If we stopped imprisoning our emotions in industrially manufactured profit centers, desire could become an engine of social transformation.
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If we stopped imprisoning our emotions in manufactured SYSTEMS, desire could become an engine of social transformation.
LIBERALISM IS A PHILOSOPHY
LIBERALISM IS A PHILOSOPHY

DEMOCRACY IS A SYSTEM
LIBERALISM IS A PHILOSOPHY

DEMOCRACY IS A SYSTEM OF MANAGING DISSENT

DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY
RADICAL DEMOCRACY VALUES AND SUSTAINS DISSENT AS A MORE IMPORTANT GOAL THAN CONSENSUS.
"I use the concept of agonistic pluralism to present a new way to think about democracy that is different from the traditional liberal conception of democracy as a negotiation among interests and is also different from the model that is currently being developed by people like Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls. While they have many differences, Rawls and Habermas have in common the idea that the aim of the democratic society is the creation of a consensus, and that consensus is possible if people are only able to leave aside their particular interests and think as rational beings. However, while we desire an end to conflict, if we want people to be free we must always allow for the possibility that conflict may appear and to provide an arena where differences can be confronted. The democratic process should supply that arena." - C.M. Mouffe, Chantal. *The Democratic Paradox*. Verso, 2000. © Verso. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see http://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/
CONSENSUS vs. COEXISTENCE
EQUALITY vs. COEXISTENCE
Civil rights

EQUALITY vs. COEXISTENCE

SOVEREIGN rights

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If the state is imagined as a person, the soul of that person is the concept of sovereignty, and sovereign himself is the person’s head. Hobbes names this artificial person, representing the state in its totality, the Leviathan.
LAW OF NATURE → TENDENCY OF MAN

OF COMMONWEALTH

CONTRACT

AUTHORITY

SUSTAIN THE COMMONWEALTH THROUGH PEAR OF PUNISHMENT
Liberty

Act according to will

Physical chains

Artificial chains

Law / contract

Protection from nature via social contract
LEVIATHAN

PRODUCED
CONSUMPED
GOODS (NUTRIENTS)

PUBLIC
MINISTERS (JOINTS)

MONEY (BLOOD)

SELF-REPRODUCTION:
COLONIES + PLANTATIONS
AUTOGESTION
Each time a social group...refuses to accept passively its conditions of existence, or of survival, each time such a group forces itself not only to understand but to master its own conditions of existence, autogestion is occurring.
Each time a social group refuses to accept passively its conditions of existence, of life, or of survival, each time such a group forces itself not only to understand but to master its own conditions of existence, autogestion is occurring.
Without the intervention of the revolutionary working class, there is no movement.

Illustration by Ralph Chaplin from the IWW publication *Solidarity* on June 30, 1917. Image is in the public domain.
Without the intervention of the revolutionary working class, there is no movement.

The transformation of society is a series of reforms + the removal of the bourgeoisie as the managing class. Auto-gestion = Self-management.

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Essentially opposed to the state, this entity has its own reality: its own essence, individuality, life and inherent reason.

Illustration by Ralph Chaplin from the IWW publication Solidarity on June 30, 1917. Image is in the public domain.
PARIS COMMUNE
The Paris Commune, the first successful worker's revolution, existed from March 26 to May 30, 1871 after the fall of Paris in the hands of the Germans as a self-managed, elected government.

ALGERIA
AUTOGESTION
After the national liberation, local workers took over the factories and agricultural estates in a grassroots manner and self-managed the enterprises.
Autogestion revives all the contradictions at the heart of the State, notably the supreme contradiction between the reason of the State and the human reason, liberty.

COLLISION WITH THE STATE

Autogestion must confront and resolve the organization of the market by restoring the use value of the human being, valorizing them against the world of commodity.
MULTITUDE

The multitude is a concept of a population that has not entered into a social contract with a sovereign political body, such that individuals retain the capacity for political self-determination. A multitude typically classified as a quantity exceeding 100.

For Hobbes the multitude was a rabble that needed to enact a social contract with a monarch, thus turning them from a multitude into a people.

Recently the term has returned to prominence as a new model of resistance against global systems of power as described by political theorists Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in their book Empire.
MULTITUDE
VS.
EMPIRE
We do not lack communication, on the contrary, we have too much of it. We lack creation. We lack resistance to the present.
- Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari

Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. *What Is Philosophy?* Columbia University Press, 1996. © Columbia University Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see http://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/
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The rhythm that the revolutionary movements have established is the beat of a new aetas, a new maturity and metamorphosis of the times.

vital energy
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When the multitude works, it produces autonomously and reproduces the entire world of life = constructing a new reality.

This reality is
- produced by cooperation
- represented by linguistic community
- developed by movements of hybridization

The multitude inverts the Empire's ideological illusion that all humans on the globe are interchangeable re:market
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GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP
- Multitude as limitless space
- The Empire does not really know how to limit the paths of global flow of the Multitude and tries to criminalize them (Illegal Labor)
- Empire doesn’t attack Multitude. It only restricts it because it needs its productive power, but cannot give it geopolitical legitimacy.
- Global citizenship is the Multitude’s power to reappropriate control over space and design a new cartography.
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TIME AND BODY, SOCIAL WAGE
- Redefinition of time as a collective experience embodying and living in the movements of the multitude.
- Labor as the creative activity that re-creates the world beyond obstacle.
- Labor moves outside the factory walls and disintegrates the borders between production and reproduction.
- Social wage, not family wage = once citizenship is granted for all, this would be called citizenship income.
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**EMPIRE AS PRESENT**

**MULTITUDE AS RESISTANCE**

**TELOS, THE RIGHT TO REAPPROPRIATION**

- Communication: Knowledge has to become linguistic action and philosophy has to become a real re-appropriation of knowledge.
- Hybridization of human and machine/system allows what has been constructed in language to become lasting.
- The telos must be collective: the collective making of history.
- Biopolitics: the political, social and economic must dwell together to connect the power of life to political organization.
- Creative imagination of the multitude: pulsating desire.
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**EMPIRE AS PRESENT**

**MULTITUDE AS RESISTANCE**

**POSSE**
- Power as a verb
- Posse is what a body and what a mind can do.
- Posse refers to the power of the multitude and its telos, an embodied power of knowledge and being, always open to the possible.
- Self-valorizes the body in labor against exploitation.
- The posse produces the chromosomes of its future organization: the constitution of new bodies, outside of exploitation, is a fundamental basis of a new mode of production.
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Perspective view of Charles Fourier's Phalanstère. Image is in the public domain.
Afrofuturism,
Fiction as reconstitution