

According to Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995) philosophy is not for the privileged few or the specialized ones: it is an activity that appeals to anyone who is attuned to the desire for the ethical life. Inspired by Spinoza's concepts of desire and freedom, Deleuze's ethical life is a life that aims at experimenting with sustainable ways of coping with the earth, with society, with the long term struggles and contemporary crisis that matter to us all. An ethical life defines thinking as the invention/intervention of new concepts and takes the risk of working with them in the real world. This book has been written in this spirit of free explorations of intensities. It explores the entanglements between art, activism and life in the service of training us to live ethically. Contrary to morality, which is the implementation of socially accepted rules and regulations, ethics requires an analysis of the power relations that structure our interaction as relational subjects, in order to enable us to deal with them.

The original contributions presented in this volume aim to set these ideas to work in contemporary practices, exploring the ways in which Deleuze's thought continues to be relevant at the start of the 21st century. As a product of the "Deleuze Circle", an open collaboration between academics situated in the Low Countries started in 2008, the chapters in this book contribute to our ongoing conversations on how to live the ethical life today in academia, in art but above all in our multiple ecologies of belonging.

ROSI BRAIDOTTI is Distinguished University Professor and founding Director of the Centre for the Humanities at Utrecht University. She was the founding professor of Gender Studies in the Humanities at Utrecht (1988-2005) and the first scientific director of the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies. In 2005-2006, she was the Leverhulme Trust, Visiting Professorship in the Law School of Birkbeck College, University of London. In 2001-2003, she held the Jean Monnet Visiting Chair at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European Institute in Florence. In 1994-1995 she was a fellow in the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

RICK DOLPHIJN is a teacher and researcher at Utrecht University, and a Senior fellow at the Centre for the Humanities at the same university. Before he was teaching at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam and had a postdoctoral position at the International Institute for Asian Studies. He published two books, being *Foodscapes, Towards a Deleuzian Ethics of Consumption* (Eburon/University of Chicago Press 2004) and (with Iris van der Tuin) *New Materialism: Interviews and Cartographies* (Open Humanities Press 2012). His academic work has appeared in journals like *Angelaki*, *Continental Philosophy Review* (with Iris van der Tuin), *Collapse* and *Deleuze Studies*. He is a 2014-2015 fellow of the Descartes Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science (Utrecht University).

ISBN: 978-90-420-3916-2



9 789042 039162

brill.com/faux



FT  
400

This Deleuzian Century

Rosi Braidotti and Rick Dolphijn (Eds.)

BRILL

# This Deleuzian Century

Art, Activism, Life

Edited by  
Rosi Braidotti and Rick Dolphijn



BRILL | RODOPI

# Faux Titre

ETUDES DE LANGUE ET LITTÉRATURE FRANÇAISES

*Series Editors*

Keith Busby  
M.J. Freeman<sup>†</sup>

Sjef Houppermans et Paul Pelckmans

VOLUME 400

# This Deleuzian Century

*Art, Activism, Life*

*Edited by*

Rosi Braidotti  
Rick Dolphijn



BRILL  
RODOPI

LEIDEN | BOSTON

The titles published in this series are listed at [brill.com/faux](http://brill.com/faux)

## Acknowledgments

As the editors of *This Deleuzian Century*, we wish to specially thank the following persons for hosting the National Symposium on Deleuze Scholarship: Andrej Radman, Sjoerd van Tuinen, Henk Oosterling, Frans-Willem Korsten, Arjen Kleinherenbrink and Anneke Smelik. Our gratitude to Denis Sinyakov for donating the striking photograph on the book cover. Many thanks to Christa Stevens from Rodopi for her editorial assistance in the preparation of this volume; to Sophie Chapple for helping with the copy editing process, and especially to Goda Klumbyte and Toa Maes for general assistance.

This book is dedicated to the work of Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995), stressing its unconditional love for thinking, for life (zoë) and for the earth, thus revealing a series of new political urgencies that position Deleuzian thinking right at the heart of the here and now.

Cover illustration: Denis Sinyakov, photographer, [www.denissinyakov.com](http://www.denissinyakov.com)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015933470

ISSN 0167-9392

ISBN 978-90-42-03916-2 (paperback)

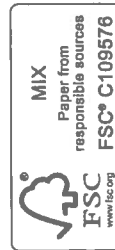
ISBN 978-94-01-21198-7 (e-book)

Copyright 2014 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.  
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and  
Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system,  
or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise,  
without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided  
that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive,  
Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.  
Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.



Printed by Printforce, the Netherlands

## Contents

Acknowledgments	5
Abbreviations	9
<i>Rosi Braidotti and Rick Dolphijn</i>	
Introduction: Deleuze's Philosophy and the Art of Life	
Or: What does Pussy Riot Know?	13
<i>Anneke Smelik</i>	
Fashioning the Fold: Multiple Becomings.	37
<i>Andrej Radman</i>	
Sensibility is Ground Zero: On Inclusive Disjunction and Politics of Defatalization.	57
<i>Sjoerd van Tuinen</i>	
Populism and Grandeur: From Marx to Arafat.	87
<i>Joeri Visser</i>	
The Healing Practices of Language: Artaud and Deleuze on Flesh, Mind and Expression.	115
<i>Frans Willem Korsten</i>	
Humile Art: Enhancing the Body's Powers to Act – or Bringing Art (back) Down to Earth.	147
<i>Agnieszka Wołodźko</i>	
Materiality of Affect: How Art can Reveal the more Subtle Realities of an Encounter.	169

<i>Rick Dolphijn</i>			
The Revelation of a World that was Always Already There: The Creative Act as an Occupation.	185		AO
<i>Jay Hetrick</i>			
The Ethico-Aesthetics of the Figure.	207		B
<i>Tom Idema</i>			
Thinking 'a Life': Nomadism as a Challenge for (Post-)Genomics.	239		C1
<i>Henk Oosterling</i>			
Mesopolitical Interests: Rotterdam Skillcity as Rhizomatic, Ecosophical, Reflective Event.	269		C2
Contributors	299		CC
			D
			DI
			DR
			ES

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *Anti-Oedipus*. Trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977. Translation of: *L'Anti-Oedipe: Capitalisme et schizophrénie I*. Paris: Minuit 1972.

Gilles Deleuze. *Bergsonism*. Trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam. New York. Zone Books, 1991. Translation of *Le Bergsonisme*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.

Gilles Deleuze. *Cinema 1 The Movement Image*. Trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam. London: The Athlone Press, 1986. Translation of *Cinéma 1, L'Image Mouvement*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit 1983.

Gilles Deleuze. *Cinema 2 The Time Image*. Trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta. London: The Athlone Press, 1989. Translation of *Cinéma 2, L'Image-Temps*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit 1985.

Gilles Deleuze. *Essays Critical and Clinical*. Trans. Daniel W. Smith and Michael A. Greco. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997. Translation of *Critique et Clinique*. Paris: Minuit, 1993.

Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet. *Dialogues*. Trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987. Translation of *Dialogues*. Paris: Flammarion, 1977.

Gilles Deleuze. *Desert Islands and Other Texts 1953-1974*. Trans. Michael Taormina. Ed. David Lapoujade. New York: Semiotext(e), 2004.

Gilles Deleuze. *Difference and Repetition*. Trans. Paul Patton. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. Translation of *Différence et répétition*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968.

Gilles Deleuze. *Empiricism and Subjectivity: an Essay on Hume's Theory of Human Nature*. Trans. Constantin V. Boundas. New York, Columbia University Press, 1991. Translation of *Empiricism et Subjectivité. Essai sur la nature humaine selon Hume*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France. 1953.

- F Gilles Deleuze. *Foucault*. Trans. Seán Hand. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988. Translation of *Foucault*. Paris: Minuit, 1986.
- FB Gilles Deleuze. *Francis Bacon: the Logic of Sensation*. Trans. Daniel W. Smith. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. Translation of *Francis Bacon: Logique de la sensation* [1981 Paris: Editions de la Différence] 2002 Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- K Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. Trans. Dana Polan. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986. Translation of *Kafka: pour une littérature mineure*. Paris: Minuit, 1975.
- LS Gilles Deleuze. *The Logic of Sense*. Trans. Mark Lester, with Charles Stivale. Ed. Constantin V. Boundas. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. Translation of *Logique du sens*. Paris: Minuit, 1969.
- NP Gilles Deleuze. *Nietzsche and Philosophy*. Trans. Hugh Tomlinson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983. Translation of *Nietzsche et la philosophie*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.
- PP Gilles Deleuze. *Negotiations*. Trans. Martin Joughin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995. Translation of *Pourparlers*. Paris: Minuit, 1990.
- PS Gilles Deleuze. *Proust and Signs*. Trans. Richard Howard, [1972 New York: G. Braziller] Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 2000. Translation of *Proust et les signes*. 3rd edition. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976.
- S Gilles Deleuze. *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy*. Trans. Robert Hurley. San Francisco: City Lights, 1988. Translation of *Spinoza: philosophie pratique*. 2nd edition. Paris: Minuit, 1981.
- SM Gilles Deleuze. *Masochism: An Interpretation of Coldness and Cruelty*, tr. JeanMcNeil, New York: G. Braziller, 1971. Translation of *Présentation de Sacher-Masoch*, Paris: Minuit, 1967.
- TE Félix Guattari. *The Three Ecologies*. Trans. Ian Pindar and Paul Sutton. New York: Continuum, 2008. Translation of *Les trois écologies*. Paris: Editions Gallilée, 1989.
- TF Deleuze, Gilles, *The Fold. Leibniz and the Baroque*, translated by Tom Conley, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

- Translation of *Le pli. Leibniz et le baroque*. Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1988.
- TP Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987. Translation of *Mille plateaux: capitalisme et schizophrénie, II*. Paris: Minuit 1980.
- TR Gilles Deleuze. *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975-1995*. Trans. Ames Hodges and Mike Taormina. Ed. By David Lapoujade. New York: Semiotext(e), 2006.
- WP Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *What is Philosophy?* Trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Graham Burchell. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. Translation of *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie?* Paris: Minuit, 1991.

# Deleuze's Philosophy and the Art of Life

## Or: What does Pussy Riot Know?

Rosi Braidotti and Rick Dolphijn

### To Think the Radical Alternative

In a review of Gilles Deleuze's *Difference and Repetition* and *Logic of Sense*, published in 1970, Michel Foucault famously stated that 'perhaps, one day, this century will be known as Deleuzian'. Saying this, Foucault was not anticipating a 'Deleuzian school in philosophy' that would dominate the era, neither did he express a desire to consider the twentieth century as 'Deleuzian' in its essence, as if this particular episteme was, or was to be, 'united' with Deleuze's thinking. No doubt, Foucault was struck by the power of Deleuze's ideas that were radically different from the History of Philosophy that both dominated and organized academia in those days. This was a wholly other way of thinking and no doubt Foucault sensed its immense potential. He must have felt that this potential had to realize itself one way or another, *bleeding* into all facets of life, as Foucault was certainly not the type of scholar that made these kind of statements lightly. The question to be posed at the start of this book is then: how might a 'Deleuzian century' be taking place? The question that leads immediately from this being: why is this (still) urgent almost half a century after the publication of Foucault's review?

Let us start by summarizing Foucault's initial reading of Deleuze's two books as a doubled critique of what we can call 'dualism'. First, with *Difference and Repetition*, Foucault saw how Deleuze freed 'difference' from



Hegelianism<sup>1</sup>, from the dialectics that considers all change to be relative, all critique to be responsive. With a thorough rereading of those philosophers misunderstood by the History of Philosophy (in this case Spinoza and even more so Nietzsche) Deleuze asked us to think both difference and repetition *in itself*. Difference is then not subject to 'identity in the concept, opposition in the predicate, analogy in judgment and resemblance in perception' (DR, 262). Moving away from this fourfold principle of reason, which remains faithful to the principle of representation, Deleuze offers us a difference that is *not* a secondary principle (as in 'consequential to something'). Repetition, in a similar vein, is not the repetition of something, 'but precisely the resemblance and the identity do not pre-exist the return of that which returns' (DR, 300). Coming close to Nietzsche's 'eternal return', Deleuze's repetition does not start with negation, but with creation, with the actualization and realization of a *virtual* past, as Bergson would have it. Second, with *Logic of Sense*, Foucault saw how Deleuze offered us a philosophy of the event and of the phantasm (entangled in it) saving us from 'vulgar realism (or 'positivism') on the one hand and 'Idealism' (or 'the transcendental position') on the other. Reversing Platonism, *Logic of Sense* with its mad mix of Lewis Carroll, Stoic philosophy, avant-garde French literature (Klossowski, Tournier, and traces of Artaud) and the psychoanalysis of Melanie Klein, emphasizes 'pure becoming' that manifest themselves in the events as they string into the lives as we live them. Refusing to start from the entities and the identities that appropriate the earth, that organize and classify our lives, *Logic of Sense* offers us a wholly other earth that instead starts from how all sorts of elements *come to matter in the event*.

The radical attack on institutionalized philosophy instigated with *Difference and Repetition* and *Logic of Sense* converges in every way with the student riots that took place in May 1968 in Paris and in the months that followed. Occupying its streets, its squares, its institutions, May 1968 by all means *situates* the double critique that Foucault notices in these two books by Deleuze and that actually make up the dimensionalities and the directionalities of all of Deleuze's writing until his unfortunate death in 1995. May 1968 gave form to new institutions, to a new university structure, to a new political program, a new philosophy: Deleuze was in many ways a child

<sup>1</sup> The work of G.W. Hegel, together with that of Husserl and Heidegger, dominated French academia in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Especially Jean Hyppolite, Deleuze's supervisor, had been very influential in spreading Hegelianism in early twentieth century France.

of '68. For although he had published important and highly respected work before this event (it is said that he was being nominated for a position at the *Collège de France*, a most prestigious academic post in France), it was with May 1968 that things started to matter.

In three ways the year 1968 marks the birth of Deleuze as a philosopher. First, it was the year in which he met Félix Guattari with whom he would write his most influential work. Second, it was the year in which *Paris 8* was founded, the new experimental institute, where Deleuze was given the time to develop his philosophy (he was connected to *Paris 8* until his retirement in 1987). But it was also the year in which the lung disease that would mark him for the rest of his life, and that in the end would kill him in 1995 (in an unexpected way... as ever), was diagnosed. *Difference and Repetition* and *Logic of Sense* were in many ways written *with* the revolutions of May 1968. *Anti-Oedipus*, the philosophical best-seller that the philosopher Deleuze wrote together with the militant Guattari, was its (un)wanted offspring. *Anti-Oedipus* continued the two trails set out in Deleuze's two previous books, combining this with the political urgency that necessarily followed 1968. Summarizing the period before he met Guattari, Deleuze concluded: '[...] I was working solely with concepts, rather timidly in fact' (N, 13). With *Anti-Oedipus* the 'working with concepts' turned into 'creating concepts', distilling them from the events of 1968 which would inspire them both for the rest of their lives. Starting from pure desire, from free flowing *desiring-machines* (as they make up the event), 1968, in short, taught both Deleuze and Guattari to critique all dualisms: all hierarchies (think of the Freudian Father), all despotic regimes (think of the Catholic priest), and all other powers that somehow disturb and distort the desires. The militant, humorous and just joyful tone that marks this book showed many that a new type of thinking, previously unheard of, had come into existence. It said goodbye to Hegelianism<sup>2</sup>, it was a serious critique of Jacques Lacan and the hegemony of psychoanalysis, and played a crucial role in popularizing the 'minor tradition in thought' that Deleuze had been working on himself in the years before (with important rewritings of notably Spinoza, Bergson and Nietzsche). Yet while so many, also outside of philosophy, were so inspired by this book, it also courted fierce resistance, especially from those in power. Lacan, though very fond of *Logic of Sense*, was obviously not amused. But also those in

<sup>2</sup> In the year 1968 also the two most prominent Hegelians in France, Jean Hyppolite and Alexandre Kojève, passed away, both in their early 60's.



power at the *Collège de France* lost interest in Deleuze once he started to write 'pornography' in their view.

Michel Foucault immediately saw the immense potential of *Anti-Oedipus* and wrote its preface in which he famously stated: 'one might say that *Anti-Oedipus* is an *Introduction to the Non-Fascist Life*' (AO, xiii, italics in original). This statement immediately connected the book to the events of 1968, stressing the deeply political nature of the work. *Anti-Oedipus*, he stresses, is *not* the new theoretical reference ('it is not a flashy Hegel' (AO, xii)). Foucault summarizes the intensity of the book as an '*Ars erotica, ars theoretica, ars politica*' (AO, xii, italics in original); it connects desire to reality and the capitalist machinery; it maps in what way desires turn into thoughts and discourse; it produces a micropolitics that traverses every possible event, warding off the tiniest fascist forces – as Foucault would call them – that time and again classify and organize life. And very importantly: it does so through art. Foucault claims that *Anti-Oedipus* can best be read as an 'art': an art of living, an aesthetic of the self (as Foucault called it in his last publications) that, in traversing the classifications and the hierarchies that organize us, anticipates 'another life'.

It is this commitment to art that is essential for the radical political manifesto *Anti-Oedipus* turned out to be. Combining the critiques on dualism of before, *Anti-Oedipus* radically turns to the arts, not only as a major form of inspiration (philosophical inspiration perhaps), but as a fundamental creative force necessary to fight all forms of fascism possibly encountered. For although Deleuze, even at the end of his life, still considered himself a pure metaphysician, he couldn't have denied that any, and all radical thought '[...] requires all of the resources of art, and art of the highest kind' (TP, 187). This was announced already in *Logic of Sense*, but it was mostly with *Anti-Oedipus* that the power of art, its per/formative potentiality and the necessity to revolt that are so central to this book, turned into the driving force of his work. In his last publication, *Immanence: a life ...*, where he starts with the most outspoken metaphysical problem, namely: 'What is a transcendental field?'. Deleuze immediately includes this into his non-dualist philosophy by stating that the transcendental field is defined by immanence which is defined by life.<sup>3</sup> From this it follows that: 'The immanent event is actualized by the state of things and of the lived that make it happen.' (31). This is the

<sup>3</sup> Gilles Deleuze, 1995. 'L'immanence: une vie'. In: *Philosophie*. No. 47.

Deleuzian Century at its best: celebrating the forces of creation (making things happen), it practices an activism through art, through an art of living.

The Deleuzian Century has happened many times, not only in the twentieth century but also in times long since gone. The events in May 1968, with their revolutionary creativity, allowed this to be realized more than ever before. And over the past twenty years, in which the power of Deleuze's thinking has had an unprecedented impact upon both scholarship and on the arts, it has happened many times again. The bad news however, is that fascism, in all of its ugly appearances, has gained enormous power at the second decennium of this twenty-first century, revealing itself to us in the many financial, economical, ecological, technological crisis in which we find ourselves today. Deleuze already anticipated the realization of this new era with his highly influential *Postscript on Control Societies* (published in *Negotiations*) in which he for instance warned us, long before the coming of the internet, of the free floating forms of control that have by now become the signature of advanced capitalism and that both classify and organize life on an unprecedented scale and always in pursuit of more profit. We find ourselves in troubled times as new forms of control seem to invade our existence at an ever-increasing pace. Of course this is all the more reason to put Deleuze's scholarship to work, to feel its resonances with contemporary issues, with the creative events that also happen today. Therefore in this book we do not interpret Deleuze's writings, we do not just work with his concepts as if to pay homage to his philosophy. Rather, we feel how his thoughts resonate in the issues with which we are confronted today. We have to keep asking ourselves: how do we create a non-fascist life, how do we liberate our desires from today's capitalist machinery? Or to return to Foucault again: 'How can and must desire deploy its forces within the political domain and grow more intense in the process overturning the established order?' (Foucault in: (AO, xii)). These are the lines of flight, or the nomadic becomings, with which this book is concerned.

### The Bio-Genetic Structure of Advanced Capitalism

The various contributions in this book analyze the political and economic reality of today, that, not even half a century after May 1968; a reality that has completely changed. Capitalism is still a monster, it is still only interested in the increase of profit, but its strategies and its tactics have undergone a complete metamorphosis, following its omnipresence and limitless

complexity that has increasingly accelerated over the past decades. The scary part is that this has resulted (among others) in increasingly opaque appearances (again, think of all the crisis that haunt us today), which tells us that we have *no idea* what its next move will be. And to make it even worse; we have just stopped thinking about it. For isn't the over-celebrated and much lamented 'end of ideologies' one of the strongest ideological formations of our times? The post-ideology climate translates into a one-way political message,<sup>4</sup> namely that all social programs of radical overthrowing capitalist societies have exhausted their historical function, especially Marxism, communism, socialism and feminism. Hence people can now relax and carry on with the task of minding their own business. A hasty and fallacious historical dismissal of social reformism and critical radicalism results in the reassertion of the banality of self-interest. This political apathy is constitutive of neo-conservative liberalism in our era and in public discourse it gets compensated by over-emphasis on moral issues. This produces an escalating notion of the range of issues individuals are expected to take moral responsibility for. Muehlebach calls this social model: 'the moral neoliberal'.<sup>5</sup>

Global neoliberal culture triumphantly asserts the end of ideology defined as the desire for social justice and attempts to fulfil the conservative fantasy of an immutable 'human nature', which allegedly coincides with the ethos of advanced capitalism.<sup>6</sup> This same culture, however, systematically frustrates the very conservative dreams it so perversely arouses. Contemporary society is in fact fascinated to the point of obsession by all that is 'new' and is in love with 'multiple choice' market options. It pursues quantitative changes with obsessive faith in their beneficial side-effects. Globalized and technologically mediated cultures accomplish a magician's trick: they combine the euphoric celebration of *new technologies*, *new economy*, *new life-styles*, *new generations* of both human and technological gadgets, *new wars* and *new weapons* with the complete social rejection of radical change and equitable transformation. In a totally schizophrenic double pull the consumerist and socially enhanced faith in the *new* is supposed not only to fit in with, but also

<sup>4</sup> Alain Touraine, 2001. *Beyond Neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

<sup>5</sup> Andrea Muehlebach, 2013. *The Moral Neoliberal*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Fukuyama, 2002. *Our Posthuman Future. Consequences of the BioTechnological Revolution*. London: Profile Books.

actively to induce the rejection of in-depth changes, which are dismissed as pertaining to an *old* 'ideology'. The potentially innovative, de-territorializing impact of the new technologies for instance is hampered and turned down by the re-assertion of the gravitational pull of old and established consumerist values. It is not surprising therefore that the ideologically-driven discourse about the end of ideology has made life difficult for critique, notably since the landmark dates of 1989 and 9/11. The moral neoliberal has subjected both artists and critical theorists to a regime in which any kind of critique is considered suspicious and in which abstraction (figurative, theoretical) has turned 'useless'.<sup>7</sup> The so-called 'value of culture' in our time, is zero. If Ai Weiwei is considered to be the most successful artist of our time, it is not because of the subversive nature of his art, but because of his market value.

This political economy can be best summed up in terms of capitalism as schizophrenia. In their final cooperation, *What is philosophy?*, written just after the 1989 'collapse of communism', Deleuze and Guattari analysed this double pull in contemporary cultures as a conflict between, on the one hand, the rising demands for subjective singularities, or transversal assemblages and, on the other hand, the conservative re-territorialization of desires for the purpose of commercial profit. This is reflected in the schizoid paradox of the compulsive consumerism of mass culture, where all the emphasis falls on the quest for 'personalized' or 'itemized', custom-made specifications and commodities. This combination of the archaic and the hyper-modern achieves a disastrous dual effect; it re-asserts individualism as the unquestionably desirable standard, while it reduces it to brand names and to logos. It also pushes commercial profit-making to the innermost boundaries of subjectivity itself, making 'I shop therefore I am' the leading refrain of our times or, as Rem Koolhaas captured the motto of our age: '¥€\$!'<sup>8</sup>

One of the problematic aspects of this historical condition is the deficit in the scale of representation which accompanies the structural transformations of subjectivity in the social, cultural and political spheres of globalized cultures. Accounting adequately for changes is a challenge that shakes up long-established habits of thought. A habit of thought is an engrained reflex, an institutionalized response, a gesture that has become familiar by force of repetition without difference. Most persistent among these mental habits is individualism, another one consists of dealing with differences dialectically

<sup>7</sup> Claire Colebrook, Tom Cohen and J. Hillis Miller (eds.), 2011. *Theory and the Disappearing Future*. London and New York: Routledge.

<sup>8</sup> Rem Koolhaas, 2004. *Content*. Colone: Taschen.

and negatively, that is in oppositional and pejorative terms. Hence Deleuze's leading question that he gave to us already in *Difference and Repetition*: how can one free difference from the negative charge which it seems to have built into it? Like a historical process of sedimentation, or a progressive accumulation of toxins, the concept of difference has been poisoned and has become the equivalent of inferiority: to be different-from means to be worth less-than. How can difference be cleansed of this negative charge? Is the positivity of difference, 'difference in itself', thinkable with this capitalist monster breathing in our face? What are the conditions that may facilitate the thinkability of positive difference?

In this century the work of Deleuze (and Guattari) is a strong conceptual and political antidote to the tongue-tying, energy-sapping, brain-deadening effects of this internally contradictory and relentlessly rapacious historical context. Resonating Foucault's mapping of *Aniti-Oedipus* as an '*Ars erotica*, *ars theoretica*, *ars politica*' as we discussed in the first part of this introduction, we are now desperately in need of mapping these three dimensionalities in the era of our concern. We need to draw cartographies of twenty-first century life that allow us to dismantle ourselves. We need to find ways to occupy capitalism by regaining the long lost desires that have been tormented by the taxonomies of today. The paragraphs to follow this introduction will situate the three arts that matter-realize Non-Fascist Life in the world today: the analytic dimension, the relational dimension and finally the normative dimension. Likewise, the different contributions in the rest of the book call upon this Deleuzian Century to take place.

### The Analytic Dimension

A Deleuzian analysis of the immanent event empowers us to analyze the perverse political economy of advanced capitalism. The defining features are as follows:

Firstly: the simultaneity of internally contradictory social effects mentioned above. Advanced capitalism is a differential engine in that it promotes the quantitative proliferation of multiple options in consumer goods. It is a spinning machine that actively produces differences for the sake of commodification. It is a multiplier of deterritorialized differences, which are packaged and marketed according to a consumeristic political economy of proliferation and consumption of quantitatively different options. These 'differences' have been however turned into marketable, consumable and

often disposable 'others'. As Eugene Holland points out<sup>9</sup> there is an entropic and self-destructive element to advanced capitalism in that it exposes and endangers the very sources of its wealth and power previous systems kept hidden or protected. Advanced capitalism operates on contemporary decoded or deterritorialized flows of change and reterritorializes or stratifies them for the sake of profit.

Secondly, time is out of joint translates into a perverse temporality: advanced capitalism is an unsustainable 'future eater',<sup>10</sup> driven by all-consuming entropic energy. Devoid of the capacity for critical self-reflexion and genuine creativity, global capital merely promotes the recycling of spent hopes, re-packaged in the rhetorical frame of the 'new' and wrapped up in persistent anxiety about the future. In a schizophrenic double pull of euphoria and paranoia which confirms Deleuze and Guattari's analysis (AO, TP), the consumerist and socially enhanced faith in the 'new' clashes with the reterritorialization of desires through the gravitational pull of established values bent on short-term profit.

Thirdly, advanced capitalism functions through tightly controlled mobility, or a 'striated' social space subjected to constant surveillance. It functions as the great nomad, the organizer of the mobility of commoditized products. A generalized practice of 'free circulation' pertains almost exclusively to the domain of goods and commodities, data and capital. People do not circulate nearly as freely. Real-life mobility through migration, for instance, or diasporic movements, is checked by relations of class, ethnicity, gender and age, to name but a few crucial variables that run the protocols of computer-based 'objective analysis' as they defend the borders of our Nation States. The global system of the post-industrial world produces scattered and poly-centered profit-oriented power relations. It is therefore crucial to expose the perverse nomadism of a logic of economic exploitation that equates capitalist flows and flux with profit-minded circulation of commodities and to provide accurate political cartographies of qualitatively different lines of nomadic flows.<sup>11</sup>

Fourthly, given that the political economy of global capitalism consists in multiplying and distributing differences for the sake of profit, it produces

<sup>9</sup> Eugene Holland, 2011. *Nomad Citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press.

<sup>10</sup> Tim Flannery, 1994. *The Future Eaters: an Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*. New York: Grove Press.

<sup>11</sup> Rosi Braidotti, 2006. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

ever-shifting waves of genderization, sexualization, racialization and naturalization of multiple 'others'. It has thus effectively disrupted the traditional dialectical fairytale about the relationship between the empirical referents of Otherness – women, natives and animal or earths others – and the processes of discursive formation of genderization, racialization and naturalization. Deleuze and Guattari, already in the 1980's, showed us that there is no 'other' when it comes to these relations. Discussing 'European racism' as they called it, they concluded: 'Racism operates by the determination of degrees of deviance in relation to the White-Man face [...] From the view of racism, there is no exterior, there are no people on the outside' (TP, 178). The degrees of deviance have always been central to the orders of global capitalism, and now, more than ever, it has organized the lives of the ninety-nine percent into a zigzagging pattern of dissonant nomadic subjects.

Fifth, comes the technologically mediated structure of schizoid 'advanced' capitalism. It is built on the convergence between different and previously differentiated branches of technology, notably biotechnologies and information technologies. The opportunistic political economy of biogenetic capitalism turns Life/zoe – that is to say human and non-human intelligent matter – into a commodity for trade and profit. In substance, advanced capitalism both invests and profits from the scientific and economic control and the commodification of all that lives. This context produces a paradoxical and rather opportunistic form of post-anthropocentrism on the part of market forces which happily trade on Life itself.<sup>12</sup> What the neoliberal market forces are after and what they financially invest in, is the informational power of living matter itself. The capitalization of living matter produces a new political economy, one that Melinda Cooper calls 'Life as surplus'.<sup>13</sup> It introduces discursive and material political techniques of population control of a very different order from the administration of demographics, which preoccupied Foucault's work on bio-political governmentality. Today, we are undertaking 'risk analyses' not only of entire social and national systems, but also of whole sections of the population in

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Rose, 2001. 'The Politics of Life Itself.' In: *Theory, Culture and Society*. Vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 1-30.

<sup>13</sup> Melinda Cooper, 2008. *Life as Surplus. Biotechnology & Capitalism in the Neoliberal Era*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

the world risk society.<sup>14</sup> Data banks of bio-genetic, neural and mediatic information about individuals are the true capital today.<sup>15</sup>

Clough provides an impressive list of the concrete techniques employed by 'cognitive capitalism'<sup>16</sup> to test and monitor the capacities of affective or 'bio-mediated' bodies: DNA testing, brain fingerprinting, neural imaging, body-heat detection and iris or hand recognition. These are the free floating forms of control no longer limited to the sites of confinement that marked the nineteenth and early twentieth century surveillance techniques, these are the biopolitical dark iClouds that do not just hang over our heads as the metaphor wants us to believe.<sup>17</sup> All these are also immediately operationalized as surveillance techniques both in civil society and in the War on Terror. What Deleuze and Guattari teach us is that the 'virtual' character of technologically mediated power relations today is not ethereal but materially grounded and hence embodied and embedded. Both Deleuze's speculations on the 'control societies' he saw emerging, and Guattari's writings on the post-media age and on Integrated World Capitalism which were all written towards end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's already told us that there is no such thing as cyberspace.

Last but not least: the axiomatic character of advanced capitalism. An axiomatic system as Toscano pointed out,<sup>18</sup> refuses to provide definitions of the terms it works with, but prefers to order certain domains into existence with the addition of subtraction of certain norms or commands. Axioms operate by emptying flows of their specific meaning in their coded context and thus by decoding them. No freedom is possible within capitalism because the axiom of money and profit knows no limit. Axioms simply need not be explained and its terms of relation need not be defined, their objects being treated as purely functional – see the emphasis on the 'new' and the 'next generation' of gadgets. Being fundamentally meaningless, the decoded flows of capitalism are purely operational modes of regulation. They can get attached to any type of social organization – slave plantations as well as factories – and to different state structures – socialism as well as liberal

<sup>14</sup> Ulrich Beck, 1999. *World Risk Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

<sup>15</sup> Rosi Braidotti, 2013. *The Posthuman*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

<sup>16</sup> Yann Moulier Boutang, 2012. *Cognitive Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

<sup>17</sup> See Marianne van den Boomen, 2014. *Transcoding the Digital*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

<sup>18</sup> Alberto Toscano, 2005. 'Axiomatic.' In: Adrian Parr (ed.), 2005. *The Deleuze Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 17-18.

democracies. As such, the axioms of capitalism are extremely adaptable, capable of great internal variation and structured around a perverse sort of opportunism. Such flexibility and multiple realizability constitute a formidable apparatus of domination or capture.

An *Ars erotica*, as Foucault saw this at work in *Anti-Oedipus*, never intends to critique advanced capitalism negatively. In the analyses a search for a new health has to appear. Antonin Artaud was right when he started his diagnosis of contemporary life by stating: 'Man is ill because he is badly constructed'.<sup>19</sup> Releasing ourselves from nineteenth century humanism, any art of living immediately traverses its classifications. Not establishing a 'difference from' anything but rather acknowledging difference in itself affirmatively practices a becoming-woman, a becoming animal, and a becoming imperceptible. Any *Ars erotica* analyses the healthy body it hopes to be.

### The Relational Dimension

Any materialist analysis of the current situation, next to practicing an *ars erotica*, unfolds an *ars theoretica*, which is the relational dimension according to which we situate our events of concern. The starting point is the turn to Spinozist monism<sup>20</sup> and the rejection of the legacy of Hegelian-Marxist dialectics of consciousness and otherness. This school of critical theory banks on negativity and in a perverse way even requires it, because it builds on the assumption that the critical position consists in analyzing negative social and discursive conditions in order to better overthrow them. In other words it is the same conditions that construct the negative moment – for instance the experience of oppression, marginality, injury or trauma – and also the possibility of overturning them. The same analytic premises provide both the damage and the possibility of positive resistance, counter-action or transcendence.<sup>21</sup> What triggers and at the same time is engendered by this process of both analysis and resistance is called 'oppositional consciousness'.

<sup>19</sup> Antonin Artaud, 1975 (1948). 'To Have Done With the Judgment of God.' Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press. See also: Rick Dolphijn, 2011. 'Man Is Ill Because He Is Badly Constructed: Artaud, Klossowski and Deleuze in Search for the Earth Inside.' In: *Deleuze Studies*. Vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 18–34.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Macherey, 2011. *Hegel or Spinoza?* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>21</sup> Michel Foucault, 1977. *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Pantheon Books.

This process has become canonized as the equation of critical political subjectivity with negativity, oppositional, or 'unhappy' consciousness. As an alternative, Deleuze and Guattari want to suggest a non-Hegelian, monistic and vital-materialist analysis that foregrounds the relational, negotiation-bound and affirmative elements of this process. The point is that the political is defined by a relational affirmative ethics that aims to cultivate and produce the condition of its own expression: it is a praxis based on a positive definition of the subject and process-driven, relational 'di-vidual'. A subject's ethical core is clearly not his/her moral intentionality, as much as the effects of power (as repressive – *potestas* – and positive – *potentia*) his/her actions are likely to have upon the world. It is a process of engendering empowering modes of becoming (DR; Braidotti, 2006).

Here is the punch-line of contemporary vital-materialist politics: given that the ethical good is equated with radical relationality aiming at affirmative empowerment, the ethical ideal is to increase one's ability to enter into modes of relation with multiple others. Oppositional consciousness is replaced by affirmative praxis; political subjectivity is a process or assemblage that actualizes this ethical propensity. This position is postsecular in the sense that it actively works towards the creation of affirmative alternatives by working through the negative instances, including their representations. The propensity for affirmation is a key feature of neo-spinozist nomadic subjects.

This view of subjectivity does not condition the emergence of the subject on negation but on creative affirmation; not on loss but on vital generative forces. The rejection of the dialectical scheme implies also a shift of temporal gears. It means that the conditions for political and ethical agency are not dependent on the current state of the terrain: they are not oppositional and thus not tied to the present by negation. Instead they are projected across time as affirmative praxis, geared to creating empowering relations aimed at possible futures. Ethical relations create possible worlds by mobilizing resources that have been left untapped in the present, including our desires and imagination. They are the driving forces that concretize in actual, material relations and can thus constitute a network, web or rhizome of interconnection with others.

Such a vision, moreover, does not restrict the ethical instance within the limits of human otherness, but also opens it up to inter-relations with non-

Wendy Brown, 2006. *Regulating Aversion. Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

human, post-human and inhuman forces. The eco-philosophical dimension is essential to the postsecular turn in that it values one's reliance on the multiple ecologies that sustain us in a nature-culture continuum<sup>22</sup> and within which subjects must cultivate affirmative ethical relations. Critical theory is rather about strategies of actualization of affirmation as an ethical practice, that consists of multiple micro-political practices of daily activism or interventions in and on the world we inhabit for ourselves and for future generations.

The essence of the argument is that there is no logical necessity to link political subjectivity to oppositional consciousness and reduce critique to negativity. Critical theory can be just as critical and more persuasive theoretically, if it embraces philosophical monism and vital politics and disengages the process of consciousness-raising from the logic of negativity, connecting it instead to creative affirmation. The corollary of this shift is twofold: firstly, it proves that political subjectivity or agency need not be aimed solely at the production of radical counter-subjectivities. It rather involves discontinuous and heterogeneous negotiations with dominant norms and technologies of the self. Secondly, it argues that political subjectivity rests on an ethics of otherness that values reciprocity as mutual specification or creation. It does not pursue the recognition of sameness, but rather the quest for creative alternatives and sustainable futures.

We need to organize communities that reflect and enhance this vision of the subject. This is a community that acknowledges difference as the principle of non-One-ness as its founding myth of origin. Anti-Oedipal, post-humanist, vitalist, non-unitary and yet accountable. Not bound together by the guilt of shared violence, or irreparable loss, or unpayable ontological debts – but rather by the compassionate acknowledgment of our common need to negotiate thresholds on sustainability with and alongside the relentless and monstrous energy of a 'Life' that does not respond to our names. A political economy of non-compensation needs to be installed, that is to say a fundamental principle of non-profit. This rejects the liberal vision of the subject, which inscribes the political economy of capitalism at the heart of subjectivity in terms of losses, savings, recognition and production.

<sup>22</sup> See Felix Guattari, 1995. *Chaosmosis. An Ethico-aesthetic Paradigm*. Sydney: Power Publications; Felix Guattari (Trans. Ian Pindar and Paul Sutton), 2008. *The Three Ecologies*. New York: Continuum; Donna Haraway, 1997. *Modest Witness@Second\_Millennium .FemaleMan@\_Meets\_Oncomouse™: Feminism and Technoscience*. London and New York: Routledge.

Moreover, it moves further than the psychoanalytic insight about the trappings of the surplus value of *jouissance*.<sup>23</sup> Acknowledging instead the importance of proximity and relation, it turns the margins of unspeakable-ness, the traumatized nature of our being-in-the-world and our shared fragility into the praxis of co-construction of affirmative social practices. It is a form of *amor fati*, a way of living up to the intensities of life, so as to be worthy of all that happens to us – to live out our shared capacity to affect and to be affected.

Prophetic or visionary minds are thinkers of the future. The future as an active object of desire propels us forth and we can draw from it the strength and motivation to be active in the here and now of the present. The present is always the future present: it will have made a positive difference in the world. Only the yearning for sustainable futures can construct a liveable present. The anticipation of endurance, of making it to a possible 'tomorrow' transposes energies from the future back into the present. This is a non-entropic model of energy-flow and hence of transferral of desire as creative becoming. This is not a leap of faith, but an active transposition, a transformation at the in-depth level, a praxis that enacts a change of critical culture, also at the ethical level. As Deleuze put it: we need both a future and a people.

### The Normative Dimension

#### i) Politics vs. the political

In keeping with their reading of advance capitalism as a supple and dynamic system, Deleuze and Guattari diversify their notion and practice of politics.<sup>24</sup> Politics for them consists not so much in 'LA politique' (politics as usual, i.e. institutional or Majoritarian politics) as in 'LE politique' (the political movement in its diffuse, nomadic and rhizomic forms of becoming). This distinction between politics and the political is of crucial importance. In a sober tone, Deleuze and Guattari set the desire for transformations or becoming at the centre of the agenda, by emphasizing the axes of time and the form of affectivity they sustain. Politics is postulated on Chronos – the necessarily linear time of institutional deployment of norms and protocols. It is a reactive and majority-bound enterprise that is often made of flat repetitions and

<sup>23</sup> Slavoj Žižek, 1992. *Enjoy your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*. London and New York: Routledge.

<sup>24</sup> See Paul Patton, 2000. *Deleuze and the Political*. New York and London: Routledge.



predictable reversals that may alter the balance but leave basically untouched the structure of power.

The political, on the other hand, is postulated on the axis of Aion – the time of becoming and of affirmative critical practice. It is minoritarian and it aims at the counter-actualization of alternative states of affairs in relation to the present. Based on the principle that we do not know what a body can do, the becoming-political ultimately aims at transformations in the very structures of subjectivity. It is about engendering and sustaining processes of ‘becoming-minoritarian’. This specific sensibility combines both a strong historical memory with consciousness and the desire for resistance. It rejects the sanctimonious, dogmatic tone of dominant ideologies, Left or Right of the political spectrum, in favour of the production of joyful acts of transformation. The spontaneous and creative aspects of this practice combine with a profound form of asceticism that is to say with an ethics of non-profit to build upon micro-political instances of activism, avoiding over-arching generalizations. This humble yet experimental approach to changing our collective modes of relation to the environment, social and other, our cultural norms and values, our social imaginary, our bodies, ourselves, is the most pragmatic manifestation of the politics of radical immanence.

The idea of the political produces increased subtlety in the analysis of and resistance to power. This breaks with a Marxist tradition of taking some doses of revolutionary violence for granted and expresses renewed theoretical interest in processes and social practices of otherness, marginality and exclusion. The negative charge attributed to difference marks both world-historical events such as European colonialism and fascism and also discursive events internal to the history of philosophy itself. This radically immanent materialist politics is no longer orthodox Marxist, but rather focussed on embodiment and lived experience. It takes seriously affects, sexuality, pacifism, human rights, environmental issues and sustainable futures.

The philosophical critique of political subjectivity rests on vital materialism and the embodied and embedded nature of the subject; that is to say on a monistic political ontology. This translates into intimacy with, and trust in the world, which can be mistaken for naïve fatalism, but is exactly the opposite: an active involvement in the politics of everyday life, where ‘life’ is not taken for granted, but is approached as an ethical-political praxis. The corollary of being part of a natureculture continuum of the world is a focus on the productive relationality of subjects, as opposed to the dialectics of

Sameness and Difference. The equation of difference with pejoration, as a term that indexes exclusion from the entitlements to subjectivity, is built into the tradition which defines the Subject as coinciding with/being the same as consciousness, rationality and self-regulating ethical behaviour. This results in making entire sections of living beings into marginal and disposable bodies: these are the sexualized, racialized and naturalized others (Braidotti, 2006). Deleuze and Guattari oppose to this an ethics of mutual specification between a ‘self’ that is always already a transversal assemblage of multiple interactions – and human and non-human ‘others’.

Politics, in other words, is about counter-actualizations of alternatives: creative, oppositional and sustainable alternatives to the schizoid de/re-territorializations of advanced capitalism understood along the lines we sketched above, in its brutal materiality and murderous violence. It is not because it is ‘advanced’ that capitalist power must be understood as sophisticated. It is actually a primitive system, disingenuously simple. This is why some conservatives take pride in defining capitalism as instinctive and in-built into the human selfish genes<sup>25</sup> and their evolutionary capital. Contrary to such flattering and self-congratulatory accounts, Deleuze and Guattari strip the political analysis of such rhetorical posturing and reveal the raw forces that sustain the instance de-territorializations of a fast-spinning system that is advancing on the road to nowhere.

In the preface to *Anti-Oedipus*, Foucault insightfully suggested that Deleuze and Guattari’s analysis of power is an in-depth but also sweeping indictment of the ‘naturalization’ of capitalism as embedded in something they call ‘human nature’. Catherine Malabou recently added to this argument the ‘neurological proof’ that capitalism has, for a long period of time now, given form to our brain in such a way that it by now has become practically impossible for us to think beyond the capitalist premises. The answers to her quest are however given in *Anti-Oedipus*: Here already, Deleuze and Guattari target for criticism our singular and collective fascination with despotic power, also known as micro-fascism. *Anti-Oedipus* and its sequel, *A Thousand Plateaus*, together make up the *Capitalism as Schizophrenia* project that reads, as a whole, as a 1000 page introduction to non-fascist life that chases away the intoxication with the image of power embodied in a Majoritarian subject who is strong, virile, masculine, white, heterosexual, speaking a standard language – an image which the term ‘phallogocentrism’

<sup>25</sup> Richard Dawkins, 1976. *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



does not even begin to approximate. Philosophy thus defined is the conceptual detox cure to help us rid ourselves of the hold that such an image exercises on our minds, our psyche, our bowels and the inner recesses of our embodied and embedded existence.

#### ii) Minorities and becoming-minoritarian

There is a positive and creative tension between the identitarian claims of political movements that are grounded in the historical experience of oppression and the empirical transcendental aspirations of nomadic theory to postulate a new collective transversal bond through multiple processes of becoming.

In identifying the points of exit from the phallogocentric modes of thought towards a new, intensive image of philosophy, nomadic theory stresses the need for new images for these subject-positions. This results in the elaboration of a set of post-metaphysical figurations of the subject. Figurations such as rhizomes, becomings, lines of escape, flows, relays and bodies without organs release and express active states of being, that break through the conventional schemes of theoretical representation. Alternative figurations of the subject are figural modes of expression that displace the vision of consciousness away from the dominant premises. Deleuze's central figuration is a general becoming-minority, or becoming-nomad, or becoming-molecular. The minority marks a crossing or a trajectory; nothing happens at the center, for Deleuze, but at the periphery there roam youthful gangs of the new nomads.

In so far as Man, the male, is the main referent for thinking subjectivity, the standard-bearer of the Norm, the Law, the Logos, Woman is dualistically, i.e. oppositionally positioned as his 'other'. The consequence is that there is no possible becoming-minority of man and that the becoming-woman is a privileged position for the minority-consciousness of all. Man as the privileged referent of subjectivity, the standard-bearer of the norm/law/logos re-presents the majority, i.e. the dead heart of the system. The consequences are on the one hand that masculinity is antithetical to the process of becoming and it can only be the site of deconstruction or critique. On the other hand, the becoming-woman is a fundamental step in the process of becoming, for both and for all sexes.

Deleuze (with and without Guattari) states that all the lines of deterritorialization go necessarily through the stage of 'becoming-woman', which is the key, the pre-condition and the necessary starting-point for the

whole process. The reference to 'woman' in the process of 'becoming-woman', however, does not refer to empirical females, but rather to topological positions, degrees and levels of intensity, affective states. The becoming woman is the marker for a general process of transformation: it affirms positive forces and levels of nomadic, rhizomatic consciousness.

Deleuze's work displays a great empathy with the feminist assumption that we have to start from the critique of phallogocentrism. In so far as woman is positioned dualistically – as the other – in this system, she is annexed to the phallus, albeit by negation. In this sense and in this sense only, can it be said that sexual difference is the primary axis of differentiation and therefore must be given priority. On the other hand nomadic theory aims at the tendency to dilute metaphysical difference into a multiple and undifferentiated becoming. Which prompts the question: what feminist politics follow from nomadic theory's emphasis on sexuality without genders?

In so far as the male/female dichotomy has moreover become the prototype of Western individualism, the process of decolonizing the subject from this dualistic grip requires as its starting point the dissolution of all sexed identities based on this gendered opposition. In this framework, sexual polarizations and gender-dichotomy are rejected as the prototype of the dualistic reduction of difference to a sub-category of Being. This does not alter the fact, however, that for nomadic theory sexuality is never reducible to, or contained (let alone constructed) within, the gender system. Deleuze's ultimate aim with respect to sexual difference is to move towards its final overturning. The nomadic or intensive horizon is a sexuality 'beyond gender' in the sense of being dispersed, not binary, multiple, not dualistic, interconnected, not dialectical and in a constant flux, not fixed. This idea is expressed in figurations like: 'polysexuality', the 'molecular woman' and the 'bodies without organs' to which Deleuze's de-phallic style actively contributes.

A nomadic becoming-woman starts from the recognition of the dissymmetry between the sexes and the emphasis on female specificity as the starting point for the process of re-defining subjectivity. It does not, however, stop there – it moves towards a broadening of the traditional feminist political agenda to include, on top of issue of women's social rights, also a larger spectrum of options. These range from global political issues of social justice to cultural concerns, related to writing and creativity, to issues which at first sight seem to have nothing to do with women specifically. That is precisely the point: the co-existence of feminine specificity with larger, less sex-

specific concerns. Nomadic feminism is about tracing a zigzagging path between them.

Becoming-minority is a task also for the minorities, who all too often tend to be caught in the paralyzing gaze of the master – hating him/her and envying him/her at the same time. It is about activating different counter-memories and actualizing multiple ecologies of belonging. Becoming nomadic means one learns to re-invent oneself and one desires the self as a process of transformation. It's about the desire for change, for flows and shifts of multiple desires. Nomadic theory rests on a non-unitary yet politically engaged and ethically accountable vision of the nomadic subject. Nomadic thought stresses the need for a change of conceptual schemes altogether, an overcoming of the Dialectic of Majority/Minority or Master/Slave as the Hegelians propose. Both the majority and the minorities need to untie the knots of envy (negative desire) and domination (dialectics) that binds them together so tightly. In this process, they will necessarily follow a-symmetrical lines of becoming, given that their starting positions are so different. For the majority, there is no possible becoming – other than in the undoing of its central position altogether.

For the real-life minorities, however, the pattern is different: women, blacks, youth, post-colonial subjects, migrants, exiles and the homeless may first need to go through a phase of 'identity politics' – of claiming a fixed location. This is both inevitable and necessary because: you cannot give up something you have never had,<sup>26</sup> nor can you dispose nomadically of a subject position that you have never controlled to begin with. In line with how Deleuze never worked with 'the Other' as a philosophical concept but preferred the 'wholly other' (LoS), or better even 'difference in itself' (DR), we think consequently that the process of becoming-nomad (- minority, - woman) is internally differentiated and it depends largely on where one starts off from. The politics of location, of the event, is crucial. In other words, heterogeneity is injected into both poles of the dialectical opposition, which gets undone accordingly. The 'Molar' line -- that of Being, identity, fixity and potestas, and the 'Molecular' line -- that of becoming, nomadic subjectivity and potentia -- are absolutely not the same. They are two dissymmetrical 'others'. Within phallogocentrism they have been captured in a dualistic mold. They are differentiated by structural inequalities that impose Sameness in a set of hierarchical relations. Deleuze defines the Molar/Majority as the

<sup>26</sup> See for the longer analysis Rosi Braidotti, 1991. *Patterns of Dissonance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

standard and the Molecular/Minority as the other in the sense of 'the other of the same'. The central challenge for nomadic philosophy however is how to undo this dualistic mode and redistribute the power-relations of the two terms. More important than either of them, therefore, is the Line of Flight or of becoming. This is always and only a becoming-minoritarian as in woman/child/animal/imperceptible.

The differences in the starting positions are important in that they mark different qualitative levels of relation. Thus, if one starts from the Majority position (the Same) there is only one possible path: through the Minority (the Other) – hence the imperative to become woman as: the first move in the deterritorialization of the dominant subject (also known as the feminization of Man). For those who start from the position of empirical minorities, on the other hand, more options are open. If the pull towards assimilation or integration into the Majority is strong for the minorities (hence the phenomenon of phallic women), so is the appeal of the lines of escape towards minoritarian becomings. In other words, you can have a becoming-woman that produces Angela Merkel and one that produces Lady Gaga: neither of whom is 'feminine' in any conventional sense of the term and yet they are as different from each other as the workhorse is from the racehorse.<sup>27</sup>

What matters here is to keep open the process of becoming-minoritarian and not to stop at the dialectical role-reversal that usually sees the former slaves in the position of new masters or the former mistresses in the position of dominatrix. The point is to go beyond the logic of reversibility. This is especially important for those social subjects: women, blacks, post-colonial and other 'others', who are the carriers of the hopes of the Minorities. But also the non-human or other-than human becomings should be allowed to become minoritarian, to find their own form of life irrespective of phallogocentric and antropocentric rule. This is why contemporary bio-art is such a spectacular new field of interest. Here we do not only the encounter the humanoid companion species of Patricia Piccini but also the zebra fish embryos injected with algae, as Adam Zaretski invents them, and the robotic forms of life that artists like Nathalie Jeremijenko and Tove Kjellmark gave

<sup>27</sup> Rosi Braidotti, 2002. *Metamorphoses. Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, USA: Polity Press/Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

rise to.<sup>28</sup> The process of becoming nomadic is not merely anti-essentialist, but a-subjective, beyond received notions of individuality. It is a trans-personal mode, ultimately collective. You can never be a nomad, you can only go on trying to become nomadic.

Sylvia Plath, in the post-World War Two gloom that preceded the feminist revolution, spelled it out like a mantra: 'every woman loves a fascist [...] daddy you bastard I am through.' The pathetic-despotic face of white femininity is that which nomadic feminism has de-territorialized and activated towards becoming-minors of all kinds, all genders, ages, races and species. That's the becoming-political: the masked faces of Pussy Riot, who are both over exposed celebrities and anonymous militants carrying on what must feel at times like a lost battle. A struggle not only against that despotic image of power but also for viable alternatives. A struggle you fight at your own risk and peril, without guarantees of success, relentless, subterranean, fundamentally invisible, even when it is televised and webcast, the political is the anti-fascist drive to freedom. It seems as if Michel Foucault, in his preface to *Anti-Oedipus*, which we discussed at the start of this introduction, has given them their motto when he stated: 'Do not think that one has to be sad in order to be militant, even though the thing one is fighting is abominable' (AO, p.xiii). For isn't this struggle they are fighting one of pure joy? Don't they practice 'being anti-oedipal' as a *life style*? And in doing so, aren't they nomadic as in imperceptible to the 'degrees of deviance' by means of which Vladimir Putin has organized his territory? Occupying the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow was only in an indirect way aimed at the Freudian Fathers and the Catholic Priests in control. It was first of all an affirmative event, done out of love, in which a very short and sudden outburst of raw energy revealed the impotence of power forever. Deeply non-fascist in a Deleuzian and Guattarian mode, their art expresses the aspiration to freedom as constitutive of the human subject. It is also deeply radical in holding current societies accountable for their limitations, contradictions and hypocrisies. It is all work-in-progress: 'advanced' organizations need to become-non-fascist as well. It all begins with the isolation of a figure, in the framing of spatial and temporal scales so as to enable us to begin to understand which plateau of power we happen to be dealing with, right now. Becoming-non-fascist, that is to say: becoming a people that was missing;

<sup>28</sup> See also Rick Dolphijn and Donna Haraway, 2013. 'Staying with the Trouble: Interview with Donna Haraway.' In: *Yes Naturally: How Art can Save the World*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, pp. 108-115.

bring about a time that will have been sustainable. Never forgetting the future; eyes wide shut, that blurred, anti-fascist vision of a people to come.

## References

- Artaud, Antonin, 1975 (1948). *To Have Done With the Judgment of God*. Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press.
- Beck, Ulrich, 1999. *World Risk Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boomen, Marianne van den, 2014. *Transcoding the Digital*. Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures.
- Braidotti, Rosi, 1991. *Patterns of Dissonance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- , 2002. *Metamorphoses. Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, USA: Polity Press/Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- , 2006. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- , 2013. *The Posthuman*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brown, Wendy, 2006. *Regulating Aversion. Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Colebrook, Claire, Tom Cohen and J. Hillis Miller (eds.), 2011. *Theory and the Disappearing Future*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Cooper, Melinda, 2008. *Life as Surplus. Biotechnology & Capitalism in the Neoliberal Era*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Dawkins, Richard, 1976. *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deleuze, Gilles, 1995. 'L'immanence: une vie.' In: *Philosophie*. No. 47.
- Dolphijn, Rick, 2011. 'Man Is Ill Because He Is Badly Constructed': Artaud, Klossowski and Deleuze in Search for the Earth Inside.' In: *Deleuze Studies*. Vol 5, no. 1.
- and Donna Haraway, 2013. 'Staying with the Trouble: Interview with Donna Haraway.' In: *Yes Naturally: How Art can Save the World*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
- Flannery, Tim, 1994. *The Future Eaters: an Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*. New York: Grove Press.
- Foucault, Michel, 1977. *Discipline and Punish*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fukuyama, Francis, 2002. *Our Posthuman Future. Consequences of the BioTechnological Revolution*. London: Profile Books.
- Guattari, Felix, 1995. *Chaosmosis. An Ethico-aesthetic Paradigm*. Sydney: Power Publications.

- Haraway, Donna, 1997. *Modest\_Witness@Second\_Millennium. FemaleMan©\_Meets\_Oncomouse™*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Holland, Eugene, 2011. *Nomad Citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press.
- Koolhaas, Rem, 2004. *Content*. Colone: Taschen.
- Macherey, Pierre, 2011. *Hegel or Spinoza?* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Meuhlebach, Andrea, 2013. *The Moral Neoliberal*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moulier Boutang, Yann, 2012. *Cognitive Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Patton, Paul, 2000. *Deleuze and the Political*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Rose, Nicholas, 2001. 'The Politics of Life Itself.' In: *Theory, Culture and Society*. Vol. 18, no. 6.
- Toscano, Alberto, 2005. 'Axiomatic.' In: Adrian Parr (ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Touraine, Alain, 2001. *Beyond Neoliberalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.