  
transcendent power to overcode and becomes imminent to capitalist  
axiomatization; state politics are subordinated to economic imperatives 57

his argument here is that the Bush years showed that despotic authority  
hasn't completely withdrawn, that it returns at times 58  
there are basins of attraction between which the state oscillates 58

Clinton was the epitome of the civilized capitalist machine 59  
Bush was the despotic state 60

anti-Oedipus seems to suggest that despotism had disappeared 61  
a thousand plateaus seems to correct this by taking a nonlinear  
understanding 61

nomad citizenship is a concept designed to break the monopoly of the death  
state 62

schizo analysis diagnoses its ills, affirmative nomadology seeks to  
articulate the problem differently 62

the general strike is mentioned by Benjamin as a tactic that avoids  
repeating a foundational violence, rather it is nonviolent because it is  
a non-act, a refusal to act, a withdrawal of oneself from the social  
order 63

[this is clearly in line with the autonomist idea of  
secession/withdrawal]

we need to be able to sustain such a strike, but also to identify and  
explore viable alternatives 63

### **Chapter 3 — Nomad citizenship**

Seek coherence generated internally and immanently 65

*Enterprise Management and Self-Organizing Groups*  
conducting can circulate among the members 66

can be differentially shared depending on different competencies 66  
new flatter business hierarchies 66

important coordinating functions circulate 67

Follett: individual is not an atom but a center of forces 67

Democracy arises from the articulation of differences 67

thought that has been produced in common 68

horizontal relations rather than vertical, power with 68

[she is talking essentially about *puissance* here]

Taylor replaces rule of thumb procedures developed by workers with  
formal rules developed by scientific managers 69

Follett contrasts with this, and of course her perspective  
lost out 70

but the rise of immaterial labor has resulted in the  
resurgence of Follett's ideas 70

but in all these new horizontal, team-based management

systems, ultimately the corporation remains hierarchical 71  
the worker remains alienated and exploited 71  
Follett was also active in urban community Center movements and neighborhood organization 72

#### *Neighborhood Organization and Urban Complexity*

activism on behalf of the urban poor versus activism by the urban poor 73  
settlement houses, community centers, neighborhood organizations, etc. 73

the neighborhood is in some ways an acephalous society 73  
horizontal relations, rotating leadership 74

Alinsky style is more top-down 75

Holland rejects the necessity of a local, face-to-face model 76

Iris Marion Young and the being together of strangers, relations at a larger scale 77

Jane Jacobs and her arguments about good community 77

without design, emergent order, managed by the users 78

you cannot program emergent order from above, though you can specify conditions for its emergence 79

Follett did theorize larger scales: interlocking groups that are not merely additive 80

they don't just remain parallel, they interlock, perhaps in some sort of federal state 81

her idea of multiple citizenship feeds into nomad citizenship 82

Holland concludes that she does *not* provide us a way to imagine self organizing groups at larger scales 82

her idea of state power as a group sovereign over itself, a collective will of the group conscious of itself 82

not the state as external and ruling over me but myself acting as state 82

Schmitt has a transcendent view of the state, power over rather than power with 84

nomad citizenship includes a wide range of group allegiances which deprives the state of its claim to be a transcendent master-allegiance 84

participatory democracy and self-coordinating articulation of differences 85

Holland says sure we should develop these smaller face-to-face groups, but they cannot be the only thing we have 85

#### *Internet Developments*

Wikipedia works without command hierarchy, as opposed to the encyclopedia 86  
produced in common, more flexible, can correct errors faster 87

no ultimate authority figure standing outside or above [which is to say that power relations and leadership are imminent] 88

function of the moderator is distributed 89

trust metrics, being liked by other users is another way to create status immanently 90

[these are communities with multiple connections, each one of them superficial and non-necessary]  
what these are, for Holland, are communities with cooperative social relations on a larger than face-to-face scale 91  
open source software  
cost is free, produced for free 91  
thousands of participants, each of which has considerable programming expertise 92  
everyone can modify the program but must make the new work freely available to everyone else 92  
user feedback and distributed programming work 92-93  
software goods are non-rival goods, sharing information strengthens both parties 93  
copyleft 93  
programmers act on their own free initiative 94  
authority depends on persuasion and ability to distribute goods, as in the acephalous society 94  
capitalist concept of intellectual property has guaranteeing return on investment for the high capital cost of producing knowledge – this is a failed model 95  
but they attempt enclosure by copyright and patent 95  
capitalism tends to give rise to social innovations that it can't recapture 95

### *Conclusions*

Jane Jacobs and self organizing urban systems 96  
Commons-based peer production can outperform capitalist production 96  
the common is fluid and inclusive without transcendent organizing power, and can act immediately 96  
temporary autonomous zones don't engage with the state 97  
in affirmative nomadology power-with must be distinguished from power-over 97  
we must carefully experiment with the strata, and make lines of flight toward common communities that are self-catalyzing 97  
intensify the connections among lines of flight 98  
don't just struggle against capitalism and the state; struggle for actually existing alternatives 98  
the general strike is a wholesale transformation not predicated on violence, but on walking away from the social order 98  
but we have to have a small plot of land to walk to, and Holland thinks we should try to imagine and realize this new land on a very large scale 98

### **Chapter 4: Free-Market Communism**

nomadic social organization can be organized through the market at large scales 99  
market ≠ Capitalism 99  
capitalism is revolutionary rather than conservative; it unsettles rather than

codifies 100

Money and markets are one way it axiomatizes 100

*Nomad Markets*

in markets exchange value replaces use value 101

Marx thinks it is better to carry one's social wealth in one's pocket than to have power by persons over persons 101

it does dissolve feudal social relations 101

it expands the social division of labor, which in Deleuze and Guattari's terms is a deepening of multiplicity, and then relates those differences immanently through the market 102

nomadology focuses in on the question of differentiation and labor 102

nomad markets are self organized systems of distributed intelligence and collective decision-making 103

under communism, from Marx, social production is to be subsumed under the individuals who manage it as their common wealth 103

social relations in communism are people's own communal relations, subject to their own control 104

nomad markets are distinguished from capitalist ones because they operate according to immanent self-organization 104

planned economies are inferior to market economies because they don't develop the overall productive forces 104

the problem is to free markets from capitalist command so they can organize social production immanently 104

don't sleep on Hayek et al.: their valorization of markets against central command was right 104

what is often missed in this work is that early on, capitalism had to struggle greatly to indoctrinate people to pursue self-interest when they behaved in markets 105

Hayek's catallaxy is a big group in which collective decision-making is left to an aggregation mechanism (typically the market); it is spontaneous order 106

the common good is not imposed from outside, but emerges immanently from people's behavior 106

Holland: markets can change people pursuing different aims and to potentially mutually beneficial trading partners-- the market creates a community where agreement on ultimate ends [the common good] is not required in order for people who are pursuing disparate ends to benefit one another 107

decision-making by coordination rather than command, as individuals with limited knowledge go about their activities 107

information is dispersed; coordination is horizontal 107

this is how birds flock and fish school: each agent reacts to incomplete information only in its immediate surroundings 107

unorganized local knowledge, minor nomad science 109

in catallaxy, these local knowledges are aggregated through free-market mechanisms 108

a free-market economy is a self-organizing multiplicity; a nonenumerable set of distributed intelligence is collective actions comprise a functioning whole 109  
agents don't just operate according to price, not just according to self-interest, but with regard to the well-being of all 109  
in that well-being would be determined immanently through aggregation 110  
in capitalist markets the maximization of exchange value is the measurement of success 110  
they are not free markets, but market dominated by large corporations which centralize power and exercise command over price and supply 111

### *Capitalist Markets*

#### Primitive Accumulation

Previous accumulation = the stock amassed by merchants that kicked off capitalism 111

not Smith's thrifty capitalist saving up; rather: (per Marx) gold and silver from America, looting East Indies, hunting African slaves 112  
bit chicken and egg, if the first accumulation didn't come from capitalism, where did it come from? 113

Althusser: the historical, contingent Marx, and the dialectical, logical consistency Marx 113

minor Marxism (historical contingency of capitalism's emergence), 114  
major Marxism (logical necessity of capitalism's emergence) 114

forcible tearing of peasants from feudal lands made labor pool possible 114  
divorcing the producer from the means of production, making their subsistence impossible, forcing them to be reliant on capitalist wage-labor 114

this is the origin of the term "wage slavery" 115  
no alternative survival strategies outside of wage labor, self-provisioning 115  
Enclosure, Game Laws—steal common lands 115  
i.e. state plays direct role in capitalism from the outset 115  
self-provisioning must be constantly prevented 116-7  
labor contract is bullshit 117

Negri says money is always capitalist, but that's wrong 117

it is just money in its capitalist form 118

minor marxism: capitalism emerged contingently from a simultaneous dispossession of the producers and the existence of a stock of surplus for investment 119

we must therefore re-discover how to self-provision 119

this is, for Holland, the new earth 119

#### Systematization

Gibson-Graham: glimpse of what lies beyond capitalism 120

Luxemburg: don't take capitalism as a given 120  
Marx's labor theory of value: labor is the sole source of surplus value 121  
    capital does not realize itself (as surplus value) until the whole cycle  
        is complete, until the product has been sold for money that is greater  
            than the money that began the process 122, 125  
    capital is thus necessarily a *relation* (a relative difference between  
        one value and another) 123  
        thus selling a product *on the market* is a necessary part of capital  
            being capital 123, 125  
[nevermind the question of alienation inherent in the production process—when  
those goods are being sold on the market it is different]  
you need money and markets to purchase labor power, but that does not mean  
money and markets *necessarily* create a wage relation 124  
    *money as capital* is different from money itself 126  
Luxemburg: capital will seek to integrate what is outside itself 127  
    it has to survive 128  
    minor Marxism: capitalism as constantly living on the edge, staving off  
        its own demise 128  
        it is never a totality, never final 128  
        must live off of living labor 128  
    eliminate wage labor (and thus the labor market); leave other markets  
        128  
    seek free markets: self-organizing 129

### Axiomatization

Capable of expanding its system of incorporation—all the D&G analysis 129  
    core axiom: capture of surplus value from the production process 129  
    needs denumerable sets 130  
    deterritorializes, then reterritorializes (axiomatizes) 131  
        state helps with the latter 131  
capitalist markets: oligopoly, antimarket power limits self-organizing 132  
money first arose as state taxes 133  
    capitalism made it a wage 133  
transfer of the infinite debt from the despot to capital 134  
single axiom of the market: growth of surplus accumulation 135  
not an accumulation of assets but an accumulation of debt 135 [I am not sure  
why]

### *Free-Market Communism*

Nomad markets, non capitalist 135

### Debt

Can have credit/debt in nomad markets 135  
    but no infinite debt 136  
    credit unions, microfinance 136  
    credit granted not just on return-on-investment criteria, but a range of  
        factors 136

### Value

Worth rather than price (efficiency, least -cost) 137  
worth can be judged by distributed intelligence, common good 137

### Multiplicity

Temporary local connections 138  
high-end systems for ascertaining consumer preference 138  
(the general intellect free from capture in capitalism) 139

### Labor

Work activity is not wage labor 139  
immanently self-organizing work groups; production cooperatives 140  
not just management practices but ownership structures 140  
no socialist state 140  
**self-managed and self-owned production cooperatives** 140  
social relations will be exchange relations, not political ones 140  
self-provisioning 140  
common good determined by aggregation of individual/small-group decisions 140  
how can the alternative experiments attain a critical mass? 140

### Conclusion

Cocoa growers cooperatives in Bolivia 141 [El Ceibo]  
acephalous, egalitarian, participatory, rotating leadership 142  
consumer cooperatives; housing cooperatives; manufacturing cooperatives;  
finance cooperatives; Mondragon 143  
no aid from the state 143  
Marx: the need to organize at a larger scale 143  
Holland: global, not national 144  
fair trade networks 145  
coops have been tried before, but the fact that they are not the dominant  
model does not mean they should be in the dustbin 145  
history does not unfold the way it does because of the operation of  
necessary laws; it develops contingently 145  
nomad citizenship: horizontal self-organization, imminent power-with 145  
non-capitalist markets, no wage labor 146  
smaller-scale participatory democracy alongside larger-scale representative  
democracy 146  
multiple allegiances, not one-State-allegiance 146  
not friends or enemies, but anonymous and temporary trading partners 147  
this is the way to benefit from differences without becoming enemies 147  
[deeply anti-Aristotelian]  
liberalism: individuals decide what is good for themselves 148  
utopias: highlight the alternatives to capitalism that already exist 148  
political philosophy conceptualizes the principles underlying these  
alternatives, expresses them, strengthens them, connects them with  
others to promote their growth and spread 148  
continuing experimentation 149

slo-mo general strike 149  
not quick-revolution; patient development of alternatives 149-50  
strike must become-general 150  
society is not a totality, but a contingent assemblage 150  
struggle (to get) outside the axiomatic 150  
    all forms of struggle (revolution, reform) are on the table (pace Day) 150  
widespread social change, but non-violent, disengagement 151  
Hardt & Negri still want a history-shattering event [whatever] 151  
eventually need to reach a critical mass 152  
    thru slow growth 152  
    struggle against each axiom (e.g. against new Michigan right to work law) as well as the axiomatic (e.g. struggle against wage labor in general) 152  
don't demand stuff from the state or capital; rather enable ourselves 154  
    work on our self-provisioning outside of capitalism 156  
    the becoming-general of the general strike 156  
    a new earth full of connections among alternatives 157-8  
Virno: exodus-general intellect must be extracted from capitalism (for which the general intellect is currently the leading edge) 158  
    taking command of our common imagination in an engaged withdrawl (like moving to open source) 159  
    radical civil disobedience denies the legitimacy of the state itself 159  
    opens up new terrain for experimentation 159  
    sharing common knowledge 159  
    organs of non-representative democracy 160  
    no sovereign, transcendent leader 160  
coming insurrection: collective desertion 160  
    become self-sufficient enough to make the state and capital unnecessary 161  
    local groups linked in an international network 162  
    importance of communes, immanently self-organized and self-provisioning 162  
    decision will occur to us 162  
the gradual becoming-unnecessary of our dependence on capital and the state 163

**Appendix: Nomadological and Dialectical Utopianism**  
affirmative nomadology has a certain kind of understanding of utopia 165

*Representation*

Utopia as pluralizing fancy with anarchism; Utopia as totalizing imagination with Marxism 166  
Frederic Jamison: Utopia as explicit negative critique of actual society with implicit social ideals 166  
    alternative is utopia that presents an explicit positive ideal with

implicit critique of the actual 166

Holland: we should not seek a single and totally unified vision of utopia 167  
we must distinguish between dominant, residual, and emergent tendencies  
within a mode of production 167

plurality of possible utopias 167

detect and reinforce utopian ideals in actually existing institutions  
168

link them up with each other 168

Utopia is not a blueprint for the ideal society; rather it is an  
indexing of alternatives that serves as a relay between thought and  
reality, a provisional guide to practical operations with no definitive  
claims 168-169

utopian thought distills certain principles from existing social  
practices in order to inspire further practical experimentation 169  
tentative affirmation of good practices and the desire to extend them  
further 169

radical systemic break may not be necessary, since society is not a  
totality 169

### *Historicity*

linear understanding of history makes things emergent, or dominant, or  
residual 170

a nonlinear understanding of history sees these things as mixed up together  
170

the future is radically unpredictable, it has no set direction 171  
for an emergent element to actually emerge and prevail, it must be  
actively affirmed (Deleuze) 171

[unhelpfully characterizes Hardt and Negri as having a dialectical view, which  
they explicitly reject]

subjective agency is key; historical changes up to us 171

we have to map the lines of flight, the activity that is already  
happening on 71

### *Negation*

affirmation is not sufficient to make something emerge, but it is necessary  
172

the virtual is richer in potentialities than the actual 172

political philosophy should map the virtual for the real potential it  
harbors 172

if we think of society as a totality, then all we can do is radically  
critique that society and call for wholesale revolution 172

the idea is that negation of the negation will produce a positive result  
on 72

nomadology does not proceed that way: negation of negation might produce  
precisely nothing 172

instead it affirms ideals that already exist; explicitly names them and  
points them out 172

it selects those components that are to be affirmed rather than negating those to be rejected 172

the task of nomadological utopianism, echoing Calvino: detect and reinforce the alternatives, distill and express the ideals informing them, then relay and propagate those ideals in additional institutions and practices throughout social life in anticipation of pushing society to a tipping point beyond which they actually come to prevail 172

promote difference instead of opposition 173