ASSEMBLY

AND ANTONIO NEGRI



Contents

Preface	xiii
PART I. THE LEADERSHIP PROBLEM	1
Chapter 1. Where Have All the Leaders Gone?	3
"Errors" of the Communards	3
False assumption: Critique of leadership = refusal of	
organization and institution	6
Leaderless movements as symptoms of a historical shift	. 8
Chapter 2. Strategy and Tactics of the Centaur	15
Museum of revolutions past	16
First call: Strategy to the movements	18
A party of movements?	22
Chapter 3. Contra Rousseau; or, Pour en finir avec	
la souveraineté	25
Critique of representation	27
Critique of constituent power	32
Second call: Invent nonsovereign institutions	37
First response: Ground political projects in social life	39
Against the autonomy of the political	42
Chapter 4. The Dark Mirror of Right-Wing Movements	47
To restore the unity of the people	48
Populism and racialized property	51
The violence of religious identities	53
Poverty as wealth	57
Chapter 5. The Real Problem Lies Elsewhere	63
Blow the dam!	63
Second response : Seek the plural ontology of cooperative	
coalitions	67
Third call: Take power, but differently	69
Marxism against Das Kapital	72

viii CONTENTS

PART II. SOCIAL PRODUCTION	77
What does "from below" mean?	78
Chapter 6. How to Open Property to the Common	85
A bundle of rights .	86
The social properties of labor	91
Third response: The common is not property	97
Fable of the bees; or, passions of the common	100
Chapter 7. We, Machinic Subjects	107
The relation of human and machine	107
The changing composition of capital	III
Fourth call: Take back fixed capital ("This fixed capital being man himself")	
Machinic subjectivities	, 115
iviacinine subjectivities	120
Chapter 8. Weber in Reverse	12
Weber's dream and Kafka's nightmare	120
Sine ira et studio	.128
Digital Taylorism	131
Fourth response: Smash the state	133
The end of Mitteleuropa	134
Chapter 9. Entrepreneurship of the Multitude	139
How to become an entrepreneur	140
Fifth call: Entrepreneurship of the multitude	143
Social production→social union → social strike	147
Taking the word as translation	151
PART III. FINANCIAL COMMAND AND NEOLIBERAL	
GOVERNANCE	155
Chapter 10. Finance Captures Social Value	159
Finance from above and from below	159
Abstraction/extraction	162
The many faces of extraction	160
From social production to finance	17
Logistics and infrastructure in the social factory	17
Marrist dehates 1. Primitive accumulation	178

CONTENTS ix

Chapter 11. Money Institutionalizes a Social Relation	183
What is money and how does it rule?	184
Objektiver Geist	193
On private property and its dematerialization	196
Crises arise from below	200
Marxist debates 2: Crisis	203
Chapter 12. Neoliberal Administration Out of Joint	207
Neoliberal freedom	208
Crisis points of neoliberal administration	212
Emptying the public powers	218
Fifth response: Produce powerful subjectivities	222
PART IV. NEW PRINCE	227
Chapter 13. Political Realism	231
Power comes second	231
The common comes first	235
General strike	240
Extremism of the center	245
Chapter 14. Impossible Reformism	251
Fixing the system	252
Instituting counterpowers	254
Indignation in the fog of war	258
Empire today	263
Chapter 15. And Now What?	269
A Hephaestus to arm the multitude	269
A three-faced Dionysus to govern the common	274
A Hermes to forge the coin of the common	280
Chapter 16. Portolan	285
Wealth	285
Institution	288
Organization	290
Exhortatio	293
Notes	
Acknowledgments	337
Index	338