

**26th Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 26th July 2013**

**DECISION VERSUS CHOICE**

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1. The wrong choice chooses unfreedom.
2. It decides against decision, against the condition of possibility of decision, by refusing freedom and the will to freedom.
3. It selects options, arranges offers.
4. It subordinates itself.
5. It is the expression of fear, convenience, passivity or indifference.
6. The subject of responsibility is not indifferent. It is a passionate, an impassioned subject. It wants to be neither fearful, nor convenient nor indifferent. It demands of itself a certain courage.
7. This is the courage to be free, the courage to be responsible.
8. The capitalist machine today produces a lack of courage. It lays down what the subject has to desire. It relieves the subject of its will, its desire, its freedom and responsibility.
9. It decides in place of the subject. By controlling its desire, it constitutes the subject's passivity as a receiver of decisions.
10. There is no active consumption. In the objectivity of the consumer, the subject becomes controllable. It is disciplined, calmed down, tranquillized and put out of action.
11. The subject of capitalism as this receiver-subject is a subject reduced and restricted to its capacity to consume.
12. It does not decide for itself because it decides only for decisions offered by others.
13. Its decisions are passive syntheses. They are prefigured by the interests of capital.
14. The subject of capitalism does not assume any responsibility and it is not supposed to assume any responsibility.
15. It is expected to fulfil its role.
16. It is supposed to consume.

17. It does not even desire what it consumes. It desires nothing but its desire, the passivity of a desire that is almost indifferent to what it desires as long as it is New.
18. The wrong choice chooses its own lack of choice. It withdraws from the horror of a genuine decision. It no longer expects anything of itself.
19. Let us call reality the dimension of the possible in which the subject assures itself of the evidence of its facts and options as the subject of choice. And let us call the real the implicit, but extreme limit of the spectrum of reality marking a radical impossibility.
20. No subject will succeed in inscribing itself in one of these orders without killing itself as a subject, without neutralizing its status as a subject.
21. Obviously, the subject must cast off the false alternative between reality and the real, between the possible and the impossible, between that which is and that which is not, in order to be a border inhabitant of this border area which Heidegger has called the ontological difference.
22. For politics not to defuse itself in the administration of its institutionalized understanding of itself, it requires an opening toward the impossible. In order not to exhaust itself in the relation to the impossible in a necessarily narcissistic gesture of self-passivization, grand politics includes an alertness for the possible, for the pragmatism of situational intelligence.
23. What I call the *politics of the subject* would be the conflict-ridden alliance or conflictual compossibility of these two models, *small* and *grand politics*.
24. In the subject, the great binary oppositions of Western metaphysics cross. The subject is nothing other than the point of their incompatibility: activity/passivity, freedom/unfreedom, idea/matter. As this point, the energy of conceptual conflicts is intensified in the subject in which, despite their incompatibility, they participate in common.
25. There is a positive concept of participation in relation to this idea of political subjectivity. That is the participation in conflicting elements or concepts at the heart of the subject.
26. The subject is neither a hole in the structure of facts, nor the stabilizer of the architecture of facts. It is *in between*. It participates in the hole without sinking into it; it enters a coalition with established reality without assimilating itself to it. It keeps a double contact to both sides. It moves along the separating line, this extremely thin membrane between the abyss and reality.
27. It is an infinitesimal subject because it keeps contact with the dimension of nothingness as well as that of beings.
28. An infinitesimal is a maximal minimum. It marks the minimum distance between the order of being, of social, political, economic, cultural texture, and

the order of nothingness, of the real which cannot be described and represented in the register of reality.