values of the communities in which it operates. Thus, the education system is not able to shape or promote creativity and self-reliance, critical thinking, risk taking, etc., if those features in the general system of values of a society have negative connotations. Polish culture is not conducive to entrepreneurship and it certainly will not change from day to day. Changes towards a more positive perception of entrepreneurship are not excluded. Sociological research findings show us for example that children of persons taking up an entrepreneurial activity are much more likely to appreciate and undertake such activities. Their attitudes towards entrepreneurship are changing strongly in favor during the primary socialization process. Just over three million micro-entrepreneurs create favorable conditions for such socialization. We do not know yet the impact of migration processes to more pro-entrepreneurial societies (e.g., Ireland, Great Britain) on changing these attitudes in Poland. However, if such interaction takes place, it will be rather in a positive direction for the entrepreneurship. Therefore, I do not share the pessimism of the reviewer, as to the future of the same harsh conditions of doing business in Poland. I would be rather a cautious optimist in this matter.

I am glad that the reading of this book can also help to stimulate discussion, ask questions and perhaps look for answers in subsequent research on entrepreneurship. The more we know about it, the more likely the disenchantment of the negative stereotypes can occur.

Maria Nawojczyk


The anti-positivistic turn in humanism and the profound transformation of the contemporary world, which involves primarily the end of the bipolar system in the global politics, the IT revolution and the globalization, are accompanied in social sciences by the growing importance of thinking that I would call the “narrations” of intellectuals. Such narration involves a broad, holistic and interdisciplinary reflection on the modern times, aiming at creating a new interpretation framework for the world, which is changing so dynamically that it makes many traditional categories and concepts irrelevant, such as a national state or the class structure in the Marxist understanding. This type of artistic activity includes, in my opinion, the philosophy and sociology of Zygmunt Bauman, some works by Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck, any many others, who are trying to describe the post-industrial or even post-modern world with their more or less essayistic works. Many of these authors adopt the evaluating perspective, going beyond the boundaries of scientific disciplines and cultivating the type of thinking that is close to social philosophy. Depending on the temperament and the theoretic approach, the attitude to such reflections may differ. Some of these works fulfil their role by inspiring us to theorise even better or by shaping the philosophical premises that precede the cultivation of science in the strict meaning of the word, while
some of them are the eruption of empty erudition and the “smoke veil of jargon”. Honestly, I found it hard to say whether the first book by Negri (Empire, co-author: Michael Hardt) deserved the applause it received from a part of the European public. Therefore, I was curious to read another book by Negri, *Goodbye Mr. Socialism*.

It is high time to present the author, whose works are often recognised as the most accurate description of the nature of political power in the 21st century. It is not an overstatement to describe Negri as a radically committed philosopher. After all, his works focus on the problems of the socialist movement (or even on the attempt to revitalize the communist thinking), while his biography abounds with “radical” events, such as his involvement in the terrorist organization called Autonomia Operaia (Labour Autonomy) or the 25-year prison sentence. One of my professors said once that to become a genius in the post-modern epoch it suffices to invent a brilliant metaphor. And the metaphor of the Empire created by Negri is considered as brilliant. What is the Empire? It has no emblem or capital city. Rather, it is a collection of rules “[…] that have no authors or guardians. Whenever we start searching, we fall into the labyrinth of connections and necessities, which spring out of nowhere and are the core of the system”. In analytical categories, the Empire is the pyramid of power made of monarchy, aristocracy and network. On the monarchical level, the main actors are the national states with most resources (such as the US) and their alliances (G-7) as well as international organizations, such as the UN. Below the monarchical level, there is aristocracy, which is made of all states and the largest global corporations that control the flow of capital, culture and know-how. The network level is composed of social movements and NGOs, such as the Amnesty International and Greenpeace. The Empire controls them not with police methods, but rather with disciplinary ones. The authorities do not try to force people, rather to tempt them. They do not affect the external environment of individuals, but instead influence their brains and bodies directly. In other words, the Empire constitutes a “biopower”. Interestingly, the order formed by the Empire does not come into being spontaneously, nor is it enacted. The Empire follows a coherent logic, however it does not stem from the actions of individual players.

Another key concept developed by the Italian philosopher is the “multitude”. This “multitude” is a rather airy being, which Negri identifies with all the powers that desire (even potentially) to oppose the Empire and build an alternative model of globalization.

The above reminder of the basic concepts developed by Negri has been necessary, as the book I am reviewing is an attempt at construing major social and political events of the contemporary times through the prism of categories developed in the Empire. Let us move on to *Goodbye Mr. Socialism*, where Negri sets off for an

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intellectual journey all over the world, desiring to describe events that inspire him, from the World Economic Forum in Davos, through Iraq, to the protests in Seattle. The book is an interview between Negri and his friend, Raf “Valvola” Scelsi, which starts with the unaffected “Hi Toni! What’s up? […]” (p. 5). However, the introduction in this original convention is misleading, as the rest of the book is embellished with highly complex thoughts, both in terms of their language and content. Particularly intricate ruminations can be found in the first chapter, where Negri remembers (with joy) the fall of the Berlin Wall. However, that event encourages him to rather original reflections on the nature of the “real socialism”. He pays much of his attention to the causes of the failed revolution in the USSR, looking for them in the isolationistic policy of the West, as well as in the view of Stalinism as the effect of the immanent mechanisms of modernity and modernization (and the related accumulation of capital) (p. 15). Morally, he condemns the USSR, however, he sees it with the eye of a detached historian who is a well-wisher of the communist revolution. He comes to the conclusion that the root of the very negative effects of communism in Russia was the defence of the revolution by limiting freedom, the inability to produce wealth and freedom simultaneously. Today, we can produce both freedom and resources, therefore the idea of communism is having a bright future, as it is the only alternative to postmodernism. On the other hand, the liberal and socialist left will not overcome its present crisis (hence the perverse title, Goodbye Mr Socialism). Most of the leftist activists are “rascals” for Negri anyway, who were first uncritical towards the USSR, and afterwards towards capitalism. How does the author imagine the new communism in more detail? He claims that a new order cannot be invented theoretically, however, the concept of the new communism may be described as the “radical modification of working entities, […] the construction of community as the common production and reproduction capacities of the social element in freedom” (p. 28). Let us come back to the above-mentioned journey of Negri across the modern world. Its main route follows the places where resistance to the Empire stiffens, the most important being the cradle of the alter-globalization movement, the American city of Seattle. The nature of protests there is explained by the inflow of people opposing the unfavourable forms of employment (Seattle was the destination of many workers who escaped from unstable employment conditions on the East Coast). According to the authors, we have to understand the differences between temporary employment that opens up life prospects broadly and the forms of employment that do not provide this. Work should involve “cooperation and common self-indexation”, and these ideas inspired the strikers. The key aspect of the social movements in Seattle was also the operation of network communication and social structures. For Negri, the cooperation of people in networks is a factor that may limit bureaucracy and the asymmetry in communication. The Internet is the best example of such oppor-
tunities, and its creators are seen as people focusing on community rather than on property, thus being more of the socialist than capitalist breed. For the author, the key needs of the multitude include: creating the enigmatic “community” based on biopolitical categories as well as the transformation of work and communication forms. In general, Negri repeats the slogans of alter-globalists solemnly: “A different world is possible”, trying to name or particularise their aspirations, praising the internal diversity of the movement at the same time. What is happening on the other side of the barricade, in the Empire? Negri uses the summit in Davos as the lens. The unity of the capitalist model of globalization is evident there in its entirety. This unity is not perfect, however, as could be seen from numerous speeches against Bush-governed America (when the US tried to take over the complete global control on the monarchy level). This capitalist model of globalization refers also to culture, it operates via lifestyles and wants to be one. It stems from the transfer of the gravity centre of capital from physical work to an imaginative individual. Of course, the economic power is also exercised by the Empire. Such power is exercised today through the banking system and intellect control. This is the only way to control production by major companies that use mental work and the network. Negri claims, however, that the present historic moment is determined by changes, the transfer from the “internationalisation” to “globalisation”; therefore it is a plastic moment, which is open to human activity, as another theoretician (Immanuel Wallerstein) would say.

Summing up, despite several interesting fragments, the latest book by Negri shows that the author is out of form. The high level of conceptual complexity, which is not compensated for with the quality of proposed concepts and the transfer of focus from the social-political philosophy to (exotic, in my opinion) political thinking, make the book fall short of the expectations that might be held for the philosopher of his fame.

Andrzej Zalewski


The collapse of communism and Revolutions of 1989 are probably the major problems for western social sciences. Rapid and mainly unexpected transformations have changed the balance of power in the world. The very origins of these processes could be identified in the early 1980s in Poland. While the communistic block was spread over the vast part of Eurasia, from Laba River in Europe to the Mekong in China, there was a country that managed to create a rift in this block – the legal democratic opposition. Janine Wedel was an eyewitness to the beginnings of Solidarity movement and to the attempts of crashing it by introducing the martial law in 1981 followed by