

sought in racial duality and the war between races. On this basis, and through the intermediary of the works of Augustin and Amédée Thierry, two types of historical interpretation developed in the nineteenth century: one will be articulated with the class struggle, and the other with a biological confrontation.

SITUATING THE LECTURES

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THESE LECTURES WERE DELIVERED between 7 January and 17 March 1976, or between the publication of *Surveiller et punir* (February 1975) and *La Volonté de savoir* (October 1976), and they occupy a specific, one might say strategic, position in Foucault's thought and research. They mark a sort of pause, a momentary halt and no doubt a turning point, in which he evaluates the road that he has traveled and outlines future lines of investigation.

Foucault's course of lectures on "Society Must Be Defended" opens with a sort of survey or summary of the general features of "disciplinary" power—a power that is applied to individual bodies by techniques of surveillance, normalizing sanctions, and the panoptic organization of punitive institutions—and ends with an outline presentation of what he calls "biopower"—a power that is applied in general ways to the population, life, and living beings. In an attempt to establish a "genealogy" for this power, Foucault subsequently investigated "governmentality," or the power that has, since the late sixteenth century, been exercised through the apparatuses and technologies of reason of State and "policing." The question of dis-

ciplines was discussed in the lectures of 1972-1973 ("The Punitive Society"), 1973-1974 ("Psychiatric Power"), and 1974-1975 ("The Abnormals"), and in the book *Discipline and Punish*; governmentality and biopower are discussed in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (December 1976), and then in the lectures of 1977-1978 ("Security, Territory, and Population") and 1978-1979 ("Birth of Biopolitics") and in the first lecture of the 1979-1980 course ("Of the Government of the Living").

As the question of the two powers, their specificity, and their articulation is central to these lectures—as is that of war as “analyzer” of power relations and that of the birth of the historico-political discourse of race struggle—it seems appropriate to attempt to “situate” them by evoking a number of points which, in our view, have given rise to misunderstandings, errors, false interpretations, and sometimes falsifications. They relate on the one hand to the birth of Foucault’s problematic of power, and on the other to the workings of apparatuses and technologies of power in liberal societies and in totalitarianisms, to the “dialogue” with Marx and Freud about processes of production and sexuality, and, finally, to the question of resistance. We will try to deal with these points by using direct quotations, most of them taken from the texts collected in *Dits et écrits*. It should, however, be stressed that the full dossier on the question of power will not be available until the lectures have been published in full, and that we will have to wait until then before we can attempt to give a definitive account.

Foucault never devoted a book to power. He outlined a general theory of power on a number of occasions; he tirelessly explained himself; and he was not stinting when it came to corrections and clarifications. He tended, rather, to study the workings, the effects and the “how” of power in the many historical analyses he made of asylums, madness, medicine, prisons, sexuality, and “policing.” The question of power runs through all these analyses, is an integral part of them, is imminent within them, and is therefore indissociable from them. Since the problematic was enriched both by the pressure of events and by its own internal development, it would be futile to try

at all cost to make it part of a coherent whole or an unbroken linear continuity. It was, rather, a constant process of reworking. It is typical of Foucault’s approach that until the end of his life, he constantly “reread,” resituated, and reinterpreted his early work in the light of his later work and, so to speak, constantly updated it. That is why he always denied having tried to formulate a “general theory” of power, even though it was certainly claimed that that was what he was trying to do with, for example, panopticism. Speaking of truth/power and power/knowledge relations in 1977, he said: “[I]t is difficult to grasp this stratum of objects, or rather this stratum of relations; and as we have no general theory to apprehend them, I am, if you like, a blind empiricist or in other words, I am in the worst of all situations. I have no general theory and I have no reliable instruments.” He also remarked in 1977 that the question of power “began to be raised in its nudity” in about 1955, and against the backdrop of “two gigantic shadows,” of the “two black heritages” that fascism and Stalinism represented for him and his generation. “The nonanalysis of fascism is one of the most important political facts of the last thirty years.”² If, he said, the nineteenth century’s question had been that of poverty, the question raised by fascism and Stalinism was that of power: “too little wealth” on the one hand, and “too much power” on the other.³ In the 1930s, Trotskyist circles began to analyze the phenomenon of bureaucracy and the bureaucratization of the Party. The question of power was taken up again in the 1950s, in connection with the “black heritages” of fascism and Stalinism, and it is at this point that we begin to see a divergence between the old theory of wealth, which was born of the “scandal” of poverty, and the problematic of power. These were the years of the Khrushchev report, of the beginnings of “de-Stalinization,” and of the Algerian war.

Power relations, phenomena of domination, and practices of subjugation are not specific to “totalitarianisms”; they also exist in the societies we describe as “democratic,” or those that Foucault studied in his historical analyses. What is the relationship between a totalitarian society and a democratic society? What are the similarities and differences between their political rationalities, and the use they make

of the technologies and apparatuses of power? Speaking of the relationship between the two, Foucault remarked in 1978: "Western societies, which are in general the industrial and developed societies of the late nineteenth century, are societies that are haunted by this secret fear, or even by quite explicitly rebellious movements that call into question that sort of overproduction of power that Stalinism and fascisms no doubt demonstrate in a naked, monstrous fashion." And slightly earlier in the same lecture: "Of course fascism and Stalinism were both responses to a precise and very specific situation. Of course fascism and Stalinism expanded their effects to hitherto unknown dimensions, and it is, if not to be rationally expected, at least to be hoped, that we will never see their like again. They are therefore unique phenomena, but it cannot be denied that, in many respects, fascism and Stalinism simply extended a whole series of mechanisms that already existed in the social and political systems of the West. After all, the organization of great parties, the development of political apparatuses, and the existence of techniques of repression such as labor camps, all that is quite clearly the heritage of liberal Western societies, and all Stalinism and fascism had to do was to stoop down and pick it up."⁴

There would therefore appear to be a very strange kinship between "liberal societies" and totalitarian States, or between the normal and the pathological, and sooner or later it must be investigated. Speaking in 1982 of the twin "diseases" of power, of the two "fevers" known as fascism and Stalinism, Foucault wrote: "One of the numerous reasons why they are, for us, so puzzling, is that in spite of their historical uniqueness they are not quite original. They used and extended mechanisms already present in most other societies. More than that: in spite of their own internal madness, they used to a large extent the ideas and devices of our political rationality."⁵ A transfer and extension of technology; all that is missing is the madness and the monstrosity. There is also a "continuity" between fascism and Stalinism at the level of the biopolitics of the exclusion and extermination of the politically dangerous and the ethnically impure—the biopolitics established as early as the eighteenth century by medical policing and

then taken over in the nineteenth by social Darwinism, eugenics, and medico-legal theories of heredity, degeneracy, and race. The reader is referred to the remarks made by Foucault in the last (17 March) lecture in the *Society Must Be Defended* series. After all, one of the objectives, if not the essential objective, of this course of lectures is to analyze the way fascism in particular (but also Stalinism) could make use of racial biopolitics in the "government of the living" by stressing the importance of racial purity and ideological orthodoxy.

When it comes to relations between power and political economy, Foucault maintained a sort of "uninterrupted dialogue" with Marx. Marx was in fact not unaware of the question of power and its disciplines: one has only to look at the analyses of "The Working Day," "The Division of Labor and Manufacture," and "Machinery and Large-Scale Industry" in the first volume of *Capital* and of "The Process of Circulation of Capital" in volume 2.⁶ But in Marx, relations of domination in the factory appear to be established solely by the play and the effects of the "antagonistic" relations between capital and labor. For Foucault, in contrast, that relationship is possible only because of the subjugations, training, and surveillance that have already been produced and administered by disciplines. In this connection, he remarks: "When, because of the division of labor, there was a need for people who were capable of doing this or of doing that, and when there was a fear that popular resistance movements, inertia, or rebellion might upset the entire capitalist order that was being born, every individual had to be under a precise and concrete surveillance, and I think that the medicalization I was talking about is bound up with this." It was therefore not the "capitalist" bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century that invented and imposed relations of domination; it inherited them from the disciplinary mechanisms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and simply had to use them, to modify them by intensifying some and attenuating others. "All these power relations do not, therefore, emanate from a single source; it is the overall effect of a tangle of power relations that allows one class or group to dominate another."⁸ "Basically," wrote Foucault in 1978, "it is true that the question I was asking was being asked of

Marxism and of other conceptions of history and politics, and it was this: With respect to, for example, the relations of production, don't relations of power represent a level of reality that is both complex and relatively—but only relatively—-independent?"⁹⁰ And we can then ask ourselves whether "capitalism," or the mode of production in which these power relations are inscribed, might not represent in its turn a great apparatus for coding and intensifying those "relatively autonomous relations"—relations between the labor force and capital that were certainly "economic" and conflictual—thanks to the divisions, the hierarchies, and the division of labor that had been established in manufactures, workshops, and factories, but also and above all by disciplinary rules, the subjugation of bodies, and the sanitary regulations that adapted, intensified, and bent the labor force to the economic constraints of production. It is therefore not labor that introduced the disciplines; it is more a case of disciplines and norms making it possible to organize labor in the way that it is organized in the so-called capitalist economy.

One could say the same of "sexuality" (but this time the dialogue is with nineteenth-century medicine and with Freud in particular, and the tone is sharper). Foucault never denied that sexuality was "central" to medical discourses and practices from the early eighteenth century onward. But he did dismiss the idea, which was prefigured by Freud and then theorized by "Freudo-Marxism," that this sexuality was simply denied, repressed, or suppressed; on the contrary, according to Foucault, it gave rise to a whole proliferation of eminently positive discourses that actually allowed power—biopower—to control and normalize individuals, behavior, and the population. "Sexuality" is therefore not a repository of secrets from which one can, provided one knows how to detect and decode them, extract the truth about individuals; it is, rather, a domain in which, ever since the campaign against childhood onanism suddenly began in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, power over life has been exercised in the twin forms of the "anatomy-politics of the human body" and the "biopolitics of population." Both powers—that of bodily disciplines and that of the government of the population—are thus

articulated around sexuality, and they support and reinforce each other. In the introduction to *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault writes: "The disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed. The setting up, in the course of the classical age, of this great bipolar technology—anatomic and biological, individualizing and specifying, directed toward the performance of the body, with attention to the processes of life—characterized a power whose highest function was perhaps no longer to kill, but to invest life through and through."⁹¹ Hence the importance of sex, not as a repository of secrets or basic truths about individuals, but rather as a target, as a political issue. "On the one hand it was tied to the disciplines of the body: the harnessing, intensification, and distribution of forces, the adjustment and economy of energies. On the other hand, it was applied to the regulation of populations, through all the far-reaching effects of its activity. . . . It was employed as a standard for disciplines and as a basis for regulations."⁹²

The specificity and the importance of labor and sexuality—and the fact that they are "cathected" or "hypercathected" by the discourse of political economy on the one hand and by medical knowledge on the other—arise from the fact that they are the points where relations of disciplinary power and biopower's normalizing techniques intersect and therefore intensify their effects and strengthen their hold. These two powers therefore do not, as has sometimes been said, constitute two separate "theories" within Foucault's thought. One does not preclude the other; one is not independent of the other. One does not derive from the other; they are, rather, knowledge/power's two conjoint modes of functioning, though it is true that they do have their own specific foci, points of application, finalities, and *enjeux*: the training of bodies on the one hand, and the regulation of the population on the other. For further discussion, the reader is referred to Foucault's analyses of the town, the norm, and sexuality in the lecture of 17 March in "*Society Must Be Defended*" and to the final chapter of the introduction to *The History of Sexuality* ("Right of Death and Power over Life").

Where there is power, there is always resistance, and the two things are coextensive: "As soon as there is a power relation, there is a possibility of resistance. We can never be ensnared by power: we can always modify its grip in determinate conditions and according to a precise strategy."¹² The field in which power is deployed is therefore not that of a doleful and stable domination: "The struggle is everywhere. . . . at every moment, we move from rebellion to domination, from domination to rebellion, and it is all this perpetual agitation that I would like to try to bring out."¹³ The characteristic feature of power, its aims and its maneuvers, is therefore not so much its boundless might as a sort of congenital inefficacy: "Power is not omnipotent or omniscient; on the contrary," Foucault remarked in 1978 of the analyses made in *The History of Sexuality*. "The reason power relations have produced ways of investigating and analyzing models of knowledge is precisely that," he went on, "power is not omniscient, that power is blind, that it finds itself in an impasse. The reason why we have seen the development of so many power relations, so many systems of control, and so many forms of surveillance is precisely that power has always been impotent."¹⁴ In *The History of Sexuality* Foucault asks: History being the ruse of reason, is power the ruse of history, and does it always emerge the winner? Quite the contrary: "This would be to misunderstand the strictly relational character of power relationships. Their existence depends upon a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handles in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network."¹⁵

But how is this resistance, how are these resistances manifested, what form do they take, and how can they be analyzed? Here, one thing has to be stressed from the outset. If, as Foucault says in the first two lectures, power is not deployed and is not exercised in the forms of right and law, and if it is not something that can be taken or exchanged; if it does not consist of interests, a will, or an intention; if it does not originate within the State, and if it therefore cannot be deduced from or understood in terms of the juridico-political category of sovereignty (even if right, law, and sovereignty can represent a sort

of coding of power, or can even reinforce it), then neither is resistance a matter of right, or of a right. It is therefore always outside the juridical framework of what has, ever since the seventeenth century, been called "the right to resist": it is not based upon the sovereignty of a preexisting subject.¹⁶ Power and resistance confront each other, and use multiple, mobile, and changing tactics, in a field of relations of force whose logic is not so much the regulated and codified logic of right and sovereignty, as the strategic and warlike logic of struggle. The relationship between power and resistance must therefore be analyzed in the strategic form of struggle rather than in the juridical form of sovereignty.

This is a major theme in these lectures, which were delivered at a time when Foucault was taking a close interest in military institutions and the army.¹⁷ The question he was raising is this: Can these struggles, confrontations, and strategies be analyzed in the general binary form of domination (dominant/dominated) and, therefore in the last instance, war? "Should we turn the expression around, then, and say that politics is war pursued by other means? If we still wish to maintain a separation between war and politics, perhaps we should postulate rather that this multiplicity of force relations can be coded—in part but never totally—either in the form of 'war' or in the forms of 'politics'; this would imply two different strategies (but the one always liable to switch into the other) for integrating these unbalanced, heterogeneous, unstable, and tense force relations."¹⁸ Pointing out to Marxists that when they discuss the concept of "class struggle," they concentrate on investigating "class" rather than "struggle,"¹⁹ Foucault states: "What I would like to discuss, starting with Marx, is not the problem of the sociology of classes, but the strategic method concerning struggles. That is the source of my interest in Marx, and it is on that basis that I would like to raise problems."²⁰

Foucault had already devoted his lecture of 10 January 1973 ("The Punitive Society") to relations between war and domination. Here he denounces Hobbes's theory of "the war of every man against every man," analyzes the relationship between civil war and power, and describes the defensive measures taken by society against the criminal,

who became a "social enemy" from the seventeenth century onward. As Daniel Defert reminds us in his "Chronology," Foucault was reading Trotsky, Guevara, Luxemburg, and Clausewitz in 1967 and 1968.²¹ He was also reading the writings of the Black Panthers at that time, and he remarks in a letter that "they are developing a strategic analysis that has emancipated itself from Marxist theory."²² In a letter written in December 1972, he says that he wants to analyze power relations by looking at "the most disparaged of all wars: neither Hobbes, nor Clausewitz, nor the class struggle: civil war."²³ And in another letter, written in August 1974, he writes: "My marginals are incredibly familiar and repetitive. I feel like looking at something else: political economy, strategy, politics."²⁴

Foucault seems, however, to have been very unsure about how useful the strategic model would be for the analysis of power relations: "Aren't processes of domination more complex, more complicated, than war?" he asked in an interview given in December 1977.²⁵ And in the questions he addressed to the journal *Hérodote* (July-December 1976), he wrote:

The notion of strategy is essential if one wants to analyze power and its relations with knowledge. Does that necessarily imply that we are waging war through the knowledge in question?

Doesn't strategy allow us to analyze power relations as a technique of domination?

Or do we have to say that domination is a continued form of war?²⁶

And shortly afterward, he added: "Is the relation between forces in the order of politics a warlike one: I don't personally feel prepared to answer this with a definite yes or no."²⁷

The lectures published here are, essentially, devoted to these questions. Foucault analyzes the themes of war and domination in the historico-political discourse of race struggle used by the English Diggers and Levellers, and in Boulainvilliers. Their stories about the Normans' domination of the Saxons after the Battle of Hastings, and

of the Germanic Franks' domination of the Gallo-Romans after the conquest of Gaul, are based on the history of the conquest, which they contrast with both "fictions" of natural right and the universalism of the law. It is, according to Foucault, here and not in Machiavelli or Hobbes that we see the birth of a radical form of history which speaks of war, conquest, and domination, and which can be used as a weapon against royalty and the nobility in England, and against royalty and the Third Estate in France. Foucault calls this historico-political discourse on conquest "historicism," and thus picks up, either directly or indirectly, the thesis formulated, in a very different context and for very different purposes, in 1936 by Friedrich Meinecke in his *Die Entstehung des Historismus*. This is a discourse of struggles, a discourse of battles, and a discourse of races. In the nineteenth century, the "dialectic" appears to have coded, and therefore "neutralized," these struggles. Augustin Thierry had already made use of them in his writings on the Norman Conquest and the formation of the Third Estate, and Nazism would use the racial theme in the policies of discrimination and extermination with which we are only too familiar. And while it is true that this historico-political discourse forces the historian to take sides and to abandon the "median position of referee, judge, or universal witness,"²⁸ which has been that of philosophers from Solon to Kant, and while it is also true that these discourses are born of war and not of peace, the fact remains that the binary relationship which is introduced into these discourses by the phenomena of domination, and which the model of war explains, does not really explain either the multiplicity of the real struggles that are provoked by disciplinary power or the effects government has on the modes of behavior produced by biopower.

After 1976, Foucault's research shifted toward the analysis of this kind of power, and perhaps that is one of the reasons why, while he does not abandon the problematic of war, he does at least begin to discuss it again. It remains a central issue in "*Society Must Be Defended*." When the real is "polemical," "*We all fight each other*," he said in 1977.²⁹ We should not, however, be fooled by this seemingly Hobbesian remark. This is not a reference to the great binary confrontation, to the

intense and violent form that the struggles take at certain moments, and only at certain moments, in history. It is, rather, a way of saying that the massive fact of domination and the binary logic of war cannot understand either all the episodic or sporadic struggles that take place in the field of power, or the multiplicity of local, unpredictable, and heterogeneous resistances. Toward the end of his life, in 1982 in a text which is in a sense his philosophical "testament" and in which he tried, as he did so often—so much so that it seems to be one of the "figures" of his thought—to rethink all these questions in the light of his latest work and to bring a new perspective to bear on them, Foucault wrote that what he had been trying to do was not "to analyze the phenomena of power, nor to elaborate the foundation of such an analysis," but rather to produce "a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects."³⁰ In his view, the exercise of power consisted primarily in "directing conduct" in the sense that Christian pastoralism and "governmentality" direct conduct. He wrote: "Basically, power is less a confrontation between two adversaries or the linking of the one to the other than a question of government."³¹ And he concluded (though the text has to be read in full) that "Every strategy of confrontation dreams of becoming a relationship of power and every relationship of power leans toward the idea that, if it follows its own line of development and comes up against direct confrontation, it may become the winning strategy."³²

Foucault first began to raise the question of power in *Histoire de la folie*, which looks at the power that is at work in and that is exercised through the administrative and Statist techniques used in the "great confinement" of dangerous individuals (vagabonds, criminals, and the mad). He returned to it in the early 1970s in the lectures given at the Collège de France on the production of truth and truth-regimes in ancient Greece, on the punitive mechanisms used in Europe from the Middle Ages onward, and on the normalizing apparatuses of the disciplinary society. But in the background to all this, there is the politico-military context, or the "historical circumstances," as Canguilhem called them, of international conflicts and social struggles in France after 1968.

It is not possible to retrace the history of those "circumstances" here. For the record, let us briefly recall that these were the years of war in Vietnam, of "Black September" in Jordan (1970), of student protests against the Salazar regime (1971) three years before the Carnation Revolution, of the IRA's terrorist offensive in Ireland (1972), of the resurgence of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Yom Kippur War, of normalization in Czechoslovakia, of the colonels' regime in Greece, of the fall of Allende in Chile, of fascist terrorism in Italy, of the miners' strike in England, of the terrible death agony of Francoism in Spain, of the Khmer Rouge's seizure of power in Cambodia, and of civil war in Lebanon, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, and many African states.

Foucault's interest in power stems from the vigilance, attention, and interest with which he followed what Nietzsche called "*die grosse Politik*": the rise of fascisms around the world, civil wars, the establishment of military dictatorships, the oppressive geopolitical aims of the great powers (and especially of the United States in Vietnam). It is also, and above all, rooted in his "political practice" in the 1970s; this allowed him to understand the workings of the carceral system at first hand or on the ground, to observe the fate reserved for prisoners, to study their material living conditions, to denounce the practices of the penitentiary administration, and to support conflicts and rebellions wherever they broke out.

As for racism, this was a theme that appeared and was dealt with in the seminars and lectures on psychiatry, punishment, the abnormals, and all the knowledges and practices associated with the medical theory of "degeneracy," the forensic theory of eugenicism and social Darwinism, and the penal theory of "social defense," which in the nineteenth century developed techniques for identifying, isolating, and normalizing "dangerous" individuals: the early dawn of ethnic cleansings and labor camps (as Foucault himself reminds us, at the end of the nineteenth century, the French criminologist J. Léveillé advised his Russian colleagues to build labor camps in Siberia when he attended an international penitentiary conference held in St. Petersburg).³³ A new racism was born when "knowledge of heredity"—to

which Foucault planned to devote his future research, as he explains in his candidacy presentation to the Collège de France³⁴—was combined with the psychiatric theory of degeneracy. Addressing his audience in the last (19 March 1975) of the 1974-1975 course of lectures on “The Abnormals,” Foucault said: “You see how psychiatry can use this notion of degeneracy, these analyses of heredity to establish a connection with, or rather to give rise to a racism.”³⁵ He added that Nazism had simply linked, in its turn, this new racism to the ethnic racism that was endemic in the nineteenth century, when it was used to provide an internal social defense against the abnormals.

Against this backdrop of war, of the wars, struggles, and rebellions of those years when, as the saying went, “there was red in the air,” “*Society Must Be Defended*” might be described as the meeting point, the hinge or the point of articulation of the political problem of power and the historical question of race: the genealogy of racism, beginning with the historical discourse of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the race struggle, and the transformations they underwent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In terms of war, of the war that traverses the field of power, leads to conflict, distinguishes between friend and foe, and generates dominations and rebellions, one might evoke one of Foucault’s “childhood memories,” which he himself described in an interview given in 1983. He speaks of the “fright” that gripped him when Chancellor Dollfuss was assassinated in 1934: “The menace of war was our background, our framework of existence. Then the war arrived. Much more than the activities of family life, it was these events concerning the world which are the substance of our memory. I say ‘our’ because I am nearly sure that most boys and girls in France at this moment had the same experience. Our private life was really threatened, maybe that is the reason why I am fascinated by history and those events of which we are a part. I think that is the nucleus of my theoretical desires.”³⁶

As for the “intellectual conjuncture” of the years leading up to these lectures—years marked by the crisis in Marxism and by the rise of neoliberal discourse—it is difficult, if not impossible, to know which books Foucault is referring to, either directly or indirectly, in

“*Society Must Be Defended*.” Works by Max Weber, Hannah Arendt, Ernst Cassirer, Max Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn had been translated and published since 1970. In one lecture, Foucault pays explicit tribute to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari’s *Anti-Oedipus*. Foucault did not, it appears, keep any record of the books he read, and he was not fond of debates with individual authors; he preferred problematization to polemic.³⁷ We can therefore do no more than speculate as to his way of reading books, using documentation, and exploiting sources (all this, or the production of his books, should be the object of a study in its own right). Nor do we know very much about how he prepared his lectures. The lectures published here are written out almost in full, and, thanks to the courtesy and help of Daniel Defert, we have also been able to consult the manuscript. It does not, however, correspond exactly to the words that were actually spoken. The manuscript consists of “blocks of thought” that Foucault used as markers, points of reference, and guidelines. He often improvised around them, developing or expanding on this or that point, anticipating the next lecture and going back to others. One also has the impression that he did not work to a preestablished plan, but tended, rather, to begin with a problem or certain problems, and that the lecture developed “on the spot” through a sort of spontaneous generation. There were digressions and remarks about future lectures, and some things were dropped (such as the promised lecture on “repression,” which was never given but which appears in *The History of Sexuality*.) In 1977, Foucault described his work and his way of working thus: “I am neither a philosopher nor a writer. I am not creating an oeuvre. I do research which is at once historical and political; I am often drawn to problems that I have encountered in one book, that I have not been able to resolve in that book, and I therefore try to deal with them in the next book. There are also conjunctural phenomena which, at a given moment, make some problem look like a particularly urgent problem, a politically urgent problem to do with current affairs, and that’s why it interests me.”³⁸ As for methodology and *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, he said: “I do not have a methodology that I apply in the same way to different

domains. On the contrary, I would say that I try to isolate a single field of objects, a domain of objects, by using the instruments I can find or that I can forge as I am actually doing my research, but without privileging the problem of methodology in any way."³⁹

Twenty years after the event, these lectures have lost nothing of their topicality and urgency. Foucault rejects juridical theories and political doctrines that are incapable of accounting for relations of power and relations of force within confrontations between knowledges and in real struggles. He rereads the age of the Enlightenment, and shows that it reveals not the progress of reason, but how "minor" knowledges were disqualified in order to promote the centralization, normalization, and disciplinarization of dominant knowledges, rather than the progress of reason. He critiques the idea that history is an invention or the heritage of a bourgeoisie that was on the ascendancy in the eighteenth century. He pays an extended tribute to "historicism," to a history that speaks of conquests and dominations, a "history-battle" in the true sense of the word which developed out of the race struggle, as opposed to natural right. And finally, he shows how the transformation of this struggle during the nineteenth century raised a problem: that of the biopolitical regularization of behavior, the problem of recent memory and of the near future, of the birth and development of racism and fascism. Being accustomed to his changes of scenery and the way he alters his perspective with respect to ruling ideas and established knowledges, Foucault's readers will not be surprised. As for the specialists, one can only suggest that they should not forget that this text is not a book, but a set of lectures, and that it has to be read as such: it is not a work of scholarship, but rather a way of posing an "urgent" problem—that of racism—and of opening up lines of investigation, of outlining a genealogical trace in order to rethink it. So how should one read it? One might recall, to conclude, what Foucault said in 1977: "Philosophy's question . . . is the question as to what we ourselves are. That is why contemporary philosophy is entirely political and entirely historical. It is the politics immanent in history and the history indispensable for politics."⁴⁰



As to the studies Foucault may have consulted while preparing these lectures, we can only speculate. The sources are cited in the notes, but it is practically impossible to tell whether Foucault had read the texts in question or was borrowing from secondary works. A "scientific" bibliography could be established only on the basis of the careful notes taken by Foucault, with one quotation per sheet, together with the bibliographical references to the edition and page; but he then filed them thematically, and not as a dossier relating to any particular book or lecture. The task of reconstructing Foucault's "library" remains to be undertaken, and it is certainly far beyond the scope of this note.

In order to open up a few paths and to provide a guide for future readers and researchers, we will for the moment simply signal a few books that relate to the questions raised in the lectures, and which were available at the time when Foucault was preparing them.

The "Trojan Myth" and the History of Races
 T. Simar, *Étude critique sur la formation de la doctrine des races* (Brussels: Lamerti, 1922); J. Barzun, *The French Race* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); M. Bloch, "Sur les grandes invasions. Quelques positions de problèmes," *Revue de synthèse*, 1940-1945; G. Huppert, *The Idea of a Perfect History; Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970) (tr. *L'Idée de l'histoire parfaite* [Paris: Flammarion, 1973]); L. Poliakov, *Histoire de l'anti-sémitisme, III: De Voltaire à Wagner* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1968) and *Le Mythe aryen* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1971), C.-G. Dubois, *Celtes et Gaulois au XVIe siècle. Le Développement d'un mythe littéraire* (Paris: Vrin, 1972); A. Devyer, *Le Sang épuré. Les Préjugés de race chez les gentilhommes français de l'Ancien Régime, 1560-1720* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université, 1973); A. Jouanna, *L'Idée de race en France au XVIe siècle et au début du XVIIe siècle*, thesis defended in June 1975 at the Université de Paris II and distributed by Éditions Champion in 1976.

It should also be pointed out that the problem of the historiography of races was raised, after Meinecke, by Georg Lukács in chapter 7 of *Die Zersörung der Vernunft* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1954. French, *Le Destruction de la raison* [Paris: L'Arche, 1958-1959]) and in *Der historische Roman* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1956) (*Le Roman historique* [Paris: Payot, 1965]; *The Historical Novel*, tr. Hannah Mitchell and Stanley Mitchell [London: Merlin Press, 1962]).

Two early German studies of the Trojan myth should also be mentioned: E. Luthgen, *Dies Quellen und der historische Wert des fränkischen Trojasage* (Bonn: R. Weber, 1876) and M. Klippel's thesis, *Die Darstellung des fränkischen Trojanersagen* (Marburg: Beyer und Hans Knecht, 1936).

On the Levellers and Diggers

J. Frank, *The Diggers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955); H. N. Brailsford, *The Levellers and the English Revolution*, ed. C. Hill (London: Cresset Press, 1961); and especially C. Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1961); *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); and *The World Turned Upside Down* (London: Temple Smith, 1972).

On the Imperial Roman Theme and the Translation Imperii from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance

F. A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975) (*Astraea* [Paris: Boivin, 1989]).

On Boulainvilliers

R. Simon, *Henry de Boulainvilliers, historien, politique, philosophe, astrologue* (Paris: Boivin, 1942) and *Un Révolté du grand siècle: Henry de Boulainvilliers* (Garches: Ed. du Nouvel Humanisme, 1948).

On the Eighteenth-Century Dispute between "Romanists" and "Germanists" over the French Monarchy, Historiography, and "Constitution"

E. Carcassonne, *Montesquieu et le problème de la constitution française au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: PUF, 1927; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970);

L. Althusser, *Montesquieu: La Politique et l'histoire* (Paris: PUF, 1959) ("Montesquieu: Politics and History" in *Politics and History* [London: New Left Books, 1972]).

On A. Thierry and Historiography in France during the Restoration and under the July Monarchy

P. Moreau, *L'Histoire de France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935); K. J. Carroll, *Some Aspects of the Historical Thought of Augustin Thierry* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951); F. Engel-Janosi, *Four Studies in French Romantic Historical Writings* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955); B. Reizov, *L'Historiographie romantique française (1815-1830)* (Éditions de Moscou, 1957); S. Mellon, *The Political Uses of History in the French Restoration* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958); M. Seliger, "Augustin Thierry: Race-Thinking during the Restoration," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 19 (1958), R. N. Smithson, *Augustin Thierry: Social and Political Consciousness in the Evolution of Historical Method* (Geneva: Droz, 1972).

"Anti-Semitism" and the French Left in the Nineteenth Century

R. F. Byrnes, *Antisemitism in Modern France* (1950; reprint, New York: H. Fertig, 1969); Rabi [W. Rabinovitch], *Anatomie du judaïsme français* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1962); L. Poliakov, *Histoire de l'antisémitisme*, vol. 3 (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1968). Foucault may also have been familiar with the many works of E. Silberner collected as *Sozialisten zur Judenfrage* (Berlin: Colloquim Verlag, 1962), and with Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970, reprinted 1972).

It should also be pointed out that R. Aron's two-volume *Penser la guerre, Clausewitz* was published by Gallimard in February 1976.

1. "Kenryoku to chi ('Pouvoir et savoir')," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 404.
2. "Powers and Strategies," in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Writings and Other Writings 1972-1977* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1980); p. 139; French original: "Pouvoirs et stratégies," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 422.
3. "Gendai no Kenryoku no butai ('La Philosophie analytique du pouvoir')," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 536.
4. "Gendai no Kenryoku wo tou," pp. 535-36.
5. "Why Study Power: In Quest of the Subject," in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, with an Afterword by Michel Foucault (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester, 1982), p. 209; French version: "Le Sujet et le pouvoir," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 4, p. 224.
6. Cf. "As malhas do poder ('Les Mailles du pouvoir')," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 4, pp. 182-201 and especially p. 186ff.
7. "El poder, una bestia magnifica ('Le Pouvoir, une bête magnifique')," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 374.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
9. "Precisazioni sul potere. riposta ad alcuni critici ('Précisions sur le pouvoir. réponses à certaines critiques')," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 629.
10. *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), p. 139.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 146.
12. "Power and Sex," trans. David J. Parent, in Lawrence D. Kritzman, ed., *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984* (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), p. 123; French original: "Non au sexe roi," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 267.
13. "Kenryoku to chi," p. 407.
14. "Precisazioni sul potere," p. 629.
15. *The History of Sexuality, Volume I*, p. 95.
16. Cf. "Power and Strategies," pp. 141-42; "Governmentality," p. 102.
17. "Hanzai tosite no chishiki ('Le Savoir comme crime')," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 89; "Power and Sex," p. 123; "Vivre autrement le temps," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 268; "Incorporación del hospital en la tecnología moderna (L'incorporation de l'hôpital dans la technologie moderne)," *ibid.*, p. 515; "Governmentality," p. 97; and later, "As malhas do poder," pp. 182-201.
18. *The History of Sexuality, Volume I*, p. 93.
19. Cf. "Power and Sex," p. 123; "The Confession of the Flesh," p. 208.
20. "Sekhai ninshiki no hoho: marx shusi wo do shimatsu suruka ('Methodologie pour la connaissance du monde: comment se débarrasser du marxisme')," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 606.
21. Daniel Defert, "Chronologie," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 1, pp. 30-32.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
25. "Des Questions de Michel Foucault à Herodote," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 94.
26. *Ibid.*
27. "L'Oeil de pouvoir," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 206; English translation: "The Eye of Power," in *Power/Knowledge*, p. 164.
28. "Questions à Michel Foucault sur la géographie," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 29; "Questions on Geography" in *Power/Knowledge*, p. 65.
29. "Non au sexe roi," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 206; "The Confession of the Flesh," in *Power/Knowledge*, p. 208.

30. "The Subject and Power," in Dreyfus and Rabinow, eds., *Michel Foucault*, p. 203; *Dits et écrits*, vol. 4, p. 237.
31. "The Subject and Power," p. 221; *Dits et écrits*, vol. 4, p. 237.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26; *Dits et écrits*, vol. 4, p. 242.
33. "Le Jeu de Michel Foucault," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 3, p. 325; "The Confession of the Flesh," p. 225.
34. *Dits et écrits*, vol. 1, pp. 842-86; *Ethics: The Essential Works*, vol. 1, pp. 5-10.
35. *Les Anormaux: Cours au Collège de France, 1974-1975* (Paris: Gallimard and Le Seuil, 1999), p. 299.
36. "The Minimalist Self" (interview with Stephen Riggins), in Kritzman, ed., *Michel Foucault*, p. 7; French translation: "Une Interview de Michel Foucault par Stephen Riggins," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 4, p. 528.
37. Cf. "Polemics, Politics and Problematizations" in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986); pp. 381-90; French version: "Polémique, politique et problématisations," *Dits et écrits*, vol. 4, pp. 591-98.
38. "El poder, una bestia magnifica," pp. 376-77.
39. "Kenryoku to chi," p. 404.
40. "Power and Sex," p. 12; "Non au sexe roi," p. 266.