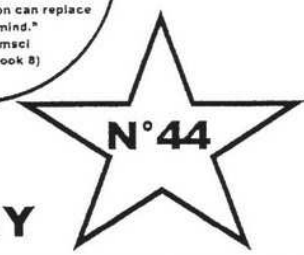


THE GRAMSCI MONUMENT.

NEWSPAPER



"A periodical, like a newspaper, a book, or any other medium of didactic expression that is aimed at a certain level of the reading or listening public, cannot satisfy everyone equally; not everyone will find it useful to the same degree. The important thing is that it serve as a stimulus for everyone; after all, no publication can replace the thinking mind."
Antonio Gramsci
(Prison Notebook 8)

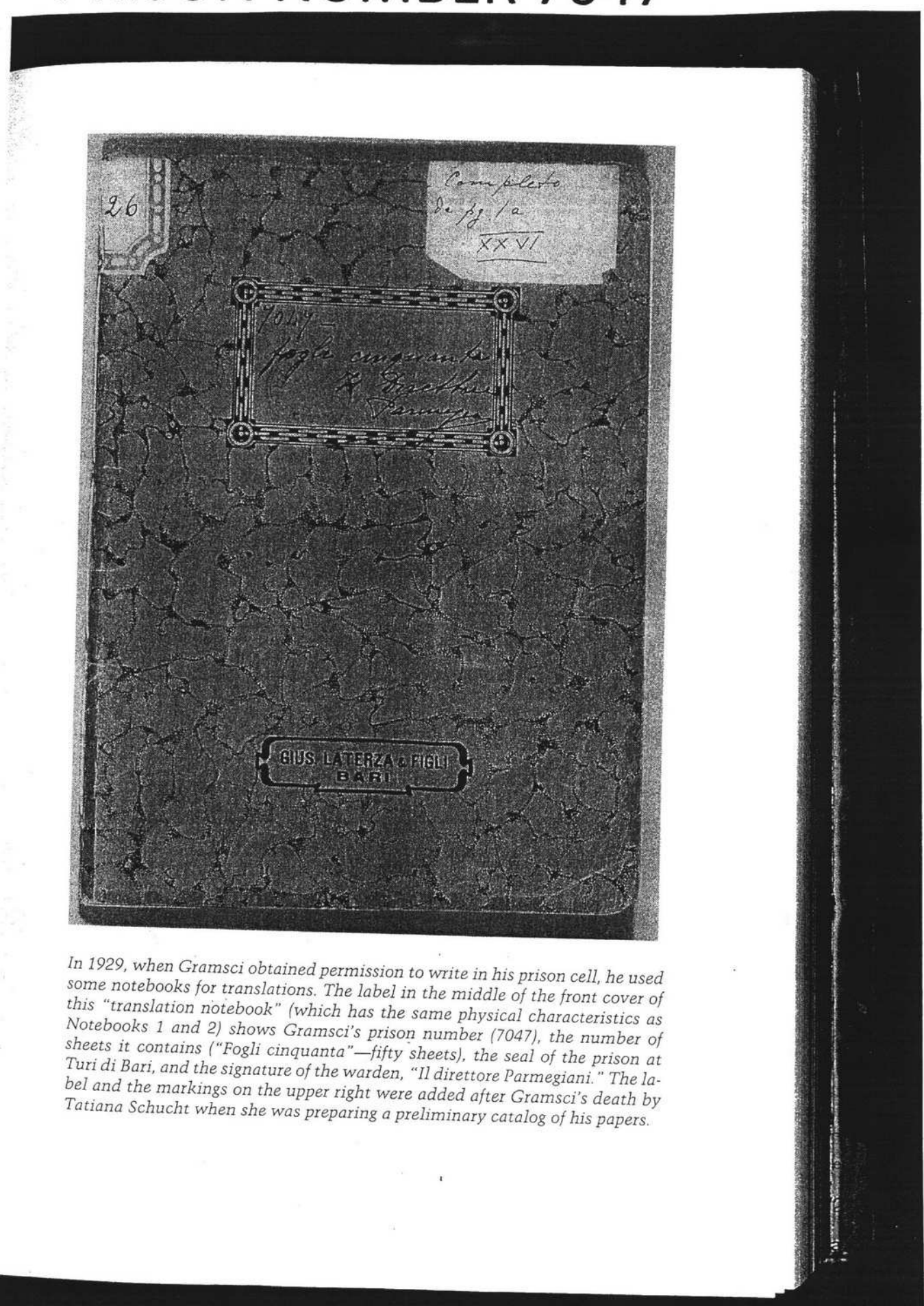


www.gramsci-monument.com

August 13th, 2013 - Forest Houses, Bronx, NY

The Gramsci Monument-Newspaper is part of the "Gramsci Monument", an artwork by Thomas Hirschhorn, produced by Dia Art Foundation in co-operation with Erik Farmer and the Residents of Forest Houses

FRONT COVER OF NOTEBOOK # 26 SHOWING GRAMSCI'S PRISON NUMBER 7047



In 1929, when Gramsci obtained permission to write in his prison cell, he used some notebooks for translations. The label in the middle of the front cover of this "translation notebook" (which has the same physical characteristics as Notebooks 1 and 2) shows Gramsci's prison number (7047), the number of sheets it contains ("Fogli cinquanta"—fifty sheets), the seal of the prison at Turi di Bari, and the signature of the warden, "Il direttore Parmegiani." The label and the markings on the upper right were added after Gramsci's death by Tatiana Schucht when she was preparing a preliminary catalog of his papers.

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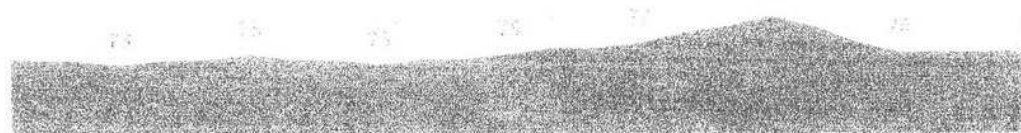
Bronx, NY 10456

Tuesday
Thunderstorm

 **82** °F | °C

Precipitation: 60%
Humidity: 67%
Wind: 12 mph

| | | |
|-------------|---------------|------|
| Temperature | Precipitation | Wind |
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12 PM 2 AM 5 AM 8 AM 11 AM 2 PM 5 PM 8 PM 1

Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri Sat Sun Mon



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CONTINUATION OF A TEXT BY RUPE SIMMS

The Social Theory of Gramsci

The notion of hegemony is the requisite starting-point for an overview of Gramsci's sociological thought. In his early writings, Gramsci consistently emphasized the importance of politicizing the "revolutionary class," and thereby preparing its members to participate in political life in light of their specific class interests. As editor of the journal *L'Ordine Nuovo* ("The New Order"), he helped inspire the great factory councils' movement in Turin (1919-1920), which sought to politically educate the working masses on a grand scale, and he later pursued this same objective as general secretary of the Italian Communist Party (1924-26). However, in spite of his effort to politicize the common laborers, whom he viewed as the "revolutionary class," with the coming of Mussolini, they supported Italian Fascism and capitalism, as mentioned above, and systematically limited their democratic freedoms. They willingly consented to their own domination. Gramsci sought to explain this phenomenon. During his years of incarceration (1929-1937), he theorized about the role of ideas and cultural values, that is, hegemony, in soliciting voluntarily consent to exploitation. The following discussion examines hegemony, emphasizing its essence and counter-hegemony highlighting its application and ultimate objective.

The Essence of Hegemony and Counter-hegemony

Hegemony is a type of leadership in which one class exercises authority over another through the control of culture; the ruling elite do not employ violence or coercion (via the criminal law enforced by a police force and military) to secure domination. They rely instead on a popularly accepted worldview to gain the willful cooperation of the subaltern group.

According to Gramsci, people are governed by ideas, which reify the economic interests of the dominant order; they are not governed by force alone.¹¹ The hegemonic apparatus defines popular consciousness so effectively that it dominates the values, traditions, lifestyles, and cultural orientations of the majority of society. Thus, hegemonic ideas become an intractable component of common sense or what Gramsci calls, "the traditional popular conception of the world."¹² Within this social framework, the economic elite diffuse a set of ruling ideas throughout society in order to control the thinking and life experience of the masses and to facilitate their domination. They create an exploitative political arrangement that is internalized by the working class and constantly reinforced in churches, schools, the media, and popular culture at large. Thus, hegemony is instrumental, instrumental in the sense that it employs the intellectual, moral, and philosophical elements of culture to accomplish economic, political, and social exploitation.

Gramsci refers to society at large as the "integral state" and divides it into "two major superstructural levels."¹³ He identifies "civil society," composed of schools, clubs, political parties, religious institutions, the media, and "the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private,'" and he cites "political society," made up of the government, courts, the army, police, and in essence "the State."¹⁴ Because the elite control "civil society," they are able to propagate universally an ideological paradigm that supports their leadership and that the masses internalize uncritically and adopt as the natural order of their world. Gramsci clarifies this point, stating, "The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant groups enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production."¹⁵

If the exploited masses challenge this hegemonic domination, the "political society," through the threat or legitimate use of violence, forces cooperation with the elite agenda. Gramsci states that in such a crisis the "traditional ruling class . . . retains power, reinforces it for

¹¹ Ibid., 5-14.

¹² Ibid., 199.

¹³ Ibid., 12.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

the time being, and uses it to crush its adversary and dispense his leading cadres, who cannot be very numerous or highly trained."¹⁶ Consequently, the dominant order solidifies its ascendance through both persuasion ("civil society") and coercion ("political society") which Gramsci summarizes as "force and . . . consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilization."¹⁷

At the same time, Gramsci explains that the separation of society into civil and political spheres is purely methodological: in point of fact, both elements collusively produce an ensemble of sociopolitical relations that concretize domination and constitute the ruling order.¹⁸ Indeed, "civil society" and "political society" are complementary: the hegemony produced in the private sphere is backed by the physical force of the State, and the physical force of the State is justified by the ideas and values of the private sphere. Of course, Gramsci was aware that the activities of the State go far beyond mere coercion, and that the State mechanisms are profoundly instrumental in the production of consent and the education of the masses.

At this juncture, the concept of counter-hegemony as an anti-ruling class cultural force becomes critical, for through it, according to Gramsci, ideological revolutionaries are able to challenge and overthrow capitalism and substitute a socialist State. To accomplish this, the workers must develop subversive institutions of their own through which they actively oppose the Bourgeois regime and gradually displace it through counter-cultural strategies, rather than violence.¹⁹ To Gramsci, a bloody revolution against modern Western democracies was bound to fail; such simplistic strategies of social change would certainly be crushed by the complex self-protective institutions (police, armed military, and civil society) of today's capitalist governments.²⁰

Instead, the subaltern group must create an anti-ruling class vision and alternative sites of culture production that will inspire and teach the masses to secure a political space of their own, a space from which they will create "the dictatorship of the proletariat."²¹ Gramsci envisioned a protracted ideological struggle in which traditional intellectuals, as proponents of hegemonic thought, and organic intellectuals, as advocates of counter-hegemonic philosophy, would compete for ascendance. He viewed this struggle as a "war of position" characterized by an

¹⁶ Ibid., 210-211.

¹⁷ Ibid., 170.

¹⁸ Ibid., 160.

¹⁹ Hoare, *Political Writings* (1977), 65.

²⁰ Hoare, *Selections from the Notebooks* (1971), 238.

²¹ Hoare, *Political Writings* (1977), 65.

extended political contention within "civil society" and not involving a "war of manoeuvre," that is, a brief period of intense conflict designed to gain control of the State by force.²² To conceptualize this strife, Gramsci produced a complex sociology having cultural hegemony and counter-hegemony at its core.

The Creation of Hegemony and Counter-hegemony

Throughout the prison writings, Gramsci presents intellectuals as integral to all aspects of the politics of class. For instance, in discussing their influence on social organization and economic production, he states, "[e]very social group . . . creates . . . one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields."²³ Gramsci further elaborates the contribution of intellectuals to the theoretical dimension of class organization, arguing, "A human mass does not 'distinguish' itself . . . without . . . organising itself; and there is not organisation without intellectuals, that is without organisers and leaders . . . without the theoretical aspect of the theory-practice nexus being distinguished concretely by the existence of a group of people 'specialised' in the conceptual and philosophical elaboration of ideas."²⁴

In Gramsci's view, these intellectuals are not necessarily people associated with the academy, but rather they are the conscious and unconscious prime movers of organizations dedicated to the creation of ideas with sociopolitical ends. They are the teachers, politicians, preachers, scientists, and journalists who form society's norms, values, and beliefs, and who originate the worldview of the population at large.²⁵ Gramsci, therefore, expands the conventional notion of intellectuals to include everyone that produces and popularizes ideas in society as a whole, both in its "civil" and "political" spheres.²⁶ Within this broad framework, Gramsci sub-divides intellectuals into two basic categories: "traditional" and "organic."

Traditional intellectuals create and authenticate the cultural leadership of the ruling class, the class with which they identify and by which they are rewarded. Through their influence in both "civil" and "political society," they, as editors, politicians, and such, disseminate hegemonic ideas that solicit consent from the oppressed to the conditions of their subordination and that

²² Hoare, *Selections from the Notebooks* (1971), 108-10, 120, 229-35, 237-39.

²³ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 334.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

justify ruling class domination. The power elite promote these intellectuals to stations of authority and respect, positioning them to garner "spontaneous consent" from the masses to the dominant ideology that they produce.²⁷ Such intellectuals create a hegemonic worldview that indoctrinates the exploited group with rules of acceptable philosophy and moral behavior that are equivalent to, in Gramsci's words, "a religion taken . . . in the secular sense of a unity of faith between a conception of the world and a corresponding norm of conduct."²⁸ Thus, according to Gramsci, as "the dominant group's deputies" and "functionaries," traditional intellectuals exert an enormous influence in a vast system of political manipulation by creating a hegemonic ideology that concretizes ruling class ascendancy and legitimates working class oppression.²⁹

The Counter-hegemonic Ideology of Organic Intellectuals

Gramsci, the revolutionary theorist, presents organic intellectuals as political leaders dedicated to liberating the masses through extended counter-hegemonic education and protracted anti-ruling class subversion. If the exploited workers are to develop class consciousness and establish a proletarian state, they must, in Gramsci's view, produce organic intellectuals who are committed to destroying the hegemonic order of the capitalist elite and dismantling the dominant culture created by traditional intellectuals.

Gramsci insisted that, to accomplish this, these intellectuals had to be intrinsically linked to the masses in order to instill in them a single worldview, an indivisible moral system, a self-consistent universal socioeconomic philosophy. For the revolution to be successful, the exploited workers had to internalize the movement's counter-hegemonic ideology, so that that way of thinking would dictate their understanding of reality and politics in the Gramscian sense.

The Italian Marxist defined "politics" very comprehensively to include all elements of daily life, from family relations to union membership, from Bible reading to political debate, from art appreciation to economic decision-making.³⁰ Hence, revolutionary philosophy should not exist on simply a cognitive level, confined, for example, to discussions among the lettered.

Instead, it should become an inseparable part of the innermost nature of the common worker and serve as the foundation for her or his lived morality.³¹

In order to accomplish such effective indoctrination, organic intellectuals had to be intimately joined to the revolutionary class as educators, so that their instruction penetrated their innermost reality and disallowed for a gap between theory and practice.³² Gramsci argued that historically in modern politics a separation had developed between the party leaders and the led, creating a profoundly destructive fracture between theory and practice, so that philosophical discipline had become a mere accessory to political action.³³ This was patently unacceptable to Gramsci. Indeed, he envisioned a gradual conquest of the State, taking place in the political realm, as organic intellectuals educated the proletariat over a protracted period of time to develop class consciousness and to eventually seize political power.

Gramsci argued that organic intellectuals must train the masses to become a self-liberating force by becoming critical philosophers capable of analyzing hegemonic ideology and repudiating ruling class cultural domination. In developing this position, he began with the notion that "all men are philosophers:" they all negotiate life using rules of conduct and moral principles based on a politically uncritical mindset Gramsci called "common sense."³⁴ This naïve level of consciousness, or "spontaneous philosophy" in Gramsci's words, resulted from an age-long exposure to hegemonic values, norms, and beliefs, which the masses embraced unanalytically to form a socioeconomically unsophisticated world outlook.³⁵

Gramsci further theorized that this spontaneous philosophy would serve as an ideological foundation upon which organic intellectuals would construct a "critical philosophy."³⁶ He intended that the counter-ruling class ideologues would educate the proletariat masses to transcend the limitations of spontaneous philosophy, which was incoherent, disjointed, and episodic, and become politically astute critical philosophers. As such, they would renounce their earlier patterns of conformity to the expectations of hegemonic culture and demonstrate a class-conscious commitment to subverting the ruling order and substituting for it a socialist

³¹ Gramsci applauded the Italian Catholic Church for how effectively it integrated its intellectuals and the masses to form a self-harmonious worldview and universal moral system. He cited this particular aspect of Catholicism as a model to be emulated. For discussion along these lines, see Hoare, *Selections from the Notebooks* (1971), 328.

³² *Ibid.*, 332-33.

³³ *Ibid.*, 335.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 323.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 330-31.

democracy. Gramsci clarifies this transition, stating, "[there] must be a criticism of 'common sense,' basing itself initially, however, on common sense in order to demonstrate that 'everyone' is a philosopher and that it is not a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone's individual life, but of renovating and making 'critical' an already existing activity."³⁷

Gramsci's notion of "crisis in authority" supplies a context for understanding the tension between the hegemonic class, which attempts to preserve its ascendance in the face of challenge, and the revolutionary class, which is bent on subverting the status quo as critical philosophers. During a crisis in authority, the masses challenge the hegemony of the bourgeoisie State, by threatening to withdraw their consent and cooperation from its institutions, and thereby deny its legitimacy. At such a point, when political society is vulnerable and possibly beginning to disintegrate, the revolutionary class has opportunity to stage a broad movement capable of dismantling the dominant order and substituting its own working class hegemony. However, if it does not take full advantage of this situation, the ruling class will either use military force to reestablish its leadership,³⁸ or it will negotiate a new system of alliances with the insurrectionary front and possibly accept being forced to make substantial concessions in order to preserve its ascendance.³⁹

In sum, Gramsci theorized that human experience is in fact an embodiment of ideas that are created and dispensed by "intellectuals." Traditional intellectuals popularize their views in "civil society" and "political society" as teachers, politicians, preachers, journalists, and so on--they are the sources of hegemony. At the same time, organic intellectuals develop from within the exploited class and produce counter-hegemonic ideas among the masses. They are ideological subversives who attempt to politicize the subaltern group as a foundational initiative in a protracted struggle to abolish elite domination and substitute a proletariat democracy through a cultural revolution.

The Application of Counter-hegemony

In an article in *L'Ordine Nuovo* published in 1920, Gramsci states that the workers' revolution has to be founded on "the patient and methodical work needed to build a new order in the relations of production and distribution: a new order in which a class-divided society will

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 178.

become an impossibility and whose systematic development will therefore eventually coincide with the withering away of State power . . . "40 Gramsci argues that, in order for the socialist revolution to be successful, the proletariat had to takeover the means of production. He explains further in the prison writings that this would be accomplished in large part through factor councils and a political party functioning in concert to prepare the masses to create a workers' democracy.

The Factory Councils as Centers of Education and Praxis

Gramsci sought to develop factory councils, that is, small units of factory-based workers established nationwide, as democratized organizations designed to prepare the masses to abolish the dominant order from inside, as members of its institutions. The councils would produce a radical transformation in the workers' consciousness and prepare them to develop a proletariat democracy through counter-hegemonic training and liberatory activism. In essence the ultimate goal of the councils, according to Gramsci, was the negation of ruling class domination and the affirmation of a workers' state in the Marxist tradition that would enable the common people to govern themselves as the dominant political decision-makers. He argued that the led must be re-educated through instruction in anti-ruling class philosophy by organic intellectuals to function as self-confident producers of valuable commodities rather than as marginalized wage-earners.

Gramsci insisted that a socialist revolution was not a singular dramatic seizure of ruling class power as the outcome of a political conflict in a discrete moment in history. Instead, he theorized that the revolution should begin immediately as a gradual process, taking place within the capitalist structure and based on the assumption that the socialist State already exists potentially in the hegemonic institutions that create working class subordination. This viewpoint defined the task of the factory councils: they were to provide political and cultural instruction that would progressively undermine ruling class authority by educating the masses in critical philosophy. The workers would then internalize this ideology and apply it in their local settings, as they developed a new liberatory worldview, system of morality, and cultural standpoint that Gramsci called a "historical bloc."

Consequently, the dismantling of capitalism and the creation of a socialist State would be contemporaneous but by no means instantaneous. In Gramsci's mind, the development of a

proletariat class-consciousness and the ability to implement counter-hegemonic policies in the capitalist setting would take years. So then, the factory council members would have to work within the dominant institutions to have what Gramsci called a "liberal experience" in order to develop the ability to become effective subversives. He clarifies this point, stating, "There is no denying the fact that within the general configuration of an industrial society, each man can actively participate in affairs and modify his surroundings only to the extent that he operates . . . as a member of the democratic-parliamentary State. The liberal experience is not worthless and can only be transcended after it has been experienced."⁴¹

Gramsci contended that building a socialist democracy involved abolishing the firmly established, traditionally accepted foundational institutions of the capitalist order, that is, the institutions that made hegemonic society "appropriate" and "just." This included, for instance, destroying such notions as private property and State authority, which, in Gramsci's view, could not and should not be immediately abolished. Since these institutions could not be reproduced all at once as part of the socialist order, they should be gradually suppressed and progressively replaced through the political action of the factory councils. In this manner, the proletariat would wrestle the control of the means of production from the hands of the capitalist owners over a protracted period of time. Gramsci relates this to one of the basic tenets of Marxist socialism, stating:

The working masses must take adequate measures to acquire complete self-government, and the first step . . . consists in disciplining themselves, inside the work-shop, in the strictest possible . . . manner. Nor can it be denied that the discipline which will be established along with the new system will lead to an improvement in production . . . the more the productive human forces acquire consciousness . . . and freely organize themselves by emancipating themselves from the slavery to which capitalism would have liked to condemn them forever, the better does their mode of utilization become--a man will always work better than a slave.⁴²

In summary, Gramsci envisioned the factory councils as nationwide organizations established to prepare the exploited workers to destroy the ruling order as an internal subversive force. This would be a twofold task: 1) through instruction in critical philosophy, the councils would produce a revolutionary class-consciousness among the masses, and 2) through political organization, the councils would prepare the workers to acquire the political sensibility and practical experience necessary to taking control of the means of production.

The political party, in Gramsci's view, was an organization of organic intellectuals who had come from the ranks of the working class and, as their representatives, would organize and articulate their interests in the creation of a socialist State. Unlike the factory councils, the political party was not a mass organization in which the proletariat as a whole could legislate directly; the broad scope of the national movement prohibited this kind of participation. Hence, as a representative body, the party would unify theory and practice by synchronizing the experience oriented factory councils and the philosophically based intellectual leadership.

The factory councils were training centers. Through them the revolutionary class could gain practical experience in political action; participants could benefit from instruction in socialist theory by practicing what they had learned on the local level. On the other hand, the political party assumed the involvement of its intellectuals in the factory councils, where they had learned critical philosophy and gained first-hand experience in applying the principles of counter-hegemony. With this foundation, organic intellectuals, as party members and representatives of the proletariat masses, would lead the workers in forming a "new state" based on a socialist vision. Their role was essential, given the fact that the revolution was gradual and developmental, rather than instantaneous and abruptly decisive.

In conclusion, Gramsci insisted that, for the socialist revolution to be effective, the proletariat had to control the labor process and the sectors of production. Moreover, according to Gramsci, to dismantle the dominant order, the factor councils and the political party had to operate concertedly to educate and lead the masses, as they strove to establish a workers' democracy.

The End of Counter-hegemony

Gramsci stated that the ultimate end of a socialist revolution would be the destruction of the capitalist State and its replacement by a fundamentally different form of government--the workers' democracy. He clarifies this philosophy in an article published in *L'Ordine Nuovo* in 1919, writing, "The dictatorship of the proletariat represents the establishment of a new, proletarian State, which channels the institutional experiences of the oppressed class and transforms the social activity of the working class and peasantry into a widespread and powerfully organized system."⁴³ Gramsci sought to create a people-centered government that would be "a magnificent school of political and administrative experience," while abolishing the management functions of capitalism and producing a direct democracy that would enable workers to control the labor process.⁴⁴ As mentioned earlier, the socialist State would develop progressively from ruling class institutions as Gramsci clarifies, "The socialist State already exists potentially in the institutions of social life characteristic of the exploited working class. To link these institutions, co-ordinating and ordering them into a highly centralized hierarchy of competences and powers . . . is to create a genuine workers' democracy here and now--a workers' democracy in effective and active opposition to the bourgeois State, and prepared to replace it here and now in all its essential functions of administering and controlling the national heritage."⁴⁵ In sum, the ultimate goal of the socialist State, according to Gramsci, was to enable the working people to govern themselves through democratic institutions that were without class divisions and private property.

RUPE SIMMS AT THE GRAMSCI SEMINAR

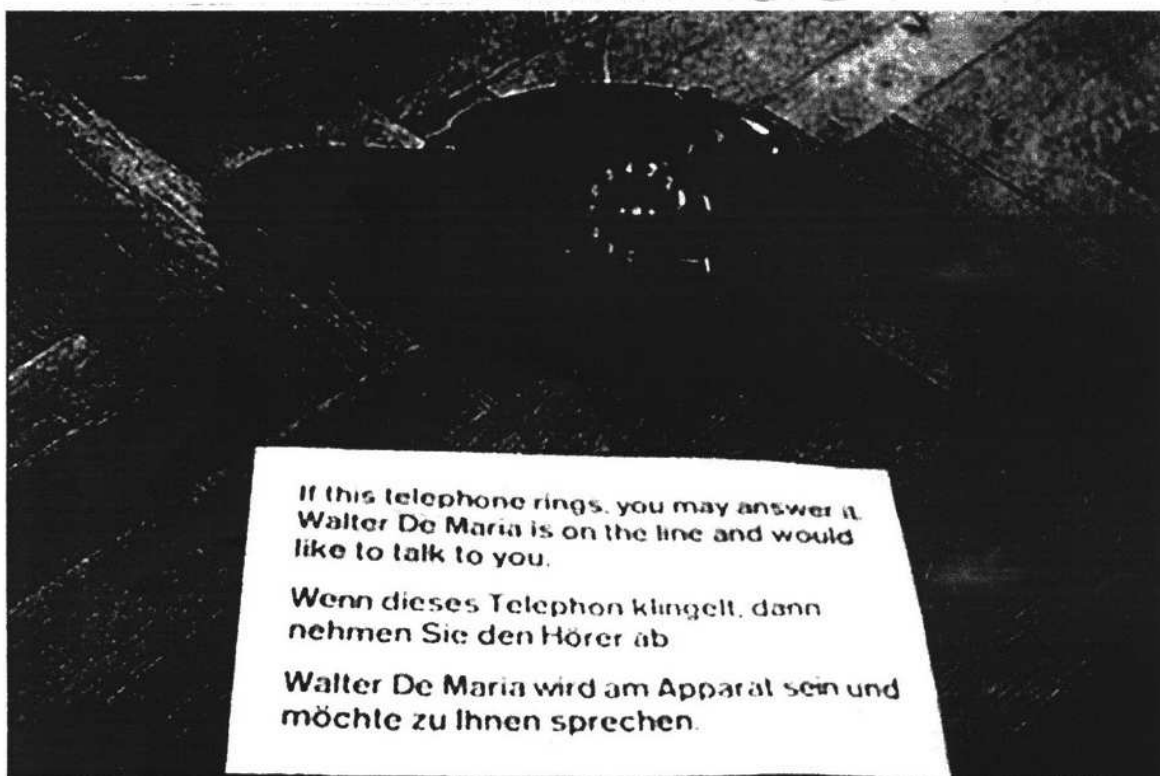


TO BE CONTINUED IN ISSUE No. 45...

AMBASSADOR'S NOTE # 26

BY YASMIL RAYMOND

If there is a question that raises the issue of what constitute the experience of art is when visitors ask: "What is the response from the residents to the monument?" The question puts forth a number of assumptions starting with the visitor's immediate differentiation with the local visitors. It is as if the person asking the question has already excluded himself or herself from the situation, opting to stand aside and relinquish autonomy to a fiction of consensus. One of the limitations of this question is the overreliance on approval, on an idea of an imaginary "collective" that grants permission to raise a thumb. In many respects the question also stands out as an attempt to deflate responsibility, avoid making a judgment and assume a position. It is as if the children making art in the Workshop or playing in the Internet Corner, the team preparing the daily newspaper or the DJs at the radio station are invisible. In other words, is their engagement and labor not a response? Is their presence not an affirmation? Secondly, the question points to a simple refusal to engage on intensive observation and close analysis of a work of art. Then, of course, it also revelatory to point that this question is typically posed by visitors involved in cultural institutions, mainly curators and museum administrators, and the occasional art historian. Before trying to analyze the historical motives that compel people to seek approval as a precondition to their own experiences, I am reminded of Walter De Maria's telephone piece. Here was an artist whom gave currency to the direct experience and made it a central issue of his work. Presence is the only response that counts.



A DAILY LECTURE

WRITTEN BY MARCUS

STEINWEG

44th Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 12th August 2013
THE UNCERTAINTY-RELATION EUROPE-AMERICA
Marcus Steinweg

1. To love the future, the uncanny, means to receive the present like one receives a namelessness.
2. It means to bear one's subjectivity in the here and now.
3. By loving that which does not admit love, or only admits it as something unknown and uncontrollable, the subject goes through the experience of a perhaps typical American precipitancy or rashness.
4. It falls head over heels at the moment of this experience.
5. It finds itself carried over to an indeterminate future.
6. It cannot help but affirm the impulse to reconstitute, i.e. to transgress, surpass and reinvent its ego in this movement of its self falling ahead over heels.
7. "One has not understood pragmatism if one sees in it merely a simple philosophical theory made by the Americans. One understands the newness of this American thinking, however, as soon as one sees in pragmatism one of the attempts to change the world and to think a new world, a new human being insofar as they are made. Western philosophy was the brain or paternal spirit that realized itself in the world as a totality and in a knowing subject as property-owner", writes Gilles Deleuze.
8. Pragmatism allows the subject to enter a new world, a world in which its essence is not yet finally fixed.
9. The subject does not possess itself the way the philosophy of Europe had envisaged for it.
10. It realizes neither its nature nor its essence.
11. It has neither nature nor essence.
12. Its nature is that of a ceaseless becoming, of a movement that cannot be stopped that drives it beyond the limits of all concepts of essence.
13. Self-knowledge or self-consciousness imply for this new subject that it lose itself in the exterior of the steppe, in the solitude of the desert and the endlessness of the ocean.
14. On the basis of this solitude, this transcendental desolation, the new subject seeks allies.

15. It constitutes the thought of the community of those who are without transcendental 'housing', the community of those who, as Georges Bataille says, do not belong to any community.
16. It is the community of 'subjects' who have fallen out of the space of nature and essence, who have fallen out of 'Europe', the alliance of simple singularities, of pure eccentrics, as Deleuze says, an alliance affirmed in concepts of a new friendship.
17. American literature deals with these new subjects who have to invent their essence in opening up the zones and landscapes they traverse, instead of participating in the transcendental community of European we-subjects — subjectless passers-by, tramps, vagabonds, adventurers and pioneers: "The subject of American literature is the production of relationships between the most varied aspects of the geography of the United States, Mississippi, Rocky Mountains and the prairies, and their history, struggles, love, evolution" (G. Deleuze).
18. The new subject calls for a new concept of friendship, of a friendship that does no violence to its singularity whilst possessing the qualities of "comradeship" praised by Whitman: "Comradeship is that changeability which implies an encounter with the exterior, a metempsychosis under the open sky, on the 'endless road'. ... The society of comrades, that is the revolutionary American dream to which Whitman has made a great contribution" (G.D.).
19. It is a synthesis a posteriori, a late, fragile and contingent, but never arbitrary tie.
20. So much on the connection between English empiricism and the geo-political and anthro-political constitution of the American 'union'.
21. It has to be struggled for, fought for, suffered and gone through.
22. Whereas Europe repeats the necessity of relationships (the Kantian synthesis a priori is a genuinely European model), American literature and American pragmatism insist on the possibility of first bringing forth the relations of singularities among themselves.
23. It is a matter of precarious, invented ties that are not subject to the protectorate of a transcendental concept of essence.
24. To create something new, to create itself anew, the subject has to loosen the old ties.
25. With the necessary rigour and violence which every becoming demands, it must update its own outline and its relation to the outline of others.
26. It has to emancipate itself from itself, from its origins, the milieu of its childhood and history, and from the identity-determining factors of society, politics and morality of its times: "'Becoming' is not a part of history; even today, history designates merely the totality of the recent conditions of all kinds

from which one turns away in order to become, that is, in order to create something new" (G.D.).

27. Becoming means to tear the veil of history.
28. It demands of the subject that it surrender itself to the current of an incalculable passion, the current of the "great philosophical passion to play" (Alain Badiou), to put oneself at risk in order to produce the brusque evidence of an event.
29. And yet, this trans-historical movement takes place within history without being a product of this history.
30. Becoming cannot be reduced to history, becoming is not historical.
31. It includes a kind of unbounded surpassing and transgression.
32. It surpasses history and it surpasses this surpassing in order to build up its own intensity in the here and now, for which there is no vocabulary, no grammar, no syntax, no logic available.
33. To what extent is a certain America and the dream that some dream about it, whether they are Americans or not, associated with this impossibility, with the ambivalence of a place which is not a place, but a non-place, an impossible locality?
34. To what extent does the real, relative America, identifiable in space and time, overlap with its own dream, with the American Utopia of an absolute America which, as the motherland of hope, still dominates the European horizon?
35. If America forms the horizon of Europe, and Europe is the repressed origin of America, can the wedding of horizon and origin be celebrated as a becoming (the becoming-Europe of America and the becoming-America of Europe) whose unpredictability is part of the shared history of European and American consciousness?
36. The transcendental subject is a European invention.
37. Its truth, however, is trans-European.
38. Before the news of the new world reaches Europe, it has already placed itself within the horizon of a certain 'America'.
39. The truth of Europe is 'American' as long as we associate with America, under the ontological structure which we are here calling 'America', the tendency toward deterritorialization and self-unbounding.
40. It drives the subject in the course of its history beyond itself and allows it to go through a chain of indeterminate revolutionary experiences.
41. The subject of this certain 'America', overflies itself.

42. It is an absolute overflying insofar as it associates itself with "what exists in the here and now as real in the struggle against capitalism".
43. Utopia, after it has been distinguished as "libertarian, revolutionary, immanent" Utopia from the "authoritarian Utopias" of transcendence, designates the "ties of philosophy or the concept," i.e. of the overflying subject, "with the existing milieu".
44. To affirm emancipatory discourse in its most elementary form and necessity always means affirming this immanent 'Utopia' (the reticence with regard to this word is well-known and necessary) or hope.
45. It means holding on to a "Messianic experience" about which Derrida says that it takes place "here and now".
46. Utopia, the revolution and Messianism drive thinking into the complicated heartlands of capital.
47. Capital is perhaps nothing other than the central muscle of the symbolic system.
48. It even provides the means of putting it into question.
49. Who could maintain that they had asserted themselves against capital in a completely headless rashness, without a certain head (caput), without the sovereignty, authority and assertiveness of a certain capital?
50. The principle of the head, of leadership and directed control can be encountered with the necessary lack of principle, headless anarchy and speculative exhaustion.
51. In this encounter, however, it is a matter of an auto-affection, albeit asymmetrical, of the self-alienation of capital that is risked in irreducible undecidability.
52. The poetry of capital has its own harmony for several voices.
53. It cannot be inscribed into the system of calculating investments along with its liberal Utopia without disturbing this system with its boundless tendency toward the speculative annihilation of capital.

RESIDENT OF THE DAY



LAKESHA BRYANT