

the development of outer space will be left behind, as it has been proposed that multilateral negotiations be restricted to "the active space nations." Developing countries need to be wary of any attempt at repetition of the process, so well described by Tony Anghie, through which Vittoria gave juristic support to the European pillage of the New World a few centuries ago.

The problems of exclusion and marginality can also be seen in the legal developments protecting intellectual property and the "new international financial architecture." While developing countries are often brought into the circle, theirs is a story of the worst type of isolation: autistic isolation, absent while in the middle of the action. The recent violence at the WTO meeting in Seattle looks as if the rage generated by this exclusion, isolation, and impotency has eventually materialized in a political space, taking one of the few remaining human opportunities to make a protest in an increasingly virtual world.



REMARKS BY ANTHONY FARLEY

"Specters of Fanon: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International" was the title of Anthony Farley's paper. Farley sought to show the contemporary relevance of the work of Frantz Fanon, the French-Martiniquan psychiatrist, author, and leader of the Algerian National Front.

Farley argued that there are economies not yet dreamt of by neoliberalism or by Marxism. When a Pharaoh builds his pyramid, it is not quite correct to say only that the beautiful pyramid is empty or the beautiful pyramid is "really" nothing more than the appropriated labor-power of the workers many thousands gone. One must also recognize that the building of the beautiful pyramid was also an opportunity for the Pharaoh to feel like a Pharaoh. The otherwise all-too-human body of the Pharaoh experienced the ecstasy of Godhood when the slaves, his slaves, were made to feel like beings of an altogether inferior order. The ecstasy of Godhood is another name for the Pharaoh. And Pharaoh is another name for neocolonialism, or, the processes of globalization manifested by the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank. We can, using the work of Frantz Fanon, draw a more accurate map of the present.

Today our neocolonial masters build pyramids in the form of vast so-called public works projects. These projects, agreed to by the kleptocrats who ruled—and in some cases still rule—the former colonized on behalf of the former colonizers, undermine rather than aid the neocolonies. The neocolonies, once decorated by these mighty works, are said to be "indebted" to their neocolonizers. The neocolonial governments are then pressed into debt servitude or peonage. And Fanon predicted all of this. He argued that the Global North was literally the creation of the Global South. He argued that capital would not locate in the Global South except on terms that were impossible or inadvisable. He argued that the question after colonialism was the question of how to move the resources built by the appropriated labor power of the Third World from the Global North to the Global South.

Some people understood Fanon's anticipation of Neoliberalism during the period of the anti-colonial struggle. Many of these people, for example the Weather Underground Organization and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, argued that Colonialism had to be defeated *everywhere*—including in the heart of the Global North—for the forces of national liberation to win lasting victories *anywhere*. Their writings were not understood at the time. They understood that "efficiency" would not bring about an end to the pain of underdevelopment. They understood that the pain of the colonized was the source of the colonizers' ecstasy. They understood, from reading Fanon, the need to create a radical, anti-disciplinary, counterculture in the crucible of total resistance. The writings of Fanon shed light on what is happening today—in Seattle, in Washington DC, in Chiapas, and around the globe. The answers, and the solutions, remain the same as they ever were, read in the light of Fanon's writings.