

such a universal yet disinterested sympathy for the players on one side against those on the other.”⁵² Revolution is insurrection once it has become an institutional process, a form of government, which Kant defines as public and we would call common.

Kant goes on to explain that revolution’s transformation of social being constitutes an innovation in history and points toward the future. “Owing to its universality, this mode of thinking demonstrates a character of the human race at large and all at once; owing to its disinterestedness, a moral character of humanity, at least in its predisposition, a character which not only permits people to hope for progress toward the better, but is already itself progress in so far as its capacity is sufficient for the present.”⁵³ Revolution, as a new form of government, is in fact, despite Kant’s confidence in progress, squeezed in the vise between past and future, leaving it very little room for maneuver. It constantly has to battle the pressures of the established constituted power and the accumulated social weight of the past. Think, for example, of the gothic façades of French and Catalan cathedrals desecrated by revolutionaries who have broken off the heads of saints and kings. Yes, we too are indignant at their destruction of precious cultural heritage, but we understand their attempt to destroy physically the symbols of a power that continues to haunt them. Often, even when revolutionaries think their actions are sufficient to launch us into the future, the past bursts through to reimpose itself. Tocqueville, for example, describes how the past sometimes surreptitiously insinuates itself and reappears in revolutionary futures, but that is not a law of history and the inevitable destiny of revolutions, as reactionaries often claim, but simply one possible outcome. We can share Kant’s faith in progress, then, when it is, first, posed not as a natural law but grounded in revolutionary struggle and, second, consolidated and reinforced in institutional form. Revolution’s creation of a new form of government holds off the past and opens toward the future.

6.3

GOVERNING THE REVOLUTION

A revolutionary law is a law whose object is to maintain the revolution and to accelerate or regulate its course.

—Condorcet, *On the Meaning of the Word Revolutionary*

The Problem of Transition

Too much of revolutionary thought does not even pose the problem of transition, paying attention only to the overture and neglecting all the acts of the drama that must follow. Defeating the ruling powers, destroying the ancien régime, smashing the state machine—even overthrowing capital, patriarchy, and white supremacy—is not enough. That might be sufficient, perhaps, if one were to believe that the formation of the multitude was already achieved, that we were all already somehow not only purified of the hierarchies and corruptions of contemporary society but also capable of managing the multiplicity of the common and cooperating with one another freely and equally—in short, that democratic society was already complete. If that were the case, then, yes, maybe the insurrectional event destroying the structures of power would be sufficient and the perfect human society already existing beneath the yoke of oppression would spontaneously flourish. But human nature as it is now is far from perfect. We are all entangled and complicit in the identities, hierarchies, and corruptions of the current forms of power. Revolution requires not merely emancipation, as we said earlier, but liberation; not just an event of destruction but also a long and sustained process of transformation, creating a new humanity. This is the prob-

lem of transition: how to extend the event of insurrection in a process of liberation and transformation.

Condorcet proclaims, and Hannah Arendt echoes him almost two hundred years later, that "the word 'revolutionary' applies only to revolutions that have freedom as their object."⁵⁴ We would extend this to say that revolutions must have democracy as their object and thus that the direction and content of revolutionary transition must be defined by the increase of the capacities for democracy of the multitude. People are not spontaneously, by nature, capable of cooperating with one another freely and together governing the common. W. E. B. Du Bois, for example, studying the promises, betrayals, and failures of Reconstruction after the U.S. Civil War, is keenly aware that emancipation alone is not sufficient. In addition to all the traps and subterfuges of the U.S. government and dispossessed Southern slaveholders, in addition to the color and class hierarchies created by Northern carpetbagger capitalists, Du Bois also focuses on the problem that even after the abolition of slavery the vast majority of the population, white and black alike, remains poor and ignorant, lacking the capacities for democracy. Emancipation is only the beginning.⁵⁵

In the annals of modern revolutionary thought Lenin provides the locus classicus for understanding the revolutionary transition. Lenin recognizes, as we noted earlier, that human nature as it is now is not capable of democracy. In their habits, routines, mentalities, and in the million capillary practices of everyday life, people are wedded to hierarchy, identity, segregation, and in general corrupt forms of the common. They are not yet able to rule themselves democratically without masters, leaders, and representatives. Lenin thus proposes a dialectical transition composed of two negations. First, a period of dictatorship must negate democracy in order to lead society and transform the population. Once a new humanity has been created, capable of ruling itself, then dictatorship will be negated and a new democracy achieved.⁵⁶ Lenin has the great merit of posing the problem clearly, but his dialectical solution is today widely and rightly discredited, not only because "transitional" dictatorships so

stubbornly hold on to power, resisting the dialectical inversion in democracy, but more important because the social structures of dictatorship do not foster the training in democracy necessary to make the multitude. On the contrary! Dictatorship teaches subservience. Democracy can be learned only by doing.

The problem of transition must be given a positive, nondialectical solution, leading toward democracy through democratic means. Our analysis in the previous section has already developed some elements for such a democratic transition. The insurrectional event, we explained, must be consolidated in an institutional process of transformation that develops the multitude's capacities for democratic decision making. Making the multitude is thus a project of democratic organizing aimed at democracy. Rather than counting on the boomerang effect of the dialectic to thrust the process at the final moment to the opposite end of the spectrum, this notion of transition delineates an asymptotic approach such that even if the movement never reaches a conclusion, the distance between transition and goal, between means and end becomes so infinitesimal that it ceases to matter. This process should not be confused with old reformist illusions that insist on gradual change and constantly defer revolution into the indefinite future. No; rupture with contemporary society and its ruling powers must be radical: as much as insurrection is swept up in the process of transition, transition must constantly renew the force of insurrection. Often in evaluating the state of the present society, in other words, the point is not to haggle over whether the glass is half empty or half full but to break the glass!

The process of transition, however, as we said, is not spontaneous. How can the transition be governed? What or who draws the political diagonal that guides the transition? The political line, after all, is not always straight and immediately obvious but moves diagonally through mysterious curves. These questions, though, throw us back into the dilemmas of vanguards, leadership, and representation. Revolutionary movements have repeatedly in history allowed the helm to be taken and the process steered by charismatic figures or leadership groups—the party, the junta, the council, the directorate, and so

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forth—who represent (to different degrees) the masses. And how many times have we heard the need for leadership as an argument to privilege one social group (with superior knowledge, consciousness, or position in the production process) over others in the revolutionary struggle, breaking the potential parallelism we spoke of earlier? Industrial workers have claimed to lead peasants, white workers to lead black workers, male workers to lead female workers, and so forth. Often the establishment of leadership has been accompanied by claims of the “autonomy of the political” with respect to the social, the economic, the private, or the merely cultural.⁵⁷

Our argument seems to have led us into an impasse. On the one hand, the process of transition is not spontaneous but must be guided according to a political diagonal. On the other hand, however, allowing any social identity or vanguard group or leader to take control of the process undermines the democratic function the transition must serve. There seems to be no path for the revolutionary process to walk between the danger of ineffectiveness and disorder on the one side and that of hierarchy and authority on the other.

The way out of the impasse is to bring the *political diagonal* back to the *biopolitical diagram*, that is, to ground it in an investigation of the capacities people already exercise in their daily lives and, specifically, in the processes of biopolitical production. In the terms we proposed earlier, this means to explore the technical composition of the productive multitude to discover its potential political composition. Here we get the political payoff of all our economic analyses in Parts 3 and 5. In the biopolitical context, as we saw, the production of ideas, images, codes, languages, knowledges, affects, and the like, through horizontal networks of communication and cooperation, tends toward the autonomous production of the common, which is to say, the production and reproduction of forms of life. And the production and reproduction of forms of life is a very precise definition of political action. This does not mean that the revolution has already begun and the problem of transition has been solved because, first, the autonomy of biopolitical production is only

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partial, since it is still directed and constrained under the command of capital; and second, these economic capacities are not immediately expressed as political capacities. It does mean, though, that in the common fabric of the biopolitical diagram rest latent, potential, chrysalis-like the capacities for the multitude to determine autonomously the political diagonal of the transition. Realizing this potential, by means of political action and organization, would mean carrying forward the parallel revolutionary struggles through the insurrectional event of intersection to an institutional process of managing the common.

Antonio Gramsci's notion of “passive revolution” and its limitations helps us understand how the relation between political diagonal and biopolitical diagram addresses the conundrum of the transition. As he does with many of his key concepts, Gramsci employs “passive revolution” in a variety of contexts with slightly different meanings, using multiple standpoints to give the concept greater amplitude. His first and primary usage is to contrast the passive transformation of bourgeois society in nineteenth-century Italy with the active revolutionary process of the bourgeoisie in France. Passive revolution, Gramsci explains, is a revolution without a revolution, that is, a transformation of the political and institutional structures without there emerging centrally a strong process for the production of subjectivity. The “facts” rather than social actors are the real protagonists. Second, Gramsci also applies the term “passive revolution” to the mutations of the structures of capitalist economic production that he recognizes primarily in the development of the U.S. factory system of the 1920s and 1930s. “Americanism” and “Fordism” name what Marx calls the passage from the “formal” to the “real subsumption” of labor within capital, that is, the construction of a properly capitalist society. This structural transformation of capital is passive in the sense that it evolves over an extended period and is not driven by a strong subject. After using “passive revolution” as a descriptive tool of historical analysis, regarding both the superstructural and structural changes of capitalist society, Gramsci seems to employ it, third, to suggest a path for struggle. How can we make

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 revolution in a society subsumed within capital? The only answer Gramsci can see is a relatively "passive" one, that is, a long march through the institutions of civil society.⁵⁸

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 Gramsci's various political proposals coalesce as a Leninist critique of Leninism. He is critical of Leninism in that he emphasizes not the "war of movement" but the "war of position," proposing, in other words, not the insurrectional blow against the ruling powers but an extended series of battles in the cultural and political spheres in the effort to wrest hegemony away from the bourgeoisie.⁵⁹ Gramsci's critique, however, remains Leninist. Passive revolution, for the nineteenth-century Italian bourgeoisie or the twentieth-century proletariat, is not superior to active revolution but merely an alternative when the primary avenue is not possible, when there is no active subject to lead the revolutionary process. All the core ideas of Gramsci's politics—including war of position, hegemony, and passive revolution—are aimed at inventing revolutionary activity for nonrevolutionary times, but this is oriented nonetheless toward the horizon of active revolution, when sometime in the future this becomes possible.

the main employment of the word Gramsci is ce suis?
 Gramsci is thus in many ways a prophet of the biopolitical diagram. He understands that the vanguard of industrial workers can no longer serve as the subject of an active proletarian revolution and, at least with respect to their "leadership" of the peasantry, questions the desirability of the worker vanguard. Gramsci also recognizes in Fordism that the subsumption of society under capital leads to a transformation of the technical composition of the proletariat, and he seems to intuit that eventually, within the biopolitical diagram, capitalist production will spill over the factory walls to invest the entire social sphere, breaking down the divisions between structure and superstructure, bringing culture and social relations directly into the realm of economic value and production. He even grasps that the new technical composition implies a new production of subjectivity: "In America rationalization has determined the need to elaborate a new type of man suited to the new type of work and productive process."⁶⁰ But Gramsci fails to foresee—and how could

he foresee it?—that with the development of the biopolitical diagram opens up the possibility of a new political diagonal. The making of the multitude and the composition and consolidation of its capacities for democratic decision making in revolutionary institutions is exactly the kind of production of subjectivity that Gramsci sees as necessary for an active rather than passive revolution. Such a return to the Leninist Gramsci on the biopolitical terrain allows us to bring together the seemingly divergent strands of his thought. We are not faced with an alternative—either insurrection or institutional struggle, either passive or active revolution. Instead revolution must simultaneously be both insurrection and institution, structural and superstructural transformation. This is the path of the "becoming-Prince" of the multitude.

Revolutionary Violence

This is the point in the discussion where inevitably someone asks, "Does revolution have to be violent?" Yes, it does, but not always in the ways you think. Revolution does not necessarily require bloodshed, but it does call for the use of force. The better question, then, is not if violence is necessary but what kind of violence. And, according to our analysis of the link between insurrection and institution, this question has to be considered separately in two different arenas: the struggle against the ruling powers and the making of the multitude.⁶¹

on the way to the church
 Force is required to gain freedom, in the first arena, because the ruling powers impose it. The Jewish slaves of Egypt would have happily left in peace with Moses, but Pharaoh wouldn't let them go without a fight; in general, rulers react violently when their power is threatened. Liberation requires a defensive struggle against the ruling powers and thus civil war, a prolonged battle between camps that divide society, but even war does not always call for lethal weapons and bloodshed. Gramsci distinguishes the different types of force and weapons appropriate to specific situations with the distinction we cited earlier between "war of movement" (typically armed insurrection, such as storming the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg or the

Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba) and “war of position” (which generally involves protracted, unarmed struggle in the cultural and political spheres). Gramsci has nothing in principle against armed struggle—and neither do we. The point is simply that arms are not always the best weapons. What is the best weapon against the ruling powers—guns, peaceful street demonstrations, exodus, media campaigns, labor strikes, transgressing gender norms, silence, irony, or many others—depends on the situation.

We know that the response “It depends on the situation” is not very satisfying. All we can do, though, is offer criteria for determining the best weapon in each situation. The first and most obvious criterion is, What weapons and strategy are most likely to be effective and win the struggle? Keep in mind that the one with the most firepower does not always win. In fact our estimation is that increasingly today a “disarmed multitude” is much more effective than an armed band and that exodus is more powerful than frontal assault. Exodus in this context often takes the form of sabotage, withdrawal from collaboration, countercultural practices, and generalized disobedience. Such practices are effective because biopower is always “subject” to the subjectivities it rules over. When they evacuate the terrain, they create vacuums that biopower cannot tolerate. The alterglobalization movements that flourished in the years around the turn of the millennium functioned largely in this way: creating breaks in the continuity of control and filling those vacuums with new cultural expressions and forms of life. Those movements have left behind, in fact, an arsenal of strategies of disobedience, new languages of democracy, and ethical practices (for peace, care for the environment, and so forth) that can eventually be picked up and re-deployed by new initiatives of rebellion.

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The second criterion is even more important: What weapons and what form of violence have the most beneficial effect on the multitude itself? Making war always involves a production of subjectivity, and often the most effective weapons against the enemy are the ones that have the most poisonous effects on those who wage the struggle. Thomas Jefferson seems to forget this second criterion

when he overzealously defends the violence of the French Revolution in 1793. “The liberty of the whole earth was depending on the issue of the contest,” he writes to William Short, “and was ever such a prize won with so little innocent blood? My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam & an Eve left in every country, & left free, it would be better than as it now is.”⁶² We certainly do not share the acceptance of mass bloodshed Jefferson expresses here—and Jefferson himself is clearly overstating the position for effect in this passage—but he also seems to neglect the need for revolutionary action to bolster the production of the common and aid the process of making the multitude. (We are not fond of the slogan “liberty or death,” but we have no sympathy for the notion of “liberty and death.”) Aside from the issue of mass bloodshed, then, the question is, What does Jefferson mean by Adam and Eve? If he is satisfied with a notion of bare life, returning humanity to some imagined original, natural, or base condition, then we oppose him. But perhaps, from a perspective closer to ours, Jefferson imagines Adam and Eve to mark the creation of a new humanity that results from a revolutionary process. In any case, in evaluating the weapons and forms of violence in revolutionary struggle, the question of effectiveness against the enemy should always be secondary to that of its effects on the multitude and the process of building its institutions.

This leads us directly to the second arena in which revolution requires the use of force: the field for making the multitude, engaging and resolving conflicts within it, leading the singularities that compose it to ever more beneficial relationships, but also overcoming the obstacles to the kinds of transformation required for liberation. The force of institutions fills this role in part. Louis de Saint-Just, writing like Jefferson in 1793, insists on the revolutionary function of institutions: “Terror can rid us of monarchy and aristocracy but what will deliver us from corruption? . . . Institutions.”⁶³ We have already cast in doubt the first part of Saint-Just’s remark, questioning the effectiveness and the desirability of armed struggle—let

alone terror—for the battle against the current ruling powers and their social hierarchies; but what interests us more is his affirmation, in the second part, of the force of institutions against corruption. Saint-Just admittedly may understand corruption as deviation from the line established by revolutionary leaders and the institution as a means of generating conformity, but we are tempted to proclaim the same slogan—institutions against corruption—with a very different meaning.

At various points in this book we have analyzed the corruption of the common in terms of both its destruction by means of the imposition of social hierarchies (through privatization, for example) and the perpetuation of negative forms of the common in institutions which decrease the powers of the multitude, block its production of subjectivity, and exacerbate its internal conflicts. Part of revolutionary activity, then, is the destruction of what we called earlier the institutions of the corrupt forms of the common, such as the family, the corporation, and the nation. The struggles against them will take place on multiple fronts, many of which we probably have not yet even imagined, and we can be certain that the battles, even without bloodshed, will be violent, ugly, and painful, testing us in unknown ways. Think of how violently those are punished who even in small ways threaten the corrupt institution of the family, in terms of reproductive rights, for example, or sexuality, kinship structures, the sexual division of labor, or patriarchal authority. This and other institutions that corrupt the common will not fall without intense, extended combat. Saint-Just makes clear, though, that the struggle involves not only destroying the corrupt institutions but also constructing new ones. New institutions are needed to combat corruption, as we have said, not by unifying society and creating conformity to social norms, but by facilitating the production of the beneficial forms of the common, keeping access to it open and equal, and aiding the joyful encounters of singularities that compose the multitude—and at the same time combating all obstacles that stand in its way. This is perhaps just a restatement in more concrete, practical terms of our earlier proposition that the training in love has

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The most terrifying violence confronting revolutionaries may be the monstrous self-transformation we find in the revolutionary streams of identity politics. The abolition of identity, leaving behind who you are, and constructing a new world without race, gender, class, sexuality, and the other identity coordinates is an extraordinarily violent process, not only because the ruling powers will fight every step of the way but also because it requires us to abandon some of our core identifications and become monsters. Even Saint-Just and his bloody colleagues could not imagine such terror!

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Constituent Governance

Revolution must be governed not only to guide and regulate its movements but also to establish the forces of constituent power as a new form of life, a new social being. We have discussed the role of novel institutional processes to compose and consolidate insurrection in the revolutionary procedure, both combating the ruling powers and their corruptions and establishing new collective habits and practices. We have also explored how in the biopolitical context forms of democratic decision making can generate the political diagonal that marks the path of transition. But that is not yet enough. All of this must be supported in a governmental, constitutional, and juridical framework. Here, though, our argument runs into another impasse because at numerous points in our analysis we have already explained that existing governmental forms and structures are obstacles to revolution. We have criticized in the name of democracy numerous propositions of revolutionary government: the notion of taking power in the sense of laying hold on the existing, ready-made state machinery of the bourgeoisie (to use Marx's phrase); the projects to create a "counterpower" that is homologous to the existing state structures; the mechanisms that close down the development of constituent power in the structures of a constituted power; and the dialectical notions of revolutionary transition that govern through some form of dictatorship. And yet we are fully aware that the revolutionary process is not spontaneous and must be governed. How can we invent a democratic form of rule adequate to the revolution-ary process? This would have to be democratic not in the false sense

that we are fed every day by politicians and the media, with their pretenses of representation, but in the active and autonomous self-rule of the multitude as a whole.

We find some help for overcoming this impasse in what may at first seem an unlikely source: the structures of governance that are emerging as the primary forms of rule within Empire. We argued in Part 4 that the contemporary global order does not take the form of a "world state" or even reproduce the governmental structures created in the context of the nation-state, but instead is increasingly characterized by emerging forms of governance that rule without relying on an overarching political authority to manage and regulate in an ad hoc and variable fashion. We traced the genealogy of the concept of governance, in part, to the structures of regulation, management, and accountability of capitalist corporations, and indeed the characteristics of corporate governance remain strongly present in the various deployments of governance in the imperial constitution. Global governance is "postdemocratic" in the sense that it shuns the representative structures that have in the past served to legitimate state power in favor of pluralistic forms of regulation controlled, often indirectly, by oligarchic forces, such as those of property. As a result, governance structures have the flexibility and fluidity constantly to adapt to changing circumstances. They do not need stability and regularity to rule, but instead are designed to manage crises and rule over exceptional conditions.

Those prone to oppositional habits of thought are likely to respond to this analysis of "governance without government" in Empire with proposals in the contrary direction: we need to oppose Empire, they might say, with the fixed juridical structures and regularized normative processes of government. We tend in general, however, toward subversive rather than oppositional responses. The governance mechanisms of Empire do have the merit, in fact, of interpreting the biopolitical context and registering the increasing autonomy of the networks of singularities, the overflowing and unmeasurable forms of value produced by the multitude, and the ever greater power of the common. Our inclination is to appropriate this

concept of governance, subvert its imperial vocation, and reformulate it as a concept of democracy and revolution.

We find some potential in the notion of federalism by which some theorists understand functions of global governance. In contrast to traditional models, such as those of the United States and Switzerland, for example, this federalism is not oriented toward state sovereignty but rather serves to articulate a wide variety of powers and mediate diverse political institutions with different and separate objectives. In the space between the nation-state and Empire, federalism constructs an array of diverse territorial mediations. The seeming multiplicity of federalism, however, quickly closes down, as its mechanisms of mediation merely seek to create a kind of nomadic state-form, reproducing forms of sovereignty and control.⁶⁴

Much more useful are the analyses of governance by legal theorists, especially a group of German legal theorists who build on Niklas Luhmann's systems theories, which emphasize two primary characteristics of global governance: one exceeding the limits of fixed legal systems and their normative structures, and another fragmenting legal systems because of conflicts in global society and colliding norms. The passage from government to governance is thus conceived in legal terms as the movement from a unitary and deductive normative structure to a pluralistic and plastic one. Governance gives up any vain attempt to bring unity to global legal systems (based on international law or consensus among nation-states) and tries instead to establish a network logic that can manage conflicts and achieve a normative compatibility among the fragments of global society. Governance conceived in this way does "rule over the exception," but in a way completely different than Carl Schmitt imagines when he famously uses that phrase to define sovereignty. The exception here is not a punctual event that demands a decision but is spread over time and throughout society. Since the society they regulate and manage is full of exceptions, the structures of governance always remain contingent and aleatory—floating structures, we could say, on the clashing waves of global society.⁶⁵

Some of the elements of governance, as conceived by these le-

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gal theorists, fit so closely with our analyses of biopolitical society that they could be seen as a summary of a string of passages in this book. Where they read fragmentation, we see a multiplicity of singularities; the overflowing they read in the relation between society and normative structures we recognize in the relation between labor and value; the network logic they read in the governance of exceptional normative situations we analyze in the cooperation of biopolitical production; and the social conflict they read as the basis for contingent legal frameworks we propose as the basis for the revolutionary notion of institution. Does this mean that these legal theorists are masked revolutionaries? No; in fact from our perspective they maintain a detached, skeptical, even cynical standpoint on the potential for social transformation. The proximity of their analyses of global governance to our analyses of the multitude, however, does identify the point on which the imperial notion of governance can be turned inside out, subverted, and transformed into a revolutionary concept. This is not an ideal operation of dialectical inversion but a practical, subversive path.

It should come as no surprise, in fact, that the structures of imperial governance so strongly correspond to the movements of the multitude. Governance is forced to register and represent, according to new diagrams, the juridical claims and political forces that the multitude expresses, like impressions of footprints in the sand. The struggles of the multitude are primary with respect to power, as we have insisted at various points in our analysis, in the sense that they are the locus of social innovation, whereas power can only react by attempting to capture or control their force.

A constituent governance that inverts the imperial form would have to present not simply a normative figure of rule, and not only a functional structure of social consensus and cooperation, but also an open and socially generalized schema for social experimentation and democratic innovation. This would be a constitutional system in which the "sources of law" and their means for legitimation are based solely on constituent power and democratic decision making. Just as insurrection has to become institutional, so too must revolu-

tion, in this way, become constitutional, building, through struggle after struggle, on successive levels that indefatigably overflow every systemic equilibrium, toward a democracy of the common.

Whereas revolt and insurrection may be episodic and short-lived, there is running throughout the revolutionary process something like a will to institution and constitution. We have in mind here as analogy the great Viennese art historian Alois Riegl's notion of *Kunstwollen*, which although difficult to translate can be rendered as "will to art." Riegl analyzes how, in another period of transition, late Roman art revolts against the ancient forms and establishes not only new techniques and a new "industry" but also new ways of seeing and experiencing the world. He conceives the late Roman *Kunstwollen* as the force governing this transformation of the plastic arts, the desire that articulates all the singular artistic expressions as a coherent institutional development, demonstrating not only the continuity but also the innovation of the process. The *Kunstwollen* accomplishes both the overcoming of the historical threshold and the organization of the exceeding, overflowing social forces in a coherent and lasting project.⁶⁶ A revolutionary process today will have to be governed by a *Rechtswollen*, that is, an institutional and constitutional will, which, in a parallel way, articulates the singularities of the multitude, along with its diverse instances of revolt and rebellion, in a powerful and lasting common process.