



The Possibilities Are

Urban Subjects

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The possibility of class oppression?

The possibility of molecular gestures becomes evident at the horizon of these perspectives, gestures which produce a minority intensity in the reterritorialization movement.

After the Second World War, bombed-out European cities provided something of a blank canvas, delighting the likes of W.G. Witteveen, a Rotterdam civil engineer and architect who exulted in the possibilities provided by the near-total destruction of that port city by Nazi bombing in May 1940.

In other words, the relativization of culture jamming's possibilities for impact, which Kalle Lasn probably does not share in this form, is concentrated once again on the question we started with.

Not only do the mechanisms unleashed by solidarity humanitarianism foreclose any possible creation, but they also naturalize — via their compassionate charitable resources and their language of exclusion — the victimizing objectuality that separates everyone from their subjectifying and productive possibilities.

The act of deciphering the political message follows subsequently. Because of the given picture shock communication, the possibilities of communicating are generally too little complex and can only develop their effect, as Naomi Klein has described, in the overall context of the communication of other media.

Usually associated with utilitarian military or municipal projects (reconnaissance, surveying, cartography, urban planning) or modernist aesthetics (abstraction, minimalism, objectivism) or a specific genre of contemporary landscape photography, aerial photography is inevitably tied, historically and technologically, to modes of passive and powered aviation as well as methods of mechanical production and reproduction that structure the possibilities and constraints of the imagery.

The varying demands that universities make on students also affect the possibilities for political participation and the political climate on the campus.

It is not so much a question of disavowing the possibilities that derive from the moment of choice—which can be, as in the case of this example, highly subjectivating—as it is about distinguishing the mere ‘being’ and its ‘inside’ (or ‘outside’, it doesn’t matter) of the mechanisms of subjective production that spring up from disobeying these destinies.



Beside the “archaic” tendency (i.e., the conservatives) and the “modernist” one (the part of the movement, from the “liberal center” to the French Communist Party, that was content with reforming and more efficiently planning society) was the “possibilist” tendency, those who “view the ‘realm of possibilities’ as still open . . . proponents of the potential rather than the real” who “go so far as to proclaim the primacy of imagination over reason.”

So I would put the following question to you: are you not dreaming up the possibility of going straight from present-day oppression to communism without any transition period—that which is traditionally called the dictatorship of the proletariat during which there is a need for a new type of state apparatus, of which we must define the content?

To begin with, let us consider the proposals put forward by Oliver Marchart, who suggests the following possibilities (for a anti-hegemonic approach): 1. interruption, 2. counter canonization.

Now of course meaning “after the crisis,” that already fully mythologized, pivotal moment in 2008 (when exactly? September 15? October 3? November 4?) that so many of us had so obviously been longing for all along; for it would be completely disingenuous to disavow the immense sense of relief (bordering on Schadenfreude) that the mere spectral possibility of an inglorious end to the long, dire years of excess has caused us to feel.

One of the many hopes inspired by “the” crisis resides, precisely, in the real possibility that obscene levels of overproduction, saturation, and excess—the constituent factors of the aforementioned neue Unübersichtlichkeit which has become such a transparent pretext for boundless (self) indulgence—will finally grind to a halt, that soon enough we will finally be able to see clearly again.

This is also why there is always the possibility of a contradiction between the army and the people, and there will always be the possibility that this state apparatus will repress the popular masses, and this opens up the possibility and the necessity for a whole series of cultural revolutions, precisely in order to abolish contradictions which have become antagonistic between the state apparatuses such as the army, the Party or the administrative apparatus, and the popular masses.

As a critique of the object 'creativity' ('critique of creativity' as genitivus obiectivus), it aims to distinguish the possibilities and limitations of a creativity that is ultimately characterized by its own inherent critique or critical capacity ('critique of creativity' as genitivus subiectivus).

I want to emphasize this quote, because even if Rancière had put art in a somewhat surprising, maybe idealistic position it holds possibilities for cultural producers: some specific kind of art, some specific kind of image production, some specific kind of participation may open up a space for this encounter of the logic of policy and that of equality.

Yet there is something else that was only understood later on, namely that this type of 'peaceful' transition from capitalism to socialism – using the resources and the possibilities of power within a system of democratic representation – needs another conception of socialism.

This schema perpetually tied the 'purpose' or 'end' (final cause) of a creation to a primary, sovereign primal reality removed from the causal connection of the world and grounding this purpose, to a reality ontologically superior to every possibility, the prototype of which is found in the 'unmoved mover' of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, Book XII: demiurge, prime cause and creator of the world, which Christian scholastic theology was to adapt as the *actus purus*.

As Robert Scott points out, the lack of political stability in much of Latin America has stimulated student activism, since the possibility of successful agitation has been substantial, and students have occasionally been able to exert political leverage on weak governments.

In this kind of construction the world always appears as a secondary reality, and yet at the same time it finds itself fixed on being 'reality', which is always posited in a more or less distinctive opposition to possibility (the 'results in general', the 'natural fruits' or even the 'innate abilities' in Valéry's words).

And this real possibility, in which the field of possibilities is limited neither to an existing nor to a presupposed reality, always refers at the same time to an inalienable involvement in the world (another world is only possible by virtue of changing this world and not as a castle in the clouds) and to the necessity of a self-change, which opens up new fields of possibility (the former 'creatures' become themselves potential 'creators', specifically and not least of all – and not only among dandies – as creators of themselves).

It is only then that the first condition for the possibility of subversion, for revolt, is achieved.

Our field of theoretical possibilities is so limited, in fact, that the only alternative to critique often seems to be uncritical theory, that is, some method of affirmation of, collaboration with, or accommodation to the existing forms of power.

Michel Foucault articulated as an alternative to critique a form of philosophical and political militancy that offers rich possibilities for theory now.



But there is a minor line in Kant, including this essay on enlightenment, that conceives critique instead as the investigation of our contemporary field of experiences and the conditions of possibility of these experiences.

At film's end, Kuster and Tsianos uncover the possibility of a destroying grin of precarity.

Whatever the means of expression, we think/create because something in our everyday lives forces us to invent new possibilities, in order to incorporate into the current map of meaning the sensible mutation that is seeking passage in our day-to-day experience.

Thus in periods of proletarian revolution it always comes about that a state apparatus of a revolutionary kind is set up, between the masses and the class enemy, of course always with the possibility that this apparatus might become repressive in relation to the masses.

They create unexpected networks, connections, and possibilities.

If we posit a definition of politics as 'collective action, organized by certain principles, that aims to unfold the consequences of a new possibility which is currently repressed by the dominant order', then we would have to conclude that the electoral mechanism is an essentially apolitical procedure.

Translation into a common language raises the possibility of homogenizing different movements' experiences, and the effacement of important culturally-specific difference.

It is around the expression of these signals and their reverberation in subjectivities that breathe the same air of the times that possibilities open up in individual and collective existence.

Apart from this situation, I can see thousands of possibilities on the one hand for anti-judicial guerrilla operations, and on the other hand for acts of popular justice; but neither of these involve using the form of the court.

In short, how to reactivate in our times, in each situation, the political potential inherent in artistic activity, its power to unleash possibilities?

The clean sweep being proposed as a goal for radical therapy as well as art (and, by extension, for politics) suggests that “liberation” can be very confining. That is, it seems regressive in relation to the full range of our possibilities—among which civilization tries, to almost everyone’s dissatisfaction, to arbitrate.

“We want the same economic and practical possibilities that scientific research already has at its disposal [ ... ] Artistic research is identical with ‘human science’, which, to us, means an ‘engagé’ science and not a purely historical one.”

According to Adorno, art's very repulsiveness carries a certain "catastrophic potential" that conjures up the possibility of "the unutterable, which is Utopia."

For the Situationists, this authentic possibility can be realized only by transcending the work of art, which, as mere mimetic object, is itself mired in alienation.

At a time when “social practice” predominates in contemporary art (a way of working that Group Material helped define thirty years ago), Ashford asks, with *Six Moments* and other recent paintings: What are the possibilities and possible risks of abstraction applied to the sphere of politics?

Admitting the impossibility of intimately appropriating one’s own words and actions, *Mémoires* enters the domain of the already said: “Ours is a singular profession: enormous labor, fatigue beyond words, never respite, a destiny on the fringes of that of others.”



Its superior rationality implies conflict with a certain narrow-minded authoritarianism and therefore holds out the possibility of eventual democratic control.

Now known as Fasinpat (short for Fabrica sin patrones, or factory without bosses), the former Zanon factory became a symbol of the possibilities for circumventing the neoliberal project.

In an interview conducted by Marina Sitrin, Neka of the *Movimiento de Desempleados* (Unemployed Workers' Movement) describes horizontalism as a waking up to collective knowledge: "The practice of horizontalidad can give the possibility of breaking with the old and creating something that gives us the security of self-organizing, and the ability to do it well."

Specifically, it permits the possibility of withdrawing from the alienation produced by the capitalist state.

With the exception of those revolts that established capitalist societies, revolution is simply erased from the memory banks of future social possibility.

The very possibility of revolution was rendered ideologically absurd.

We have, almost all of us, largely lost the political imagination of a different future, at best holding on to the empty shell of revolutionary possibility, and this very much expresses the conceptual and political violence of the last few decades.

Neoliberalism may be dead yet still dominant, but its self-immolation opens up real political possibilities.

Revolutionary possibility was generally confused with utopianism, the history of revolutions notwithstanding, and revolution was collapsed into a caricature of inevitable failure.

Finally there is the possibilist tendency. Stripped of any derogatory connotation, this term covers all those who viewed or view the "realm of possibilities" as still open. They are proponents of the potential rather than the real. They go therefore beyond the real and sometimes beyond the rational. They go so far as to proclaim the primacy of imagination over reason. They explore the realm of possibility and want to achieve some of these possibilities.

Thereafter, Malevich corresponded with von Riesen, inquiring the following September about the possibility of exhibiting his works in Vienna, Dresden, and Hamburg.

Many years later, Henri Lefebvre makes a complementary point which speaks to the present and simultaneously rehabilitates a sense of utopian possibility.

Given the violence done under neoliberalism to our sense of political imagination and possibility, although this observation was first made in 1970 it seems a powerful and appropriate corrective today.

One must consider the possibility that Richter was unable to realize Malevich's scenario because it was not his own concept but rather intended to show in a vivid manner the theory of the origin and evolution of Suprematism that Malevich had initiated and developed over the course of many years.

It is worth noting that although Gillick's writing is frustratingly intangible—full of deferral and possibility, rather than the present and actual—he has been invited to troubleshoot practical projects, such as a traffic system for Porsche in Stuttgart, and to design intercom systems for a housing project in Brussels.

But the style of politics as emancipation is a third one: it assumes that the universality of the declaration of 1789 is the universality of the argument to which it gave way, and that is due precisely to the very interval between the two terms, which opened the possibility of appealing from one to the other, of making them the terms of innumerable demonstrations of rights, including the rights of those who are counted neither as men nor as citizens.



The problem and the stake there was the possibility of a discourse which would be both true and strategically effective, the possibility of a historical truth which could have a political effect.

On the contrary, they maintain that without the concept of utopia there is no possibility of a radical imaginary. The task is to balance the tension between imaginary ideal and pragmatic management of a social positivity without lapsing into the totalitarian.

Whatever is at the boundary of the social (and of identity), seeking to define it also destroys its ambition to constitute a full presence: "As conditions of possibility for the existence of a pluralist democracy, conflicts and antagonisms constitute at the same time the condition of impossibility of its final achievement."

Thus while the intersecting trajectories of Richter and Malevich left each artist prone to misunderstandings in their exchange, there is the possibility of enough indeterminacy in each artist's practice at the time of their meeting that Richter might have been able to realize Malevich's vision.

We are touching here on a problem of method, but also on a question of material constraint, namely the possibility available to anyone individual of covering the whole of this spatio-temporal field.

The possibilities offered by this perspective on art on campus have rarely been exploited.

Such a conclusion would keep options open and so help readers to consider active choices across a broad terrain of possibilities while paying proper attention to the complexities and difficulties.

Strategic analysis entails the risk and possibility of an illusion; it may attribute high degree of intelligence and political genius to the representatives of power.

Williams here charts a terrain of theoretical possibilities in which the reduction of relations between people into relations between concepts can be continuously challenged, while our understanding of relationships, institutions, and forms can be brought alive by focusing attention on the processes that work to produce, sustain, or dissolve them.

Despite their useful conciseness, these definitions fail to convey the central feature of the situationist engagement with everyday space (perhaps because it was taken for granted); for all the above techniques were expressly designed, not just to study aloofly the interaction of people and their environment, but to subvert and explore revolutionary possibilities within the urban scene.

Theirs was a project dedicated to uncovering the possibilities of, to use the phrase of one English situationist, “the total work of real life so long sought for.”

As in any strategic consideration, the strategist has a choice of two options to attempt to minimize the possibilities open to the adversary or to attempt to maximize his own possibilities.

In either case, however, the primary intention was not to release the unconscious or to admire the delights of 'chance', as it had been for the surrealists, but to think about and engage physically with the possibilities of creating a new and radically stimulating kind of city.

Still grassroots groups, vanguard projects and intentional communities continue to take their own lives as raw material, inventing alternate futures and hoping to generate models, possibilities and tools for others.

Such work is capable of touching people, of involving them, not through a retreat to the exalted land of a white cube, but instead within the everyday complexity of life in a technocratic society, where the most elusive possibility is that of shared resistance to the vast, encroaching programs of government and industry.

More generally it can be argued (Maraglio, 1989) that the situationists, through their unreflexive obsession with the repression and release of creative possibilities, came to reify their own particular interpretation of creativity.



There are always choices and possibilities, perpetually unresolved tensions and differences, subtle shifts in structures of feeling, all of which stand to alter the terms of debate and political action, even under the most difficult and dire of conditions.

It even holds out the possibility of a “third-way” (the famous “third-way”) between socialism and capitalism.

Yet while this work is a testament to the possibilities of activist and scholarly collaboration, others point to abuses.

The point of the strike episode is to show how something special is achieved—in this case a realization of class consciousness and an understanding of the possibility (and this word is always lurking in the margins of all of Williams's discussions) of a real alternative.

But this possibility is arrived at precisely through the internalization within that particular place and community of impulses originating from outside.

Members of NATO, on the other hand, have been constantly troubled by the political tensions within their approach, Villanueva (1985) going as far as to question the possibility of artistic radicalism at all.

On the left, she argues that it produces a national or racial solidarity that denies cleavages within the “other” society (say, India), eviscerating the possibility of talking about sexist exploitation, for example, while opening the way for a hybrid, migratory bourgeoisie to produce the ethnicized, female, poor as the subject of its own (cultural or economic) surplus value—the art show, the film, the fundraiser for poor, victimized women.

There is therefore the continual possibility of the dynamic variation of these forces.

All of this convinced me that contemporary art in its most challenging and experimental forms has indeed been suffering from the “cultural confinement” that Robert Smithson diagnosed long ago, and that its real possibilities unfold on more engaging terrains, whose access has mostly been foreclosed by the institutional frameworks of museums, galleries, magazines, university departments, etc.

Despite spontaneist currents, the situationist engagement with the city involved a politically purposeful, constructive assessment of the possibilities of establishing attitudes, practices, and physical spaces conducive to the creative use and exploration of the urban environment.

She points to Christian Liberation Theology as an intriguing and productive (non-nationalist) solidarity and longs for the possibility of an animist liberation theology building a globe-girdling, ecological solidarity movement, drawing together fisher-folk in India, with, say, indigenous Guatemalans fighting mining.

There is no possibility, in an American protectorate, of gender holding the repeated and effortful turning of capital into social, which is the best of the counter-globalizing struggle.

But to respond means to resonate with the other, contemplate the possibility of complicity—wrenching consciousness-raising, which is based on “knowing things,” however superficially, from its complacency.

It is the active subversion of the conditions that maintain it by divorcing it from the “extraordinary” possibilities.

But the possibility must be granted if one is trying to imagine something different from the sorry stereotype.

The possibility of betrayal looms, in our heads as well as in our actions, as we move from one level of abstraction or from one kind of epistemology to another.



I have been trying to open up that abstraction—“terror”—to figure out some possibilities.

Indeed, they are fundamental framing decisions—replete with multiple possibilities—that govern the conditions (often oppressive) over how lives can be lived (see, in particular, the collection by Keith and Pile 1993, on this point).

The conclusion is not, however, that space, place, and environment cannot be incorporated into social and cultural theory, but that practices of theorizing have to be opened up to the possibilities and dilemmas that such an incorporation requires.

Wrote the latter, after two days of the occupation, “there are moments of transcendence that are capable of teaching us, of making us feel the possibilities that reside in us, in the people around us, and in the groups of which we are or can be part” (Fisher 1993, 217).

Situations were meant to be fleeting happenings, moving representations, the “sum of possibilities.”

And situation was something lived, but also lived beyond, full of immanent possibilities for freethinking, consciously choosing, and acting individuals who assume responsibility for their situation and action.

And such a possibility makes it necessary to call upon the robust imagination, once again, to undo the binary opposition between bad cop and good cop—and remember that they are both cops.

It is a place that captures and controls the possibility of the transcendental by writing it as that which is worshiped.

As he explains, this offers the possibility for new social forces, which could undermine the solid props of capitalism.

If the judeo-christian is seen as the religion of reason, de-transcendentalized into secularism, that is also a description of capturing and controlling the possibility of the transcendental as that which is worshiped, the characteristic of religion-as-culture that I advanced above.

Negation would retain something positive, something preexisting; pessimism would keep hold of a grain of optimism: the rearticulation of history opens up the possibility for a new history.

If one wants to look for a non-disciplinary form of power, or rather, to struggle against disciplines and disciplinary power, it is not towards the ancient right of sovereignty that one should turn, but towards the possibility of a new form of right, one which must indeed be anti-disciplinarian, but at the same time liberated from the principle of sovereignty.

Its cognitive condition of possibility is lacking or ignored historical data, or the poor validity and contradictoriness of the available literature and, in more general terms, a hitherto missing explicit discourse on the issue of architecturally objectified cultural heritage in which the university was placed.

Doesn't this open up the possibility of overcoming the dualism of political struggles that eternally feed on the opposition between the State on the one hand and Revolution on the other?

Possibilities for action must be seized and unified in a dialectical manner.

The question as to the possibilities of artistic criticism of this frame of art presentation is always directed at a possible artistic difference.



Both contrapuntal critical approaches can, basically, be differentiated according to the fundamental critical—but marginalized—and a participatory position, in which the latter reserves the possibility via its participation to reach an audience that is not already convinced of the need for a criticism.

The essential political problem for the intellectual is not to criticise the ideological contents supposedly linked to science, or to ensure that his own scientific practice is accompanied by a correct ideology, but that of ascertaining the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth. The problem is not changing people's consciousnesses—or what's in their heads—but the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth.

This limited form of recognition had significant impact, as it coincided with the weakening of the movements at the very moment when a strengthening of their perspective was required. Once converted into demands, many of these issues were then taken up by the state from above: social programs, increased possibilities for consumption, and so on.

The impasse is characterized by the coexistence of new possibilities emerging from collective practice and the incapacity of those possibilities to free themselves from reactionary forms of representation in order to constitute their own spaces.

The state is thus converted into a key element for various aspirational projects, through the inflation of its discursive presence and the displacement of all other constituent possibilities from its territory.

Lefebvre provides one of his most focused theoretical discussions of this issue, concluding with a series of four succinct theses regarding the basic features, conditions of possibility, contradictions, and possible implications of autogestion.

The problem we have here laid out is less a question of blocking or refuting this pretension of a revival of politics—something particularly visible in South America—and more of opening up even more possibilities, effective politicizations that could be deployed in this new context.

An infrapolitical perspective draws a genealogy of its own and works at a (certain and fundamental) distance from institutional discourse, although it does coexist (and is linked in a thousand ways) with it, in an attempt to reorganize new possibilities and confrontations.

It may be a possibility which is impossible to realize.

Appropriation strategies once again seemed to afford new possibilities for historical representation, but those artists who appropriated archival images were more concerned with the opacity of such images than with using them in order to explore the past.

In this Communist era, historical representation itself had been banished: one of the crucial aspects of the work was that Sala not only looked back but retrieved the very possibility of retrospection.

In any place and moment in which autogestion is spontaneously manifested, it carries within itself the possibility of its generalization and radicalization; but at the same time it reveals and crystallizes the contradictions of society before it.

But the work does not merely show how its protagonist confronts the past: it places its viewer in an analogous position to her, encountering both the textual traces of history and the possibilities of historical understanding.

Yes, if by this sacred name we mean that theory and practice, at any given moment and in any given conjuncture, attempt the impossible in order to prepare, through concerted thought and action, for the disconcerting moment, the conjuncture that would change this impossible into possibility.

Without machines, democracy risks being confused with economic and social disorganization; it risks not surpassing political democracy, not realizing the possibilities of autogestion.

The new aspect of the problem of justice, for the Revolution, was not so much to punish wrongdoers as to prevent even the possibility of wrongdoing, by immersing people in a field of total visibility where the opinion, observation and discourse of others would restrain them from harmful acts.



A political programme of urban reform not defined by the framework and the possibilities of prevailing society or subjugated to a 'realism', although based on the study of realities.

Whereas Hudson "falsely assumed the unknown not to exist" now, "the unknown is more than an occasion for possibilities; it is a provocation that propels us on a journey, a route of unknowing in which we experience many of the ways that we do not know something.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak has described “the greatest gift of deconstruction” as “transforming conditions of impossibility into possibility,” and this is the gift Buckingham takes.

Within this framework, the essence of the social, the very idea of the possibility of the social is identified with the concept of exchange and the notion of the eternal circulation of exchanges.

A fantasy of a postcatastrophic underground world where the basic alimentary needs of the remaining population are already taken care of, Tarde's "Underground (Fragments of Future Histories)" toys with the possibility of describing social relations in other terms than those based on the always negative premises of concepts such as need-fulfillment, consumption or compensation for lack.

The unknown is more than an occasion for possibilities, it is a provocation that propels us on a journey, a route of unknowing in which we experience many of the ways that we do not know something.

While this is clearly simplistic and while there have been numerous self-critical discussions about the possibilities and limitations of militant protest, speaking of “pacifist Autonome” still seems to be a contradiction in itself.

Every relation of force implies at each moment a relation of power (which is in a sense its momentary expression) and every power relation makes a reference, as its effect but also as its condition of possibility, to a political field of which it forms a part.

That is to say, the problem is not so much that of defining a political 'position' (which is to choose from a pre-existing set of possibilities) but to imagine and to bring into being new schemas of politicisation. If 'politicisation' means falling back on ready-made choices and institutions, then the effort of analysis involved in uncovering the relations of force and mechanisms of power is not worthwhile.

But it's certain that the power of the French kings and the apparatuses of State which they gradually established from the eleventh century onward had as their condition of possibility a rooting in forms of behaviour, bodies and local relations of power which should not at all be seen as a simple projection of the central power.

This moment of liberatory educational possibility was quickly extinguished with Reagan's election in 1980, never to be seen again. These experiences shaped the kind of artist and teacher I have become.

The only real difference I see now is that one job pays and the other one does not. I teach at an elite art college and I wonder about the possibility for change coming out of such a place, is it already too late by the time young artists get there?

Such flexibility also facilitates the possibility of “engaging, listening, and learning from the multitude of narratives from which different players locate their struggles within the movement.”

Despite these several possibilities, however, the model presented here posits movement demise as the most likely resolution of the Super Agency stage.

Another possibility is that as the likelihood of SMO demise increases, SMO-generated agencies will move aggressively to cultivate new constituencies.

Within the horizon of contemporary political theory it is difficult indeed to entertain the possibility of any basic change in our conceptualisation of power.



It turns out in fact that this scrutiny of power in terms of knowledge and of knowledge in terms of power becomes all the more radical – and this is indeed the condition of its possibility through its rigorous insistence on this particular kind of neutrality.

Power is exercised not only subject to, but through and by means of conditions of possibility.

Strategy is the exploitation of possibilities which it itself discerns and creates.

To grasp the full range of these possibilities we must consider more closely the notion of the norm.

And so PROVENCE does not focus on hobbies as such, but rather explores the possibility of approaching activities outside strictly professional structures by means of mimicry.

Lefebvre's right to the city is established through social relationships, and, once claimed, it gains its own value affirming new ways of life, new social relations, and possibilities for political struggles.

The New Citizenship can be defined, for each individual and for each social group, as a possibility (as a right) to recognize and master (individually and collectively) its own conditions of existence (material and intellectual), and this simultaneously as a political actor, as a producer, as a citizen-user-consumer, in its place of residence, its city and its region, its professional and non-work related activities, as well as in its nation and in the world.

To counter it one might perhaps consider the surprising possibility that the law's interest in a monopoly of violence vis-à-vis individuals is not explained by the intention of preserving legal ends but, rather, by that of preserving the law itself; that violence, when not in the hands of the law, threatens it not by the ends that it may pursue but by its mere existence outside the law.

The possibility of military law rests on exactly the same objective contradiction in the legal situation as does that of strike law, that is to say, on the fact that legal subjects sanction violence whose ends remain for the sanctioners natural ends, and can therefore in a crisis come into conflict with their own legal or natural ends.

Two essentially different kinds of strike, the possibilities of which have already been considered, must now be more fully characterized.

This would throw light on the curious and at first discouraging discovery of the ultimate insolubility of all legal problems (which in its hopelessness is perhaps comparable only to the possibility of conclusive pronouncements on “right” and “wrong” in evolving languages).

In other words, Lifton tied the difficulty involved here not to the question of subjectivity per se but to psychological defenses against the overwhelming possibility of extinction.

Thus Jameson's formula has a strong possibility of legitimating technosubjectivity, which leads us nowhere but to a further global integration of capital with its increased power of pure destruction.

I believe that ... the "realization" of Art can only be the work of a qualitatively different society in which a new type of men and women, no longer the subjects or objects of exploitation, can develop in their life and work, the vision of the suppressed aesthetic possibilities of men and things - aesthetic not as to the specific property of certain objects (the object d'art) but as forms and modes of existence corresponding to the reason and sensibility of free individuals (Marx: "the sensuous appropriation of the world").

“Where, then, is the positive possibility of a German emancipation?”

To the extent that a spirit of social revolution suggests the possibility of transforming the organization of aesthetic work and patronage along with other social institutions, it permits the imagination of hitherto unimaginable aesthetic innovations which new social relations might make possible.



The utopian impulse which had long expressed itself in religion by an assertion of the possibility of resecuring an earthly paradise, found its aesthetic cognate in the refusal to acknowledge any limitation or boundedness to aesthetic activity.

Only artists utterly indifferent to the possibility of capturing a wide audience among the young could afford to take distance from the opposition culture which structured that generation's imagination.

In an archive, the possibility of meaning is 'liberated' from the actual contingencies of use.

The suggestion of past uses coexists with a plenitude of possibilities.

For historicism, the archive confirms the existence of a linear progression from past to present, and offers the possibility of an easy and unproblematic retrieval of the past from the transcendent position offered by the present.

The possibility of this kind of intellectual and aesthetic arrogance needs to be avoided, especially when a book of photographs by a small-town commercial photographer is published by a press that regularly represents the culture of an international and metropolitan avant-garde.

In an era in which 'communication' is the indisputable maxim, in which everything is out there to be communicated, and everything is justifiable by its communicable usefulness, research militancy refers to experimentation: not to thoughts, but to the power to think; not to the circumstances, but to the possibility of experience; not to this or that concept, but to experiences by which such notions acquire power (potencia); not to identities but to a different becoming; in one word: intensity does not lie so much in that which is produced (that which is 'communicable') as in the process of production itself (that which is lost in 'communication').

Difference(s), then, call for a more in-depth interrogation. On one side, of course, they exist and are evident. The postmodern impossibility of experience is nurtured by this 'festival of difference' (which, strictly speaking, becomes 'indifference,' dispersion). But that says nothing about the possibilities of articulation of those experiences.

A new type of politics: what would it be like? And, more specifically, what type of exigencies does the possibility of a new understanding of politics present to research militancy?

Hence the possibility of establishing a concrete link between the affective-fabric that operates in a situation and its operational productivity.

I would say, then, that I work under the condition of the situation of political actuality, with the goal of keeping alive, philosophically, the idea of the possibility or opening of a politics I would call a politics of emancipation—but that could also be called a radical or revolutionary politics, terms that today are debatable but that represent all the same a possibility other than the dominant one.

These practices have given us astounding results, like the possibility of a victorious popular insurrection in 1917 or the possibility of an entirely new organization of workers and peasants in the form of the Chinese popular army.

The groups I am referring to represent a pure and separate figure of destruction and practice a terrorism that is nonsituated, in which there is absolutely no possibility of glimpsing any constructive figure.

We have to assume this passage, saluting its vigor (I am quite happy that the organized and popular force of Hezbollah was able to successfully block the Israeli aggression) as well as understanding that, if these "solutions" function within local contexts, there are fundamental limitations with respect to the possibility of universalizing these experiences. This is difficult, but necessary.

Staying with the idea of subtraction and the global character of the situation it represents, is it possible to conceive of the gesture of migration itself as a subtractive or political one, insofar as it implies putting one's own life at risk in order to imagine and construct a new possibility of life?

Lefebvre's writings on the state during this period can thus be read as an expression of his sustained efforts to clarify both theoretically and practically the possibility for transformative political praxis under the highly fluid global, European, national, and local conditions of that tumultuous decade.



In the course of his somewhat meandering analysis, Lefebvre broaches three central, and closely intertwined, themes: (a) the political dilemmas and contradictions of the western European Left—including both communist and social democratic parties—during the late 1970s; (b) the consolidation of a new state form, which he had already analyzed at length in volumes three and four of *De l'État* under the rubric of the “state mode of production” (*le mode de production étatique*); and (c) the possibility of a radical-democratic and socialist political praxis, based upon the project of what he, like many other European socialists at this time, termed *autogestion*.

It was a moment in which established political choreographies were being unsettled as an atmosphere of heightened uncertainty—but also of possibility—swept across the European Left.

If the risk persists that the state might be subordinated to the demands of global corporations, so too, according to Lefebvre, does the possibility of a state controlled by an anti-imperialist, popular democratic coalition oriented towards radically antiproduktivist goals.

The issue here, however, is less the erosion or disappearance of state power as such—a matter about which Lefebvre does not attempt to speculate—than the possibility of its qualitative transformation into a nonproductivistic, radically decentralized, and participatory institutional framework that not only permits social struggles and contradictions but actively encourages and provokes them.

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★ The numbers indicated on the book pages and in the index correspond to the page number of the publication from which the quotations have been taken.

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Urban Subjects is a cultural research collective formed in 2004 by Sabine Bitter, Jeff Derksen, and Helmut Weber, and based in Vancouver, Canada and Vienna, Austria. Together they develop interdisciplinary artistic projects focusing on global-urban issues, the texture of cities, and on civic imaginations. Urban Subjects do not work on a consensus model.

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