

"This essay was submitted as part of TNI's call for papers for its [State of Power 2015 report](#). The essay was not shortlisted for the final report and therefore TNI does not take responsibility for its contents. However the Editorial Board appreciated the essay and it is posted here as recommended reading."

State of Academia: Understanding Power and Counter-power

Raihan M. Sharif

Abstract: The academia within the Military-Industrial-Complex reinforces neoliberal capitalism and deters revolution in and through its promotion of inadequate forms of resistance. The politics of fear within the biopolitical management of life chances both disciplines people and empties out their capacity to engage with any radical social movement. As a reaction to this tragic dovetailing of their desire and scope to protest, people have to take recourse in and through fragmented resistance or micropolitics theorized by Scott, Certeau, Bhabha, Foucault and Deleuze. With the postmodern rejection of the grand narratives, the academia has participated in fetishizing fragmented resistance. But the present paper critiques these fetishized forms of resistance. It argues that the fragmented resistance recommends compromise with and adaptation to the manipulative system on the excuse of prioritizing survival. Also, the paper develops a spatiotemporal dialectic using which the WikiLeaks and new social movements can attempt for radical changes and revolution.

The incorporation of academia within the neoliberal capitalist project is often criticized as the project of the Military-Industrial-Academic-Complex (Chomsky, 1997; Robin, 2003; Giroux 2007). What Henry Giroux told about his stay in Pen State is still true about all universities: "[...] faculties were becoming irrelevant as an oppositional force. Many disappeared into discourses that threatened no one, some simply were too scared to raise critical issues in their classrooms for fear of being fired, and many simply no longer had the conviction to uphold the university as a democratic public sphere" (as cited in Hedges, 2009, p. 91). Giroux in the same interview was talking mainly about changes in the universities especially after 9/11. However, in general, the Military-Industrial-Academic-Complex since the 1990s has gone through a paradigm shift from the phase of the Cold War economy to the neoliberal capitalist one. The shift is *not* just from one of the bi-polar world politics to that of the unipolar one, it is more about intensification of biopolitical power¹ to discipline people while managing an uninterrupted flow of capital across spaces within the global capitalist economy.

Though numerous scholar, critics, and intellectuals like Henry Giroux, Noam Chomsky, Naomi Klein and others have already marked the incorporation of academia in both phases, an inside story of the participation of academia to the increasing de-radicalization of political imagination remains long overdue.

I would argue that one of the ways this de-radicalization occurs in and through the production and dissemination of certain theories that provide frames to define, influence and shape all possible discourses including those of activism and politics. In the era of interdisciplinarity in academia, we are going through the best of time and the worst of time: the neoliberal and biopolitical fascism in the name of democracy have been most severe than ever, but, at the same time, we also witness numerous uprisings and protests against this across the world. In this conjuncture, people finding new hope for revolution must reshape the role of academia so that a much required radical praxis for the revolution can at least emerge.

Therefore, it is important to understand how an increasing number of academic scholars, researchers and authors promote certain views of power and counter-power which recommend ceaseless adaptation to and compromise with the hegemonic systems in the form of micropolitics and identity politics. This is how the academia deters radical politics or transformative changes.

In this paper, I would present a case study to show how established concepts of power and counter-power within academia are inadequate to bring transformative changes. Also, I would foreground spatiotemporal dialectics as one of the means towards revolution.

Concepts of Power and Counter-power in academia

In the age of post-all theories, academia has moved from the structural to the poststructural discourses of power and counter-power. Instead of articulating any systematic and structured ways of mobilizing dissent, academia routinely foregrounds fragmented, partial, and sporadic attempts to combat power. Stigmatization of Marxist theories on the one hand, and the increasing fetishization of poststructuralism, on the other, has obviously inspired people to locate the operation of power and also the scope of resistance *everywhere*. I would argue how this *everywhere* eventually becomes *nowhere* since the logic of fragmented combat deprives people of any adequate forms of resistance. To offer a brief glimpse of the Foucauldian and Deleuzian concepts of power and counter-power within academia, I would state the following as much more established and common sense views:

- a. In an age of the intertwined complexities that emerge within the global capitalism, it is futile to single out particular persons, agents, or even multinational companies for the miseries of the common people.
- b. People should locate and combat power in bits and pieces not because these would gradually constitute larger momentum but because this is the only way of combating manipulative forces since any total resistance is conceptually futile. One way of combating power is using identity politics that demands rights within the existing system.

Overall, academia has found it convenient to replace the “totalizing” view of power and counter power of Karl Marx, for example, with the differential view of Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze. Though there is a difference between their views of power, both Foucault and Deleuze believe that power is embedded so intertwiningly that any particular nodal point of it is as significant as any other. Foucault, therefore, foregrounds

microphysics of power and Deleuze argues for molecular vestibules of power. Both of them, however, promote the micropolitics or the fragmented resistance as means of counter-power (Buchanan, 2008).

James C. Scott, Michael de Certeau and Homi K Bhabha also promote micropolitics in their respective projects. All forms of micropolitics, generally, recommend resistance in bits and pieces, not confronting larger structures of power: capitalism, imperialism, racism, patriarchy, etc. All forms of micropolitics fetishize the everyday struggle against the control of power.

Locating micropolitics or infrapolitics² in the theoretical legacy of counter-hegemonic struggle will open up a space for us to understand the nature and objective of micropolitics and also its relative strength and weakness. James C. Scott in his 1990-book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* introduced the idea of “infrapolitics”, an everyday form of resistance that falls short of openly declared contestations. Scott argues that the weak and oppressed of the society are not free to speak in the presence of power. These subordinate groups instead create a secret discourse—which Scott labels as “hidden script”—that represents a critique of power spoken behind the backs of the dominant against their continuous efforts—which is called “public script”—to foreground the superior-subordinate relations in which the subordinate appears to acquiesce willingly to the stated and unstated expectations of the dominant. A similar theory of everyday resistance is developed by Michael de Certeau in his 1988-book *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Certeau argues that the authority in and through some overpowering policies and actions—which he calls “strategies”—tries to control individuals who in turn applies “tactics”, innovative actions to defy, evade, and critique, if not permanently overthrow, the authority.

In the similar vein, Homi K. Bhabha in his 1994-book *The Location of Culture* offers concepts like sly civility and mimicry as counter-colonial tactics which are basically attempts to evade the systemic appropriation by transgressing the colonizer/colonized binary. To define mimicry Bhabha (1994) says:

[C]olonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference (p.122).

As Bhabha argues, colonial discourse wants the colonized to be extremely like the colonizer, but by no means identical. If there were an absolute equivalence between the two, then the ideologies justifying colonial rule would be unable to operate. The colonizer assumes that there is a structural non-equivalence, a split between superior and inferior which explains why any one group of people can dominate another at all. Bhabha intends to puncture the colonizers’ claim or assumption of superiority relying on the slippage of meaning through which the colonized achieves their agency. This sounds revolutionary only at the expense of dispossessing most of the colonized people. That is, Bhabha reduces the social to the semiotic and remains lavishly

indifferent to the capitalistic management of differences. He may call for constant becoming but does not consider that people don't have equal capabilities to pursue this constant becoming.

Politics bases on power and counter-power: micropolitics, identity politics and coalitional politics

The concepts of power and counter-power theorized by Foucault, Deleuze, Scott, Certeau, and Bhabha have gained academic legitimacy to influence later scholars who recycle and reproduce these concepts to make the horizon of radical political imagination much limited to the point of being ineffective. To exemplify different modes of micropolitics offered by some of these later scholars, I would discuss two texts as part of a case study to understand concepts of power and counter-power celebrated and reinforced within academia. The texts are *Racial Imperatives: Discipline, Performativity, and Struggles against Subjection* (2012) by Nadine Ehlers, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (2012) by Adria L Imada. There are other texts like *Native Americans and the Christian Right: The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances* (2008) by Andrea Smith who promotes coalitional politics which—I would argue—needs to follow the dialectic between the micropolitics and the macropolitics which I would explain how.

Nadine Ehlers, in her book *Racial Imperatives* (2012), uses Michel Foucault's theory of power and Judith Butler's account of performativity to understand how individuals become raced subjects. Ehlers excavates the 1925 "racial fraud" case of *Rhineland V. Rhineland*. The case takes us to New York in the early twentieth century. Leonard charged his wife Alice with fraud accusing her of having lured him to wed by concealing her colored identity. The jury after going through the ritual of examining her body—which was stripped naked and paraded—gave the verdict in favor of Alice: she was unmistakably black. Leonard, in effect, was found to be "aberrant and deserving of legal and extra-legal reprimand" (3). For the jury, Leonard defied racial expectations, especially the imperative to maintain white racial purity. For Ehlers, both Leonard and Alice appear as subversive as none of them cared to conform to the expectations of respective racial passing. Alice took shelter in a liminal space, in ambiguity, in indeterminacy in which she is not conforming to the either/or kind of binary positioning along the racial line. By transgressing the border, she is affirming her positioning in a third space. She thus formulates a new potential for racial agency. Ehlers celebrates it as a transformative gesture.

To make this claim convincing, Ehlers goes for a Foucauldian back up, this time in the theory of power. Foucault's phenomenal claim that power has a capillary movement, that power does not have any center, and that it is moving and relational is emphasized by Ehlers (2012) rigorously and she follows this direction only to foreground another Foucauldian claim that power is not absolute and resistance is immanent in each relation of power:

[p]recisely because power is not owned but exercised or deployed from multiple and contesting sites, and because of its contingency (it is reliant on bodies, locations, specific institutions, discursive avenues), the very exercise of power

always (and necessarily) produces unintended effects. That subject are immanent within power networks, and transmit power, means that they can and do effect resistances that work to reverse, displace, contest, and revise the objectives of power (p.110).

Excavating the potential for resistance from the Foucauldian archive, Ehlers (2012) connects it to Butlers' notion of the subject as a site of ambivalence as Butler argued that power at once acts on the subject and is acted by the subject:

Formed in power, the subject enacts the requirement of power. It is these requirements that constitute the subject, but the reenactment of this power operate in such a way as to conceal the prior the working of power. The subject appears, then, as if they were the origin of power, for these are seen as the subject's own power (p. 111).

The next step, which is a kind of mitochondria, the powerhouse of the entire effort—to foreground Alice's agency as revolutionary—is Butler's claim that in the recitation or continuous repetition of the performative, the very potential of agency looms large: "[a]gency is to be found in the possibilities opened up in and by the constrained appropriation of the regulatory law, by the materialization of that law" (p.111).

Here both Ehlers and Butler are investing in the Certeauvian escape route of agency—which is also argued for by James Scott and Homi K Bhabha in their respective projects as they suggest appropriating the fissures, gaps and inconsistencies within the strategic control of any socio-economic and political dominance called hegemony. Ehlers fails to notice that the biggest problem with Alice's agency is that it segregates itself from the social or the collective.

Adria L. Imada's investment in the infrapolitics—in her book *Aloha America* (2012)—is not as circuitous as in Ehlers. Imada shows how the hula circuits help developing an "imagined fantasy", a powerful imaginary that enables Americans to possess Hawaii physically, erotically, and symbolically. Imada's second objective in her project is showing how the touring hula performances in the US incorporated veiled critique of US expansionism into their productions. While exposing the nature of this critique performed by the hula circuit, Imada uses the infrapolitics (Scott) and the tactics (Certeau) as frames.

The veiled critique of US imperialism accomplished by the hula circuit appears in many forms. One of them is "kaona", a hidden meaning embedded in the poetry the hula girls recite that often serves a counter-colonial archive of collective Hawaiian memory, preserving pre-conquest histories, epistemologies, and ontologies. Imada takes this hidden meaning or kaona as reproduction of Scott's "hidden scripts". But "kaona", the hidden meaning, whether in poetry or performances, remains hidden and unintelligible to the audience. In fact, it fails to transfer dissent, if any, from the hula circuit performers to the larger community of people, especially the people who knows nothing about the historical legacy of hula. As a result, the "kaona" remains eventually encrypted and

unintelligible beyond the special performers. This brings back the metaphor of a blind-alley indicating the encapsulated nature of this mode of resistance.

Understanding Problems of Micropolitics: Toward a dialectical Praxis

The critique of fragmented resistance can lead us to a dialectical reconceptualization of the relations between the micropolitics and the macropolitics. One approach towards this dialectic can be examined using a spatiotemporal lens. In an essay titled “The Dialectics of Spacetime”, David Harvey (2008) proposed two dimensions of the spatiotemporal dialectic: the first one consists of three definitions of space and time: absolute, relative and relational. The second dimension, which he borrows from Lefebvre, consists of another three different definitions: experienced, conceptualized, and lived. I will briefly explain them:

- (a) Absolute: Absolute space refers to the realm of fixed and measurable place. Absolute time is also fixed, measurable and linear. No two objects or persons can be exactly at the same space at any given time and that is how absolute space and time are “socially exclusionary” (Harvey, 2008, p. 99).
- (b) Relative: Whereas absolute space and time are all about the realm of fixity, stasis, and determination, relative spacetime is “the spaces of *process and motion*” (Harvey, 2008, p. 100, emphasis original). Space, in the realm of relative, cannot be perceived in isolation from time. Harvey thus refers to this as space-time. In this level, the boundary of absolute space and time conforms to the logic of indeterminacy and relativity. The concept of absolute time and place gets replaced by the idea of relative time and space. Individualist identity becomes relative and multiple identities.
- (c) Relational: In this realm, “space and time are internalized within matter and process” (Harvey, 2008, p. 101). Space and time, in this realm, are not only simply correlational or simultaneous but also integrated and fused. Harvey wants to indicate this difference when he writes off relative “space-time” and relational “spacetime” differently.

To get an insight into this “inadequate understanding”, it would be immensely useful to outline Lefebvre’s phenomenological access to the three dimensions of the production of space with the concepts of the perceived, the conceived, and the lived:

- a) Perceived space: space has a perceivable aspect that can be grasped by the senses. This perception constitutes an integral component of every social practice. It comprises everything that presents itself to the senses; not only seeing but hearing, smelling, touching, tasting. This sensuously perceptible aspect of space directly relates to the materiality of the “elements” that constitute “space.”
- b) Conceived space: space cannot be perceived as such without having been conceived in thought previously. Bringing together the elements to form a “whole”, that is, Lefebvre’s theory of the production of space presumes an act of thought that is linked to the production of knowledge.

- c) Lived space: the third dimension of the production of space is the lived experience of space. This dimension denotes the world as it is experienced by human beings in the practice of their everyday life.

Interestingly, Certeau's tactic emerges from his attempt for theorizing the everyday struggle within a given society. But he does not consider the trinity above which is at once individual and social: it is not only constitutive for the self-production of man but for the self-production of society. So, I argue for a spatializing of tactics: a radical reconceptualization of fragmented resistance along the line of counter-hegemonic struggles as exemplified in the function of (a) the WikiLeaks (b) the Zapatista Movement.

First, I would like to show how the infrapolitics—however self-celebratory it is—tends to be merely hurling a few stones—verbal or otherwise—of protest, gestures not even necessarily meant to elicit a direct response, over the thick wall said to separate the populace from the politicians. The proponents of such gestures claim that the postmodern infatuation of mere symbolism of the performance will suffice. But the politically empty nature of the infrapolitics can be shown using the insights of the theory of space by Lefebvre. As Certeau (1984) argues,

tactics are procedures that gain validity in relation to the pertinence they lend to time—to the circumstances which the precise instant of an intervention transforms into a favorable situation, to the rapidity of the movements that change the organization of a space, to the relations among successive moments in an action, to the possible intersections of durations and heterogeneous rhythms, etc. (p. 38).

But, in this definition, transformation of a strategic arrangement into a “favorable situation” is no transformation at all as it is too much dependent on two things: uncertain wait for a fissure in the spatial configuration of a system and the innovative use of the imagination by an individual who would be applying the tactic. Furthermore, a successful application of the tactic may offer a temporary escape route, or a short-term relief but one cannot expect any qualitative change in the system against which one is set to fight in the first place. This is more of a harmful regress than simply limitation. However, spatialization of it can make it effective.

The WikiLeaks

To manifest the spatialization of the infrapolitics, I would like to argue that the WikiLeaks has created windows for the “surplus of the lived space” (Lefebvre) to “see” and develop a concrete understanding of the “remainder of the hegemony” (Gramsci) on which the appropriating system, i.e., the state, the society, etc. heavily relies on. The following diagram helps to clarify the argument:

Chaos/Order = Hegemony

Figure1.1: The Production of Space

The concept “surplus of the lived space” is developed by Lefebvre to refer to the realm of the inexpressible, the remainder, and the ineffable which cannot be exhausted to the theoretical analysis. The “surplus” has a particular spatio-temporal relationship with the dialectic of the perceived-conceived-lived space but the common people identify it as a temporal sequence, a resultant of the reflection on the dialectic as if the surplus comes after reflection. But the surplus is a constant or interactive aspect of the triad. Lefebvre argues that the surplus can be perceived by all but can only be communicated in and through the artistic expressions.

I would add that this surplus is a constant prey to the remainder of the hegemony (see figure 1.1). The surplus is made victim to the constant attempts on the part of the hegemonic forces to renew, energize, and reinforce the manufacturing of the consent. The hegemonic forces (mis)guide the surplus in the sense that they make sure that the surplus does not become threatening for, let alone antagonistic or hostile to those forces. In order to (mis)guide and (mis)appropriate this surplus, the hegemonic forces continuously attempt for a constant renewal of consent from the mass. This trend is called the remainder of the hegemony (Gramsci).

The WikiLeaks opens windows for all to see concretely the (mis)guidance aspect of hegemony. “They know it but they are doing it anyway” (Zizek) becomes undeniable to even to the hegemonic forces themselves. This new and concrete knowing dishevels the textures of the hegemony and accelerates the move from the “war of position” towards the “war of movement”, as Gramsci would like to say. The WikiLeaks as Julian Assange says cannot do the revolution for people; it can inspire one. So, the function of the WikiLeaks can be shown in the following diagram:

W W

Remainder of
Hegemony

M

Figure 1.2: The Function of the WikiLeaks

The “W” stands for the WikiLeaks and the upper arrow shows a one way direction from the “lived space” towards the “remainder of the hegemony”: how the WikiLeaks conveys the hegemony to the surplus of the lived space. The letter “M” above the second arrow means social movement while the arrow itself indicates a double way process indicating that mere understanding will not be enough; people should initiate counter-hegemonic struggles.

The world requires the involvement of the masses and spatial infrapolitics beautifully embraces this spirit of involvement. Assange’s interpretation of the function of the WikiLeaks reflects this theoretical frame. He believes that the WikiLeaks unveils the pretentious claims of the liberal ideologues by creating a situation which they are unable to deny (Brevini et al., 2013, p. 266). This is what I would like to call the *move* of the surplus of the lived space towards the remainder of the hegemony.

The Zapatista Movement

I argue that the Zapatista Movement is based on the spatiotemporal dialectic. The Zapatistas reject the fetishization of the identity politics. They don’t believe that their struggle has to confine itself within the local or the absolute to achieve integrity of the cause. Zapatista Major Ana Maria in her speech in 1995 states:

Behinds us are the we that are you. Behind our balaclavas is the face of all excluded women. Of all the forgotten indigenous people. Of all the persecuted homosexuals. Of all the despised youth. Of all the beaten migrants. Of all those imprisoned for their word and thought. Of all the humiliated workers. Of all those who have died from being forgotten. Of all the simple and ordinary women who do not count, who are not seen, who are not named, who have no tomorrow (Quoted in Holloway: 189).

Only people having real problems with going beyond thinking in categories will argue that this all-inclusiveness is just abstract and hence useless. However, the dialectic of absolute, the relative and relational can be perceived in their adoption of local customs and addressing local events (absolute), but they don’t remain indifferent to relations between their struggle and those of others around the world (both relative and relational).

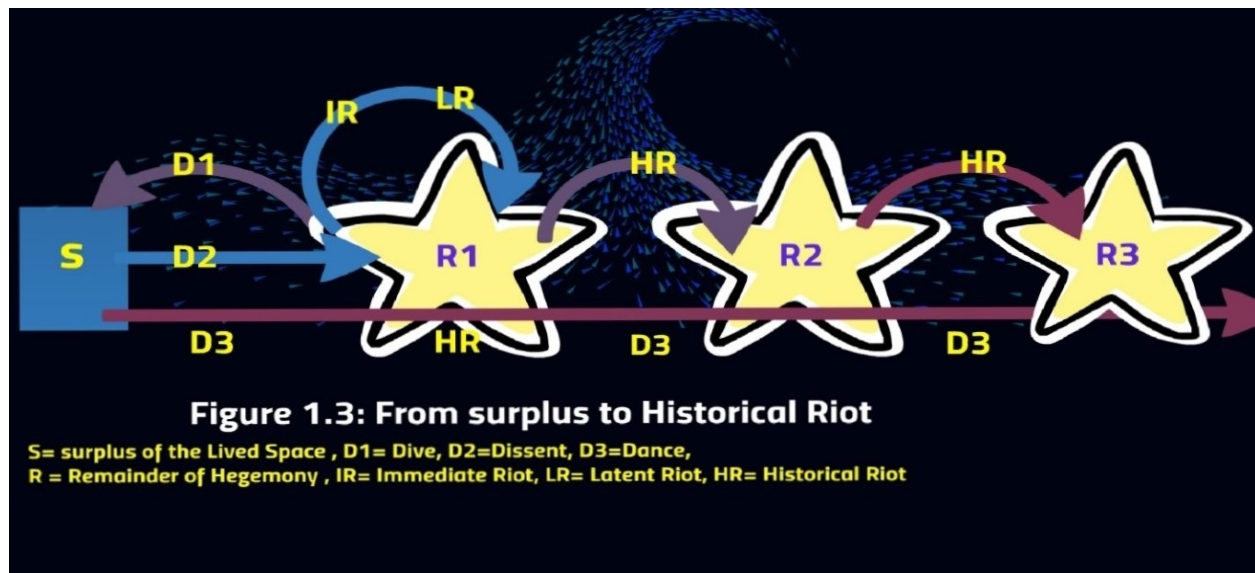
An exhaustive evaluation of the success and failure of the Zapatista Movement or other spatialized movements is simply beyond the scope of this discussion. I rather place them as a theoretical possibility towards which identify politics, infrapolitics and micropolitics should move forward.

Praxis towards Revolution: the jigsaw puzzle matched

A much more direct source for the spatiotemporal dialectic for transformative changes can be found from Alain Badiou as he explains different phases of uprisings in *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings* (2012). Badiou marks the uprisings in the 21st century as riots (immediate, latent, and historical). I would argue that Badiou's historical riot can only occur within Harvey's dialectical tension between the absolute space, relative space and the relational space. Immediate riot occurs in the absolute space (Harvey) as Badiou (2012) states:

"[...] an immediate riot is located in the territory of those who take part in it. [...] An immediate riot, stagnating in its own social space, is not a powerful subjective trajectory. [...] That is not to say that an immediate riot stops at one particular site. [...] [a]n immediate riot spreads not by displacement, but by imitation (p. 23-24).

Spreading of immediate riot towards other cities simply cannot contribute to "qualitative extension" (p. 34) to bring forth the historical riot. Latent riot is also limited in demanding qualitative changes. Consequentially, both latent and immediate riot do not go beyond the absolute and the relative spaces whereas historical riot can occur only within the spatiotemporal dialectic that consists of the absolute, the relative, and the relational. The entire process can be shown in the flow chart below:



The flow chart above (figure 1.3) shows how the project of spatialized micropolitics considers revolution as a process. It is an extension of figure 1.1 and 1.2 to explain how the surplus of the lived space can follow different paths occurring dive, dissent, and dance explained earlier. Whereas immediate and latent riots are manifestation of dissent, it requires historical riot to make radical transformation of a given system. R1, R2, and R3 stand for the remainder of hegemony in an existing system.

It is obvious that Badiou would have accepted the Marxian dialectic. Badiou analyses contemporary uprisings in historicist and materialist terms. He even considers these uprising as a repetition of history with a demand for more qualitative changes. For him, the global popular rising “naturally resembles the first working class insurrections of the nineteenth century” (Badiou, 2012, p. 5). Finally, the dialectic of social movements for Badiou, as explained above, is more like the dialectic of Harvey than of Marx.

Precisely, I argue that all forms of micropolitics are individualistic or hyper-personalized. As individualistic, they remain trapped within the level of personal anguish of the “lived space” (Lefebvre). Though it is often argued that the personal anguish has a subversive potential, but that subversive potential—within the scope of micropolitics at least—often gets appropriated by the “remainder of hegemony” (Gramsci). Different micropolitics at best remain “mechanistically” collective which is problematic: it decidedly remains within a kind of horizontal affinity building effort, not ambitious enough to cross boundaries of class, group, caste, and other intersectional vectors. Consequentially, it replicates the logic and danger of division of labor embedded in the capitalist mode of production. These two allegations also apply for identity politics. The “collective” in the micropolitics is bereft of any organic orchestration of agency as this sort of collective doesn’t emerge or evolve from any urge to move towards the “dance” of dialectic (Harvey) which has immense potential of attacking and transforming the system of manipulation itself instead of provoking a friendly compromise with it.

I believe a pattern of different modes of resistance can be marked if we build on Harvey’s understanding of the dialectic between absolute space, relative space, and relational space. Within the neoliberal capitalistic management of differences, individuals as “vulnerable constructs of biopower” are encouraged to compromise with all forms of systemic manipulation. This is the only mode of survival and progress offered by neoliberal capitalistic forces. We can call it “dive” into the system.

The micropolitical collective agency, in contrast, remains in the level of “dissent” towards the systemic manipulation but hesitant and incapable of radically challenge, attack, and transform the system itself. The urge to *transform* as opposed to *survive through compromise*, according to Harvey, can be felt only with an understanding of the *dance of the dialectic* which in turn is based on the understanding of the dialectic between *absolute space, relative space and relational space*.

Conclusion

In American Studies, Women Studies, Queer studies, and other interdisciplinary liberal studies, the intersectional analysis or research is highly acclaimed and practiced by academics and researchers in these fields. The intersectional analysis shows us how helpful it is to employ multiple vectors: race, class, sex, gender, ability, and so on to understand the complicated and intertwined forms of oppression reinforced by intricate power differentials. Ironically, regarding resistance the same spirit of intersectionality is lost as they recommend micropolitics or fragmented modes of resistance.

Noticeably, these programs in universities have been established in the spirit of the Civil Rights Movement which was, in fact, mobilized through identity politics. Whatever the success the Civil Rights Movement and its useful tool identity politics can actually claim

for, I would argue that the interdisciplinary studies should have gone through a paradigm shift in conceptualizing resistance to the interlocked system of oppression consists of capitalism, imperialism, racism, and patriarchy.

Finally, within the double play of the neoliberal and biopolitical forms of aggression, a vision of spatialized identity politics should be encouraged which should be both simultaneously multiple issue based and intersectional instead of single issue based identity politics only. But the single issue based identity politics is not only inadequate but complicit within the manipulative forces of capitalism, imperialism, sexism, classism, and so on. It is complicit because it keeps open the potential to get appropriated by the reminded of hegemony (Gramsci). The misperception, however, remains unquestioned and unchallenged due to two reasons: (a) stigmatization of Marx and his vision of totality for meaningful changes in the society and (b) an inadequate understanding of the spatiotemporal configuration of social reality.

To attack and disintegrate the Military-Industrial-Academic-Complex with its recommended modes of fragmented resistance, we must initiate a war against the depoliticization of theories in the age of fetishizing difference and “war on terror” so that we can approach spatiotemporal dialectic for all social movements.

End Notes

1 Foucault uses the term to explain that form of power which controls bodies of subjects and the entire population through controlling the biological aspects: living, reproduction, mortality, health, etc.

2 The terms “micropolitics” and “infrapolitics” have been used interchangeably following the scope and meaning of them as used by Scott, Certeau, Foucault, and Deleuze.

Bio:

Raihan M Sharif is an Assistant Professor (on leave) in the Department of English at Jahangirnagar University. He completed MA in English in 2005 and also did second MA in American Studies in 2013 at Washington State University. He is a former Fulbright Scholar (from 2011 to 2013) at Washington State University. He will be defending his PhD in Critical, Culture, Gender, and Race Studies at Washington State University in spring 2015.

His scholarly works attempt for a critical intervention into fetishizing the politics of differences and its complicity within the neoliberal biopolitical mismanagement of life chances across space and time. He also analyzes social movements and theorizes approaches towards radical political imagination in “the age of post-socialism”.

His research and/or teaching interests include but are not limited to the following: social justice, critical pedagogy, political economy of neoliberal multiculturalism, globalization and empire, postcolonial studies, transnational feminism, labor and citizenship studies, political movement analysis, cultural studies, media and representational politics, gender and sexuality, queer theory, literary and critical theories.

He has published papers in different peer-reviewed journals and presented his work in many academic conferences.

References

- Badiou, A., & Elliott, G. (2012). *The Rebirth of History*. London: Verso.
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Brevini, B., Hintz, A., & McCurdy, P. (Eds.). (2013). *Beyond WikiLeaks: Implications for the Future of Communications, Journalism and Society*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Buchanan, I. (2008). *Deleuze and politics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Certeau, M. (1998). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1997). *The Cold War & the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years*. New York: New Press.
- Ehlers, N. (2012). *Racial Imperatives: Discipline, Performativity, and Struggles against Subjection*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Giroux, H. (2007). *The University in Chains: Confronting the Military-industrial-Academic Complex*. Boulder: Paradigm.
- Harvey, D. (2008). The Dialectics of Spacetime. In Ollman B. and Smith T. (Ed.), *Dialectics for the New Century* (pp. 99-117). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Print.
- Hedges, C. (2009). *Empire of Illusion: The End of Literacy and the Triumph of Spectacle*. New York: Nation.
- Imada, A. (2012). *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Robin, T. (2003). *The Making of the Cold War Enemy Culture and Politics in the Military-intellectual Complex*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Scott, J. (1990). *Domination and the Art of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Smith, A. (2008). *Native Americans and the Christian Right: The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances*. Durham: Duke University Press.

