

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

September 3rd, 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

THE SPIRIT OF OPEN MICROPHONE #9



9.1.2013

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Bronx, NY
Tuesday
Chance of Storm

82 °F | °C

Precipitation: 40%
Humidity: 65%
Wind: 10 mph

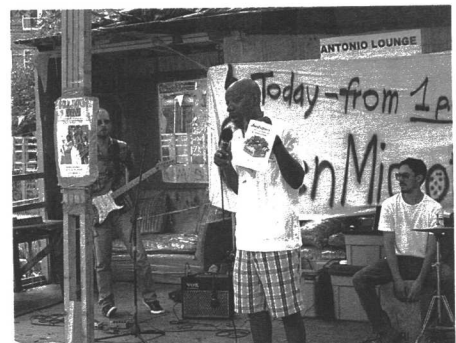
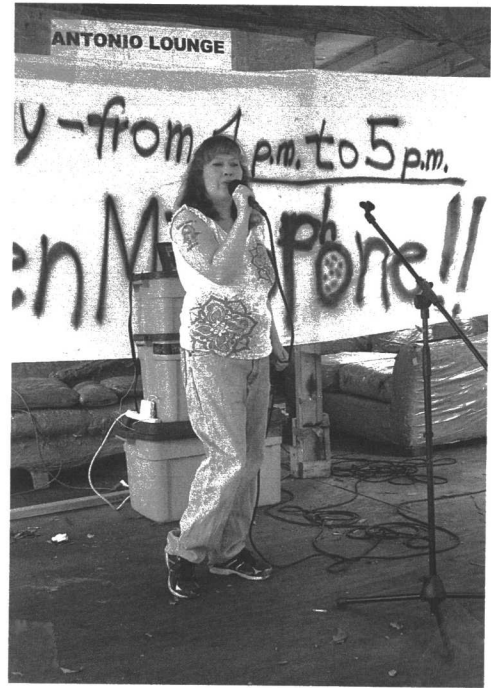
Temperature Precipitation Wind

12 AM 2 AM 5 AM 8 AM 11 AM 2 PM 5 PM 8 PM 12 PM

Sun Mon Tue Wed Thu Fri Sat Sun

86° 70° 84° 70° 82° 61° 79° 63° 81° 59° 75° 61° 81° 68° 84° 64°

OPEN MICROPHONE #9 - 9.1.2013



GRAMSCI SONG

OPEN MICROPHONE #9 – 9.1.2013

GRAMSCI DOES

Gramsci was staying in the Bronx
Gramsci could see the barrio breathing
Gramsci could see the working families
He's making sure that we're still dreaming
See the bags of the bodegas
Gramsci's eating his rice
Drinks some Minute Maid concentrate
Now he's feeding the mice

The world was twerking he was working with it Gramsci was
The world was drinking he was thinking about it Gramsci was
Gramsci was

Gramsci was in the Forest Houses
Gramsci was taking off his boots
Gramsci was fighting off the fascists
Rising up across the earth
A communist and a journalist
Sardinian in the Bronx
Organic intellectual
Found his boogie down

The world was struggling and Gramsci was smuggling Gramsci was
The world was giggling and Gramsci was scribbling Gramsci was

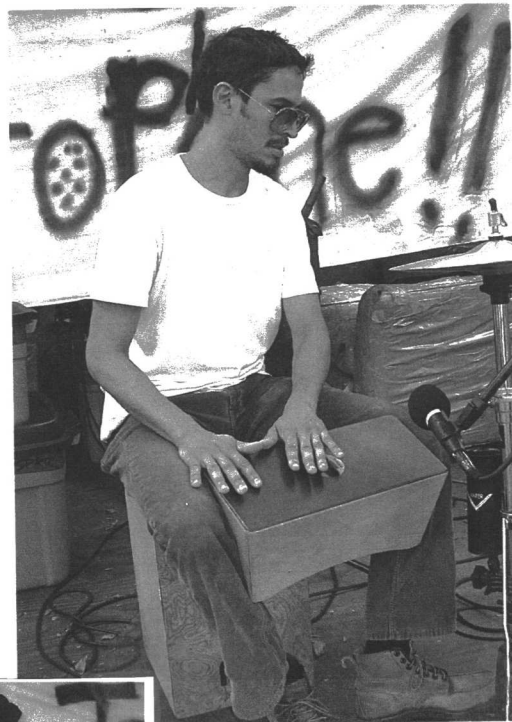
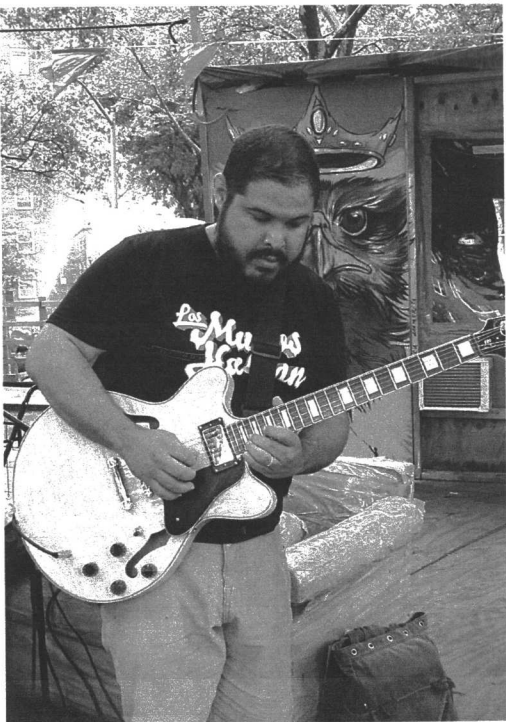
He was right about it, no doubt about it
Hegemonic twilight zone
No time to joke, this planet's crowded
No time to sing this song alone
Gramsci was
Hoy hoy hoy hoy hoy

Gramsci critiques modes of production
Gramsci's produced by Thomas Hirschhorn
His was a people's revolution
Yells in his notebook from a prison ... go go go!

Hoy hoy hoy hoy hoy hoy
hoy hoy hoy hoy hoy
hoy hoy hoy hoy hoy hoy
hoy hoy hoy hoy hoy

The world is shopping he fights power popping Gramsci does
The world is *fa*lso but he's dancing salsa Gramsci does
Joining the world of present persons Gramsci does
Present enough to feel alright Gramsci does
Gramsci does!

URAYOÁN NOEL & EDWIN TORRES, 9/1/2013



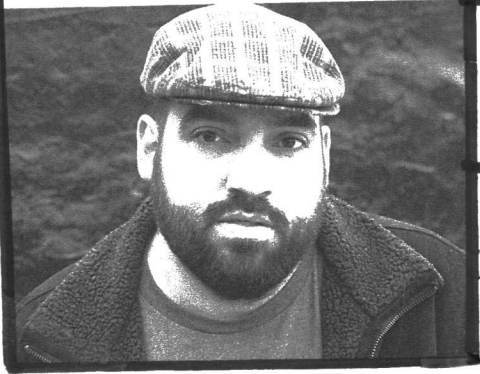
GRAMSCI SONG



OPEN MICROPHONE #9 - 9.1.2013



Poem by Urayoan Noel



hi-din sites

(body slam)

How many *días*
 in your diaspora?
 How many spores in
 this melodía?
 Viral, recombin-ante
 repli-cante
 sing the proles proliferative
 zip-driven aggregate of cuerpos
 bodies usb'd
 (some still floppy from
 the days of la colonia)
 a colonography:
 what else's there to write
 since 1492?
 what other site
 a big hose up the new world's rear
qué rico!!
 (not nearly as big as it thought it was)
 exploratory surge
 unperfumed, this colonia

Today to riposte
 repost the founding text
 as spam
 as scoreless slam
 to mic the font
 to splay the layout
 we're decibeltristes
 of the bella y triste isla
 that goes: Bx PR
 mainland island
 no X no PBR
 only mainline to the vein
 las venas demasiado abiertas

ii no, tú sabes, glo-ball neo-gliberal
 littoral with swinging doors
 and rocking chairs with no committee
 only derrieres al ritmo
 del expect-a-culo
 el óculo
 the isle's panoptic
 to rhyme in situ
 to write the me-too

back in the '90s
 Gómez-Peña rocked
 the *border brujo*
 but by now the brujos
 are made-to-order
 and the border sells at Borders™

besides borders
 aren't just metaphysics
 or crossing sites
 they're also the impasse
 between bodies, the untouched skins,
 unchecked assumptions, desires,
 dreams of setting fire
 to the self, the order,
 the embrace

I propose a new border
 not the incommensurable,
 the trendy gap sold at The Gap™
 all Muzak-souled
 no, instead I call for the TM
 not transcendental
 but to i'm. the i.m. possible tomorrow
 the space between the TO (become)
 and the MORROW/MARROW (contingent, provisional)
 becoming's provision, that is what we are
 islands in jet stream, always taking off
 the skin between the T and the M
 until we're empty, MT,
 montanas out of mole
 mellow mentes
 funciones del ambiente (aplaude ahora)
 speak fluent Torresian

almost Ambien™ but not quite
 resisting
 we keep the 'M to ourselves
 as subjects of colonia marked by trade
 mark my tirade
 we are the no-lony of colony
 incólumnnes
 undoing the columns of calumny
 re-siting the commons
 no comma
 cómo?

dotcomatose, the border corps
 have trafficked, smuggled our transnation,
 translocal are the bankers too
 rob from the Bx and give to offshore tax dodge
 getting bailed out
 planting veiled doubts
 that this is "our place" anymore
 or ever was
 can't spell "city" with a "y" these days
 the "i" not Greek but Latin
 as if to show they're "down wit"
 Latin-nation (whoever that is)
 whomever's datos
 info-containment is the order of the day
 buey, ecua-hey
 but let's not talk about them
 (olv-idem-os)
 instead read these destellos

in one's pants
and scare the citizens
and rally the planets, no copay, compai
full coverage, in the wreckage
of discourse is the instant
the now não in all tongues
non-mono-ricua

mono a mono
the mono significante
knows no gates
negates as it affirms

and vice(terg)versa
no can do!
craps! no dice! si dice!
I'm just sayin'
ahora es el momento
de decir

la hora de la dicha (bien o mal)

the minutest minuto
el sagging segundo
(minutemen in El Segundo?)

the instant without "in"

puro sin

puro stance

the national's relational

me late que

we're not too late for passion

fate's refashioning

pass ions to the body next to yours

charged, charred next to ours, hours

we're mute instruments

din from within

as energy, as instincts of a specious species

per di do en el es pa cio

es paz en el caos

is the "s" that never plurals

is the dry-erase mural

that remains

the shared singular of sing

the continente's ting

counting gente

cuenta en la cuneta y

canta

no cant

just

Ol

II.

Let's make some noise
the semi-silent type
loud in its "yo is!"
"I soy!"

an otherwise non sequitur

(no sé quitarme de esto...

lo que es), no sequel

just the current playlist

the one attuned (I guess)

to the reggaetonal shifts

of barriles de bomba

juggling knots

juguetonal

nota to self:

no self today

except as analog

of Africa with looped tracks

those cyborg moves are so passé

like model burgs with moccasés

giving way to blisters, blight of blurbs

and remote servers in the exurbs
meanwhile here we do the dance
of the sí-borg in a no-burg
the no-bard in a sea of sí
come out meet your neighbors
your nosy, noisy neighbors
with their chismes ("noooo!" y "síííí!")

in that nosi dialectic

oral viral transmitter

the site's secretion

the moment matters as it's shared

the self's accretion

crawling to momentous shores

to plant the sí-no flag

(it is/isn't insignia'd)

supplant the empire's flags

with our sino unflagging

our casi-no royale

our people unflagged

the flagon's passed around

the streets and beachfronts

everyone drinks from it

its' not a PR or NY thing

or a dark horse trojan flogged on blogs

because we're all people of empires expired

we dance around their pyres

por ahora

because it's the now that matters

the no-e-si

the yo-a-ti

the poets-y

the moment muttered

and its amplified

composition by fields of cane

americane

put the no in americano

so give it up for these hi-din sites

where polis leaks into the ether

(secret police go take a leak)

our secret's shared, is shard

charred word our hide

no hiding any longer

das ding of street

pump up the volumes of prose

and you still won't match these megahertz of silence

on mute trans/commute

mutations per metric foot

don't count just encounter

en contra-sentido

is what

we

do

III.

What we need here

is a body

a poetics

a bo-po

found, gestated, or prosthetic

the Bildung and its remains

the Dichtung and its domains

without a server, *non serviam*

no sirve, o sea

doesn't function

is defunct

but alive in its futility

in its spatiality

in its relation

(give up solo da funk)

to other pointless bodies

the oom-pah-pah of polka at the krump club:
somewhere here un papi con su drunk schlub persona
is drawing in the mamis (and their papis)
so boringly Freudian so ford-assembly-line macho
scratch that!
car song to myself instead:
i trans therefore i am
transambienting the iamb!

somewhere normaTIVO
is letting out its mating call
thru the digital wilderness
the bleat and gleam and beat of signal
but we're still here/hear
where the only poetics left
of where we are now is WE
we're left-of-center
square and its monuments
with no misgivings
(not giving it up for the MC's crew)
the toy timbales player takes a bow
laughtrack, rimshot

gold-toothed and arch, the McMC drops out and leaves
the stage to us
(no pro-tool'd *claves*)
going public with our freak, our glanguage
not our alterity (that goes
without saying)
but with what we go without
in our struggle to mean
something more than "We go"
to go not postal (*por qué tal?*)
but post-declarative:

a post-declarative poetry wouldn't de-clare
(that is, it would make clear our no-clarity
de-familiarize the nuclear!
chloroform the clarion!
the carrion must fit under the beat in front of you!)
prescribing the Clearasil without the clear
the silliness comes through
(in other words pop it!)
just like Brasil (without the bra)
or Metamucil (be-mused meta-poetics?)
you can keep Musil, Musiel, Muzak...)
and bring it back here to the ventana/sill of self
defenestrated
that is where the body's at
on the way down...
(like the krump club again?)
weighed down with "hoy" and "ahora"

give it up for the bodies of the moment!
the unrepresentative ones
but unrepentant
the cropped and crappy, crip and queer,
flopped and failing, flailing, hopeful ones
the ones that make the night what it is, our blessed-ruin
the accentual eccentric music of biorhythm
toss the bio and the blurb
and touch the nerve
the very verivy/nervy/pervy verb:
volver: to return here, to meaning
(less the self?)
to ritual writ and un-
to the erratic wit

L'esprit raté du corps que expira...espérate...
(on flat rates with or without flatmates)
to float mute in the strata of 'bodies' dissolution
only to re-volver

we are what the mind makes
what the body allows
the cosmos and the chemistry
the error and the errancy
who knew these nomad particles,
this fragile circuitry?
never ending nerve endings:
irreverendings!
so what if today the body can't?
no motion
social cues folded into the ambiente (sic)
that we still share
(the hugs minus the sinus)
death as daily affair
like orange and like orgasm
like sky and like sinew
like dross and floss
yet survival is daily

a poetics of the quotidian
would make the most of ether
(matter and its muttering)
no "either/or"
because bodies attract and repel
(Q: Is there another person?
A: None like you, each one another)
no one in particular
particle board of self
another evening's come
to this...what's left?

outside a fatal crash
on the front page:
spammed politics, e-newsletter
now the terms of fatalism are being rethought:
a hi-density conception of the self:
untracked and social
attract and set aside
adrift and usual in its meander

in its twisted figurations
thankfully too difficult to score
no dismount
only spectacle of skin
and our release from it
of sound and our rejoice in it
of pain and our response to it
appended to each other's story:
unreadable
no plot device
no *deus ex* in this machination
this rupture is our one way out
out two way in

the many ways that we begin
to make this music
this mawkish morning
when the storefronts should be closed
and the wounds should start to heal
today at last we are revealed
the shuffle of the city
finally becomes us





CHANTAL MOUFFE

It is through the question of *political* identity that I have decided to approach the theme of this conference on "identity." More precisely, I intend to ask the following question: "What kind of political identity should a project of 'radical and plural democracy' aim at constructing?" and I am going to argue that such a project requires the creation of new political identities in terms of radical democratic "citizens."

I want to make clear at the outset that my reflections will be inscribed within an antiessentialist theoretical framework according to which the social agent is constituted by an ensemble of subject positions that can never be totally fixed in a closed system of differences. The social agent is constructed by a diversity of discourses among which there is no necessary relation but a constant movement of overdetermination and displacement. The "identity" of such a multiple and contradictory subject is therefore always contingent and precarious, temporarily fixed at the intersection of those subject positions and dependent on specific forms of identification. This plurality does not, however, involve the coexistence, one by one, of a plurality of subject positions, but the constant subversion and overdetermination of one by the others that makes possible the generation of totalizing effects within a field characterized by open and determinate frontiers. There is thus a double movement. On the one hand, there is a movement of decentering that prevents the fixing of a set of positions around a preconstituted point; on the other hand, and as a result of this essential nonfixity, there is an opposite movement: the institution of nodal points, partial fixations that limit the flux of the signified under the signifier. But this dialectical movement is possible only because fixity is not given beforehand, because no center of subjectivity precedes the subject's identifications. For that reason we have to conceive the history of the subject as the history of his or her identifications, and there is no concealed identity to be rescued beyond the latter.

After having specified those theoretical concerns that are necessary to grasp the nature of my reasoning, I will now proceed with my argument about citizenship. My main thesis is that we need a new conception of the citizen that

and as citizens in a way that does not sacrifice one to the other? The question at stake is to make the fact that we belong to different communities of values, language, culture, and others compatible with our common belonging to a political community whose rules we have to accept. As against conceptions that stress commonality at the expense of plurality and respect of differences or that deny any form of commonality in the name of plurality and difference, what we need is to envisage a form of commonality that respects diversity and makes room for different forms of individuality. I believe that the crux of the problem lies in the way we conceptualize the political community and the way in which we belong to the political community, i.e., citizenship. In the brief time allowed to me, I can only indicate the main features of the solution to that problem, as I see it.

First, the political community should be conceived as a discursive surface and not as an empirical referent. Politics is about the constitution of the political community, not something that takes place inside the political community. The political community, as a surface of inscription of a multiplicity of demands where a "we" is constituted, requires the correlative idea of the common good, but a common good conceived as a vanishing point, something to which we must constantly refer but that can never be reached. In such a view the common good functions, on the one hand, as a "social imaginary": that is, the very impossibility of achieving full representation gives to it the role of a horizon that is the condition of possibility of any representation within the space that it delimits. On the other hand, the idea of the common good specifies what we can call, following Wittgenstein, a "grammar of conduct" that coincides with the allegiance to the constitutive ethico-political principles of modern democracy: liberty and equality for all. Yet, since those principles are open to many competing interpretations, one has to acknowledge that a fully inclusive political community can never be realized. There will always be a "constitutive outside," an exterior to the community that is the very condition of its existence. It is crucial to recognize that, since to construct a "we" it is necessary to distinguish it from a "them," and since all forms of consensus are based on acts of exclusion, the condition of possibility of the political community is at the same time the condition of impossibility of its full realization.

Second, with respect to citizenship, we find that the previous considerations have important implications for the understanding of our identity as citizens. The perspective that I am proposing envisages citizenship as a form of political identity that is created through identification with the political principles of modern pluralist democracy, i.e., the assertion of liberty and equality for all. By that I mean allegiance to a set of rules and practices that construe a specific language game, the language of modern democratic citizenship. A citizen is not, in this perspective, as in liberalism, someone who is the passive recipient of rights and who enjoys the protection of the law. It is a common political identity

is different from both the republican/communitarian and the liberal ones, which are at the moment the only existing alternatives. I believe that the terms of the debate today are far too restricted and that such a situation is at the origin of many false dilemmas and political misunderstandings.

On one side we have those who defend a communitarian view of politics and citizenship that privileges a type of community constituted by shared moral values and organized around the idea of "the common good." On the other side is the liberal view, which affirms that there is no common good and that each individual should be able to define her own good and realize it in her own way. The communitarians want to revive the civic republican conception of citizenship as the key identity that overrides all others, and their approach runs the risk of sacrificing the rights of the individual. For the liberals, on the contrary, our identity as citizens—which is restricted to a legal status and to the possession of a set of rights that we hold against the state—is only one among many others and does not play any privileged role. Politics for them is only the terrain where different groups compete for the promotion of their specific private interests, and the very idea of the political community is thus put into question. In this case it is the citizen that is sacrificed to the individual.

Many communitarian critiques have rightly pointed to the disintegration of social bonds and the growing phenomenon of anomie that have accompanied the dominance of the liberal view. But while it is indeed true that the liberal view has had many negative effects for modern democratic politics and that the current disaffection with political life in Western democracies is one of its products, we cannot accept the solution put forward by the communitarians, for their attempt to recreate a type of *gemeinschaft* community cemented by a substantive idea of the common good is clearly premodern and incompatible with the pluralism that is constitutive of modern democracy. If it is necessary to criticize the shortcomings of liberalism, one should also recognize its crucial contribution to the emergence of a modern conception of democracy. It is therefore important to acknowledge the specificity of modern democracy and the central role played in it by pluralism. By this I mean the recognition of individual freedom, that freedom which John Stuart Mill defends in his essay "On Liberty" and which he defines as the possibility for every individual to pursue happiness as he sees fit, to set his own goals and to attempt to achieve them in his own way. Pluralism is therefore linked to the abandonment of a substantive and unique vision of the common good and of the eudaemonia that is constitutive of modernity. It is at the center of the vision of the world that might be termed "political liberalism," and it is therefore important to understand that what characterizes modern democracy as a new political form of society is the articulation between political liberalism and democracy.

I think that the problem that we are facing can be formulated in this way: How are we to conceive the political community under modern democratic conditions? Or also: How are we to conceptualize our identities as individuals

differing conceptions of the good, but who accept submission to certain authoritative rules of conduct. Those rules are not instruments for achieving a common purpose—since the idea of a substantive common good has been discarded—but conditions that individuals must observe in choosing and pursuing purposes of their own. I consider that the reflections on civil association developed by Michael Oakeshott in *On Human Conduct* are very pertinent here because they can help us formulate the kind of bond that should exist among citizens in a way that reconciles freedom with authority. For Oakeshott, the participants in a civil association or *societas* are linked by the authority of the conditions specifying their common or "public" concern. These consist in a manifold of rules or rulelike prescriptions that he calls "res publica" and that specify not performances but conditions to be subscribed to in choosing performances. According to such a view, what is required to belong to a political community is the acceptance of specific language of civil intercourse, the *res publica*. The identification with those rules creates a common political identity among persons otherwise engaged in many different enterprises and communities. This modern form of political community is held together not by a substantive idea of the common good but by a common bond, a public concern. It is therefore a community without a definite shape and in continuous re-actment.

If we try to put together Oakeshott's views with what I said earlier concerning the principles of modern democracy as a new regime, we can say that in a liberal democratic regime, the *res publica* is constituted by the political principles of such a regime: equality and liberty for all. If we put such a content in Oakeshott's notion of the *res publica*, we can affirm that the conditions to be subscribed to and taken into account in the process of acting as citizens are to be understood as the exigency of treating the others as free and equal persons. It is evident, however, that this can be interpreted in many different ways and can lead to competing forms of identification. For instance, a radical democratic interpretation will emphasize the numerous social relations where relations of domination exist and must be challenged if the principles of liberty and equality are to apply. Therefore citizenship as a form of political identity cannot be neutral but will present a variety of modes according to the competing interpretations of the *res publica* that construe that identity and the type of articulation that is established among different subject positions of the agent. The creation of political identities as radical democratic citizens, for instance, depends on a collective form of identification among the democratic demands found in a variety of movements: those of women, workers, blacks, gays, the ecological, as well as against other forms of subordination. This is a conception of citizenship that, through a common identification with a radical democratic interpretation of the principles of liberty and quality, aims at constructing a "we," a chain of equivalence among their demands so as to articulate them

relation of *equivalence* does not eliminate *difference*—for that would be simple identity. It is only insofar as democratic differences are opposed to forces or discourses that negate all of them that these differences can be substituted for each other. That is, the “we” of the radical democratic forces is created by the delimitation of a frontier, the designation of a “them”; it is not a homogeneous “we,” predicated on the identity of its components. Through the principle of equivalence, a type of commonality is created that does not erase plurality and differences and that respects diverse forms of individuality.

Such a view of citizenship is clearly different both from the liberal and the communitarian ones. It is not one identity among others, as it is in liberalism, nor is it the dominant identity that overrides all others, as it is in civic republicanism. It is an articulating principle that affects the different subject positions of the social agent while allowing for a plurality of specific allegiances and for the respect of individual liberty. In the case of a radical democratic citizen, such an approach allows us to visualize how a concern with equality and liberty should inform her actions in all areas of social life. No sphere is immune from those concerns, and relations of domination can be challenged everywhere. The distinction between private and public is maintained as is the distinction between individual and citizen, but these do not correspond to discrete spheres; every situation is an encounter between private and public because every enterprise is private while never immune from the public conditions prescribed by the principles of citizenship. Wants, choices, and decisions are private because they are the responsibility of each individual, but performances are public because they have to subscribe to the conditions specified by citizenship. The identities *qua* individual and *qua* citizen are preserved, and none is sacrificed to the other; they coexist in a permanent tension that can never be reconciled. But this is precisely the tension between liberty and equality, which is constitutive of modern pluralist democracy and whose resolution would lead to its destruction. Between the logic of complete equivalence and the logic of pure difference, the experience of a radical and plural democracy should therefore consist in the recognition of the multiplicity of social logics along with the necessity of their articulation.

Gramsci's personal books : Antonio Gramsci read these books while he was imprisoned from 1926 to 1937. (prisoner's number 7047)
(Property of the Fondazione Istituto Gramsci, Roma)



A DAILY LECTURE BY MARCUS STEINWEG

65th Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC

3rd September 2013

TOUCHING NON-SENSE

Marcus Steinweg

1. Philosophy, insofar as it represents a European event, the event of a culture of logos that has lasted two and a half millennia, associated itself from the outset with light (with the platonic sun, the Christian *lumen*, the *enlightenment*, the *Lumières*, the Husserlian evidence and the Heideggerian *Lichtung*).
2. It was ignited at its origin as a metaphysics of light, from Heraclitus' all-steering lightning, Plato and the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus, Proklos and Porphyry, via Augustine up to Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Bonaventura and Albertus Magnus in order, from the declining Middle Ages, to dominate the entire modern age, the metaphysics of cognitive self-transparency, the search for incontrovertible certainty (*certitudo*), of the self-grounding or self-founding in the evidence of self-consciousness.
3. As if the Western subject from its very dawning had stood under the dictates of a light that condemned it to articulate itself and its world in the concepts of what is obvious, of clarity, of visibility and openness, that is, of a certain *logical* evidence: "For two and a half millennia everything that is and becomes appears in the light of the logos: through the logos and as logos."
4. And yet it is *clear* that a component part of the subject of light is the contact to a darkness which darkens the light of evidence.
5. The subject of light is accompanied by the threat of its darkening.
6. It experiences the efficiency of this darkness in all its stirrings and acts.
7. Thinking exists only in relation to the limit that indicates the impossibility of thinking.
8. Touched by non-sense, every thinking must bring itself to assertions of sense.
9. Only in touching non-sense do freedom, reason, responsibility make sense as a condition of possibility of self-elevation.

10. To think the childhood of philosophy, Greece, means not much more than pointing to the Mediterranean and to the peoples which triumphed over it.

11. Of the philosopher it can be said what Hegel said of the Hellenic people: that they are at home on the water of the sea, that the "nature of their country" (Deleuze and Guattari speaker of Greece's "fractal structure: every point of the peninsula lies so close to the sea, and the coast is so uncommonly long") induced them into an "amphibian existence" which caused them to spread out "freely over the land", that this "out to sea from the restrictedness of the soil" gave the Greeks are kind of Mediterranean ecstasy by giving them the "idea of the indeterminate, unlimited and infinite" and that whoever tries to become at home in the "most dangerous and most powerful element" has to struggle with the deceptiveness of oceanic illusion.

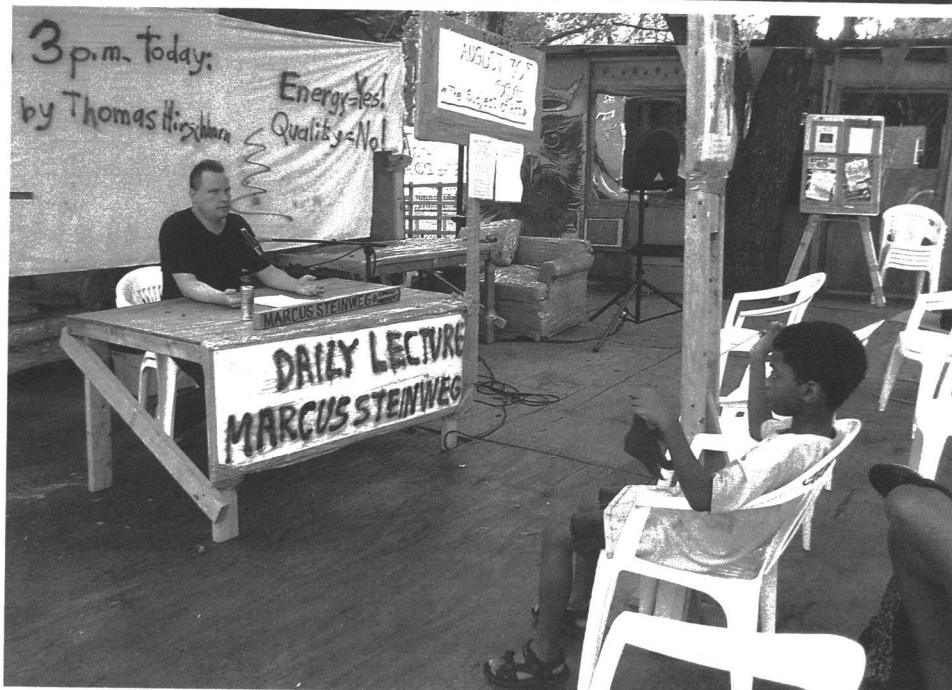
12. The philosopher puts his hopes and passions, his "property and life itself in danger of being lost".

13. He is exposed to the constant incalculability of oceanic powers.

14. As long as the subject is afflicted by the unconscious, the contingent and any kind of darkness, the body of concepts slouches and relaxes in the thalassic element.

15. Nothing is more certain than this water, that there is no beyond to the water, and no secured shores, no land spared flooding.

16. Each and every shore must be invented, and even when such inventions succeed, the oceanic chaos encloses the individual concept like an island threatened with imminent subversion again by the next tide.



RESIDENT OF THE DAY



BUTCH FERNANDEZ