

NOTES

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THE ELIMINATION OF STRENGTH

Key to Citations

References to the Book of Lord Shang cite the page number in Duyvendak's translation [1928], then the chapter number and page number in Kao Heng's annotated Chinese edition [1974]. The former is referred to as D, the latter as KH. A typical citation would read [D 320/KH 24:175].

References to the Yunmeng legal documents cite the page number in Hulsewe's translation [1985], then the text number as assigned by Hulsewe, and finally the Chinese transcription published in three parts in the 1977 editions of the Chinese archaeological journal Wenwu. A typical citation would read [H145/D80/W8.30b].

References to the Shiji (Records of the Grand Historian) by Sima Qian cite the page number in the Beijing Zhonghua Shuju edition, then the volume and page number in the French translation by Chavannes (Mémoires Historiques, denoted by MH) or the volume and page number in the English translation by Watson (Records of the Grand Historian, denoted by RGH). A typical citation would read [SJ 6:265/MH 1:194-95].

References to the Chinese Classics and the early philosophers conform to the Harvard-Yenching Sinological Concordance Series.

All translated passages given in this paper have been checked against the Chinese text and modified where necessary.

Pronunciation of the pinyin transliteration system

Zh is pronounced like 'j'. Q is pronounced like 'ch'. X is pronounced as 'sh'. Shi is pronounced 'sure'. Zi is pronounced 'dze'. The Wade Giles transliteration system, encountered in many of the reference materials, writes Qin as Ch'in, Xia as Hsia, Zhou as Chou, shi as shih, and zi as tsu, d as t, t as t', g as k, and k as k'.

Endnotes

1. Sources on Shang Yang include Duyvendak's introduction to his translation of the Book of Lord Shang [Duyvendak 1928], the articles and studies gathered into Li Yuning's volume [Li 1977], and Jia I's famous Han dynasty essay, "The Faults of Qin" [1965]. Jia I writes that "Duke Xiao of Qin ...held fast to his land and eyed the house of Zhou, for he cherished a desire to roll up the empire like a mat, to bind into one the whole world, to bag all the land within the four seas; he had it in his heart to swallow up everything in the eight directions. In this he was aided by the Legalist philosopher Lord Shang, who set up lands for him, encouraged agriculture and weaving, built up the instruments of war, contracted military alliances, and attacked the other feudal lords."

2. Sources on the First Emperor and Li Si include the study by Bodde [1938]. Li Si actually studied with Xun Qing, the great Confucian thinker, but ultimately rejected his views in favor of those of Shang Yang. Recent Chinese views on the First Emperor, complicated by the efforts of Cultural Revolution theorists to equate him with Mao Zedong, are gathered in Li Yuning [1975].

3. The Book of Lord Shang was originally divided into 29 chapters, of which 5 have been lost. The contents are as follows: 1. The Reform of the Law. 2. An Order to Cultivate Wastelands. 3. Agriculture and War. 4. The Elimination of Strength. 5. A Discussion about the People. 6. The Calculation of Land. 7. Opening and Debarring. 8. The Unification of Words. 9. Establishing Laws. 10. The Method of Warfare. 11. The Establishment of Fundamentals. 12. Military Defense. 13. Making Orders Strict. 14. Cultivation of the Right Standard. 15. The Encouragement of Immigration, 16. Compendium of Penalties (Lost). 17. Rewards and Punishments. 18. Policies. 19. Within the Borders. 20. Weakening the People. 21. (Lost) 22. External and Internal Affairs. 23. Prince and Minister. 24. Interdicts and Encouragements. 25. Attention to

Law. 26. The Fixing of Rights and Duties. 27, 28, 29: Lost. On philological and grammatical grounds, Duyvendak distinguishes five strata: 1) chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 19, and 20 contain the oldest fragments; 2) 7 and 8; 3) 6,9, 17; 4) 1, 23, 24, 25, 26; and 5) 10, 11, 12. Duyvendak also traces the textual history of the book, which was first printed in the Xunyu period of the Song dynasty (1241-53). The book was printed again in the Yuan, and survives in several Ming editions.

4. The Qin legal documents (in the form of inscribed bamboo strips) were discovered in 1975 in south-central China (Yunmeng County, Hubei province) in the tomb of an official named Xi (262-c. 217 B.C.). Li Xueqin notes: "In other tombs the slips and tablets are usually found outside the coffin and inside the wooden chamber. But in this one the slips were placed inside the coffin scattered under the head of the dead person and around the body" [Li Xueqin 1985:425]. Altogether some 1200 bamboo strips were found, but some had fragmented under the feet of their master, so only 1155 were decipherable. Approximately half of this material, 609 strips, contains legal documents. There are 161 articles from 27 administrative statutes, 190 examples of the application of laws, together with explanations of technical terminology, and 25 investigations of cases (forensic methodology). The remaining strips include a chronological record of Qin events as well as an annual biography of the occupant of the tomb, an edict from a regional administrator complaining that the laws are not being carried out in some areas and that they must be clarified and reapplied, and a set of mantic texts. The Qin chronology (53 strips) was found under Xi's head. Under his belly four groups of texts were found: 1) edicts issued by the regional commander (14 strips); 2) a "complete text of a legal code laying down a series of rules concerning the accounting of material and the unification of the systems of measurements" (60 strips); 3) texts dealing with military matters (42

strips); 4) texts on the principles of governing, possibly an initiation text for new officials (51 strips). To the right side of the body was a set of 201 strips relating to several Statutes of the Qin Law. To the right side of the neck three sets were found: 1) 201 strips of questions and answers concerning the criminal code; 2) 98 strips on trial procedure and forensic methodology; 3) 166 strips of calendrical divination. Beneath Xi's feet a second calendrical manual was found, consisting of 257 strips. The calendrical manuals provide a great deal of information about Qin divination systems and local customs. They also were part of the effort to standardize the calendar throughout the Empire, as tables are given relating the calendrical system of the former state of Chu (on whose territory Xi worked and was buried) to that of Qin. These materials have been published several times in China and Hong Kong. See Hulsewe [1985] for a description of the different editions. The mantic texts were first published by Jao Tsung-i [1982]. The Yunmeng documents thus deal primarily with issues of local civil administration, particularly public granaries, rather than with questions of military administration.

5. The term translated as "dismemberment" by Duyvendak is xiao, which has an interesting underlying meaning of "to erase [an inscription] by scraping." Early records like the Yunmeng documents were engraved on bamboo slips. Several passages in The Book of Lord Shang insist on the importance of maintaining accurate records of grain supplies and particularly of population statistics: "... the whole population is registered at birth and erased (xiao) at death ..." [D 203/KH 4:48; see also D 295/KH 19:146]. Readers should bear in mind the etymological connection between eliminating dangers to the state and the act of scraping off words inscribed on bamboo strips.

6. The Book of Lord Shang provides four lists of lice, one in Chapter 3, two in Chapter 4, and a final, expanded list of 16 undesirable lice in Chapter 13. The latter list is basically equivalent to that found in Han Feizi, chapter 53.
7. Hsu [1977] discusses the enhanced social mobility of the "wandering scholars." The First Emperor issued a decree banishing all alien officials, but was dissuaded from enforcing it by his principal advisor Li Si, to whom it would have applied. Hsiao [1979] provides commentary on the political thought of the "Hundred Schools" of early Chinese philosophy.
8. Hsu [1965] discusses the careers of several Qin ministers who worked for a number of rival states before coming to Qin. Many of these men began life as commoners. For other passages on wandering scholars, see also D193 and D220.
9. At a banquet held in the imperial palace in 213 B.C. a scholar recommended the reestablishment of the feudal fiefdoms. The First Emperor's minister Li Si countered, "Now the world has been pacified; laws and ordinances issue from one source alone. ... However, there are some men of letters who do not model themselves upon the present but study the past in order to criticize the present age. They confuse and excite the ordinary people ... If such conditions are not prohibited, the imperial power will decline above and partisanships will form below.' Li Si went on to recommend that all records in the bureau be burned; that all copies of the Book of Songs, Book of Documents, and of writings of the various philosophic schools, aside from copies held in the bureau of the academicians, should be brought to the governors of the commanderies for burning; that persons daring to discuss the Book of Songs or Book of Documents, among themselves should suffer execution with public exposure of the corpse; that 'those who use the past to criticize the present' should be put to death together with their relatives; that officials knowing or seeing violators of

these regulations but failing to report them should be considered equally guilty; and that persons failing to burn the forbidden texts within thirty days of the issuing of the order should be tattooed and sent to do forced labor. Li Si further recommended that writings on medicine, divination, agriculture and forestry should be spared from destruction." [Bodde 1986:69-70] The First Emperor's rage at informants who revealed his secret whereabouts and magicians who criticized his character and then fled led him to order the execution of 460 scholars connected with the court. These topics are treated in Shiji [6:275/ MH 2:119n3; 176ff.] and Pokara [1963]. A number of scholars have questioned the empirical validity of the account of Qin actions in Sima Qian's Shiji. They suggest that events like the burning of the books, the live burial of the Confucian scholars, and the building of the Great Wall, all have been exaggerated or invented for propagandistic purposes tied to Confucian interests in second century A. D. Han court politics [Dull 1975, 1983; Neining 1983; Fields 1989; Waldron 1990; Bodde 1986]. This revisionist account of Qin history goes on to suggest that the Legalist state did not deny Confucianism, but instead formed an accommodation with it which is expressed in the texts of the edicts inscribed on imperial monoliths (quoted in Shiji 6). Such an approach fails in our opinion to grasp the philosophical specificity of the rise of the Qin and the historical rupture it represented. These Confucianizing accounts are based as much on the homogenizing tendency to favor continuity in history, to find the Same in every age, as on the evidence.

10. Our translation of this passage differs considerably from Duyvendak's version. The principal point of difference lies in the interpretation of the last portion of the phrase "The resources of the merchant are in his personal fortune" (shang gu zhi shi zi zai yu shen), which literally means "in his body." Duyvendak takes this to mean "they carry their merchandise on their backs," but then misses the point that merchants can

"perversely" form spheres of influence in their own houses, thanks to their mobility and their ability to trade goods and horde profits. The use of the word "body" to designate a grouping of bodies and resources, in this case a "household," is highly significant, as will become apparent below. The translation given in this paper is based on a similar usage in Mencius 3A4, kindly pointed out by Professor David Nivison. Other passages in The Book of Lord Shang reflect a similar distrust of merchants: e.g., D139 and D118.

11. Duyvendak follows the commentators in completely rewriting this phrase, which originally read, "A country of a thousand chariots that guards a thousand items will be dismembered." However, the phrase invented by Duyvendak and the commentators fits in very well with other references to the single opening or gate or hole through which the desires of the people must be made to flow and in order for profit and strength to be achieved. See D 257-8/KH 13: 108, where we find: "If profit emerges from one hole alone, then the state will have no enemy. If profit emerges from two holes, the state will gain (only) half the profit. If profit emerges from ten holes, the state cannot be preserved." Since we will demonstrate below that the absolute state requires the existence of an enemy, this passage paradoxically suggests the suicide of the State at the moment it succeeds in establishing the solitary black hole of the ruler's anti-productive desire. On this see "Black Hole" below.

12. The titles of the twenty-tiered system of ranks under the Qin are listed in Li Xueqin [1985: 464-6]. He notes that according to the "Within the Borders" chapter of The Book of Lord Shang, the bestowal of titles also resulted in the bestowal of farming fields and households of farmers.

13. The precise nature of this change has been much debated. Commentators like Tong Zhongshu in the Han dynasty claimed that these changes allowed for the buying

and selling of private land holdings. On the other hand, Hulsewe [1985] has argued that fragmentary evidence from the Yunmeng documents supports the conclusion that the state maintained ultimate ownership of the land, and that land was bequeathed by the state to individuals in recognition of meritorious actions. Maspero believed that land was distributed periodically by the state in early China.

14. The first census was in 375 B.C. According to Shang Yang, the ruler needed to be aware of the thirteen statistics: "A strong country knows thirteen statistics: the number of granaries within its borders, the number of able-bodied men and of women, the number of old and of weak people, the number of officials and officers, the number of those making a livelihood by talking, the number of useful people, the number of horse and oxen, the quantity of fodder and straw." [D 205/KH 4.50] Xu Guang's commentary on The Records of the Grand Historian [SJ 6:251] states that "the common people were made to evaluate their own agricultural land" in the course of a massive empire-wide accounting of goods and peoples in 216 B.C.

15. On territoriality and imperial reterritorialization ("overcoding"), see Deleuze and Guattari [1983], chapter 3, section 7 ("Barbaric or Imperial Representation"). The local goddesses whose mountain was scalped and painted were the Ladies of the Xiang River, whose cult was an important aspect of the local religion of Chu immortalized in the Nine Songs [Waley 1955]. The mantic texts in the Yunmeng documents also reveal an attempt to standardize Chu religious culture through the imposition of Qin calendrical/astronomical systems. Granet [1930:99] has speculated that entire populations of certain areas were transplanted to achieve ethnic unification.

16. According to historical sources, the first recorded penal law in China was inscribed on bronze tripods in the state of Zheng in 563 B.C. In 513 B.C. penal laws were inscribed on iron tripods in Qin. Shang Yang is said to have based his codification of

Qin law (now lost but probably quoted in the Yunmeng legal documents) on the Fa jing ("Classic of Law") of Li Kui (also lost). The law was predominantly penal, and was divided into six parts; Robbery, Murder, Imprisonment, Arrest, Miscellaneous, and Notarization. The discovery of the Yunmeng Qin legal documents written around 230 B.C. thus provides the first extensive evidence of the existence of a codified legal system.

17. That Shang Yang had a fiefdom illustrates that his proposals for the 'opening up of the pathways and roads' had not resulted in the complete abandonment of the feudal system. However, it is likely that lands and tenant families were distributed by the state increasingly in reward for military exploits.

18. "In the governing of a state, if decisions are made in the family, [the state] attains supremacy; if the decisions are made by the officials, [the state] becomes strong; if decisions are made by the ruler, [the state] becomes weak. Heavily punish light offenses and punishments may be done away with. Permanent officials bring about order. A reduction in punishments requires guarantees [ie., the mutual spying groups]; rewards must not be increased. If there are crimes, these must be reported. Thus people make decisions in their hearts. The superior commands and the people know with what to respond. The machine [qi] is accomplished in the families and applied by the officials, thus affairs are decided by the families. Thus in the case of one who attains supremacy, decisions as to punishments and rewards are decided in the minds of the people, and the efficacy of the machine is fixed in the families." [D 213/KH 5:59] Every individual performs his function as an organ of the law working within the mutual spying machine. Thus affairs can be settled in the families before having to crowd the ruler's desk.

19. The Book of Lord Shang remarks, "I have heard that the gate through which the people are guided depends on where their superiors lead. ... For people's attitude toward profit is just like the tendency of water to flow downwards, without preference for any of the four sides. That by which the people can only achieve profit is given to them by the ruler." [D 316/KH 23.17]. This reads like a direct rebuttal of Mencius 6A2: "The tendency of man's nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good, just as all water flows downwards" [Legge 1972: vol 2, 396]. However, both Mencius 1A6 and Xunzi in a chapter on Lun zhan ("Debating Military Affairs") speak of the people "flocking about their ruler like water flowing downward in a rush, which no one can repress."

20. The term for king, wang, originally meant "one who goes," reflecting the peripatetic nature of the original royalty of China. The monarchs of the earliest dynasties were tributary kings who travelled the realm to receive offerings, but had little or no effective administrative control over the territory under their nominal rulership. [Keightley 1983:550-53] The connotations of the title of king and historical weakness of the office made it unsuited to the First Emperor's new station. All things would come to him, the unmoving, abstract center of the entire world. The wanderings of the early kings were the precursors to the First Emperor's imperial progressions, which played a very different function: forays marking the borders of the world for which the emperor would be the immobile--and invisible--center. See "Black Hole" below. On the etymology of huangdi, see Bodde [1938:124-30]; on the term di, see Creel [1970a:493-506].

21. Bodde believes these figures to be greatly inflated [Bodde 1986:99-101]. However, he finds the figure of 300,000 men used to build the Great Wall "in no way unreasonable," in part, because "a wall is a very imperfect means for transmitting

materials to itself." Since the total population of China in the census of 2 A.D. was close to 60 million, and the Qin war-machine engulfed the entire Empire, the number of casualties does not appear entirely unreasonable either.

22. Meng Tian was ordered to lead 300,000 troops and convicts to simultaneously: 1) build a "Straight Road" reaching 800 km north from the capital at Xianyang; 2) to attack the Xiong-nu nomads in the Northern Yellow river Ordos desert area, Inner Mongolia, and Gansu; and 3) to build the Great Wall of China. Waldron [1990] maintains that Meng Tian built a chain of fortified sites rather than a continuous wall.

23. I.e., the phallus. On the "despotic signifying regime" in relation to Saussurean linguistics and Lacanian psychoanalysis, see Deleuze and Guattari [1987:111-48 and 1983:200-216, 261-62]. See also point 9 under "State-Extreme, Extremist State" below.

24. Confucius made the famous remark in the Analects that "Man is not a tool." The Legalists and their followers believed that they could make human beings into working parts of a "megamachine" (to use Lewis Mumford's term). The Book of Lord Shang in fact uses the word "machine," qi, to refer to the mutual-spying apparatus that fuses society into a single heart-mind (see note 18 above).

25. The mutual responsibility system of the Qin had a profound impact on Chinese conceptions of the 'self' that is still being felt today. Yang Liansheng [1969] has examined the way in which the parameters of social coexistence in China are determined by principles of reciprocity (bao).

26. Granet's views on the early Chinese kinship system have been challenged by many sinologists, perhaps most systematically by Vandermeersch [1980]. Granet's critics tend to read back Confucianism or social-functionalist lineage theory into early China, whereas Granet's depiction of social relations have the advantage of emphasizing territoriality and localized religious cults prior to the imposition of patriarchal

relations. Rather than membership in a lineage being defined by blood ties and co-ownership of corporate property, Granet points to the role of religious bonds and a close connection to sacred powers of the earth as embodied in local geographic features. Many scholars concur with him on the importance of the she, the "altar of the soil," and the power of territoriality in early China. Granet's emphasis on the profound dislocations and reorderings of Chinese society associated with the rise of the feudal kings and the ultimate transition to patriarchy lends itself to an approach to early China that resists evolutionary models, questions the relationship between the State and the individual, and recognizes the importance of gender politics. The evidence is mixed and contradictory, but recent scholarship suggests that the early Chinese kinship system was neither clearly matrilineal nor patrilineal. It was almost certainly not matriarchal, but cannot be said to have been truly patriarchal until after the Qin unification. Granet's matrilineal starting point may have been too neat a solution, but his analysis of the transition to patriarchy is still useful. For alternate views, see Ch'un [1990] and Ch'en [1990].

27. Our description of the function of the First Emperor's divinization coincides in many respects with that of Granet: "Protected by his sealed retreat from the contagions that might soil him, and from all fear of the dispersal of his energy, the autocratic sovereign is, so to speak, a microcosm, for the Universe envelops, in its great bosom, a series of Universes, one within the other. These are the more concentrated the more close they are to the universal controller. ... He becomes the Great Man, the da ren, he whose life, at every moment, is an apotheosis ... his will corresponds to the universal order ... the power within him, concentrated in a pure state, causes, as by a subtle current of induction, a unanimous conversion of desires and actions ... he is identified with, or rather substituted for, the Celestial Sovereign,

until the latter is nothing more than a projection into the ideal world of the real master of the Universe" [1930:392-401].

We disagree with Granet on two major points. Granet (repeating the ideology of the Huang-lao school) depicts the despot as an aspiring ascetic. Our despot is a materialist force rather than a mystic force: a black hole, a sinkhole of anti-production which absorbs the surplus value of the social formation through precise political and economic mechanisms. Granet's concern is to find a historical place to leave the emperor comfortably behind in: having created the empire, the emperor graciously transcends it in order to make the way for the more reasonable Han dynasty. We suggest instead that the Qin dynasty come as close as physically possible to incarnating the ideality of the State, and that that process was inextricably linked to the emperor's body. On the State as idea and the relation of the Qin to the Han, see "State-Extreme, Extremist State" below.

28. The First Emperor alone was able to create a ritual for announcing his merit to heaven, after 70 Confucian scholars proved incapable of working up such a ceremony. The Emperor performed the ritual alone in secret.

29. The state of Qin did not invent the commandery per se--or for that matter many of the other administrative and military mechanisms that contributed to its takeover. Those mechanisms began to take shape beginning in the 8th century B.C. in several border statelets located, like Qin, near the Western frontier. A number of statelets independently adopted various reforms later perfected by Shang Yang and his successors. What Qin did was to invent a fusion: a coherent interweaving of mechanisms, both administrative and military, constituting the unique dynamic we have been calling the absolute state. Other statelets possessed the elements, but none synthesized them as Qin did. Prior to the Warring States period (463-222 B.C.),

China cannot be said to have had a state at all, let alone an absolute state. The oracle-bone inscriptions of the Shang kingdom (ca. 1400-1045 B.C.) reveal a minimal administrative apparatus with a peripatetic king constantly on the move performing rituals, receiving tribute, and distributing food to his vassals [Keightley 1979]. The conquest of Shang by the Western Zhou in 1045 B.C. [Nivison 1983] led to an embryonic feudalism, reducing the influence of the tributary order [Eberhard 1965; Yates 1980]. During the Spring and Autumn period (722-464 B.C.) the Zhou tribute system declined even further, creating a void filled by warring feudal statelets.

30. "The great 'nomad conquests' of China did not come from the open steppe at all, but from the border of the steppe. In other words, they were not the work of unmodified nomads" [Lattimore 1962:541].

31. For example, Lattimore invokes differences in terrain (entailing different interactions between the state and the nomads) to explain why Qin rather than Zhao or Yan was destined to found the empire. [1962:412-25].

32. For example, Lattimore concludes that the building of the Great Wall was less a practical defensive measure than the product of an inwardly produced need for cohesion [1962:434].

33. Deleuze and Guattari present a lengthy philosophical analysis of the relation between the nomadic war-machine and the state apparatus in "Treatise on Nomadology" [1987:351-423]. See in particular pages 404-416 on mining and metallurgy in relation to sedentary and nomadic space, and on the reinvention of the technical object as it moves between those spaces.

34. Jack Dull [1983] has challenged this traditional Chinese historiographical account of the fall of Qin (for tenuous reasons rejected even by the editor of the volume in which his essay appears; see editor's introduction, *ibid.*).

35. Derived in large part from the typology of societies proposed by Deleuze and Guattari in "Treatise on Nomadology" and "Apparatus of Capture" [1987:351-473], and "Savages, Barbarians, Civilized Men" [1983:139-272].

36. Certain philosophers of biology have argued for a description of the living body as a interrelation of fluctuating milieus, rather than as a bounded, self-identical unit [see for example Simondon 1964]. This implies a conception of the physical human body as an open system, and therefore stands in direct contradiction to the traditional ideology of organism.

37. See Deleuze 1972:65-81 and Deleuze and Guattari 1977:295-96, 354-55. We do not share Deleuze and Guattari's inclination to describe nomadism as a "becoming-woman" [1987:271-94].

3

POSTMORTEM ON THE PRESIDENTIAL BODY

Endnotes

1. Quotes are from the New York Times, 29 April 1984, A11. The photo of Reagan in the tomb, entitled "Reagan in China" by Li Ping (Photojournalist Society of China), was sold worldwide by Arts Unlimited (Amsterdam) in the form of a postcard. This incident was only one of many imperial Reagan gestures. Just prior to Bush's inauguration, he voiced the opinion that the presidency should not be limited to two terms, clearly implying a desire to reign ["Nancy and Ron Bid Tearful Farewell to White House Staffers," Montréal Gazette, 19 January 1989, B5]. His triumphant reentry into California after eight years in Washington was greeted by enthusiastic placards hailing

the return of the "King and Queen" [Kelly 1990:516]. Within the year, he had become an honorary knight of the Queen of England and had earned two million dollars providing photo opportunities to the new emperor of Japan. A year after that, the publication of his memoirs earned him the cover of Time [5 November 1990] in a week when the daily television news was filled with images of Emperor Akihito's enthronement. The Great Wall comments are quoted in part by Rogin [1987:11]. This article owes much to Rogin's suggestive essay, which provided a number of leads on Reagan body parts (but is written from a very different theoretical viewpoint).

2. Photograph by Tina Paul of a sculpture by Adam Kurtzman, New York Times, 7 October 1986, editorial page.

3. Reagan was the "thumbs up" president (in the same way that Churchill was a "V for Victory" man). The thumbs up sign expressed Reagan's supposed restoration of America's confidence in itself, which is still regularly cited as his greatest achievement. An illustration printed on the editorial page of New York Times [5 January 1987, A17] replaced the fingers of a fist making the thumbs up sign with Reagan's facial features, graphically representing him as a multiplicity of appendages adding up to a First Digit rising proudly above the others. It may be noted that this preeminent thumb replaces Reagan's most admired body part: his hair-do. Hair dye is another embodiment of the all-powerful life-giving fluid (the fountain of youth has not only been found, it has been bottled).

4. The preceding statements from Reagan and Hubler [1981] are to be found on pp. 3-8, 301. Many are quoted in Rogin [1987:17-27, 32-33]. Rogin goes into extensive detail on Reagan's amputation theme.

5. According to a New York Times [18 January 1989, A14] chart of Reagan's approval ratings, his popularity peaked twice in upper sixty percentile range, once after the

attempted assassination, and again after the bombing of Libya, which occurred during an extended period of consistently high ratings following his second inauguration.

6. Rogin [1987] provides a number of examples.

7. Examples are a "Gone with the Wind" poster parody showing Ronald "Rhett" Reagan carrying Margaret "Scarlett" Thatcher in his arms that was widely distributed during his first term; a postcard featuring a "Portrait of Ronald Reagan as Centaur" [photo of an oil painting by Komar & Melamid, 1981-82; Editions Vormgeving, Rotterdam]; and a "Mister America" postcard entitled "Our Ronnie" depicting Reagan as a body builder [City Sights, Boundhead, Ontario].

8. A typical expression of this view is found in Janet Maslin's review of Reagan's second autobiography, An American Life [1990]. "Mr. Reagan's appeal came from his ability to be a larger-than-life reflection of what the nation liked best about itself: an optimism, a determination to be first, a magnanimous spirit, a stylish wit and brave spirit." "Where's the Rest of Him?," New York Times Book Review , 18 November 1990, p. 43. It is a testament to the power of Reagan's reunification strategem that even critics start to talk like him, seeming at times to accept his metaphysical vision of "the nation" as a unified, isolatable empirical entity rather than an infinity of irreducibly different component parts.

9. J.G. Ballard, the most prescient of Reagan watchers, emphasizes his anality in "Why I want to Fuck Ronald Reagan" [1972]. Ballard was the first to recognize the political importance of the mass-mediatized Reagan body. Uncannily, "Why I Want to Fuck Ronald Reagan" predicts the Reagan presidential campaign; it was written in 1969 when Reagan, as governor of California, was still a regional politician and national laughing-stock. On Reagan's asshole, see also Karen Finley, "The Constant State of Desire" [1988:151 ("Vomit Belly")].

10. "Speaking of Everything," with Howard Cosell, 10 May 1988.
11. Diane Rubenstein [1990:253-55]. Rubenstein's analysis of Bush is far more useful than her passing comments on Reagan, and will be cited below.
12. Reagan as magician is another recurring theme. Maslin again provides an example. "Where's the Rest of Him?," p. 45. There were many variations on the theme. When the scandal of the White House astrologer broke out toward the end of Reagan's last term, it explained several peculiarities of his presidency, for example why he had chosen to be sworn in at the highly unusual but apparently auspicious hour of midnight--echoes of imperial divination. Reagan was not only associated with white magic. A man shattered the peace of the retired First Couple when he broke into their estate to strangle Ronnie, convinced he was the Anti-Christ ["Would-Be Killer Thought Reagan Was Antichrist," Montréal Gazette, 4 December 1990, B6]. Manuel Noriega, Reagan's Panamanian protégé, had mixed feelings about both his long-time ally and his less cooperative successor. After the US invasion, voodoo dolls and other Santeria and Condomble paraphernalia are said to have been found in his private quarters. A portrait of Reagan was sunk in wax at the bottom of an ashtray. This may explain some of Reagan's ailments. ["Noriega Casts Spell on Bush," Montréal Gazette, 26 December 1989].
13. The preceding fable is a condensed and slightly tampered with version of a Ballard short story written in 1988, entitled the "The Secret History of World War 3." [Ballard 1990:23-32].
14. "Bush on Attack as He Fights Polls" [Montréal Gazette, 20 January 1992, B3]
15. For more examples and a suggestive analysis of Bushspeak, see Rubenstein [1990:258-62].

16. "Bush Admits Economy is in 'Free Fall,'" Montréal Gazette, 16 January 1992, A9. Images of falling and an inability to maintain the distinction between up and down are as constant in Bushspeak as illness and amputation were in Reagan rhetoric. The free-falling economy, Bush explained as he campaigned for reelection in New Hampshire, has "gone through an extraordinarily difficult time, coming off a pinnacle of low unemployment." [Doonesbury, 28 January 1992] In the astonishing phrase, "But nevertheless, I said to them there's another one that the Nitty Ditty Nitty Gritty Great Bird--and it says if you want to see a rainbow you've got to stand a little rain" [Doonesbury, 31 January 1992], the "dirt band" in "Nitty Gritty Dirt Band" becomes a "great bird" offering the philosophical observation that you can't have color in the sky without mud under foot. This, too, was a reference to the economy, which the news media had identified as the biggest campaign issue holding Bush down. For more on the up-and-down economy, see note 21.

17. "I was shot down and I was floating around in a little yellow raft setting a record for paddling. I thought of my family, my mom and dad and the strength I got from them. I thought of my faith, the separation of church and state." [Mary McGrory, The Washington Post, 29 September 1988, A2; cited in Rubenstein 1990:260].

18. This was Bush's rallying cry in his first campaign swing around New Hampshire in 1992. [Montréal Gazette, 20 January 1992, B3]

19. The classic example from the first presidential campaign is Bush's slip-of-the-tongue explanation of his relationship to Reagan. "For seven and a half years, I have worked alongside him and I am proud to be his partner. We have had triumphs, we have made mistakes, we have had sex." After correcting "sex" to "setbacks," Bush goes on to compare himself to a "javelin thrower who won the coin toss and elected to receive." [New York Times, 26 May 1988, p. A32] In the first statement, the Bush-

Reagan possession relation is translated into a physical penetration transforming the Bush body's nominal gender or apparent sexual orientation, and inviting the most obvious of Freudian interpretations. The "correction's" contraction of three games into one can be taken as telegraphic expression of this article's main points about Bush: the "reception" of indirect discourse, the two faces of the coin, and the projectile motion of the missile, in this case a hand-held variety.

20. On the "thing" thing as "a surplus object, a left-over of the Real which eludes symbolization," see Rubenstein 1990:261. In the second Bushspeak period (see next note) "thing" was replaced by "stuff" or "and all of that," as in the rousing patriotic cry, "Remember Lincoln, going to his knees and all that stuff?" [Newsweek, 27 January 1992, p. 19] or the environment-president statement of concern, "All across the country, we have a spotted owl problem. And yes, we want to see that little furry-feathery guy protected and all of that" [Doonebury, 30 January 1992].

21. For plentiful examples from the second Bushspeak period, see "A Little Rain and Frogs with Wings," Newsweek, 27 January 1992, 18-19; "Bush on Attack as He Fights Polls," Montréal Gazette, 20 January 1992, B3; and Doonesbury, 27 January-1 February 1992. In a desperate attempt to regain his wartime popularity, Bush grasped at the straw of his own Persian Gulf rhetoric. He tried to shake off Bushspeak II by bringing his other face back home, but only metaphorically. In his 1992 State of the Union address, on which he had pinned his hopes for a win in the New Hampshire primary, he spoke in heroic terms of the fight for the economy, casting the Democrats in the role of Saddam Hussein. He recycled the Gulf Crisis tactic of setting a deadline, in this case for passage by the Democratic-controlled Congress of his timid reform package, and repeated what he considered to be his most memorable war line: "This will not stand" ["Bush Vows Economic Relief and Proposes Modest Steps in State of

Union Talk," New York Times, 29 January 1992, A1] He was referring to the recession, but his persistent jokes on the campaign trail about how expensive it had been to dry-clean the Japanese Prime Minister's suit were a constant reminder that the only thing having a hard time standing was Bush himself. ["President Trying to Bury Japan Incident with Humor," Montréal Gazette, 30 January 1992, A10]

22. Kitty Kelly recounts several famous incidents where Nancy had to prompt Ronnie [1990:264, 418-19, 458]. Kelly's biography is the most spectacular instance of Nancy-bashing and the most sustained example of the "behind every man ..." scenario for the Reagan years. Nancy Reagan appeared almost simultaneously with Reagan's second autobiography, An American Life, and Millie's Book, and out-performed them both in terms of sales and media attention. Both Time and Newsweek devoted their front covers of their 22 April 1991 issues to the controversy it provoked.

23. What we are calling the "body without an image" is in many ways comparable to Kristeva's chora: "an extremely mobile and provisional articulation constituted by movements and their ephemeral stases. We differentiate this uncertain and indeterminate articulation from a disposition that already depends on representation, lends itself to phenomenological, spatial intuition, and gives rise to a geometry. ... Although the chora can be designated and regulated, it can never be definitively posited: as a result, one can situate the chora and, if necessary, lend it a topology, but one can never give it axiomatic form. The chora is not yet a position that represents something for someone (i.e., it is not a sign); nor is it a position that represents someone for another position (i.e., it is not yet a signifier either) ... Neither model nor copy, the chora precedes and underlies figuration and thus specularization, and is analogous only to vocal or kinetic rhythm. ... Though deprived

of unity, identity, or deity, the chora is nevertheless subject to a regulating process."
[Kristeva 1984:25-26]

Despite the many convergences, we differ from Kristeva on three major points: 1) Kristeva roots the chora in the individual body, in the form of drives understood as quantities of biological energy obeying thermodynamic laws of conservation ("discrete quantities of energy move through the body of the subject who is not yet constituted as such and, in the course of his development, they are arranged according to the various constraints imposed on this body," 25). This risks an essentialism we reject. The "body without an image" is not in bodies, but between them. We would take the body's constitutive interrelatedness so far as to say that a body exists outside of itself. Bodies do not have interactions; they are interactions, mobile sites of ever-changing interaction. The questions, Individual or Group?, Nature or Culture?, Biological or Technological?, are of little or no importance to us: the body is always both at once, always in different ways (it is the perpetual point of contact and interchange between these and any number of other "opposites"). In spite of our use of such terms as "flow-chart," we resist the thermodynamic model of the drives Kristeva inherits from Freud. We are more inclined to think of the body without an image as quantum rather than quantitative (see "Conclusion: First and Last Emperors," note 2). 2) We would omit the "yet" from "not yet a sign," "not yet a signifier." The body without an image as we conceive it is not pre- (-signifying, -symbolic). It strictly coincides with what it becomes. It may under certain circumstances, in certain cultures, at certain periods, become signifying. However, that is only one of its potentials. It is not "generated in order to attain this signifying position" [Kristeva 1984:26]. 3) We do not think of the body without an image as in any way a "totality" [1984:25]. We see it as ineradicably multiple (straddling levels of existence as well as bridging "individual" bodies). To say

that the body without an image "coincides with what it becomes" and that it becomes many things implies a fractured temporality and ontological self-divergence incompatible with any notion either of anteriority or of totality.

The closest philosophical kin of the "body without an image" is Deleuze and Guattari's "body without organs" [1983:9-15, 325-29; 1987:149-66, 506-508].

24. On the "exemplary" as logically distinct from the "general" and as ontologically prior to the "particular"--in other words as "singular" in a way that is not opposed to "multiple"--see Agamben [1990:passim]. See also Badiou [1989:85-92], and Gilles Deleuze [1990a:passim].

25. The relation of the named body without an image to politics is the same as the relation of what Deleuze and Guattari call "conceptual personages" to philosophy: "The conceptual personage is not the representative of the philosopher, to the contrary the philosopher is merely the envelop of his or her principal conceptual personage, as well as of all the others; it is they who are the intecessors, the true subject of philosophy. The conceptual personages are the 'heteronyms' of the philosopher, while the name of the philosopher is simply a pseudonym for the personages. I am no longer me, but an aptitude of thought to see itself and develop itself on a plane that crosses through me in several places. The conceptual personage has nothing to do with an abstract personification, a symbol, or an allegory--for it lives, it insists. The philosopher is the indiosyncrasy of his or her conceptual personages. It is the destiny of the philosopher to become his or her conceptual personage or personages, at the same time as these personages become other than what they have historically been." [Deleuze 1991: 62-63].

26. ""[The] obliteration of the qualitative in sensation through its arithmetical homogenization is a crucial part of modernization." [Crary 1990:147]

27. The word "human" is in quotation marks both because we do not assume that functions attached to humanoid bodies are necessarily "human" functions, and because we take issue with the prevailing "prosthesis" theory of technological change. New technologies materializing functions such as command and perception are not prostheses of "human" organs. They do not simply repeat "human" functions and replace the organs performing them. Every repetition is a translation: the functions performed alter by virtue of being implanted in a new materiality operating on a different level from the human and enabling different kinds of connections. "Human" organs are not rendered obsolete by technology; on the contrary, they are always reintegrated with it. The screen does not replace the eye; the eye watches the screen. The robot does not replace the hand; the hand repairs the robot. The relation is not one of supplanting but of supplementarity: technological innovation extracts functions from an existing stratum in order to add a stratum to existence. This brings a reconfiguration rather than an outright replacement of the stratum from which functions are extracted (at least at first; ultimate supplanting is indeed a possibility). In what follows, technologized functions will often be called exhuman functions in order to express this extractive-supplemental relation between the technological apparatus and the "human."

4

Conclusion
FIRST AND LAST EMPERORS

Endnotes

1. Quoted in Clifford [1986:103].

2. Force is less quantitative than quantum: quantitatively measurable, but only as part of a process involving qualitative transformation. In physics, quantum forces, by nature imperceptible and indeterminate (matter or energy?), are accessible only through qualitative changes registered by perceptual apparatuses operating on other levels (for example, quantum forces made accessible as sound in the form of Geiger counter clicks in the classic "two-slit" experiment). The process is bi-directional. The instruments used to probe quantum forces do not passively record them; they alter the reality they measure as they measure it. In other words, quantum forces are knowable only in "translation," if what is understood by that term is a form of nonlinear causality through which imperceptible material-energetic forces on the one hand, and perceptibly immaterial "human" events on the other (acts of knowledge production involving the registering of traces), mutually condition one another in a single, indivisible movement. It is no metaphor, and neither is it necessarily reductive, to apply the same principle to politics. "Things" on the political level, considered from the point of view of their potential transformations-recordings, exhibit an objective indeterminacy that also pertains, in a different mode, to "particles" on the quantum level. In other words, there is a physics proper to politics, and to no other level, and this physics, rather than "meaning," "subjectivity," "discourse," or "ideology," is the province of materialist political philosophy, understood as an epistemological apparatus for the "translation" of social-political forces into concepts. Force is non-self-coincident, differential, vectorial both in itself (matter-energy) and for knowledge (translation). The "flow-chart" we constructed in chapter 2 should be seen in this light, as a conceptual "translation" of "quantum" dynamisms (what we have called "desires" or "drives"). Our inquiry is not empirical: it is concerned more with movements of determination (forces) than with what they

determine (states of things). Empirical states of things are transitory stases of force: the determined object is simply a pause in a perpetual movement of determination that is itself objectively indeterminate. Our analysis jumps over states of things in order to construct concepts for the paradoxical forces from which they arise. It deducts states of things from their empirical coordinates in order to conceptualize the movements of determination--the potential--they express. Our "object" of study is on the order of the virtual: the potential enveloped in "things." That is why we took such pains in chapter 2 to distinguish the "flow-charts of desire" or "libidinal economies" we charted for the absolutist State and nomadism from actual formations as understood by history.

On the simultaneously quantitative and qualitative nature of force, see Deleuze, Nietzsche and Philosophy [1984:42-44]. For a model of pre-subjective, nondiscursive, quantum "will" (political effectivity), see Nietzsche, The Genealogy of Morals [1967:44-46].

3. On inorganic life, see Deleuze and Guattari [1987:411, 498-99]. Deleuze and Guattari call the vitalism embodied in a technological lineage a "machinic phylum" [1987:395, 404-15]. For an analysis of computer technology using the concept of the machinic phylum, see De Landa [1991].

4. On endocolonization, see Virilio [1976:51-64, 71, 100, 158, 161; 1983:95-99].

5. Deleuze and Guattari call this process "machinic enslavement" [1987:456-58].

6. The recently developed silicon neuron promises to carry the computer revolution into a post-digital age: "By combining neuro-physiological principles with silicon engineering, we have produced an analog integrated circuit with the functional characteristics of real nerve cells. ... [t]he basic circuits of the silicon neuron directly emulate biological behavior, rather than interpreting the biology in terms of

conventional digital or linear design principles. ... The silicon neurons will be used to build machines that interact with real-world events in the same way as biological nervous systems." [Mahowald and Douglas 1991:515, 518] "This physical model has noise, irregularities and nonlinearities like any real system, including the neurons in the nervous system. ... [It] also shows adaptation, an important property of biological neurons." [Andreou 1991:501] The apparatic implications of this kind of technology far outreach those of virtual reality technologies, as least as they presently exist. Virtual reality apparatuses encase the human in a machine environment, as opposed to letting machines loose in the human environment to participate alongside humans in their everyday activities. Real-world interactive machines would integrate themselves into human life--and at the same time integrate human life into themselves--rather than simply containing the human body in a separate machinic space. The difference is between a simulation, and a double becoming in which the machine becomes quasi-human at the same time as the human becomes machinic.

7. On the concept of "control," see Deleuze [1990b:229-247]. On the state as immanent regulatory mechanism of capitalized flows (as "model of realization" for the capitalist "axiomatic"), see Deleuze and Guattari [1987:448-73].

8. On the sign as a remainder of force marking a momentary cessation of becoming, see Gil [1985:20].