WORLD-SYSTEMS ANALYSIS *An Introduction*

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, as we have noted, was a turning-point in the cultural history of the modern world-system, having brought about two fundamental changes that may be said to constitute the basis of what became the geoculture of the modern world-system: the normality of political change and the refashioning of the concept of sovereignty, now vested in the people who were "citizens." And this concept, as we have said, although meant to include, in practice excluded very many.

The political history of the modern world-system in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries became the history of a debate about the line that divides the included from the excluded, but this debate was occurring *within the framework of a geoculture that proclaimed the inclusion of all as the definition of the good society*. This political dilemma was fought out in three different arenas—the ideologies, the antisystemic movements, and the social sciences. These arenas seemed to be separate. They claimed they were separate. But in fact, they were intimately linked the one with the others. Let us discuss each in turn.

An ideology is more than a set of ideas or theories. It is more than a moral commitment or a worldview. It is a coherent strategy in the social arena from which one can draw quite specific political conclusions. In this sense, one did not need ideologies in previous world-systems, or indeed even in the modern world-system before the concept of the normality of change, and that of the citizen who was ultimately responsible for such change, were adopted as basic structural principles of political institutions. For ideologies presume that there exist competing groups with competing long-term strategies of how to deal with change and who best should take the lead in dealing with it. The ideologies were born in the wake of the French Revolution.

The first to be born was the ideology of conservatism. This was the ideology of those who thought that the French Revolution and its principles were a social disaster. Almost immediately, some basic texts were written, one by Edmund Burke in England in 1790 and then a series by Joseph de Maistre in France. Both authors had previously been moderate reformers in their views. Both would now enunciate an arch-conservative ideology in reaction to what seemed to them a dangerous attempt of radical intervention in the basic structure of social order.

What particularly upset them was the argument that the social order was infinitely malleable, infinitely improvable, and that human political intervention could and should accelerate the changes. Conservatives considered such intervention hybris, and very dangerous hybris at that. Their views were rooted in a pessimistic view of man's moral capacities; they found false and intolerable the fundamental optimism of the French revolutionaries. They felt that whatever shortcomings existed in the social order in which we live ultimately caused less human evil than the institutions that would be created out of such hybris. After 1793 and the Reign of Terror, in which French revolutionaries sent other French revolutionaries to the guillotine for not being revolutionary enough, conservative ideologues tended to formulate their views by saying that revolution as a process led, almost inevitably, to such a reign of terror.

Conservatives were therefore counter-revolutionaries. They were "reactionaries" in the sense that they were reacting to the drastic changes of the revolution and wished to "restore" what now began to be called the *ancien régime*. Conservatives were not necessarily totally opposed to any evolution of customs and rules. They simply preached acute caution, and insisted that the only ones to decide on any such changes had to be the responsible people in the traditional social institutions. They were especially suspicious of the idea that everyone could be a citizen—with equal rights and duties—since most people, in their view, did not have, would never have, the judgment necessary to make important sociopolitical decisions. They put their faith instead in hierarchical political and religious structures—in the large ones of course, but in a sense even more in the *local* structures: the best families, the "community," whatever came under the heading of notables. And they put their faith in the family, that is, the hierarchical, patriarchal family structure. Faith in hierarchy (as both inevitable and desirable) is the hallmark of conservatism.

The political strategy was clear—restore and maintain the authority of

these traditional institutions, and submit to their wisdom. If the result was very slow political change, or even no political change at all, so be it. And if these institutions decided to implement a process of slow evolution, so be it also. Respect for hierarchy was, conservatives believed, the sole guarantor of order. Conservatives thus abhorred democracy, which for them signaled the end of respect for hierarchy. They were furthermore suspicious of widespread access to education, which for them ought to be reserved for the training of élite cadres. Conservatives believed that the gulf between the capacities of the upper and lower classes was not only insuperable but part of basic human character and hence mandated by heaven.

The French Revolution, narrowly defined, did not last very long. It transmuted into the regime of Napoleon Bonaparte, who transposed its universalistic self-assurance and missionary zeal into French imperial expansion justified by revolutionary heritage. Politically, conservative ideology was on the rise everywhere after 1794, and presumably ensconced in power after Napoleon's defeat in 1815 in a Europe dominated by the Holy Alliance. Those who thought that any return to the ancien régime was both undesirable and impossible had to regroup and develop a counter-ideology. This counter-ideology came to be called liberalism.

The liberals wished to shed the albatross of association with the reign of terror and yet salvage what they thought was the underlying spirit that emerged from the French Revolution. They insisted that change was not only normal but inevitable, because we live in a world of eternal progress toward the good society. They acknowledged that overhasty change could be, indeed was, counterproductive, but they insisted that *traditional* hierarchies were untenable and basically illegitimate. The slogan of the French Revolution that appealed to them most was "careers open to talents" (*la carrière ouverte aux talents*), an idea today more familiar in the phrases "equality of opportunity" and "meritocracy." It was around such slogans that liberals would build their ideology. Liberals made a distinction between different kinds of hierarchies. They were not against what they thought of as *natural* hierarchies; they were against *inherited* hierarchies. Natural hierarchies, they argued, were not only natural but acceptable to the mass of the population and therefore a legitimate and legitimated basis of authority, whereas inherited hierarchies made social mobility impossible.

Against conservatives who were the "Party of Order," liberals presented themselves as the "Party of Movement." Changing situations required constant *reform* of the institutions. But the consequent social change should occur at a natural pace—that is, neither too slowly nor too rapidly. The question that liberals broached was who should take the lead in such necessary reforms. They put no trust in traditional hierarchies, national or local,

clerical or secular. But they were also very suspicious of the mass of the population, the mob, who they thought were essentially uneducated and consequently irrational.

This meant, the liberals concluded, that there was only one group that should take the lead and the responsibility for deciding on what changes were necessary—the specialists. Specialists, by definition, understood the realities of whatever they had studied and therefore could best formulate the reforms that were necessary and desirable. Specialists, by their training, were inclined to be prudent and insightful. They appreciated both the possibilities and the pitfalls of change. Since every *educated* person was a specialist in something, it followed that those who would be allowed to exercise the role of citizen were those who were educated and were therefore specialists. Others might eventually be admitted to this role, when they had received the proper education to permit them to join the society of rational, educated men.

But what kind of education? The liberals argued that education had now to shift from the "traditional" forms of knowledge, what we today call the humanities, toward the only theoretical basis of practical knowledge, science. Science (replacing not only theology but philosophy as well) offered the path for material and technological progress, and hence for moral progress. Of all the kinds of specialists, the scientists represented the acme of intellectual work, the *summum bonum*. Only political leaders who based their immediate programs on scientific knowledge were reliable guides to future welfare. As can be readily seen, liberalism was a quite moderate ideology in terms of social change. Indeed, it has always emphasized its moderation, its "centrism" in the political arena. In the 1950s a leading American liberal, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., wrote a book about liberalism, which he entitled *The Vital Center*.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the ideological scene was basically a conflict between conservatives and liberals. There really was no strong group espousing a more radical ideology. Those who were inclined to be radical often attached themselves to liberal movements as a small appendage, or sought to create small loci of dissenting views. They called themselves democrats, or radicals, or sometimes socialists. They of course had no sympathy for conservative ideology. But they found that the liberals, even while accepting the normality of change and supporting (at least in theory) the concept of citizenship, were extremely timid and actually quite afraid of fundamental change.

It was the "world revolution" of 1848 that transformed the ideological panorama from one with two ideological contenders (conservatives versus liberals) into one with three—conservatives on the right, liberals in the

center, and radicals on the left. What happened in 1848? Essentially two things. On the one hand, there occurred the first true "social revolution" of the modern era. For a very brief period, a movement supported by urban workers seemed to acquire some power in France, and this movement had resonances in other countries. The political prominence of this group wouldn't last long. But it was frightening to those who had power and privilege. At the same time, there was another revolution, or series of revolutions, which the historians have called "the springtime of the nations." In a number of countries, there were national or nationalist uprisings. They were equally unsuccessful, and equally frightening to those with power. The combination marked the beginning of a pattern that would engage the world-system for the next century and more: antisystemic movements as key political players.

The world revolution of 1848 was a sudden flame that was doused, and acute repression followed for many years. But the revolution raised major questions about strategies, that is, ideologies. The conservatives drew a clear lesson from these events. They saw that the blindly reactionary tactics of Prince Metternich, who served for forty years as the minister of state (in effect, foreign minister) of Austria-Hungary and had been the moving spirit behind the Holy Alliance designed to stifle all revolutionary movements in Europe, and all who stood with him, were counterproductive. Their tactics did not in the long run work to conserve traditions nor to guarantee order. Instead they provoked angers, resentments, and subversive organization, and therefore undermined order. Conservatives noticed that the only country to avoid a revolution in 1848 was England, even though it had had the most significant radical movement in Europe in the preceding decade. The secret seemed to be the mode of conservatism preached and practiced there between 1820 and 1850 by Sir Robert Peel, which consisted of timely (but limited) concessions aimed at undercutting the long-term appeal of radical action. Over the next two decades, Europe saw Peelite tactics take root in what came to be called "enlightened conservatism," which thrived not only in England but in France and Germany as well.

Meanwhile, the radicals also drew strategic lessons from their failures in the revolutions of 1848. They no longer wished to play the role of appendage of the liberals. But spontaneity, which had been a major resource of pre-1848 radicals, had demonstrated its acute limitations. Spontaneous violence had the effect of throwing paper on a fire. The fire flamed up but just as quickly went out. Such violence was not a very durable fuel. Some radicals before 1848 had preached an alternative, that of creating utopian communities which withdrew from involvement with the larger social arena. But this project seemed to have little attraction for most people, and had even less impact on the overall historical system than spontaneous rebellion. Radicals searched for a more effective alternative strategy, and they would find one in organization—systematic, long-term organization that would prepare the ground politically for fundamental social change.

Finally, liberals also drew a lesson from the revolutions of 1848. They came to realize that it was insufficient to preach the virtues of relying upon specialists to effectuate reasonable and timely social change. They had to operate actively in the political arena so that matters would in fact be turned over to the specialists. And for them this meant dealing with both their ancient conservative rivals and their newly emerging radical rivals. If liberals wished to present themselves as the political center, they had to work at it with a program that was "centrist" in its demands, and a set of tactics that would locate them somewhere halfway between conservative resistance to any change and radical insistence on extremely rapid change.

The period between 1848 and the First World War saw the delineation of a clear liberal program for the core countries of the modern world-system. These countries sought to establish themselves as "liberal states"—that is, states based on the concept of citizenship, a range of guarantees against arbitrary authority, and a certain openness in public life. The program that the liberals developed had three main elements: gradual extension of the suffrage and, concomitant with this and essential to it, the expansion of access to education; expanding the role of the state in protecting citizens against harm in the workplace, expanding health facilities and access to them, and ironing out fluctuations in income in the life cycle; forging citizens of a state into a "nation." If one looks closely, these three elements turn out to be a way of translating the slogan of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" into public policy.

There are two main things to be noticed about this liberal program. The first is that it was implemented in large part by the time of the First World War, at least in the pan-European world. The second is that the liberal parties were not always those who in fact did the most to implement the program. Somewhat curiously, the liberal program was implemented to a significant degree by non-liberals—a consequence of the revisions in strategies of the three ideologies that occurred after the revolutions of 1848. The liberals retreated somewhat, becoming timid in prosecuting their own program. They feared bringing on the turmoil of 1848 a second time. The conservatives, on the other hand, decided that the liberal program was modest and essentially sensible. They began to legislate it—Disraeli's extension of the suffrage, Napoleon III's legalization of the trade unions, Bis-

marck's invention of the welfare state. And the radicals began to settle for these limited reforms, indeed argue for them, while building their organizational base for a future accession to governmental power.

The combination of these three tactical shifts by the three ideological groups meant that the liberal program became in effect the common defining feature of the geoculture, the conservatives and the radicals having transformed themselves into mere variants or avatars of the liberals, with whom their differences became marginal rather than fundamental. It is especially in the third pillar of "fraternity" that we can see a steady coming-together of the three ideological positions. How does one create a nation? By underlining how citizenship excludes the others out there. One creates a nation by preaching nationalism. Nationalism was taught in the nineteenth century through three main institutions: the primary schools, the army, and the national celebrations.

The primary schools were the lodestar of the liberals, applauded by the radicals, and acceded to by the conservatives. They turned workers and peasants into citizens who possessed the minimum capacities needed to perform national duties: the famous trio of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The schools taught civic virtues, overriding the particularisms and prejudices of the family structures. And above all, they taught the national language. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, few European countries had in practice a single national language. By the end, most of them did.

Nationalism is secured by hostility to enemies. Most states in the core sought to instill this hostility toward some neighbor, on some ground or other. But there was another, ultimately more important, form of this hostility, that of the pan-European world facing the rest of the world, a hostility institutionalized as racism. This was located in the diffusion of the concept of "civilization"—in the singular, as opposed to the plural. The pan-European world, dominating the world-system economically and politically, defined itself as the heart, the culmination, of a civilizational process which it traced back to Europe's presumed roots in Antiquity. Given the state of its civilization and its technology in the nineteenth century, the pan-European world claimed the duty to impose itself, culturally as well as politically, on everyone else—Kipling's "White man's burden," the "manifest destiny" of the United States, France's *mission civilisatrice.*

The nineteenth century became the century of renewed direct imperialism, with this added nuance. Imperial conquest was no longer merely the action of the state, or even of the state encouraged by the churches. It had become the passion of the nation, the duty of the citizens. And this last part of the liberal program was taken up with a vengeance by the conservatives, who saw in it a sure way of muting class divisions and thereby guaranteeing

internal order. When virtually all European socialist parties opted in 1914 to support their national side in the war, it was clear that the conservative belief about the effect of nationalism on the erstwhile dangerous classes had been correct.

The triumph of liberalism in defining the geoculture of the modern world-system in the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth was made possible institutionally by the development of the legal underpinnings of the liberal state. But it was also made possible by the rise and steadily increasing importance of the antisystemic movements. This may seem paradoxical, since antisystemic movements presumably exist to undermine the system, not to sustain it. Nonetheless, the activities of these movements served on the whole to reinforce the system considerably. Dissecting this seeming paradox is crucial to understanding the way in which the capitalist world-economy— constantly growing in size and wealth and simultaneously in the polarization of its benefits—has been held together.

Inside the states, attempts by groups to achieve inclusion as citizens became a central focus of the antisystemic movements, that is, organizations which sought to bring about fundamental changes in social organization. They were in a sense seeking to implement the slogan of liberty, equality, and fraternity in a way different from that of the liberals. The excluded group that was the earliest to create serious organizations was the urban industrial working class, what was called the proletariat. This group was concentrated in a few urban localities and its members found it easy to communicate with one another. When they began to organize, their conditions of work and level of recompense were obviously poor. And they played a crucial role in the major productive activities that generated surplus-value.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, workplace organizations (trade unions) and public arena organizations (workers' and socialist parties) began to emerge, first in the strongest centers of industrial production (western Europe and North America) and then elsewhere. For most of the nineteenth century and a good part of the twentieth century, the state machineries were hostile to these organizations, as were the firms. It followed that the class struggle was a lopsided field of contention, in which the "social movement" was fighting a difficult, uphill battle for successive, relatively small concessions.

In this pattern of muted political struggle, there was a further element which returns us to our discussion of households and status-group identities. The social movement defined its struggle as that of the workers versus the capitalists. But who were the "workers"? In practice, they tended to be defined as adult males of the dominant ethnic group in a given country. They were for the most part skilled or semiskilled workers, with some edu-

cation, and they constituted the bulk of the industrial labor force worldwide in the nineteenth century. Those who were "excluded" from this category found that since they seemed to have little place in the socialist/workers' organizations, they had to organize themselves in status-group categories (women on the one hand and racial, religious, linguistic, and ethnic groups on the other). These groups were often quite as antisystemic as the labor and socialist movements, but they defined their immediate grievances quite differently.

However, in organizing themselves along these lines, they entered into competition with and often opposition to the class-based organizations of the workers. From circa 1830 to 1970, the history of the relations between these two kinds of antisystemic movements was one of great tension, even hostility, with at most occasional interludes of sympathy and cooperation. What is more, during this period the multiple status-group identity organizations found it no easier to cooperate with each other than any of them did with the labor and socialist organizations.

However these status-group identity organizations defined their long-run objectives (and many of them were silent about this), their middle-run objectives were all grouped around the theme of extending citizenship rights to them as excluded groups. They all faced at least reluctance, more often active hostility, to their proposals to include them within the framework of full citizens in the liberal state. They faced two fundamental issues of strategy. The first was what kind of middle-run strategy would be most efficacious. The second was what kinds of alliances each variety of antisystemic movement should establish with the other variants. Neither question was easily or rapidly solved.

Excluded groups had some obvious, immediate difficulties in political organization. The law often restricted their right to organize in many ways. The potential members were for the most part individually weak in terms of quotidian power. They did not have collectively (or for the most part individually) significant access to money. The major institutions of the various states tended to be hostile to their efforts. The groups were thus easily oppressed. In short, the process of organizing was long and slow, and they spent the most part of this period merely keeping their organizational head above water.

One basic debate involved whether it was more important for the oppressed groups to change themselves or to change the institutions that were oppressing them. This was sometimes phrased as the difference between a cultural strategy and a political strategy. For example, for a nationalist group, is it more important to revive a dying national language or to elect persons from the group to the legislature? For a workers' movement, is it more

important to refuse the legitimacy of all states (anarchism) or to transform the existing states? The quarrels inside the movements over strategy were fierce, unyielding, very divisive, and strongly felt by the participants.

To be sure, the two emphases were not necessarily exclusive of each other, but many felt that they led in quite different strategic directions. The case for the cultural option, if we may call it that, was always that political changes were in the end superficial and co-optative and vitiated the radical, or antisystemic, underlying objectives. There was also a sociopsychological argument—that the system held ordinary people captive by organizing their psyches, and that undoing the socialization of these psyches was an indispensable prerequisite for social change. The case for the political option was that the proponents of the cultural option were naïve victims of delusions, because they assumed that the powers that be would permit them to make the kind of serious cultural changes they envisaged. Those arguing for the political option always emphasized the realities of power, and insisted that transforming the relations of power, not changing the psyches of the oppressed, was the prerequisite to any real change.

What happened historically is that after thirty to fifty years of both friendly and unfriendly debate, the proponents of the political option won the internal battles in all the antisystemic movements. The constant suppression of the activities of movements of either emphasis by the powers that be made the cultural options in their various forms seem unviable for the antisystemic movements. More and more persons turned to being "militant," and more and more militants turned to being "well organized," and the combination could only be efficiently realized by groups that had chosen the political option. By the beginning of the twentieth century, one could say not only that the political option had won out in this debate over strategy but that the antisystemic movements had agreed—each variety separately, but in parallel ways—on a two-step agenda of action: first obtain power in the state; then transform the world/the state/the society.

Of course there remained a great deal of ambiguity in this two-step strategy. The main question was what it meant to obtain power in the state, and how one could do it in any case. (The question of how to transform the world/the state/the society was less often debated, perhaps because it was seen as a question of the future rather than of the present.) For example, was power in the state achieved by extending the suffrage? By participating in elections and then in governments? Did it involve sharing power or taking power from others? Did it involve changing state structures or simply controlling the existing ones? None of these questions was ever fully answered, and most organizations survived best by allowing partisans of different, often contradictory, answers to remain within their fold.

Even once the two-step political strategy was made the central focus of organizational action, the internal debates did not cease. For the question then became: How could one take over the state machinery? The classic debate was that between the Second and Third Internationals, a debate that had begun earlier within the framework of the social democratic parties. It was often framed, a bit misleadingly, as the debate between reformism and revolutionary activity. When Eduard Bernstein urged upon the German Social-Democratic Party his "revisionism," what was it he was arguing? Essentially the core of the argument involved a series of successive premises: The majority of the population were "workers," by which he meant industrial workers and their families. Universal (male) suffrage would make all these workers full citizens. The workers would vote according to their interests, which meant to support the Social-Democratic Party. Ergo, once there was universal male suffrage, the workers would vote the Social-Democrats into power. Once in power, the Social-Democrats would pass the necessary legislation to transform the country into a socialist society. Each of these successive premises seemed to be logical. Each turned out to be false.

The revolutionary position was different. As formulated classically by Lenin, it was that in many countries proletarians were not the majority of the population. In many countries, there was no free electoral process; and if there were, the bourgeoisie would not really respect the results if the proletariat tried to vote itself into power. The bourgeoisie simply would not permit it. The revolutionaries suggested a series of counterpremises: The urban proletariat was the only progressive historical actor. Even the urban proletarians, not to speak of other parts of the population (rural workers, for example), were not always aware of their own interests. Militants of workers' parties were able to define the interests of the urban proletariat more clearly than the average proletarian, and could induce the workers to understand their interests. These militants could organize in a clandestine fashion and could achieve power by an insurrection which would gain the support of the urban proletariat. They could then impose a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and transform the country into a socialist society. Each of these successive premises seemed to be logical. Each turned out to be false.

One of the biggest problems of the antisystemic movements in the late nineteenth century and most of the twentieth was their incapacity to find much common ground. The dominant attitude in each variety of antisystemic movement was that the grievances which its adherents articulated were the fundamental ones and that the grievances of other varieties of movements were secondary and distracting. Each variety insisted that its grievances be dealt with first. Each argued that dealing successfully with its grievances would create a situation in which the other grievances could be solved subsequently and consequently.

We see this first of all in the difficult relations between the worker/socialist movements and the women's movements. The attitude of the trade unions to women's movements was basically that the employment of women was a mechanism used by employers to obtain cheaper labor and that it therefore represented a threat to the interests of the working classes. Most urban workers during the nineteenth century and for a good part of the twentieth century believed in a social model in which married women should be housewives who stayed out of the labor market. In place of the entry of women into the labor market, trade unions struggled to obtain what was called a "family wage," by which was meant a wage sufficient for the male industrial worker to support himself, his wife, and his non-adult children.

Socialist parties were, if anything, even more dubious about the role of women's organizations. Except for the women's groups which defined themselves as sections of socialist parties and whose objective was to organize the wives and daughters of the party members for educational tasks, women's organizations were considered bourgeois organizations, since their leadership most often came from the ranks of bourgeois women, and their objectives were therefore seen as being of at most secondary interest to the working class. As for women's suffrage, while in theory socialist parties were in favor of it, in practice they were highly skeptical. They believed that working-class women were less likely than working-class men to vote for socialist parties because of the influence on them of religious organizations that were hostile to the socialist parties.

The women's organizations returned the favor. They saw the worker and socialist movements as perpetuators of the patriarchal attitudes and policies against which they were struggling. Middle-class women in suffragist organizations often made the argument that they were more educated than working-class men, and that by liberal logic, it followed that they should be granted full citizenship rights first, which historically was not the case in most countries. The legal rights to inherit, to handle money, to sign contracts, and in general to be independent persons in the eyes of the law were generally of much greater relevance to those families that had property. And women's campaigns against social problems (alcoholism, mistreatment of women and children) and for control of their own bodies were often directed more immediately against working-class men than against middle-class men.

The relationship of worker/social movements to ethnic/nationalist movements exhibited parallel difficulties. Within countries, the workers' move-

ments saw ethnic movements of any kind as mechanisms through which to divide the working classes. Demands by oppressed ethnic and racial groups for inclusion in the job market met the same response as demands by women. They were seen essentially as something serving the interests of the employers, making it possible for them to obtain cheaper labor. Many trade unions sought to exclude such "minorities" from the job market, not of course entirely but from the somewhat higher-paid segment of the job market that had been traditionally reserved for workers from the dominant ethnic group. The drive to exclude minorities also strengthened opposition to permitting immigration from zones which would give rise to or strengthen the ranks of such minorities. It even strengthened opposition to (or at least reluctance about) moves to end various forms of coerced labor, as these would make it possible for workers who would thereby be liberated to compete in the free labor market.

Once again, the antagonism was even stronger when it was a question for the worker/social movement of relating to a full-fledged nationalist movement, seeking secession from the state within which the workers movement was formed. This was so whether that movement was in a region of the country itself or in a colonial territory "overseas" controlled by this state. Basically, the worker/social movements charged such nationalist movements (as they did women's movements) with being essentially bourgeois organizations pursuing the interests of a bourgeoisie (if a different one from the one against which the nationalist movement was fighting). The worker/social movements argued that national "independence" would not bring any necessary advantage to the working classes of the country that seceded. It might even set them back if the old "imperial" power had a legislature or power structure less hostile to the interests of the workers than the putative "independent" power. In any case, socialist parties tended to insist that all bourgeois states were alike and that the only important question was whether the working class would be able to come to power in one state or the other. Hence, nationalism was a delusion and a diversion.

Here too the nationalist movements responded in kind. They argued that national oppression was real, immediate, and overwhelming. They argued that any attempt to pursue a workers' agenda meant that the "people" would be divided and thus weakened in their attempt to secure their national rights. They argued that if there were special problems concerning the working classes, they could best be handled within the framework of an independent state. And indeed the cultural demands they were making (for example, regarding language) coincided with the direct interests of the working classes of the country the nationalist movement was trying to establish, which were

far more likely to utilize the proposed national language than the official language of the political structure against which the nationalists were rebelling.

Finally, the relations of women's organizations to ethnic/nationalist organizations were no better. The same arguments were used on both sides. On the one hand, the women's organizations argued that they got no gain from the increased citizenship rights of minorities or from the achievement of national independence. But they also often put forward the claim that educated middle-class women were denied the vote while virtually illiterate minority or immigrant men were being given the vote. In the case of national independence, they argued that they were no more likely to be granted citizenship rights in the new state than in the previous state. Once again, the antagonism was returned. The ethnic/nationalist movements saw the women's movements as representing the interests of the oppressing group—the dominant ethnic group within a country, the imperial power in colonial territories. They saw the problem of women's rights as secondary and one that could best be handled after their own grievances were resolved.

It is not that there was a lack of persons (and even groups) who tried to overcome these antagonisms, and to argue the fundamental synergy of the various movements. These persons sought to unify the struggles, and in particular situations they made some progress in this regard. But the overall picture from 1848 to at least 1945 was that such unifiers had little impact on the worldwide pattern of the antisystemic movements. The three major variants of these movements, which are (1) worker/social, (2) ethnic/nationalist, and (3) women's, remained essentially in their separate corners, each fighting the battle for its own proposals and ignoring or even fighting the others. On the other hand, to a striking degree, despite this lack of coordination (not to speak of cooperation), the strategies of the various kinds of movements turned out to be parallel. The long-term history of these movements is that by the late twentieth century, they had all achieved their ostensible primary objective—formal integration into citizenship—and none had achieved their subsequent objective, using their control of the states to transform societies. This is a story to which we shall return.

With the ideologies elaborated and constrained, with the antisystemic movements channeling the energies of discontent, all that remained to ensure the efficacy of a geoculture was its theoretical apparatus. This was the task of the social sciences. We have already told the story of the rise of the two cultures in chapter 1. Let us retell this story briefly as a phenomenon of the emerging geoculture.

Social science is a term invented in the nineteenth century. The terms "science" and "social" each need explanation. Why science? In the nine-

teenth century, science was the code word for achieving progress, the gre[at] accepted common goal of the world-system. Today, this seems to us unr[e] markable. But at the time, it represented, as we have seen, a basic chan[ge] in the value-systems dominating the world of knowledge: from Christia[n] redemption to Enlightenment ideas of human progress. The ensuing s[o] called divorce between philosophy and science, what we would later call t[he] "two cultures," led to the epistemological debate about how we know wh[at] we know.

In the nineteenth century, in the structures of knowledge (especially i[n] the newly revived university system) and in the general world of culture, th[e] scientists began to gain preeminence over the philosophers or humanist[s.] The scientists said that they and they alone could achieve truth. They sai[d] they were totally uninterested as scientists in the good or the beautiful, sinc[e] one could not empirically verify such concepts. They gave over the search fo[r] the good and the beautiful to the humanists, who by and large were ready t[o] take refuge there, adopting in many ways Keats's lines of poetry: "Beauty i[s] truth; truth, beauty; that is all / Ye know on earth and all ye need to know." I[n] a sense, the humanists ceded control over the search for truth to the scien[-] tists. And in any case, what the concept of the two cultures had achieved wa[s] the radical separation, for the first time in the history of humanity, in th[e] world of knowledge between the true, the good, and the beautiful.

As the scientists concentrated on the study of material phenomena an[d] the humanists on the study of creative works, it became clear that there wa[s] an important arena whose location in this division was not clear. This wa[s] the arena of social action. But the French Revolution had made knowledg[e] about the social arena a central concern of public authorities. If political change was normal and the people were sovereign, it mattered very much to understand what the rules were by which the social arena was constituted and how it operated. The search for such knowledge came to be called social science. Social science was born in the nineteenth century and was imme- diately and inherently an arena both of political confrontation and of a struggle between the scientists and the humanists to appropriate this arena for their mode of knowing. For those in the public arena (the states and capitalist enterprises), controlling social science meant in a sense the ability to control the future. And for those located in the structures of knowledge, both the scientists and the humanists regarded this terrain as an important annex in their not-so-fraternal struggle for control of power and for intellec- tual supremacy in the university systems.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, as we have argued, six names had been widely accepted as those treating social reality—history, economics, political science, sociology, an-

thropology, and Oriental studies. The underlying logic of the six names, and therefore the division of labor in the study of social reality, derived from the world social situation of the nineteenth century. There were three lines of cleavage. The first was between the study of the Western "civilized" world and the study of the non-modern world. The second distinction was that made within the Western world between the study of the past and the study of the present. And the third was that made within the Western present between what liberal ideology had designated as the three separate arenas of modern, civilized social life: the market, the state, and the civil society. In terms of epistemology, the social sciences collectively placed themselves in between the natural sciences and the humanities, and therefore were torn apart by the epistemological struggle between the two cultures. What hap- pened in fact was that the three studies of the Western present (economics, political science, and sociology) largely moved into the scientistic camp and deemed themselves nomothetic disciplines. The other three disciplines— history, anthropology, and Oriental studies—resisted this siren call and tended to consider themselves humanistic or idiographic disciplines.

This neat division of labor was premised on a certain structure of the world-system: a world dominated by the West, in which the "rest" were either colonies or semicolonies. When this assumption ceased to be true, essentially after 1945, the boundary-lines began to seem less obvious and less helpful than they had previously been, and the division of labor began to come unstuck. The story of what happened to the social sciences, along with what happened to the ideologies and to the antisystemic movements, is the story of the impact of the world revolution of 1968 on the world-system, to which we come.

In terms of the geoculture that had been constructed in the mirror of the three ideologies, and sustained paradoxically by the very antisystemic move- ments created to struggle against it, the role of the social sciences was to supply the intellectual underpinnings of the moral justifications that were being used to reinforce the mechanisms of operation of the modern world- system. In this task, they were largely successful, at least up until the world revolution of 1968.