

Fantasy-Production

SEXUAL ECONOMIES AND OTHER PHILIPPINE
CONSEQUENCES FOR THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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The image shows the Chinese characters for '香港大學' (Hong Kong University) written in a highly stylized, square-format calligraphic style. The characters are arranged vertically from top to bottom: '香', '港', '大', '學'. Each character is contained within a square frame, and the overall composition is balanced and aesthetically pleasing.

Hong Kong University Press is honoured that Xu Bing, whose art explores the complex themes of language across cultures, has written the Press's name in his Square Word Calligraphy. This signals our commitment to cross-cultural thinking and the distinctive nature of our English-language books published in China.

“At first glance, Square Word Calligraphy appears to be nothing more unusual than Chinese characters, but in fact it is a new way of rendering English words in the format of a square so they resemble Chinese characters. Chinese viewers expect to be able to read Square Word Calligraphy but cannot. Western viewers, however are surprised to find they can read it. Delight erupts when meaning is unexpectedly revealed.”

— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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Introduction: Dreams

In the face of the apparently insurmountable challenges of social reality, that in a previous stage drove figures like Romaine Rolland and Antonio Gramsci to speak about the skepticism of intelligence, to which they opposed the optimism of willpower, let us also oppose to it the confidence in imagination, that essentially poetic device.

– Roberto Retamar

The project then is to claim for us, the once-colonized, our freedom of imagination.

– Partha Chatterjee

Of what consequence are Philippine dreams? Shortly after the deposing of the Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos and his family in 1986, a home videotape of a carousing party held on their yacht made the rounds of the same televisions around the world that had just aired the four-day carnival of their fall. 'We are the World,' sang the Marcoses with the gusto and full rhapsodic feeling worthy of this glorious chart-topping World Aid anthem. That video, along with endlessly replayed footage of and jokes about Imelda Marcos's enormous shoe collection, encapsulated for the international audience the ridiculously pompous yet tawdry dreams of the rulers of this third world nation. In this picture of the Marcoses drunk with power, pursuing their delusions of grandeur, the Philippines appears to be a country dominated by misplaced dreams. It is a place of ironic contrasts and tragic contradictions, where politics is a star-studded spectacle set amid the

gritty third world realities of hunger and squalor. A third world place in first world drag.

Of course, the generic image of this place full of ironic juxtapositions is apprehended from a place presumed to be free of such unconscious irony (All the better to appreciate yours, my dear!). To be ironic (a deliberate act) is after all quite different from being in an ironic condition (an unwitting state). The view of the ironies of third world existence comes with a long history of delighting in the contradictions that colonials/traditional peoples represent when they bear the trappings of an alien modernity. In images such as the ubiquitous Masferré photograph of the g-string clad Ifugao man holding a camera, or the generic photojournalist snapshot of a *hijab*-wearing Muslim woman talking on the cellular phone, part of the delight undoubtedly stems from the inner knowledge on the part of the viewer that that alien modernity in the hands of the ever non-modern is really theirs. Or at least it is one they are already fully familiar with.¹

Contrary to what one might expect, this is not a view held exclusively by past and present colonizers. It is also partially shared by present and wait-listed postcolonials, resident and non-resident, in the new home or the old. They too appreciate the irony of seeing street children in Manila wearing t-shirts with Ivy League university names or first world logos whose references and connotations these urchins cannot possibly understand. They too can appreciate the irony of 'more Filipinos singing perfect renditions of American songs (often from the American past) than there are Americans doing so ... [in spite of] the fact that the rest of their lives is not in complete synchrony with the referential world that first gave birth to these songs.'² Having read *Time* travel writer Pico Iyer's account of this outlandish Philippine predilection for mimicking American popular music, Arjun Appadurai can thus describe the Philippines in this ironic fashion: as 'a nation of make-believe Americans, who tolerated for so long a leading lady who played the piano while the slums of Manila expanded and decayed'.³ *Evita* meets *Les Misérables*.

To be sure, Appadurai's point in bringing up the case of Filipinos singing American songs would appear to be completely opposite to that of airing the video of the Marcoses singing 'We are the World'. The running images of the Marcoses' cultural repertoire and collections

(besides the shoes, there were the tacky lesser art works by Western 'masters') are meant to hammer in the egregiousness of the Marcoses' fantasy world, the pernicious implications of their derivative desires for and imitative performances of Western glamour and enlightenment.⁴ Appadurai's point, in contrast, is to argue that beyond the one-sided story of global 'Americanization', within which Filipino 'mimicry' could only be a sign of domination, there is the much more complex story of global cultural flows and exchanges, within which such imitative renditions can also be seen as a form agency, perhaps even resistance. Both illustrative uses of the Philippines, however, deploy third world dreams for the ironic critique of power. For the mainstream international media, the ironies of ruling third world dreams serve a critique of despotic power (irony reveals deception). For Appadurai, the ironies of subordinate third world dreams serve a critique of the masses' supposed lack of power and, correspondingly, a critique of Western hegemonic power (irony reveals agency). In both cases, however, while showcasing the blurred boundaries between Western and third world dreams, irony as critique creates an interpretative boundary between dreamers and analysts, between those who dream and those who unpack the meanings and consequences of their dreamings. I will say more about the political pitfalls of irony towards the end of this book. Here I have no intention of offering a 'reality' contrary to the above representations. In foregrounding their rather generic form, I merely want to open up another purview, one that recognizes that these representations are forms of dreaming too. More importantly, I want to suggest that this division of effort wedged by irony attests to something other than a reinvention of the division between ideology and critical consciousness. The efforts to represent the ironies of others' dreams attest to the new importance of dreams and imagination in today's world.

Indeed, this is the larger point of Appadurai's Philippine example. As he writes, 'The world we live in today is characterized by a new role for the imagination in social life.'⁵ Imagination has become socialized, entered the everyday life of ordinary people. No longer confined either to the sacrosanct realms of art, myth and ritual or to the reactive realm of ideology or to the space of individual desire (the last two for which Appadurai reserves the term *fantasy*), imagination

has become a central force in the creation of new social projects. As he writes:

No longer mere fantasy (opium for the masses whose real work is elsewhere), no longer simple escape (from a world defined principally by more concrete purposes and structures), no longer elite pastime (thus not relevant to the lives of ordinary people), and no longer mere contemplation (irrelevant for new forms of desire and subjectivity), the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility ... The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order.⁶

While I quite agree with this concept of imagination as a form of work and as a form of negotiation of agency, that is, as *culturally organized social practice*, I am less persuaded by the modernist account of imagination's abrupt historical emergence as a new social force.⁷

My own inclination is to understand the social force of imagination as having a longer history.⁸ If imagination has come to the attention of social analysts as a new social fact, it is because it has for a long while now been at work in what would appear to be more material practices of economic production and state power. We have only to look at the history of the capitalization of people's dreams in the cinema (as a precursor of the Internet) to see that social imagination has been part of production for quite some time now.⁹ We also need to look no farther than the makings of modern nations to recognize that imagination has also long been part of the organization of communities and their subjection to the powers of the state. My point is that imagination, as culturally organized social practice, is an intrinsic, constitutive part of political economy. Capitalism and state rule, and not only nationalism, are suffused with imagination. Unless we think that political and economic structures are the sole invention of those in power, it makes important sense to see the social force of imagination at work in these 'structural realities' before its expression in recent, more visible 'culturalist' forms such as ethnic nationalism and the active construction of new diasporic identities through electronic media.

I say all this because if imagination has only now entered the everyday social life of people, in particular, of third world peoples, then they — we — have only been collectively dreaming the dreams of others, trapped in their imagination of us and our worlds. Or perhaps we have not been dreaming at all and, instead, have lived in the rote mythographies of our given social identities. It would seem even that our imaginations were confined by the boundaries of our political territory. And now that globalization has arrived, and (some) people have immediate access to other lived imaginaries through new telecommunicational technologies and increased labour migration, we are all of a sudden imagining for ourselves, creatively dreaming beyond our nation-bound imaginations (if not re-inventing them) and exerting that dreaming on the world in ways that we had never done before. I do not doubt that there have been shifts in the organization of the world, and that these shifts are at once expressed and brought about by new forms of social imagination. But to my mind the ‘newness’ of imagination is to be found in its relative autonomization from other realms of social life rather than its socialization. If anything, social imagination has become increasingly appropriatively privatized, codified as a cultural database, invested in and fought over as patentable because expropriateable property. Whence the ‘new’ — that is, changed — importance and agency of dreams.¹⁰

The tawdry dreams of the Marcoses to be equivalent with world power (‘We are the World’) as well as the dreams of ‘ordinary’ Filipinos singing American songs, apparently nostalgic for a world they never lost,¹¹ are deeply implicated in the dreamwork of the capitalist interstate world-system. Such dreams are symbolic enactments of practices of imagination that effectively operate in and as the political and economic organization of the Philippine nation-state. If we understand imagination as a form of work, we must see that it is work that is incorporated into a system of production of universal value.¹² In this aspect, that is, in its role in a global system of production, the material imagination constituting the Philippine nation can be seen as a form of labour. Inasmuch as the Philippines is, as a supplier of global labour, a constitutive part of the world-system, its material dreams are the consequences of — as well as bear consequences for — that international order of political and economic dreamwork, which I call

fantasy-production. 'Fantasy-production' denotes the imaginary of a regime of accumulation and representation of universal value, under the sway of which capitalist nations organize themselves individually and collectively in the 'system' of the Free World. While it would seem paradoxical to use the word 'system' to describe an order of 'freedom', I do so not in order to substitute one totalizing fantasy of selective freedom with another totalizing fantasy of absolute constraint but rather to suggest the level at which the scattered and seemingly arbitrary or anarchic actions of different nation-states achieve some measure of coordination and logical coherence to constitute a working international order (or, a form of governmentality). I use 'system' to highlight the effective horizon or field of possibilities within which the social imaginations of whole nations are generated, nurtured and confined. The dreams of Filipinos, rulers and ruled, cannot be understood apart from the global material imaginary, this dominant field of reality, on which they play out. To cast these dreams as the expressions of autonomous, self-contained Filipino subjects (whether they aspire to or resist world power) is to ignore the global order of dreamwork in which the international media system, the source of many of our interpretative representations of the world, plays a constitutive and paradigmatic role.¹³

When I speak of dreams, I use the term loosely to indicate that our actions are also wishes, the expression of which is constrained by the unconscious or, more accurately, imaginary structures and logics of organization of our material realities. In my usage, fantasies are the hegemonic forms of expression of our desiring-actions. Dreams are the concrete work of imagination while fantasies are the abstract forms into which this work becomes subsumed within the world-system of production. Fantasies are, on this view, alienated means of production, while the desiring-actions in dreams are living labour. As Marx explains the relation, 'the means of production appear *éminemment* as the effective form of *capital* confronting living labour. And they now manifest themselves moreover as the rule of past, dead labour over the living.'¹⁴ Inasmuch as this process of subsumption is never fully successful, that is to say to the extent that our dreams are never fully captured by fantasy-production but are also shaped by other logics whose calling they heed, dreams will always exceed fantasies. However,

to the extent that dreams fuel and further the logics of the dominant global order, they perform the work of fantasies.

This book is about the practices of fantasy-production on the part of the Philippine nation and the contributions of this particular postcolonial national formation to global systemic transformations leading to the establishment of the New World Order, the international division of labour and organization of multinational capitalist production that emerges at the end of the Cold War. In this book I propose to view the political and economic strategies of the Philippine nation-state as part of the dream-work of an international order of production founded upon the conjoined, if sometimes contradictory, logics of nationalism and multinational capitalism. Fantasy-production names this international order of desiring-actions on the part of nations, an order in which gender, sexuality and race are constitutive principles of organization as well as practical effects.

Fantasy-production practices create a common imaginary geography and history — that of the Free World — as the ground of their operation. In the multinational era of the New World Order, this common ground is the scene of the International (community) and its privileged acting figure is the territorial nation-state. In the transnational era of globalization, that common ground has become the place of the Global (network) and its privileged acting figure, deterritorialized capital-flows.

Even if the new, deterritorialized global order appears to be a de-subjectivized one (with 'economies' now replacing 'nations'), it nevertheless depends on and mobilizes the subjectifying operations of signification fundamental to the older, territorial world order. As I will show, what are now widely-accepted conditions of a radically transformed global order are reconfigurations of dominant strategies of the nation-state, which is accommodating to changes that it has itself been instrumental in bringing about.¹⁵ This is in itself not new. In the so-called postcolonial world, the nation has long been the agent and product of inter- as well as trans-national affairs (whether conceived as imperialist or not). This book's focus on the Philippines enables us to see what the transformative processes of globalization, such as 'denationalization' and deterritorialization, might look like on the side of the imaginary of a postcolonial nation and what they might entail

in terms of the resources of that nation. It also allows us to understand the ways in which the nationally-inflected actions of a 'minor' country such as the Philippines contribute to an order that apparently transcends and takes precedence over it. It allows us to seriously consider the achievement of global capitalism from the perspective of the work of imagination on the side of a third world nation and its seemingly nation-bound people.

When Partha Chatterjee argues that we, the once- (and yet-) colonized, must claim 'our freedom of imagination', he is not arguing only for the present and the future but also and primarily for the past.¹⁶ From the perspective of transnationalism, nations are precisely things of the past. To inquire into the imaginations of postcolonial nations in the moment before the establishment of the New World Order, the moment of inauguration of globalization, is to probe into the immediate and still living pasts of this hegemonic global present in order to find the forgotten creative labour of other dreams. More, it is to free this forgotten creative labour in our own presents so that we may imagine the world differently.

METHODS OF DREAM INTERPRETATION

In order to probe the imaginary dimensions of the political and economic relations and practices of the Philippine nation-state, and in particular the organizing significance of the logics of gender, race and sexuality in these material relations, I have taken critical resource in a number of theoretical discourses. As the above discussion demonstrates, I draw much of my understanding of the 'work' and 'labour' of imagination and dreams from Marxist accounts of the subsumption and alienation of labour under the capitalist mode of production. However, in this endeavour I have also run up against the obstinate refusal of more orthodox Marxisms to factor in the categories of gender, race and sexuality in their conceptualizations of capitalist social relations and, consequently, the limits posed by their political imaginations of social change.¹⁷ It is for this reason that while I rely heavily on the analytical framework of Marxism to make my critique of the capitalist forms structuring Philippine dreams, I have also drawn on other theories,

which attend more closely to the imaginary dimensions of social life and political struggle.

I make use, for example, of some conceptual instruments of psychoanalytic theory in order to render the subjective dynamics enacted on the arena of international exchanges. The concept of 'fantasy' that I employ here derives from Slavoj Žižek who merges the two theoretical discourses of Marxism and psychoanalysis to arrive at an understanding of ideology as 'an (unconscious) fantasy structuring our social reality itself'.¹⁸ Fantasy is a field of symbolically structured meaning (the unconscious) that shapes and regulates our desires, our modes of acting 'in reality'. In its historical, concrete expression it is an imaginary framework that subsists within actual material practice. The 'illusion' is thus not on the side of ideas, consciousness and belief, that is, on the side of 'knowing', but rather, as Žižek would say, on the side of 'doing'.¹⁹ This concept of ideological fantasy allows us to view the 'work of imagination' in the seemingly objective practices and structures of political economy that determine as well as comprise much of the social life and modern history of nations. Fantasy is thus not 'thought divorced from projects and actions'.²⁰ Rather, 'it is belief which is radically exterior, embodied in the practical, effective procedure of people'.²¹

My own reliance on the concept of fantasy and other concepts drawn from psychoanalysis is not, however an application of psychoanalytic theory to the field of international relations. As many scholars have argued, psychoanalysis emerged out of the same historical conditions that gave rise to imperialism. Or put more forcefully, psychoanalysis is as much a product and instrument of this history of imperialism as it is a theory of its subjects. This has not led me to dismiss its analytical power any more than I would dismiss the analytical power of Marxist social theory. Rather, it leads me to recognize the worldly role that such theories (or at least their 'applications') play in the practical shaping of social forms.²² Or, seen differently, this acknowledgement of psychoanalysis's historicity allows me to understand its objects and logics (i.e., desiring subjects and the dynamics of libidinal forces) not only as resulting from historically contingent and finite social formations. These objects and logics are also to be seen as discursive product-effects of the coding practices of

psychoanalysis, which can now be deployed as technologies to shape, even engineer, not only the social formations out of which they emerge but other social formations as well.

Understanding the socio-historical 'origins' of both psychoanalysis and Marxism allows me to view their analytical operations as also historical, social technologies operating in the world. Or, as I put it in Chapter 2, it means viewing metropolitan theoretical regimes as forces of production and instruments of stratification that peripheral social formations such as the Philippines have historically been subjected to. Unlike Žižek then, I do not see the logic of subjectification, which he argues underlies the constitution of particular historical fantasies and identifications, as obtaining transhistorically.²³ Instead, I see that this onto-logic obtains within and is delimited by the historical time of modern imperialism. Now, when this history begins and when it ends is by no means an undisputed matter. My own view is that, in global temporal terms, this history begins in the late nineteenth-century with the decline in power of the previous world empires of Spain and Portugal and the rigidly hierarchical form of territorial colonial rule that they were exemplary realizations of. This beginning is also signaled by the rise of the US empire, which excelled in the new form of colonial rule, characterized by the central role of capital in the social and political organization of its colonial possessions. While a major geopolitical shift occurred after the Second World War and the emergence of the Cold War, the history of modern imperialism can be said to have continued throughout the twentieth century and to only now approach some closure (at least on the geopolitical scale of the international order).²⁴

What I call fantasy-production is a mode of production and signification whose history approximates this history of imperialism that I have sketched. Elsewhere, I discuss the beginnings of this 'oedipalization' of nations in the late nineteenth century, by which I mean the process of symbolic constitution of nations as modern subjects with the imperialist rivalry of Western powers.²⁵ In this dreamwork of imperialism one can see the early makings of the 'sexual economies' of the postcolonial, free world system. I would however argue that the logic of subjectification and order of desiring-actions, which I analyze here, begins to formally 'govern' the organization and

practice of individual nation-states with the decolonization of Asia and Africa after the Second World War. Economically, the mode of production and signification of the Free World fantasy appears as the regulatory ideal and strategy of 'development' propagated and pursued by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (both institutions established in 1944). Politically, it appears as the structure and ideal of an international juridical order represented and implemented by the United Nations.

Recognizing the historicity of fantasy-production in its worldly compass goes hand in hand with recognizing the same for its constitutive subjective dynamics. Feminist, anti-racist, multiculturalist and postcolonial social theories have been crucial in this regard, all challenging the universal and ontological pretensions of dominant cultures and their role in maintaining oppressive social orders. I rely on much of this work — the work for example of Gayatri Spivak, Maria Mies, Angela Davis, Teresa de Lauretis and Donna Haraway — to critique the cultural logics of subjectivity and social relations that obtain in national and international political and economic structures. These social theories have greatly contributed to our understanding of the dominant workings of gender, race and sexuality in the structuring of social relations, not only on the level of individuals but also on the level of large social collectivities such as nations.

My own interpretation of the role of gender, race and sexuality as organizing principles of political and economic practice within and among nation-states depends on an understanding of capitalist production and state power as, among other things, systems of signification.²⁶ Gender, race and sexuality are categories for signifying, by way of organizing, social relations of power and production. While they would appear to be only secondary effects of meaning of practical, material relations, in this book, I view the logics of gender, race and sexuality as intrinsic to those practical, material relations. Systems of production entail and act as particular modes of representation and codes of signification, which in turn serve as media of dreams and desires.²⁷ As Arturo Escobar similarly argues about the system of capitalist production emerging out of Europe, 'the Western economy must be seen as an institution composed of systems of production, power, and signification. The three systems, which coalesced at the end

of the eighteenth century, are inextricably linked to the development of capitalism and modernity. They should be seen as cultural forms through which human beings are made into producing subjects. The economy is not only, or even principally, a material entity. It is above all a cultural production, a way of producing human subjects and social orders of a certain kind.²⁸ *Fantasy-production* views the forms and dynamics of subjectivity produced and operating through contemporary international politics and economics as emerging precisely out of dominant cultures of imperialism. Besides the 'orientalism in economics' that persists in the world project of 'development', logics of patriarchy, sexism, homophobia and racism deeply inform and are generated by the practices of accumulation and power of postcolonial nation-states acceding to the tacit rules of the world system.²⁹

In her discussion of the prevailing dichotomy 'between the "realpolitical" non-West and the "imaginative" West,' Rey Chow argues: 'since the West owns not only the components but also the codes of fantasy, the non-West is deprived not only of the control of industrial and commercial productions, but of imaginary productions as well.'³⁰ Like Chow, I too foreground the subjective dramas of the 'non-West' — here, the Philippines — in an attempt to 'tip the balance' of this asymmetrical relation. I would only want to emphasize that while the West owns the codes of fantasy, the non-West is no less an active and willing participant in the hegemonic modes of imaginary production that are predicated on these codes. In their 'realpolitical' actions, postcolonial nation-states of the non-West demonstrate that they have acquired a certain fluency in these codes of fantasy of the West, making full use of them in the pursuit of their elites' desires but at the expense of the 'freedom of imagination' of the majority of their peoples. My point is not to deny the fact that the non-West has many dreams of its own. It is, rather, to decry the fact that, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o puts it, 'A post-colonial state often crushes those dreams and turns people's lives into nightmares.'³¹

To offer a glimpse of the early work of Philippine fantasy-production, let me turn to the example of Carlos P. Romulo, the most prominent Philippine statesman involved in the world project of the United Nations. Romulo made his first appearance on the world stage as aide-de-camp to US General Douglas MacArthur, in the dramatic

fulfillment of MacArthur's 'I shall return' promise to liberate the Philippines from Japanese occupation on the shores of Leyte in 1944. In his first speech to the US Congress in 1944, Romulo, now Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States paid 'tribute to that unknown soldier and those like him who had carried the first principles of Americanism into the Philippines'.³² Romulo presumed to speak for the entire nation and its dreams when he spoke:

Mr Speaker, twenty-eight years ago today, upon this floor, America gave its first pledge of freedom to the people of the Philippines.

On that day the Congress of the United States approved the Jones Act, promising independence to the subject Philippines in a covenant that is without parallel in the world's history.

It is not my purpose to review the Filipinos' fight against America during the early days of American occupation, nor stress the fact that it took the United States three and a half years of actual fighting to subdue the Philippines. We were not conquered in the final analysis, by guns, but by the practical demonstration in the Philippines of America's concept of democracy. American teachers brought us new methods of education. Public health, road building, government training — such things were given us. Gradually our feeling toward America changed from resentment and suspicion to confidence and loyalty.

That loyalty was sealed by the passage of the Jones Act ...

The Jones Act was our victory. You let us win it upon this floor. It was a pledge made, and America has kept that pledge ...

We Filipinos, too, kept the pledge. You gave us the Jones Act. We gave you Bataan. For, Bataan and Corregidor were dividends paid back out of our loyalty and our faith in America ...

On that bloodstained Philippine peninsula Americans and Filipinos must meet over a common grave where lie the bodies of their sons ...

We will meet, my fellow Americans, over that common grave. Out of that grave, a dream.

Others have died for that dream of world recognition of the ordinary civilities and the divine rights of man.³³

Romulo went on to enumerate those who have died for this universal dream expressively fulfilled by the example of American democracy:

Jesus, Abraham Lincoln, the first Filipino President under the US Commonwealth, Manuel Quezon, and 'a boy named José, from Manila, and another boy named Joe, from Missouri' who died for this same dream on the peninsula of Bataan. This speech was one of the first of many that Romulo would give to rally US support for Philippine 'independence' and 'democracy'.

In this speech one can glean many of the characteristic conceits of the dominant fantasy of US-Philippine relations in play by 1944: the mutual covenant consisting of bilateral exchanges of American 'freedom' for Philippine 'territory', the upholding of 'America's concept of democracy' as a universal good, the Philippines' fraternal loyalty to and faith in the US as reciprocity for the 'gift' of independence, and the essential identity of Filipino and American dreams. In Romulo's narrative, moreover, we see the dominant interpretation of the messy and violent history of US-Philippine relations. In this fantasy, the good conquest of the Philippines by American democracy leads to the mutual recognition of and struggle for shared ideals expressed in the two countries uniting forces against the Japanese during the Pacific war. Anti-colonial Filipino struggles culminate in the passage of the Jones Act, the realization of which would coincide with the fulfillment of a historical destiny. Romulo's narrative fantasy is not only a revision of a more troublesome Philippine history of violent colonial oppression and revolutionary Filipino desires in the pacific terms of American understanding ('for only Americans could comprehend the democratic dreams of our Filipino leaders').³⁴ It is also a willful prophecy, the guiding logic of Romulo's future practical accomplishments and actions in the sphere of world politics. 'Out of that grave, a dream.'

By the end of the Second World War, the Philippines was indeed already materially 'pledged' to the US. Despite the provision for Philippine independence in 1946 outlined in the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Law, for which anti-imperialist, protectionist and racist forces in the US had lobbied, the Philippines still figured in the US's postwar vision of a new international order. Two concerns were at the forefront of this vision: economic prosperity and political security. In the Philippines, those two concerns were addressed through the passage of several mutual treaties: the Bell Trade Act, the Military Bases Agreement and the Military Assistance Pact. The issues of free trade

and security, moreover, were very closely tied. They were the continuing proof of Philippine 'loyalty and faith in America', collateral for the granting of 'freedom'.

The passage of the Bell Trade Act in 1946 guaranteed the continuation of the 'free trade' agreements of the Commonwealth period, which had provided for the unlimited, tariff-free Philippine importation of US manufactured goods and for the limited, exclusive export of Philippine agricultural products (sugar, tobacco, coconut oil, hemp) to the US. The Bell Trade Act legislated the continuation of these asymmetrical exchange relations beyond Philippine independence. Such 'free trade' had already served to enrich and entrench a native ruling class eager to collaborate with the former colonizer as well as US corporations invested in local industries and thus had served to destroy local, subsistence economies in favor of the cash crops of the agricultural export economy.³⁵ The Bell Trade Act also granted American investors and corporations the same economic privileges and rights as Filipino citizens to own and exploit Philippine natural resources by means of a coerced amendment to the 1935 Philippine constitution, called the Parity Amendment.³⁶ This amendment as well as the provision tying the Philippine Peso to the US Dollar were 'designed to make American capital feel at home in the Philippines'.³⁷ Besides these economic dividends, there were also territorial dividends to be paid to America for so-called Philippine independence and the shared dream of democracy. The Military Bases Agreement (1947) and the Military Assistance Pact (1947) provided for, respectively, the establishment of US military bases on Philippine territory for 99 years and US military aid and logistical, technical and intelligence assistance to the Philippine military. Thus were the post-war bilateral 'special relations' between the US and the Philippines established and the 'mutual covenant' realized. These relations became the basis for long-standing fraternal collaborations between Filipino elite rulers and US economic and political forces, collaborations that have robbed and continue to rob Filipinos of true freedom over their historical fate.

Throughout these developments, Romulo played the role of mediator between the Philippines and the US, in all his diplomatic actions helping to realize the common destiny of the two countries that he espoused. Not only was Romulo a signatory of the United Nations

Charter (1945), he also served as President of the General Assembly (1949–50), as Philippine Ambassador to the United States (1952–1962), and as Secretary of Foreign Affairs under arguably the two most egregiously corrupt administrations in the history of the Philippine Republic, that of Elpidio Quirino (1948–1953) and Ferdinand Marcos (1966–1986). In these different capacities, Romulo negotiated agreement after agreement, settlement after settlement between the Philippines and the US, securing the guarantees of mutually-benefiting ties between the two governments: from war reparations to rent for the military bases, from a trade agreement that expanded ‘parity rights’ to encompass all Philippine industries (The Revised Bell Trade Act, 1954) to a treaty that continues to ensure joint US-Philippine military operations, from chronic US financial loans and aid, which underwrote rampant rent-seeking in the Philippine government, to a regional military security pact (SEATO, 1954), which supported the Cold War aims of the US.³⁸ By serving as the middleman of these bilateral transactions, Romulo was not only fulfilling the fantasy of US-Philippine relations that he had so affectingly spoke about in his speech to the US congress. In mediating regional and world political-military cooperation (besides being instrumental in the passage of SEATO, Romulo was twice President of the UN Security Council in 1957 and 1980), he was also helping to lay down the geopolitical foundations for the present-day fantasy of the Asia Pacific community (See Chapter 1).

In his Pulitzer Prize-winning autobiographical works, Romulo writes of ‘the immortal seed of heroes’ that runs through his Filipino veins, ‘the mark of [his] manhood, the symbol of [his] dignity as a human being’. He writes of the fraternal bonds between Filipinos and Americans and the deep primordial satisfaction of American sportsmanship and fair play that became a part of his practice of diplomacy. And he writes of his own personal struggle to be treated with respect and dignity as the micro-instance of the struggle of his country to be treated ‘as a full-fledged nation’ on the world stage. The particular masculinist character that Romulo offers in these narratives as representative of the nation demonstrates precisely the gendered subjective dynamics of international relations that he, in his capacity as Philippine statesman, helped to play out. That is to say, while this

masculinist posturing would seem to be merely a matter of individual disposition, it is in fact the subjective effect and regulative ideal of the system of political and economic relations characterizing post-Second World War Philippines. Politically, the Philippines was now a formally independent, sovereign nation, and a founding member of the fraternity of free nations represented by the United Nations. Economically, it was an underdeveloped neo-colony seeking competitive advantages in an inter-capitalist state system dominated by the political-militarist and economic world power, the US. The Philippine nation-state was in other words now a minor player in the Free World, which meant maneuvering within an international field of normative political and economic actions that hold particular dominant gendered assumptions and implications. It is against this field that we must view Romulo's expressed symbolic and subjective ideals of Philippine nationhood.

Put simply, the symbolic and subjective ideals performed by Romulo are instruments for the mobilization of the material institutions — foreign loans, financial and military aid, state power, a supranational juridical order and international trade agreements — that such ideals were important codes for organizing. In this respect, Romulo's nationalism was a mode of imagination that actively maintained and indeed helped to internationalize the codes of fantasy of the Free World. I am not saying that this state nationalism did not pose difficulties and resistances to US interests, for any review of the history of the post-Second World War period will show the uneven, acrimonious and violent processes through which state power was consolidated and bilateral 'agreements' were achieved.³⁹ However, it is precisely by working with the codes of the Free World ('parity', 'free trade', national and regional 'security', and later, economic 'protection' and 'controls'), that is, by trading in the symbolic and material currency of an emergent international community of exchange, that the Philippine nation-state contributes to the effective hold and crushing effect of such fantasy-scenarios on the rest of the nation's dreams.

To illustrate: the Philippines' formal political status as a free and sovereign nation and economic status as an independent national economy were the bargaining means by which conditions for bolstering competitive local powers and capital were secured. In exchange for 'freely' offering Philippine territory and military forces to the project

of the Cold War (for example, heeding Romulo's advice, President Quirino sent 5,000 Philippine troops to contribute to US forces in the Korean war), the Philippine state consistently received not only political and military backing but also large financial remunerations that became the basis of long-standing rent-seeking clientelist relations between the Philippines and the US and between the Philippine state and local elites. In exchange for 'parity' rights and other privileges accorded US businesses, local elites secured their monopolies of agricultural export industries, through which peasant workers came to be increasingly exploited. When unrestricted free trade combined with massive deficit spending brought about a serious foreign exchange crisis, nationalism became once more the means of instituting a system of import and exchange controls (1949–1961). These controls, however, only served to bolster luxury goods manufacturing industries and to increase sites of graft and corruption. The limits to industrial growth set by a dependence on subsidized imported capital goods and raw materials as well as the unabated corruption of state-connected businesses caused another balance-of-payments crisis that was answered with US and IMF-sponsored policies of renewed free trade and decontrol and the devaluation of the peso (1962–1972).⁴⁰ In turn, deepening social crises and labour unrest fueled growing militant activist and revolutionary movements, which led to US support for the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos (1972–1986).

While this brief outline makes quick summary of what were very complex and convoluted historical developments, I merely want to point out that throughout these changes in national policy, the ideals of 'sovereignty', 'security' and 'development' were not simply bandied about but rather put to real work by representatives of the Filipino polity. That is to say, the Philippine state's deployment and manipulation of the codes of international fantasy has fundamentally enabled the systemic exploitation and oppression of the great majority of Filipino lives. One might argue that the codes themselves have no agency and that it is the capitalist world-system and the rapacious dreams of its ruling elites that have wrought the nightmare lives countless Filipinos have lived and continue to live. My own view, however, is that such codes of fantasy are crucial components of the world-system and the rapacious and tawdry dreams of its third world despots like the

Marcoses. They are not the indifferent means of autonomous motive agencies. They also exercise a captivating material power over our practical imaginations. Thus at this moment when I write, as the marauding US state pressures the United Nations to take pre-emptive military action against Iraq, the Deputy Speaker of the Philippine Congress, Raul Gonzalez, cites UN Security Council provisions of international military cooperation to direct the role of the Philippine nation-state in the impending war. As Gonzalez said in behalf of the Philippine state, 'This country does not want war and prays for peace, but if war is inevitable and the UN supports it, we must abide by its treaty obligations.'⁴¹ The alienation of the very codes of international fantasy embodied in the UN that the Philippines itself had helped to found and extend is what allows these treaty obligations to delimit the possibilities of Philippine action to such disastrous ends. Moreover, as the rest of this book will show, to the extent that the organizing codes (as alienated social agencies) are themselves informed by logics of gender, race and sexuality, their practical invocation and mobilization will bear particular consequences for the social groups they implicate. On this view, the masculinist and fraternal ideals held by Romulo as he participated in laying down the geopolitical foundations for the present-day fantasy of the Asia Pacific are important in accounting for the inordinate burden that Filipino women have had to bear for their nation's role in the world.

This book thus takes as its central concern the gendering, racializing and sexualizing significance and consequence of the practical deployment of the codes of the Free World fantasy in Philippine politics and economics in the contemporary period. In order to offer an understanding of the dynamics of Philippine fantasy-production, I look at a broad range of phenomena characterizing the contemporary national formation of the Philippines, including the prostitution economy, the mass migration overseas of domestic workers, urban restructuring and the popular revolt deposing the Marcos dictatorship, as well as representational works of art, poetry, historical narrative and film, which try to intervene in these social conditions. I analyze how the normative scenarios and practical and ideal categories of fantasy-production (e.g. 'development' and 'growth', economic 'interests' and political 'security', 'dependence' and 'sovereignty', etc.) significantly

shape the subjective and social meanings and effects of these very different kinds of activities and, further, how they delimit the possibilities of historical transformative agency within the forms of dreaming they allow. In this way, I delineate the contours of the dominant national imaginary impelling and regulating the transformation of the Philippine economy from a prostitution industry to a domestic labour export industry, as well as the transformation of the Philippine state from an authoritarian, crony capitalist state to a putatively liberal-economic, elite-democratic one.

While it would appear that this fantasy-production I refer to is a unitary system governed by a single, evolutionary logic of progression (precisely what I claim it is not but rather how the world is represented to be and enjoined to behave), I intend neither to diminish nor to ignore all the mishaps, internal conflicts, failed as well as successful resistances, differentiations, singularities and sheer chaos and contingency that fill and animate the very movements out of which such a fantasy-history is erected. Much of this book is devoted precisely to the debris of fantasy-production, by which I mean the inassimilable remainders of its operation, and to their potential for steering history away from its present victors. In the first section, for example, my examination of the crisis management role of the nation-state discloses some of the social powers beyond its control (the powers that it in fact is at pains to control). Nevertheless, I feel it is equally important, precisely in the very affirmation of these missed potentials, to delineate the points of their capture. To dwell a little while on the horizon of their vanishing helps us remember what we must wrestle with and for whom (a whom, I should add, that is not fully there beforehand, that is inseparable from the struggle for its liberative realization).

There is more to this reiterative act than political commemoration. Re-staging the unitary and evolutionary terms of fantasy-production helps to delineate the unsurpassed limits of present imaginaries, many of them now under the sway of what Anna Tsing calls 'globalist fantasies'.⁴² Fantasy-production practices depend on a transcendent field of meaningful action, which they are the very process of materializing. This field, conceived in an earlier moment through the notion of 'the international community' and re-conceived in the present moment through the notion of 'global networks', is founded first in

the physical, substantial presence of the earth, and then in the seemingly immaterial (increasingly 'wireless') but nevertheless still substantial presence of global communication systems. Generated by the very same practices that make it the invisible or rather vanishing ground of their operation, this field consists of a universal, space-time coordinate system (a secularist spatio-temporal order) that continues to go virtually unchallenged as the locating system for all real, practical, political and/ or economic action, not to mention the basis of any world, or at least worldly, history.⁴³ It is this abstract system for synchronizing and charting planetary-time with global geopolitical space — a vanishing field for the operations of the global market as well as international politics — that enables fantasy-production practices to be business as usual.

'Today', particularly for the emerging global middle class, the fantasy of the free world has become as transparent or unremarkable as the languages of its production, organization and dissemination. By transparent I mean the categories and operations of the free world have lost their visibility as ideals and projects. To too many they have become nothing more than the vehicles and rules of global traffic — sheer means — for what would appear to be unquestionably vital and desirable exchanges. In this book, I highlight the ways in which categories such as the nation, the state, bodies and flows serve as figurative media of world-production. These figures are more than conceptual tools. They are social technologies created out of the very practices they are used to describe.⁴⁴ Just as feminized 'bodies' and the integrity attributed to them are produced out of the 'penetration' of the national economy (as itself a consolidated territorial entity) by foreign capital investments, so is the national 'state' produced out of the practices of 'negotiation' with its local and international counterparts.⁴⁵ Similarly, the fluidity later attributed to such bodies (in migrant 'flows' and 'brain drain' movements as well as 'floating populations' in 'seas of development') can be viewed as the effect of subsequent political and economic strategies of 'channelling' adopted to supercede state strategies of 'containment'.

Although it would seem, judging from the predominant language of globalist fantasy-production, that juridical subject-forms are now outmoded forms, this book shows that such conceits of so-called 'older'

(or, 'advanced') societies, which are said to be surpassed by new, post-industrial forms of organization, are still very much present. They are redeployed in national contexts such as the Philippines as instrumental bids to transnational inclusion (sometimes inadequately understood as third world adoptions of the structures of Western modernity), as when the government or business community present themselves as 'partners' to Western nations in the project of world development.⁴⁶ And they are redeployed in the global context as partial, flexible means of negotiating power and accumulating capital.⁴⁷ Like the nation-state, 'bodies' and 'subjects' have not so much disappeared as much as lost their prior, foundational guarantees. This 'freeing up' of older categories allows some 'others' to claim what might have been once unequivocally denied them (subjectivity), thereby requiring greater and greater violence to make the remaining, as well new, 'others' perform what is still an essential material conceit (bodies) for the operation of power. My discussion of the post-industrial corporeal racialization of Filipina domestic workers, in Chapter 3, speaks directly to this point.

This book argues that the fantasies of a postcolonial nation like the Philippines are at once symptomatic of and productive of an international system of desiring-actions among nations. It does not argue that these fantasies are *merely* symptomatic. However, it does make the case for the continuing power of the imaginary of the international capitalist system to shape and set limits to the possible imaginings of the contemporary postcolonial nation-state and its peoples. Unless we seriously interrogate the extent to which even counter-hegemonic movements participate in a dreaming that will ultimately not be ours, we cannot really understand or harness the cultural resources for other kinds of dreaming that we have at our disposal.

At the same time, *Fantasy-Production* views dreaming-actions of dominant political agencies such as the state as the product of a continuing struggle with contending forces from below. All the social texts I discuss show the power of people's desires to impel actions on the part of the state and state apparatuses. Indeed, much of the book is devoted to viewing the contradictory demands that these dominant agencies have to accommodate precisely in order to pursue their interests. That these contradictions show themselves in pathologized

forms of 'gender trouble' — as in the 'bulimic' behaviour of the post-authoritarian metropolitan government, which I discuss in Chapter 2 — is precisely the consequence of the normative gender and sexuality logics on which the fantasy-practices of the Philippine nation-state are predicated.

This book offers then not only a critique of fantasy-production but also a pursuit of alternative imaginaries and the unorthodox possibilities for historical change that they might bear. While I begin with an ideological critique of fantasy-production and the rules of its history, I also begin to move towards another kind of cultural analysis and history, one that is not fully caught in the experience of necessity or expediency but rather takes the risk of faith in possibility. To this end, I attempt to theorize and demonstrate the importance of following dreaming practices that tangentially escape the logic of desiring subjects, for the writing and making of other histories.

Like the notion of marginality, tangentiality refers to what is essential to the governmental power of prevailing orders but falls from its valorizing purview. Unlike marginality, however, tangentiality does not designate positions, places or identities, whose prior and continuing exclusion from fields of power is the instrument and effect of the logic of domination. It does not designate, in other words, the product-objects of a productive repression. It refers rather, to forces and movements that are harnessed to comprise the substantive content of universal structures (such as 'the nation'), but, at every point on the boundaries of which, tend elsewhere, at once exceeding and falling short of their universal function.⁴⁸ What I refer to as tangential, then, are the collective dream forces and movements that are harnessed for the construction of hegemonic subjects and their counter-hegemonic opposition, and yet escape the universal and universalizing forms of both.

To give an example from the book, against the hegemonic 'strong man' regime of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos (1972–1986), which engineered the 'prostitution' economy of the nation and the 'feminization' of Philippine labour, rose the counter-hegemonic 'feminine' popular uprising symbolically led by Corazon Aquino (see Chapter 5). However, between these two antagonistic representative subjects of the nation, whose dramatic confrontation in the televised

event of the 1986 'EDSA revolution' made national and international 'history', we can see, in the phenomenal mass following of the film actress, Nora Aunor, an emerging social movement, coursing through but tangential to both. To my thinking, the subjective inventions of Nora's mass following, which consisted almost exclusively of lower-class women, helped set the stage for the people's performance of power, which deposed the Marcos regime. These life-inventions of disenfranchised women provided primary resources for the reorganization of labour under the subsequent government of Aquino, which oversaw the nationalization of the domestic labour export industry. As I will argue in the last chapter, it is the capture of the heretical, 'feminine' power of this tangential social movement figured by the persona of Nora Aunor that fuels and shapes the foundation of a new national as well as global political economic order via the production of a new sociality — domestic labour.

The emergence of this tangential social movement (as Foucault reminds us, emergence 'always occurs in the interstice') is not, however, a spontaneous and pure self-presencing of 'the people'.⁴⁹ It is the by-product of the constitutive contradictions of fantasy-production claiming the privileged place of its dreaming, in this case, the revolting community represented by Aquino taking the place of the state. Tangential movements are, in this way, the unruly product (and unrecognized mediator) of dialectical struggle.⁵⁰ However, they are also what fall away from 'history' as it has dialectically come to be.⁵¹

'Following' such movements is more than the democratic restoration of diversity and heterogeneity to the world. Both furthering and diverging from secularist, critical realist histories that see this restoration as their end, I propose heretical visions in pursuit of impeded histories as well as histories yet to be made. Such visionary pursuits are not impelled by utopian hope. Rather, they are the liberating, creative acts of an impossible yet mundane faith. If cultural criticism is to participate in the sway of history in directions tangential to the dominant aims of fantasy-production, it must heed the wayward dream-acts of living social movements, such as Filipinas dreaming new tastes, trying out new lives. *Fantasy-Production* thus ends by exploring the potential of such dream-acts to serve as the practical and theoretical means of a liberative rephrasing of history.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

- 1 We might even say, in the contemporary context when the West's right to world hegemony has never been more besieged, it is also the enjoyment of seeing the afterlife of one's old possessions, no longer the pleasure of imperialist nostalgia but rather a certain *jouissance* in watching the tragicomic play of 'dispossessions of empire.' 'For the foreigner, romances/ of "Aloha,"/ For Hawaiians,/ dispossessions of empire.' Haunani-Kay Trask, 'Writing in Captivity: Poetry in a Time of Decolonization' in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), p. 22.
- 2 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 29.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 4 See for example the portrait of the Marcoses drawn by James Hamilton-Paterson who writes, 'if nothing else is clear, we at least have to recognize the centrality of *fantasy* to their regime. Onto Ferdinand's and Imelda's carefully edited pasts were grafted various myths and fragments of myths, ranging from the conquering hero to Cinderella, from cosmogony to Camelot, which in turn encapsulated snippets of the Abe Lincoln log-cabin-to-President mythology that Lyndon Baines Johnson also laid claim to James Hamilton-Paterson, *America's Boy: The Marcoses and the Philippines* (London: Granta Publications, 1998), p. 359. While Hamilton-Paterson sees *fantasy* as a general condition and practice of the heads of nation states, recalling how Ronald Reagan for example 'was equally deep

in a fantasy that had come to him via Hollywood, his “Star Wars” or Strategic Defense Initiative,’ this example becomes the measure by which the Marcoses particular fantasies appear to be ‘small beer, even quite touching’ (p. 360).

- 5 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p. 31.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 7 The conflation between imagination as analytical category and as historical object in the above formulation of imagination’s ‘newness’ is telling. Distinguished from older analytical notions of cultural practice (in Marxist, Freudian, modernization theories), imagination is not only a new concept (no longer ‘fantasy’ as false consciousness) but also a new thing (a form of work). While this conflation might be true of all paradigm-shifting efforts, this account obscures the participatory role of scholarly discourse in the making of real things, in this case the objectification of imaginary practices as labour. Instead, the analyst emerges once again as one who is merely finding theoretical adequation for a changed reality that he or she has no role in making. Appadurai argues that imagination’s new importance in social life is due to two features of our present day world: electronic mediation and mass migration. Technology and diasporic movements are the privileged forces that have brought about this historical rupture in global conditions. We might say, they are the ultimately determining instance in his theory of historical transformation.
- 8 Appadurai differentiates his theory of a rupture from older social theories of the ruptures of modernization by recourse to the negative: it is not teleological, not a project of social-engineering, not prognostic and not national (p. 9). Nevertheless, these differences do not seem to me to override some important shared modernist features such as the notion of a radical break and the privileging of technology as historical determinant and signifier of this break.
- 9 For a discussion of the value-productive activity of spectatorship (as a dominant form of social imagination), see the important work of Jonathan Beller, especially ‘Cinema, Capital of the Twentieth Century,’ *Postmodern Culture*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (May 1994): ‘The Spectatorship of the Proletariat’, *boundary 2*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Fall 1995): 171–228 and ‘Numismatics of the Sensual, Calculus of the Image,’ *Image [ε-] Narrative 6: Medium Theory* (2003).
- 10 They do not only become the new object of economic and political ventures, they also serve as the new object of scholarly inquiry.
- 11 As Appadurai represents their performance. My own view is that these songs are not performed in the mode of nostalgia. If there is a nostalgic resonance, it issues out of a sensibility of the ‘lack’ and ‘loss’ in Filipino

life that the performance of US plenitude and power implies. For an excellent critical exegesis of a contemporary Filipino popular song's parody of this 'lack', see B. Carlo M. Tadiar, "Picha Pie," Marx and Freud,' *Philippine Daily Inquirer Interactive* (http://www.inquirer.net/issues/aug2000/aug21/lifestyle/entertainment/ent_6.htm)

- 12 'It is precisely as *value-creating* that living labour is continually being absorbed into the valorization process of objectified labour. In terms of effort, of the expenditure of his life's energy, work is the personal activity of the worker. But as something which *creates value*, as something involved in the process of objectifying labour, the worker's labour becomes one of the *modes of existence* of capital, it is incorporated into capital as soon as it enters the production process.' Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 988.
- 13 It is to obey one of the fundamental axioms of fantasy-production, which posits that, like individual subjects, nations and peoples are their own causes, their lived conditions determined by their own internal constitution. This axiom is closely related to the first of two axioms that Samir Amin argues underwrites the Eurocentric vision of the world: 'The first is that internal factors peculiar to each society are decisive for that comparative evolution. The second is that the Western model of developed capitalism can be generalized to the entire planet.' *Eurocentrism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989), p. 109. For the role of the international media system, see Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997). Said argues that the consensus, which US-dominated international media 'feel themselves to be clarifying, crystallizing, forming,' works by setting limits and maintaining pressures rather than by dictating content (pp. 52–3). The global order of dreamwork works similarly. As I argue below, the limits and pressures that it sets appear in the shared language of international political and economic exchange.
- 14 Marx, *Capital*, p. 988.
- 15 Many scholars, following the activists, have argued this. See for example, the work of Saskia Sassen, who argues, 'that most global processes materialize in national territories and do so to a considerable extent through national institutional arrangements.' ('Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global: Elements for a Theorization', paper presented at the conference on 'Place, Locality and Globalization', University of California, Santa Cruz, 28 October 2000).
- 16 Chatterjee's task is to demonstrate the creativity of anti-colonial nationalist imagination before the expression of nationalism in proper political movements and, more, the inhering of these other, subaltern forms of

- imagination within universal forms of modern regimes of power. As he writes, this task 'might allow us the possibility not only to think of new forms of the modern community, which, as I argue, the nationalist experience in Asia and Africa has done from its birth, but, much more decisively, to think of new forms of the modern state.' *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 13.
- 17 As Arif Dirlik argues, 'Because Marxism is crucial to any critique of capitalism, no consideration of the future can afford to overlook the critical premises within the theory. Marxism as a guide to the future, however, is another matter entirely from Marxism as critique of capitalism. The Marxist vision of the future has been distorted by its internalization of capitalist spatiality and temporality; thus Marxism, as we have known it, however effective as a critique of capitalism, does not promise a viable or a desirable alternative to the capitalist mode of production.' *After the Revolution: Waking to Global Capitalism* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), p. 15.
 - 18 Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), p. 33.
 - 19 Revisiting Althusser's invocation of Pascal's 'Act as if you believe, pray, kneel down, and belief will come by itself,' Žižek clarifies the relationship between 'knowing' and 'doing' or conscious belief and practical ritual as a matter of 'an intricate reflective mechanism of retroactive "autopoeitic" causality, of how "external" ritual performatively generates its own ideological foundation: kneel down, and you shall believe that you knelt down because of our belief—that your kneeling was the effect/expression of your inner belief.' 'Class Struggle or Postmodernism? Yes, please!' in Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau and Slavoj Žižek, *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left* (London and New York: Verso, 2000), p. 118.
 - 20 Appadurai, p. 7.
 - 21 Žižek, *Sublime Object of Ideology*, p. 34.
 - 22 This is one of the insights of Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980) with regards to psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysis is one of the technologies that constitute the repressed desiring subject.
 - 23 This is also Althusser's position. See his famous essay, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' in *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1972).
 - 24 On other scales, such as that of the nation or of the individual subject, this history nevertheless continues. By this I mean that the political, economic, social and subjective structures and technologies of domination

that emerged out of Western imperialism continue to be ‘internally’ deployed by postcolonial nation-states in relation to their subaltern classes, and by individual postcolonial subjects in relation to their own residual affective and psychical subalternity.

- 25 See my ‘The Dream-Work of Modernity: The Sentimental Education of Imperial France,’ *boundary 2*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1995): 143–83.
- 26 *Fantasy-production* is precisely about production as signification and signification as production. While Marxism has often separated these questions, foregrounding the determinate character of production and, among literary and cultural critics, secondarily linking it to questions of signification, notably through the categories of ideology, aesthetics and politics, Marx himself, most famously in his analysis of commodity-fetishism, critiques their inextricably intertwined operation (money as sign, commodity as representation).
- 27 My thinking on the inextricable relation between production and signification, and the role of desire as a force coursing through both is also indebted to the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, especially *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983) and *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
- 28 Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 59.
- 29 In tracing the dominant logics of gender, race and sexuality to histories and cultures of imperialism, I do not wish to imply that these have effectively wiped out local systems of gender, race and sexuality. I merely want to emphasize the cultural power that international political and economic systems exercise, before and beyond the particular contents of what would be conventionally understood as forms of cultural imperialism. Under the sway of international capitalist culture, local gender, race and sexuality practices become subaltern practices. How such subaltern activity persists in the interstices of capitalist social relations is a concern that I am currently addressing in the work that follows this one, entitled *Things Fall Away*.
- 30 Rey Chow, *Woman and Chinese Modernity: The Politics of Reading Between West and East* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. xiii.
- 31 Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’o, *Penpoints, Gunpoints, and Dreams: Towards a Critical Theory of the Arts and the State in Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 20.
- 32 Carlos P. Romulo, *My Brother Americans*, excerpted in Liana Romulo and

- Marivi Soliven-Blanco, ed. *The Romulo Reader* (Manila: Bookmark, Inc., 1998), p. 48.
- 33 Excerpted in *The Romulo Reader*, pp. 49–52.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 35 See Amado Guerrero, *Philippine Society and Revolution* (Manila: Pulang Tala Publications, 1971) and Renato Constantino, *A Past Revisited* (Quezon City: Tala Publication Services, 1975).
- 36 Philippine Congress managed to pass this act only by ousting eleven Democratic Alliance senators and congressmen who opposed its passage. Supported by the HUKBALAHAP, the anti-colonial people's army founded under Japanese occupation, these senators and congressmen were accused of electoral fraud.
- 37 Nick Cullather, *Illusions of Influence: The Political Economy of United States-Philippines Relations, 1942–1960* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 37.
- 38 'Romulo shuttled between New York and Washington, keeping close touch with American officials and speaking with them on various topics: the politics of the United Nations, France's troubles in Indochina, the rehabilitation of Japan. Romulo often reminded the Americans of Filipinos' attachment to "our common ideology." He missed few opportunities to stress the "urgency" of the Philippines' financial situation. But most important, Romulo tracked the blood pressure of [US Secretary of State Dean] Acheson and others in the American administration, and he issued warnings to Manila when apoplexy approached. The accuracy of his analyses was reflect in the fact that for all their fulminations the Americans always stopped short of pulling the plug on aid.' H. W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 235. Brands' history is in the service of the tenacious argument that 'America's treatment of the Philippines, at least after the suppression of resistance to annexation, was gentle and well received' (p. 353). Hence, it tends to underplay the pernicious, violent side of US involvement in Philippine affairs.
- 39 The 1949 presidential election that brought Quirino to power was one of the bloodiest and most terroristic in Philippine history. It was during Quirino's regime that the formidable peasant Huk rebellion was crushed (with the crucial help of CIA counter-insurgency intelligence and logistical support) and the US-Philippine Mutual Defense Treaty ratified.
- 40 Joseph Y. Lim, 'Our Economic Crisis: A Historical Perspective,' in *Synthesis: Before and Beyond February 1986*, ed. Lilia Quindoza Santiago (Quezon City: The Interdisciplinary Forum of the University of the Philippines, 1986).

- 41 Quoted in 'Salonga: No State of War, No Use of Air Space,' *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (17 September 2002) [http://www.inq7.net/nat/2002/sep/17/nat_3-2.htm]
- 42 'The Global Situation,' paper presented at the conference on 'Place, Locality and Globalization', University of California, Santa Cruz, 28 October 2000. The features of globalist fantasies which are critically described by Tsing, namely, futurism, geographical and ideological confluences and the valorized focus on circulation, can be seen to be shaped by the assumption of a common field, which Tsing calls attention to in asking, 'what is this thing we call the globe?' In a related vein, Kuan-Hsing Chen has commented on globalization as a structure of feeling. Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Conference 2000, 1–3 December 2000, Kyushu University, Fukuoka, Japan.
- 43 There is hardly any serious questioning of the 'real time' in which we live. Exceptions include Fatima Mernissi's discussion of the imperialism of secularist, Western time, the universal time standard instituted by the atomic clock. Mernissi suggests that this temporality is the military-secured temporality of global capitalism. For discussions of history as encounters between conflicts of time, see Enrique Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "The Other" and the Myth of Modernity*, trans. Michael D. Barber (New York: Continuum, 1995) and Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'The Time of Gods and the Time of History' in *The Politics Of Culture In The Shadow Of Capital*, ed. Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).
- 44 Economists have begun to recognize the ways in which their theories help to make the worlds they describe. See Donald MacKenzie, "Fear in the Markets" in *London Review of Books online* [<http://www.lrb.co.uk/v22/n08/mack2208.htm>] and Michael Perelman, *The Invention Of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy And The Secret History Of Primitive Accumulation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000). Perelman describes the agency of classical political economy in the furthering, not merely the explanation, of the development of modern capitalism. This was, of course, already a crucial insight of Marx.
- 45 See Patricio J. Abinales, *Making Mindanao: Cotabato and Davao in the Formation of the Philippine Nation-State* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000) for an insightful discussion of the making of the Philippine colonial-state in the periphery as a prehistory of the 'strong' state inhabited by the Marcos regime.
- 46 See Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990). A considerable body of postcolonial work argues that such 'reproductions' are not in fact 'reproductions' but

- 'alternative' forms of modernity. See, for example, Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, ed. *Alternative Modernities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
- 47 See Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics Of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
- 48 I use 'universal' here in the sense of money as a universal, where a generalized abstraction has reached a level of operational effectivity as to make it a fundamental though invisible (i.e. transparent) 'command-control point' of dominant systemic practices and relations. The software categories and hardware components of fantasy-production are precisely ideologically authoritative and politically and economically forceful bids to 'universality'. We might liken them, respectively, to 'the window-icon-menu-pointer (WIMP) interface of the Mac and Windows, a culturally specific and, in the event, interculturally normative visual vocabulary as powerful as colonial English' and the USB port. Sean Cubitt, *Digital Aesthetics* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), p. 2.
- 49 Quoted by Judith Butler, 'Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the Limits of Formalism' in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*, ed. Judith Butler, Ernesto Laclau and Slavoj Žižek (London and New York: Verso, 2000) p. 38.
- 50 Deconstruction has shown the limits of the dialectical mode but at the same time has perhaps given it short shrift, by not recognizing the creativity 'internal' to it. It has also overestimated the power of the agencies of this creativity (or rather, assumed too quickly that their potential was already power, ignoring the very fields of meaning and order which determine what effectively can act powerfully, and therefore *be* power). As a consequence, it has largely been content to point to their presence, and to remain theoretically unswayed by the acting claims of such creative agencies. Moreover, by conveying a generalized subjection, it helps to realize the new religion of fantasy-production through a human predication on the artifices (linguistic, social, epistemological) of its own making. As Wlad Godzich's extolling of the merits of deconstruction makes clear: 'The epistemological ground favored by deconstruction permits the assertion of an equality between all human beings by virtue of their dispossession from the domain of meaning. The insistence on aporia, undecidability, the fact of the dependence of our thought processes upon language and its topological games, all convey the same sort of human powerlessness that obtained within religious thought, without any of the latter's transcendental dimension.' Wlad Godzich, *The Culture of Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994) pp. 243–4. It is this generalization of dispossession and the concomitant

undertheorization of peculiarity (not particularity) that makes the deconstruction of nationhood and of other hegemonic forms of postcoloniality the theoretical supplement of globalist fantasy-production. Or, more accurately, as the endpoint of cultural analysis, the generalization of subjection (advanced by expansionist theories) marks the limits set by fantasy-production, limits beyond which we must go if we want to do something else besides give the new globalist fantasy-production a symbolic adequation of itself (what might have once been called a ‘consciousness’). While I recognize that deconstruction, like historical materialism, (whose symbolic technologies I draw heavily upon) still crucially enables political action and social concern, I am also arguing that these theories need to connect, through the mediating involvement on the part of cultural analyses, to the wayward theoretical claims performed in people’s actions as well as articulated by intellectuals becoming-people. See Walter Dignolo’s related argument about the imperative to act on colonial difference in ‘Dussel’s Philosophy of Liberation: Ethics and the Geopolitics of Knowledge’ in *Thinking From The Underside of History*, ed. Linda Martin Alcoff and Eduardo Mendieta (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000). As interpreters, we must go closer to the creation of meaning (rather than remain its discoverers), if we are to participate in the breaking of new paths taking place all around us. I elaborate on this point in the conclusion.

- 51 As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri write, in their critique of Satrean cultural politics: ‘The power of the dialectic, which in the hands of colonial power mystified the reality of the colonial world, is adopted again as part of an anticolonial project as if the dialectic were itself the real form of the movement of history. Reality and history, however, are not dialectical, and no idealist rhetorical gymnastics can make them conform to the dialect.’ *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 131.

PART I

- 1 There is, I believe, a Latin American (probably Mexican) version of this joke. The origin is less important than what it illuminates in its dissemination.
- 2 Inasmuch as he is perceived to have been portrayed as a pacifist and a reformist desiring integration into the West, in contrast to Andres Bonifacio who has been generally portrayed as a revolutionary who called for an armed separatist struggle (see Chapter 4). Nevertheless, Rizal is generally credited with ideologically spearheading the revolutionary

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