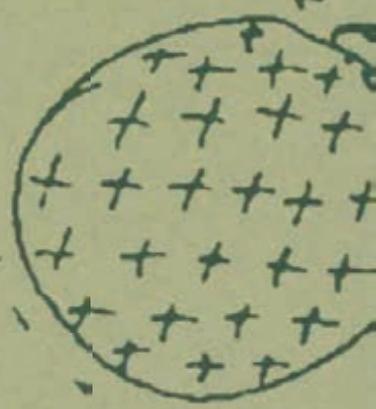


MACHINIQUE L.E.



SUBLIMATION

Propriétés

MA. affective

Énonciation

Sèmes

REPRES.

SUBJECT PARADIGMATIC

P.S

machinations

PRAGMATIQUE

SYNTAXISATION

Coatou

quantification discursive

CONSCIENCE SYNTAGMATIQUE

copportentivité

copportentivité



TRAVAIL SEMIOTIQUE

INDEXATION

Ses Nomin

quasi

machinations





Miquel Iceta i Llorens
Minister of Culture
and Sport

Based on a critical notion of “machine” formulated by the French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in the late 1960s, this exhibition brings together some fifty artists who present current forms of resistance, coalition, and creativity. Mostly linked to the Mediterranean area and the African continent, these artists employ a wide variety of expressive languages and media, including drawings, paintings, performance, installations, and video, to approach an equally broad range of themes, such as the need to place the defense of commonality at the center of political and artistic reflection and practice, the vindication of forms of knowledge without financial ambition, and the denunciation of the devastating environmental and social effects of certain economic practices.

Under the title *machinations*, the exhibition shows how the world of art constitutes an exceptional field of study for gaining a deeper understanding of the present through Deleuze and Guattari’s philosophical ideas, here revisited by contemporary artists. This exhibition is one more sign of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía’s interest in exploring the relations between art and thought. Since 2019, the museum has applied a model of collaborative research that has generated dialogues and synergies among multiple projects, both its own and those initiated outside of it. Supporting this decentralized online practice in a search for a confluence of voices has been a demanding challenge that moreover expands the idea of “museum,” opening it up to the present and to the debate on reality.

In ancient Greece, the concept of the “machine” referred to a means, a creation, or a device, whether material or immaterial in nature. It was used principally in war and theater and so could allude to an artifact of war, to a theatrical device, or simply to an invention of any kind. This ambivalence between “machinery” and “machination” was condensed in the *deus ex machina* of classical theater, a stage device that enabled the complication of narrative plots and dramatic *dénouements*. During the Industrial Revolution, however, an eminently technical and functionalist concept of the machine became predominant, and the critical reading deriving from Marxist analyses came to regard it as an instrument of alienation that helped to make the individual one more piece in the assembly line of capitalist production.

Breaking away from this scientific and mechanistic vision in the context of the immediate aftermath of May 1968 in France, the philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari retrieved the Greek concept of the machine to propose a radical reformulation that has had a great influence on contemporary art. Deleuze and Guattari conceptualize the machine as a prior condition of the technical, not as its expression, understanding it as a kind of abstraction able to contain infinite human and nonhuman relations. In its dynamic coupling of heterogeneous elements, what characterizes the machine above all is its mutant nature, which is constantly reconfigured to the rhythm of its internal fluxes or breaks.

This redefinition entails a displacement from the static to the dynamic, from the individual to the collective, and from the technological to the sociopolitical and biopolitical, highlighting its counterposition with the idea of structure and its institutional incarnations, such as the state, the psychiatric hospital, or the family. While these aspire to permanence and uniformity, marginalizing, persecuting, and disciplining whatever resists being governed by their rules, the Guattarian machine is by contrast inherently open, permeable, and temporary.

As the curatorial team of this project explains in the essay they have written for this volume, a paradigmatic example of machinic formation would be a group of people who temporarily establish an alliance to defend or vindicate a right or an aspiration, generating synergies with other groups and devising strategies to channel their struggle, then dissolving once they achieve their goal—or when they fail to do so. Guattari saw the primary function of the machine as “machinating”: conspiring against the established order, imagining new assemblages, and inventing the means necessary to make this possible.

On the basis of Guattari’s premises, this project brings together works by some fifty artists, mostly from the Mediterranean and Africa, who explore various forms of resistance, coalition, and creativity related to the Guattarian machine. These works range across a wide variety of formats and techniques, including drawing, painting, sculpture, comics, theater, dance, performance, installation, film, video, and animation, and they adopt a critical perspective to address key questions and problematics for an understanding of our present. Some have been produced specifically for the exhibition, many have been expressly adapted for it, and others are shown in an exhibition space for the first time.

In a bid for transversality, the exhibition tries not only to show the machinic character of these projects but also to explore and strengthen their interconnectivity. The museum’s galleries thus function as an open and dynamic space where theory and practices connect, disconnect, and reconnect in a process of exponential feedback. Not for nothing has the selection of works been the result of prior research of a markedly transdisciplinary and collaborative nature among different teams and case studies, with an articulation around three conceptual axes: *War Machines*, *Schizo Machines*, and *Cinema Machines of Care*.

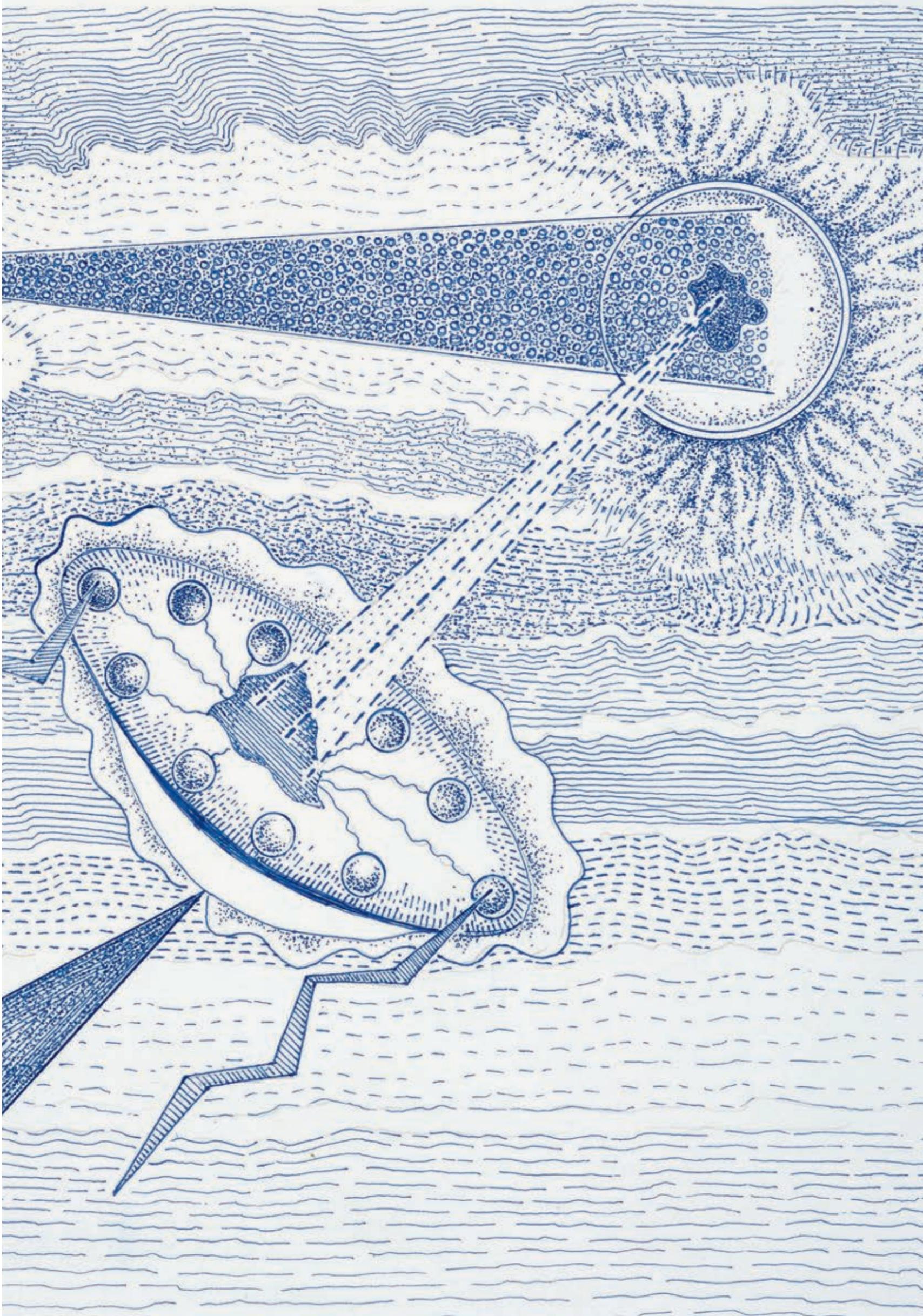
War Machines springs from this fundamental concept in the thought of Guattari and Deleuze to reflect on the possibility of thinking alternative modes of organizing the commons, presenting a series of proposals that investigate and experiment with forms of micropolitical action aimed at sabotaging the great structure represented by the state apparatus and its colonial and extractivist expansion. Resuming the ambivalence between machinery and machination that originally characterized the term *machine*, the works in this section function as war machines, whose objective is not war but the tracing of creative lines of flight based on tissues of immanent, dehierarchized, and rhizomatic relations, following the model of the

nomadic war machine. In the same way, they act as theater machines, since they activate different “machinic theatricalities” that problematize the processes, tools, and devices through which the state-form is reproduced while at the same time exploring and plotting ways of forming collectives that are not subjected to its logic.

The second axis, *Schizo Machines*, examines the capacity of schizoanalysis—the reformulation of psychoanalytical theory proposed by Deleuze and Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus* (1972)—to situate contemporary malaises in the social space and liberate the repressed desire of desiring-machines. “Schizoanalytic metamodelization,” in whose gestation a key role was played by the experiments of “institutional psychotherapy” conducted by psychiatrists such as Francesc Tosquelles and Jean Oury, is based on a questioning of the familistic and universalizing concepts of Freudian-Lacanian psychoanalysis, highlighting at the same time its inability to escape from the framework of linguistic semiology. The works in this section document or exemplify various manifestations of what they describe as the “machinic unconscious,” showing the potential of artistic practice, owing to its capacity to expand the limits of the real and subvert the dominant semiotic regimes, to favor the dynamization of social ties and contribute to the creation of new spaces of subjectivation.

The third of the axes articulating the project, *Cinema Machines of Care*, explores the potential of artistic practice by focusing on the cinematic medium. From the premise that ethics and aesthetics are inseparable, Guattari argued that cinema is always political, whatever its object. In his book *Molecular Revolution* (1977), he points out that every production, sequence, and shot involves a choice between a “conservative economy” and a “revolutionary break.” In their attempt to distance themselves from the industrial model, making explicit the ideological dimension of the image, situating themselves beyond representational logic, or seeking a way to surpass the dichotomy between transmitter and receiver, the works grouped in this section are examples of revolutionary breaks. Bear in mind that the cinema understood as a machine incarnates a sort of imbrication of the social machine and the desiring machine, of the war machine and the schizo machine. These ideas prefigure the possibility of a “healing cinema” that helps to form affective communities that confront one another and try to repair the traumas occasioned by colonialism, dispossession, racism, male chauvinism, and other forms of systemic violence.

Accepting Guattari and Deleuze’s idea of the possibility of conceiving of the institution beyond a purely technical and bureaucratic logic, an attempt has also been made to ensure the project itself functions as a machinic formation. This is reflected both in the construction of the expository narrative and in the implementation of the investigative and curatorial process, which not only opts unequivocally for a transversal and collaborative focus but also tries to surpass the physical limits of the exhibition gallery, generating synergies with other projects, activities, and publications both inside and outside the museum. In this respect, the goal of the organization of the exhibition and research project *machinations* is above all to place “toolboxes” at the disposal of different publics, enabling them to imagine and collectively machinate “new ways of living, thinking, and feeling.”





MÁQUINAS

DE MÁQUINAS

CON SUS
ACOPLA-
MIENTOS

SUS
CONEXIONES

y además...

FLUJOS

Y CORTES

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Pablo Allepuz, Manuel Borja-Villel,
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and Teresa Velázquez

For the Museo Reina Sofía, continual collaboration with agents of civil society has been essential to the exercise of jointly rethinking the institution through the notion of commonality. Since 2008, the Museum has taken a clear position toward the challenges of the present by insisting on transversal alliances that rehearse new models of institutionality open to socially and politically committed practices. A clear example of this is Museo Situado, an active network for collaboration formed by neighborhood groups and associations in the Madrid district of Lavapiés, in which the Museum takes part. Through regular assemblies, it launches campaigns, activities, projects, calls for contributions, and productions, thus generating two-way flows between the institution and the neighborhood. This is just one of the multiple nodes of the Museo en Red project, which has created a relational structure of thought and activism at multiple scales, from the local to the global.¹

On the basis of this work, the Museum assumed a model of networked knowledge, connecting heterogeneous agents to one another and connecting itself to other realities that give rise to new problematics. The group dynamics carried out inside and outside the Museum, with the tensions always attached to them, resulted in a series of projects that have articulated the various cartographies, continuities, and ruptures in modern and contemporary art through exhibitions, publications, educational programs, and varied activities. Underscoring the poetic and performative capacity of art, the projects *Losing the Human Form: A Seismic Image of the 1980s in Latin America* (2012–2013), *Playgrounds: Reinventing the Square* (2014), *A Really Useful Knowledge* (2014–2015), and *Graphic Turn: Like the Ivy on the Wall*; (2022) centered on collective learning, adopting the critical focus of a plural South and collaborative methodologies to examine singularities historically displaced by official discourses and to redefine the norms of the social.

Based on these ways of doing, *machinations* belongs to a specific constellation of projects that delves explicitly into the connections between art and psychotherapy. The starting point of this constellation is *Francesc Tosquelles: Like a Sewing Machine in a Wheat Field* (2022–2023), an exhibition centered on the legacy of the psychiatrist and intellectual Francesc Tosquelles, who pioneered the transformation of the psychiatric institution through such media as writing, art, and theater. A Catalan Republican exiled in France after the Spanish Civil War, Tosquelles implemented a practice at the Psychiatric Hospital of Saint-Alban-sur-Limagnole that linked clinical applications to politics and culture, thus refuting the traditional division between pathology and normality.² The second edition of the *Escuela Perturbable* project organized by the Museum's Education Area, subtitled *Pensar con Tosquelles más allá de la exposición* (Thinking with Tosquelles beyond the exhibition), activated the themes addressed in the exhibition in a collaborative and disruptive manner that involved direct contact with the public.

The constellation also includes < *Garden of Mixtures: Attempts to Make Place, 1995– . . .* > (2022), an exhibition that presented Alejandra Riera's sustained efforts on behalf of shared practices and the generation of inclusive spaces. In the same line as Tosquelles's institutional psychotherapy, the show made visible the results of the workshops conducted by Riera at the

1 / See *Carta(s): Museo en Red: Tejiendo ecosistemas* (Madrid: Museo Reina Sofía, 2021).

2 / See *Tosquelles: Como una máquina de coser en un campo de trigo*, exh. cat. (Barcelona: CCCB, Museo Reina Sofía, and Editorial Arcadia, 2022).

psychiatric clinic of La Borde in Cour-Cheverny, France (2010–2014), and her experiences with the theater group UEINZZ, among other related proposals by numerous artists. In the months before, during, and after the exhibition, the task begun by Riera of tending two plots in the garden of the Sabatini Building gave rise to the open collective Garden of the Mixtures, which comprised people from various of the Museum departments and throughout the Lavapiés neighborhood who were interested in helping to diversify the life forms growing in the two plant beds. The collective remains active and organizes itself through meetings in the garden and exchanges of email correspondence.

Another node of the constellation, one that coincides in time with *machinations*, is *Cine(so)matrix* (2023), a retrospective dealing with Angela Melitopoulos’s speculations on the cinematic experience. Her audiovisual essays investigate memory, perception, and the formation of the collective historical conscience, often by means of long-term collaborations with intellectuals, artists, and activists. An example is *Assemblages* (2010), an installation produced with Maurizio Lazzarato that involves a reflection on the psychiatric, philosophical, and aesthetic practice of the French thinker Félix Guattari as a salient inspiration for life in the present. On the basis of interviews with friends and companions of Guattari, the work actualizes his concept of a subjectivity mobilized through assemblages of heterogeneous phenomena and concentrates on the idea of a “machinic animism” capable of equating human subjectivity with all other objects in the world and so overcoming transcendental humanist visions.³

At an intermediate point between clinic and critique, the figure of Guattari constitutes a reference of vital importance both for this constellation of projects and for the Museum’s process of institutional reinvention. Guattari’s experiences with the groups at Saint-Alban and, above all, La Borde, where he practiced for most of his professional life, allowed him to consolidate a working method based on a new approach, always engaged in dialogue with others while following a nonhierarchical way of thinking. Much of his intellectual production was coauthored, either with Gilles Deleuze or in one-off collaborations with other allies, such as Eric Alliez and Antonio Negri.⁴ From the transversal links of militant research,⁵ Guattari retakes the questioning of the structures ruling the psychiatric institution and delves more into the foundations that sustain it, trying to dismantle its ideological, linguistic, and psychoanalytical elements that tend toward stagnation. This critical, multiple, and complex analysis, which he later calls “schizoanalysis,” can be extrapolated to all kinds of social institutions. Understanding the fundamental philosophical challenge as an ethical-aesthetic process of creating new concepts, Guattari provides a large number of analytical resources that together configure a new position from which to imagine the world in a different way, emphasizing not what things already are in themselves but what they could become in connection with others. Guattari made this vehicle, this conceptual tool for confronting the density of the multiple relations of the contemporary world, a key apparatus of his thought, and we have further adopted this fundamental concept—which Guattari calls a “machine”—for the theoretical development of *machinations*.

In the context of the immediate aftermath of May 1968 in France, Guattari began to reformulate the concept of machine by revising the term inherited from the processes of industrialization, stripping it of the implications it had conveyed for at least the two previous centuries. In Marxist readings of industrial society, machines were regarded in their technical dimension as instruments more fully evolved than the simple tool and therefore as definitive manifestations of the means of labor. While the tool functions as a prosthesis of the laborer, depends on their physical skill, and can make their work less effortful, the machine feeds off the knowledge of the laborer and is oriented toward optimizing their exploitation, subjecting the body to the predesigned patterns of the mechanical task. This inversion of the relations between human being and machine, according to which the human being no longer utilizes the machine but is left at its entire disposal,

3 / Maurizio Lazzarato and Angela Melitopoulos, “Machinic Animism,” in *Animism*, ed. Anselm Franke, exh. cat. (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2010), 97–108.

4 / François Dosse, *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives*, trans. Deborah Glassman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

5 / Félix Guattari, “Transversality,” in *Molecular Revolution: Psychiatry and Politics*, trans. Rosemary Sheed et al. (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1984), 11–23.

leads to the universal metaphor of the alienated individual who comes to form one more piece in the assembly line of capitalist production.

Certain notes in the writings of Karl Marx, however, point toward an expansion of that same idea of machine. In the context of the immediate aftermath of May 1968 in France, Guattari retrieved that unexplored possibility and put forward a bold hypothesis: technical problematics are dependent on that of machines, not the other way around. The machine acts as a prior condition of technology rather than its expression. This change of paradigm discards scientific or mechanistic concepts of the machine and promotes vitalist or systemic alternatives that in their turn encompass its technological, biological, informatic, social, theoretical, and aesthetic aspects.⁶ As Deleuze and Guattari argue, it is not a question of confronting man and machine to evaluate the correspondences, prolongations, and possible or impossible replacements, but of having them communicate to show how the human being forms a single piece with the machine or forms a single piece with anything else to constitute a machine. Unlike the tool or the mechanical machine, the machinic machine is characterized by a factor of communication and openness, by a constant flow of exchanges, because forming a single piece with something is very different from being prolonged or projected or having oneself replaced.⁷

Refusing to give closed definitions of this new notion of machine, Deleuze and Guattari counterpose it to the idea of “structure.”⁸ Traditional structures like the state, the psychiatric hospital, or the family are characterized by a principle of uniformity: they gather what seems mutually similar to impose limits on all that is regarded as different. Moreover, in doing so, they aim to perpetuate distinctions between the inside and the outside, the biological and the cultural, using various control strategies that they design themselves. The machine, in contrast, responds to the demands of a specific juncture, acting directly upon the present. It implies the complementarity of external and heterogeneous elements, with which it provisionally couples; it remains in permanent metamorphosis to the rhythm of its internal fluxes or breaks, penetrating several structures simultaneously; and, conscious of its own finiteness, it can dissolve itself at any moment.⁹ The components of the machine thus do not presuppose ties, passages, or anastomosis among themselves but a radical disequilibrium that reorganizes them to keep the machine in a state of permanent ontological reconversion.¹⁰

Always imbricated in a relation of alterity with other machines, whether actual or virtual, machinic configurations adopt potentially infinite forms. A basic machine model could be the baby that couples to its mother’s breast for nursing. It makes the current of milk pass through both bodies and then uncouples itself to perform other functions. A more complex example of a machine might be a group of people who form an alliance among themselves to vindicate certain endangered rights, generate synergies of complicity with other groups and institutions, invent their own means or forms of protest, and finally dissolve until the next occasion. The disparate nature of these multiple elements and the type of reorderings they establish mark a decisive displacement from the static to the dynamic, from the individual to the collective, from the scientific to the sociopolitical. In this sense, the prime function of the machine is to “machinate,” to conspire against the established order, to imagine new possible assemblages, to invent the necessary means for a radical transformation.

Under the Guattarian premise of initiating collective projects with a machinic logic, *machinations* proposed a long-term collaboration between various departments of the Museum and an external academic committee made up of a variable number of members. The research team was configured around the axes of *War Machines*, *Schizo Machines*, and *Cinema Machines of Care*, led by Gerald Raunig, Stephen Shukaitis, and Brigitta Kuster, respectively, who in turn could each select up to four collaborators. *War Machines*, with the participation of Eran Schaerf, Rabih Mroué, Maggie Schmitt, and Sara Jiménez, explored this fundamental concept

6 / Félix Guattari, “The New Aesthetic Paradigm,” in *Chaosmosis: An Ethico-aesthetic Paradigm*, trans. Paul Bains and Julian Pefanis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 98–118.

7 / Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, “Balance Sheet-Program for Desiring-Machines,” in *Anti-Oedipus*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane, *Semiotext(e)* 2, no. 3 (1977): 117–35. See also Gerald Raunig, “Machine Fragments,” in *A Thousand Machines: A Concise Analysis of the Machine as Social Movement*, trans. Aileen Derieg (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2010), 18–34.

8 / Félix Guattari, “Machine and Structure,” in *Molecular Revolution*, 111–19.

9 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 59.

10 / Guattari, 34–35.

in Deleuze and Guattari by focusing on colonial/anti-colonial alignments from the Rif War to current cases of social movements and micropolitical actions in the Mediterranean. *Schizo Machines*, with Gee Vaucher, Kasper Opstrup, and pantxo ramas, revolved around the notion of schizoanalysis and the emergence of nonfixed subjectivities that mutually affect, and are affected by, one another, speculating about previously unattempted modes of organization or communication. *Cinema Machines of Care*, with François Pain, Anne Querrien, Marta Malo, and Jean-Pierre Bekolo, departs from the idea of “healing cinema” developed by the last of these collaborators to think cinema as a tool capable of setting up affective communities, plotting collective forms of enunciation, and favoring social transformations. With the aim of surpassing standardized forms of knowledge production and circulation, the possible results were envisaged to include any type of format, including new artistic productions commissioned specifically for each thematic axis.

Implementing the procedures of the Guattarian machine means considering the interconnectivity of its components independently from the components themselves, as it is constituted by means of the dynamism of intra-machine and inter-machine relations. In accordance with this model, the three axes of the group research are also the three sections of the exhibition; that is, they operate as plateaus where theories and practices are connected, disconnected, and reconnected in an exponential process. The exhibition *machinations* thus brings together nearly fifty artists, most of them from the Mediterranean and Africa, to explore various current forms of resistance, coalition, and creativity. The proposals on display encompass a wide variety of formats and techniques from a critical perspective: drawing, painting, comics, sculpture, theater, dance, performance, installation, film, video, and animation. Ten or so of the proposals are newly produced, while another ten are shown for the first time or were adapted for the occasion. Moreover, some of the working materials of Guattari himself, retrieved from various archives by the researcher Susana Caló, are distributed throughout the exhibition space, cutting across rooms and sections.¹¹ In alignment with the emphasis on the project’s transversal character, each of the works selected by the curatorial team not only activates different dimensions and machinic possibilities but also, and above all, overflows its own limits to find synergies with other works, other materials, and other multiplicities.

11 / See the text by Susana Caló in this volume (pp. 148–55).

Heterogenesis: From Machine to Machinations

Organized around the three axes mentioned above, the exhibition starts with an introduction intended to forestall misunderstandings about the idea of machine that is proposed, bearing in mind the numerous confusions deriving from the European avant-gardes and their traditional narratives.¹² To separate mechanicism from machinism once and for all, the first rooms establish a dialogue between various works that at first sight appear to represent machines or in some way evoke mechanical imaginaries. The video *DS30* (2014) by the group Test Dept shows images related to the mining industry in Northeast Britain and therefore to the Industrial Revolution and its consequences; the sketches *Third World Space Modules Blueprints* (2015–2018) by Simón Vega show precise designs for constructing sophisticated spaceships, almost the stuff of science fiction; the drawings of Abu Bakarr Mansaray speculate on complicated futuristic machines with extravagant purposes; and the animation *The Great Smoke* (1984) by Monlee and Roxlee investigates the aftereffects of a scientific invention as dangerous as the nuclear bomb. In none of the four cases are the machines reducible to a mere theme, but they produce short circuits enabled by other functions, intensities, and lines of flight, feeding back into the fundamental paradox that, to work correctly (that is, mechanically), machines must first break down, abandoning the idea of a closed and supposedly self-sufficient circuit so as to connect with the outside and transform themselves again and again in a constant becoming.¹³

In the audiovisual work by Test Dept (pp. 18–19, 192–93), the montage counterposes those first visual records of industrial machinery with workers' marches against the neoliberalism of Margaret Thatcher, workers' bands and choirs, popular dances in the midst of strikes, protest placards and union standards, maps of the distribution of mines in the region, and statements about comradeship in the pit or the violence of the state repression by the police. With every journey from the mine to the street and back, from the workspace to the social space, the sound retreats from the regular rhythm of the tools all striking at once and gradually intensifies toward post-punk. At the same time, the sequences of mobilized workers also accelerate and double up until they multiply all over the screen. With every repetition, a difference is produced, and the accumulation of differences ends in group awareness. In Guattarian terms, they are no longer isolated protomachines, like the head and handle of the hammer observed separately, but are potential syntagmatic chains (hammer-hand-arm-body-group) that generate multiple machinic configurations in their collective dance.¹⁴ In this way, the technical machine intersects with the social machine. *DS30* thus deploys subjectivities that couple and uncouple until its apparent documentary character is surpassed. At stake is not the making of an image of the world but the making of a world out of images, which implies that the practice of Test Dept extends beyond the work itself and is itself actively involved in the very processes of change it records.¹⁵

Something similar occurs with the drawings of the Salvadorean Simón Vega (pp. 20–22), although these are made in contexts very different and distant from the hegemonic processes of industrialization. The artist composes his peculiar cyanotypes in the form of a parody on the space race, understood as a competition between states for the last form of colonialism. If each of its parts is closely observed, what at first look like rockets or international space stations turn out to be apartment hotels and discotheques; what appear to be technical annotations on components are comic allusions to an “antena ‘esky’ liga española y champions” (*Eskey* Spanish and Champions League antenna)

12 / See Marc Le Bot, *Peinture et machinisme* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977). See also, José Díaz Cuyás, “Vanguardia y maquinismo: Equivocidad de un tópico,” in *Tecnología, civilización y barbarie*, ed. José Manuel de Cózar (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2002), 187–212.

13 / Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 7–8, 32, 150–51. See also Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 41–42; and Ann-Cathrin Drews, “Painting Machines, ‘Metallic Suicide’ and Raw Objects: Deleuze and Guattari’s *Anti-Oedipus* in the Context of French Post-war Art,” in *Art History after Deleuze and Guattari*, ed. Sjoerd van Tuinen and Stephen Zepke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017), 195–216.

14 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 35–36.

15 / See the essay in this volume coauthored by Stevphen Shukaitis and Kasper Opstrup (pp. 179–86).

or to “smoke mashines”; and what appear to be high-performance materials are actually pieces of recycled wood, cardboard, and plastic. Inspired by the creativity of the flimsy self-built architecture or carts used as street stalls that is typical of Central America, these designs not only condense a biting response to the technological gap between the “First World” and the “Third World,” but they also propose radical imagination as an outer space where utopian alternatives are still possible.¹⁶ For his part, the Sierra Leonean Abu Bakarr Mansaray draws inoperative machines, paranoiac, miraculous, and celibate, whose motors, gears, and wires are not even connected to a circuit that allows energy to be transmitted (pp. 23–25). *Alien’s Ultimate (Bad Ass)* (2016), *Computer Virus (the Male)* (2008), and *Ebola Virus Missile Industry* (2017) are unproductive machines. They seem unable to perform the mechanical tasks they were apparently designed to carry out, because their productivity is instead measured through the communicative factor of their pieces, capable of proliferating on the microscopic scale of biological or informatic contagion. *What Is This?* (2013, p. 23), for instance, defines itself as a mutant work. On it is written, “This artwork is both a drawing and a sculpture.” Despite this lack of effective unity, the proximity of the various elements that make up these drawn machines suggests they are organic forms in the process of construction. Next to these polymorphous robots, several mathematical calculations and ironic legends, often using an English with evident spelling mistakes, subvert the dominant universal scientific language. In the absurd machines of Vega and Mansaray, Latin futurism and Afrofuturism offer other ways to rethink the machinic from the periphery, rectifying the Western cosmovision and with it the possible configurations of subjectivation.

None of these works is to be judged by the information it contains according to representative, narrative, or illustrative modes. As Guattari would say, machinic information cannot be collected in structural representation because it is made up of what complements the representation, by a rupture in the tissue of sign fluxes and material fluxes, and by the production of previously unseen combinations.¹⁷ Situated at the beginning of the exhibition, these sabotaged machines suggest the need to reconsider our relationship with signs, which is paralyzed in the midst of the semicapitalist devices of machinic servitude and social subjection.¹⁸ Deleuze and Guattari offer a critique of the structuralism underlying the linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, arguing that it draws interpretation into a closed dualism between signifier and signified. They distinguish semiologies productive of significations, like the human enunciation of the people working around the machine, from a-signifying semiotics, which, apart from the number of significations they act as vehicles for, handle nonhuman figures of expression that enunciate to the machine and make it act diagrammatically upon technical and experimental apparatuses.¹⁹ By reordering the intersections of material, substance, and form beyond predetermined structures of content and expression, the sign can be conceived as a support for abstract machines and as a simulation of material machinic processes.²⁰ The rhizomatic diagram or cartography and its opposite, the arborescent scheme or decalcomania, constitute paradigmatic figures of an approach that goes beyond one-directional causality.²¹

Two other works, one a newly produced installation and the other an adaptation of a preexisting one, link the potentiality of a-signifying semiotics to the possibility of revolutions on different scales. The first consists of a large composition by the artist Efrén Álvarez (pp. 32–35) that belongs to a broader ongoing project for a graphic history of ideology in several episodes. The example included in the exhibition focuses on the Age of Reason of the late eighteenth century and establishes multidirectional relations between the French and Haitian revolutions; that is, between the unequal geopolitics of Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Such “space-time energy coordinates” prove of special importance not only because they mark the global consolidation of the modern political and economic system but also because the impact of “sciences and technologies” on developed societies has since been combined with an ideological bipolarization of progressive

16 / Stevphen Shukaitis, “Space Is the (Non)Place,” in *Imaginal Machines: Autonomy and Self-Organization in the Revolutions of Everyday Life* (New York: Minor Compositions, 2009), 81–98.

17 / Guattari, *Molecular Revolution*, 93; and Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 36–37. See also Stephen Zepke, “‘A Work of Art Does Not Contain the Least Bit of Information’: Deleuze and Guattari and Contemporary Art,” in van Tuinen and Zepke, *Art History after Deleuze and Guattari*, 237–53.

18 / See Maurizio Lazzarato, *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014).

19 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 36–37.

20 / Guattari, *Molecular Revolution*, 93–94.

21 / Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, “Rhizome,” in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 2–25.

and conservative trends whose definitive form is today's integrated world capitalism.²² According to Guattari's interpretation, the synchronic time of the state and the diachronic time of capitalism act together to circulate innovative means of semiotization, of the creation of signs and signifieds, with the objective of capturing, assimilating, and capitalizing on the production of subjectivity. These semiotic regimes limit the resingularization of individuals and collectives, annulling their disparity, creativity, multiplicity, or contextual variability. By opposition to "capitalist homogenesis," a-signifying forms like the diagram or cartography, which represent both more and less than an image and which produce not significant but relational redundancies, allow for cuts to be made in the dominant fluxes and lines of flight to be proposed.²³ The maps, drawings, texts, and other heteroclitic elements shown by Álvarez form an autopoietic machine—one that is part of the very production process of the network that in turn produces it—with specific material and functional consistency, its goal being not only to illustrate or explain certain historical processes "but to capture the points of singularity" of a complex dynamic.

The second installation is the work of the Beninese artist Georges Adéagbo. „*La Révolution et les révolutions*“..! (“The Revolution and the revolutions”..!, 2016–2023, pp. 26–29) is an elegant conjunction of upper and lower case, singularity and plurality, molarity and molecularity. In the thought of Deleuze and Guattari, the molar refers to extensive, divisible, unifiable, totalizable, organizable, conscious, or preconscious multiplicities, while the molecular has to do with libidinal, unconscious, intensive multiplicities constituted by particles that change their nature upon dividing and by distances that enter another multiplicity upon varying, unceasingly making and unmaking themselves.²⁴ These macro- and micro-multiplicities must not be understood in exclusive or Manichean terms, just as abstract machines and concrete machines belong to neither the molar order nor the molecular order since they constitute precisely the possibility of articulation of these two levels.²⁵ In line with this, Adéagbo's bricolage juxtaposes items of all kinds on the same plane, including objects from different traditions and those regarded as both “high” and “low” culture, together showing both the great Chinese and Cuban revolutions and small everyday revolutions. The installation was originally designed for the 11th Shanghai Biennial (2016–2017) but could not be shown in its entirety due to its political implications. In its adaptation for the *machinations* project, the inclusion, for example, of a biography of Queen Sofía of Spain (the Queen Mother), bought in the Rastro flea market of Madrid, may appear to be an anecdotal coincidence of signifiers, but a schizoanalytic approach might open new paths for understanding the social life of the book as part of a complex network of unforeseen connections that speak of certain resistances and desires of the local population, particularly around the Lavapiés district. All these objects, decontextualized from the systems of capitalist valuation and recontextualized according to a different logic, are grouped in collages on war, the world of the theater, or pleasure. They are distributed rhizomatically on the walls and floor of the exhibition space and are interwoven with textual elements written by the artist himself in a very free French, a consequence of the deconstruction of the grammar and syntax of the colonizer's language. Through procedures like this, the curator Stephan Köhler affirms that Adéagbo has something of the naughty child who dismantles (technical) machines, removing the outer parts to examine their internal mechanism.²⁶ Once they are dismantled, that becoming-child, who is also a becoming-hoodlum, sets them back in operation as revolutionary machines.²⁷

In relation to the two previous projects, *Rádio Voz da Liberdade* (2022, pp. 2–3, 36–37) by Ângela Ferreira, an artist born in Mozambique, raised in South Africa, and rooted in Portugal, addresses the revelations produced within revolutions through a particularly important dynamism. On the one hand, she retrieves a forgotten story of solidarity between the population of Algeria, recently independent from France, and the Portuguese population subjected to the regime of António de Oliveira Salazar. From 1962, the RTA (Radiodiffusion-télévision algérienne) collaborated with Portuguese clandestine radio stations

22 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 43, 120–23.

23 / Guattari, *Molecular Revolution*, 169–72.

24 / Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 32.

25 / Guattari, *Molecular Revolution*, 159–60.

26 / Stephan Köhler, “Rappelez vous—Que les astres influencent, mais ne déterminent pas et que le libre arbitre permet à l'homme de forger son destin,” in *Georges Adéagbo: Archäologie der Motivationen—Geschichte neu Schreiben*, ed. Silvia Eiblmayr (Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2001), 34.

27 / Guattari, *La révolution moléculaire* (Fontenay-sous-Bois: Recherches (Encres), 1977), 170–98.

to spread messages with an anti-fascist content whose final issue was the Carnation Revolution of 1974 and the deposition of the *Estado Novo*. It is a valuable example of support from Africa for struggles for freedom in Europe, rather than the other way around, and it also demonstrates the direct political efficacy attained by the phenomenon of free radios, which made the transition from hyperconcentrated systems controlled by state apparatuses or large corporations toward miniaturized systems where the collective appropriation of the mass media permitted the emergence of minorities.²⁸ On the other hand, like the rest of the series by Ferreira known by the name *Talk Towers*, the sculpture forming part of *machinations* is inspired by constructivist architectural projects from the 1920s, such as Vladimir Tatlin's Monument to the Third International, Vladimir Shukhov's Communications Tower in Moscow, and especially the street kiosks of Gustav Klutssis. The latter, designed as utilitarian agitprop tools for the creation of a new society, contained bookshelves, a screen for projecting slides, a platform for an orator, and a poster board, making them extremely versatile instruments. Understanding these devices as comrades rather than fetish objects or slaves gave them an agency seldom seen until then and allowed their potential connections with other human and nonhuman machines to multiply.²⁹ Accompanied by reproductions of historic documents, the sculpture recovers certain political struggles of the past to offer their aesthetic proposals as relevant tactics for the present.

18–19: Test Dept

20–22: Simón Vega

23–25: Abu Bakarr Mansaray

26–29: Georges Adéagbo

30–31: Monlee & Roxlee

32–35: Efrén Álvarez

36–37: Ângela Ferreira

28 / Guattari, 143–52.

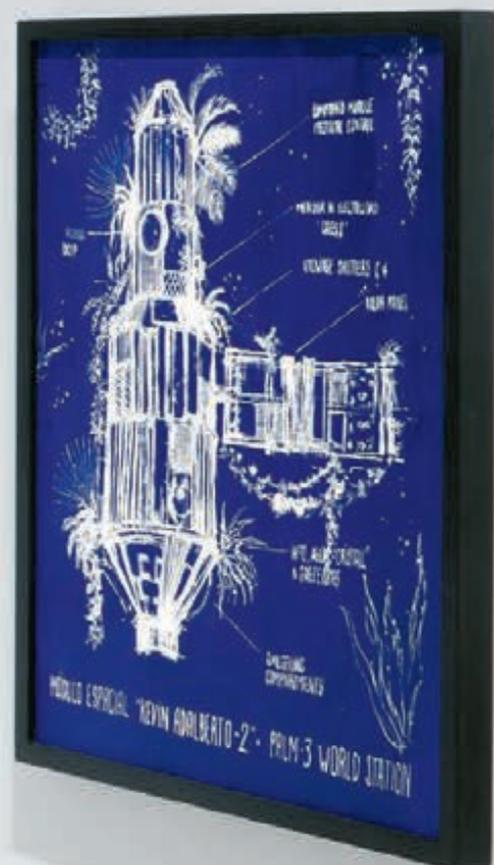
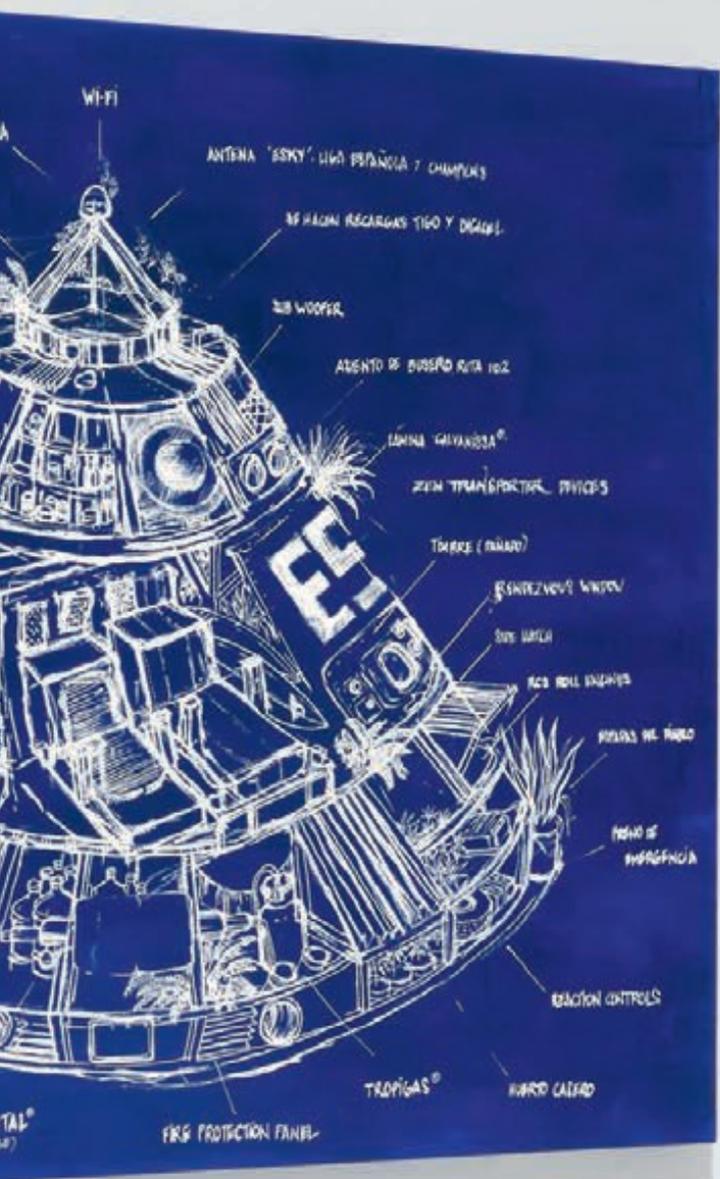
29 / Christina Kiaer, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008).

WOMENS ACTION GROUP
SAVE JOBS
SAVE OUR FUTURE
SAVE COMMUNITIES

NORTH DERBYSHIRE SOUTH







PROYECTORES

SUB-WOOFERS

REMOTE SENSORS

SMOKE MASHINES

OXIGEN TANKS

BEACH BALLS

PARTY LIGHTS

LASERS

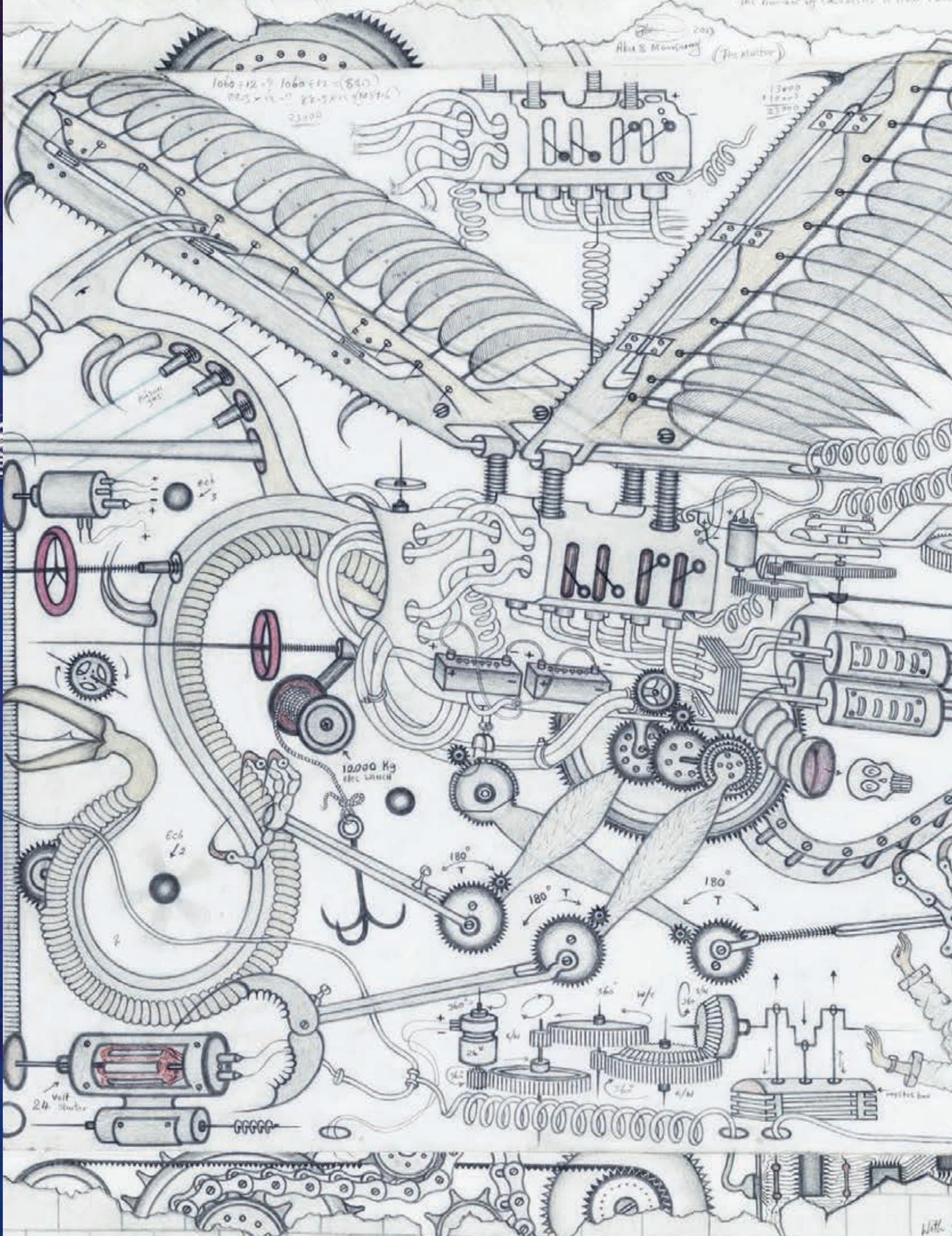
DISCO BALLS

MODULO ESPACIAL DISCO-MÓVIL POWER MIX-TITANIUM

WHAT IS THIS?

The whole world is now in
 Only one man have the
 The one head the source of the
 The number of circuits is non-
 finite

2013
 Alex & Mousumi
 (The planet)



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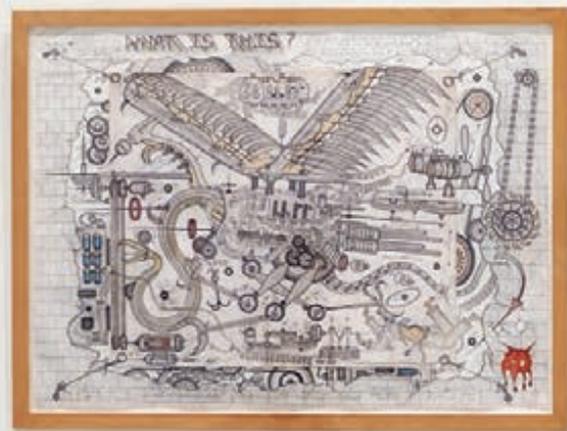
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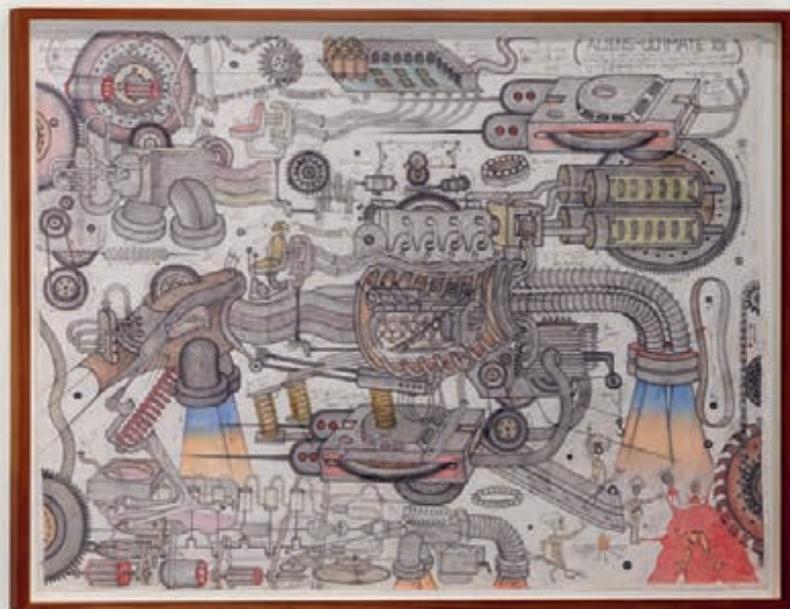
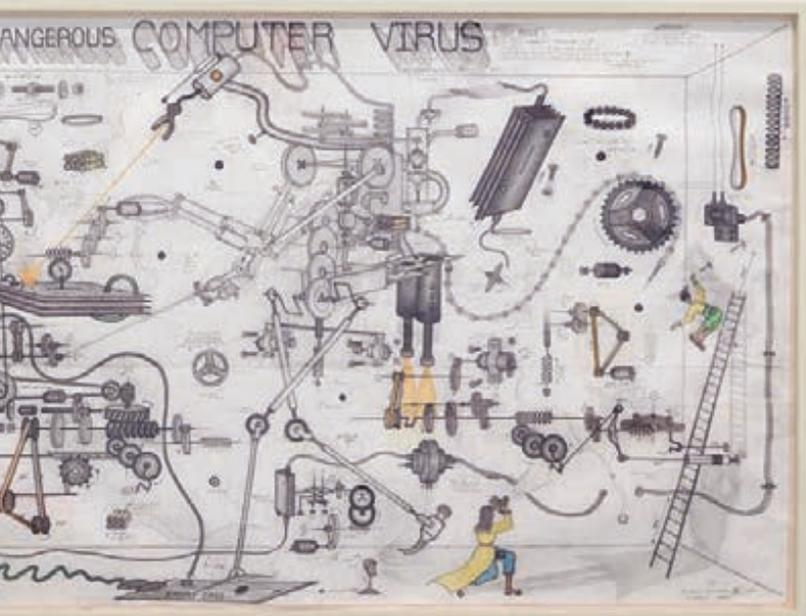
10,000 kg
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6ch
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24 Volt
 motor

2013 Master
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Platte des la...

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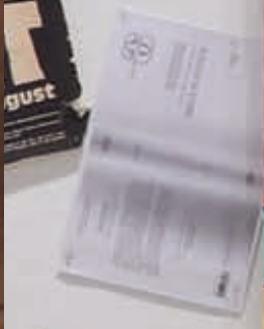


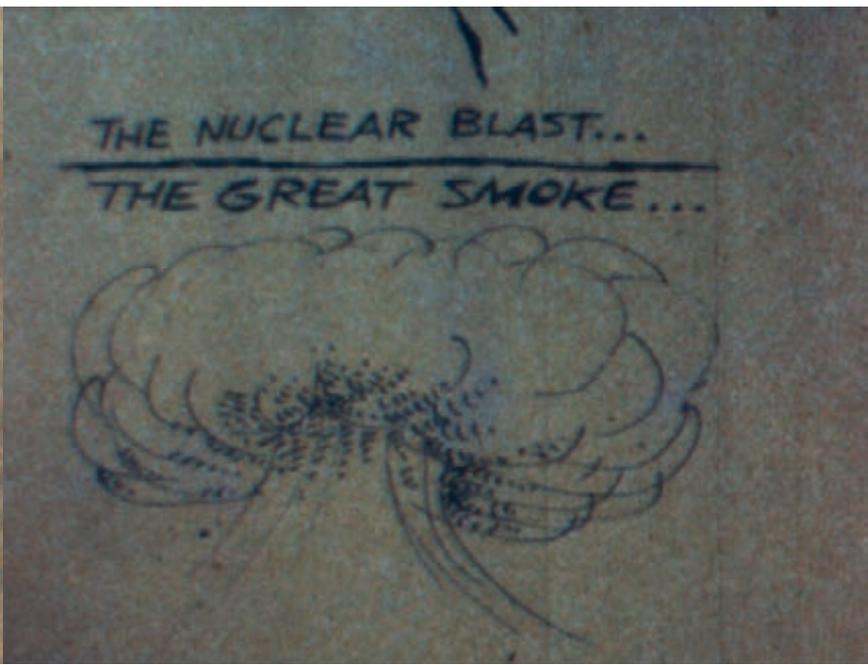
pour voir son habit, et le prendre avec le bâton, et qui habit, pour venir voir l'habit qui n'est pas son habit, et la peinture, et la peinture...! Impression, et expression: (faute)...? La peinture du peintre "le peintre et la peinture"!!

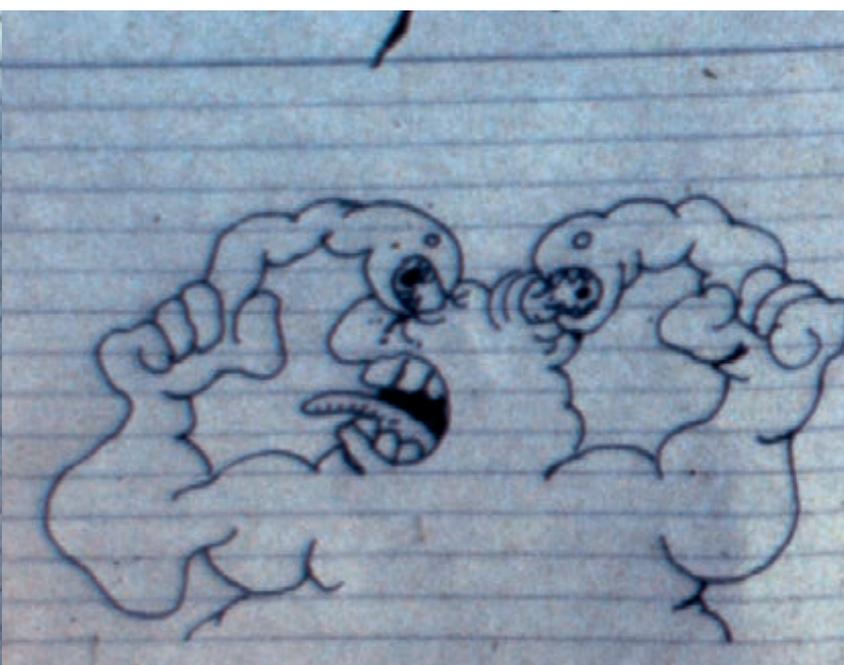


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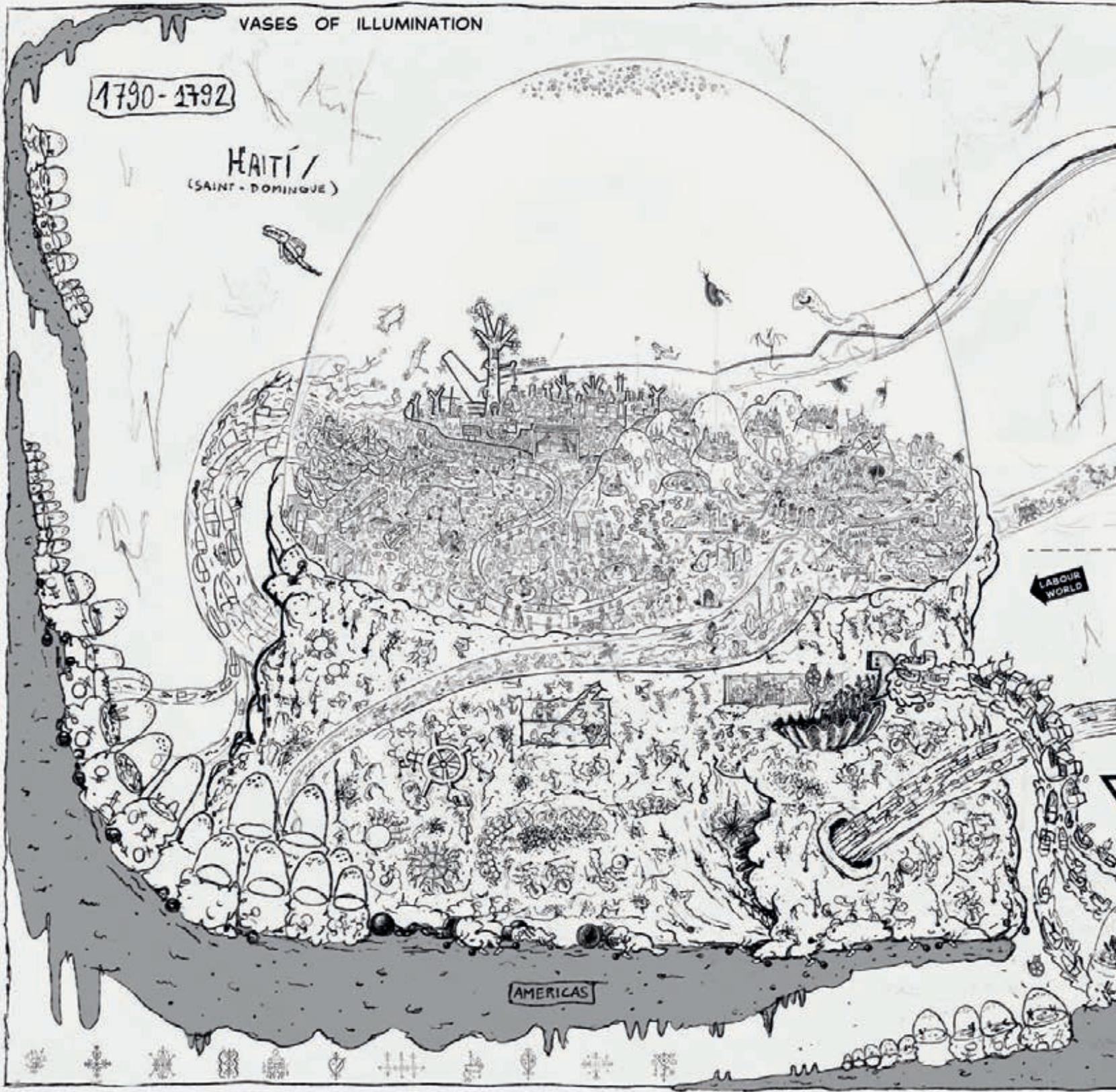
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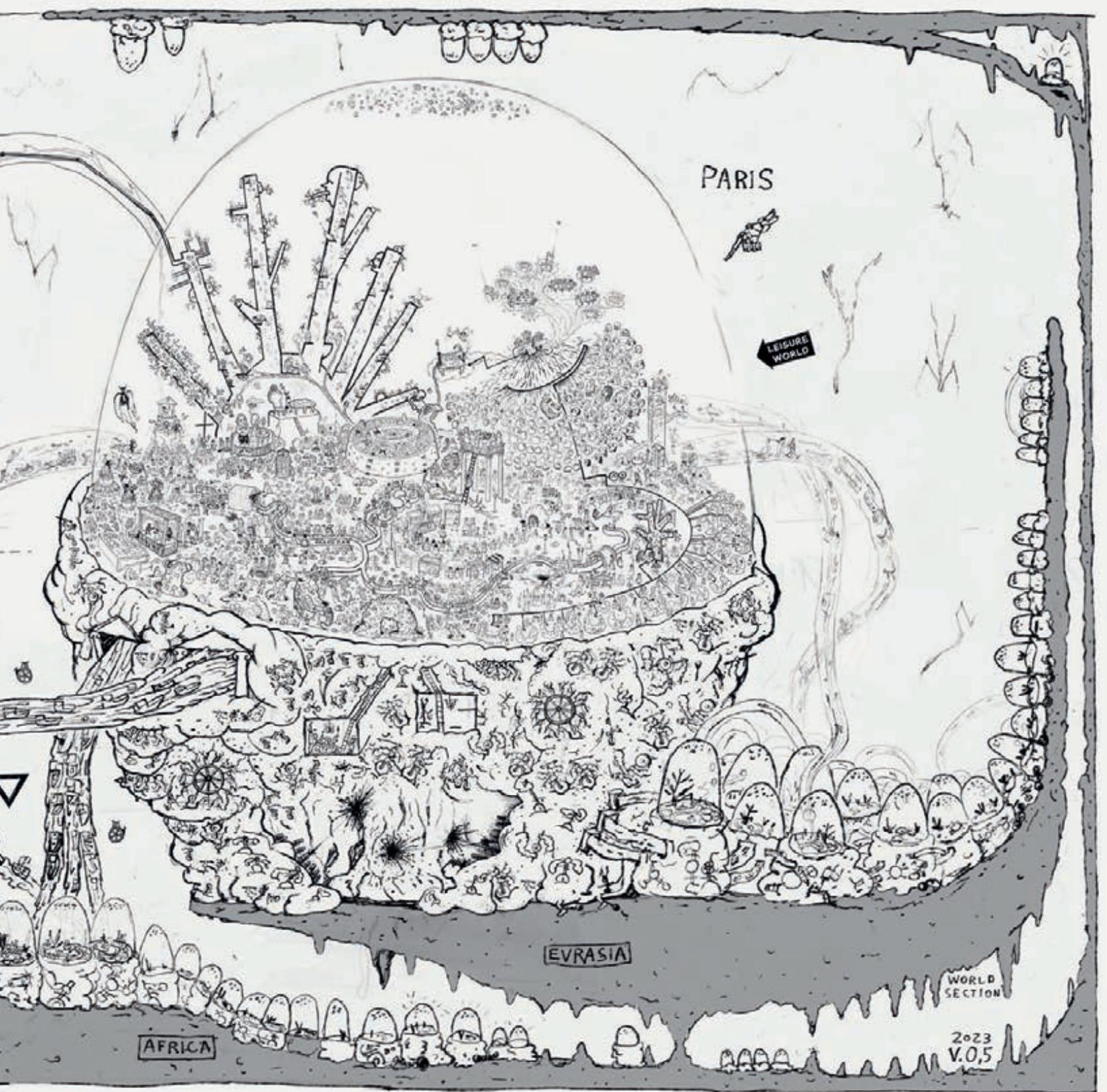


VASES OF ILLUMINATION

1790-1792

HAITI /
(SAINT-DOMINGUE)





PARIS

LEISURE WORLD

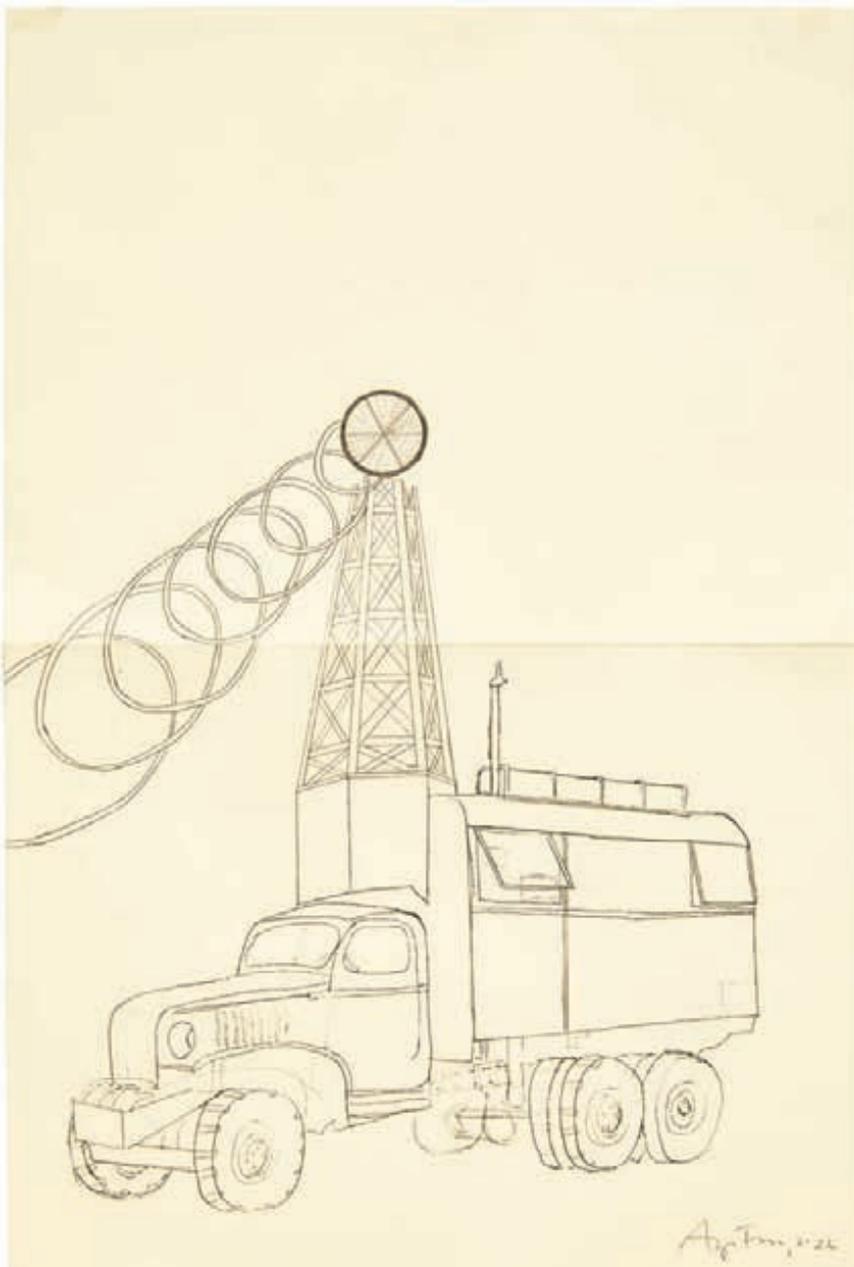
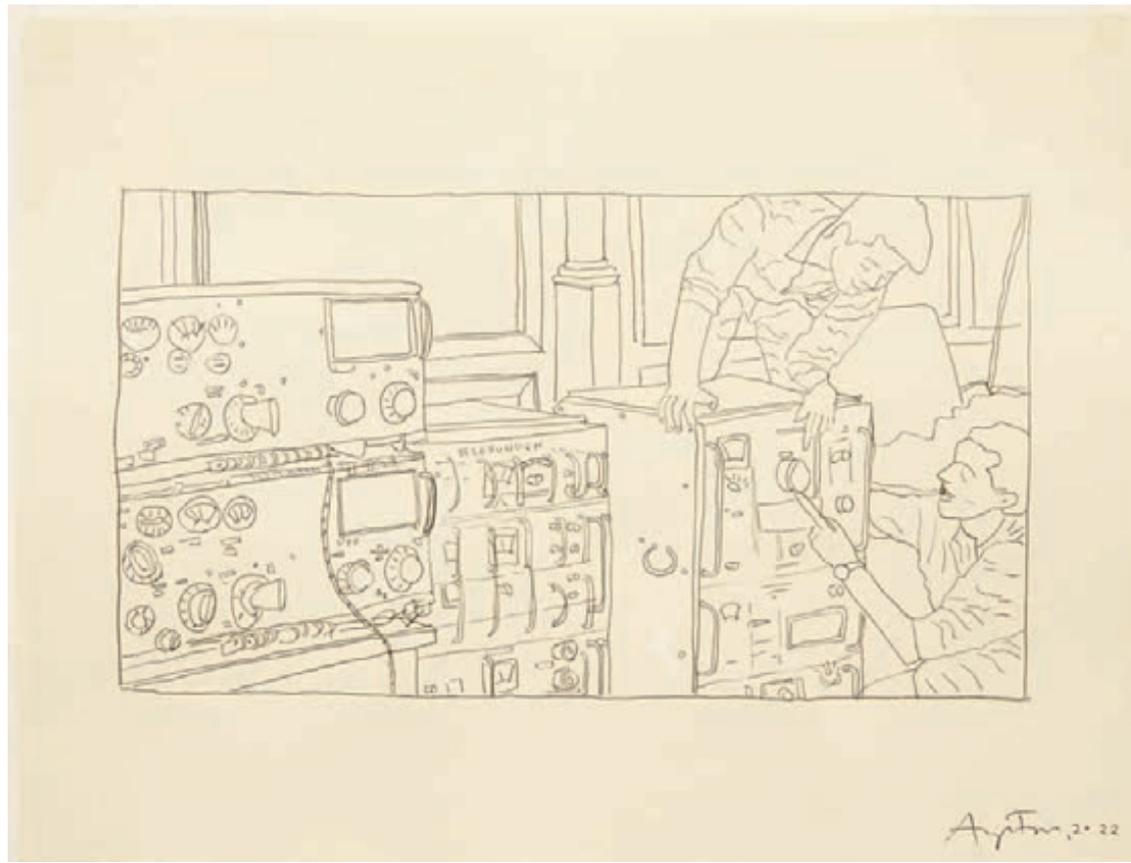
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WORLD SECTION

2023 V.0,5





War Machines

Before the processes of industrialization disambiguated the term *machine* in favor of a technical and functionalist sense, the term consisted instead of an assemblage of various concepts. In its Greek origins, the machine had to do with a medium, a creation, or a device, either material or immaterial, and was applied above all to the fields of war and theater. It could refer equally to an artifact of war, a stage device, or simply an invention. Such contraptions as the *deus ex machina* of the classical theater condensed that ambivalence between machinery and machination, permitting increasingly complex narrative plots thanks to the abrupt *dénouements* occasioned by divine intervention. With the passage of the centuries, the transcendent role of the gods gradually disappeared, but the machines remained as part of theatrical carpentry, even if hidden by illusionist mechanisms. In the 1920s, authors in postrevolutionary Russia such as Sergei Tretyakov, Vsevolod Meyerhold, or Sergei Eisenstein rethought acting on the basis of biomechanics, redesigned the stage apparatus from constructivist parameters, and reoriented the reception of works to make them converge with dynamics of social change. The public also became material for expression, especially in those plays that dealt with everyday life and were performed in factories. For all these reasons, the so-called theater of attractions proposes one of the first models in which organic, technical, and social machines function machinically.³⁰

Some of these ideas echo in the experimental practice of the postdramatic group The Living Theatre. Shortly after the events of May 1968 in France, its members presented a work entitled *Paradise Now* at the Avignon Festival, for which they prepared a picture-map with eight consecutive revolutions against repression of various types. The eighth act was to be performed outside the conventional theater. However, their attempt to take theater onto the street to continue the revolution there with other participants was censored by the police, and they were even forced to leave the city. The Austrian artist Alexander Tuchaček recreates that opportunity in *Paradise Now—Echos from the Future* (2019, pp. 44–45), an interactive installation that invites reflection on the relations between text, body, and performance from the postdigital era. In a scenario with two screens, a fragment of historic video of The Living Theatre is combined with instructions for the spectators, who can choose to obey or not. In either case, an infrared camera measures the movements of the fledgling actors, which are remixed in real time with sound and image by means of an algorithm. The spectator-actor literally becomes one with parts of the script, the stage, or other participants, resulting in a work of changing speeds and intensities that is always open to infinite potential variations.

The inverse to this revolution disguised as theater is itself an expanded theatricality in revolution. The investigation of the Lebanese actor, dramatist, and artist Rabiḥ Mroué for the *machinations* project explores the nuances that distinguish the notions of *Harakah* and *Harāk* (or *Hirāk*) on the basis of their machinic functioning (pp. 43, 167). Although both are etymologically related to movement and designate processes of civil protest, the *Harāk* (or *Hirāk*) is distinguished by not having a grand final objective, not being centralized on a few spokespeople or representatives, not imitating well-worn forms of insurgency, and not disappearing when it succeeds or fails in attaining the proposed objectives. On the contrary, it accumulates a large number of small demands, some of them even ridiculous or parodic; it manages responsibility in nonhierarchical or nonmasculinized ways; it invents creative forms of rebellion, often through ludic or festive activities; and it remains latent, waiting for new possible articulations. The slogans on placards and the lyrics of songs ubiquitous to the revolts of 2019 in Beirut are a good example. They discard the grandiloquence of the official language used by the governing political power or the majority media in

30 / Gerald Raunig, "Theater Machines," in *A Thousand Machines*, 35–66. See also his essay in this volume (pp. 157–64).

favor of a minor literature, deterritorializing the slogans and collectivizing the signs.³¹ On the margin of political parties and stable organizations, the turbulence of this crowd puts new forms of resistance into practice.³²

The theater also constitutes the discursive nucleus of Congolese artist Sammy Baloji's proposal. Baloji approaches the colonial memory of his country through an analysis of the extractivist mechanisms applied in the province of Katanga. For his *machinations* contribution, the starting point is the operetta *Chura na nyoka* (The toad and the snake, 1957), commissioned by the Belgian metropolis as educational propaganda for the local population and composed in country by the musician and statesman Joseph Kiwele. Music, dance, gesture, and text complement one another to narrate the fable of a toad and a snake who try to overcome the prejudices of their respective species but eventually kill each other because they are unable to accept their biological differences. This racial segregation is both the moral of Kiwele's work and the politics that rules the foundational plan of the city of Lubumbashi, divided into a grid of forty squares assigned first to government members and institutions and only in the last place to natives, who are classified by various racist labels. Conceived as a stage production without characters, the installation *A Blueprint for Toads and Snakes* (2018, pp. 46–49) presents both historic documents as part of the same much broader imperialist project and includes other related elements, such as a set of backdrops with lush vegetation, paintings in the regional style of L'Atelier du Hangar, and a repertoire of photographic reproductions of portraits abandoned during interethnic conflicts motivated by outside interference.

Leaping from the Greek to the Guattarian connotation, the works of Tuchaček, Mroué, and Baloji function as theater machines but also as war machines. Each in its own way disposes machinic textualities or theatrical machinations to sabotage the state-form, which is nothing less than the great structure par excellence. Deleuze and Guattari position themselves vis-à-vis traditional views in which segmentary anti-state societies, called primitive, evolve toward with-state societies, which are therefore classed as more sophisticated in Western conceptions. They argue that, from an initial perspective of transcendence and idealism, the state presents itself as unconditional because it produces its own conditions. Always identical to itself, it presupposes both its existence and its past with the aim of perpetuating its organs of power, which function according to a logic of interiority. In the same way, they do not regard nomadic tribes as rudimentary social forms, more poorly organized because they inhibit the assumption of stable powers; instead, they view them as examples of a different idea of collectivity based on webs of immanent and rhizomatic relations in opposition to the arborescence of state instruments. Confronted by the state-form and its various ramifications, the nomadic organization invents the war machine.³³

For Deleuze and Guattari, the objective of the war machine is not war but the tracing of plans of consistency, creative lines of flight, and smooth spaces for displacement to attack the forces of the state. Its movement is produced in the primeval duality between two types of territoriality: a smooth, vectorial, projective, topological, flexible, nomadic space that is occupied without being measured, and a striated, hierarchical, Cartesian, geometric, solid, rigid, sedentary space that is measured for occupation.³⁴ One of the fundamental tasks of the state is precisely to striate the space it governs, which makes it of vital importance to control migrations and vanquish nomadism. In lacking its own war machine, the state will try to capture that of the nomads and will eventually succeed, in turn directing it to actual war under the form of the military institution.³⁵ In this sense, the war machine is an assemblage irreducible to the state apparatus; it can exist only in its own metamorphoses. Exteriority and interiority, metamorphic war machines and apparatuses of state identity, bands and kingdoms, megamachines and empires must not be understood in terms of independence but of coexistence and competition in a constantly interactive field.

Inserted in this tension between opposite but complementary poles is the work *Frente a Guernica* (In front of Guernica, 2023, pp. 50–52) by the

31 / See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

32 / See the artistic investigation by Rabih Mroué elsewhere in this volume (pp. 43, 165–67).

33 / Deleuze and Guattari, "1227: Treatise on Nomadology: The War Machine," in *A Thousand Plateaus*, 351–423. See also Guillaume Sibertin-Blanc, *State and Politics: Deleuze and Guattari on Marx* (South Pasadena: Semiotext(e), 2016).

34 / Deleuze and Guattari, "1440: The Smooth and the Striated," in *A Thousand Plateaus*, 474–500.

35 / Deleuze and Guattari, "7000 B.C.: Apparatus of Capture," in *A Thousand Plateaus*, 424–73.

Italian filmmakers Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi. During a visit by the couple to the Museo Reina Sofía in 2014, the museographic contextualization of Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* inspired them to imagine a project with which to bring a final halt to their artistic careers. Using found footage belonging to public archives and their own private archive, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi show a history made of fragments concerning the Spanish Civil War and other twentieth-century catastrophes in which the most heterogeneous materials on dance, colonialism, technology, war, or politics are machinically related. The vestibule of Space 1 of the Sabatini Building, where the work was screened, included both an exhibition of watercolors painted by Ricci Lucchi from 1984 to 2017, signed jointly like a shared creative diary, and manifesto-posters for films such as *Dal polo all'equatore* (From the Pole to the Equator, 1986, p. 53), which serve as conceptual maps of their development. Both the watercolors and the posters stress the importance the artists attach to the tactile nature of film in their experimental practice, making their cinema at the same time an archaeology of the media.

Something similar occurs in some of the other works making up *War Machines*. The documentary *Mémoire 14* (Memory 14, 1971, pp. 56–57) by the Moroccan director Ahmed Bouanani is one of the first exercises in deconstruction of the colonial narrative undertaken by an African Arab filmmaker. Through alternating photographs and scenes showing the French protectorate and the Rif War, urban and rural landscapes, and social and military parades, a new critical history of the territory emerges from the images. Besides the film itself, material from the family archive preserved and reinterpreted by his daughter, Touda Bouanani (pp. 54–55), also brings to light working documents prior to censorship and reveals unsuspected connections for some of his visual motifs. The bas-reliefs of the Palestinian Abdul Hay Mosallam Zarara (pp. 58–59), a self-taught painter committed to various movements fighting for freedom and peace, synthesize his personal experience as an activist against the oppression of the State of Israel but also use an appeal to figures of dictators and international martyrs or a repetition of certain slogans to link revolutionary processes in different parts of the world.³⁶ In the meantime, *Natural Histories of Struggle* (2021, pp. 60–63), a series of textiles by the Filipino Cian Dayrit, reviews the imbrications of colonialism with land grabbing, extractive industries, and dispossession through concepts such as the earth, the wasteland, sovereignty, class, cult, and rhizome. The photographs of the American zoologist and colonial administrator Dean Conant Worcester, printed on cloth, serve as a basis for embroidering texts, emblems, and adornments that question the hegemonic history in such a way that the nomad imaginaries are superimposed almost literally on the imperial apparatuses of capture to reconstitute new war machines. His work also clearly manifests something that is perhaps less evident in other exhibits but which Deleuze and Guattari signal as a general characteristic of the aesthetic model of nomad art: the near vision replaces the far, the abstract line the concrete, and the haptic function the optic. That is, the dynamic connection of the support with the ornament replaces the form-material dialectic.

The works that intersect in the *War Machines* section combine different scales and intensities. *Cartografía crítica del Estrecho de Gibraltar* (Critical cartography of the Strait of Gibraltar, 2004, pp. 64–67) was one of the results of a collaboration between the hackitectura.net group and a collective that sprang from the Indymedia-Estrecho anti-globalization node. Made in public-access Wiki mode, this contra-cartographic initiative subverts the North-South hierarchy and makes visible aspects that go unnoticed in other territorial representations. Instead of concentrating on geographical and static features, it signals the dynamism of flows of militarization, migrations, delocalization of capital, communication, and social movements, turning the map moreover into an organizational tool for activism on both sides of the frontier.³⁷ In the project *À tous les clandestins* (To all the clandestines, 2014), the Valencian artists Patricia Gómez and María Jesús González explore migration from the western coasts of Africa to the Canary Islands. Through mural printing, photography,

36 / On Guattari and Deleuze's position on the State of Israel's oppression of Palestinians, see François Dosse, *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari*, 362–82.

On the appropriation of the theories of Guattari and Deleuze as tactics for urban guerrilla warfare, see Eyal Weizman, "Urban Warfare: Walking through Walls," in *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso, 2007), 185–218.

37 / See Sandro Mezzadra et al., *Fadaiat: Libertad de movimiento, libertad de conocimiento*, ed. Pablo DeSoto and Pilar Monsell (Seville: Junta de Andalucía Consejería de Cultura/Cedma, 2006).

and video, they document the testimonies left by the migrants themselves on the walls of the CIEs (Centros de Internamientos de Extranjeros, or Foreigner Internment Centers) where they were detained. The fragments shown in *machinations* (pp. 68–71) come from the CIE “El Matorral” in Fuerteventura, the largest installation of the type on Spanish territory, and address the experience of displacement itself with drawings of the faces of companions, of the small boats—*cayucos*—used to cross the ocean, and even of maps of the continent they have left behind. The ideas of “participative mapping” and “migrant subjectivities” also articulated the *Taller Lavapiés* (2020–2022) given by the Argentine duo Iconoclastas in collaboration with Museo Situado. Using methods from situationist psychogeography or popular pedagogies, and through what they call “feeling-thinking machines,” men and women from the neighborhood intervened in a map of the district of Lavapiés (pp. 72–73) to pinpoint social problematics and emancipatory alternatives, consolidate shared memories, and locate care networks. In addition to these three works, the exhibition also included a long mural on the dangers of globalized mining by the Indonesian group Taring Padi, along with two sets of placards (pp. 74–77) made with local communities in collaborative workshops, one held at documenta fifteen in Kassel and the other at Museo Situado in Madrid within the framework of the public activities centered on *machinations*.

Worried about the forced displacements caused by the border policies of states, Deleuze and Guattari made clear distinctions between the concepts of “sedentary,” “migrant,” and “nomad.” The migrant goes from one point to another, even if that other point is uncertain, unexpected, or mislocated, but “nomads have no points, paths, or land, even though they do by all appearances.”³⁸ They go hither and thither as part of a multiple itinerary with infinite phases. Their traces are erased, as they have no history, only geography. In this way, they behave like a vector of deterritorialization, adding desert to desert, steppe to steppe, sea to sea. Despite incorporating features of migration, itinerance, and transhumance, the nomad can even remain immobile and full of speed, merely exerting agency, because movement is extensive and speed intensive. The last three works in the *War Machines* section problematize these details.

The Rojava Film Commune is a cinema group that emerged in 2015 after the revolution of Rojava in Syrian Kurdistan, from which it receives many of its core principals. Unlike other revolutionary processes of emancipation, this one does not pursue the foundation of an independent Kurdish state but a democratic federalism favorable to social change, particularly through the specific form of non-Western feminism proposed by jineology. In accordance with this form of political articulation based on assemblies and collective decision-taking, the Rojava Film Commune comprises both emerging and established filmmakers who take part both in self-management tasks and in exchanges with other artistic and civil platforms. Together they contribute to the education and production of a new revolutionary cinema that affirms the living of a full life beyond capitalist and patriarchal structure. The film *di rûyê qirkinê de* (Love in the face of genocide, 2020, pp. 78–79) exhibits and explains the so-called *dengbêjî*, sung poems in which the performer replicates the grief of the characters, Yazidis harassed repeatedly by the Ottoman Empire. The poems mobilize an oral history that documents the sufferings of the Yazidis while at the same time keeping their love stories alive, linking both with animal, vegetable, or mineral elements in the surroundings of Mount Shengal. Nomads persecuted by state powers since time immemorial, the members of the Rojava Film Commune provide a political and cultural model that adopts the characteristics of a nomadic war machine.

The Israeli architect, urbanist, and photographer Eran Schaerf devoted his investigation for *machinations* to the designation “Levantine,” referring to the population of the Mediterranean Levant, which he interprets as an amalgam of multiple influences defined by its hybridization rather than fixed essences. Taking the case of the Frenkel brothers, pioneers of animation in Egypt, Schaerf interweaves their lifelong, successive displacements from one country to another with the transformations of certain recurrent motifs and strategies in their work.

The result is the installation *Nomadesque* (2023, pp. 80–81, 170–71), framed between two large curtains that reproduce stills from films made by the Frenkels from 1938 to 1960. One shows the gates of a city with a tent immediately in front of them, marking the uncertain limits between the sedentary inside and the nomadic outside. The other presents a broad landscape outside the walls, located but not delimited, with a smooth area of desert whose layers are always in motion. In a cabin, several of the Frenkels' films are projected, ranging from propaganda for the national defense against Nazism to atomic experiments that turn the world upside down. Displayed on the outside walls are original archive materials, including one of the projectors made by the Frenkels to show their productions outside official channels, as well as a marionette, rather like a cut-out, dressed with various items extracted both from the Frenkels' imaginary and from Western popular culture and reflecting the impure, bastardized, and interchangeable character of features that try to pass for signs of identity.³⁹

Finally, the Lebanese architect and artist Rayyane Tabet presents his *Exquisite Corpse* (2017, pp. 82–85), which is also related to the machinic coupling of heterogeneous parts. The great-grandson of a translator who was hired by the German Max von Oppenheim as a secretary for his archaeological and ethnographic expeditions, Tabet compares the publications resulting from those journeys with materials from his family archive to unmask the military purpose of Baron Oppenheim's supposedly scientific explorations of the territory. While the baron studied the Bedouin tribes by composing genealogical trees and mapping their summer and winter routes, Tabet stresses the nomadic character inherent to something as apparently simple as the traditional Bedouin cloak, the *bisht*, which can be turned into a provisional refuge with the aid of two wooden sticks. To this end, he presents several models of single-person tents, all inspired by the versatility of the *bisht*, which in the course of the twentieth century would be used by the armies of Germany, Russia, France, and the United States in the north of Africa, the Levant, and the Persian Gulf. Here we thus have a clear example not only of the physical and symbolic imposition of concepts like state or frontier on societies whose existence consists precisely of doing without them, but also of a particularly perverse case of cultural appropriation, one that deactivated the *bisht's* original revolutionary potential.

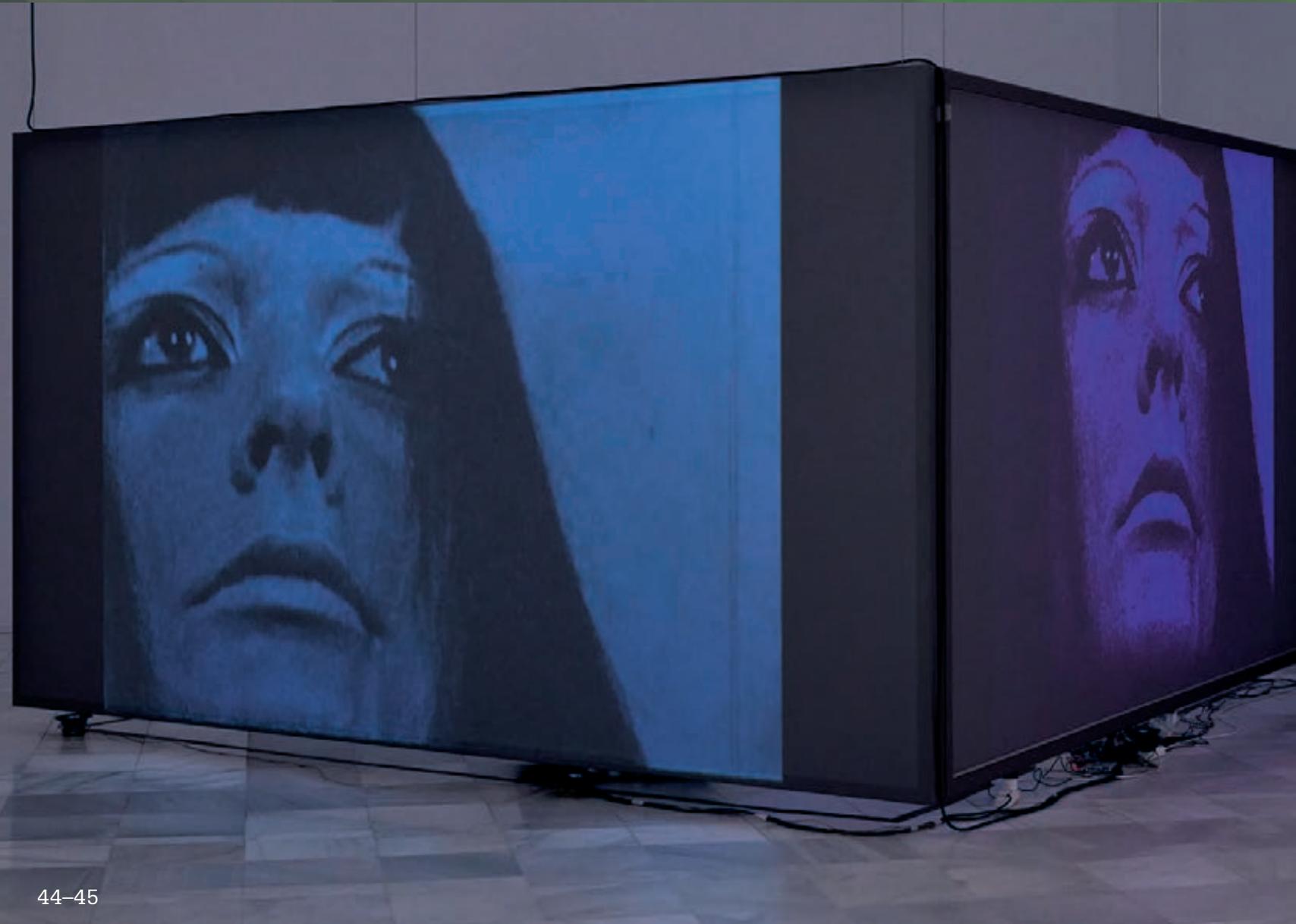
39 / See the artistic investigation by Eran Schaerf elsewhere in this volume (pp. 168–71).

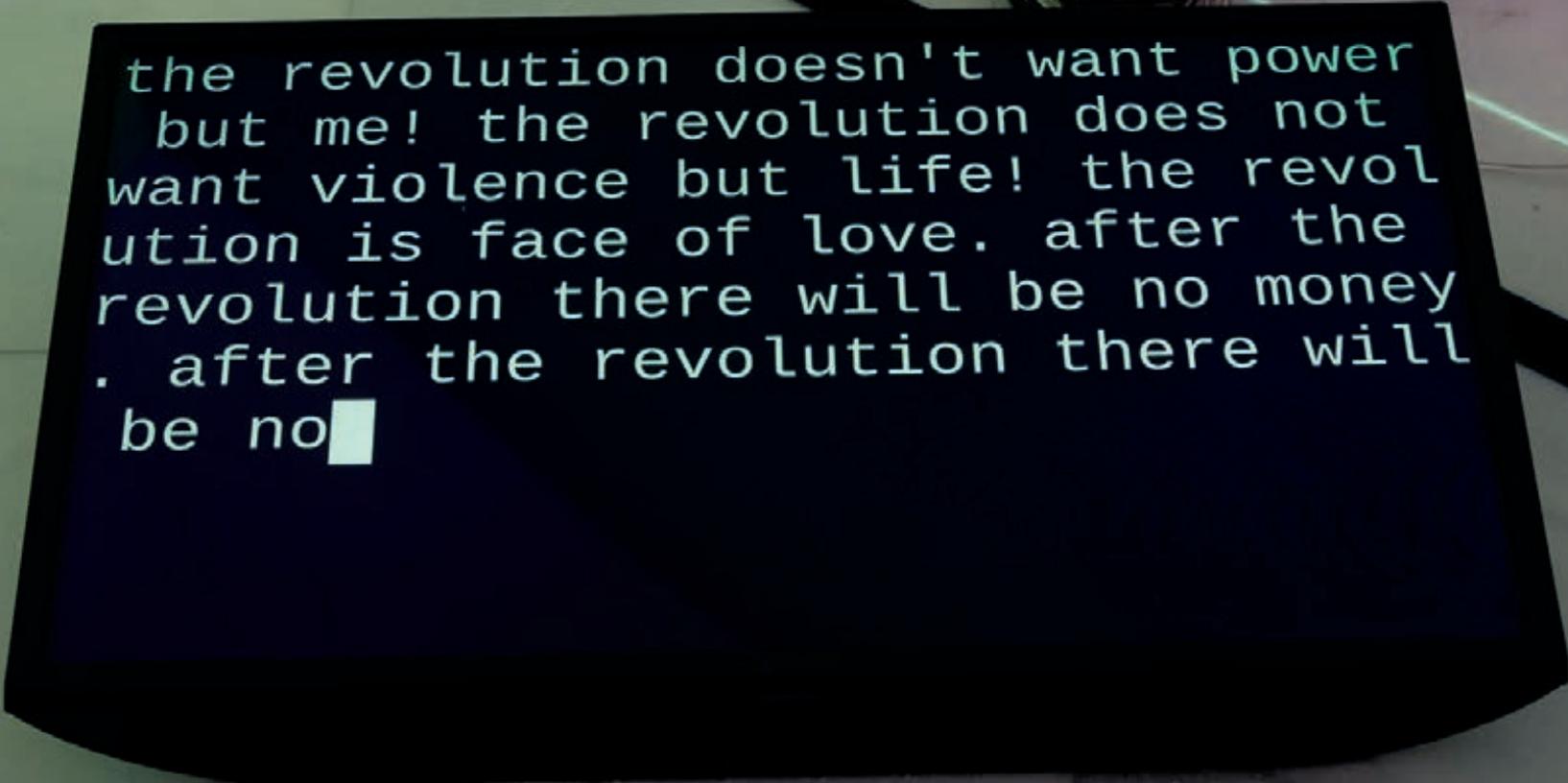
43: Rabih Mroué	60–63: Cian Dayrit
44–45: Alexander Tuchaček	64–67: hackitectura.net
46–49: Sammy Baloji	68–71: Patricia Gómez and
50–53: Yervant Gianikian	María Jesús González
and Angela Ricci Lucchi	72–73: Iconoclasistas
54–55: Touda Bouanani	74–77: Taring Padi
56–57: Ahmed Bouanani	78–79: Rojava Film Commune
58–59: Abdul Hay	80–81: Eran Schaerf
Mosallam Zarara	82–85: Rayyane Tabet



They gathered at the squares without any prior invitation or agreement.

the performance will start soon.
please enter the stage.





the revolution doesn't want power
but me! the revolution does not
want violence but life! the revol
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revolution there will be no money
. after the revolution there will
be no

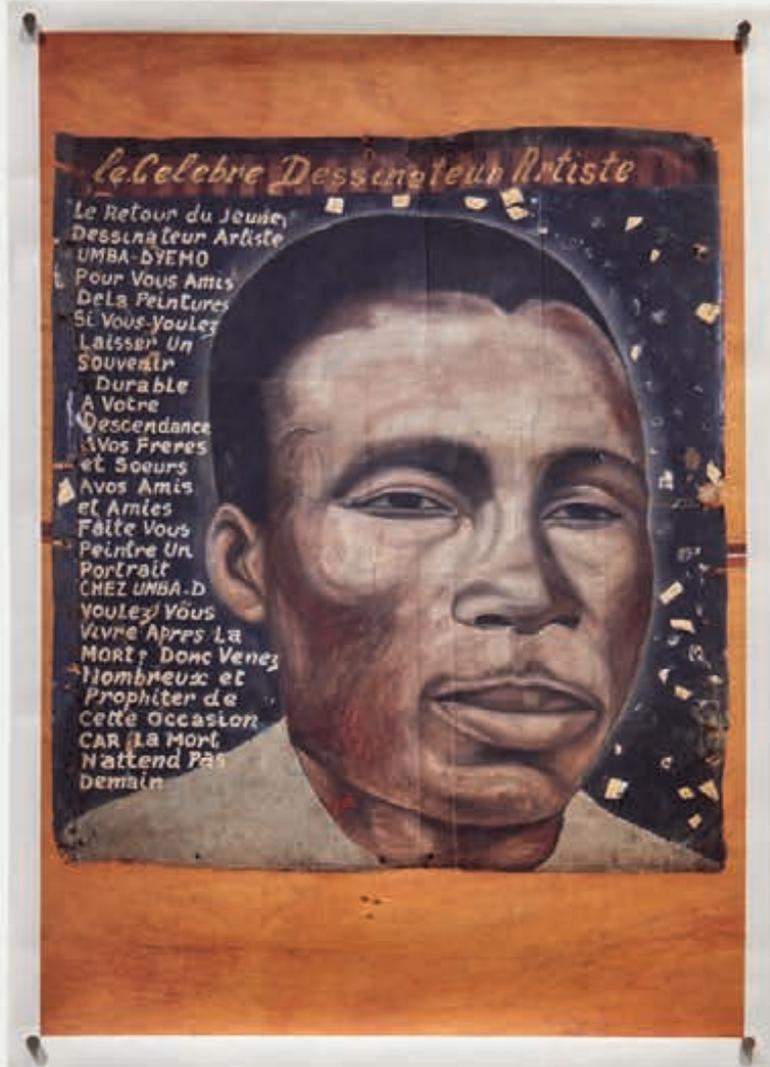


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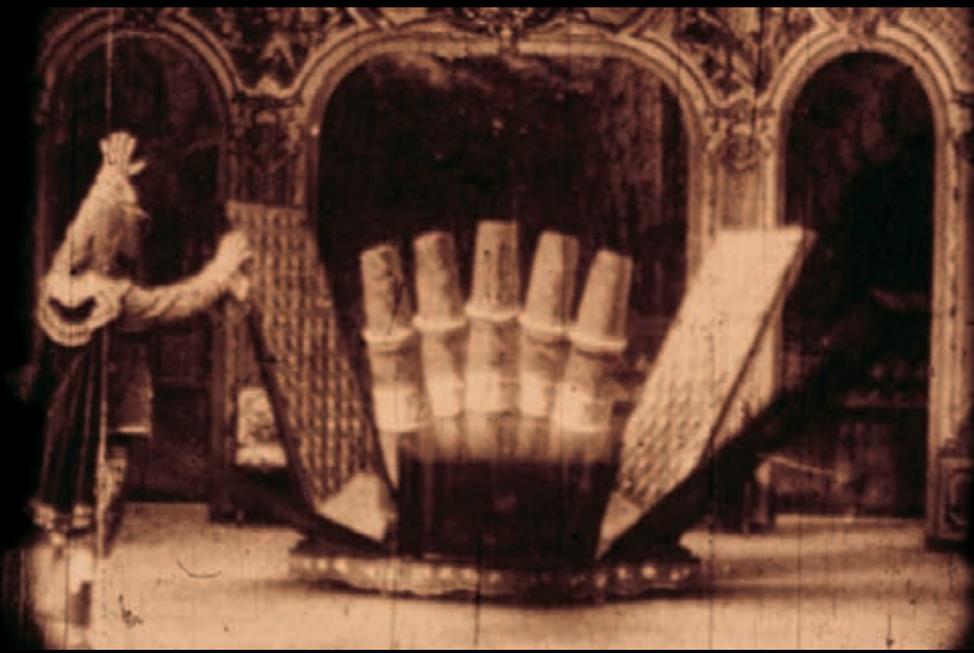
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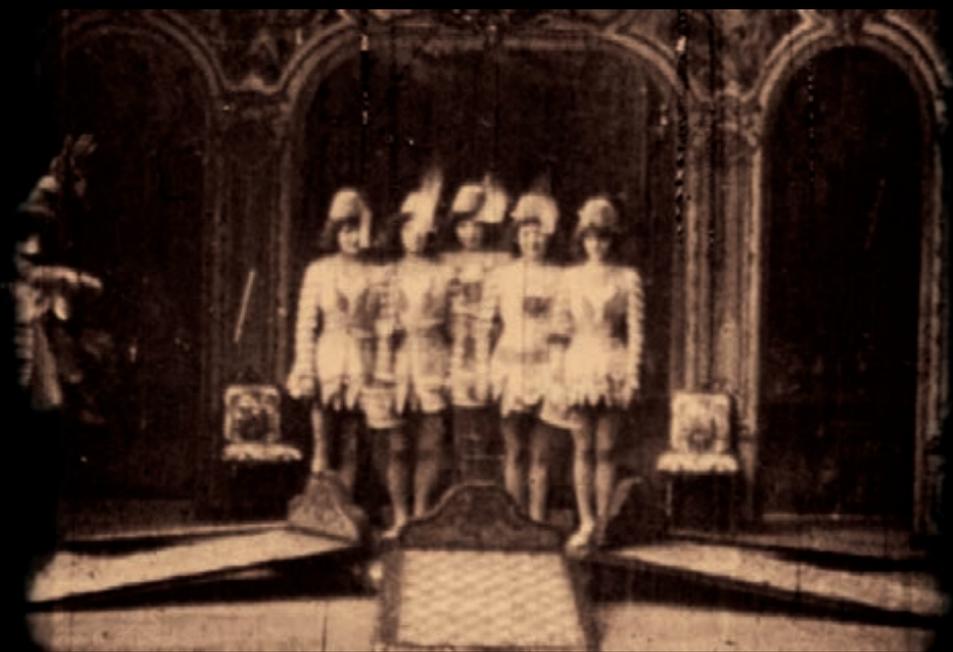














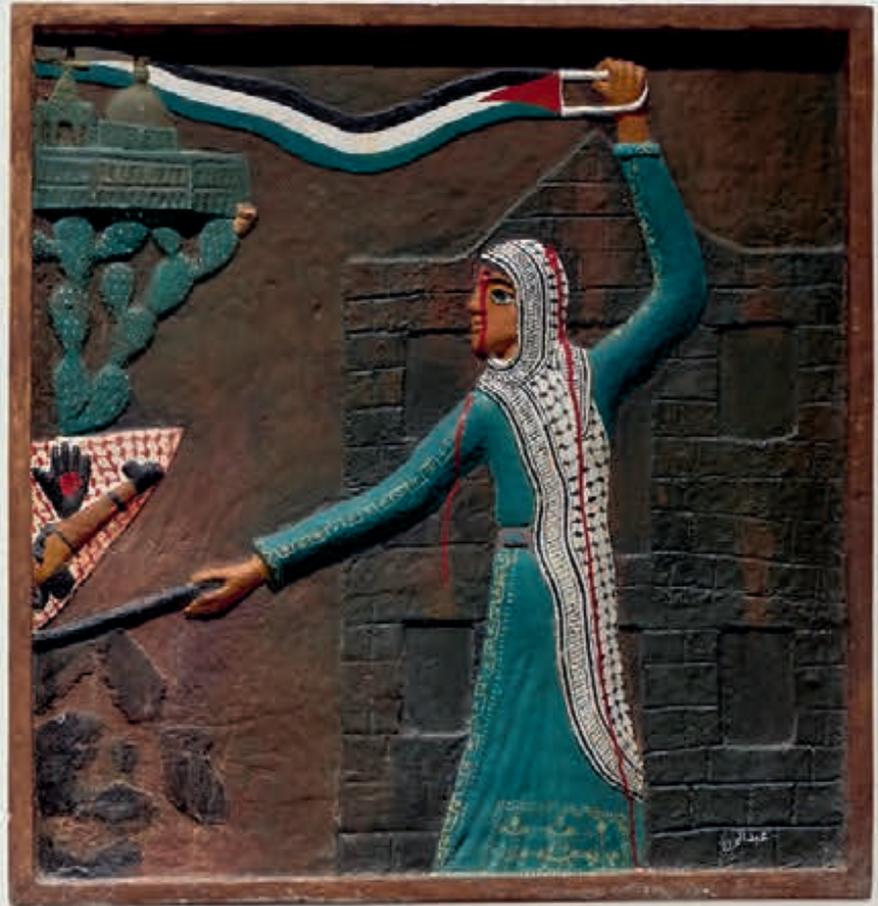












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BAYAN



GOLF

INVESTMENT

COUNTRY
CLUB

PROGRESS



INDIGENOUS CULTURE IS ROOT





SHOPPING

LEISURE

DEVELOPMENT

PLUNDER

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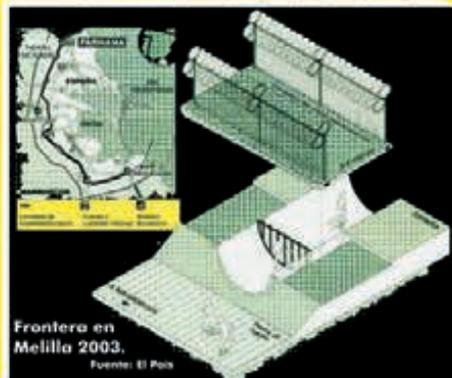
>> **militarización**

- > SIVE [Servicio Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior]
- > Fronteras militarizadas, aduanas, puestos fronterizos
- > Instalaciones militares: Rota, San Fernando, Barbate, Marón, Gibraltar, Ceuta, Melilla, Vélez, Alhucemas, Chafarinas... Submarinos nucleares
- > Radares, satélites militares
- > Centros de vigilancia SIGINT / UKUSA
- > Centros de internamiento de inmigrantes
- > Centros de internamiento de jóvenes inmigrantes
- > Delegaciones provinciales de la policía marroquí para la lucha contra la inmigración ilegal
- > Redadas contra inmigrantes, deportaciones
- > Incidentes racistas contra inmigrantes

Otros centros de internamiento de extranjeros en el Estado Español [2003 / existentes y en proyecto]:
 > Madrid Maratón / Madrid Carabanchel / Barcelona Zona Franca / Barcelona la Verneda / Valencia / Murcia...

Cárceles y presos en el Estado Español [2004]
 > 58.378 presos / 77 prisiones / 150% ocupación [El País]
 > España es el segundo país europeo en número de reclusos
 > En el 2003 se comienzan a promover 4 nuevas cárceles [2 en Sevilla y Cádiz]

Desplazamiento / extensión de la frontera [ver análisis en indymedia]
 Durante 2004 se ha intensificado la política de desplazamiento a Marruecos de los controles sobre la movilidad, entre cuyas medidas pueden incluirse:
 > Redadas y deportaciones en campamentos de refugiados en Marruecos
 > Reforzamiento de los pasos fronterizos de Ceuta y Melilla (inversión de 1.750 millones de euros en subir la valla de 3 a 6m de altura y dotación de nuevos equipos de audio/video vigilancia y procesamiento de datos / 08.04 / Presupuesto para Ceuta)
 > Detención de 56.000 migrantes en 2003 - ago 2004 en Marruecos [Fuente EP]
 > La UE ha aprobado la financiación de campos de detención de migrantes en Marruecos, Mauritania, Libia, Túnez y Argelia [10.04]...



Flujos capital: tráfico de drogas, paraísos fiscales, especulación inmobiliaria /
 Marruecos, que genera e ingresa tanto del tráfico de migrantes como de drogas, Gibraltar como paraíso fiscal para el blanqueo inicial de capitales y la Costa de Sol como destino final y receptor del blanqueo de capitales y financiador en parte del tráfico que se genera en el Estrecho. [Contribución en indymedia]

>> **migraciones**

- > Rutas pateras / Estrecho de Gibraltar - Canarias
- > Áreas de procedencia de l's migrantes que cruzan el Estrecho
- > Campamentos de refugiados económicos en Marruecos y el estado español
- > Zonas de destino: El Ejido, Fresno Huelva, capitales, otros...
- > Mafias, conexiones con tramas financieras fraudulentas
- > Procesos de autoorganización social y de la [in]migración

Datos Inmigración Estado Español [Ministerio del Interior / 2003]

- > Número total inmigrantes "con papeles": 1.647.000
- > Porcentaje sobre el total de la población: 3,8%
- > Número de inmigrantes africanos "con papeles": 432.600
- > Número de inmigrantes marroquíes "con papeles": 333.700
- > Número de inmigrantes "con papeles" en Andalucía: 208.523
- > Número de inmigrantes africanos "con papeles" en Andalucía: 62.864
- > Destinos principales de los inmigrantes en el Estado Español: Madrid [20%], Barcelona [16%], Levante, Andalucía, Canarias y Baleares
- > Número de inmigrantes empadronados: 2.500.000 [852.000 más que los "regularizados" / Fuente: El País]
- > Estimación de la población inmigrante en el Estado Español para el 2015: 11.777.000 / 27% [Fuente: Papeles de Economía Española]

> El proceso de regularización de inmigrantes del gobierno del estado español, que se iniciará a principios de 2005, supone la regularización potencial de 800 mil a 1 millón de inmigrantes. Debe ser valorado como una conquista de las luchas sociales de los últimos años y, en particular, de la migración como movimiento social.

Inicio del muro occidental

Frontera saharaua

Cientos de kilómetros de muros militares marroquíes segregan y controlan a la población autóctona del Sahara Occidental que en gran número vive en campamentos de refugiados del Frente Polisario en la zona de Tinduf [Argelia]

MAGREB

MARRUECOS

Población: 30.988 mill.hab [2002]
 Sup: 446.550 km2
 PIB/hab: 3.600 US/hab [2004]
 Índice Desarrollo Hum: núm. 126

Atentado extremismo islámico 2003

ARGELIA



Operación Paso del Estrecho (junio para el verano):
 1.000.000 pasajeros
 250.000 vehículos
 2.000 rotaciones Algeciras-

Zona militarizada por el S.I.V.E. [2001-2004]

ESPAÑA
 Población: 42.717 mill. hab [2002]
 Sup: 505.990 km2
 PIB/hab: 19.472 US/hab [2000]
 PIB/hab: 95% UE-25 [2004]
 Índice Desarrollo Hum: núm. 21

SIVE:
 Inversión 2002-2004: 103 millones de eu
 Inversión 2004-2008: 130 millones de eu.
 Ampliación Granada, Málaga, Almería, Huelva, Ceuta, Gran Canaria...
 61 patrulleras
 2 aviones
 tecnología vana...

UNIÓN EUROPEA

PORTUGAL

SAHARA OCCIDENTAL



ISLAS CANARIAS

>> flujos capital / deslocalización de la producción

Unas 500 empresas del estado español operaban Marruecos en el año 2003 [Datos del Ministerio de Economía], desarrollando actividades en los sectores de banca, turismo, telecomunicaciones, sanitarios, metalurgia, suministro de agua, productos de alimentación, confección, petróleo y gas, promoción inmobiliaria y construcción.

Los sectores principales en los que se está produciendo el proceso global de deslocalización de la producción son los de telecomunicaciones (teleoperador*): Telefónica, Meditel, textil [Zara, Cortefiel, Corte Inglés...], producción de frutas y hortalizas.

La balanza de pagos entre los dos estados es favorable en un 122% para España, pero es necesario destacar que la mayor parte de los intercambios entre los dos países corresponden al comercio entre las propias empresas españolas a uno y otro lado del Estrecho.

Marruecos recibe 2.19 millones de dólares [2002]
Las remesas enviadas por los migrantes suponen la primera fuente de divisas del país [2.877 mill \$ / 2002]

El proyecto, en construcción, Tanger Med SA, de financiación marroquí e internacional, establecerá un macropuerto en Alcazar Sidi y una zona económica especial que se extiende entre Ceuta a Tánger para el establecimiento de maquiladoras a gran escala (<http://www.tmsa.ma>)

Astras serie 1 / GEO 19.2E emitiendo sobre El Estrecho y Canarias, entre otras cadenas: Al-Jazeera.

Otros comsats cuyo señal se recibe en el territorio: Serie Hotbird de Eutelsat, Hispasats 1A & 1B, Intelsats 707 & 805, PanAm

>> Satélites militares

Según especialistas, los EU vienen utilizado al menos 50 satélites militares durante la invasión de Irak. Las tareas desempeñadas por estos dispositivos incluyen el reconocimiento del terreno, enlace de comunicación entre fuerzas de tierra, mar y aire, dirección de misiles y "smart bombs", detección inmediata de misiles enemigos... 24 satélites geostacionarios conforman el Global Positioning System también utilizado para fines militares.

Se estima que hay unos 8.600 satélites de diverso tipo en la órbita de la Tierra.

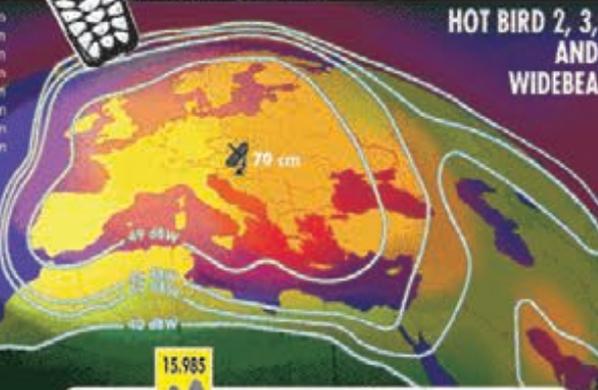
Fuente: http://fhsf.mil.mso.gov/academy/track_00/satellites/001.html and Michael Woods, Post-Gazette National Bureau

50 dBW	60cm
49 dBW	70cm
48 dBW	75cm
47 dBW	80cm
46 dBW	90cm
44 dBW	1.20m
42 dBW	1.50m
40 dBW	1.80m



Internet y la telefonía móvil han supuesto una radical transformación social del territorio: tripulantes de pateras en comunicación con tierra, campamentos de refugiados con equipos autónomos para recarga de móviles, ubicuos cibercafés, redes sociales y productivas que sobrevuelan El Estrecho...

HOT BIRD 2, 3, AND WIDEBEAM

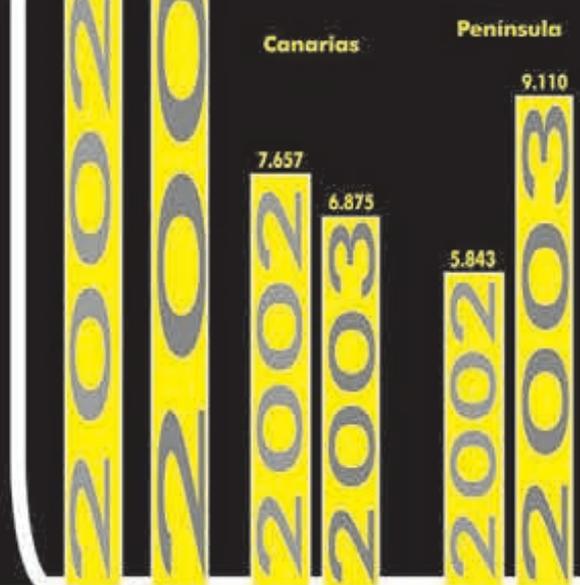
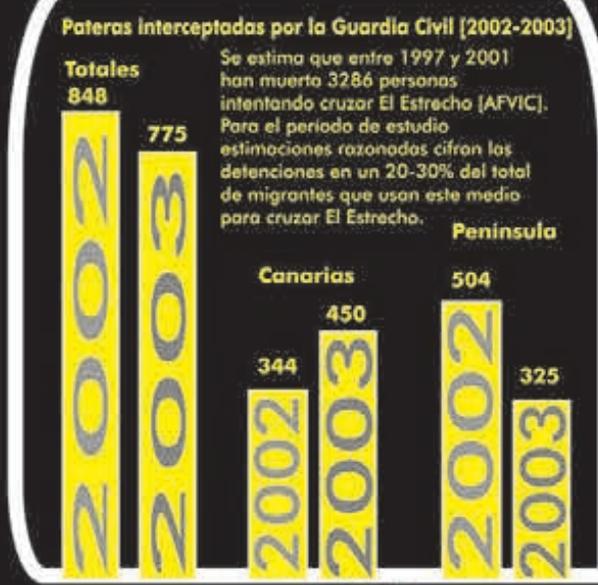


Totales

13,500

En septiembre de 2004 los +18.4% detenciones por el SIVE se habían reducido en un 17% respecto del año anterior

Migrantes interceptados por la Guardia Civil [2002-2003]



Transacciones/fadaiat

Una cartografía del territorio geopolítico del Estrecho de Gibraltar / 11.2004

La multitud contra el Imperio

Libertad del conocimiento | Libertad de movimiento

- >> militarización
- >> migraciones
- >> flujos capital / deslocalizaciones
- >> comunicación
- >> flujos de la multitud



version 1.0

Colaboradores investigación: imm cabeza de vaca, iv arāju (tarifa) colectivo aljaima (tánger)

UNIA arteypensamiento

canarias

invierno 2003
 archipiélago copyleft 10 de noviembre 2004
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 campaña contra el radar militar
 poliforma.org
 comisión Maipaso, y para la defensa del Hierro
 campaña contra el macropuerto de Granadilla
 asociación de estudios de la globalización ACEG
 27 de noviembre
 Espíritu de Vilaflor

larache

13 nov. 2003
 marcha por la libertad del pueblo saharauí
 asociación canaria de amigos del pueblo saharauí
 asociación de inmigrantes y simpatizantes por la inmigración
 plataforma :ya está bien
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 caravana de la Paz, Algerive

tánger

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tarifa

septiembre 2004
 estreno Paralelo 36
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 junio 2004 junio 2005
 DASH Workshop
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 Foro Social de Jerez
 APDHA
 ASPC
 Foro Social de Jerez

alhucemas

Red Chabaka
 centro de mujeres
 AMDH
 Forum Femmes
 verano 2005
 MarhabaTour

málaga

27 de abril de 2004
 1 de mayo de 2005
 Friends of Palestine
 ((i))málaga
 Casa de Inici
 27 sep. 2004
 ocupación de sede leiva
 Coordinadora en defensa del medio rural y litoral
 publicación multiformato otramálaga
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almería

20 de febrero 2005
 migrantes y precarios contra la Eu
 movimiento de apoyo al inmigrante
 Red Europea No border -
 agosto 2004
 ocupación de la Catedral d
 julio 2004
 ataque con pateras al For
 octubre 2004
 Foro Social europeo (Londra)
 2 de abril 2005
 día europeo contra los centros de

AFRICA

marzo 2004
 reunión de Senegal
 lista de correo (((i)))áfrica
 2004
 bridges to boundaries tour

Somos invisibles y convivimos con la crisis de las organizaciones que crean representarnos. Desde hace tiempo que los sindicatos mayoritarios optaron por acompañar y gestionar la aplicación de medidas neoliberales. Basados en su práctica corporativa y oxidados por la burocracia y la corrupción se muestran incapaces de actualizarse con las nuevas figuras del trabajo y conviven en silencio con la constante pérdida de derechos que sufrimos el conjunto de los trabajadores-as. Los partidos que antaño acompañaban los procesos de lucha y organización de los trabajadores-as han optado por sumergirse en el laberinto institucional y atravesados por conflictos de poder no han sabido ni querido escuchar las demandas sociales y se encuentran en una profunda crisis de sentido.

Somos invisibles y en embargo nos estamos rebelando. El silencio masmediático y el supuesto equilibrio social no pueden esconder la aparición de multitud de conflictos. En distintos puntos de nuestro territorio estallan procesos de organización y lucha por los derechos de los trabajadores. Los trabajadores de Astilleros combatiendo con dignidad la pérdida de puestos de trabajo, los teleoperadores abriendo espacios de organización en lucha por el convenio colectivo, los trabajadores inmigrantes reclamando derechos y papeles para todos, los joyeros tomando tierras y cortando carreteras, los becarios e investigadores en pie de guerra por unas condiciones de trabajo digno, los conductores de autobuses contra los abusos de la patronal, los trabajadores del sector público hoy subcontratados en continuo movimiento y la multitud de microconflictos laborales (juicios, demandas, movilizaciones, huelgas sectoriales o de empresa, etc.).

A su vez en estos últimos años se han consolidado experiencias de movimientos sociales que han dado voz a infinidad de conflictos, conectando los problemas locales con el movimiento global y han sacudido el escenario político y la supuesta "paz social". Desde los movimientos ecologistas hasta los Centros Sociales Autogestionados, desde los Foros Sociales hasta las luchas vecinales, desde asociaciones de mujeres hasta los encierros de inmigrantes, desde la construcción de medios de comunicación independientes hasta las redes del software libre, desde las acciones contra las deportaciones hasta las históricas movilizaciones contra la Europa del Capital y contra la Guerra Imperial. La lista podría no tener fin.

Somos invisibles y queremos dejar de serlo.

Este es un llamamiento a todas las trabajadoras que producen en este territorio sur de Europa. Somos invisibles y sin embargo. Somos l@s temporer@s que cultivamos las frutas y verduras, l@s camareros que sirven los negocios, l@s cocineras que preparan la comida, los peones y albañiles que construyen las casas, los conductores que garantizan el transporte, l@s diseñadores-as que crean los logos (webs, logos, casas, etc.), l@s asistentes que atienden los llamados, l@s atendemos los comercios, l@s que limpian las casas y edificios, las cuidadoras de los ancianos y niños, l@s artistas que crean el espectáculo, l@s investigadores, l@s maestros y profesores, los trabajadores del sexo y un

diseño: maría y pablo (gracias id por todos los comentarios)

Somos invisibles y sin embargo sufrimos en primera persona las transformaciones del trabajo. En nuestro territorio el empleo seguro y estable es una especie en extinción. Las constantes reconversiones y deslocalizaciones industriales y la aplicación de medidas neoliberales han llevado a que el 89 % de los trabajadores se sitúen en la agricultura (10,48%), la construcción (4,13%) y sobre todo en el sector servicios (64,02%). Estos sectores claves de la economía están marcados por la temporalidad, la informalidad y la ausencia de derechos laborales (incumplimiento o ausencia de convenios colectivos, jornadas interminables, bajos salarios, despidos injustificados y todo tipo de abusos en la contratación y las condiciones de trabajo). Es en este contexto donde la precariedad se vuelve hegemónica y atraviesa a cada vez más trabajadores. Una precariedad que va más allá de las condiciones laborales y se extiende al conjunto de la vida, donde el acceso a derechos tan elementales como la vivienda, la salud, la educación y la cultura se ha transformado en un ejercicio de equilibrio donde nos encontramos millones de personas.

Devenir inmaterial, devenir global del trabajo
 Una de las nuevas cualidades de la contemporaneidad que se viene caracterizando como posfordista, es la transformación del carácter del trabajo. Si en el período precedente, el trabajo industrial representaba el modelo de las relaciones productivas del sistema y se identificaba como el espacio central de lucha, actualmente hablamos de una nueva forma central de la producción, que viene denominándose producción inmaterial y -añadiríamos- global. Inmaterial y global son por tanto los dos caracteres que proponemos como definidores del nuevo trabajo.

Inmaterial
 En tanto que inmaterial, la nueva producción está caracterizada por la centralidad de la información y el conocimiento, pero también de lo afectivo y de lo relacional, formulado de otra manera, por las redes sociales, la cooperación social y la inteligencia colectiva. Hablamos de sistemas de organización, gestión de la información, comunicación, diseño, pero también de cuidados, servicios, ventas, distribución, mantenimiento, formación, turismo... No decimos que las actividades agrícolas o industriales hayan desaparecido; sin embargo, si afirmamos que el control de todos los procesos de producción y la creación de valor cada vez se sitúan más en el ámbito de lo "inmaterial".

Global
 La nueva producción está caracterizada porque la riqueza -igual que la explotación- se produce indisolublemente ligada a las redes y los flujos de personas, sistemas de organización, comunicaciones y transporte que trascienden los ámbitos locales y nacionales en los cuales, antes, podíamos situar las relaciones de producción y la vida social en su conjunto. Much@s creemos que esta evolución de la forma del trabajo y la producción, no es el resultado exclusivo y unívoco de la sofisticación de los sistemas de explotación impulsados unilateralmente por "el Poder", sino que lo es del conflicto entre el deseo de la multitud, que desborda sin cesar el sistema -luchas políticas y sociales, migración y éxodo, creatividad, cooperación...- y los esfuerzos de captura de este desbordamiento por parte de los poderes hegemónicos: el capitalismo y sus instituciones, que tienen así que devenir globales. Creemos además que estas nuevas formas de producción, que se basan en la cooperación social y el conocimiento o inteligencia colectivos - que caracterizan las redes - encarnan nuevos potenciales emancipatorios, liberadores... revolucionarios en fin.

Multitud y trabajo
 Si la multitud es el conjunto de los muchos y diversos cuyo trabajo es explotado por el capitalismo, construir la multitud deberá pasar por la reapropiación y el control de nuestro propio trabajo.

En primer lugar por la reapropiación del conocimiento que constituye el núcleo de las nuevas formas de producción, desde las formas de organización en red, a las herramientas de gestión de la información y la producción. El modelo del software libre, basado en la cooperación social y la propiedad comunitaria, constituye uno de los referentes básicos para pensar otras formas de producir en el contexto contemporáneo. A esta reapropiación de los medios de producción es a lo que denominamos devenir ciborg de la multitud.

En segundo lugar, si la producción se realiza globalmente, en redes distribuidas por encima y más allá de las fronteras, la reapropiación del trabajo y sus frutos por parte de l@s trabajador@s deberá significar que l@s trabajador@s tengan la libertad de moverse, como lo hace el capital, para tener igualdad de acceso a las oportunidades y los bienes de la producción globalizada. Si la captura del conocimiento colectivo y el control de la movilidad -fronteras, visados, etc.- son dos de los principales modos de captura de la riqueza social llevados a cabo por el capitalismo posmoderno, construir la libertad del conocimiento y la libertad de movimiento serán condiciones necesarias para la emancipación de la multitud en un mundo informacional y globalizado. Siendo todos nosotr@s, en mayor o menor medida, trabajadores globales e inmateriales, las dos libertades se confunden en una, que viene a ser la libertad y el derecho a vivir una vida plena.

Delante de la gestión fragmentadora y selectiva que el sistema capitalista pretende imponer sobre conocimiento y movilidad, busquemos el común y construyamos una batalla de mil frentes agenciados para hacer de todos los medios y los frutos de la producción en red, del trabajo de todos.

¡Para todos todo!

**Indymedia estrecho / madiaq:
 Desobedecer la frontera para construir un territorio otro**
<http://estrecho.indymedia.org>

Indymedia estrecho / madiaq nació en el año 2003 como parte de la red global indymedia. Nos proponemos participar en los procesos emergentes que están dando lugar a la construcción de un territorio otro, de confines difusos, tejido por la cooperación desde abajo que protagonizan los movimientos que en su día a día ponen en jaque las formas de dominio existentes.

Un territorio otro, experimental, multicultultural, políticamente diverso, a la vez que tremendamente común. Un territorio a inventar, transnacional, transcultural, digno de la exigencia y el deseo de la resistencia de nuestra época al capitalismo global.

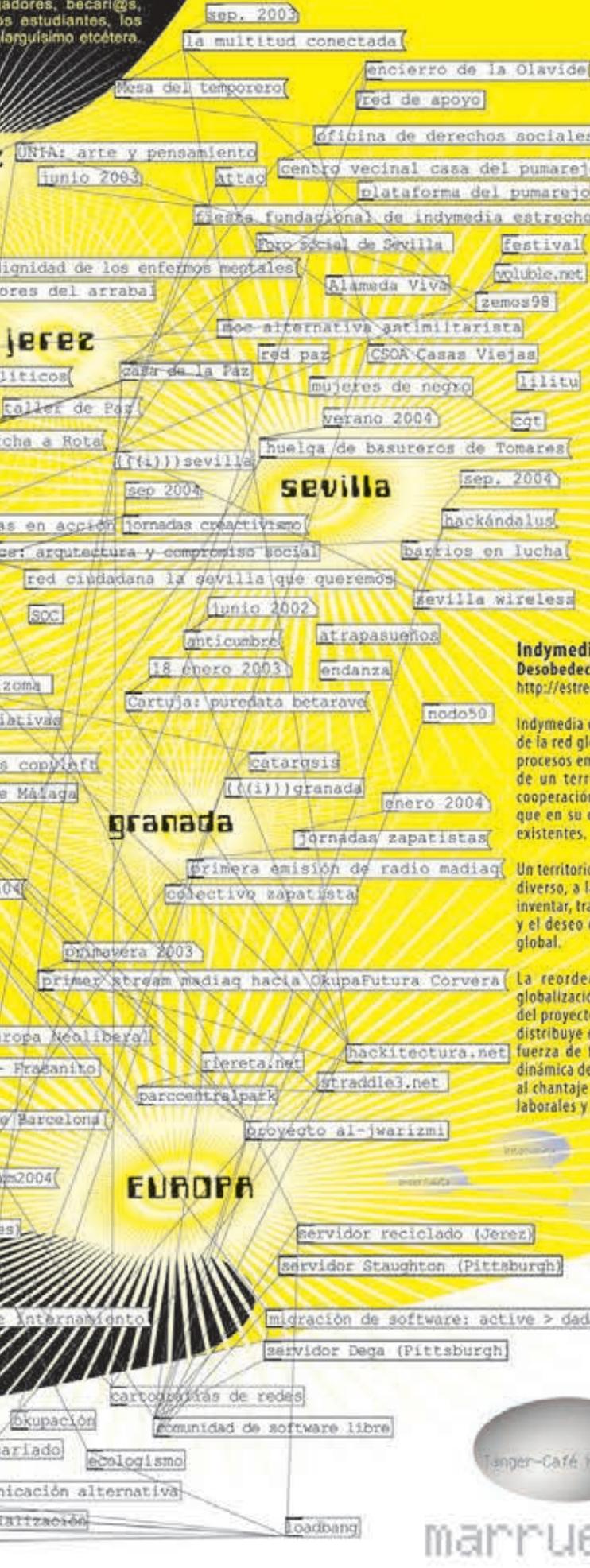
La reordenación geoestratégica que lleva a cabo la globalización neoliberal sitúa El Estrecho como enclave crítico del proyecto imperial. Esta frontera sur que cierra, controla y distribuye el acceso a la Europa Fortaleza que se nutre de la fuerza de trabajo multinacional migrante y le impone la dinámica de sometimiento con el control cotidiano, la sumisión al chantaje de los papeles, la indefensión total en cuestiones laborales y derechos fundamentales, etc.

Una frontera constituida que hace uso de los más sofisticados sistemas de información, control y seguridad europeos (SIS) y que, sin embargo, cada año, es desafiada y atravesada por miles de migrantes que ejercen su derecho de fuga, creando salidas en busca de dignidad.

¡Una frontera digna de desobedecer!

Situándonos sobre la frontera, el proyecto indymedia estrecho surge de la necesidad de construir un espacio comunicativo, un espacio de encuentro y contagio entre realidades diferentes del movimiento de movimientos que empiezan a conocerse y a trabajar juntas. Crear un espacio donde hackear la frontera cultural, política y económica que mantiene separadas, incomunicadas a las nuevas figuras de conflicto y producción de un mundo otro, que surgen tanto en Andalucía-Frontera Sur de Europa como en toda la zona del Magreb... y más allá.

Pensamos el proyecto como una máquina-ciborg político comunicativa para atravesar la frontera, con la que trazar puentes entre las orillas construidos desde la cooperación y la democracia de base; un ejercicio de antropología política, de mutua diplomacia desde abajo que de lugar a sinergias entre las realidades rebeldes de las dos orillas, la multiplicidad de singularidades que constituyen las redes de producción biopolítica en las que se entrelazan migrantes, precarias y cognitarios del territorio madiaq.



libertad de movimiento libertad de conocimiento



Solide



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PREFECTURE

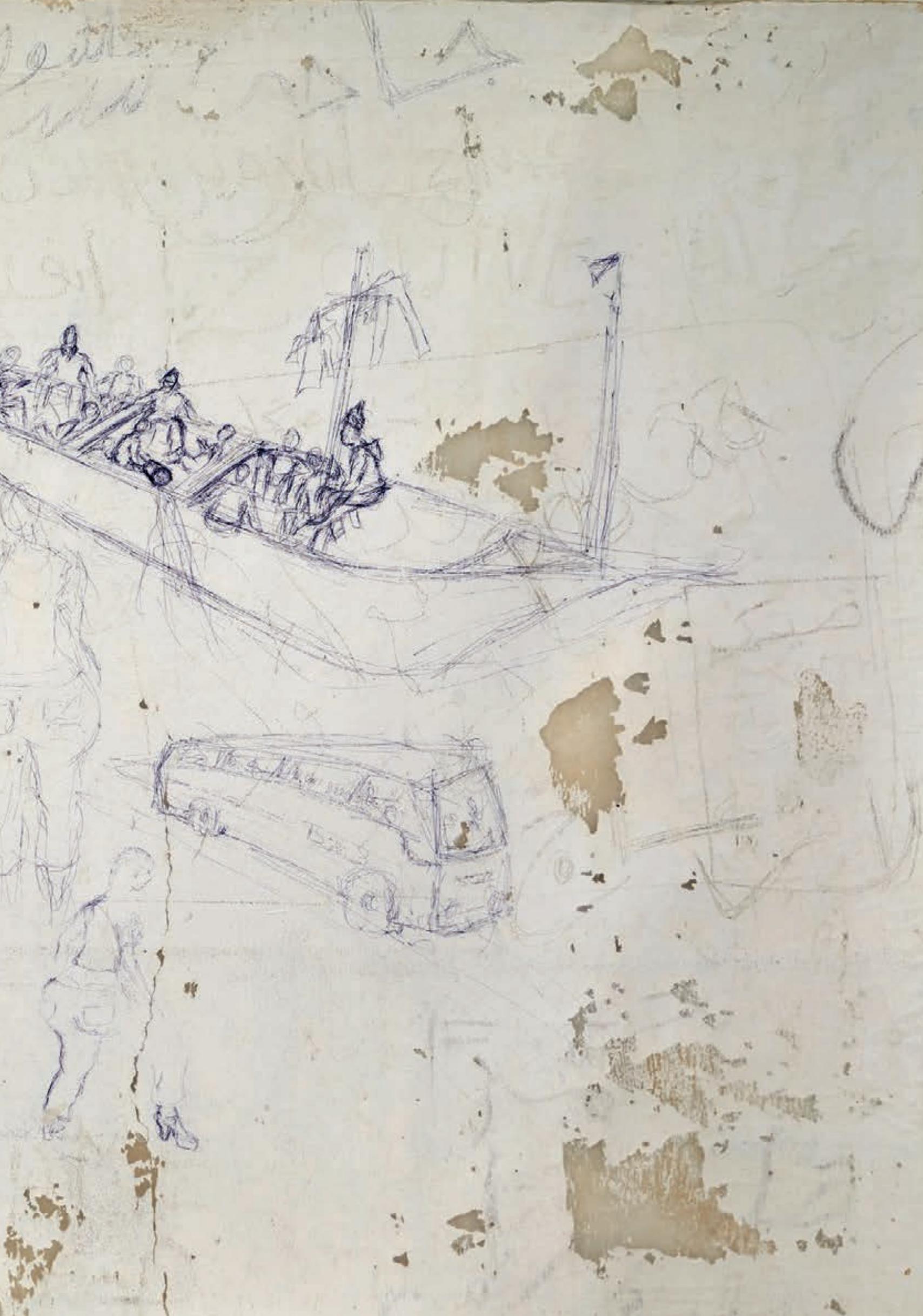
KOUNDAR BONNE chance a tout les CLANDISTIN.

ET BONNE HEUREUSE ANNEE 2007



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ESS





Instrucciones de uso:

Este desplegable contiene un conjunto de círculos con **conejitos** de luchas activadas en diversos espacios colectivos. Están acompañados por **escenas gráficas y preguntas** que funcionan como puntos de partida para dinamizar encuentros desde la memoria, reflexionar acerca de la situación actual o diseñar estrategias de futuro.

¿Cómo puedes utilizarlo? Hay muchas maneras y depende de las ideas que te animen. Sugérenos la siguiente: **elige dos o tres consignas** —de acuerdo al tema que quieras trabajar, con quienes lo harás y el tiempo del cual dispongas— y **retoma las «escenas-preguntas» que encuentres más cerca**. Estos recursos servirán como una plataforma desde la cual iniciar un diálogo, visibilizar diversas situaciones o potenciar una ronda de conversación entre las participantes.

Sobre el panel puedes escribir, realizar conexiones, colorear las imágenes o **dejarle llevar** por las ideas que voyan surgiendo, en respuesta a los objetivos que le traste. Tienes también una **línea de tiempo** que muestra un recorrido a través de diversas memorias de lucha, un hito esencial con el que elaborar relatos sobre los procesos de transformación y confluencia política en Lavapiés y que también puede ser completado.

Al finalizar la dinámica puedes **señalar con las pegatinas los lugares y las experiencias** sobre las que has conversado en el mapa del reverso.

Este impreso se generó a partir del taller: **Co-cuidándonos. Una cartografía colectiva de redes y prácticas en Lavapiés**, organizado por Museo Situado y el Departamento de Actividades Públicas del Museo y dinamizado por iconoclastas. La información incluida surge de la participación en el taller de vecinas, investigadoras, trabajadoras, artistas y activistas del barrio de Lavapiés, durante los meses de junio y julio de 2020.

El material resultante no pretende dar una visión cerrada o terminada; constituye una plataforma gráfica que sistematiza la investigación colaborativa durante el taller, y anima a retomarla, intervenirla, ampliarla o consignarla, con el objetivo de crear miradas críticas sobre un Lavapiés en constante transformación.

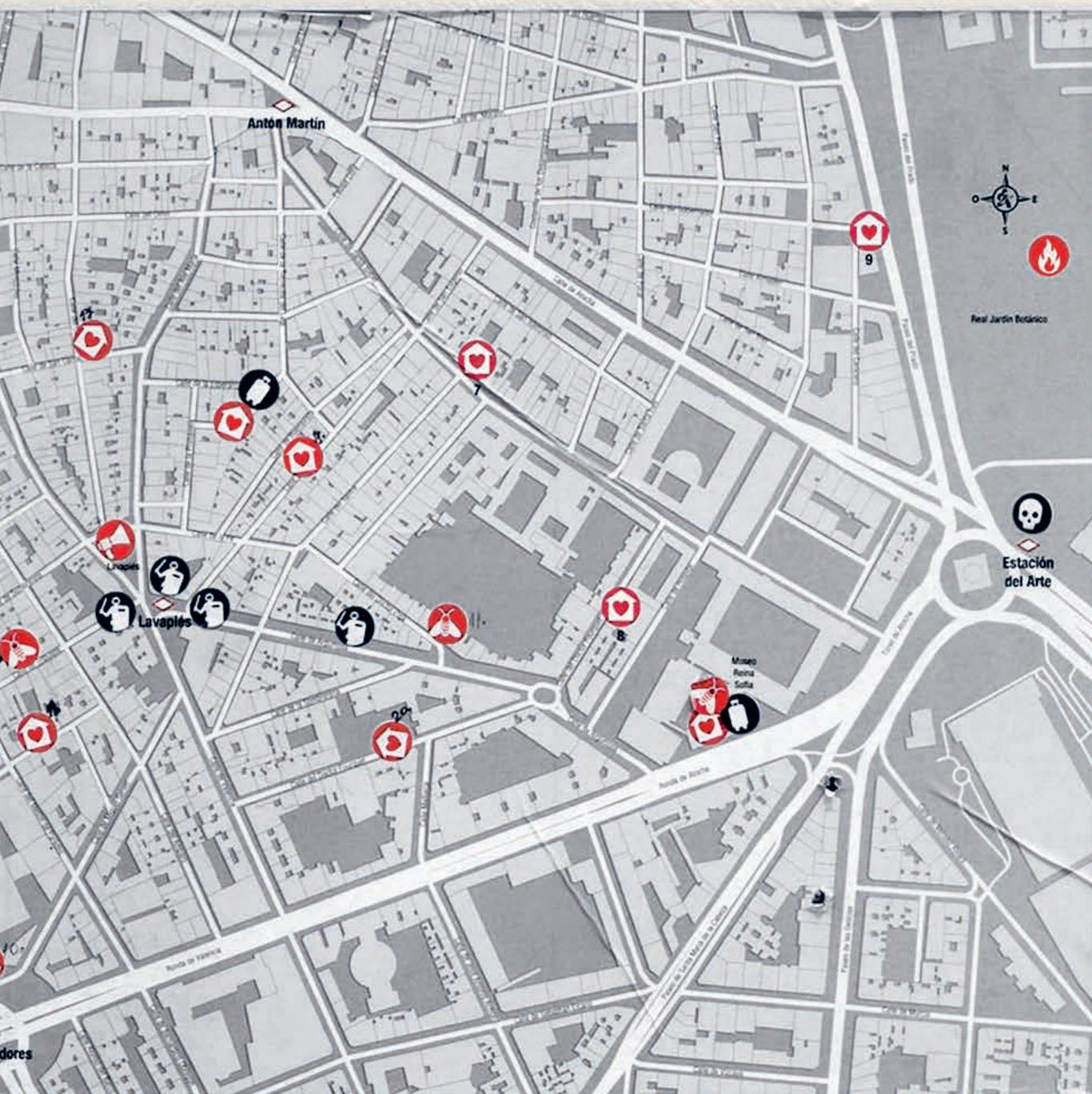
A quienes dinamizan sus actividades mediante este kit, les proponemos que nos envíen fotografías de los resultados a iconoclastas@gmail.com. Este material puede constituir un punto de partida para realizar una investigación más completa de cara al futuro.



1. Traficantes de Suellos. Editorial - librería - cooperativa, c/ Duque de Alba, 13. y *Levante de octubre*
2. Local anarquista Magdalena. Centro Social - archivo - biblioteca, c/ Dos Hermanas, 11
3. CS/OA La Quimera. Centro social recuperado autogestionado (hasta 2019). Plaza Cabesterros
4. La Carica. Centro social ocupado autogestionado (hasta 2018). c/ Huerta del Bayo, 2
5. Eskalera Karrikola - Casa pública transfeminista. Centro social ocupado autogestionado. c/ Embajadores, 52
6. SuperCoop. Cooperativa de consumo. c/ Embajadores, 41
7. CSOA Casablanca. Centro social ocupado autogestionado (desalojado en 2012). c/ Santa Isabel, 23
8. Cruz. Asociación - espacio cultural. c/ Dr. Fourquet, 5
9. La Ingobernable. Centro social ocupado autogestionado (desalojado en 2019). c/ del Gobernador y Paseo del Prado
10. Tabacalera
11. Red Solidaria de Acogida
12. Fundación 26 de diciembre
13. Lugardante murió Marie Mbaye
14. Dragones de Lavapiés
15. El museo paina sofía
16. Mado Moy Dole
17. Bodega Lo Máximo
18. Teatro del Barrio
19. Valiente Bangla
20. Esto es una plaza
21. HOLA Vecinas!
22. Homenaje a Marie Mbaye al Ayuntamiento Madrid
23. Convocatoria del 8M/2021
24. De nuevo Argamasa 11 *
25. Intervención permanente a plaza Argamasa

26. Frotolera Ayotemepa en «SECUENCIA DE IMPRESIONES» CALLE SANTO CIUDAD N.º 2 METROEMBALADORES - HASTA 20/6/22 PROTECCION DE VIDEOS.
27. ASAMBLA ESPACIO ENCUENTRO FEMINISTA
28. RED INTERLAVAPIÉS
- 27.3. Comisión de Seguimiento Colombia
29. Café de la calle de Colombia
30. IGLESIA PATÓLICA
31. BARRIOLECTIVO (20)

Referencia las señalizaciones del mapa sobre los renglones dispuestos para tal fin (puedes tomar el ejemplo de los lugares ya marcados).



Leyenda

-  Centros sociales y culturales, casas de acogida, casas okupas, etc.
-  Acciones, huelgas, recuperaciones, ocupaciones, enfrentamientos, etc.
-  Cooperativas, organizaciones, sindicatos, colectivos, etc.
-  Manifestaciones, movilizaciones, performances, etc.
-  Redes de cuidados y autocuidados, acompañamiento, salud pública, etc.
-  Racismo institucional, violencia policial, redadas, desahucios, etc.
-  Xenofobia, atentados racistas, acciones de odio, amenazas, etc.
-  Especulación inmobiliaria, gentrificación, turistificación, etc.

Estas señalizaciones son sugerencias para empezar a trabajar, se pueden crear iconos (para ello hay pegatinas en blanco), marcar con colores, dibujar, rayar zonas, etc.; siempre referenciando la señalización debajo del mapa.

A manera de orientación

Este mapa está disponible para ser utilizado e intervenido a partir de las dinámicas propuestas en el reverso del desplegable, o a partir de nuevos planteamientos surgidos en la organización de un espacio de reflexión colectiva.

Para empezar a mapear, puedes realizar un resumen de los principales hitos que surgieron en el panel y señalizarnos en el mapa.

Necesitas rotuladores de colores y lápiz, y montar un espacio de trabajo junto con otras personas. Cuenta con una plancha de pegatinas-íconos que sugieren algunas categorías a señalizar (en el apartado "Leyenda"). Puedes dibujar otros iconos o ajustar las categorías previstas.

Recuerda que el mapa es un medio para comunicar de manera más clara situaciones que acontecen en un territorio. Por ello recomendamos colocar las pegatinas-íconos en el sitio señalado, luego colocarles un número o dibujar una línea hacia la franja de renglones que se encuentra debajo, y finalmente escribir en esa zona algunas palabras que amplíen la información o puntualicen alguna situación concreta.

Ten en cuenta que si dispones de varios ejemplares puedes generar numerosos mapas, abordar variadas temáticas y trabajar con diversos participantes.

dores

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**MAPEO
COLECTIVO D
LAVAPIÉS**

KIT PARA SEÑALIZAR,
157 PROBLEMÁTICAS SOCIALES,
157 ALTERNATIVAS LIBERADORAS
Y 157 MEMORIAS D 157 LUCHAS
SOCIALES D BARRIO



MINDA IS DANGEROUS

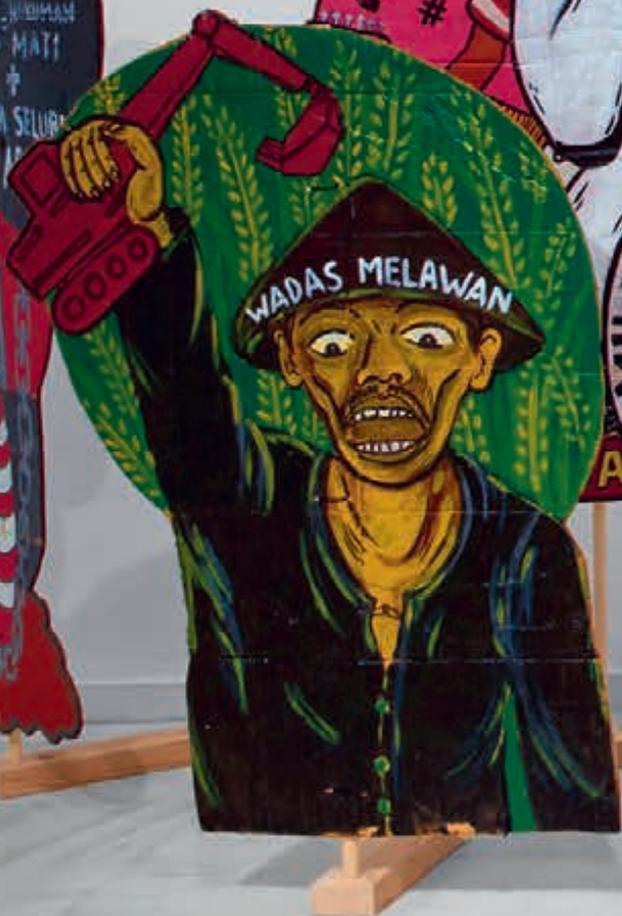
ADILI
PENJAHAT
LINGKUNGAN

KRISIS IKLIM
BO

OLIGAR

BARISAN
TANI - MATI
DILUMBUNG PADI









The *Dengbêjs* of the Shengal mountains, like gallant knights / the suffering of the Yazidis,
their feelings and love stories / The *Dengbêj* became a way to fight that authority.



They imprisoned Zainab and me! My hands, they tied them behind my back /
"Your son, Lavinj, has entered the temple of Lalish Nurani".



LEGALIZE IT

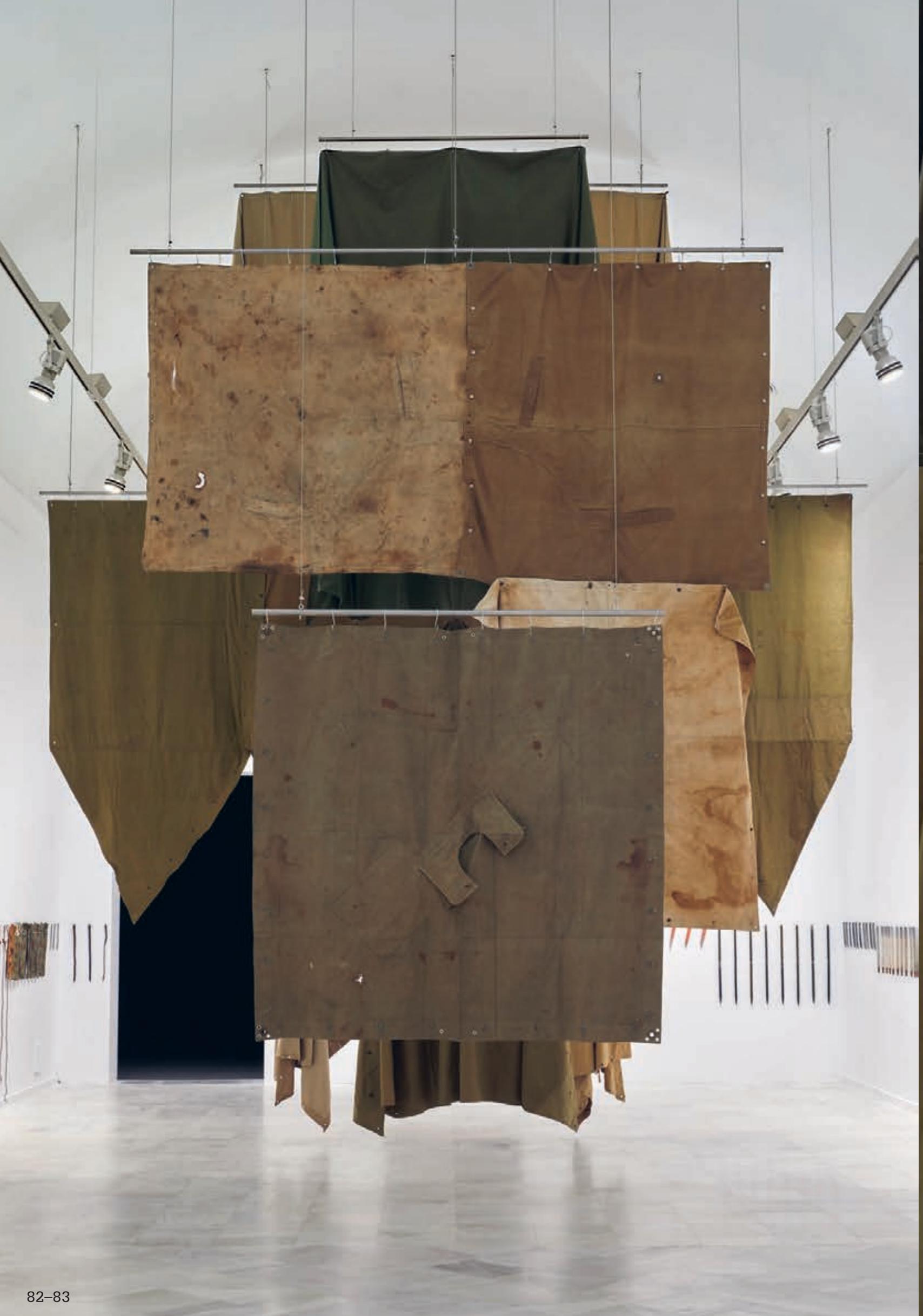


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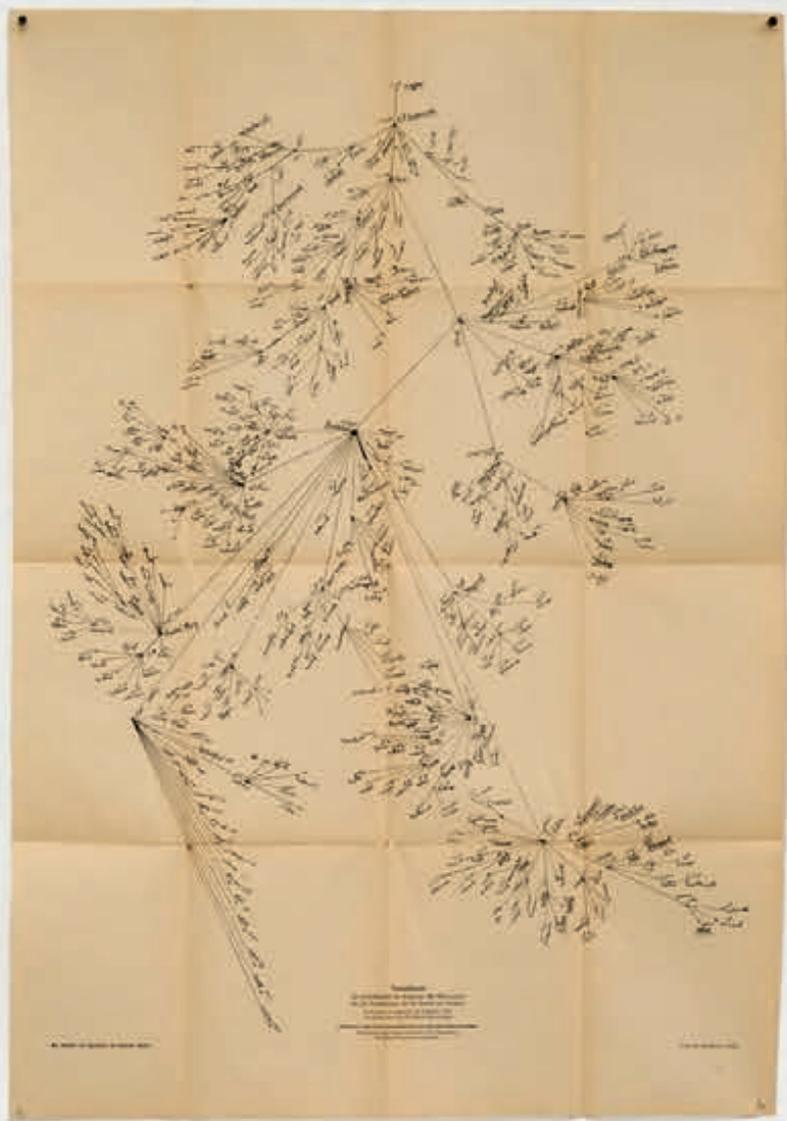
MAYOR JAMES J. MANNING











Schizo Machines

Geopsychiatry is one of the names given to the institutional psychotherapy developed by Agnès Masson, Lucien Bonnafé, and Tosquelles at the Psychiatric Hospital of Saint-Alban-sur-Limagnole from the 1930s to the 1960s. Located in the French département of Lozère, the installations had a series of limitations that successive directors managed to transform into opportunities for investigation inside and outside the precinct, understanding their work as a migratory labor in a territory that was expanding toward a human geography.⁴⁰ An element of migration also appears in the foundational narrative of the clinic La Borde, when the psychiatrist Jean Oury and some thirty patients wandered for two weeks until they found the required conditions in Cour-Cheverny. Underlying both initiatives is a certain nomadic, machinic sense in the approach taken to organization: one-directional transference between analyst and analysand, between doctor and patient, becomes vehicular by being inserted in group relations with constant exchanges, making the supposed patients into new analysts in their turn. The material aspects of life in common are resolved by committees made up of both carers and hospitalized persons, whose roles are periodically rotated so that they do not stagnate in closed structures.⁴¹

Guattari visited the hospital of Saint-Alban in 1956 and 1957, collaborated with Tosquelles on various initiatives, and practiced for several years with Oury at La Borde, where he actively tried to overcome some of the contradictions of psychoanalysis. Thanks to the invention of the analytical apparatus, the Freudian-Lacanian model marked an indubitable enrichment in the production of subjectivity, a broadening of its referential constellations, and a new pragmatic opening. However, psychoanalysis soon found limits in its familistic and universalizing concepts, in its stereotyped practice of interpretation, and above all in its difficulty in expanding beyond linguistic semiology. By contrast, departing from the primeval tension between structure and machine, capitalism and schizophrenia, the “schizoanalytic metamodelization”—or schizoanalysis—proposed by Guattari did not try to simplify the complex but to work toward its complication, its processual enrichment, the acquisition of consistency by virtual lines of differentiation. It does not lapse into a conscious-unconscious dualism but favors a machinic unconscious that superimposes multiple strata of subjectivities and is more inclined toward present praxes than regressions into the past. Nor does it remain in the model of neurosis to work from the representativity of structures and language but instead bases itself on the model of psychosis to concentrate on the productivity of abstract machines.⁴² The consequences and debates provoked by this approach are ample and still continue today. *The Deviant Majority: From Basaglia to Brazil* (2010, pp. 90–91), a documentary by the artist Dora García, compiles certain aspects of the Guattarian ethico-aesthetic paradigm and pits them against the proposals of the anti-psychiatry practiced by Franco Basaglia. By filming workshops and interviews with members of the Accademia della Follia (Academy of Madness) at the psychiatric hospital of Trieste, the German group Sozialistisches Patientenkollektiv (Socialist Collective of Patients), and the Centro de Teatro do Oprimido (Theater Center of the Oppressed) in Rio de Janeiro, García points to art’s potential to question certain social conventions that limit our reality.⁴³ Artistic, theatrical, editorial, or cinematographic experiments play a crucial role in the dynamization of social ties and the creation of spaces of subjectivation.

Schizoanalysis also involves the invention of a whole terminology able to bring consistency to new fields of the possible: machine rather than drive, flux rather than libido, existential territory rather than instances of the self or of transference, incorporeal universes rather than unconscious complexes and sublimation, chaomic entities rather than infrastructure and superstructure.⁴⁴

42 / Félix Guattari, “Schizoanalytic Metamodelization,” in *Chaosmosis*, 58–76. See also Anne Querrien, “L’inconscient machinique,” previously unpublished text produced within the framework of the *machinations* project.

43 / See Félix Guattari and Suely Rolnik, *Micropolitics: Cartographies of Desire* (Petrópolis, Brazil: Vozes, 1996).

44 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 126.

The case of the Catalan artist Albert Porta, known first as Zush and later as Evra, is here of special interest for exploring the concomitances of the war machine with the schizo machine. In 1968, while interned in the Phrenopathic Institute of Barcelona, a companion diagnosed with schizophrenia suddenly shouted at him, “Zush.” From then on, Porta assumed the name of Zush as his own and founded the Evrugo Mental State (pp. 94–95), a territory both real and imaginary that he describes himself as a parody of the concept of the state. Its main industry is ironic armament, weapons that kill with pleasure and hilarity; its patrimony consists of ideas; and its strategy is creative self-healing. For this mental-physical-artistic-scientific-mystic space that he inhabited, Zush invented a flag, an anthem, a currency, a passport, a map, a system of diplomatic relations, and even a language with its own alphabet. All this paraphernalia of state iconography is exhibited alongside the *Casa Buja* (1995/2000, pp. 92–93), a white cube, adapted to the size of his body, its inner faces covered with profuse drawings. Within the white cube of the museum, the work imbricates certain traditional forms of institutionality in its turn. In 2001, Porta changed his name from Zush to Evru, somehow transforming that multidimensional fiction into a vector of radical singularization.

In a similar vein, the Peruvian artist Fernando Gutiérrez, known as Huanchaco, explores the cosmology of the minority religion Alfa y Omega, founded by his compatriot Antonio Córdova Quezada and based on the more than four thousand scrolls of writings and drawings that were telepathically revealed to the Chilean messiah Luis Soto Romero in the 1970s. After coming into contact with this community, Huanchaco investigated the disruptive philosophy proposed by those manuscripts, described as “celestial communism with a child’s thinking,” and obtained permission to copy some of the scrolls. The result, *Manual para hablar con Dios* (Manual for speaking to God, 2018, pp. 7, 96–97), is a reinterpretation of fifty sheets from this apocryphal Latin American bible typed and drawn on white paper. In turn, on the basis of this copy, Huanchaco created sound scores with a modern version of the Soviet ANS synthesizer for broadcast to outer space as radio waves so as to reestablish contact with the Solar Father. This “rhizomusicological” concert, performed in collaboration with the Chilean experimental electronic music group Vlubä, took place on August 22, 2016, in the Chilca Desert, a supposedly privileged place for extraterrestrial contact near Lima, and was recorded in the video *Transmisión de rollos telepáticos* (Transmission of telepathic reels, 2018).⁴⁵

The glossolalia of Zush/Evru, never fully official, and the successive transcodings of the divine word by Huanchaco define features common to the works presented around the *Schizo Machines* axis. At stake in these works is more than just being a foreigner in one’s own language, as with the Adéagbo, Mroué, and Rojava Film Commune works included in the exhibition; instead, the works by Zush/Evru and Huanchaco avoid logocentrism to explore other modes of communication. The schizoanalytic approach still regards the word as an essential medium given its nature as a support for existential ritornellos, but it also implies such features as physiognomy, posture, spatial formation, rhythm, machinic sign production—in short, everything that short-circuits signifying chains.⁴⁶ British artist Gee Vaucher’s contribution to *machinations* uses multiple media to stage this rupture in habitual normative communication. The series of portraits *Children Who Have Seen Too Much Too Soon* (2006–2007, pp. 98–101), together with the videos *Angel* (2012) and *Silence* (2020), suggests a limit to the expressible through the white wall/black hole system of the face.⁴⁷ Her book *Lost* (2018, pp. 187–91) compiles thousands of drawings of stick figures representing the victims of the First World War.

In the Protocol Room of the Sabatini Building, the Galician artist Loreto Martínez Troncoso presents a multiphonic installation with the title *Poemarios garabato* (Scrawl poems, 2023, pp. 102–3). Drawing on the slogan “conspiring means breathing together”—which was defended by Radio Alice and its circle in the 1970s, included by Guattari in his script *Projet de film au sujet*

45 / Ronald Bogue, “Rhizomusicology,” *SubStance* 20, no. 3, issue 66 (1991): 85–101.

46 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 128.

47 / Deleuze and Guattari, “Year Zero—Faciality,” in *A Thousand Plateaus*, 167–91. See also Guattari, *Molecular Revolution*, 154–62.

des radios libres (Project for a film on the subject of free radios, ca. 1977), and updated after the COVID-19 pandemic⁴⁸—Martínez Troncoso proposed a “chaosmic” listening space where sound is transformed into noise and vice versa in response to the movements and proximity of museum visitors. In the center of the room is a large, half-open packing crate from which wires escape like tentacles or ivy, covering part of the architecture until manipulated loudspeakers are activated to search for new possible sound and color patterns. Like a newly set up clandestine radio station, the waves convene a multiplicity of psychophonies, stammers, ventriloquies, mental and emotional voices that form the memory of the building as a hospital converted into a museum, as well as the reverberations of past exhibitions, talks, or performances. On some of the walls, another type of echo or interference is generated by several schizocartographies drawn in charcoal that refer to the particular scream of a child diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder or to the general need to react to something that affects us. The result is a living sound sculpture, the collective breathing of a body without organs that tests the limits of audibility and intelligibility to explore the paths of an asignifying semiology.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, savage formations are oral and vocal, but not because they lack a graphic system. A dance on the earth, a drawing on a wall, a mark on the body is a graphic system, a geographism, a geography. These formations are oral precisely because they have a graphic system independent from the voice that is neither adjusted nor subordinated to it and because they are coordinated in a radiant and multidimensional organization.⁴⁹ In the comic *Esquizoide* (Schizoid, 1978, pp. 104–5) by the Galician artist Antón Patiño, several drawings of human heads are superimposed with practically illegible words. Both point up or down or to the left or right, multiplied in a sea of dispersed particles. In the first part, the thick black lines that delimit the frames start to fracture and open up to heterogeneity. In the second, the divisions vanish in favor of a plan of anarchic consistency, with no sequentiality, where speech balloons proliferate, but with stripes rather than words: image-constellation, root-signs, weightless map.⁵⁰ In the performance *Corbeaux* (Crows, 2017, pp. 106–7) by the Moroccan choreographer Bouchra Ouizguen, a group of women wearing traditional headscarves use their bodies as instruments to create a living sculpture that combines dramatic silences, violent gestures, and rhythmic cries similar to caws, while also incorporating various crow-like movements. Inspired both by the interest of ninth-to-twelfth-century Persian literature in the wisdom of the demented and by the Isawa and Hmadcha rituals of Marrakech, the piece gathers collective moments of trance and transformation. A video of the performance filmed in a desert landscape uses partial shots to emphasize that this is not a mass acting in unison according to a uniform pattern but a band with multiple focalizations, or rather a flock in the process of emerging.⁵¹ Meanwhile, in the video *Between the Waves* (2012, pp. 108–11) by the indie artist Tejal Shah, made up of five simultaneous audiovisual channels, some characters appear to communicate among themselves through the gleams of the baubles they wear and a utensil in the shape of a half-moon that reflects the sunlight. Others communicate by means of a choreography performed among the scrap metal and discarded plastic of a garbage dump on the outskirts of a megalopolis. Confronted with this ecologically dystopian landscape, they use various body parts, including unicorn-horn prostheses, to engage in sexual relations with one another and establish links with nonhuman elements in the surrounding area, blurring the lines between genders and species from a post-porn perspective. The works of these three artists mobilize machinic orality in various ways to extract intensive, atemporal, aspatial dimensions capable of engendering radically mutant forms of subjectivity.

In this way, becoming as constant mutation and assemblage is converted into a fundamental operation in the thought of Deleuze and Guattari: becoming-intense, becoming-animal, becoming-imperceptible. These assemblages are fundamentally libidinal and unconscious: they are composed, decomposed, and recomposed without a molar unity to give them form, since

48 / See Franco “Bifo” Berardi, *Respirare: Caos y poesía* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2020).

49 / Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 188. See also Félix Guattari, “Machinic Orality and Virtual Ecology,” *Chaosmosis*, 88–97.

50 / See Antón Patiño, *Caosmos: Encrucijada y espacio simbólico* (Madrid: Roberto Ferrer, 2007).

51 / Deleuze and Guattari, “1914: One or Several Wolves?,” in *A Thousand Plateaus*, 26–38.

becomings are always produced at the molecular level. Every multiplicity is synaptic and symbiotic, and its becoming brings together animals, vegetables, microorganisms, mad particles, a whole galaxy. The denaturalized and robotic voice that speaks in the video *The Neon Hieroglyph* (2021, pp. 112–13) by the British artist Tai Shani seems to point in this direction when it appeals to green atoms that are transformed into green electrons and then into green protons, neutrons, and quarks that lead into an eternally horizontal, porous, and communicative green communism. Through rye ergot, a parasitic fungus that contains lysergic acid, Shani connects nine stories from different times and places to propose a feminist revision of psychedelia. Before the systematic synthesis of LSD, it was generally consumed accidentally in group contaminations, unlike other substances traditionally associated with premeditated, individual, and masculinized experiences. From this post-patriarchal fiction, the collective hallucinations of ergot modify the sensory coordinates and allow access to a universe of microperceptions from which to imagine other futures. A drugged body, like a hypochondriac, paranoiac, schizophrenic, or masochistic body, departs from corporality to arrive at its edge, to undo the body, which is no more than a set of valves, chambers, locks, recipients, or communicating vessels. A body without organs not because it renounces them but because it opposes their organization by forming an organism.⁵² This is what occurs in the large-format drawings of the Argentine artist Florencia Rodríguez Giles belonging to the series *Biodélica* (2018, pp. 114–15). Observable in them is a posthuman orgy in which, in Guattarian terms, multiple sexual couplings and pleasurable fusions take place. In almost hyperrealist detail, the selected diptych presents an exuberant chaos of torsos, legs, hands, tongues, vulvas, fins, skins, eyes, hairs, claws, muscles, plaits, and masks: human, animal, or simply unclassifiable fragments that mutually explore their anomalies and give themselves over to the creation of an infinitely diverse world by means of the connection of desires, the conjunction of fluxes, and the continuum of intensities.

52 / Deleuze and Guattari, "November 28, 1947: How Do You Make Yourself a Body without Organs?" *A Thousand Plateaus*, 149–66.

- 90–91: Dora García
 92–95: Zush/Evru (Albert Porta)
 96–97: Huanchaco
 98–101: Gee Vaucher
 102–3: Loreto Martínez Troncoso
 104–5: Antón Patiño
 106–7: Bouchra Ouizguen
 108–11: Tejal Shah
 112–13: Tai Shani
 114–15: Florencia Rodríguez Giles



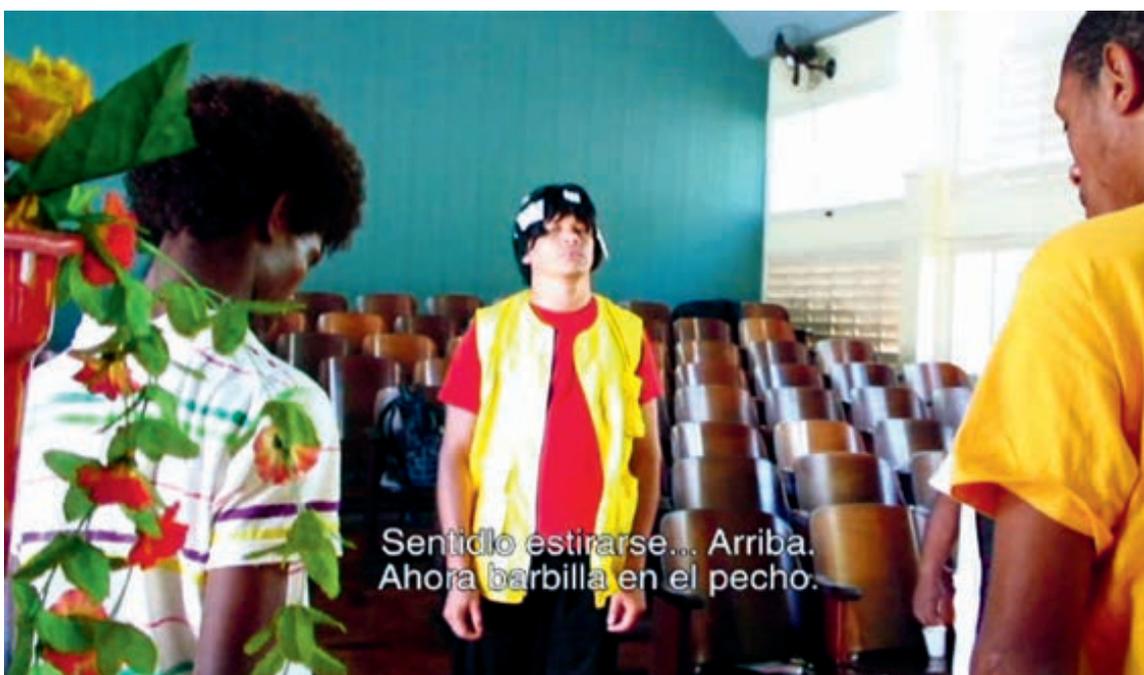
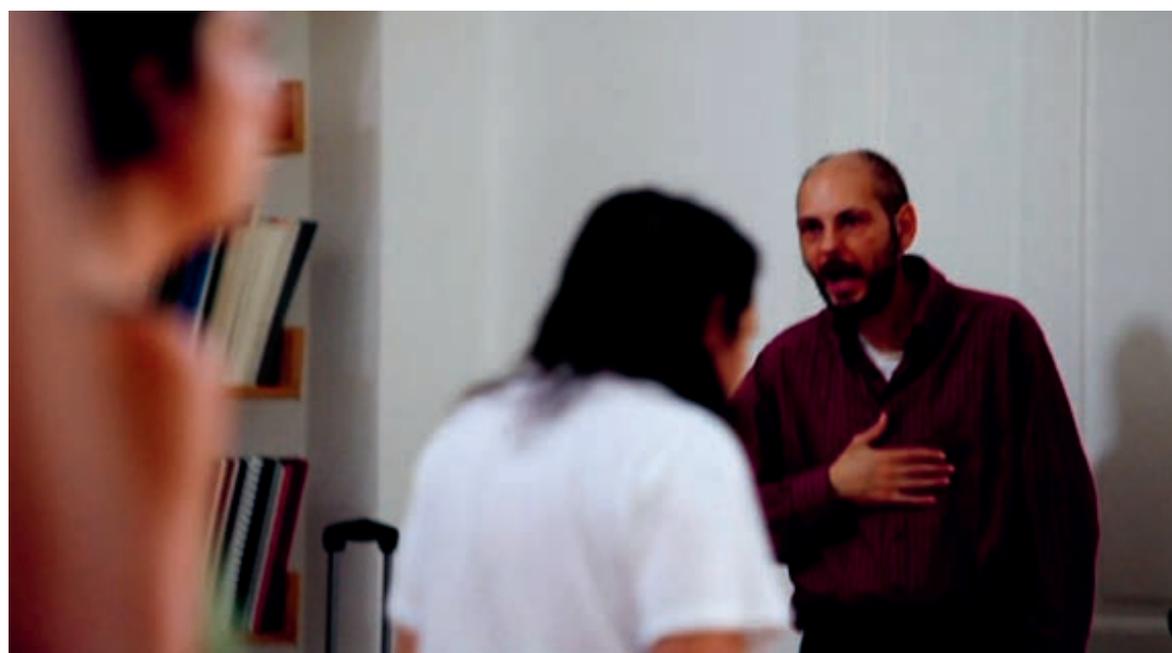
Tiene diversos intereses.



Pero lo importante es la práctica
de *ethica-esthetica*.



El movimiento de anti-psiquiatría
en Brazil fue inspirado por Basaglia.

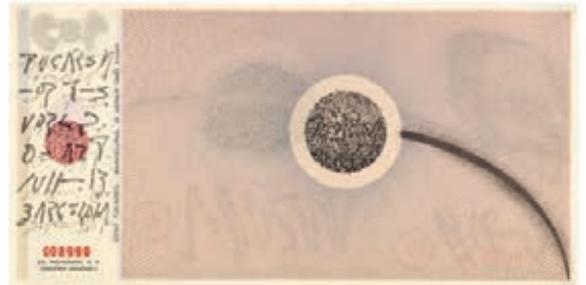


She has several interests. / But this was the practice of *ethica-esthetica*. / The anti-psychiatry movement in Brazil was inspired by Basaglia. / Guattari, come to take electroshock *chez nous*. / Feel it stretching... Look up. Now chin to the chest.









TOGHITHEST ZAT VITULA VUL TEDRED
MINURA BLICK GEBUCK - ERNICDAS

DIPRIDE ZAT TACURA VUL DOTRIB
WASHIRA BLICK GLERIB - NETRUNA.

ODIRAM ZUSH ZOENI EROMULSTA
EROFU SKEDRA OS-EVRUGO

TOGHITHEST ZAT VITULA VUL TEDRED
MINURA BLICK GEBUCK - ERNICDAS

DIPRIDE ZAT TACURA VUL DOTRIB
WASHIRA BLICK GLERIB - NETRUNA

ODIRAM ZUSH ZOENI EROMULSTA
EROFU SKEDRA OS - EVRUGO

TOGHITHEST ZAT VITULA VUL TEDRED
MINURA BLICK GEBUCK - ERNICDAS

DIPRIDE ZAT TACURA VUL DOTRIB
WASHIRA BLICK GLERIB - NETRUNA

ODIRAM ZUSH ZOENI EROMULSTA
EROFU SKEDRA OS - EVRUGO

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MINURA BLICK GEBUCK - ERNICDAS

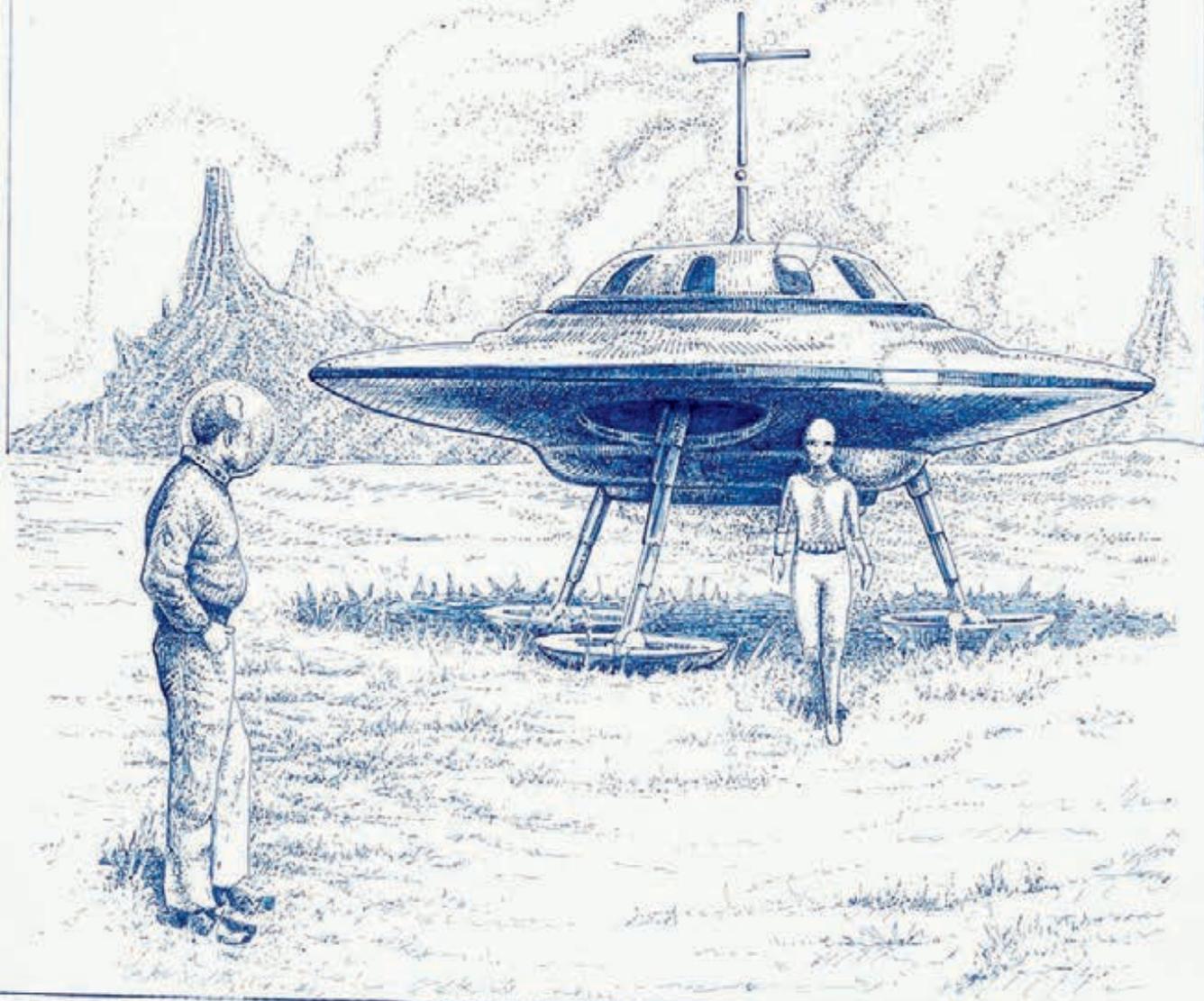
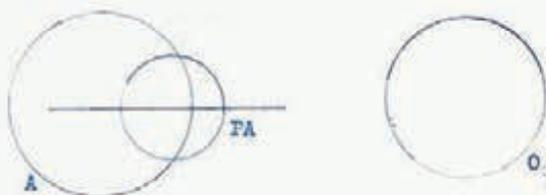
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WASHIRA BLICK GEBUCK - NETRUNA

ODIRAM ZUSH ZOENI EROMULSTA
EROFU SKEDRA OS - EVRUGO

EURUGO MENTAL STATE IS IT

SOLO LA FILOSOFIA COMUNISTA ES DEL REINO DE LOS CIELOS;
LA DOCTRINA DEL COMERCIO DE DIOS, ES EL PUENTE ENTRE LAS
ESCRITURAS Y EL COMUNISMO TERRENAL .--

En el lejano planeta amarillo, ya vivian la ley de los
cielos abiertos; esta civilizacion tenia entre otras ,
ciencias la de la psicologia geometrica; de los furu-
ros canoicos; por eso, emplearon tal geometria, en
los dibujos profeticos; ellos sabian que sus piedras
grabadas, atraerian la atencion del actual humanidad;
estas piedras fueron estudiadas por ellos, en una cien-
cia, en que participo la matematica viviente; la misma
matematica, que se emplea en los soles Alfa y Omega,
para crear espiritus pensantes.....













ST. PABA CUBANO M. COSTA RICA EN LA RESERVA

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como a hora
su salida
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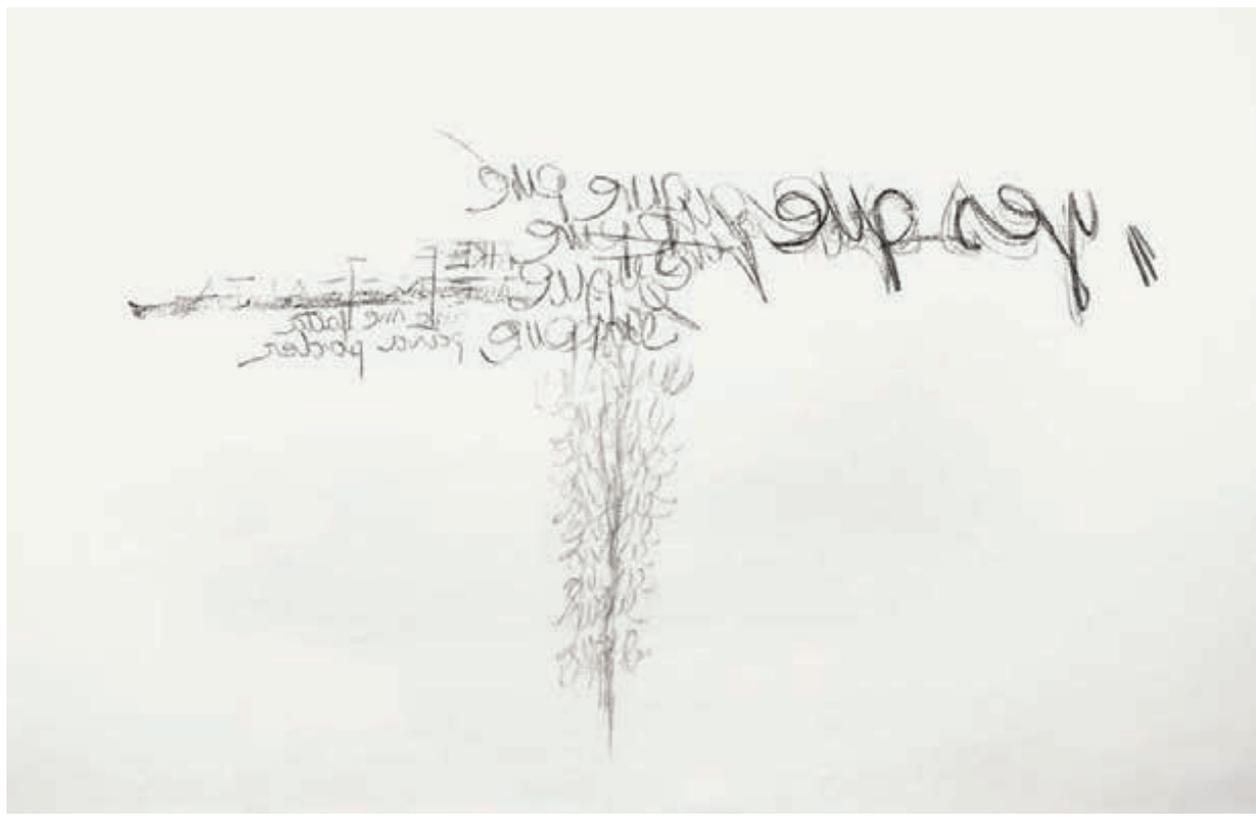
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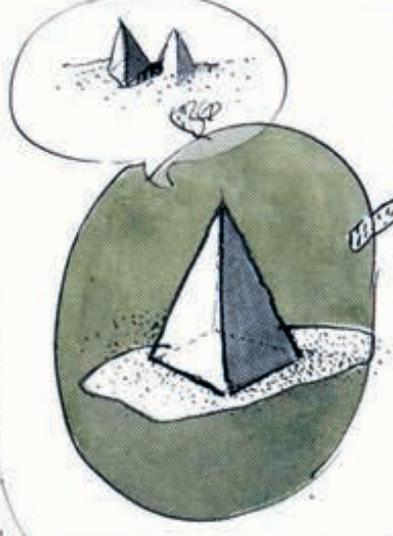
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me la guardo en el bolsillo
por si acaso)





VERDE

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② M...
③ M...



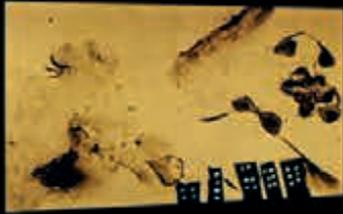
MORTE

IGUALDADE DE OPORTUNIDADES PERO O POETA









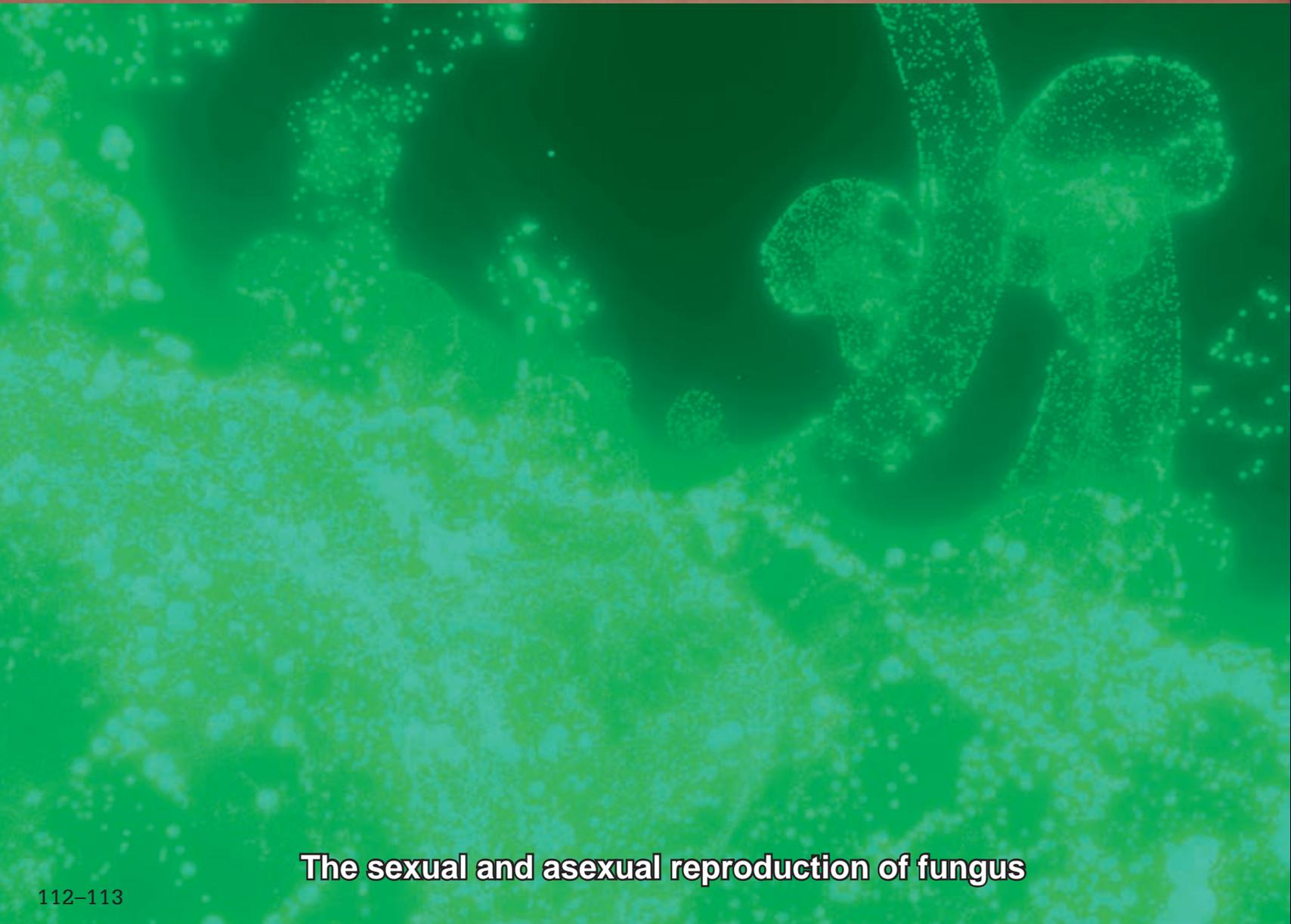








We are green, green atoms



The sexual and asexual reproduction of fungus







Cinema Machines of Care

Schizoanalysis works on the basis of the conceptual distinction between subjected groups and subject groups, although the sense of collectivity that emanates from schizo machines is not exactly the same as that which emanates from groups. The collective subsumes elements of human intersubjectivity as well as prepersonal sensory and cognitive modules, microsocial processes, and fragments of the imaginary. It acts in the same way on subjective nonhuman, machinic, technical, or economic formations as on semiotic, material, or social fluxes.⁵³ The collective assemblage of enunciation is thus sustained on a particular tetravalency. Guattari establishes a first horizontal axis that includes two segments: one of content, of actions and passions, an intermingling of bodies acting upon one another; and another of expression, of acts and enunciations, incorporeal transformations attributed to bodies. On a vertical axis, however, assemblage has, on the one hand, territorial or reterritorialized sides that stabilize it, and, on the other hand, cutting edges of deterritorialization, which carry it away.⁵⁴ The internal organization of the clinic La Borde, the Fédération des groupes d'études et de recherches institutionnelles (Federation of Groups for Institutional Study and Research, FGERI), the self-denominated groups of May 1968, the Centre d'études, de recherches et de formation institutionnelles (Centre for Institutional Study, Research and Development, CERFI), the free radios in France and Italy, and the green movement are among the platforms known to Guattari that tried to function as collective assemblages of enunciation.⁵⁵

The French filmmaker Pain, who was close to Guattari for decades, reflects on these ideas with François Marcelly-Fernandez. His contribution to the *machinations* project is entitled *Support Polygon/CAE (Collective Assemblage of Enunciation)* (2023, pp. 126–27), a video installation with three synchronized channels. The conjunction of sound and image on these channels allows disparate material to be related and up to six collective assemblages of enunciation to be formed out of them. The interviews with Guattari, Oury, and Tosquelles, sometimes independent but often interwoven, serve as a guiding thread for the problematization of issues such as the political positioning of institutional psychotherapy, the impact of contemporary violence on forms of subjectivity, the self-management of social clubs in clinics as an instrument for healing the collectivity, the need to respect free circulation in the architectural arrangement of the hospital, the machinic fluxes produced in these institutions, and the personal and generational resonances of a nonconformist film like Jean Vigo's *Zéro de conduite* (Zero for conduct, 1933). The documents complementing these interviews, which range from images of political or bellicose movements of the early twentieth century to various recent street demonstrations, including a large visual archive on the activity at the hospitals of Saint-Alban and La Borde, add complexity to the three thinkers' web of ideas and references.

Pain's contribution shows certain functions of cinema on which Guattari himself reflected repeatedly. Cinema can be an eros machine, understood as interiorization of repression, and at the same time a machine of liberated desire, although there is no such thing as political cinema on the one hand and erotic cinema on the other. Cinema is political whatever its object. Each time it represents a man, a woman, a child, or an animal, it takes part in the class microstruggle that involves the reproduction of models of desire. In each production, sequence, and frame, a choice is made between a conservative economy and a revolutionary rupture.⁵⁶ The most widespread model of cinema is the commercial mass cinema, which has become an industry of deceit and

53 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 70.

54 / Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 87–88.

55 / Anne Querrien, "L'agencement collectif d'énonciation," previously unpublished text produced within the framework of the *machinations* project.

56 / Félix Guattari, "Le cinéma: Un art mineur," in *La révolution moléculaire*, 203–38.

recruitment that consists of making people assimilate the dominant forms of representation, whether voluntarily or by force. In this connection, the Franco-Algerian director Dania Reymond has made subtle but scathing critiques of certain colonial practices. In her short film *La Tempête* (The storm, 2016, pp. 122–23), shot like Vigo's film in black-and-white, a group of children spread a roll of glossy paper on the ground and cut out squares to cover the glass panes of a large window. They are turning a classroom into an improvised cinema, but in isolating the interior from the sound and light of the exterior, they are also tracing a dividing line between reality and fiction. A continuous stream of archival images shows mid-twentieth-century French audiovisual propaganda that presents the arrival of cine-buses from the metropolis on the edges of the Algerian desert as a campaign of information, education, and entertainment aimed at spreading film culture. Before and after the showing of these official propaganda discourses, an off-screen voice speaking in the first person recalls an experience similar to that of the schoolchildren and a fascination with the hypnotic noise of the projector, but also, taking advantage of the technological parallels between cinema cameras and military armament, reveals that it was all in fact the prelude to the arrival of the trucks of the colonial army and the beginning of a long war against France for independence.

The counterposition of two conflicting versions of the same narrative, with the moving image as a battleground, is also the underlying theme of *Objects to Relate to a Trial (The Door)* (2020, pp. 24–25) by the Greek artist Vangelis Vlahos. This project explores the case of the university student Aggeliki Spyropoulou, sentenced to twenty-eight years in prison for her participation in 2015 in an attempt to blow up part of Korydallos Prison in Athens to liberate members of the anarchist urban guerrilla group Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei. The starting point, a video recorded by the security cameras of a chemical firm, shows the young Spyropoulou buying some of the components necessary to manufacture bombs, a sufficient reason for her to be accused of terrorism. Through a decoupage close to the forensic aesthetic, Vlahos appropriates this footage and recasts it in the form of a written screenplay with the language of international film analysis, emphasizing technical information on the framing, the camera angles, and the spatial and sound elements. The resulting text scrolls vertically over a still image of Spyropoulou's face, which appears and disappears behind the horizontal bars formed by the phrases. By reducing the polysemy of the audiovisual to a mere verbal interpretation subject to the homogenizing and supposedly neutral conventions of film analysis, Vlahos's work parodies the surveillance mechanisms of the state apparatus and warns of the processes of reterritorializing codification operated by its semiotic regimes.

In contrast to this hegemonic model of the production, circulation, and reception of mass cinema, Guattari took a theoretical and practical interest in certain proposals that appeared to invert the situation and use the medium's resources as an effective means of expression and struggle. As a spectator-critic, he paid attention to films that made visible the molecular transformations of society and its institutions, such as Marin Karmitz's *Blow for Blow* (1972), Jean Schmidt's *Comme les anges déchus de la planète Saint-Michel* (Like the fallen angels of the planet Saint-Michel, 1978), and the group project *Deutschland in Herbst* (Germany in Autumn, 1978). He also paid special attention to films that approached psychiatry from different viewpoints—such as Ken Loach's *Family Life* (1971), Peter Robinson's *Asylum* (1972), Terrence Malick's *Badlands* (1973), Fernand Deligny's *Ce gamin, là* (That lad there, 1975), or René Feret's *Story of Paul* (1975)—going so far as to claim that they had possibly inaugurated a new era in the history of cinema.⁵⁷ In these works, the montage is effected on the basis of asignifying chains as semiotic combinations open to multiple systems of external intensities.

As a creator, Guattari wrote several scripts. The first of these, Film project about free radios, ca. 1977, follows the actions of Elena and her schizoid partner, Ugo, to recreate, with poetic license, the forcible entry of Radio Alice into the state communication monopoly during the years of the uprisings in Bologna. According to Guattari's notes, the film was to be shot with one of the first

portable video cameras invented by his friend Jean-Pierre Beauviala, since this would permit a type of free and unrestrained shot located in the thick of events, capturing the processes of real life and leaving room for improvisation. Shortly afterward, with Robert Kramer, he prepared a second script on Italian autonomism, *Latitante* (Fugitive, ca. 1979), centered on two fugitive Italian women with a baby who settle in France. Without doubt, however, the script to which he dedicated the most effort was *A Love of UIQ* (ca. 1980–1987), also written in collaboration with Kramer, of which as many as three versions are known. This is a science fiction story about an invisible and infinitely small alien intelligence with no fixed spatial or temporal delimitations, no constant personological affectation, and no determinate sexual option, whom the earthlings call “Universe Infra-Quark.” At the start of the plot, this universe is only a weak signal lodged in a sample of cyanobacteria that the microbiologist Axel, wanted for supposed acts of terrorism, manages to smuggle out of a laboratory in Brussels. When UIQ’s interference with Hertzian waves becomes stronger, a community of squatters in an abandoned factory succeeds in establishing communication, first through (semiotic) translations similar to those of Huanchaco and later by (biological) transductions similar to those of Abu Bakarr Mansaray or Tai Shani. According to Guattari, the story can be read on a first level as a comic-strip scenario and on a second level as a projection of philosophical, psychoanalytic, or even psychiatric problematics in which the notion of the individual is diluted in favor of other cinematic choreographies of body, voice, and language.⁵⁸ Precisely such a Guattarian machine, comic, and expanded cinema constitute the nucleus of the collaboration between Esperanza Collado and Paula Guerrero (p. 8), commissioned specifically for *machinations*.

Cinema as war machine, cinema as schizo machine. Speaking of the cinema as machine—that is, speaking of a cinema machine—involves recalling once more that tools must not be considered individually, as they function only in relation to the mixtures that make them possible or which they make possible. The film *Foyer* (2016, p. 121) by the Tunisian artist Ismail Bahri questions the supposed autonomy of cinema on the basis of certain forces that amalgamate with it. The project starts from a simple premise: going out onto the streets of Tunis with a video camera on which a piece of white paper has been placed just in front of the lens, allowing it to make amplified recordings of variations in the intensity of the light or vibrations produced by the wind. This is a metareferential exercise on the photographic quality of cinema. Nevertheless, Bahri’s empty rectangle, like the “white square” of the historic avant-garde, gradually begins to fill with poetic and political content as a few curious people approach to ask about the device and hold a spontaneous conversation with the camera operator. An amateur photographer points out to him that the inhabitants of the city and the Riffians who live in the countryside perceive colors differently; a middle-aged man claims to reject all flags and criticizes politicians, journalists, and intellectuals who work to benefit themselves rather than concerning themselves with the common welfare; a pair of policemen, worried about terrorism after the revolution, interrupt the filming, demanding to see the cameraman’s papers and inspect what he has recorded; some youngsters tell him that, even if he was born in Tunisia, his pronunciation, skin tone, and mentality are those of a foreign tourist, like those of the French, whom they call “champions of ‘whiteness.’” Following a strategy somewhat analogous to that of Vlahos, Bahri uses the blinded camera and the sound out-of-field to visibilize processes around the cinema that habitually go unnoticed, a shift that turns the aesthetic experiment into a social experiment. Demonstrating that cinema is a *milieu* rather than a *medium*, the act of recording becomes a mere trigger, or rather an alibi or pretext, for generating affective spaces that traverse subjectivities, because affect is not a matter of representation or discursivity but of existence.⁵⁹

The invention of films without cameras or screens is possible to the extent that it is accepted that the artwork is nothing but a block of sensations, a composite of percepts and affects.⁶⁰ In introducing ethics as an inseparable part of aesthetics, cinema places itself at the service of minorities, understood

58 / Graeme Thomson and Silvia Maglioni, “UIQ: Towards an Infra-quark Cinema (or an Unmaking-Of),” in Félix Guattari, *A Love of UIQ* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 13–46.

59 / See Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 93. See also Simon O’Sullivan, *Art Encounters Deleuze and Guattari: Thought beyond Representation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 38–68.

60 / Deleuze and Guattari, “Percept, Affect, and Concept,” in *What Is Philosophy?*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Graham Burchell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 163–200.

in a qualitative rather than numerical sense. This is clearly reflected by two works in this section. The first is a multimedia installation created through a collaboration between the French artist Raphaël Grisey and the Malian photographer and activist Bouba Touré. An active participant in these movements since the 1970s, Touré documented the lives and struggles of the migrant workers who organized themselves around the Association culturelle des travailleurs africains en France (ACTAF), as well as the affinities, alliances, and ecosystems that gave rise to the foundation of the agrarian cooperative Somankidi Coura by some of those migrants after their return to Mali. Based on this rich personal archive, the long anti-colonial and anti-capitalist investigation *Sowing Somankidi Coura* (2017, pp. 128–31) has generated various materials, including some interesting cine-geographies that explore the connections of various diasporas to Europe, the pan-African history of cooperativism, and the potential of permaculture.⁶¹ The film *Traana*, a word that means “temporary migrant” in Soninké, is an adaptation of a theater play written by Touré in 1977 after deciding along with thirteen other members of ACTAF to return to the banks of the Senegal River. On a boat in the middle of the open sea, the actors counterpose the causes that impelled the Africans to leave their homes with their disillusionment at the scarcity of work and accommodation at their destinations, drawing attention to a generalized dynamic of political oppression and economic exploitation on the part of states. The film *Xaraasi xanne*, Soninké for “crossed voices,” composes a choral and intergenerational narrative that reasserts the situation described above and concentrates on the sustainable alternatives implemented by Somankidi Coura to counter the environmental crisis, achieve food sovereignty, and weave a lasting community.

The second work that uses cinema to explore the ethical-aesthetic paradigm is a project developed by the Leonese collective La rara troupe, a creative group focused on mental health that varies its number of members in accordance with the needs of its compositions, which veer between subjects, forms of knowledge, and practices. *Rodando el límite, autogestión y disparate* (Shooting on the edge: Self-management and nonsense, 2019–2020, pp. 132, 224–25) emerged before the COVID-19 pandemic as an essay film on marginalization and minorities within the growing fascistization of ideological discourses. It was articulated at first around a succession of exercises in which taking the camera allowed each individual or group within the group to experiment with their body, everyday space, or a personal archive, and so share fragments of this singular world with the rest.

The total or partial lockdowns established from March 2020 onward, which meant the first experience of forced confinement or need for psychological assistance for a large majority of the population, necessarily modified the planned course of the process, which henceforth continued from home. During the days of home isolation, when inequalities were exponentially accentuated, recording a video sequence, sending it to the group to be continued by someone else, and negotiating among everybody to decide the most appropriate montage for these heteroclit materials revealed a political-therapeutic dimension.⁶² The procedure adopted by La rara troupe actualizes proposals already found in Guattari, Oury, and Tosquelles pointing to the urgent need for a public debate on the management of care and demonstrates a central hypothesis in this section of *machinations*: cinema can distance itself from dominant artistic models, authorial logics, and market dynamics to become an instrument for communication and social cohesion even in the most adverse circumstances. Shown in the exhibition is the definitive audiovisual mosaic of *Rodando el límite, autogestión y disparate*, along with the various exercises that gradually composed the work, since, as Guattari himself explains in the introduction to *Un amour d’UIQ*, these creative processes are a relevant experience not only at the narrative and psychological levels of the finished filmic work but also in the perceptive and affective fabric as it is woven in all the phases of its production.⁶³ According to Deleuze and Guattari in *What Is Philosophy?* (1991), art creates blocks of percepts and affects. Transforming perceptions into percepts and affections into affects is related to the notion of “camering”—the act of bonding

61 / See Raphaël Grisey and Bouba Touré, eds., *Semer Somankidi Coura: Une archive générative* (Berlin: Archive Books, 2017).

62 / See the essay elsewhere in this volume by Marta Malo (pp. 219–23). See also “Saber-hacer con el otro: La rara troupe o la potencia de la anomalía,” in *Apuntes para una psiquiatría destructiva* (Jaén: Piedra Papel Libros, 2021), 143–51.

63 / Guattari, *A Love of UIQ*, 54.

together by means of the camera-machine—coined by the French educator and filmmaker Deligny—and consequently to the provocative idea of a “healing cinema” suggested by the Cameroonian filmmaker and activist Bekolo.⁶⁴ This cinema, based on care and attention and generally self-produced, disseminates images and makes them proliferate, multiplies points of singularity, and incites subjects to tell their own stories. It inserts itself in social practices located in local neighborhoods or civic centers with the aim of promoting a new art of living in society, and it emphasizes the reciprocity between filmmakers and spectators, concerning itself with the diversity of their receptions and particularly with the debates aroused by screening.⁶⁵ Guattari established a parallel between psychoanalytic performance and cinematic performance but pointed out that the unconscious is not manifested in the same way on the psychiatrist’s couch as in a movie theater, since the unconscious escapes partially in the latter from the dictatorship of the signifier: it is no longer reduced to a linguistic event, nor does it respect the classic transmitter-receiver dichotomy proper to psychoanalytic transference.⁶⁶ The spatial distribution Bekolo proposes for his video installation *Healing Festival: Cinema and Traumas* (2023, pp. 133, 214) stages this important paradigm shift. The main screen shows nine short films on a loop, one after the other, as in a film festival. Immediately opposite, another screen shows three people who act as a jury or carers, watching the films intently. On one side, a third screen shows twelve more people, in this case the public or the patients, who are attending the screening. The usual one-directionality between spectator and spectacle, which replicates that of psychoanalyst and analysand, is thus socialized in a group relationship that permits the alternation of roles and functions. The image becomes an event, a meeting place, so that the traumas occasioned by imperialism, colonialism, racism, male chauvinism, state violence, and a long list of others can be treated collectively and repaired with other common future alternatives. The affectivity and effectiveness of “healing cinema” hinges on a holistic approach that encompasses social, mental, and environmental ecologies all at once, starting necessarily with the healing of the institutions themselves.⁶⁷

64 / See the essay elsewhere in this volume by Brigitta Kuster (pp. 203–13).

65 / See the essay elsewhere in this volume by Anne Querrien (pp. 215–18).

66 / Guattari, “Le divan du pauvre,” in *Communications* 23 (1975): 96–103.

67 / Félix Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, trans. Ian Pindar and Paul Sutton (London: Athlone Press, 2000).

121: Ismaïl Bahri
 122–23: Dania Reymond
 124–25: Vangelis Vlahos
 126–27: François Pain and
 François Marcelly-Fernandez
 128–31: Raphaël Grisey and Bouba Touré
 132: La rara troupe
 133: Jean-Pierre Bekolo



¿Y qué estás grabando? Me interesa

Queremos ver si has grabado el cuartel

¡porque los franceses son los campeones de la blanquitud!

I'd like to know more about the shots you're doing here /
We want to see if you've filmed the station / because the
French are the champions of "whiteness"!





(WITHOUT SOUND)

Scene opens at the reception area of
Athens, December 2014.

The shot is from a closed-circuit security
reception desk.

The camera monitors from a three-quarter
entrance, a large double door made of
round flat glass handles and a white

It is just after 12 noon.

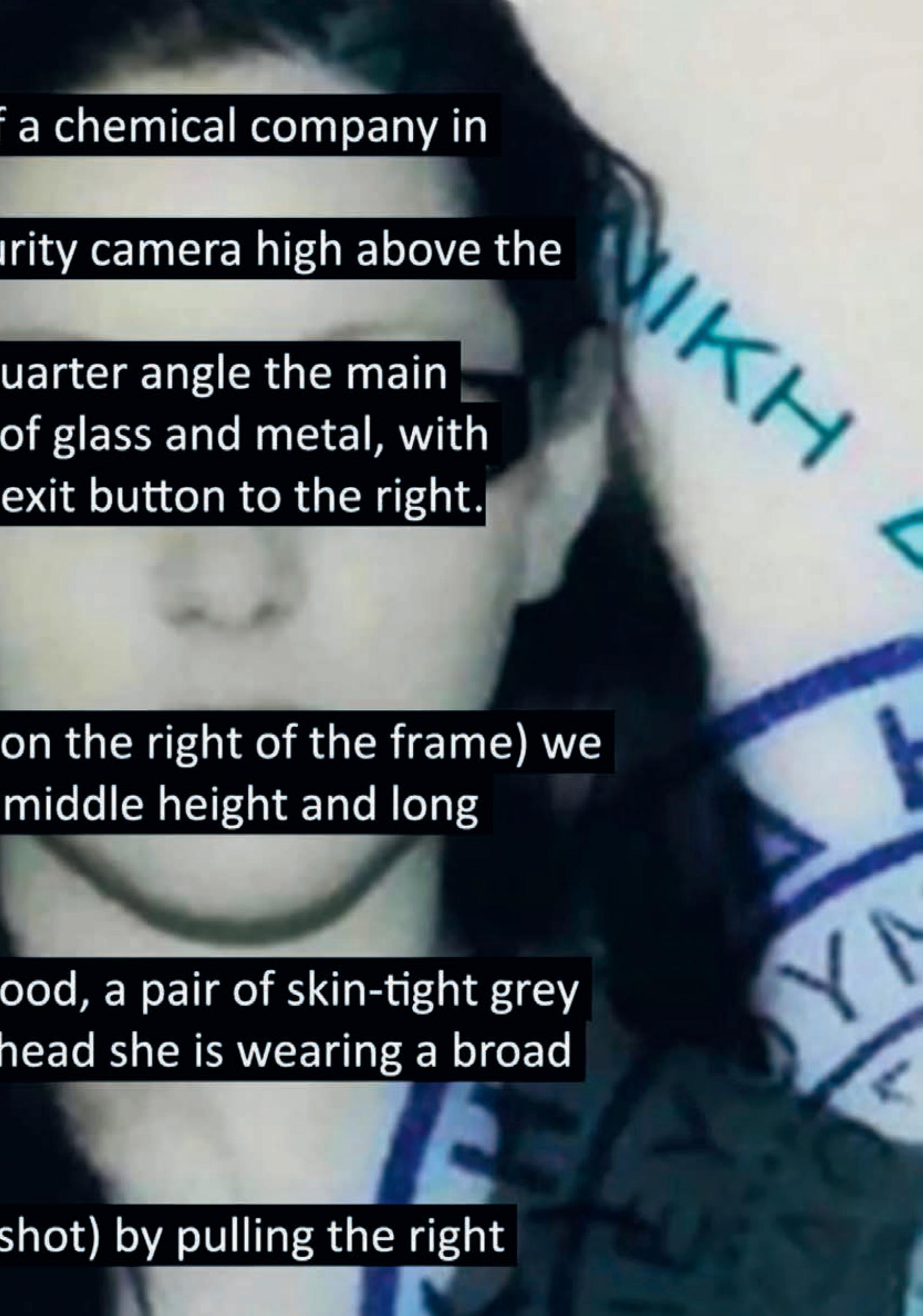
Right outside the building entrance (see
Aggeliki, a young thin woman of
slightly unkempt blond hair.

She is about to enter the building.

She wears a tight black coat with a hood,
jeans and black ankle boots. On her head
black hair band.

In her right hand she has a coffee.

She enters hesitantly (three-quarter
handle with her left hand.



f a chemical company in

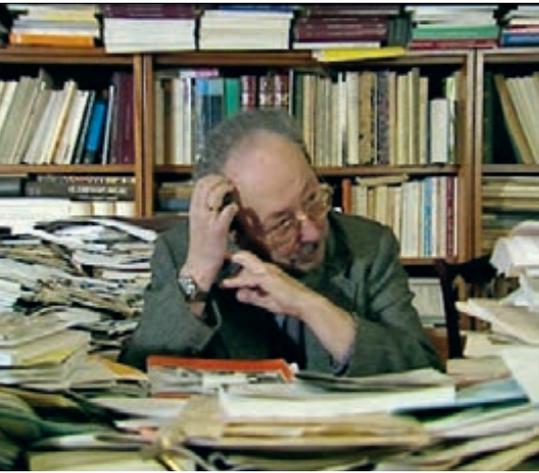
urity camera high above the

quarter angle the main
of glass and metal, with
exit button to the right.

on the right of the frame) we
middle height and long

ood, a pair of skin-tight grey
head she is wearing a broad

shot) by pulling the right









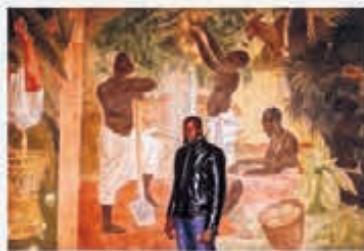


Sara Pappea at an anti WTO demonstration, Paris, November 21, 1999.

Solidarity demonstration with the 3rd collective of Sara Pappea, December 4, 1999.

Demonstration Boulevard du Temple, after the eviction of the Bureau de Travail occupation, June 29, 2000.

Occupation of the 14 rue Beaubourg, former local of the Social Security administration, July 18, 2000.



Occupation of the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, former Pierre Dorez Palace building during the colonial exhibition of 1931, December 2000.

Occupation, Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, Paris, October 2, 2010.

Sara Pappea of rue Beaubourg demonstration, Boulevard de Roche, September 18, 2000.

seaman job agency occupation, St Lazare, October 2005.

Preparation for a demonstration, occupation of rue Beaubourg, Paris, October 1, 2000.

Photographs by Branka Tucek

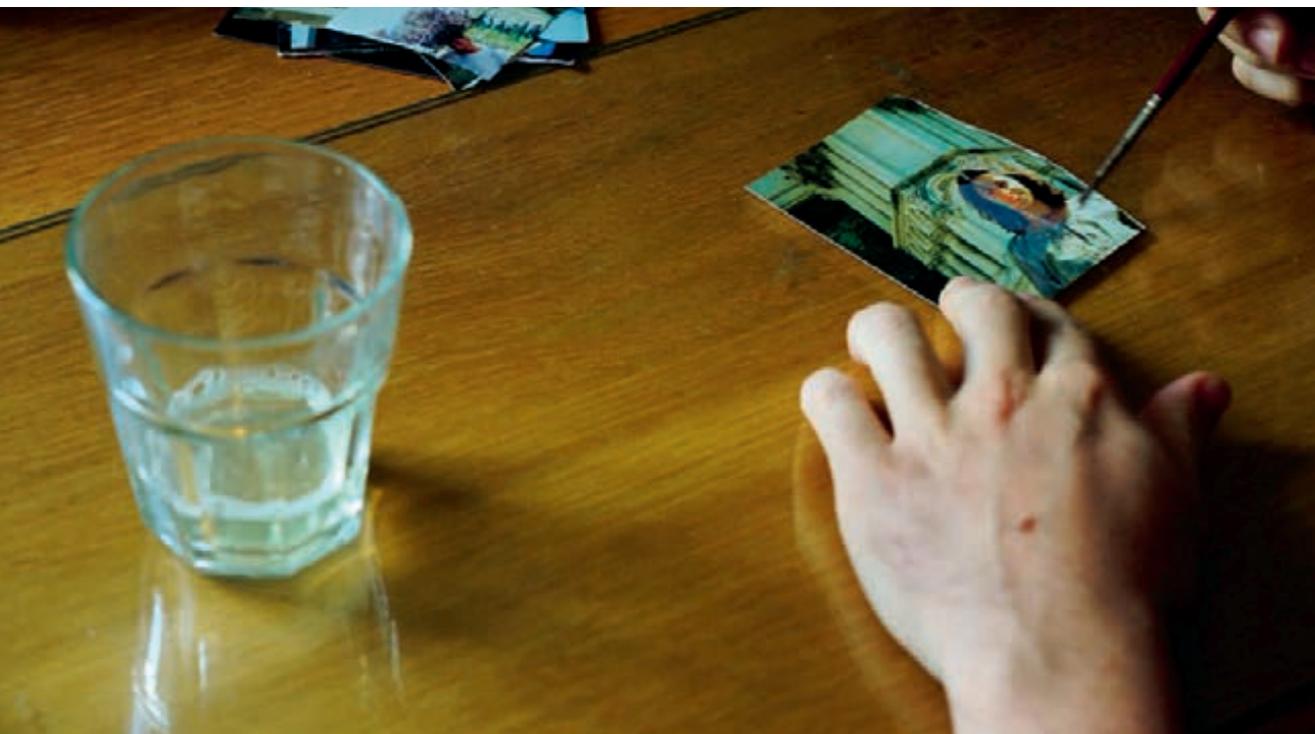


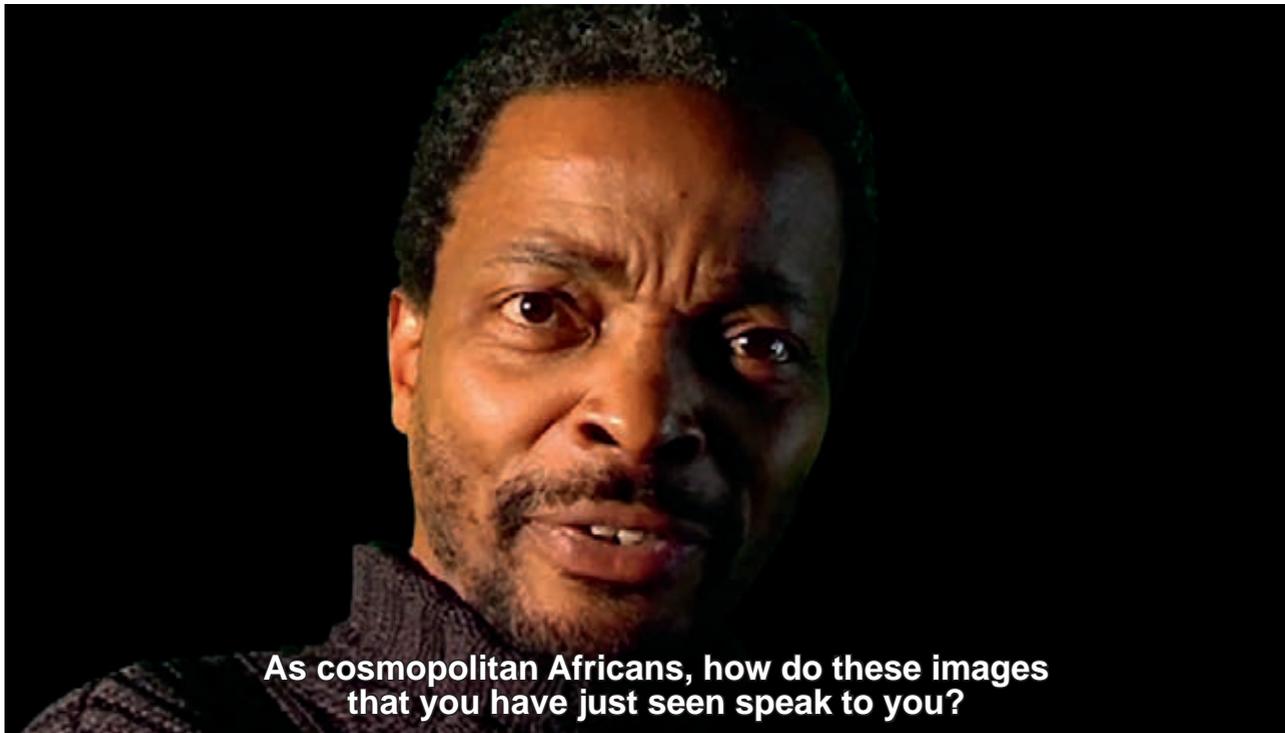
Missingsi of the sea: "The man of the
Migrant worker housing" by Blaise Touré,
Le Mans, France, November 1993.
Bibaco, Paris, July 1993.
Gisèle Touré and Denise Diawara, former
activists, Senegalist Court, Mali, May 1993.

Clouant during a wedding ceremony,
Rennes, France, April 1993.
Solidarity demonstration against the eviction
of 100 inhabitants after a raid in the migrant
worker housing foyer Ternes au Park, 19th
district, Paris, February 13, 2004.

Bessé Ndioué, Senegalist Court,
May 1993.
Photographs by Blaise Touré.







Machinations in Integrated World Capitalism

Tosquelles dedicated much of his research to the sense of the catastrophe of the end of the world,⁶⁸ work that Guattari not only cited but probably also assimilated as part of his ethical, aesthetic, and analytical commitment.⁶⁹ Guattari first distinguishes three successive periods in the development of the West: a phase of European Christianity based on an essential relationship between the possession of land and political power; a period of capitalist deterritorialization of knowledge and techniques, founded on the principles of generalized equivalence; and a period of planetary informatization, dominated by the mass media, in which a new impersonal machinic subjectivity is produced.⁷⁰ This last phase corresponds to the current integrated world capitalism, which unifies the world market and subjects it to a supra-state parapolitical control on a North-South axis of domination and another East-West axis of capitalist integration. Catastrophism occupies a central place in this system, to the point where Guattari describes it as a kind of insurance company capable of coping both economically and repressively with the most difficult vicissitudes. In case of serious conflict, he continues, the European countries, Japan, and the United States would be in a condition to implement a kind of international ORSEC plan and a permanent Marshall Plan to provide a nonrecoverable subsidy for any endangered capitalist bastion.⁷¹

In accordance with these arguments, three recent productions by Heiner Goebbels, Juan Pérez Agirregoikoa, and Femke Herregraven reveal a more than phonetic connection between capitalism and apocalypse. *The Last Painting* (2019–2023, pp. 137–39) by the German composer and musical director Goebbels deploys a collaborative process of production and destruction of images in an industrial scenario where sound, lighting, and smoke machines are connected to social machines: a large group of performers is seen dragging the relics of four hundred years of European history out of the warehouses of the past. Their unusual, decentralized movements set up a plural, polyphonic subjectivity that complicates existential harmonies, counterpoints, rhythms, and orchestrations.⁷² At the same time, the resonances between music, bodies, and objects seem to indicate the preexistence of an accord based on attention and mutual care. Together with this previously unseen and unheard—because improvised—choreography, the scenario also includes large, ragged curtains and other stage properties that construct a changing landscape-map for a ruined world.

In the audiovisual trilogy *Undesirable Aliens* (2021, pp. 140–41), the Basque artist Agirregoikoa analyzes capitalism as a “process of processes” that not only has to do with modes of production but subsumes the whole of life to its own parameters by molding subjectivities from within. The three videos show characters wearing grotesque masks that enlarge their heads to carnivalesque size. Two of them feature intellectuals putting forward their respective theories of capitalism. *MIRACLE MIRACLE* by Milton Friedman takes the form of a lecture on the free market in which the celebrated economist displays his cynicism by citing “friends”: Leonard Reed, to justify the convenience of delocalization and extractivism in impoverished regions; Adam Smith, to clarify that capitalist labor feeds off fear and hunger; and Jacques Lacan, who paraphrases Marx to encourage the exploitation of desire. On the other hand, the video *George Cantor Explaining the Concept of State to the Hungry Pigeons* relates the mathematician’s well-known set theory to the signifying master that is the state, explaining that the whole is not the same as the sum of its parts but that there is a multiplicity of subsets that could be called molecular. In the third video, *Playing the Emigration Game*, two youngsters

68 / Tosquelles, 56–57.

69 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 81.

70 / Francisco José Martínez, *Hacia una era post-mediática: Ontología, política y ecología en la obra de Félix Guattari* (Barcelona: Montesinos, 2008), 16, 144–51.

71 / Félix Guattari, *Integrated World Capitalism and Molecular Revolution*, trans. A.T. Kingsmith, www.adamkingsmith.com, 2016.

72 / Guattari, *Chaosmosis*, 17–18.

find two black masks and use them to put themselves in the place of the Other, the catalyst of the social ills of the West, who finally pays the price of liberalism. Upon landing on the coasts of the “First World,” where the elites govern through the trinity of war, trade, and piracy, they argue about the humanity or inhumanity of capitalism and hatch a definitive scheme: to spread fake news, impose their culture, squat in apartments for free, live off subsidies, collapse the public health system, and destroy the welfare state.

Finally, the Dutch artist Herregraven explores this global web through catastrophe bonds, one of the most extreme forms of current financial engineering. Invented in the 1990s in response to the bankruptcy of several insurance companies after the consequences of Hurricane Andrew, catastrophe bonds are debt instruments for governments and private enterprises that do not depend on market variables but on the probability of the occurrence of a disaster like a flood, a volcanic eruption, a terrorist attack, an earthquake, or a pandemic. Through a combination of historical data and complex algorithmic operations, the major powers model the future with the aim of predicting the best moment to redirect their investments. The first half of Herregraven’s installation *Spectres of Calculated Prophecies* (2023, pp. 142, 144–45) consists of a light box that visually indexes all the catastrophe bonds that have been generated up to now, rather like a Kafkaesque theater of stocks and shares. The other half consists of a pair of diagrammatic drawings that, on the other hand, take the personal or collective catastrophe as a starting point for fomenting mutual support and care. They configure a network that is based not on competitiveness but on solidarity, and instead of protecting private wealth they concentrate on the defense of public and community assets.

This is precisely the sense of the device for political agitation known as the “*Cacharro*” or “*Contraption*” (2020–2023, pp. 146–47), designed by the architects’ collective *Todo por la praxis* at the request of the Museo Situado assembly. This machine, which opens and closes *machinations*, is fitted with wheels and a small motor to allow it to move around, a pair of microphones with speakers to voice different demands, an extendable panel that can function as a table or a support for a projector, a roll-out canvas screen, tensioners for hanging all kinds of posters, and other combative or festive features. The groups Red Solidaria de Acogida, Territorio Doméstico, Red Interlavapiés, and other members of Museo Situado have used the *Cacharro* in their demonstrations or in the annual editions of the Picnic del barrio held in the garden of the Sabatini Building. It is a mobile and convertible machine like the carts that inspire Vega, the polyvalent kiosks of Klutskis revived by Ferreira, the *bisht* cloaks of the Bedouins reclaimed by Tabet, the handcrafted projectors of the Frenkel brothers, the transmitters that Huanchaco takes into the desert, the clandestine radio station of Martínez Troncoso, or the “nomad chariot” of the fifth or fourth century BCE that Deleuze and Guattari reproduce at the beginning of the “*Treatise on Nomadology*.” Parked between the entrance to the exhibition and the exit to the loading bay by the goods elevator—that is, ready to be used at any moment—the *Cacharro* occupies a significant threshold inside and outside the exhibition and inside and outside the museum. This machination, the result of a collaboration between the Museo Reina Sofía and Museo Situado, appears as a vector of deterritorialization that allows not only the exhibition to be understood as a war machine but also the institutional effort to promote new instituting practices.⁷³

In his first essay on transversality, Guattari speaks of the possibility of an institution that would not be a technical and bureaucratic structure closed in on itself but a heterogeneous and fluid machine, always open to forming a unity with other external agents.⁷⁴ To go from a *besieged* museum, which turns its back on the environment it evolves in, to a *situated* and networked museum, which bores holes in its limits until they become porous, implies an attempt to make a transition from the striated to the smooth, from the molar to the molecular, from the mechanical to the machinic.⁷⁵ Guattari’s concepts are here of great critical and analytical value, since they contribute models of thought that enable a deeper understanding of processes of transformation that were already under way. They also, from a renewed

73 / Georges Didi-Huberman, “La exposición como máquina de guerra,” *Minerva*, no. 16 (February 2011): 24–28.

74 / Gerald Raunig, “A Few Fragments on Machines,” trans. Aileen Derieg, in “Machines and Subjectivation,” special issue, *Transversal*, November 2006.

75 / See, once again, *Carta(s): Museo en Red: Tejiendo ecosistemas*. See also Jesús Carrillo, “Epílogo: ¿Una institución cuidadora? Museo situado,” in *El museo, ¿un proyecto inacabado? Experiencias institucionales en el Museo Reina Sofía (2007–2021)* (Madrid: La oveja roja, 2022), 161–80.

theoretical position, help us double our stakes and lead these processes toward limits that were unsuspected at the start. In this conceptual framework, every text produced, every work exhibited, and every activity performed is intended for insertion in a social network that will appropriate or reject it. The *machinations* project, with its processes of investigation and curatorship, together with the multiple resonances it has generated in the past and will generate in the future, pursues nothing less than the production of toolboxes made of concepts, percepts, and affects, so that different publics will make use of them as they see fit, to produce new forms of living, thinking, and feeling, and to continue creating ties and collectively machining.

137–39: Heiner Goebbels

140–41: Juan Pérez Agirregoikoa

142–45: Femke Herregraven

146–47: Todo por la praxis + Museo Situado









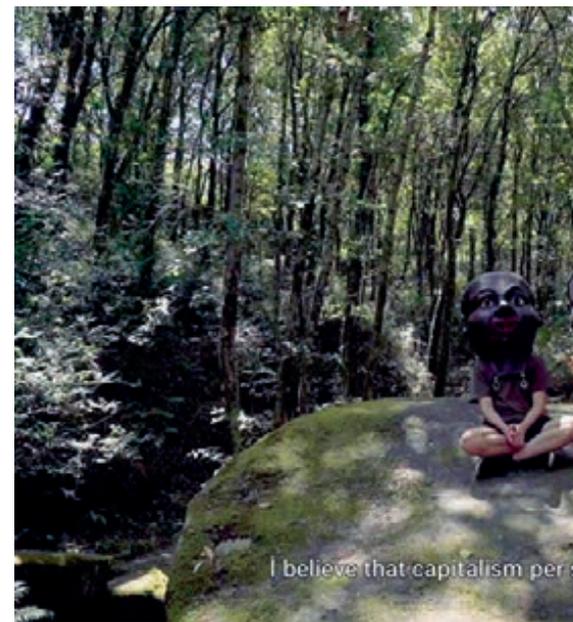
the homeland, the nation, the state; the nation state, all those definitions of that invention, fantasy heuristic called the people.



The state, the nation, the father



... If you refer to the humane as a subjective experience that forms everything, I'd say yes.



I believe that capitalism per

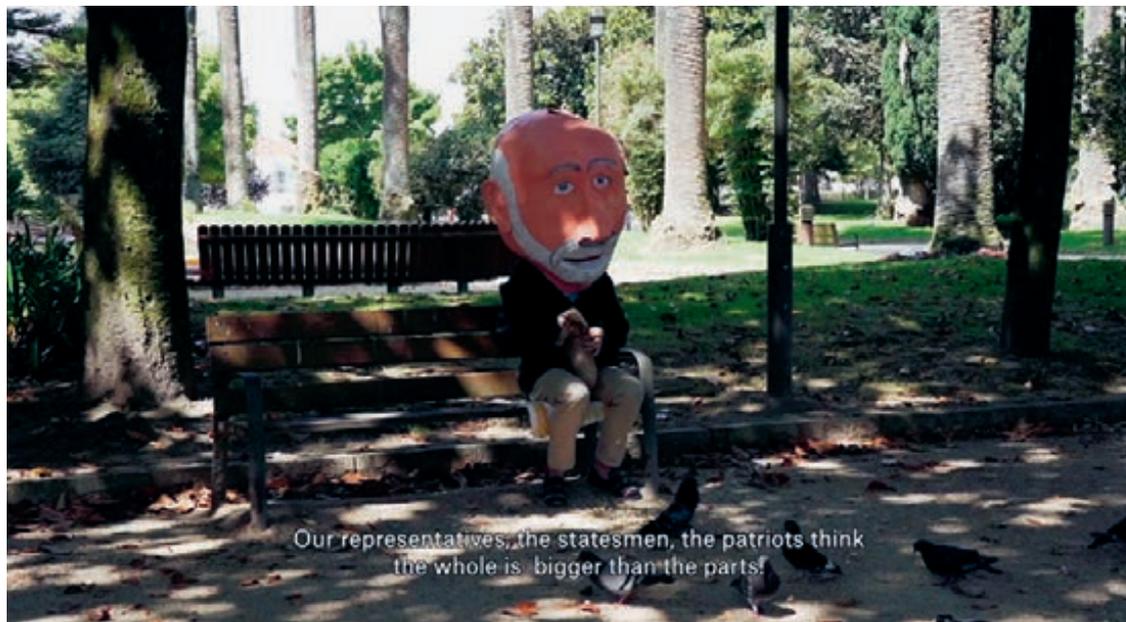


It is not a mechanism of representation, it is a mechanism of extraction, a metonymy, a part segregated from the mass in general that is true for this mass without having to resort to representatives.





holland is a lucrative business.



Our representatives, the statesmen, the patriots think
the whole is bigger than the parts!



se is not humane or inhumane;

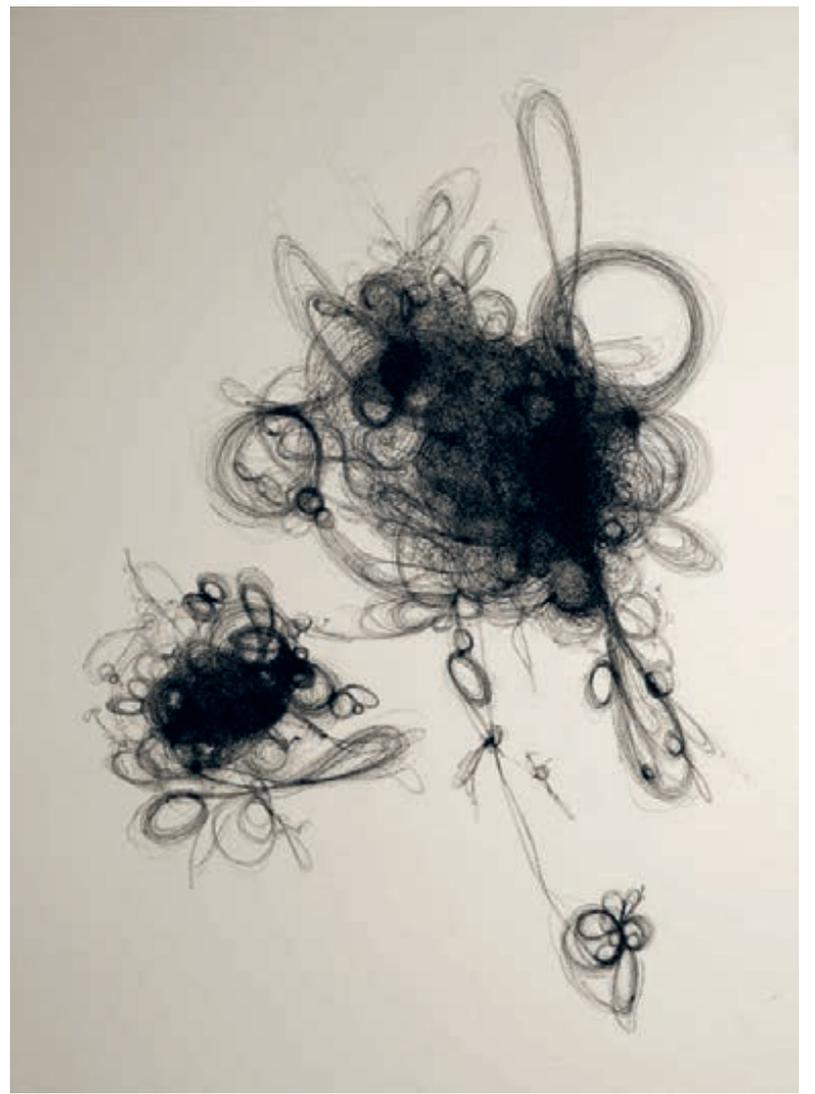


Don't worry, just think that we're afraid
but the middle classes are much more afraid!

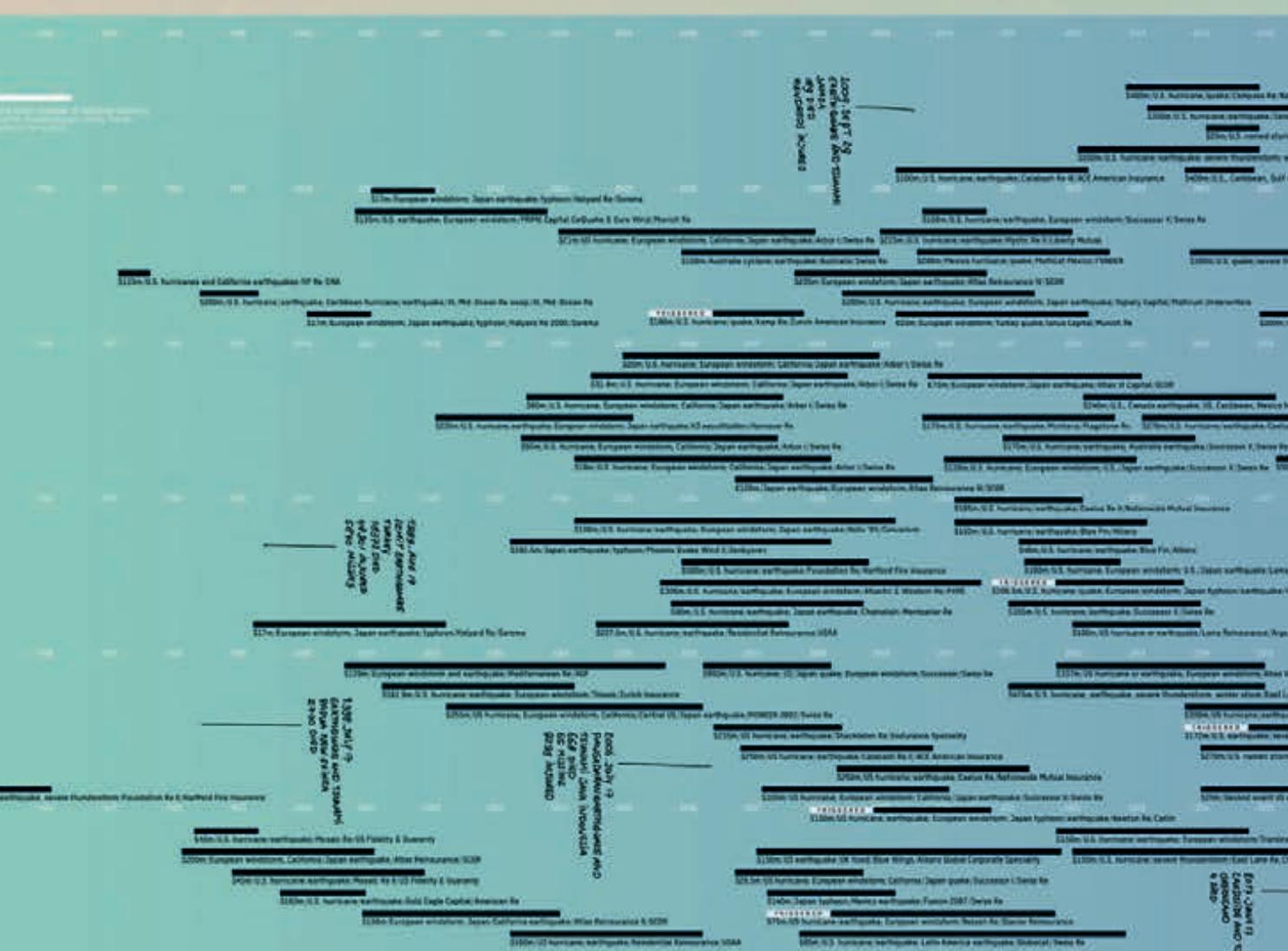
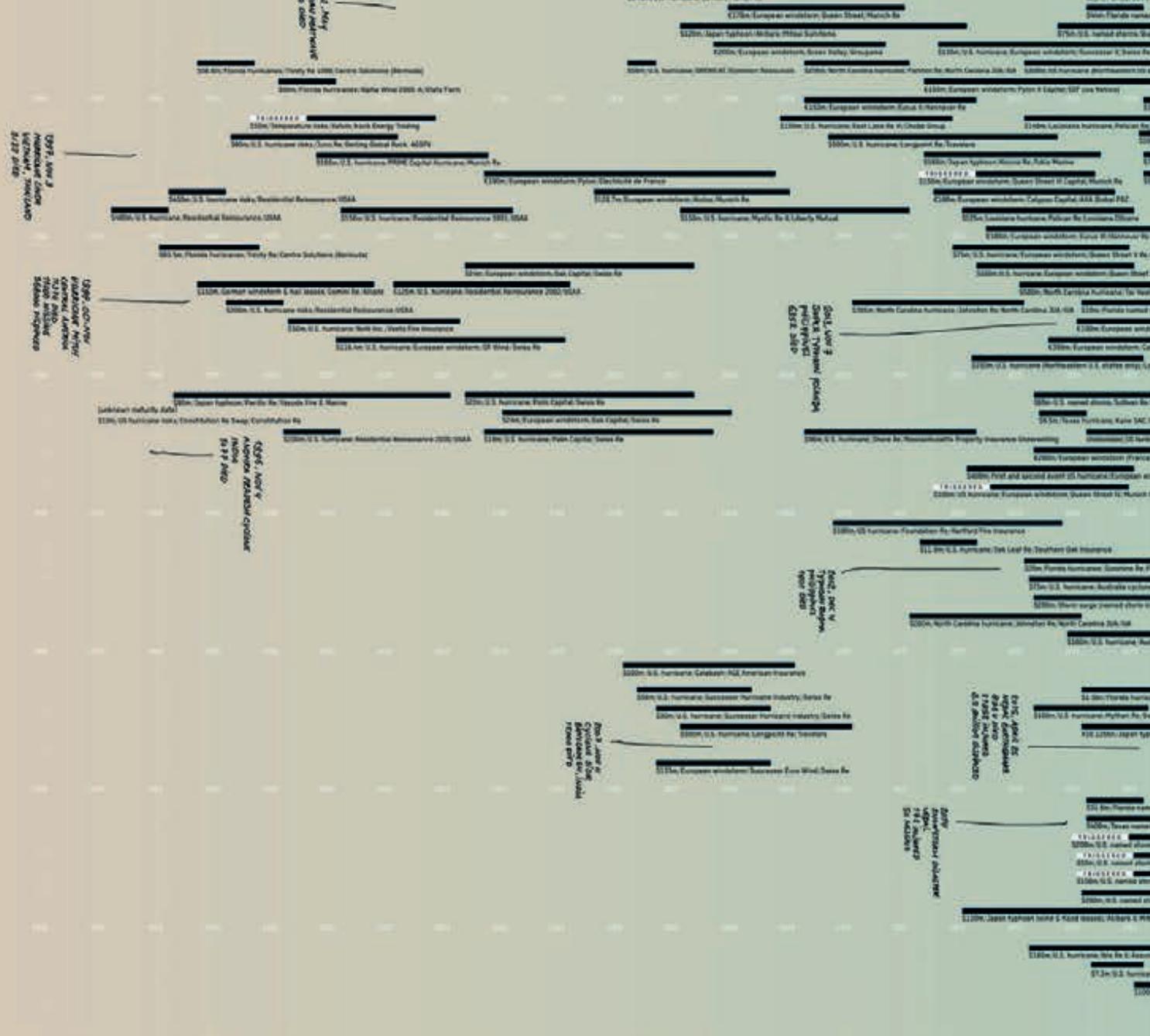


others to extract the copper and zinc for the ferrule, the paint
the glue that binds everything together... etc., etc.





144-145



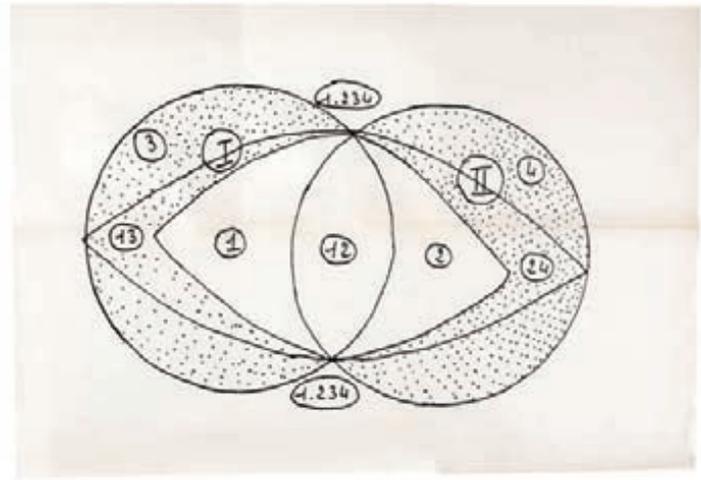




Analytical Cartographies

Susana Caló

(with diagrams by Félix Guattari)



Analytical Cartographies is a selection of diagrams, schemes, and conceptual sketches produced by Félix Guattari from circa 1977 to 1989. They were selected from his archives at the Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC) and from the archives of his friends. I have also used material from the seminars held at his house from 1980 to 1988.

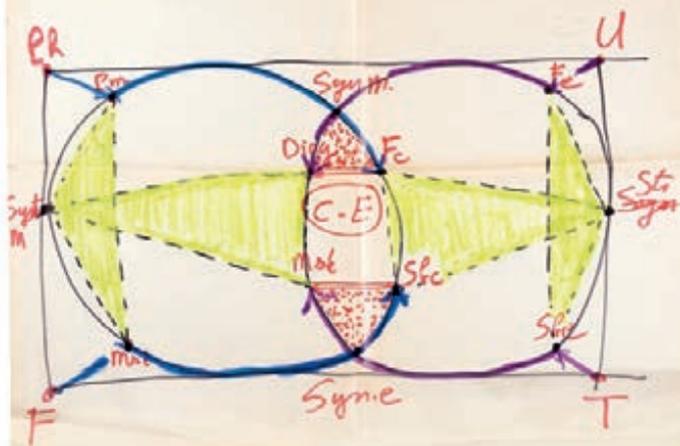
In his archives we find evidence of Guattari's endless absorption in writing, inventing, sketching, and thinking, in ways driven by his various political engagements. His cartographies respond to specific problems concerning all sorts of institutions and are decidedly pragmatic even when they appear abstract. In this respect, these are modes of engagement with the world: dynamic, sometimes readable, and clearly made for others; at other times more rudimentary and made for himself. Overall, they allow us an entry point into his thinking.

From an early stage, Guattari's work was concerned with the reactive dimension of static institutional forms and identities and the effects anti-production had on subjectivity. Against this, Guattari tried to develop ways of thinking and modes of practice that supported processes of singularization. In his early writings collected in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality* (1972), this manifested in a concern with the institutional unconscious leading to his theorizations of institutional analysis and transversality. Later on, with Gilles Deleuze in *Anti-Oedipus* (1972), this manifested in the theorization of schizoanalysis.

Parallel to this was a concern with the inability of most frameworks (whether of a Freudian or structuralist linguistics nature) to grasp reality and the social field in the concrete ways in which they operated. In both his clinical and political practice, Guattari tried to develop analytical tools not bound to conceptual predeterminations or normative arrangements, such as the individual, archetypes, or oedipal triangulations, and instead started taking the broader institutional environment into account. This meant thinking about political organizations, institutions, or groups in terms of the transversal modes by which they composed with the world and were traversed by it.

To do this required the engagement of wider trans-semiotic and nonlinguistic frameworks of analysis. Overturning the impasses of structuralist frameworks,

2 synapses et 4 articulations



E: flux, ~~territoires~~ systèmes EET (énergie, espace, temps)

Msi: matières signalétiques de Contenu

Sbc: substance incorporable de Contenu ou territoires sensibles

T: territoires existentiels

Sbe: substance incorporable d'Expression (fig. esp; matrices d'alternatives)

Mse: matières semiotiques

Ph: phylum machiniques

Pm: propositions machiniques

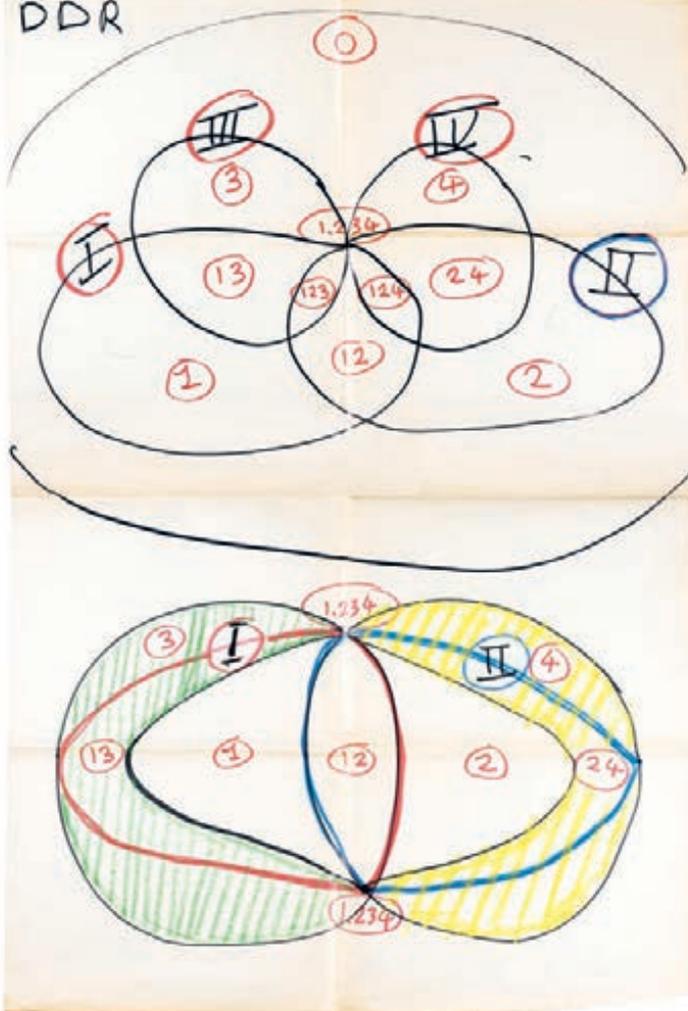
Fc: forme de contenu: ^{effets} structures noématiques / ^{effets} paradigmatiques

U: Constellations d'Univers

Fe: forme de l'Expression, structures néotique de venirs incorporables

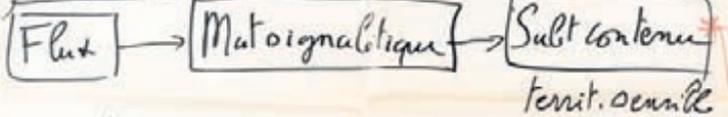
Diag: Diagrammes, énoncés machiniques

DDR

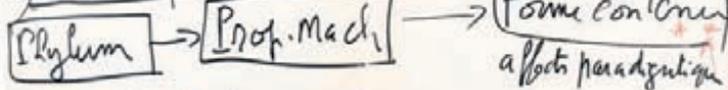


entités intensives en proportion réciproque: 4 tenseurs

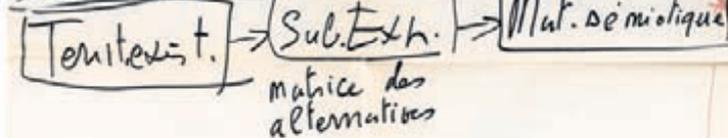
a) de Flux



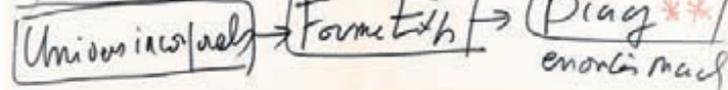
b) machinique



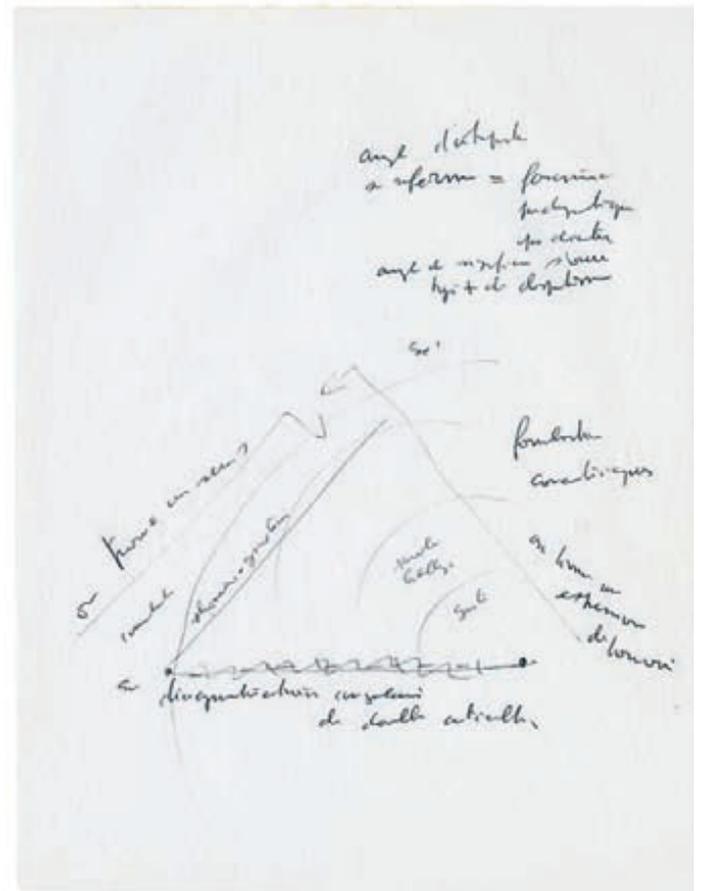
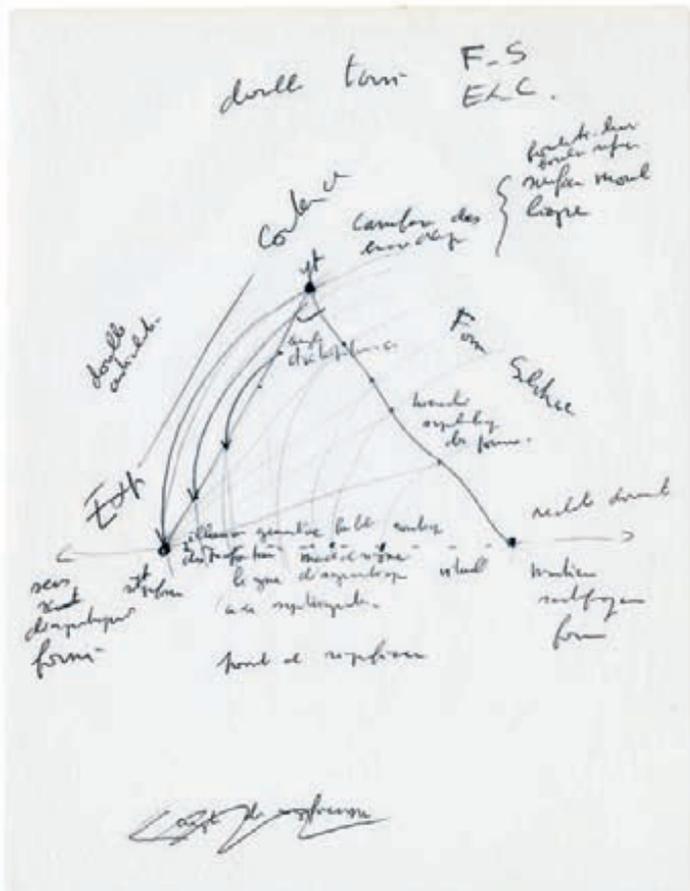
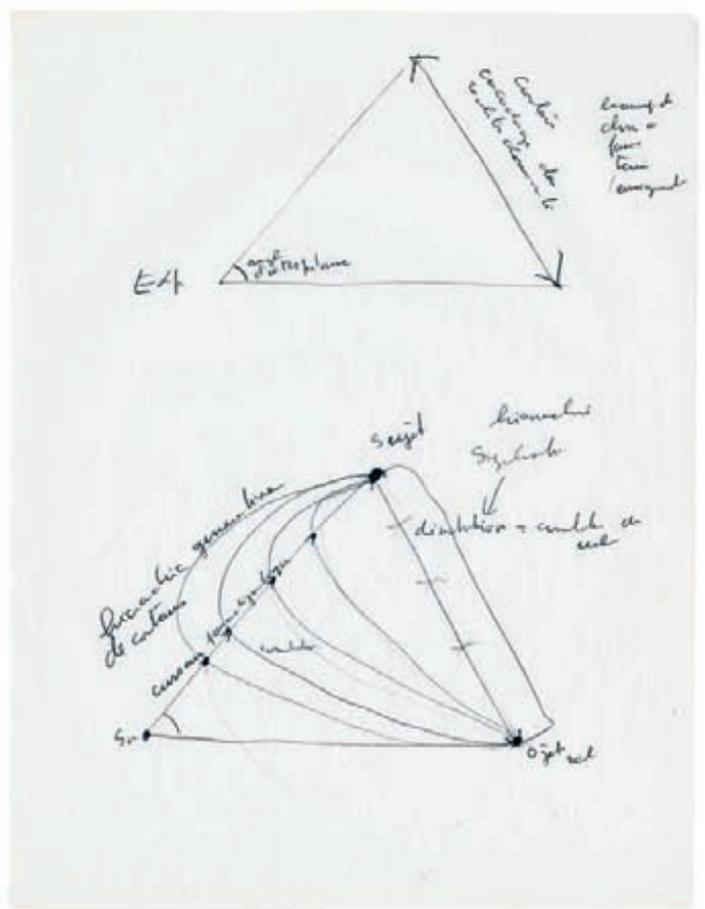
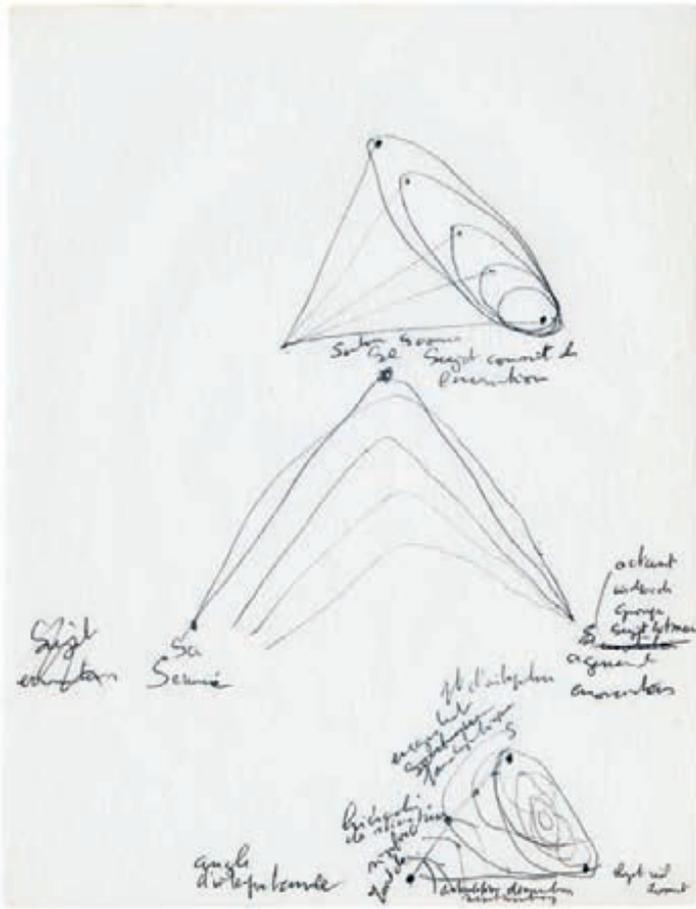
c) existentiel



d) d'univers



4 types de systèmes de opim.



Because they abandon universality for the sake of singularity and the self-constitution of references, these cartographies should not be confused with models that in some way capture fixed universal relationships. They are metamodels: collective analytical prospectives, increasingly distant from the unconscious of psychoanalysis (individual and familial) and nearer to an energetic-material-semiotic unconscious with its multiple human, animal, vegetable, and cosmic becomings. As Guattari remarks, “the analytical map can no longer be distinguished from the existential territory it engenders.”²

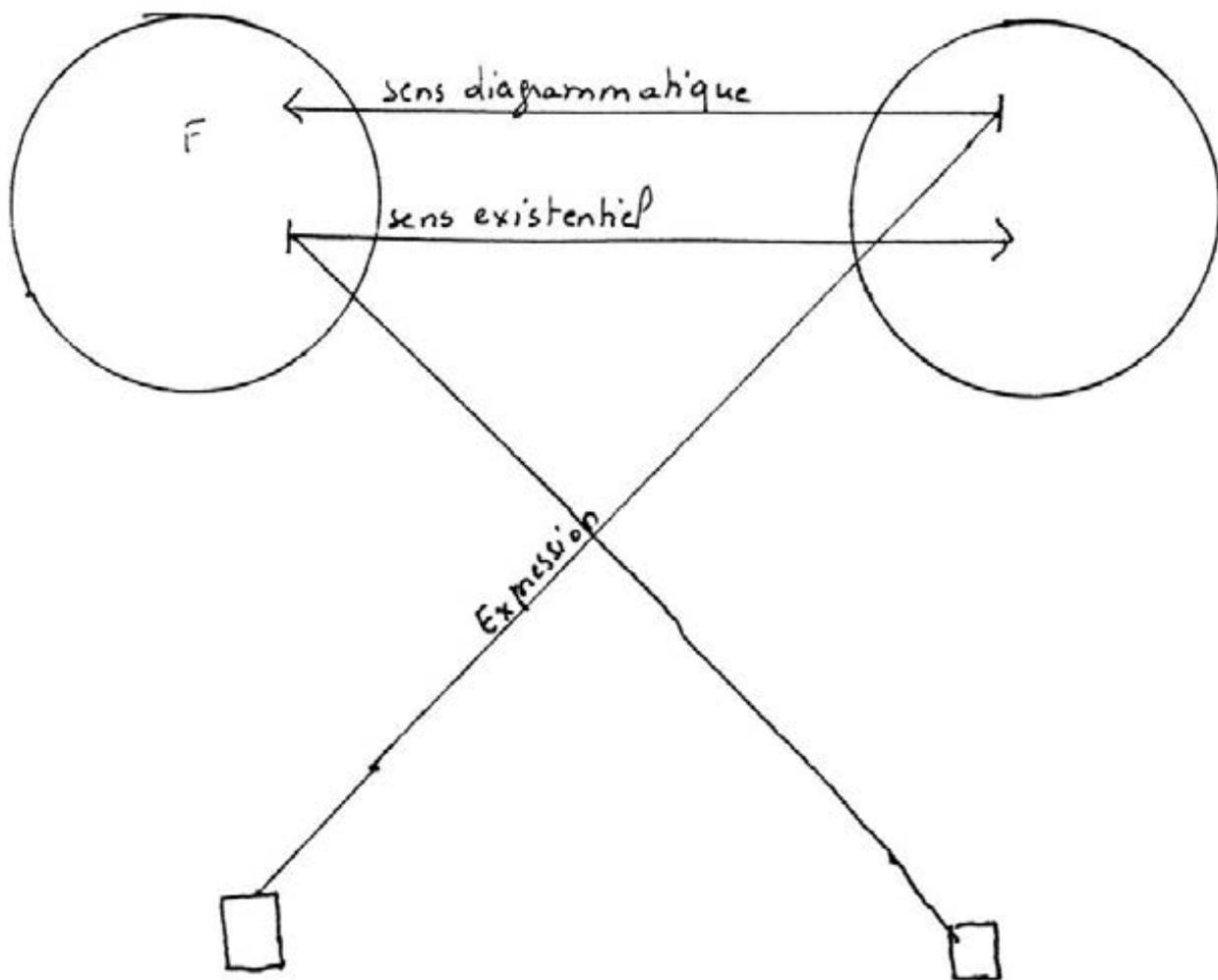
Sometimes Guattari’s cartographies are sketches that burst from the pages; other times they are acetate diagrams to be projected on a wall. Most times they are complex cartographic schemes that trace one, two, three, or one thousand dimensions of material-semiotic operations while acknowledging the potential

for many more. With their passage points, short-circuits, tensors and synapses, sign-particles, collective and/or individual formations, human and/or animal, vegetable, cosmic, diachronic and synchronic temporalities, matter/substance/form planes, they are uncompromising and experimental.

Guattari believed that these machinations, junctions, and interactions of heterogeneous domains were what analysis should focus on if one wanted to open new readings of reality and create passages capable of unfolding social transformation and new modes of action.

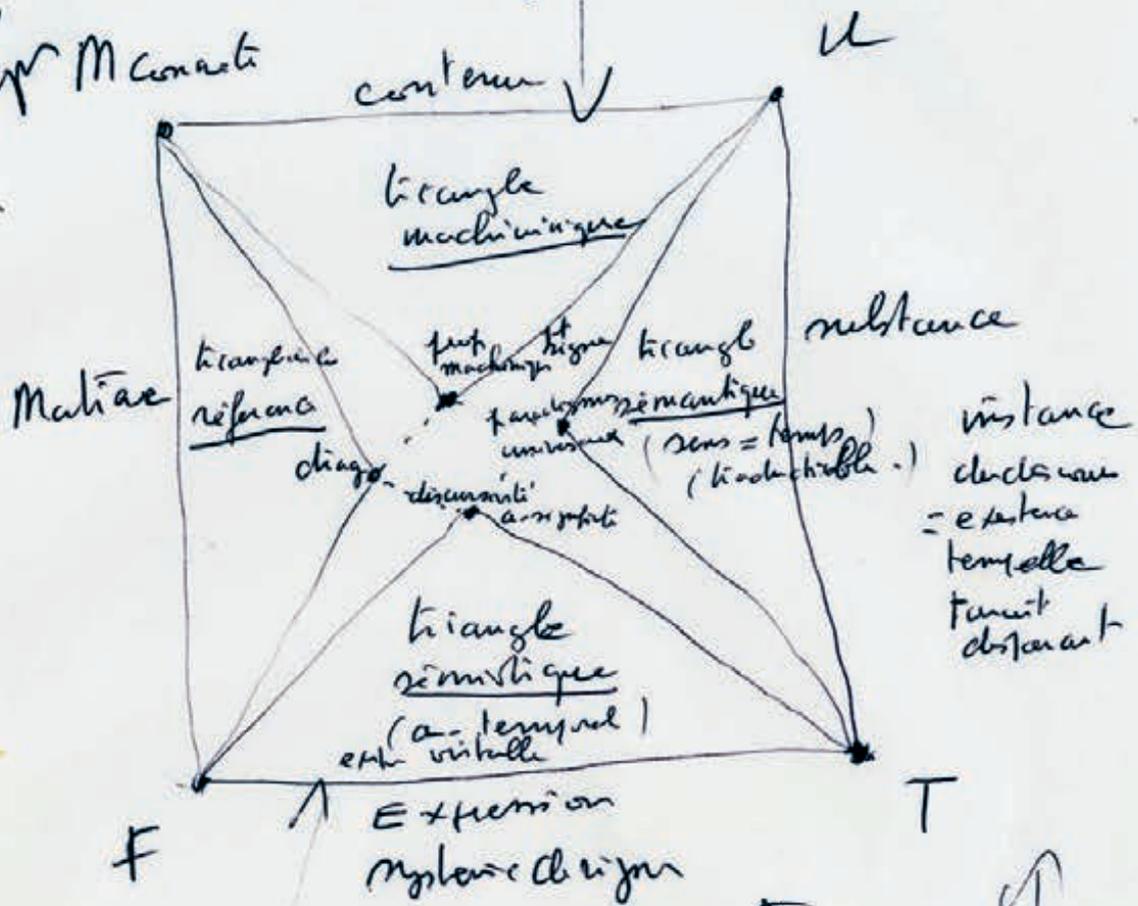
The unconscious, he repeated, is turned toward the future.

2. Félix Guattari, “Institutional Practice and Politics” (1985), in *The Guattari Reader*, ed. Gary Genosko, trans. Lang Baker (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 134.



Les 4 triangles virtualité pleine plus valeur de ce qui

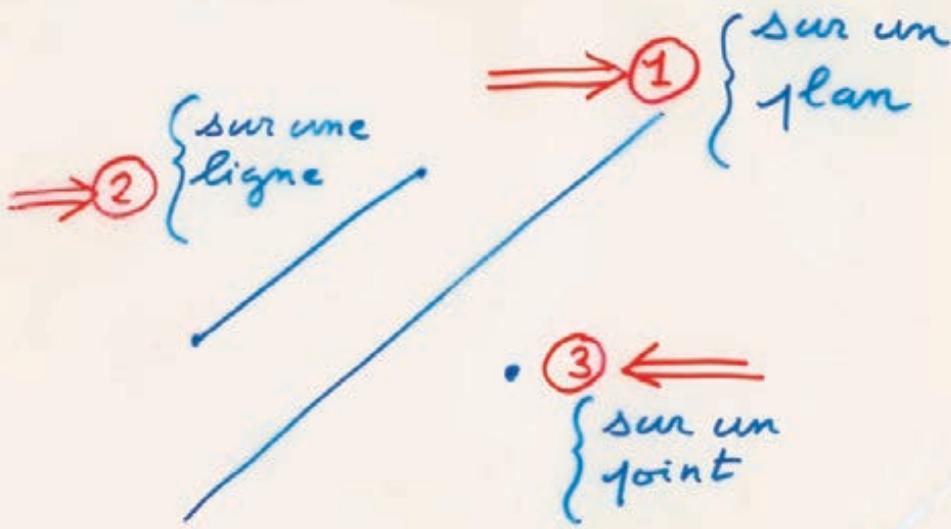
Regimes multiples
No action



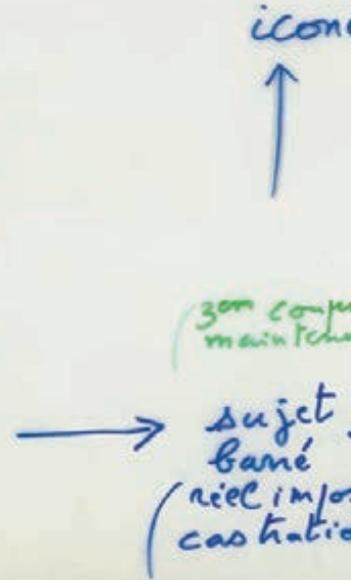
virtualité vide
répétition vide
technologie balle

embouteillés
résultats des
tentatives
temp. lorsque
emboli

trois coupures

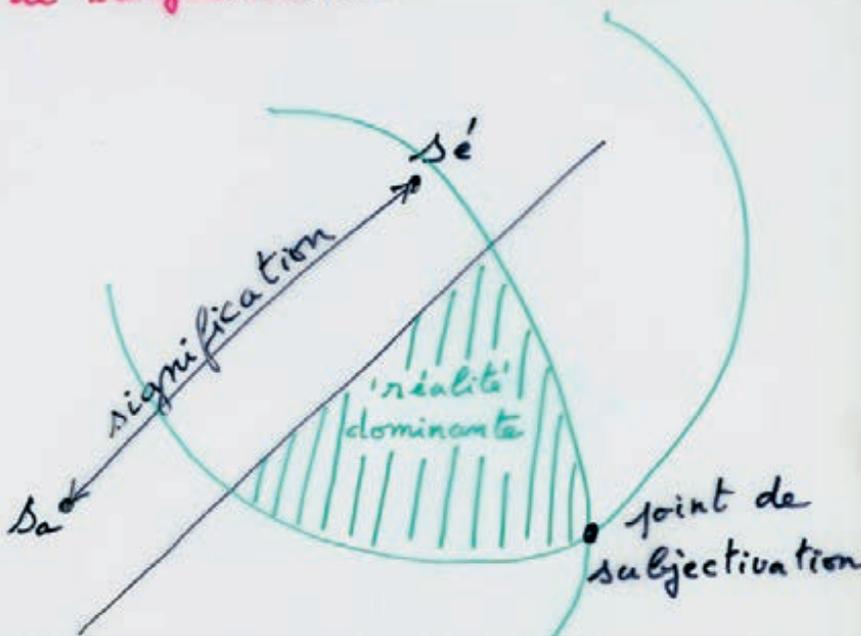


Les deux reterritoriales

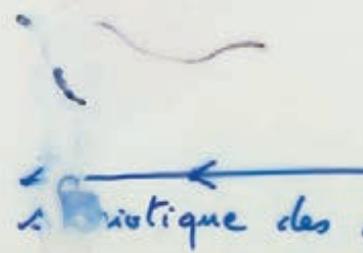


troisième coupure: le point de subjectivation

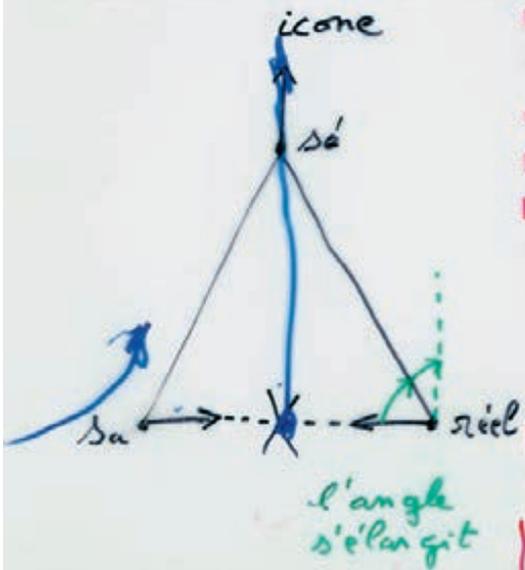
(fonction du sujet) (3)



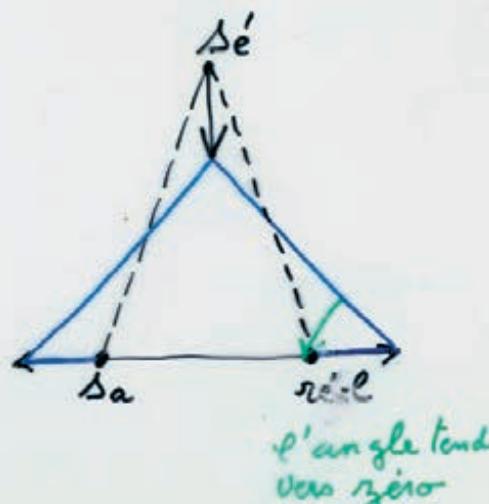
les deux sémiotiques



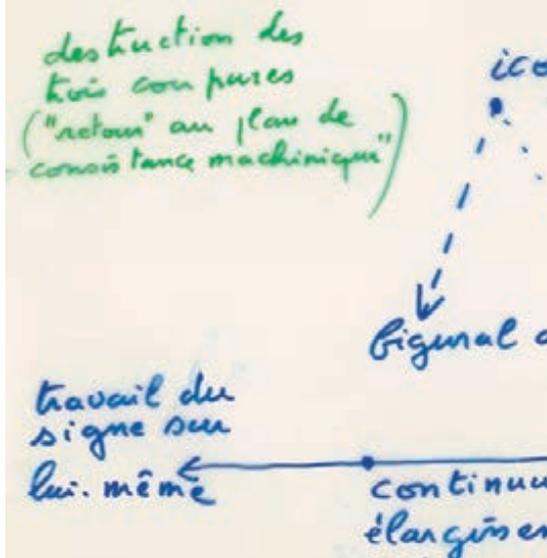
politique de la signifiante



politique de l'expérience (5)



politique de l'expérience

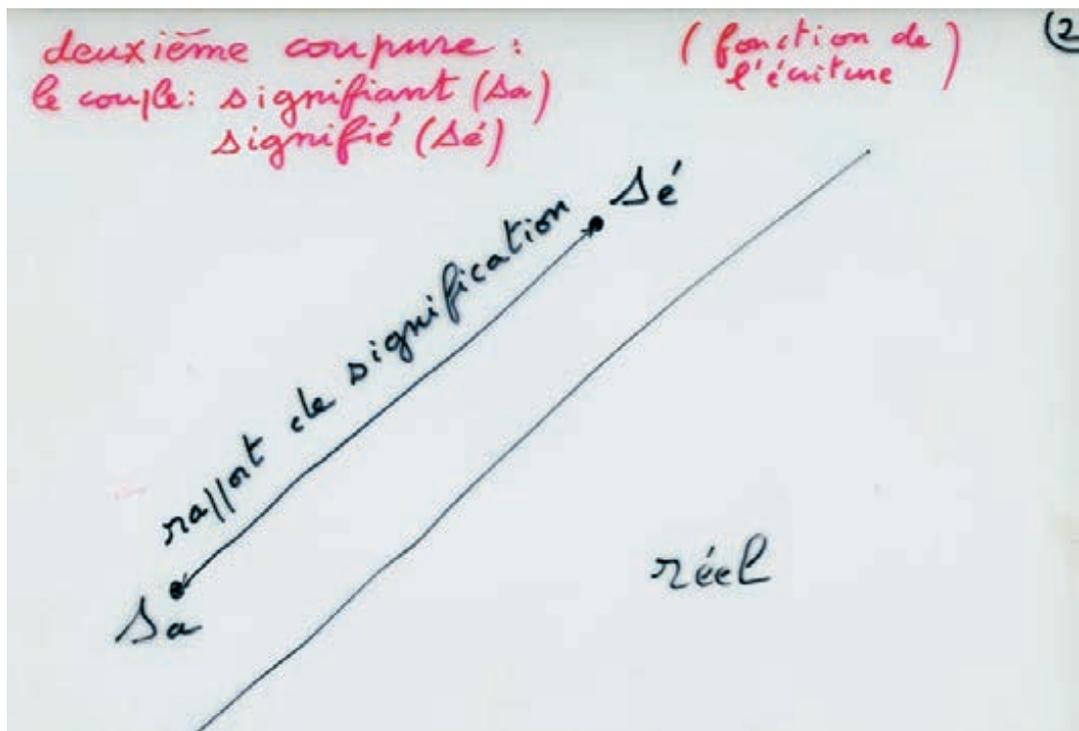


opérations paranoïaques:

reterritorialisation
capitaliste "audio-visuelle"

= élargissement de
la state de signification

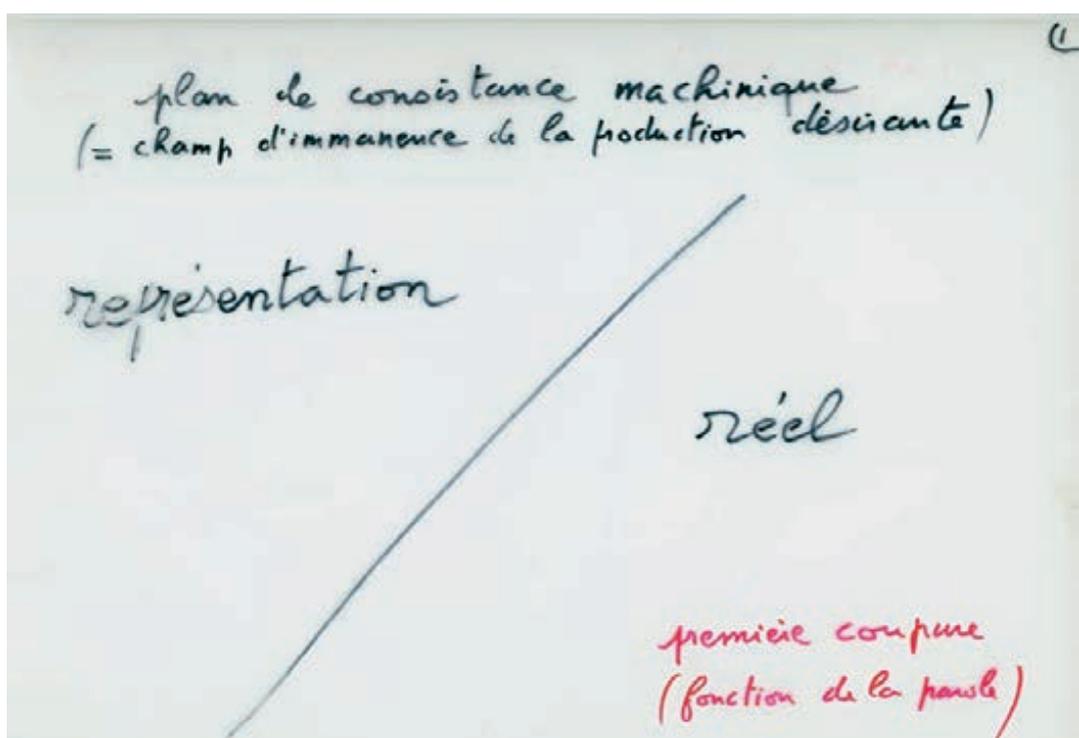
reterritorialisation
subjective
= nouvelles
states de subjecti-
vation
= opération
structuraliste



opérations:

Sém
Dign. h...
(formalistes)

substances a-signifiant



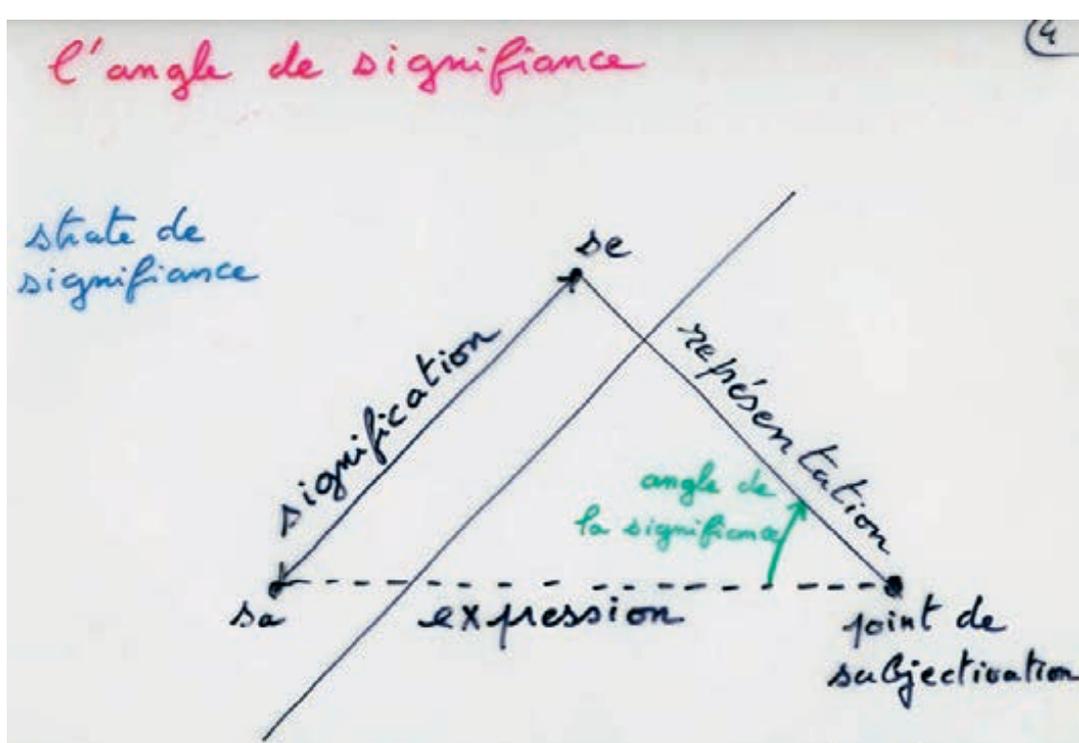
signe

disque

a-signifiant

déterritorialisation
du 2^e

un signe - particulièrement de l'expression



WAR MACHINES

Research
Case Studies

Machinations of a War Machine

Gerald Raunig

What Is a Machination?

“For the new theatre has its god in machination.”¹

The epigraph, a sentence by Walter Benjamin, comes from *Origin of the German Trauerspiel*, Benjamin’s book on baroque *Trauerspiel* in Germany, which he submitted in 1925 as a habilitation in Frankfurt and subsequently withdrew as a losing game. The history of machinations and war machines appears in this work as a history of the theater machine. Benjamin’s thesis is that the new stage (*Bühne*) of baroque tragedy, which remained marginal in Germany, can no longer make use of gods; its “outside,” instead, is machination. Machination is a substitute for transcendence, transcendence that has come into the world, that has been turned into the world. Not a healing or redeeming instance but a scaffolding of multiplicities turned open on the stage itself or even in the auditorium.² If the *Trauerspiel* gains its validity from the care “with which ‘mourning’ [*Trauer*] and ‘play’ [*Spiel*] can harmonize with each other,” its central component lies in the playful development of intrigues and machinations.³ The earthly condition appears sad and desolate, but in the entanglement and confusion of its doom the magic of the machinic unfolds.

While Benjamin turned to Marxist and revolutionary positions in the period he wrote *Origin of the German Trauerspiel*, especially in his time around the Soviet theater worker Asja Lācis and Bertolt Brecht, his turn “to not mask the actual and political elements of my ideas in the Old Franconian way I did before” is not evident on the surface of the text.⁴ Rather, according to Benjamin, the baroque is one of those periods of European history in which forms of outrage, rebellion, and heresy were unable to find open expression. The authority of the Christian churches, but also the “heterodox nuances of doctrinal teaching and practice,” obstructed the actualization of molecular revolution. Instead, “the entire force of the epoch was directed toward a complete revolution of the content of life under the orthodox preservation of ecclesiastical forms.”⁵ One component of Benjamin’s focus on the “content of life” concerns the theater and the expansion of machinations within it. In procedures as microscopic as they are eclectic, folds of immanence are examined and demonstrated. And yet, “the German drama of the Counter-Reformation never discovered the eminently supple form, favorable to every virtuosity, that Calderon gave to the Spanish theater.”⁶

The space in which tragedy is set, its scenery, is the prince’s court. “But in no life is there more play and spectacle [*Schauplatz*] than in the life of those whose element is the court.”⁷ The court is a field of immanence, a princely surround in the game of intrigues and councils. On the one side as court, as bureaucracy and seat of the prince; on the other side as nomadic line, as social machine and machination. *Machination* here refers not only to the stagecraft and the technical scaffolding by way of which gods, ghosts, and spirits have descended and ascended onto the stage since antiquity, but also to the concrete “machinations” of the courtiers in the dramatic action.⁸

1. Walter Benjamin, *Origin of the German Trauerspiel*, ed. Gershom Scholem and Theodor W. Adorno, trans. Howard Eiland (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), 69. ■ 2. In the evidence that *machinations* and *Machenschaften* almost always appear in the plural lies a grammatical index of their manifoldness. ■ 3. Benjamin, *Origin of the German Trauerspiel*. “Machinations plural f. ‘cunning machinations, intrigues,’ borrowed (17th century) from Latin *māchinātio* (plural *māchinātiōnes*) ‘mechanical gear,’ rendered ‘cunning device, artifice.’” Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen, s.v. “machination,” <https://www.dwds.de/wb/etymwb/Machination>. ■ 4. Walter Benjamin, *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin*, trans. Manfred R. Jacobson and Evelyn M. Jacobson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 139. ■ 5. Benjamin, *Origin of the German Trauerspiel*, 65–66. ■ 6. Benjamin, 29. ■ 7. Benjamin citing Lohenstein’s preface to *Sophonisbe* in Benjamin, 82. ■ 8. In his *Contributions to Philosophy*, Martin Heidegger writes that *machination* (*Machenschaft*) “ordinarily means a “bad” kind of human endeavor and the scheming that goes into it.” Martin Heidegger, *Contributions to Philosophy (Of the Event)*, trans. Richard Rojcewicz and Daniela Vallega-Neu (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 99. While Heidegger rejects the disparaging, pejorative connotation of the concept of machination and, in connection with feasibility in the modern era, develops a structural understanding of machination that goes beyond human behavior, which subsequently proves to be a culturally pessimistic figure of “the sovereignty of making and the realm of what is made” (104), what is at stake is a very different twist on machination: machinations are assemblages and disassemblages of technical machines and human machinations but also, and above all, social machines.

With perfect ambivalence, Benjamin describes the two sides of the courtier that only Spanish baroque theater was able to figure as embodied in one person: “the intriguer, as evil genius of their despot, and the faithful servant, as companion in suffering to crowned innocence.”⁹ Intrigue is a manifold gear system of confusions driven by the bustle of courtiers, by their drives and strategies. “In these and similar descriptions is presented the court official whose power, knowledge, and will are demonically heightened, the privy councilor to whom entry into the cabinet of the prince, where the stratagems of high policy are hatched, stands open.”¹⁰ This figure of the secret court councilor may sometimes be personified in an individual, but most often a whole crowd machinates the court with its goings-on. The intrigues of the councilors—in secret meetings and half-loud advice, hints spoken offstage, whispering voices across the prompter’s boxes—have an effect: instead of the “confrontation with God and fate,” the godless mechanical engine and the cunning machinations of a social machine, instead of the *deus ex machina* that resolves all contradictions, the machination, endless entanglement, and confusion.¹¹

“Confusion [*Verwirrung*],” Benjamin writes, has long been a *terminus technicus* of dramaturgy, typical, for example, of Lope de Vega’s drama *El palacio confuso* (The confused court), which was performed as *Der verwirrte Hof* in Germany as early as the seventeenth century.¹² More important here than the moral component of confusion is the use of confusion as a method in the choreographic continuum of both political and theatrical space. In the process, the contouring of the plot recedes into the background of the presentation of affects: “the tempo of the affective life quickens to such an extent that calm actions, slowly ripened decisions, are seen less and less often.”¹³ Confusion is the art of inventing accelerations, collisions, and agitations, of not only presenting confusion but creating it.¹⁴ Drastic presentations of passions, ever more intricate intrigues, fragmentation of action, intertwined situations, and the most remote twists, endless preparations, detours, mutating relationships, microcomplications, breaking apart and irruption of fragments from the world of things, scattering into infinite lines, confusions of all kinds, up to the remark that the tragedy is without a real end—its stream flows on and on.¹⁵

The mastery of political space, a knowledge of human affects, and the calculation and predictability of bodies and souls characterize “the doings of the courtier and the acts of the sovereign, he who, according to the occasionalist image of the divine potentiate, immediately intervenes in affairs of state at every moment.”¹⁶ But the busyness and bustle of the courtiers is in no way sovereign; in no way sovereign subjects, they are beside the sovereign and around him, driven by their bustle, drawn by the lines they draw. The gears of the councils have active and passive aspects, and this is as true of political theater as of revolutionary machines. Yes, all sorts of secret councils, courtiers, and soviets are trying to operate on the open stage behind the scenes, but there is also a wheelwork whose flows and ruptures are in no way controllable, machinic

■ 9. Benjamin, *Origin*, 89. ■ 10. Benjamin, 88. ■ 11. Benjamin, 46. See my short introduction to the history of the theater machine in *A Thousand Machines: A Concise Philosophy of the Machine as Social Movement*: “The machine is an invention, an invented device, and it is an ‘invention’ as an invented story, as deception, as a machination. Technical innovation and inventiveness blur together along the two mutualizing lines of the meaning of machine.” Gerald Raunig, *A Thousand Machines: A Concise Philosophy of the Machine as Social Movement*, trans. Aileen Derieg (New York: Semiotext(e), 2010), 25–56, here 37. ■ 12. Benjamin, *Origin*, 85. ■ 13. Benjamin, 90. ■ 14. For later attempts to render this difference productive in theater, see the theory of attraction in the chapter “Theatre Machines against Representation,” in Gerald Raunig, *Art and Revolution: Transversal Activism in the Long Twentieth Century*, trans. Aileen Derieg (New York: Semiotext(e), 2007), 149–62. ■ 15. Benjamin, *Origin*, 136. ■ 16. Benjamin, 87. On the idea of calculating the theater machine, see Raunig, *Art and Revolution*, 158–59. ■ 17. Benjamin, *Origin*, 115–16. ■ 18. Benjamin, 161. ■ 19. Benjamin, 162. ■ 20. Walter Benjamin, “Critique of Violence,” in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 277–300, here 293. See also the formulations in Benjamin’s fourth thesis, “On the Concept of History,” regarding the inconspicuous, the “fine and spiritual things”: “They are present as confidence, as courage, as humor, as cunning, as steadfastness in this struggle.” Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History” (1940), trans. Dennis Redmond, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm>. Further developments of Benjamin’s theses can be found in current feminist theories of care. See Tobias Bärtsh et al., *Ökologien der Sorge* (Vienna: transversal texts, 2017); María Puig de la Bellacasa, *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More than Human Worlds* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017); and Marta Malo *Estamos para nosotras: Siete tesis por una práctica radical de los cuidados* (Barcelona: Synusia, 2021). ■ 21. See Schaerf’s artistic research in the exhibition *machinations*. ■ 22. See Walter Benjamin, “Doctrine of the Similar (1933),” trans. Knut Tarnowski, *New German Critique*, no. 17 (Spring 1979): 65–69; and Gerald Raunig, *Ungefüge* (Vienna: transversal texts, 2021), 75–86. ■ 23. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 390. ■ 24. This lineage goes back to the Indo-European root **werra*. ■ 25. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 422.

flows, affect flows, and techno-assemblages. Drifting and being driven in the immanence of intrigues, conscious deception, and confusion of machination.

The theatrical machine of baroque theater is nomadic on several levels. The seventeenth century was a period in which wandering and sedentary stages jointly appeared. "And then, in the European *Trauerspiel* as a whole, the stage itself is not a strictly fixable, authentic location, but it too is dialectically sundered. Tied to the royal court, it nonetheless remains an itinerant stage; its boards inauthentically represent the earth as the created scene of history; it moves with its court from town to town."¹⁷ However pronounced this nomadic quality of princely court and theatrical stage may have been, it finds its third level in the homeless figure of the courtier. Deterritorialization is his primary mode of behavior—in the confusion of the plot, in the groundlessness of machination, in the mutation of allegiance and ethos. "Treachery is his element. It is not carelessness or clumsy characterization on the part of the author," but an escape from authenticity, sedentariness, and fidelity.¹⁸ And if the machinator can possess the quality of loyalty, it is only to things: "fidelity is entirely in place only in the relation of humans to the world of things."¹⁹

The scheming role of the secret councils tends to appear as a representation of evil, but the twists, deceptions, and secrets of the machination can also be "a delicate task" if the task is interpreted as bearing on diplomatic virtues. Benjamin addresses this aspect in an important passage of his "Critique of Violence," likewise written in the early 1920s. Here, "the task of diplomats in their transactions" is singled out as a rare exception, as a "means of nonviolent agreement" that does not make law and thereby exercise violence but rather places something alongside legal orders by circumventing them. "Fundamentally they have, entirely on the analogy of agreement between private persons, to resolve conflicts case by case, in the names of their states, peacefully and without contracts." Case by case, without general solution, without legal certainty, the emissaries machinate their delicate task. "Accordingly, like the intercourse of private persons, that of diplomats has engendered its own forms and virtues," forms of machination beyond fixed structures of law and power, virtues of gentleness, care, affection, including beyond anthropocentric perspectives, in soft, caring, affecting relationships with plants and animals, technical apparatuses, and thing-worlds.²⁰

The delicate task of secret diplomacy means remaining mutable, adapting to different environments—assiduous mutation to the point of assimilation. This assimilation sometimes goes so far that it seems to have lost any goal. If the multiplicity of objects grows immensely, even the subjects of nonviolent agreement become blurred, and the environment grows too confused to make oneself the same as it. This is aimless assimilation, always too poorly done, never fully successful, overall failing-failed assimilation, a growing resemblance that can never end in the same. As in Eran Schaerf's research on Levantinism as subversive affirmation,

linguistic appropriation, infiltration, and takeover. Drawing from the writings of Jacqueline Kahanoff and Fausta Cialente and the arts and lives of the Frenkel brothers, Schaerf develops a Levantine figure that flees from assimilation to assimilation. The nomadic diplomacy of the machinator—sometimes imagined as nonhuman—is here not so much disloyalty as it is loyalty to and from all sides. Disfigured similarity, mutual assimilation.²¹ As a becoming-similar in everyday life of minoritarian positions that subvert the invisible standard, the dominant, and surround the sovereign, machinate the court, the state apparatus, the nation—machi-nation.²²

The Invention of the War Machine

"In the war machine and nomadic existence . . . it invents the secret and its outgrowths (strategy, espionage, war ruses, ambush, diplomacy, etc.)."²³

Secret, intrigue, cunning, deception, diplomacy, and invention—these are the conceptual components that the machination of the theatrical machine has shared since antiquity with a term used by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari that is itself no less crucial than controversial: *machine de guerre*, the war machine. And in the same way that machination shaped baroque tragedy primarily with the technique of confusion, the Old High German *wërra*—in the same etymological line as the Romance and English words for war (*guerra*, *guerre*, *war*)—means "confusion" and "turmoil."²⁴

In 1980, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* was published in the original French. In its over one-hundred-page plateau [i.e., chapter] on nomadology, Deleuze and Guattari develop the conceptual pair *war machine* and *state apparatus* with references to anthropological, ethnological, literary, mathematical, linguistic, economic, physical, and historical research. Their emerging nomadic science invents the war machine as bipolar through and through: on one side as a line of destruction appropriated by the state (apparatuses) at the risk of war becoming "the horizon of the world, or the dominant order"—nuclear war, total war, total peace; on the other side as sabotage, desertion, flight. And according to this second pole, as the well-known final paragraphs of the plateau state, "the war machine, with infinitely lower 'quantities,' has as its object not war, but the drawing of a creative line of flight, the composition of a smooth space and of the movement of people in that space."²⁵ That is, the object of the war machine is not necessarily war; its only positive object is the constitution of a smooth space and the occupation and displacement of this space. A line of flight makes its way, and when the line of flight is drawn, it attracts creation, invention, inventiveness. War machines machinate; their search for weapons is the search for agitated, cunning, confusing-confused lines of mutation: "they can make war only on the condition that they simultaneously create something

■ 26. Deleuze and Guattari, 423; emphasis in original.

■ 27. Deleuze and Guattari, 437. ■ 28. Félix Guattari, *L'inconscient machinique: Essais de schizo-analyse* (Paris: Éditions Recherches, 1979), 202, 323. The English translation of the transcription of Deleuze's seminar can be found at "The Deleuze Seminars," <https://deleuze.cla.purdue.edu/node/226>. ■ 29. Gilles Deleuze, "A Thousand Plateaus V: The State Apparatus and War-Machines II, Lecture 1, November 6, 1979" (1979), The Deleuze Seminars, <https://deleuze.cla.purdue.edu/seminars/thousand-plateaus-v-state-apparatus-and-war-machines-ii/lecture-01>. The French original reads, "La machine de guerre, elle a même un but fondamental premier à savoir détruire les appareils d'État. Comme on dit elle est directement dirigée contre le phénomène d'État, le phénomène urbain, le phénomène Agricole." Gilles Deleuze, "Appareils d'État et machines de guerre: Cours Vincennes - St Denis - Séance 1; Cours du 06/11/1979" (1979), Webdeleuze, <https://www.webdeleuze.com/textes/235>. ■ 30. See also Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 354. ■ 31. Deleuze, "A Thousand Plateaus V: The State Apparatus and the War-Machines II, Lecture 2, November 13, 1979" (1979), The Deleuze Seminars, <https://deleuze.cla.purdue.edu/seminars/thousand-plateaus-v-state-apparatus-and-war-machines-ii/lecture-02>. In French: "La notion de secret d'État est une notion très tardive liée à ceci et lié avant tout à, au moment où les appareils d'État s'approprient les machines de guerre. C'est la machine de guerre qui est secrète. D'ailleurs même sans le vouloir, ils se trouvent en situation d'être secret, sinon dans l'appareil de capture définie comme grand empire archaïque, tout est public. Le souverain mange en public, le despote mange en public, couche en public [Deleuze tape du poing sur la table] C'est l'homme de guerre bizarrement qui a un voile, qui se cache pour manger, c'est curieux, le secret nait avec la machine de guerre. Pas de machine de guerre, pas de secret." Gilles Deleuze, "Appareils d'État et machines de guerre: Cours Vincennes - St Denis - Séance 2; Cours du 13/11/1979" (1979), Webdeleuze, <https://www.webdeleuze.com/textes/236>. ■ 32. Gilles Deleuze, "Preface: Three Group-Related Problems," in Félix Guattari, *Psychoanalysis and Transversality: Texts and Interviews 1955–1971* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2015), 7–22, here 16; emphasis in original. See also Deleuze's 1974 lecture, "Two Regimes of Madness," in *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975–1995*, trans. Ames Hodges and Mike Taormina, ed. David Lapoujade (New York: Semiotext(e), 2007), 11–16, in which Deleuze refers to the war machine as an abstract line of mutation that "comes from outside and is nomadic in origin" (13). ■ 33. Deleuze, "Preface," 17. ■ 34. François Dosse, *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives*, trans. Deborah Glassman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 6, 557. ■ 35. In his preface, Deleuze refers precisely to this text, "where the very principle of a machine is distinguished from the hypothesis of structure and detached from structural ties." Deleuze, "Preface," 21. ■ 36. Félix Guattari, "Machine and Structure," in *Psychoanalysis and Transversality: Texts and Interviews 1955–1971* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2015), 318–49, here 321. ■ 37. Guattari, 322. ■ 38. Deleuze, "Preface," 21. ■ 39. Guattari, "Machine and Structure," 328. ■ 40. I am grateful to Anne Querrien for notes on the convoluted genesis and conceptual critique of war machine and state apparatus. On the relationship between the two authors in the run-up to *Anti-Oedipus*, see Anne Querrien's text on the machinic unconscious that appears elsewhere in the present volume. ■ 41. See similar formulations on the circumstantial adoption of institutional form and state apparatus, against which it is a matter of not supplying or adopting the apparatus without changing it, in Walter Benjamin, "What Is the Epic Theater?," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969); and Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer" (1970), trans. John Heckman, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1970/author-producer.htm>. See also Gerald Raunig, *The Machinics of Political Art: Another Twelve Theses on the Actualization of Walter Benjamin's "The Author as Producer"* (Bilbao: Consonni, 2014). ■ 42. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 356; emphasis in original. ■ 43. Deleuze and Guattari, 385. ■ 44. Deleuze and Guattari, 230. ■ 45. Deleuze and Guattari, 417. ■ 46. For the etymological and historical genealogy, see the chapter "War Machines" in Raunig, *A Thousand Machines*, esp. 72–80: "In ancient warfare, the *machina* appears as a technical expression in the field of siegecraft. . . . But here, too, as in the case of theatrical machines, it is never just a matter of the concrete technical machine that punctures the wall, brings it down, or allows it to be overcome. Here, too, the *machina* alternates between the material wall-breaker and the cunning that bypasses the wall or allows it to open on its own" (72–73).

else, if only new nonorganic social relations."²⁶ They mutate sociality, create new social machines—not organic but orgiastic and simultaneously organless bodies—and with them also make new revolutionary machines. On the next plateau, where the state apparatus is transformed into an "apparatus of capture," the war machines develop strategies against this appropriation, and they "form new focal points of resistance and contagion." Power of mutation, power of machination: "Similarly, war machines have a *power of metamorphosis*, which of course allows them to be captured by States, but also to resist that capture and rise up again in other forms, with other 'objects' besides war (revolution?)."²⁷

While the war machine is mentioned en passant in Guattari's book *L'inconscient machinique: Essais de schizo-analyse* (The Machinic Unconscious: Essays in Schizoanalysis, 1979), as it is in his other texts of the 1970s, Deleuze organized nearly his entire seminar at the University of Paris 8, Vincennes/St. Denis, in the year preceding the publication of *A Thousand Plateaus*, on the relationship between the state apparatus and the war machine.²⁸ The lectures make clear that, alongside other conceptual components of the war machine, the warlike element of the war machine lies foremost in its antagonistic position vis-à-vis the state, state apparatuses, and state sedentariness: "The war machine even has a fundamental goal, namely: to destroy State apparatuses. It is understood as directly targeted against the phenomenon of the State, the urban phenomenon and the agricultural phenomenon. Then, of course, it is integrated into it. But it is integrated at a secondary level."²⁹ The secret is thus shown to be a central component of the war machine and, in a very different way, a component of the state apparatus. The war machine invents the secret.³⁰

The notion of the State secret is a very late notion, connected above all to the moment when State apparatuses appropriate the war machines. It is the war machine that is secret (moreover without even wanting it), and which finds itself in the situation of being secret. Otherwise, in the apparatus of capture defined as great archaic empire, all is public. The sovereign eats in public, the despot eats in public, sleeps in public. It is the man of war, bizarrely enough, who has a veil, who covers himself in order to eat. It's pretty curious. The secret is born with the war machine. No war machine, no secret.³¹

But the notion of the war machine predates the beginning of the work on *A Thousand Plateaus*. It emerged primarily in the context of Guattari's work in the field of institutional analysis and its intensifying spread into the environments of May 1968 in Paris. The first part of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia, Anti-Oedipus*, was published in 1972, but so were Guattari's previously scattered essays, in *Psychanalyse et transversalité*, with the active assistance of Deleuze, who wrote the preface for his new friend's first book.

In this preface one can find for the first time the formulation that brings the typical dualism of the war machine and the state apparatus to the fore. Essentially, the question is how schizoanalysis and institutional analysis can be brought into the practice of social struggle and how the social machines can act in turn on the schizo-machines. Against the backdrop of Guattari's other central concepts (including transversality and the distinction between *groupes assujettis* and *groupes-sujets*, subjugated groups and subject groups), the question is raised of how to organize "in a transversal way, through multiplicity, and not in a vertical way, so apt to crash the multiplicity proper to desire." According to Deleuze, this question leads to the "theoretical task to be undertaken at the present time"; namely, "*what exactly a war machine is (as compared to a state apparatus)*."³² Exemplary of this task, Deleuze's reading of Guattari points to the albeit "insufficient" war machine of the March 22nd Movement, the movement leading up to May 1968 that operated "without any claims to hegemony or avant-garde status; it was simply an environment allowing for the transfer and the removal of inhibitions . . . in an open environment and in group-subjects." Far from the classical twentieth-century modes of organization, the molar forms of union and party, far from the goal of taking over the state, far from planned and disciplined procedures aiming at that goal, the desire flows of translocal 1968 spilled over as insignificant lines into the following decade: "Because 'truth is not theory, and not organization.' It's not structure, and not the signifier; it's the war machine and its non-sense."³³

In July 1969, Deleuze wrote to Guattari that he was not well acquainted with Guattari's concepts of machine and anti-production.³⁴ Deleuze's remarks on the war machine and the state apparatus draw their dualism from "Machine and Structure," an essay Guattari published in 1969, shortly before the two authors met in person and began work on *Anti-Oedipus*.³⁵ In the essay, Guattari refers in turn to Deleuze's habilitation writings, *Difference and Repetition* and *The Logic of Sense*, which had just been published (and the success of which exceeded Benjamin's beyond comparison). Guattari's main concern in this text is the development of an abstract confrontation of two poles, one of which—structure—refers to a universality and is characterized by the exchange and substitution of particularities; the other, the machine, as a figure of repetition in the sense developed by Deleuze, refers precisely to nonexchangeable, nonsubstitutable particularities.

The first mention of the war machine in Guattari's 1969 text concerns the machinic transformation of the field of knowledge production: "Every new discovery—in the sphere of scientific research, for example—moves across the structural field of theory like a war machine, upsetting and rearranging everything so as to change it radically."³⁶ The invention of the war machine sweeps everything along—the researchers, their material, their objects of investigation, even the proper name of the inventor—until all personalizing effects disappear, "caught where the machine and structure meet."³⁷ The thematic substance for the

development of the dualism of machine and structure comes primarily from La Borde's practice. During his years of collaboration with Jean Oury, Guattari had developed the theory and practice of institutional analysis, building, among other things, on Francesco Tosquelles's institutional therapy. From the work in the clinic emerges a machinic notion of institution, one in which analysis of the institution pertains to a persistently instituent rather than institutional practice. Yet, as Deleuze writes, the machine of desire consists not only of the analyzer machine but also of the war machine—in this case, the war machine of the French experience of 1968.³⁸ In "Machine and Structure," Guattari draws on these experiences to problematize the forms of organization that remain entrenched, even in leftist contexts, ultimately as bait for the return to state-shaped modes of organization: "The problem of revolutionary organization is the problem of setting up an institutional machine whose distinctive features would be a theory and practice that ensured its not having to depend on the various social structures—above all the State structure."³⁹ This institutional machine is a war machine, and the state apparatus, which in Guattari's essay still bears the name "state structure," is at the same time a great apparatus of capture that has repeatedly structuralized the revolutionary machine over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴⁰ Guattari's recurrent and insistent problematization seeks forms with which this bait can be rejected, forms of hostility anticipation that prevent the instituent practice of war machines from being closed and fixed.⁴¹ In their plateau on nomadology and the war machine, Deleuze and Guattari return to these questions. Referred to as "Problem I," their formulation asks, "*Is there a way of warding off the formation of a State apparatus (or its equivalents in a group)?*"⁴² Thus, starting from these experiences, Guattari problematizes in "Machine and Structure" the forms of organization still firmly established in leftist contexts as something that, in the last instance, is a trap for the return to forms of organization proper to the state.

War Machine against the State

"It is the war machine, as nomad, that invents the abolitionist dream and reality."⁴³

The war machine never has war as a concern, as an object, as a goal; "war is like the fall or failure of mutation, the only object left for the war machine when it has lost its power to change."⁴⁴ The war machine, on the contrary, has the positive aim of creating, occupying, and populating a smooth space, distributing and displacing in this smooth space.⁴⁵ To flee, and in fleeing to seek a weapon, to burst a pipe, to dare an invention.⁴⁶ The figure of the line of flight comes from the Black Panther movement, loosely based on a saying by George Jackson, and can also be traced back to the anti-colonial

guerrilla practices that shaped a crucial version of the war machine in the twentieth century.⁴⁷ The guerrilla war machine avoids antagonistic pseudo-symmetrical confrontation. Not only does it not aim for war, it does not aim for battle. It explicitly aims for “*nonbattle*.”⁴⁸ Guerrilla, not small war, but minor war, war machine of the minoritarians, who do not belong to that invisible dominant whose state apparatuses take over the war machine. They cultivate the asymmetry that avoids battle understood as a confrontation of unequal forces on the same plane.

The secret always plays a role, and not as clandestine insurrectionism or secret society, but as everyday machinations of revolutionary machines, as becoming-secret, secret becoming, and becoming of the secret. “For,” as Walter Benjamin wrote in his essay “Surrealism,” “histrionic or fanatical stress on the mysterious side of the mysterious takes us no further; we penetrate the mystery only to the degree that we recognize it in the everyday world.”⁴⁹ Secret everyday, everyday secret, the secret of the war machine is not a macho-pathetic doer figure but the small secrecies, the gestures in the semidarkness, the reterritorializing sounds that resound every day.⁵⁰ And even the names of the leaders are less important than the solutions without a general, the multiplicities that move without a central command, in which unifying and hierarchizing factors are rejected as “asocial intrusion.”⁵¹

Traditional revolutionary history tells of a genealogical line of the guerrilla that goes back by leaps and bounds from Che Guevara to Abd el-Krim. Much closer yet to the nomadology of the war machine was the time of the Rif before it had a general, a prehistory of the Republic of the Rif of the 1920s in northern Morocco. Despite its proximity to the Andalusian territories, the Rif’s rugged and difficult-to-access mountainous terrain remained little explored by Europeans until the early twentieth century, and, despite its relationship to the Moroccan state, the population maintained a greater or lesser degree of informal independence. Spanish colonial activities in the Rif date to the late nineteenth century, when Spain lost its colonies in the Spanish-American War and the colonial military returned in search of new territory for extractivist strategies. Spain was able to secure a protectorate-like zone of influence in northern Morocco, but this was repeatedly made insecure by insurgencies and unrest, by Kabyle war machines directed at the colonial state apparatus. In July 1921 in the “Desastre de Annual” (Disaster of Annual), the newly elected military leader Abd el-Krim inflicted on Spanish troops one of the most sensitive defeats in the history of European colonial interventions. In September 1921, the independence of the Rif was proclaimed, and in February 1923 the Rif Republic was established, holding until May 1926. Above and beyond the fighting, German mustard gas was used by the Spanish-French coalition, despite its prohibition by the Hague Convention’s “Regulations Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land.” This was the first time poison gas was used from the air and the first time it was used

■ 47. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 204.

■ 48. Deleuze and Guattari, 416; emphasis in original. ■ 49. Walter Benjamin, “Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia,” trans. Edmund Jephcott, *New Left Review*, no. 108 (March/April 1978). (*Surrealism* is the spelling from the title of the German original, in which Benjamin added an umlaut to *Surrealismus*.) ■ 50. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari also establish at several points (244, 268, 355, 400) a feminist figure of the war machine, which they develop with Heinrich von Kleist; namely, the Amazonian war machine in Kleist’s *Penthesilea* of 1808. This war machine is by no means to be read as the symmetrical counterpart of Achilles but as a “chain of frenzy, dizziness, and unconsciousness.” (The location of the cited text should be page 278 in the English version to match the German translation; however, this passage is not included in the English translation, which reads “in which Achilles and Penthesilea . . . choose one another” without the modifier included in the German: “in a chain of.” The respective passage is found on page 379 of the German translation.) ■ 51. Pierre Rosenstiehl and Jean Petitot, cited in Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 30–31. ■ 52. Benjamin, “Surrealism,” 52. ■ 53. Tuyya n Arif and Benali Hamou, *Hirak Rif: Rebelión popular en el norte de Marruecos* (Málaga: Genal / El Acebuche Libertario, 2019) 48, 51–53. ■ 54. Fred Moten, *Black and Blur* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 187. ■ 55. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 351. ■ 56. Deleuze and Guattari, 356. ■ 57. Deleuze and Guattari, 359. ■ 58. See, e.g., Deleuze and Guattari,

against civilians. The effects persist to this day: lung cancer rates in the Rif are extremely high, and the governments of Spain and Morocco still refuse to officially confirm the use of poison gas and to accept claims for damages by the population.

The work of Sara Jiménez and Maggie Schmitt in *machinations* makes clear that the history of (post-) Africanist oscillation lines across the Mediterranean encompasses anti-colonial and anti-extractivist struggles on both sides of the sea, including the struggles of the Rif population before a general was appointed, but also struggles of anti-coloniality that occurred in the colonizers' territory—in this case, in Spain and France. These anti-colonial positions extended from the resistances in Catalonia and Andalusia to the French surrealists, whose accelerated politicization Benjamin attributed in his surrealism essay to the “Moroccan War,” against the general backdrop of the moralistic, humanistic, and anti-revolutionary role of the “left-bourgeois” intelligentsia, with explicit reference to the manifesto “The Intellectuals against the Moroccan War,” which appeared in *L'humanité* in mid-1925.⁵²

The tiger leaps, even across a century. On the abstract mutation line of the occupation movements of the 2010s, a revolutionary machine formed in the Rif and filled its streets in the fall of 2016. The name of this movement is “Hirāk Rif,” and Rabih Mroué's research in *machinations* elaborates how the concept of *Hirāk* differs from that of *Harakah*, the latter being the Arabic name for the movements of the second half of the twentieth century, starting with the Palestine Liberation Organization, Fatah, and Nasserism up to the 1990s. *Harakah* is the act of moving from one point to another based on a plan, a program, a project, goals to be achieved, a homogeneous organization, and the clear distinction of success and failure. *Hirāk*, on the other hand, means the ability to move and be moved, and this active/passive form of movement is what has happened in the Arab world and beyond since 2010, not least in the public spaces and streets of the Rif from October 2016 to February 2017. The *Hirāk* does not want to take over the state apparatus, because it is still in formation, not yet fully formed, not yet fully there. Not a segmentary line, not a line from A to B, but rather a nomadic line. It wants to be a transversal movement; it wants to be based on assemblies, not parties.⁵³ The activists of the Hirāk Rif may not yet have known what they wanted, but they knew exactly what they did not want: repression by the Moroccan Makhzen, marginalization of the infrastructure of the Rif, processes of expropriation of collective land under the pretext of “public interest,” and continuation of the all-around silence concerning the war crimes of the 1920s and their consequences up to today.

What is at stake here is not only the oppositions between states and social movements, between colonial state apparatuses and anti-colonial movements, but also precisely the articulation of the instituent practices and social movements that were so important to Guattari in his investigations of

institutional analysis: *Harakah*, the molar movement as institutionalizing revolution and state apparatus; and *Hirāk*, the molecular movement that does not lock itself into the structure, the instituent movement as war machine, as a component of molecular revolution.

Machine before and before the Structure

“Before that, in the double sense of before, the thing that underlies and surrounds enclosure.”⁵⁴

The machine is directed against the structure; it wants to escape the structure. But the relationship of the war machine to the state is not antagonistic, not to be thought as a counterreaction or as a pure defense. Even if the war machine always coexists and competes with the state apparatus, this does not condemn it to reaction. In the plateau on nomadology, the first axiom is, “The war machine is exterior to the State apparatus.”⁵⁵ This exteriority of the war machine means, first of all, an entirely different temporality; it gives “time a new rhythm, an endless succession of catatonic episodes or fainting spells, and flashes or rushes.”⁵⁶ At the same time, exteriority also means that the machine is before and before the structure, before and before the state, before and before the apparatus. It is directed not only against states surrounding or preceding it but, above all, “against potential States whose formation it wards off in advance.”⁵⁷ Defense against the actual form of the state but, above all, anticipation, presentiment, and forestalling of the state. Before and before the state there is always already a machine that seeks to avert it. Before and before the state, without having war as an object, the war machine finds and invents the lines of flight; it draws a line of disturbances and side noises, creates burbles, confusion, turbulence.

This, according to Fred Moten, “antological” aspect describes a double before, which on the one hand names a synchronous-spatial outside and on the other hand a precondition as primacy. This is by no means meant to support evolutionist interpretations: no line leads from primitive societies without a state to capitalist cities and nation-states as state apparatuses. Deleuze and Guattari repeatedly point out that this question of primacy is not governed by an evolutionist postulate but by coexistence, superposition, and interaction.⁵⁸ In their little “Homage to Pierre Clastres,” Deleuze and Guattari show how necessary it is to break with evolutionist models that interpret “primitive peoples” as economically and politically backward, as (still) incapable of developing a state apparatus. Taking up Clastres's elaborations in *Society against the State*, Deleuze and Guattari arrive at a completely different interpretation of the absence of state apparatuses: these societies consciously or unconsciously seek “to ward off or avert that monster [the state apparatuses] they supposedly do not understand.”⁵⁹ The formulation in the original text of *Mille plateaux* is

“conjuré et prévenir”; in other places it is “mécanismes d’anticipation-conjuration” (mechanisms of anticipation-conjuration) or, finally, “empêcher” (prevent).⁶⁰

One can feel the uncertainty of the formulation, for much is at stake—not least the affirmation of the relationship of becoming and passing by, without projecting into the future. Like a child being held horizontally, interested not in the breaking of the waves *out there* but in the foaming of their extensions below, looking straight down at the spume of the waves, at the spray carried by the extensions of the past wave and the spatial multiplicity around them. Not looking out to the sea, to the rising and falling waves, to their breaking, and asking whether a tsunami might come. Seeing the signs, reading the lines, the burbles down there, but without interpreting, without overcoding, without anticipating and appropriating the future, which in truth wants to appropriate the now-time. “It is necessary from this standpoint to conceptualize the contemporaneousness or coexistence of the two inverse movements, of the two directions of time—of the primitive peoples ‘before’ the State, and of the State ‘after’ the primitive peoples—as if the two waves that seem to us to exclude or succeed each other unfolded simultaneously in an ‘archaeological,’ micropolitical, micrological, molecular field.”⁶¹ The waxing and waning of the waves can be understood only as (dis)simultaneity, not as succession or mutual extinction. The war machine can then also emerge amid state apparatuses; instituent practice can emerge amid institutions that it simultaneously surrounds; the revolutionary machine can emerge amid the structures it precedes. “There exist collective mechanisms that simultaneously ward off and anticipate the formation of a central power. The appearance of a central power is thus a function of a *threshold or degree* beyond which what is anticipated takes on consistency or fails to, and what is conjured away ceases to be so and arrives. This threshold of consistency, or of constraint, is not evolutionary but rather coexists with what has yet to cross it.”⁶²

357–58, 435. ■ 59. Deleuze and Guattari, 357.

■ 60. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille plateaux: Capitalisme et schizophrénie* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1980), 441, 537 (“Conjurer, c’est aussi anticiper”), 442, 536, 545 (“état social qui conjure et empêche l’état”), 445 (“les sociétés contre-état disposaient de mécanismes très précis pour le conjurer, pour empêcher qu’il ne surgisse”).

■ 61. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 431. ■ 62. Deleuze and Guattari, 431–32.

The Threshold between *Harāk*/ *Hirāk* and *Harakah*

Rabih Mroué

A few years ago, the word *لِأَرَح* (*Harāk* or *Hirāk*) was widely used among writers, journalists, and social media users to describe popular protest movements, especially those in Arab countries.¹ The use of the word came to replace the almost completely withdrawn word *تَلَرَح* (*Harakah*), which had been widely used before the 1990s.

I assume that the spread of the word *Harāk*—as opposed to the decline of the word *Harakah*—has social, political, and even psychological connotations that reflect public attitudes and changing popular moods toward the ruling regimes, political parties, and various movements (whether in opposition or loyal to the regime).

The renunciation of the word *Harakah* as a descriptor of popular movements represents a divorce from an older era characterized by alternative political and ideological ideas and programs that promised the people a better future yet fell one after the other, especially after the Soviet Union and the international socialist movement collapsed, to be replaced by religious and national populist discourses.

The differences between the terms *Harāk* and *Harakah* in Arabic dictionaries are not especially clear, but with a little examination we can distinguish between them. *Harakah*—that is, “movement”—means the act of moving. It can also mean a group of people working together to advance shared political, social, or artistic ideas. *Harāk*—that is, “mobility”—means the ability to move or to be moved. It can also mean the ability to move between different levels in society or to move from one job position to another.

Movement is from one point to another; it implies making progress and taking action. Movement is homogeneous; it realizes its goal, determines the path of its struggle, and works to achieve it. It is certain of the correctness of its project and knows exactly what is right and what is wrong.

The popular mobility denoted by *Harāk/Hirāk* is unlike such movement. It does not seek a change in belief or ideas, social organization or political system. It starts with protest against specific instances of mismanagement by those in power, a specific manipulation of laws, a specific injustice against the people, and so on.

In this sense, mobility is not the action to move but the action of organizing and encouraging people to take collective reaction in pursuit of a common objective. It begins as peaceful, general, and spontaneous protest undertaken without awareness of the path the protest will take and with no clear project or program to guide it.

Mobility is the ability to move. It is not homogeneous since such features of movement as direction and goal are still inchoate, only beginning to form. It is, in essence, diversified and holds within its folds multiple ideas that go in multiple directions, sometimes converging and sometimes remaining contradictory.

The *Harāk/Hirāk* is a state of latency, and no one knows what it will lead to. *Latency* is imagining the possible (and also the impossible). “Latency is the introduction to the possible, to the state of becoming. . . . Latency is also risk of loss.”²

1. Akram Belkaid, “Hirak” [in Arabic and French], *Orient XXI*, November 15, 2019, <https://orientxxi.info/magazine/article3421>. “[The word *Hirāk*] is a new word in terms of pronunciation, which proves to us that the Arabic language is a living language. . . . The word is derived from the root *h-r-k* and carries the same meaning [i.e., mobility]. The eloquent Arabic pronunciation is *Harak*. *Hirāk* (لِأَرَح), although a linguistic innovation, still sounds correct in terms of the structure of the letters. It began to be used quite recently, in 2007, with the emergence of the ‘Southern Movement’ in Yemen.” ■ 2. Joana Hadjithomas and Khalil Joreige, “Latency,” trans. Tony Chakar, *Home Works: A Forum on Cultural Practices in the Region*, 41, 47, <http://hadjithomasjoreige.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/KJ-latency.pdf>. See also *Latent Images*, Wonder Beirut project, based on the work of a fictional photographer, Abdallah Farah.

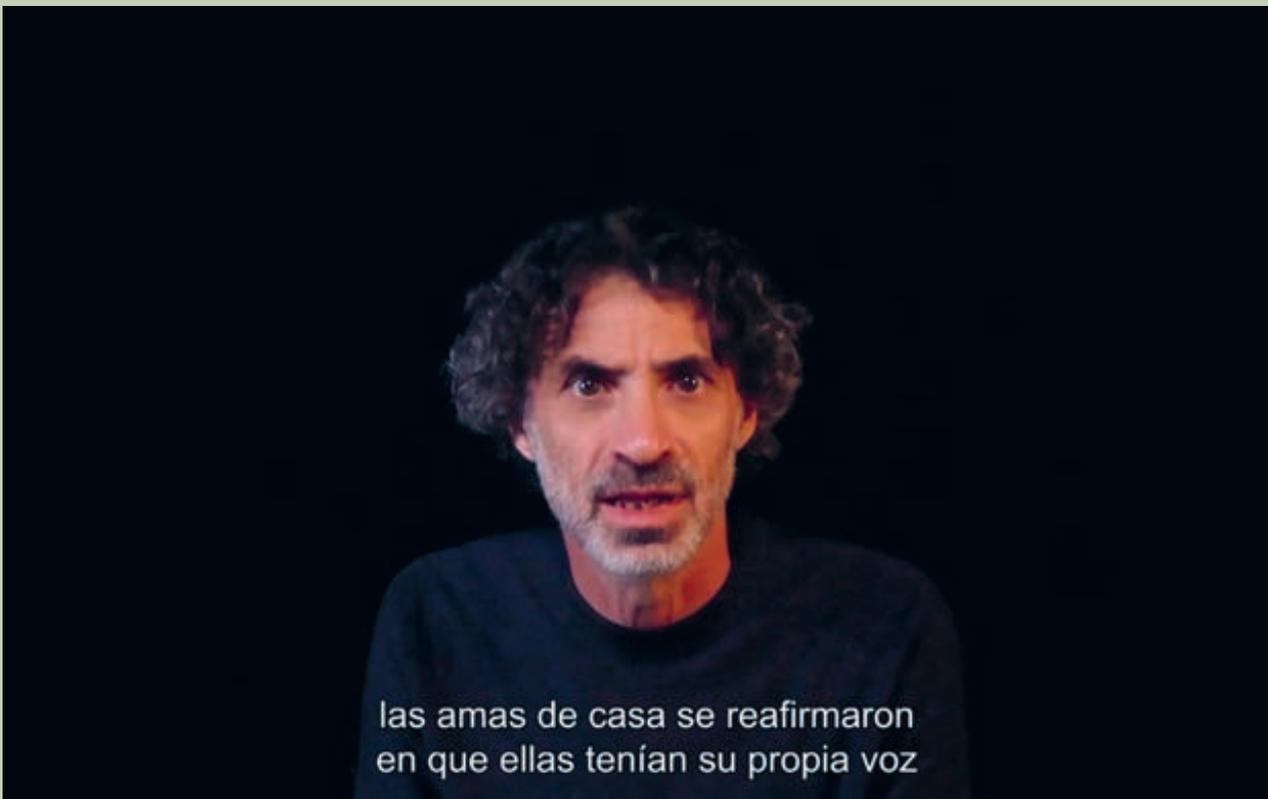
But the potentiality of *Harāk/Hirāk*, as Aristotle might have argued, refers to the many possibilities that a thing can be said to have. But we talk about the possibility of a revolution as the force of existence at the threshold between potentiality and actuality.³

Harāk/Hirāk may realize what it does not want without knowing exactly what it really wants. Topics remain suspended and latent until the image of reality begins to be seen. Only then will the *Harāk/Hirāk* move to another stage, which may represent an advance or a retreat, may see the peacefulness of the initial movement turn to violence, or may return to subservience. No one knows. For these reasons, the failure of *Harāk/Hirāk* may not be a real failure, because it does begin by presenting a major goal to achieve. In the event of its retreat, the possibility remains that a new *Harāk/Hirāk* or even a revolution will break out—but never as a *Haraka*.

Harāk/Hirāk is a nomadic, open space, unstable. It appears and disappears as it collides with the ruling power's "war machine."⁴ The *Harāk/Hirāk* "war machine" changes and shifts according to the circumstances of its confrontations with the authorities.

In my work, I apply the meaning of *Harāk/Hirāk* to the Lebanese uprising of October 2019 and investigate some of the tools of the "war machine" that *it* used in its confrontations with the state "war machine." In addition to using the feminist and queer body to challenge the masculine/macho Lebanese authorities, I also draw on dancing, singing, and noise as weapons that have confronted, and still may confront, the ruling power's "war machine" and its representatives.

■ 3. See Antonio Negri, *Spinoza for Our Time: Politics and Modernity*, trans. William McCuaig (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013). ■ 4. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Nomadology: The War Machine*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Semiotext(e), 1986).



The housewives asserted that they own their voices.

Migratory Mindset

Eran Schaerf

I want to think of migration as a movement that traces lines—alongside places, milieus, their languages and subject conceptions—that nevertheless vanish as soon as they are traced. What the vanished lines leave behind is a mindset of multiple affiliation. This mindset, call it migratory, does not enjoy the privilege of referring to a single frame of reference or of keeping apart inner sensitivities and outer conditions. But as soon as I think of migration, the jargon of the state, with its concepts of emigration and immigration, intrudes itself upon me. One by one I would check my dictionaries for possible explanations of these two words. Then I would remind myself of what Theodor W. Adorno wrote when it comes to speaking a foreign language: seeing “the same word thirty times in continually changing contexts,” one ascertains its meaning better than if looking up all the meanings listed in a dictionary.¹ The “behavior” of seeing words, Adorno goes on, is similar to the way the essay appropriates concepts.² I like this behavior that merges seeing and reading. What else could a migrant between languages be than an *essayiste* who appropriates terms to perform attempts? Although this reflection would not stop me from opening the next dictionary that crossed my path, only varying my question a bit to justify going through with my ritual: What happens between the moment a person leaves one country and is called an “emigrant” and the moment they enter another country and is called an “immigrant,” terms that do more to reaffirm state borders than to describe someone like myself?

“It’s not about pedant semantics,” Ronit Matalon writes in “Mikhutz lemakom, betokh hasmen” (which translates from Hebrew as “Out of place, within time”), “but about two different worlds of thought.”³ By saying “immigrant instead of migrant,” you deny what it is to be on migration and assume that this condition is but a phase on the way to becoming “an absolute local,” the premise of melting-pot policies. Matalon emphasizes the migratory mindset to undo the “absolute local” desired by nation-states:

I grew up in a family in which people moved all the time: from country to country, from city to city, from apartment to apartment, from room to room, from language to language, from one family status to another . . . If they did not move in practice . . . they tirelessly talked about moving. If they did not talk about moving, they did the move within the house—broke walls, built corridors, got rid of furniture, at least once a year.⁴

“This motion, this energetic kick in the ass of life,” apparently did not require any effort from Matalon’s parents’ generation. To the contrary, any consolidation was conceived by them as an effort impossible to stand. They “did not b e c o m e migrants” by moving from Egypt to other countries. “They always w e r e migrants in the sense in which the concept of migration and the migratory experience imply living the pluricultural way.”⁵

Matalon’s parents’ generation grew up in Cairo and Alexandria under British occupation between

1. Theodor W. Adorno, *Notes to Literature*, trans. Shierry Weber Nicholson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 38. ■ 2. Adorno, 38. ■ 3. Ronit Matalon, “Mikhutz lemakom, betokh hasmen” [Out of place, within time], in *Kro ukhtov* [Read and write] (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad/Simian Kriah, 2001), 46. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are from the author. ■ 4. Matalon, “Mikhutz lemakom,” 42. ■ 5. Matalon, 44; emphasis in original. ■ 6. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 298. ■ 7. Albert H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon: A Political Essay* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 70. ■ 8. See Jacques Hassoun, *Schmuggelpfade der Erinnerung* (Frankfurt: Stroemfeld Verlag, 2002), 60. ■ 9. Hassoun, 63–64. ■ 10. Matalon, “Mikhutz lemakom,” 45. ■ 11. For more on the concept of “definition security,” see Adorno, *Notes to Literature*.

the world wars. Communities of first-, second-, and third-generation migrants from states and future states (e.g., Greece, Italy, Turkey, Russia, France, Armenia, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria), as well as local Copt and Jewish minorities, lived alongside the Muslim majority. They did not see themselves as being in a “phase” of becoming Egyptians but in a permanent performance of temporarily appropriated multiple affiliation. Rather than drawing a line “from one point to another,” they performed lines that ran “between points,” which, as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari suggest, give up the representative function of lines.⁶ As Albert Hourani stated, crossing, traversing, “going through external forms which indicate the possession of a certain nationality, religion or culture, without actually possessing it,” lacks the authenticity necessary for a national identity.⁷ Jacques Hassoun brings to mind that “going through” is a two-way movement of crossing while being crossed: “It is enough . . . that a few elements of a culture—be they as ephemeral as a scent, a taste, or a religious illusion—cross the history of a subject for them to become part of that subject.”⁸ Hence, going through external forms implies giving up their interior, “authentic” meaning in one culture and deriving potential meanings from several languages. Hassoun tells of Najib, a descendant of a migrant Algerian family in France. Asked by his schoolteacher whether he had his *Bled*, he replied that he had never left it—his French place of birth, Charleville. He heard *bled*, which in the Maghreb designates an upcountry village one comes from. His teacher meant the French schoolbook for grammar, named *the Bled* after its authors. For Najib, the two words, similar in sound, come to form a “passage” connecting his family background with his current life in a mixed marriage with a French woman. Back and forth from *bled* to *Bled*, he establishes his newly mixed tradition. Heritage, Hassoun suggests, is not handed over by an invisible hand but taken by singular subjects or communities who choose what to take: “what testifies to a tradition is not exhausted in old ghosts, in bearers of folk costumes or dialect lovers who imitate the dialect of their ancestors more badly than well.” Tradition can be “as inconspicuous as the transition from *bled* to *Bled*”; that is, lived in the passage between one external form to another, between two words of two languages with similar sounds and different meanings.⁹

If a language signifies any affiliation, the performance of multiple affiliations establishes tradition as a discourse that performs the ever-changing meaning of signs both looked at and read in different languages. Such performance requires one to authorize the surrounding to cross one’s mindset. That in turn requires what Matalon calls a specific “cultural air,” like that which was present in colonized Egypt between the world wars. That “air” did not contain the “blurred and blurring brutality” characteristic of melting-pot societies, which erases differences and generates the fear of losing one’s so-called own identity, and then defending it by drawing boundaries. Rather than “sentimental longing for ‘that’ world,” Matalon aims

to disengage the migratory mindset from both the concept of the migrant who is on course to become an “absolute local” *and* from the colonial rule under which minorities were willy-nilly endured.¹⁰ As essayistic performers, the Levantines did not make it into postcolonial discourse, perhaps because they lacked the “definition security” that “the colonizer” and “the colonized” seemed to possess.¹¹ For the capitalistic market of identities they endangered the East-West ideological partition. In between, the Levantines draft a line of flight—not from one ideology to another but away from ideological mindsets altogether. And be it for a temporary passage constituted by sound, leading to a destination to be left undefined. Such a mindset has often been deemed “luxurious cosmopolitanism,” which ignores its choice of relationality instead of relativity, of making a difference instead of representing one, a choice that has its price.





Guerrilla Machines: Abd el-Krim Al-Khattabi

Sara Jiménez

1. Did the workers, anarchists, communists, and trade unionists form anti-colonial alliances? According to some authors, anti-colonialist agitation among the proletariat and the peasantry disappeared with the end of the Rif War (1927), coinciding with the beginning of the “pacification” of the protectorate (1927–1936). This is attributed to factors like the ideological mirage that presented colonialism as beneficent, the permanent state of war, and the numerous casualties among both groups of Spaniards, but one exception seems to be the responsibility that was attributed to the circles of the National Confederation of Labor (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, CNT) and the Iberian Anarchist Federation (Federación Anarquista Ibérica, FAI). According to the historian Eloy Martín Corrales, a genuine Moroccan workers’ movement was active during this period. At the start of the Second Republic, on the very morning of April 14, 1931, Spaniards and Moroccans demonstrated in the city of Tétouan. This agitation continued for several days: “On May 5, an organized demonstration of Muslim workers angrily visited the different work sites, obliging the workers to down tools and close shops, invading the city with sticks, stones, etc., and carrying the banners of the brotherhoods. Among other things, they were asking for an eight-hour working day and the same daily wage as the Spaniards.” The Republican authorities tried strenuously to weaken the alliances between the European agitators and the Moroccan movement, limiting democratic liberties within the protectorate to the cities of Ceuta and Melilla to prevent connections between Spanish trade union organizations and the Moroccan protest movement. In 1932, the CNT and FAI tried to introduce propaganda to the protectorate, but the truck carrying its materials was detained by Spanish authorities. The CNT also met in Seville to discuss the possibility of an organization in Morocco, and in 1933 its members in Ceuta and Melilla proposed the creation of a regional committee for North Africa. The strike movements, especially in Andalusia, and the ensuing repression led to the flight of anarchist and communist militants to Morocco, where they helped to create trade union organizations. See Eloy Martín Corrales, “Movimiento obrero español y los trabajadores rifeños: Entre la complicidad colonial y la solidaridad internacionalista,” in *Groupe de Recherches Géographiques sur le Rif: Études spatiales 2* (Tétouan: Université Abdelmalek Essâdi, 2005), 163–78. ■ 2. *El Mercantil Valenciano*, July 13, 1909, quoted in Eloy Martín Corrales, “Movilizaciones en España contra la guerra de Marruecos (julio–agosto de 1909),” in *Semana trágica: Entre las barricadas de Barcelona y el Barranco del Lobo* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2011), 156. ■ 3. María Rosa Madariaga, *Abd el-Krim El Jatabi: La lucha por la independencia* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2009), 388. ■ 4. “ABD-EL-KRIM,” *TIME*, August 17, 1927.

We are deserts, but populated by tribes. . . .
We pass our time in ordering those tribes,
arranging them in other ways, getting rid of
some, and encouraging others to prosper.
And all these clans, all these crowds, do not
undermine the desert, which is our very ascesis;
on the contrary, they inhabit it, pass through
it, over it. . . . The desert, experimentation on
oneself, is our only identity, our single chance
for all the combinations that inhabit us.
—Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues*, 1980

The Rif is a mountainous region that coincides with territory in northern Morocco, from Larache to Uchda, that was occupied by the Spanish colonial power from 1912 (the year of the Treaty of Fez, which fixed the borders of the areas controlled by France and Spain) to 1956. The colonial apparatus had before it the peoples of the Rif, the Amazigh, with a culture and language of their own, Tamazigh. The Amazigh peoples, who originated in North Africa, were called “Berbers” (derived from the Greek *βάρβαρος*, or barbarian), a term used by the Romans and Byzantines and later by the Arabs after the invasions of the seventeenth century, following the Greco-Roman tradition of considering all foreigners who did not speak their language, even indigenous peoples, as barbarians. Thus, by the time of the Spanish occupation, resistance to colonial invasion had a long history among the peoples of the Rif, as they had also confronted Arab colonization.

From the beginning, Amazigh societies were anti-state societies. Their political system, *ripublik*, was a tribal democracy with no state apparatus. Decision-taking took place in the *agraw*, assemblies that met when necessary. This was an anarchic political structure considered to be *Bled Siba* by the central government of Morocco, meaning that the Amazigh region was one over which it was unable to exercise its sovereignty, a “territory of disorder and anarchy.” The *kabilas* of which it was formed governed themselves independently of the *Makhzen*, though vaguely acknowledging the sultan’s authority in religious matters. These independent territories governed themselves and belonged to the Moroccan Empire only nominally and geographically. Though conquered repeatedly, these territories had never been completely subdued. The tribes who lived in them, mostly unaware of the political, social, administrative, judicial, and military influence of the state, rejected the tutelage of official bodies. Various Africanist discourses attributed this nonconformism to the extreme harshness of central power in Morocco. This meant that Spain, seen by the Africanists as the state with the “greatest historical right” to Morocco, was put forward as the country best able to undertake civilizing action with a view to establishing order.

Two events marked the early history of Spanish colonization in the Rif: the *Semana Trágica* (Tragic Week) in Barcelona and the disaster of Barranco del Lobo. These were preceded by the end of colonial barbarity in Cuba and the Philippines in 1898, when an estimated forty-five thousand Spanish reservists

were repatriated. They returned as pariahs and outcasts, blamed for the disaster, impoverished, and exhausted. Neglected and despairing, many resorted to suicide when the government aid they had been promised never arrived. Spain's colonial objectives were then redirected toward Africa. After the loss of the colonies in Cuba and the Philippines, the great fortunes needed new markets. Moreover, Spain, whose army consumed most of the nation's budget, now had a surplus of officers without postings who saw Morocco as a promised land. Spain thus joined the old European orientalist dream of dominating the countries of the Maghreb and the Near East to take control of their markets and the Eurasian trade routes. However, this interest had been gestating beforehand, as the colonialist sectors had had their eye on the western Maghreb since the nineteenth century. Ideology was not the only factor contributing to Spanish colonial fervor. Powerful economic interests, especially among the Catalan ruling classes after the War of Africa (1859–1860), were fully shared by those of Spain as a whole. Nevertheless, more and more voices were being raised among the popular classes of Spain and Catalonia against colonialism in Morocco, especially after 1909, as only the people belonging to the poorest strata were obliged to invade other countries, placing their lives and bodies at the service of the colonialist elites. Anyone who could afford to do so could escape the obligation with a cash payment known as the *cuota* (quota).

From July 26 to August 2, 1909, protests were held in Barcelona against this Spanish colonial adventure. Known as "Tragic Week," these were days of "spontaneous" revolts, with multiple strike movements and insurrections arising from the different subjectivities that embodied the protests within the popular classes. Without overall organization or leadership, the unrest was directed against the state apparatuses and the church, seen as an ultraconservative institution that upheld the established social and political order. On July 11, as the recruitment and embarkation of troops commenced in Barcelona, the first protests began. The crowd seeing them off from the port chanted, "Let the rich go! Let the friars go!" The farewells turned into anti-war demonstrations, anticipating what was to come.

Tragic Week was not an episode limited to a particular moment in Barcelona, as mobilizations and protests against the war were also held in other regions, towns, and villages.¹ The following was published in the newspaper *El Mercantil Valenciano*:

The peaceful protest against Spain's armed intervention in the Rif is spreading everywhere despite the means employed by the plutocracy to belittle its importance and stifle the heat of publicity. No matter. The protest will beat a path, it will become formidable and it will overcome, as the Spanish people learns the whole magnitude of the danger and the sterility of the sacrifices that have started to be imposed on it by the wielders of national sovereignty.²

Movements also emerged from the Rif against the Spanish colonial adventure. The railways that transported the reservists from the Iberian Peninsula were attacked. In 1908, Mohammed Ameziane, the Riffian independence leader until the emergence of Abd el-Krim Al-Khattabi, headed an uprising against the construction of a Spanish railway line that was to carry iron ore from the mines of Uixan to the port of Melilla. That same year, the fiercest Riffian resistance was directed against the creation of two mining companies (Compañía Española de Minas del Rif and Compañía del Norte Africano) set up for the exploitation of the Rif. All this was condensed a year later into the War of Melilla. The notorious Battle of Barranco del Lobo broke out on July 27, 1909, resulting in the defeat of the Spanish troops by the Riffian resistance in what was called a "disaster."

Another group directly associated with anti-colonial resistance based in the Rif was that of the *harkas*:

The word *harka* comes from the Arabic word for "movement." It was applied in Morocco to a military expedition involving irregular contingents that were supplied by the tribes or, by extension, to these contingents themselves, as well as to detachments of combatants in inter-tribal hostilities or in the fight against colonial occupation. . . . Organized on a provisional rather than a permanent basis, with constantly renewed troops from one or several tribes, the *harkas* existed for as long as the circumstances lasted that had led to their formation. They could then slacken or even break up altogether. The people of the kabila were mobilized by proclamations in the souks with calls for a *jihād* against the invader.³

Years later, in 1921, during the so-called Rif War, the Spanish troops were once more defeated by the Riffians at Annual, giving rise to the first republic to be proclaimed on the African continent. Although always described as "ephemeral," it lasted for five years. The resistance of Abd el-Krim inspired movements that fought decades later against the colonialism that dominated the world, but today's press continues to refer to the "disaster of Annual," just as it speaks of the defeat in Cuba as the "disaster of 1898." The term *disaster*, then, is still used for the frustration of colonial expectations and adventures. Rather less is said of how the disaster was incubated, of the corruption of the Africanist army, of Alfonso XIII's *Olé* to the men of General Manuel Fernández Silvestre after a partial victory, or of how expensive he found the "goose pimples" when he had to pay the ransom for the battle's survivors.

The Riffian victory at Annual meant an anti-colonial struggle that affected not only Spanish politics but the rest of the world. (*Time* magazine published an article under the title "Spain suffers a great defeat. Unexpected Arab rebellion.")⁴ It followed in the wake of other examples of anti-colonial resistance, such as the Zulus against the British at Isandlwana (1879) or the Ethiopians against the Italians in Abyssinia (1896).

Abd el-Krim was to prove highly influential on guerrilla leaders in other parts of the world, like Che Guevara in Cuba and Hồ Chí Minh in Indochina. For their part, the French feared a contagion effect in their Algerian colonies, since the Imazighen of those territories, besides joining the ranks of Abd el-Krim, were also apt to offer fierce resistance to French colonization.

The Rif War was successfully waged with inferior numbers and no external support. Moreover, it was not a struggle to return to a previous state, as both the administration and the borders changed. The Rif was instituted as a republic, a new anti-colonial border state with a political system of its own. In its declaration of independence, it invited the League of Nations to recognize it and establish friendly relations with its territory. The vice president, Abd el-Krim's brother M'Hammad, then tried to persuade the general assembly to recognize its sovereignty, but he met with no success among those who had carved up the colonial pie.

Guerrilla warfare created possibilities for the anti-colonial struggle and its imaginary. It was now seen as possible for a minority to vanquish the colonial forces with no external aid. Today, it can be vindicated as multiplicity, exodus, and self-affirmation, as well as an inspiration for the construction of alternative realities and other forms of subsistence.

Hit and run. Impact not pressure. Withdrawing and then striking again somewhere else. The least force in the least time, in the farthest removed place. Never present a target. Guerrilla machines, whose object is not war, and whose objective is not the enemy, but which propose a dual "geometric displacement": make the enemy's strength purposeless and displace the action elsewhere, insisting on other points. "Go somewhere else, leave the enemy entrenched, defending a place that has become useless. Mobility counts for more than strength."⁵ "War in the strict sense . . . does seem to have the battle as its object, whereas guerrilla warfare explicitly aims for the nonbattle."⁶ Neither a desert, nor a sea, nor an arid and mountainous territory. A network of articulation, tracks, and lines of displacement: "we have seen that the war machine was the invention of the nomad, because it is in its essence the constitutive element of smooth space, the occupation of this space, displacement within this space, and the corresponding composition of people: this is its sole and veritable positive object (*nomos*). Make the desert, the steppe, grow; do not depopulate it, quite the contrary."⁷ The republic as the last cry, as resistance to invasion. It is not the laying down of a frontier but its opening. A machination, recognition, and nonbattle; the affirmation and consequence of the nomadic nature. The republic not as a legal order but as a figure of diplomacy that subtracts violence. Attacked from the air with resort to the most extreme violence: the mustard gas made at La Marañosa (a technological institute in Madrid that still exists) was exploded in the Rif, poisoning people, animals, water, and fields (its effects are still noted in certain incidences of cancer in the population).⁸ That aggression was fostered by the same Africanist, fascist, and anti-democratic forces that were later to prepare the

■ 5. Wu Ming 4, "Junto a los ríos de Babilonia," in T.E. Lawrence, *Guerrilla/Junto a los ríos de Babilonia* (Madrid: Acuarela y Antonio Machado, 2007), 47. ■ 6. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 416. ■ 7. Deleuze and Guattari, 417. ■ 8. This fact is still silenced, and Spain has yet to recognize the scope of its attacks with chemical weapons in the Rif War or its responsibility for their effects on the population's health. The documentary *Arrhash* (Poison, 2009), by Javier Rada and Tarik El Idrissi, explains the events through the voices of survivors in the Rif. ■ 9. Wu Ming 4, "Junto a los ríos," 55. ■ 10. The fishermen's association of Al Hoceima issued the following statement of denunciation: "Some months ago they expropriated 8,000 euros of red tuna from him, then they took away his car and he had to pay 13,000 euros to get it back, and now they take 6,000 euros in swordfish from him. He was working hard for ten days to get that fish . . . and Monsieur Charaf [the head of the Department of Fishery of Al Hoceima] pressured the authorities to detain Mouhcine and confiscate the fish from him." See Tuyya n Arif and Benali Hamou, *Hirak Rif: Rebelión popular en el norte de Marruecos* (Málaga: Ediciones del Genal y El Acebuche Libertario, 2019), 31–32. ■ 11. Arif and Hamou, 16. ■ 12. Revolts and struggles were numerous and continuous in the region of the Rif throughout the twentieth century. For more detailed information on resistances in the Rif and the singularity of the Amazigh people, see Arif and Hamou. ■ 13. Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, *All Incomplete* (New York: Minor Compositions, 2021), 55–56. ■ 14. Arif and Hamou, *Hirak Rif*. ■ 15. Arif and Hamou, 53.

coup d'état against the Spanish Second Republic.

Guerrilla warfare, as it has always been waged and continues to be waged, is not "the armed vanguard of a social and political movement, it is the movement itself; it is just like the wind."⁹ Movement. *Harka. Harakah. Hirāk*. Make guerrilla warfare not war, prevent the rise of a general among us, sabotage organizations, displace ourselves and displace the geometry of space, create communities. Articulate lines of interrelation, of conflict, of dialogue, of the utmost disorder. Guerrilla warfare that resists war, deserts from the embarkation for the tragic colonial war, attacks the mines (the realities), hits and runs, is permanently on strike, moves around in *harka* style, fans the flames of rebellions that already exist, that are already being forged, that are already on the way.

Hirāk Abstract Machine

Mouhcine Fikri was a thirty-one-year-old street vendor of fish in Al Hoceima when on October 28, 2016, the police confiscated five hundred kilograms of swordfish from him as he was leaving the port and threw it into a garbage truck.¹⁰ As a protest, as a desperate attempt to resist and to retrieve his livelihood, Fikri climbed into the truck, whose crusher was then activated. He died instantly, and his death aroused indignation throughout the Rif, which once again started to organize itself, this time under the name of *Hirāk* (Movement).

The activists of the Rif resorted to local memory to offer resistance. It is an area whose singularity had been forgotten by the Moroccan government outside the regular episodes of repression, but the Rif had not forgotten that same government's alliance with Spain and France in the defeat of Abd el-Krim. Sultan Mulay Yusuf, the grandfather of Hassan II of Morocco, had said to the French General Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey, "Débarrassez-moi de ce rebelle" (Get rid of that rebel for me).¹¹

Owing to the singularity of the territory and the peoples who inhabit it, the struggles that intensified after the murder of Fikri condensed and intertwined the resistance and revolts of the past. It was not only 2016 but also 2011, 1984, 1958, 1921, and 1909.¹² We could keep counting, not only in time but also in space. Should we count Tragic Week, the *Desbandá* (the massacre of refugees on the Málaga-Almería road in the Spanish Civil War), the *Año de los Tiros* (Year of the Shots: 1888, when a miners' strike in Riotinto was violently suppressed), the blockading of the mines, the strikes in various places, and the assemblies in public squares of March 15, 2011? Which might the responsibilities and the alliances be? Resounding in this concatenation are faces like that of Abd el-Krim, while the guerrilla machines reverberate. Rebellion against inequality, dictatorship, the murderous binary rhythm of the *one-two*, the capture of the 0 and the 1. A polyphonic social composition of "beats, lines, falsettos, and growls, of hips, feet, hands, of bells, chimes, and chants. . . . At the heart of its production

is a certain indiscretion, a certain differentiation that will not separate, an unbordered consolation against isolation, a haptical resonance that makes possible and impossible this killing rhythm, the undercommon track that would remain fugitive from the emerging logistics of this deadly rhythm and exhaust it."¹³

The *Hirāk* was, according to Tuyya n Arif and Benali Hamou, a transversal movement based on assemblies.¹⁴ Transversality breaks homogenization: the *Hirāk* functioned as a point of confluence for a multiplicity of political and ideological sensibilities that allied on behalf of justice in the face of murder and inequality, access to means of subsistence, and the historic demands of the territory, and against the power of the Makhzen and dispossession, the cornerstone of the protests. These struggles were harshly repressed. Numerous political prisoners have been kept since 2016 in a condition of isolation and torture by the regime of Morocco, a commercial partner of Spain and the European Union.

Besides being transversal and based on assemblies, the movement is also autonomous:

Rejecting the tutelage of the political parties is one of the keys to understanding the singularity of the *Hirāk*. It was a question of a people who circumvented shields created to protect the institution of the monarchy to demand explanations from those who really govern the country, the economic elite represented by the king, the landowners, the big capitalists. To put it another way, by discrediting the political system, they were questioning the economic model that prevented the empowerment of the popular classes.¹⁵

The importance of the Amazigh memory and culture for the *Hirāk* does not imply an enclosure of identity but can be read as a machinic assemblage with specific modes of subjectivation. From the resisting culture, it is a struggle for the means of production of subjectivity. A revolutionary machine. A matter-movement that traverses multiple planes of immanence. An abstract machine in that it ignores form and substance, in manifold concatenation not with identities but with the singularities that desert from machinic servitudes.

In the frontier zone, the friction between narratives "on one side" and "on the other" mutually confuse one another, sketching out tales that repeat the words *mirror, strait, frontier, neighborliness, peoples*, and weaving histories of colonialism, exploitation, and control. Frontier as territory, device for production, factory, abysmal line. An abyss that separates two plantations. Plantations with a cheap workforce, extractivist tourism, intensive fishing, and greenhouse farming. A sea plied and crossed by colonial politics, cruise ships, rescue vessels with limited operational reach, and bodies that resist, question, and are abused by untold and silenced stories. Stories of guerrillas and unforeseen alliances. Also a frontier through which there is a fabulation of another touch, other tales, other machines.





SCHIZO MACHINES

Research
Case Studies

Cuts & Flows All the Way Down: Notes Toward a Schizoaffective Aesthetics

Stephen Shukaitis
& Kasper Opstrup

These are machines, and machines are
not words; they're hands and eyes.

—Fyodor Vasilievich Gladkov, *Cement*, 1994

Hi, my name is Stephen, and I've never really properly understood Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.

Kasper nods to acknowledge sharing the bewilderment.

This might seem, and indeed is, a strange way to begin a catalog essay for an exhibition that takes much of its conceptual inspiration from the work of Félix Guattari. It is a statement more commonly associated with the self-introductions of alcoholics at collective therapy sessions. Readers who have previously encountered our work will likely find it even stranger, noting that our respective first books—*Imaginal Machines* (2009) for Stephen, *The Way Out* (2017) for Kasper—borrow from Deleuze and Guattari. Likewise the imprint series in which they appear, *Minor Compositions*, takes its name from concepts originating in their work.

So, is this an admission of total ignorance, an “emperor with no clothes” moment? Honestly, both no and yes. Over many years, we've found it productive and interesting to play with and use concepts from Deleuze and Guattari. And we mean that in the sense that their work has been useful for extending and developing the work of thought. But when it comes to understanding Deleuze and Guattari, trying to fix their ideas into a definite territory that can be clearly described, mapped out, and enclosed like some native territory that is about to be primitively accumulated into a new round of theoretical accumulation and valorization, it's easy to be left feeling baffled; baffled and objecting to the very idea of this approach to thinking, which tends to result in nothing much more interesting than declarations of this or that turn in academic thought, followed by an *Author Name and Topic X* book series that repeats itself until everything interesting and creative has been exhausted by the extractive dynamic. *Let's not do that*. Rather we want to approach Deleuze and Guattari as providing a set of tools or, better yet, toys for thinking.¹ Would you like to play as well? Here are some machines. Maybe they are dump trucks or fire engines or planes. What can we do with them? What do we want to do with them? They are machines, as Gladkov tells us in the epigram, which are hands and eyes. They are toys with which to build new imaginative worlds.

Let's begin with a perhaps laughably simplistic and almost Saturday morning cartoonish version of Deleuze and Guattari as theorists of cuts and flows. How many cuts and flows? Like the turtles we like, ones that go all the way down. Machines function to break up flows and then to reconnect them. These could be cuts and flows of almost anything. From here we can build up to something like a schizoanalytic understanding of art and its affects, or a schizoaffective aesthetics. That would start from the realization that schizoanalytic subjectivity is “established at the intersection of Flows of signs and machinic Flows.”² This is where we want to get to, but that jumps too quickly ahead.

1. For more on this, see Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 2013), 105–6.

2. Manola Antonioli, “Mapping the Unconscious,” in *Why Guattari? A Liberation of Cartographies, Ecologies and Politics*, ed. Thomas Jellis, Joe Gerlach, and J.D. Dewsbury, 33–44 (London: Routledge, 2019), 40.

Historically, at least in the English-speaking world, much of the engagement with the work of Deleuze and Guattari has tended to cut off the Guattari part. *De-guattarization?* Very clunky. Their work has been rendered into mostly context-free theorization. This is unfortunate in that Guattari provides most of the literal forms of social connections, forms of social practice, that underpin their work together. Through Guattari come connections with La Borde, anti-psychiatry, workers' movements, free radios, the long, hot Italian autumn, and *autonomia*.³ Guattari acts as a concatenation point between their emergent thinking and social practice, particularly militant social practice and social movement organizing.⁴ He is immersed in the flows, movements, practices, and assemblages of the autonomous left. This is important precisely because in their collaboration it is Guattari who provides the raw materials of thought and practice that are then refined and worked through. Schizoanalysis cuts from these experiences, directing and redirecting them into new forms of practices, new machinic connections.

Cutting a/head: what is, or could be, the role of artists in this? Not to represent or simply to represent. Rather, artistic interventions, in any form, organize their own patterns of cuts and flows in specific interactions. "Political" art is articulated not through content, or at least not mainly through its content, but by how it is organized through these connections and how it organizes them. That is, the *political* of "political" art in a schizo-affective sense is found less in what the art is about and more in what it does for those who are in contact with it, whether as producers or audience, as cocreators. Political art can thus have value in articulating, or making, these connections, which can be quite separate from the apparent content of what is produced.⁵

The art of the cut in artistic practices can fruitfully be seen in light of the cut-up method as it was developed by the British artist Brion Gysin and the American writer William S. Burroughs during the 1960s. Cutting into materials was seen as a direct way of battling "Control," which, first and foremost, was thought to operate through language. Reality is thus seen as consisting primarily of the narratives we use to comprehend it, a view that Guattari was familiar with by 1975 at the latest, when Sylvère Lotringer brought the French and the American avant-garde together at the Schizo-Culture conference, held from 13 to 16 November 1975 at Columbia University in New York with participation from both Guattari and Burroughs. By cutting into this language and rearranging it in new and surprising ways, we create revelations to jolt us out of consensus reality, empowering us to change and manipulate this very reality. By cutting up familiar lines of association, we can reassemble another world.

Cutting back again: Guattari tells us in *The Machinic Unconscious* (1979) that the task of schizoanalysis is to "reach the investments of unconscious desire of the social field, insofar as they are differentiated from the preconscious investments of interest, and insofar as they are not merely capable of counteracting them, but also of coexisting with them in opposite modes."⁶

■ 3. For more on this, see Paul Elliot, *Guattari Reframed* (London: IB Tauris, 2012); and Andrew Goffey, "Guattari and Transversality: Institutions, Analysis and Experimentation," *Radical Philosophy*, no. 195 (2016): 38–47. ■ 4. For more on this, see Gerald Raunig, *Art and Revolution: Transversal Activism in the Long Twentieth Century* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007). ■ 5. The conception of political art used here follows the understanding elaborated by Raunig, who begins with Benjamin's understanding of "the author as producer." See Gerald Raunig, *The Machinics of Political Art: Another Twelve Theses on the Actualization of Walter Benjamin's "The Author as Producer"* (Bilbao: Consoni, 2014). ■ 6. Félix Guattari, *The Machinic Unconscious: Essays in Schizoanalysis* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2011), 383. ■ 7. François Dosse, *Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 50. ■ 8. Elliot, *Guattari Reframed*, 18. ■ 9. Susana Caló, "The Grid," *Anthropocene Curriculum*, April 23, 2016, <https://www.anthropocene-curriculum.org/contribution/the-grid>. ■ 10. Zach Horton, "The Guattarian Art of Failure: An Ecosophical Portrait," in *Ecosophical Aesthetics: Art, Ethics and Ecology with Guattari*, ed. Patricia MacCormack and Colin Gardner, 147–72 (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 150. ■ 11. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Continuum, 2004), 383. ■ 12. Félix Guattari, *Lines of Flight: For Another World of Possibilities* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). An interesting point of comparison or development can be found in working between Guattari's notion of collective equipment and the Invisible Committee's analysis of the movement of power away from institutions toward operating through logistics and infrastructure. See Invisible Committee, *To Our Friends* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2014). ■ 13. Elliot, *Guattari Reframed*, 21.

This is in essence a practice of tracing out what the patterns of cut and flow are in a given social practice and how desires are organized by them. A schizoaffective aesthetics is likewise embedded in tracing out these connections, even going so far as to tinkering with and reorganizing them.

Let's follow this through with a particular conceptual example; for instance, transversality. Transversality plays an important role in the work of Deleuze and Guattari because it allows them to articulate the different kinds of connections that develop through dispersed forms. Transversality destabilizes hierarchies to reach a more fluid understanding of what meaning/identity can be, not unlike a whole host of 1960s experiments, from the Exploding Galaxy to R.D. Laing and Kingsley Hall. The difference, though, which is important, is that transversal operations do not simply wish hierarchies and distinctions to magically disappear, thus risking their reappearance through the back door via a "tyranny of structurelessness." Some distinctions are kept; not to preserve and defend them but to transform them through a process of reorganizing and resignification. One could look at the different ways it is developed through their writing, both collaboratively and slightly earlier by Guattari. But the problem with charting such a development conceptually is what gets left out, which is how the concept developed from particular practices. Transversality as a concept emerged from work done at La Borde, where the term was coined by a medical student as part of a process of changing the forms of collective organization.⁷ Transversality emerged as part of a larger process at La Borde that attempted to blur the lines and boundaries between patients, doctors, nurses, and staff. The development and articulation of new connections started as a pragmatic question of organization before it was articulated as concept. "One week your food might be prepared by the doctor and your laundry done by the nurse; the next week it might be a patient or the groundsman."⁸

This came about through a "series of organizational protocols" that were put in place with the goal of stimulating a sense of autonomy and responsibility for the patients, allowing them to "re-appropriate the meaning of their existence in an ethical and no longer technocratic perspective."⁹ The practical form this took was an organizational grid that varied and rotated tasks among all those involved. A glib, superficial reading might conclude that Guattari was the theorist of something resembling a glorified chore wheel. A kernel of a truth might be hidden there, or at least a good joke, which is almost as good if not better than a truth. But what this misses is that what was being organized through this grid system was not just the organization of particular tasks but also the forms of subjectivity that were produced through and by them. The much more important aspect was how the grid system was a practical articulation of how to work toward breaking down preexisting roles and divisions, the hierarchies and boundaries usually found within such an institutional space. This is

important precisely because a declared desire to undercut such dynamics is not the same as doing so. As Susana Horton states, "Guattari's reforms were diagrammatically expressed as 'transversality'. . . transversality short-circuits hierarchy rather than breaking it down, preserving the intensities of difference but rendering them rhizomatic, opening pathways that route around linear circuits. . . . The goal of transversal formations is to create new pathways and circuits for unconscious desire."¹⁰ This shows the problem of approaching concepts separately from the context of practice from which they emerged, at least in the work of figures such as Deleuze and Guattari.

This connects back to the goal of developing a schizo-machinic conception of art/production that is less focused on the level of representation of and in the content and more focused on the level of production of subjectivity in the process of artistic production, reception, and circulation. Cuts and flows extend the practices of schizoanalysis through artistic means. As Deleuze and Guattari write in *Anti-Oedipus*, the task of schizoanalysis is to "reach the investments of unconscious desire of the social field" but to do so in a way that is not "merely capable of counteracting them, but also of coexisting with them in opposite modes."¹¹ Here art is not particular objects or pieces, let alone things hanging on walls or existing within white boxes; it is more akin to what Guattari describes in his later writing as a form of "collective equipment" through which human groups organize and reorganize themselves.¹²

What we're describing here as a schizoaffective aesthetics is perhaps close to what Paul Elliot theorizes as a form of transversal art, one where the art "tends to be both collective (in that it is created by a group or multiplicity of individuals) and encourages communication and cross-fertilization between disciplines."¹³ Elliot cites Nicholas Philibert's film *La moindre de choses (Every Little Thing, 1996)* as a fitting representation of this transversality in action. In the film, a documentary shot at La Borde three years after Guattari's death, a story is told about the clinic's production of *Operetta* (1996), the absurdist classic by Witold Gombrowicz, which the various groups at the clinic staged for La Borde's annual theatrical production. At face value, the story is the narrative of a group of people preparing a theatrical production, with all the attendant stresses and anxiety involved, such as memorizing lines. What is most compelling is how the story explores the shifting relationships between the patients and staff. The documentary makes clear that these relationships have shifted beyond what would typically be expected in a mental institution. For Elliot, this becomes a form of "stylistic transversality" that renders the film undecidable. Is it about mental patients or theater or about an art group or politics? Ultimately, it is about all of those things, as they are in communication with and flowing through one another.

What possibilities might such a transversal art, what we here call "schizoaffective aesthetics," have within the context of the present? If today

we find ourselves in conditions of logistical control, power operating through infrastructure and technical operations, what is such an aesthetics capable of? The question returns to one of modulations of patterns of cutting and flowing, but in particular ways. While a much wider range of configurations might be possible, for our purposes here we will explore two of the main ones. The first is cutting off from or away from operations of power in a way that creates a space for other kinds of subjectivity to emerge, to flow together. We might think of this as looking for or trying to create an outside. The second configuration is practices that attempt to build similar spaces, but inside and against the operations of logistical power rather than outside it.

This might be seen in the rise of the political weird in recent years, where the borders between fiction and fact seem to be eroding. The weird is an irruption into our world of something that does not belong and can thus be seen as an attempt to create an outside connected to the current waves of relocalization in contrast to the globalization of the past decades in which protest most often took form inside but against operations. Examples of this include not only the proliferation of conspiracy theories in the wake of school shootings and the pandemic but also more artistic attempts; for example, the Italian collective Gruppo di Nun's call for a "revolutionary demonology" that points toward a new type of barbarism where consensual reality is challenged, the civilized world of rational thought is left behind, and one instead joins the barbarians outside the city gates. This outside also can be internalized, following Walter Benjamin, through, for example, laughter, which creates a state of inner freedom. Already in the early twentieth century, Benjamin saw civilization giving way to a new barbarism due to a poverty of experience. But he also concluded that this could be a new, positive concept of barbarism, since it "forces him [the barbarian] to start from scratch; to make a new start; to make a little go a long way; to begin with a little and build up further, looking neither left nor right."¹⁴

We could attempt to map this on or against the forms of investment of desire that Deleuze and Guattari analyze in the latter sections of *Anti-Oedipus* (1972). Roughly, they divide investments of desire between the segregative and nomadic, where the second "schizorevolutionary type . . . follows the lines of escape of desire; reaches the wall and causes flows to move; assembles its machines and its groups-in-fusion in the enclaves or at the periphery."¹⁵ This division (subtraction from and escape to an outside, as opposed to organizing spaces within and against) can be understood both in relation to Deleuze and Guattari's second social investment of desires, as subtypes, and differentiated by differing responses to ongoing transformations of the segregative investments of desires as modulated by shifts in the operations of power. Deleuze and Guattari argue the importance of understanding that, while the social investment of desire has multiple poles, it would be a mistake to understand them as a simple duality or a situation where there is a clear and sharp division between them. Rather, much like

■ 14. Walter Benjamin, "Experience and Poverty," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 731–36. ■ 15. Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 306. ■ 16. Deleuze and Guattari, 373. ■ 17. Deleuze and Guattari, 306. ■ 18. Antonioli, "Mapping the Unconscious." ■ 19. Over time her work with Crass shifted from painting to collage, largely due to the time involved in producing the ultra-detailed painting style. Because of this, seeing these works in person for the first time can be striking, especially if one had mistakenly believed them to be collages rather than paintings. ■ 20. This general discussion of Vaucher's work draws heavily on conversations with her that took place while working on the *Introspective* exhibition of her work at Firstsite in Colchester, England, in 2016. For more on this, see Stephen Shukaitis, *Gee Vaucher: Introspective*, exh. cat. (Colchester, UK: Firstsite, 2016); and Rebecca Binns, *Gee Vaucher: Beyond Punk, Feminism and the Avant-Garde* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2022).

they theorize the difference between molecular and molar formations, they end up intermingled, “since there is not one molecular formation that is not by itself an investment of a molar formation.”¹⁶ While Deleuze and Guattari present this as two types, they describe how “underground passages” exist between them, the exploration of which constitutes one of the major tasks of schizoanalysis.¹⁷

Manola Antonioli claims that one way to approach schizoanalysis is to interpret it as an activity of “mapping the unconscious.”¹⁸ Antonioli suggests that the machinic unconscious cannot be interpreted in anything like a straightforward manner but rather needs to be approached through varying forms of collective assemblages of enunciation. Artistic practices, particularly collectively articulated ones, provide one avenue for this kind of mapping. For Antonioli, this is why schizoanalysis becomes a form of cartography, of mapping out the unconscious investments of desire. Likewise, a schizo-affective aesthetics comprises artistic practices that map out transversal connections, which are connected and enmeshed in the unconscious investments of desire that Antonioli suggests it is the task of schizoanalysis to map.

Elements of this kind of schizo-affective mapping can be found, at least partially, across many of the works in this exhibition. For the remainder of these brief notes, we consider the included works by Gee Vaucher and Test Dept. Both artists’ extensive bodies of work make it difficult, perhaps even foolish, to suggest that anything characterizes them overall. But they both tend, overall, to work in a way that corresponds with the two subtypes of schizo-revolutionary investment of desire; namely, the approach of cutting and flowing away from the operations of power to create an outside and the approach based on operating within and against those dynamics. While Vaucher’s work is oriented more toward the former, the work of Test Dept is more aligned with the second approach. Nonetheless, underground passages connect the two poles even in the limited instance of these two cases, suggesting the possibility of finding a complementary point between them.

Vaucher is best known as a visual artist and designer who worked with the anarcho-punk band Crass from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s. Her work with the band often took the form of hyper-realist, gouache painting that was easily mistaken for collage.¹⁹ The striking design style Vaucher developed while working with Crass has since been copied by bands and artists around the world. This can be seen both in the images and approach used in later collages and in examples that use a specific kind of stencil font that is arranged around the outside edges of a design or worked into a central circular design. Using the logic of cuts and flows, one could say that Vaucher’s approach established a particular kind of feel that then became inhabited by fellow travelers, especially (but not exclusively) in many of the world’s punk scenes.

For this brief consideration, we are concerned less about the better-known aspects of her work and

more about its less-appreciated angles.²⁰ The first angle is the realization that so-called punk art did not emerge out of nowhere in the late 1970s but traced and took up ideas and practices developed by earlier artistic and political currents. Emerging from the ferment of 1960s London countercultures, Vaucher’s work took inspiration from surrealism, Dada, and pop art. Developing connections with Fluxus and performance art enabled moves beyond the canvas and gallery spaces to a type of art diffused through everyday life, erasing the separation between art and everyday life detested by numerous avant-garde tendencies. Vaucher’s initial politicization came about in response to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and anti-war campaigning but also in response to the literal infrastructural failure that was the Aberfan disaster in Wales, where heavy rains led in October 1966 to the collapse of a colliery spoil tip. The resulting avalanche buried a school, along with more than one hundred children and teachers inside.

In the late 1960s, Vaucher and long-term creative partner Penny Rimbaud moved to a seventeenth-century cottage near Epping Forest, establishing Dial House. This was not an attempt to create a quaint, middle-class retreat or a stately manor. Instead, the locks were removed from the doors and have remained off for over fifty years. The declared intent of Dial House is to be a free house and space for artistic experimentation. The cottage became a literal site of organizing and reorganizing patterns of cuts and flows in and through it. These ranged from Fluxus events and performances, to the emergence of the free festival scene that was initially hatched from discussions at Dial House, to the formation of Crass itself. The machinic dynamics of Dial House are evident in the animation and development of these connections, which likewise are apparent in many aspects of Vaucher’s wide body of work in multiple mediums, such as painting, film, collage, and installation. Vaucher has said that much of the inspiration for her work comes not from hours spent in the studio but from time spent tending the cottage’s impressive garden.

Vaucher’s work grew, both literally and metaphorically, in this terrain: somewhere between responding to the horrors of violence and systemic collapse that initially motivated her and shaping a space so that a collective response to such horrors becomes possible. This can be seen in her work in the present exhibition. The first piece, *Lost* (2018), appears as an immense and immaculately bound book, a new bible. On its numerous pages, printed on thin bible paper, are seemingly countless rows of hand-drawn stick figures. What are they? *Lost* attempts to render in book form the sheer immensity of the nearly forty million lives lost in the First World War. Simply stating such a staggering figure for the number of dead is almost too easy, as the spoken number cannot fully carry the burden of the scale involved. *Lost* attempts to give this scale form, the rendering of each death as a stick figure illustrating in all its gravity just what an immense number forty

million is. Despite its immensity, *Lost* barely manages to contain the full number of stick figures, which only further illustrates the immensity of the loss.

This can also be seen in the faces that appear in the series of paintings *Portraits of Children Who Have Seen Too Much Too Soon* (2006–2016). The faces are clearly haunted, pained, by what they have witnessed. But what is that? What has traumatized these children? Is it the horrors of war, repression, domestic violence, impending nuclear doom, or the violence of a system whose neglect and partial collapse have exposed them to untold dangers? This is left open, ambiguous. What these works propose is not that we ought to remain with or in the unspecified pain to which they respond, as massive as that is. Rather the works propose that we respond to the pain and find a way, as unimaginable as this might seem at times, to work through it, to live despite it. But this working through is not, and perhaps cannot be, an individual practice. Rather it is something that happens by coming together to find (or create) a space in which new collective practices can make possible this kind of working through. Given the inspiration that Vaucher took from Laing, this is not as outlandish a suggestion as it might seem at first. Dial House is all about opening spaces where new forms of artistic and collective practices can respond to the horrors and conditions of the world at present and in that way help find a path to a different kind of world. Seen in terms of patterns of cuts and flows, Dial House becomes a space of cutting away to structure different patterns of flowing together. While Dial House might not describe itself in those terms, it arguably functions as a schizoanalytic practice.

Let's now turn to Test Dept. At first glance its work might seem to be radically different, perhaps even opposite, to the hippy-ish organicism of gardening at Dial House. Test Dept came together in the early 1980s, its members first meeting one another in the then-decaying wastelands of South London. But with Test Dept, we must not allow our initial impressions to remain any longer than necessary, because approaching the group in such a manner gives a superficial, mistaken understanding of the machinic nature of its work. As it came together in such a (soon-to-be post-)industrial environment, Test Dept turned the broken and decaying machines around it into instruments and tools, repurposing them for its own ends. It used these to pound out collective rhythms, pounding metal to create a kind of agitational-propaganda-industrial-post-punk dance music, or something to that effect. In a way, the presence of the literal machines distracts from appreciation of that which is machinic in the group's work.

Much like with Vaucher's work, the machinic in Test Dept's oeuvre is found not in the most obvious level of content but rather in the patterns of cuts and flows by which it is animated and which it animates. Test Dept draws heavily on the imagery and ethos of Russian constructivism, particularly Dziga Vertov's film work. Likewise, the group embraces the apparent image of monumentality, the working of the "total

■ 21. An interesting comparison could be made with practices of overidentification; for example, those used by the Slovenian musical group Laibach and the avant-garde Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK) movement. The idea behind overidentification with fascism or the state is not to genuinely embrace it but rather to sabotage it ideologically and, by doing so, work out a different kind of relationship. Given that the roots of overidentification are found in Lacanian concepts, which is where Guattari started before breaking away, this idea, at least conceptually, is not as fanciful as it might sound at first. For more on Laibach and NSK, see Alexei Monroe, *Interrogation Machine: Laibach and the NSK* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005). ■ 22. Test Dept, *Total State Machine* (Bristol, UK: PC Press, 2015). This is the best, most comprehensive source on Test Dept's work. ■ 23. Zbigniew Kotowicz, *R.D. Laing and the Paths of Anti-psychiatry* (London: Routledge, 1997).

state machine,” but again in its own manner. This might seem to align Test Dept superficially with a kind of hypermolarity that is precisely the opposite of a Guattarian understanding of micropolitics.²¹ That is why staying with the apparent level is a mistake. In developing a new constructivist machinic aesthetic, Test Dept did not use the imagery of Russian constructivism to stay at the molar and monumental level but rather deployed it as a tool with which to operate and forge new forms of collectivity. The group describes itself as “a small powerless group of people idealistically subverting the state and military tools of order and discipline to build ‘a new world’ for ourselves through radical artistic means.”²²

Test Dept’s use of Stakhanovite imagery, of shock work, is fitting precisely because, in repurposing industrial waste into musical tools, the group would spend hours together where its hammering was not just about developing an emerging musical project but also about shaping an emergent collectivity through that. Test Dept would frequently produce performances in disused or decaying infrastructural spaces such as rail stations or factories. Like Arseny Avraamov’s *Symphony of Factory Sirens* (1922), which Test Dept was influenced by, this works to turn the broader assemblage of the city and its productive infrastructure into instruments for the creation of new artistic works and, through that, new social relationships. The group’s new constructivist aesthetics extended into very practical forms of labor solidarity, as its members became deeply enmeshed in organizing benefits and support for striking miners and print workers and in the campaign against the poll tax. These connections, developing networks, and solidarities were not separate from the group’s work, something added on top of it, but were instead an integral aspect of it. This can be seen in the exhibition materials from Test Dept’s involvement in the miners’ strikes of the mid-1980s. The group’s album *Shoulder to Shoulder* (1984), made in collaboration with the South Wales Striking Miners’ Choir, includes several tracks of just Test Dept, several of just the choir, and one with both, where the vastly different sonic palettes of an all-male choir mesh with the heavy industrial rhythms of Test Dept, a fitting artistic illustration of the kind of practical meeting and coming together of different social worlds that occurs in the process of organizing. The “striking miners’ choir” was not a traditional musical form that predated the album. Rather, the form was invented in the process of making it.

If in Vaucher’s work we can see a pattern of cutting and flowing that is looking for, or creating, an outside from which new forms of collectivity can emerge, in Test Dept we can see this process happening, but inside and against the wreckage of the postindustrial city, rather than exiting from it. Each draws on different histories and trajectories of artistic practice and politics, using them to create new forms of artistic practice that enable new forms of social connections to emerge. Perhaps they are not opposed approaches at all but are instead complementary at some deeper level, perhaps in a

way similar to the different paths of anti-psychiatry described by Zbigniew Kotowicz.²³ The currents around the Scottish psychiatrist Laing were tied closely to countercultural elements, were looking for an outside, and were marginalized. In Italy the efforts coordinated around the psychiatrist Franco Basaglia stayed within the institution, managing to enact significant reforms while also spreading through the community in renewed forms of mental health practice. Ultimately, a schizoanalytic approach is not defined by a relationship to an inside or an outside, nor is it constrained by that distinction. Rather, it analyzes and reworks the patterns of cutting and flows wherever they may be. To return to the beginning, a schizoaffactive aesthetics is made of machines . . . and machines are not words; they are not hierarchical linguistic codes. They are hands and eyes that can be used to sense and feel, to search for something else out there, to shape and reshape cuts and flows through artistic means, and through that to shape and reshape sociality.

Lost
Gee Vaucher



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DS30

Test Dept



BACK





Out of the Clear*

Erin Manning

Scene 6

Mediation makes many promises. It promises clarity: think, drop-down menu. It promises fairness: think, divorce court. It promises health: think, therapy. The gesture is cast as innocuous. A simple third, a neutral agent. A little bit of reason. A moment of distance. An interlude so that things can be tied up again and smooth functioning can resume. A representation of the useful.¹

But what is it to insert distance into a field of relation if not violence of the highest degree? Whose distance? At what cost? To what ends?

[Félix] Guattari fights against this at every turn, refusing mediation either in politics or in psychiatry. Schizoanalysis is the proposition, a call for a transversal operation that breaks the pretense of neutrality in the encounter. A therapeutics of transversality. No more triangle. No more transference. Schizoanalysis is the event of the encounter itself, the practice of encountering. To be in the relation is to have been changed by it. What this looked like: a years-long institutional arrangement housed at a clinic called La Borde in the north of France whereby to be in the therapeutic encounter was to live with the effects of encounters in the everyday and to learn from them how to continue to live. Nothing very complicated, really. But infinitely complex in its transversality. Because to live in the encounter, to allow ourselves to be changed by it, is to be continuously undone, and to be sensitive to all that comes alive in that undoing.

Who we are is a question that can only really be asked (and answered) by the mediator. He, after all, looks in from outside to tell us how our actions are affecting the world. Without the mediator there is no steady external gaze, no calm interface for the mirroring. That's why "who we are" is always a white question, a question of whiteness, of colonization.

Blackness, write Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, is not a thing, or a state (of being). It is the way the doing expresses. It is not a subject, not a person, not a property. It is a field. It is the excess on itself of a body claimed, blackened by hate. Blackness is the celebration of refusing to claim, to be claimed. "Meanwhile, Michael Brown is like another fall and rise through man—come and gone, as irruption and rupture, to remind us not that black lives matter but that black life matters; that the absolute and undeniable blackness of life matters; that this is not a judgment of value but a description of a field of activity that obliterates the worldly distinction between the organic and the inorganic."² Blackness is not the simple descriptor of what has been enflashed. Blackness cannot be mediated into a form imposed (exposed). Blackness is the force of living that exceeds colonization, its accursed share. And in that sense, the wildness of the surround, it too is black. As is the earth.

This is what Guattari means when he entreats us to move from schizoanalysis as a therapeutic-political dispositif, an agencement more than an

* Excerpted from Erin Manning, *Out of the Clear* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia/Minor Compositions, 2023). Also published in *e-flux Journal*, no. 125 (March 2022), <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/125/452291/out-of-the-clear>. ■ 1. For a more sustained engagement with the concept of the representation of the useful, see Erin Manning, *For a Pragmatics of the Useless* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020). ■ 2. Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *All Incomplete* (New York: Minor Compositions, 2021), 49. ■ 3. Félix Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, trans. Ian Pindar and Paul Sutton (London: Athlone Press, 2000). ■ 4. Harney and Moten, *All Incomplete*, 29. ■ 5. Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, 51 (translation modified). ■ 6. Harney and Moten, *All Incomplete*, 48–49.

apparatus, a moving-forth of encounterings afield, toward the transversality of what he calls the “three ecologies.”³ These three ecologies, the mental/ conceptual, the environmental, and the social, are the overlap, as I see it, of a commitment to a blackening of the earth, out of the clear.

(Necessarily European) man, in and as the exception, imposes speciation upon himself, in an operation that extracts and excepts himself from the earth in order to confirm his supposed dominion over it. And just as the earth must be forcefully speciated to be possessed, man must forcefully speciate himself in order to enact this kind of possession. This is to say that racialization is present in the very idea of dominion over the earth; in the very idea and enactment of the exception; in the very nuts and bolts of possession-by-improvement. The world is posed as the way to live on the earth as the individual is posed as the way to live in the world. To live in the world as an individual is therefore to be logistic, and to be logistic is to settle into a rhythm that kills, to beat out that rhythm over the undercommon track that keeps (giving away) its own measure.⁴

Scene 7

Guattari wrote *The Three Ecologies* (1989) in what have come to be known as his winter years. The winter years came after a sustained attempt at working with the Green Party in the aftermath of the terrible letdown of post-1968 politics in France. This attempt to connect to state politics left Guattari with a sour taste. He knew better, of course, than to trust state politics to be a site of transformation. Schizoanalysis had been the wager that there were other ways—that to work “in common,” “toward the common” is, ultimately, always to commit to the logic of mediation. In *The Three Ecologies*, he makes a plea to invent new ways of being committed to and involved in the urgent call to transversalize experience, ways that move beyond how the state lays claim to existence:

In the domain of social ecology there will be times of struggle in which everyone will feel impelled to decide on common objectives and to act “like little soldiers,” by which I mean like good activists. But there will simultaneously be periods of resingularisation in which individual and collective subjectivities will take their marbles and go home without a thought for collective goals, and in which creative expression as such will take precedence. This new ecosophical logic—and I want to

emphasize this point—resembles the manner in which an artist may be led to alter his work after the intrusion of some accidental detail, an event-incident that suddenly makes his initial project bifurcate, making it drift [*dérivée*] far from its previous path, however certain it had once appeared to be.⁵

There is an echo in this ecosophic call to Moten and Harney:

Rather than dissipate our preoccupation with how we live and breathe, we need to defend our ways in our persistent practice of them. It’s not about taking the streets; it’s about how, and about what, we take to the streets. What would it be and what would it mean for us jurisgeneratively to take to the streets, to live in the streets, to gather together another city right here, right now?”⁶

Ecosophic logic is a refusal of the clearing, of the ways in which we seek to inhabit the space already colonized. It recognizes the lure, and understands the commitment to change that the gesture of taking the streets embodies. But ecosophic logic asks a different question: What if instead we practiced living by creating new conditions that didn’t center us, that didn’t inadvertently redeem that central and self-centering figure of man and its mediating logistics? What if we painted into the *dérivée* of artfulness’s angle on experience? What if we moved at the pace of that accidental detail tangled with the weeds we have been wasting so much time clearing?

Ecosophic logic is an urgent call to refuse the ongoing clearing that denies, decries, and violates the force of blackness in the ongoing genocide of all that resists the count. To refuse does not mean to face and challenge. Frontality, the neurotypical activity par excellence, only cements into place what is already there, what is already claiming the ground of existence. To refuse means to move into the accursed share of life-living twisting in the troubled interstice, to move with that anarchic share of existence that keeps giving life.

For life-living to thrive, life has to be activated at those interstices that exceed man. Life’s expression as tangle has to be attuned to from the edges in. Conditions have to be crafted to honor what is not about us. This is what the First Nations in *Barkskins* of course already knew. And for this they were cleared. [...]

Scene 8

The many years Guattari spent practicing schizoanalysis, which is to say, living at La Borde and encountering, daily, the shape of an existence unmediated, an existence committed, always, to

a refusal of normopathy—these are what he takes into the project of the three ecologies. And it is specifically the orientation of La Borde toward neurodiversity, I believe, that makes it necessary to underscore what he calls the mental, or conceptual ecology as the inflecting force that must, and will, change the contours of the environmental and the social. La Borde taught him this: to skirt the question of the subject leaves the black hole wide open, filled to the brim with neurotypicality, whiteness.

In the sickness that has befallen the earth—the ongoing genocide of all that eludes the count—subjectivity, too, has fallen ill. Replaced by the face of man, given the guise of whiteness in all its logistical powers of mediation, subjectivity has been swallowed, engulfed by the subject. “The main feature of the colonial-capitalistic unconscious is the reduction of subjectivity to its subject’s experience.”⁷ But subjectivity, as Guattari understands it, is nothing other than its ongoing production. It is not the subject. It is the transversal, the emergent unmediated middle, the collectivity that must never be reduced to the one. This is why, for a renewed project of the earth, or as Moten and Harney would have it, for the blackening of the earth—“we are the moving, blackened, blackening earth”⁸—“it will be a question of literally reconstructing the modalities of ‘group-being’ [*l’être-en-groupe*], not only through ‘communicational’ interventions but through existential mutations driven by the motor of subjectivity.”⁹

To construct modalities for group-being is a call for an aesthetics of sociality which exceeds the 1+1 of interpersonal. Group-being, or what Guattari refers to as the “group subject” is not countable. The group subject is never the sum of its parts. As solitary as it is multiplicitous, the group subject makes felt how subjectivity is produced in the excess on itself of coming into relation. The group subject is how the more-than of the relational field finds expression. It is the emergent collectivity of an expression of life-living shared (in its accursed excess), expression irreducible to the one, always beyond consensus. Without mediation, the group subject is activated in the renunciation of summing up. To produce the modalities for this excess of existence requires a mutation on existence itself, a mutation that in every sense rethinks subjectivity as a position.

The group subject reminds us that what we produce is never solely ours. We are not simply our-selves. We are fieldings of complex imbrication. Any other account of experience is subjected to mediation, organized by logistics. Anarchival to the core, the production of subjectivity is not an account of a life contained. It is not condensable to something like identity. It is not reducible to the form of the human. It is always more-than, always in movement, a motor or conduit of a worlding.

The production of subjectivity bodies in the same gesture that it refuses to be a body, an

■ 7. Suely Rolnik, “The Spheres of Insurrection: Suggestions for Combating the Pimping of Life,” *e-flux Journal*, no. 86 (2017), <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/86/163107/the-spheres-of-insurrection-suggestions-for-combating-the-pimping-of-life>. ■ 8. Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, “Base Faith,” *e-flux Journal*, no. 86 (2017), <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/86/162888/base-faith>. ■ 9. Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, 34. ■ 10. Harney and Moten, *All Incomplete*, 14. ■ 11. Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, 36. ■ 12. Harney and Moten, *All Incomplete*, 172. ■ 13. Alfred North Whitehead, *Modes of Thought* (London: Touchstone, 1968), 20. ■ 14. See Erin Manning and Brian Massumi, “Infra-facing,” in *Affects, Interfaces, Events*, ed. Jonas Fritsch, Jette Kofoed, and Bodil Marie Stavning Thomse (Lancaster, PA: Imbricate! Press, 2021), 307–26, <https://doi.org/10.22387/IMBAIE>. ■ 15. For more on immediation, see Erin Manning, Anna Munster, and Bodil Marie Stavning Thomsen, *Immediation*, 2 vols. (London: Open Humanities Press, 2019). ■ 16. See Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

“individual-in-subjection.”¹⁰ That is to say: in the production of subjectivity the bodying is always a being of relation. Always in movement, it does its living in the unlimited exposure that exceeds any body-world separation. Subjectivity is not inside. It is not in me. It is out of me.

Rather than speak of the “subject,” we should perhaps speak of components of subjectification, each working more or less on its own. This would lead us, necessarily, to re-examine the relation between concepts of the individual and subjectivity, and, above all, to make a clear distinction between the two. Vectors of subjectification do not necessarily pass through the individual, which in reality appears to be something like a “terminal” for processes that involve human groups, socioeconomic ensembles, data-processing machines, etc. Therefore, interiority establishes itself at the crossroads of multiple components, each relatively autonomous in relation to the other, and, if need be, in open conflict.¹¹

“That abolition starts with the self.”¹²

In the drift, subjectivity’s *dérive* is irreducible to the human. Active in the interval of worlds making themselves, subjectivity is never reducible to a subject. The production of subjectivity is the activity of the interstice: vector, not form. Schizoanalysis works at this uneasy juncture. The task of schizoanalysis is not to get between body and world, between-two. Its task is to make way for all that already populates the between, and to agitate, from within the field of relation, orientations already in germ. Fostering the germination, tending the field, schizoanalysis vectors the inflection.

The vectoring requires a subtraction from the open field of all that is still in potentia. Schizoanalysis culls from potential a shape, a way. This excision from process is a subtraction from infinitude to the finite. From the side of infinitude, in the field of immanence, [Alfred North] Whitehead calls this activity that sparks a standing out of experience “importance.” From the side of finitude, in the field of activity, Whitehead calls it “expression”:

Expression is founded on the finite occasion. It is the activity of finitude impressing itself on its environment. Thus it has its origin in the finite; and it represents the immanence of the finite in the multitude of its fellows beyond itself. The two together, namely importance and expression, are witnesses both to the monistic aspect of the universe and to its pluralistic character. Importance passes from the world as one to the world as many; whereas, expression is the gift from the world as many to the world as one.¹³

Importance and expression function as intensifiers of experience, bringing into activity the singularity of a life that nonetheless continues to carry its anarchic share. In this account, the human is not singled out. There is no externalizing voice, no mediator. Arrows of experience are their own force, importance not a question of what matters to me, but of what actually (but always also in potentia), *makes a difference*.

Importance makes way for precision in experience. That is to say, importance is what fosters a certain specific angle of existence, allowing certain qualities of experience to take precedence over others. We have come to believe that mediation is necessary to parse experience. But as Whitehead emphasizes, the world is always in its own pursuit of amplification. Incessant clearing, colonialism without end, in the afterlife of slavery, results in systems out of kilter. Ecological destruction has finally begun to register, centuries too late. The question of how to bring things into a metastability that is conducive to life-living must involve a reckoning with the deadening force of mediation. We don’t need another apology. We need to get out of the way. The blackening of the earth requires the production of something entirely other than me, or you.

Scene 9

The infraface¹⁴ of the three ecologies—“the world as one to the world as many . . . the world as many to the world as one”—is *immediating*.¹⁵ Immediation is not the opposite of mediation. Rather, it is the force of a thirdness irreducible to a between-two. Immediation is the more-than, the $n+1$ that is by necessity $n-1$, one as many, many as one, the qualitative force of an uncountability that diagonalizes to give rise to what else moves in the relation.

The production of subjectivity is immediating to the degree that it is not produced by something outside itself. Immediating, always at once body and world, its own perspective. That is to say, its angle on existence is not ours, cannot be reduced to us. The production of subjectivity is a making-conceptual of existence. It is an attuning to the deadly violence of the body-world split produced in the wake of the clearing.¹⁶

There are not three ecologies. There is one ecology multiply intertwined. To get to the potential of what the three ecologies in their transversality offer, the production of subjectivity must be attended to. We have failed each other at the juncture of the production of subjectivity in particular, and nothing will be possible without that shift. In the words of *The Invisible Committee*:

“the exhaustion of natural resources

is probably much less advanced than the exhaustion of subjective resources, of vital resources, that is afflicting our contemporaries. If so much satisfaction is derived from surveying the devastation of the environment it's largely because this veils the frightening ruin of subjectivities. Every oil spill, every sterile plain, every species extinction is an image of our souls in rags, a reflection of our lack of world, of our intimate impotence to inhabit it."¹⁷

To become in excess of a person, to activate the conditions for a life-living that worlds in the bodying, is a social and environmental act. The emergent sociality of becoming-environmental never happens through the clearing. It happens in the midst, black flies and all. The production of subjectivity in the transversality of the three ecologies is the way the more-than of nature naturing crafts a sociality ecosophically. A sociality, as Harney and Moten might say, *all incomplete*.

Guattari calls the ecology he associates with the production of subjectivity "mental." I prefer conceptual, to produce a stronger sense of how the world itself is alive with the movement of thought. A turn to Whitehead brings the two together. For Whitehead, the conceptual share is that excess of experience that tunes the occasion to its potential. All activity in the world has a conceptual share, but it is true to say that some aspects of existence make use of it more emphatically. Whitehead calls this "mentality." Mentality, as in Guattari, is not reducible to the mind. Mentality is the force of existence. It is the world's capacity to exceed itself. All incomplete, the world continuously renews itself.

Scene 10

We don't need to look to some far off lands: it's already here. Isn't that what Tommy Orange means when he says "Being Indian has never been about returning to the land. The land is everywhere or nowhere"?¹⁸ The work has already begun.

The accursed share of life-living is too unwieldy, too uncountable, to be mediated. It cannot be governed. This is its potency, but also its fallacy. The work is not where we've been taught it is. And the tools we need are not the ones we own.

*a nascent subjectivity
a constantly mutating socius
an environment in the process
of being reinvented¹⁹*

The three ecologies are a proposition. They are not a place. To follow the artist-architects Arakawa and Madeline Gins, we might call them an architectural procedure.²⁰ An architectural procedure is not

■ 17. Quoted in Rolnik, "The Spheres of Insurrection."

■ 18. Tommy Orange, *There There* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 2019), 11. ■ 19. Harney and Moten, *All Incomplete*, 68. ■ 20. Arakawa and Gins, *Architectural Body* (Tuscaloosa: Alabama University Press, 2002). ■ 21. Arakawa and Gins, 14.

an architecture. It is a fielding of potential that brings into constellation enabling constraints for the construction of a world. Procedurality is key. An architectural procedure must produce itself propositionally. This means that what emerges will never be a thing, a site. It will undercommon itself into existence, perhaps—as Arakawa and Gins once said—“only making an appearance indirectly.”²¹ Because to see-feel it is to have created the conditions for feeling, conditions that were never reducible to a subject as given in advance. The event of the three ecologies is here, in the productive looping of a field of experience that is at once constitutive of its expression and constituted by it. Because when importance and expression meet, it is never at our bidding.





CINEMA MACHINES OF CARE

Research
Case Studies

In Quest of a Cinema of Care (*Repérages pour un cinéma qui soigne*)

Brigitta Kuster

Assemblage (*Agencement*)

Cinema and life have never been meaningfully separated and presented in a dialectical structural axiomatic, for cinema is not a system of contradiction but rather a material-semiotic, sometimes a physical-linguistic entity—an agglomerate, fundamentally composed. Cinema invariably composes and combines heterogeneous stuff; it realizes itself through a process of mixing and shifting, at times even through snappy changes. It consistently muddles clear distinctions because it constantly realizes itself within a given context, always pushing itself between the interstices, between images, between film and those viewing it, between sound and image, and so on. Ultimately, cinema emerges from the big and small, the flat and fleshy, the hairy and spiritual, the fast and the deep-falling, the infinitely stretched interspaces of manifoldness. The direct emanation of the Real is represented in an event's subsequent recording and can only ever unfold as the present time of the experience of spectating. Being in cinema entails entering into the internal relationships of these impossible elements and thus into the secret of the ontology of the movement-image. Cinema arises *between* that which reveals itself. According to the classical assumption, cinema could thus only be explained as a hallucination of sorts, or as a festival of affects. It occurs whenever the subject surrenders to an anonymous, indifferent, and dark box and submerges therein.

What Happened in the Tunnel

The minute-long silent film *What Happened in the Tunnel*, directed by Edwin S. Porter and produced in 1903 by the American company Edison Manufacturing, revolves around that spatial and temporal intersection that has perhaps become the most important hinge of cinema over its first hundred years. It shows two women sitting side-by-side in a railway car: one white, well-dressed, presumably middle-class; the other black, presumably her African-American maid. A white male passenger occupies the seat directly behind the white woman, who happens to be reading. When she drops her handkerchief, he picks it up, takes her hand, tries to flirt with her, and gropes her. Meanwhile, the black woman alternately looks at what is unfolding and out the window. Suddenly, the screen darkens as the train enters a tunnel. As the darkness recedes after about seven seconds, it becomes apparent that *in the meantime* the women have switched seats and the man *meanwhile* has leaned far forward, the implication being that he was venturing to kiss the woman sitting in front of him while the train was in the tunnel. As soon as daylight reveals the altered circumstances, he recoils in horror. The two women burst into laughter.

At whose expense is the joke, one wonders. What is its punchline that could satisfy those forbidden and taboo-laden desires that, despite virtuous and moral ostracism, manifestly populate the social unconscious? How does this short silent film marshal awareness and visibility, attestation and appearance? How is the question concerning the event(s) posed by the film's title to be answered, given that the very act of watching the film entails witnessing how those events that gave rise to its title sink into invisibility and thus also the (social) mobility that rail travel suggests? Historically speaking, rail travel was to become a highly controversial setting for legal segregation toward the end of the nineteenth century. Thus, the film can be deciphered not only historically but also as a meta-commentary on the peculiarity and power of cinema, whereby a new regime of signs can be created by frame rate and editing; by the interplay between *hors-champ* and *champ*; between framing and de/reframing; between the omitted, which has been inserted, and the identified, which has been singled out; between movement *in* space and movement as space.

On the Anagrammar of Care and Race

The black woman's expression is made to disappear optically not only during the tunnel blackout but also in the realm of the visible. Her laughter—her visible white teeth—is the sole expressive trace of her experience. In relation to the prevailing patriarchal order, her social status is negotiated analogously to white femininity, yet the social connotation that the narrated kiss has for her has been banished into the cinematic imaginary; her subjectivity is barely perceptible, revealing itself only in the triangulation between camera lens, performer, and spectator as an effect of her represented out-of-placeness as a flawed and false identity. Her (self-)experience sinks into the interval of an even deeper tunnel than the one that can be seen as a black screen for seven seconds. Therein lies the time-gap between two movements that appears as that constitutive gap, which represents that brief absence of light through the lens shutter and to which one's perception of movement, and thus cinematographic time, owes its passage: intervals of blackness between illuminations of a meaningful image. Must that black woman—played by Bertha Regustus—be deciphered as a nonrealized, impossible phenomenon, as an abyss in which the possibility of any image appearing is simultaneously grounded? The enigmatic, opaque substance in which both she and the tunnel blur, as it were, represents for the cinema of care a kind of hypothetical inquest with which to probe those worlds, often analytically and historically under erasure, in which—according to the congruence between discursive and imaginary visibility, on one hand, and cinematographic racialization and exacted subservience, on the other—care is

1. See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995). ■ 2. Jean Epstein, *The Intelligence of a Machine* (1946), trans. Christophe Wall-Romana (Minneapolis: Univocal Publishing, 2014), 9. Originally published as *L'intelligence d'une machine*. ■ 3. Karen Barad, "Quantum Entanglements and Hauntological Relations of Inheritance: Dis/continuities, SpaceTime Enfoldings, and Justice-to-Come," in "Deconstruction and Science," special issue, *Derrida Today* 3, no. 2 (2010): 240–68, here 249. ■ 4. Karen Barad, "Diffracting Diffraction: Cutting Together-Apart," *Parallax* 20, no. 3 (2014): 168–87, here 168. ■ 5. See Fred Moten, "The Case of Blackness," *Criticism* 50, no. 2 (2008): 177–218. ■ 6. Jacques Derrida, *Negotiations* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 244. ■ 7. On unpayable debt, see Denise Ferreira da Silva, "Unpayable Debt: Reading Scenes of Value against the Arrow of Time," in *The Documenta 14 Reader*, ed. Quinn Latimer and Adam Szymczyk (Munich: Prestel, 2017), 81–112. ■ 8. This is what Frantz Fanon teaches us when he writes in the first sentence of the fifth chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth*, published in 1961 (English translation 1963 by Constance Farrington and 2004 by Richard Philcox) about colonial wars and mental disorders: "and we will have to bind up for years to come the many, sometimes ineffaceable, wounds that the colonialist onslaught has inflicted on our people." / "And for many years to come we shall be bandaging the countless and sometimes indelible wounds inflicted on our people by the colonialist onslaught" (emphasis added). I thank Abdenour Zahzah for this reference. ■ 9. Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory: Essay on the Relation of Body and Spirit* (1896), trans. Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer (New York: Zone Books, 1991).

rewritten as race and race as care. In this manner, the disposition of social status and cultural figures such as womanized servants, enslaved people, or (migrant) domestic workers is mandated within the image repertoire of care in (film) history.¹ With this anagram of care and race, however, an ontological zone of indeterminacy is also carried along as a lower deck, as it were, of the social history of modernity. For once the question concerning the tunnel is posed in (media) ontological terms—and not in subject- or experience-oriented terms—it appears as an indeterminate area of epistemic cinema practices and their aesthetic economies, as an intermediary cinematic body between what matters and what does not, between what can and cannot be perceived. *What Happened in the Tunnel* then proves to be a veritable phantom ride and a parable on the basic *somatechnics of perception*. Through a certain cadence of short intervals of space and time separated from each other, a figure is set in motion, cinematographically. The fact that this cinematic transformation of discontinuity into continuity overrode a then physico-scientifically vouched incompatibility was already bewildering Jean Epstein when he wrote, “Underneath material discontinuity . . . we must then imagine a continuity, deeper and still more hidden, that we might call pre-material since it prepares and directs the quanta and probabilistic locations of mass, light and electricity.”²

What, then, is this pre-material upon which cinema is to be reconceptualized as a cinema of care, starting from this rupture with the transparency of the world of a perceiving subject capable of action and theoretical abstraction? What will be activated in the wake of this constitutive banishment from common sense (*sensus communis*) through an outright symbolic violence as a condition of the potential for a world? Starting from this zone of indeterminacy, which also proves to be an onto-epistemological linkage with what emerges, how is the need for care and/or race modulated as devalued, negated in its techno-material and techno-physical being-in-itself? How can one distinguish between a connection, which is separated, and a separation, which is connected? Karen Barad describes the quantum event as a tunneling that “makes mincemeat of closure” and where “no w/holes are needed.”³ Each single film splice is a glue joint, an abyss that connects one image to another while at the same time it shifts and shuffles everything.

Existential reterritorializations in a world of flattened digital image chains spring from the historical anagram of care and race, conceiving the cinema of care as a re-medium, as a crafting, an everyday embodied activity that both forges and renews social ties, as a “cutting together-apart (one move) in the reconfiguring of spacetime mattering.”⁴ The assemblage (*agencement*) then becomes an inseparable part of the observed phenomenon, darkness is no longer lack or absence but conversely fullness, the open, virtual starting point for changes of direction and actualization. In the

tunnel is neither negation nor essentialization as an abyss in the representation and objectification as a thing; rather, there are hi/story(ies) that lead to the world, that *make* world, over and over again, if one lends them an ear, just as Fred Moten did to the outpouring gift of blackness despite the horror from which it originated.⁵ To enquire about the postcinematographic interval-machine of care from the tunnel as a zone of unbridled devotion means to work on a contemporary cinema as a complex *worldmaking* that not only remedies and heals old wounds but also foments alterity differently and other alterities that liberate the living from the straitjacket of the subject-bound human being and stir up those singularities in which tunnel intervals actualize into a source of restorative and reparative transfiguration that is both process-ontological (machinic) and ontological-ethical.

Assemblage (*Agencement*)

Not only is the idea of cinema contingent upon movement, but it is also focused on connection. To descend into cinema’s dark underbelly is to enter a clinic of relations, to join the iterability of differential life and its ever-ready prosthetic connections. (In Jacques Derrida’s formulation: “from the very first there is instrumentalization [*dès l’origine il y a de l’instrumentalisation*].”)⁶ Here is where the transmutational and transpositioning winds are blowing and where even the gods might interfere. The ethically and economically unpayable debt—which existed a moment ago in the visible realm as expropriation of the person and appropriation of his, her, or their servitude—has been transformed inside the tunnel into an unconditional gift over the course of an onto-epistemological intertwining and social connectedness into difference.⁷ Within this clinic of connections, *penser*—in the sense of thinking and rethinking of common uses and instruments—equally means *panser* (i.e., brushing, binding, wrapping with a bandage, a soma-technical grafting).⁸ Every reinterpretation of a connection encapsulates both *physis* and *techné*. Grafting combines transformation and preservation, separation and attachment, violence and refinement; sap flows through the cambium—that soft layer of tissue beneath the bark.

In his theory of perception, Henri Bergson designates “my body” as that particular image amid the universe of images (=matter) that constitutes the place of passage (*lieu de passage*) of received, transmitted, segmented, inhibited, and returned movements.⁹ “My body” is a hyphen between those things that act upon me and those things upon which I act. This place of passage and zone of indeterminacy between things is at the same time the center of action, because from here on perception determines, on the one hand, one’s relation to space as range and scope; on the other hand, the subsequent action indicates

one's relationship to time. Perception is localized neither in the sensory nor in the motor centers, yet "it measures the complexity of their relations, and is, in fact, where it appears to be."¹⁰ What emerges at the center of these perceptions is "my body," and "my personality" represents that being to which one must relate these actions. For Bergson, conscious perception ("consciousness means virtual action")—that is, the transition from *présence* to *représentation*—is subtractive.¹¹ Consciousness does not in any way illuminate its object, nor does it add anything to it. Rather, it steps out of its object by limiting and isolating its image. It catches impressions, vibrations, or aspects of external images and uses them—that is, converts them into motion and into its own actions, which, in turn, bring about changes in things. Perception, in its pure state, is an essential element of things, part of the indeterminate multiplicity and the universal variation of images. It belongs to a general context of bodies and only gradually limits itself by adopting "my" body as a center of action.¹² Like a black screen upon which the image of a photographic plate would emerge, conscious perception operates in such a way "that the real action passes through, the virtual action remains."¹³ Technical, social, and material infrastructures, as well as material resources, act as obstacles and opacities; they constitute perception's ineluctable ground and repulsion point. Living images are (image-)matter, indispensable referents to the universe of images; they are all intervals insofar as they are at once image-substrates and centers of indetermination.

Amid a world of media immanence, in which film and the world interpenetrate reciprocally and omnidirectionally, in which images gaplessly vary and are continuously modulated in new chains, such a pure perception seems to have been realized as a constant and immediate actualization. Gilles Deleuze wrote of "the contact lens everywhere" (partout la lentille de contact) and alluded to a world in which the background of every image is always already another image, whereby technical perfection will become social engineering in its purest form without any aesthetic function.¹⁴ Yet, how is it decided what passes through that black screen that "I" am, and what gets stuck in its opaqueness? To where does the diffractive self—as interval and living image—vanish when perceiving in that contact-lens world actually means feeling it "within itself," actualizing and expanding it, between that point where "my body" disappears or begins through remembering? Effectively, if these images only revolve around themselves, then there is no longer any differential wholeness, no more framing and deframing universe of images, no processualism whatsoever to form time-spaces and space-times, called cinema-assemblage.

■ 10. Bergson, 46. ■ 11. Bergson, 50. ■ 12. Bergson, 61. ■ 13. Bergson, 39. ■ 14. Gilles Deleuze, "Letter to Serge Daney: Optimism, Pessimism, and Travel," in *Negotiations*, 68–79 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 71, 74. ■ 15. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari first employ the expression "agencement collectif d'énonciation" in their joint publication *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1975), 145. ■ 16. See also James Baldwin, *The Evidence of Things Not Seen* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985). ■ 17. The collective is called Post Film Collective and consists of Mahammed Alimu, Marcus Bergner, Hooman Jalidi, Sawsan Maher, Mirra Markhaeva, Robin Vanbesien, and Elli Vassalou. ■ 18. The Ciné Assembly I attended was held in Brussels on 5 March 2022. See "The Post Film Collective: On Recreation (Working Title)," KAAI Theater on Tour, March 3, 2022, <https://www.kaaitheater.be/en/agenda/on-recreation-working-title>. ■ 19. See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1980), trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 320. ■ 20. Deleuze and Guattari, 326. ■ 21. See Félix Guattari, *Chaosmosis: An Ethico-aesthetic Paradigm*, trans. Paul Bains and Julian Pefanis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), esp. chs. 2, 6. ■ 22. Robin Vanbesien, "Caring for Fugitive Imaginations: Co-elaborating with the Poetics of Care of Former Youth Centre Rzoemie," *FORUM+* 28, no. 2 (2021), <https://www.forum-online.be/en/issues/lente-2021/caring-for-fugitive-imaginings-co-elaborating-with-the-poetics-of-care-of-former-youth-centre-rzoemie>. ■ 23. See Marcel van der Linden and Karl Heinz Roth, eds., *Beyond Marx: Theorizing the Global Labour Relations of the Twenty-First Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

Assemblage (Agencement)

Every film contains a multiplicity of regimes of signs and, indeed, is in itself such a regime of signs. Furthermore, according to Deleuze and Félix Guattari, cinema can be understood as multiplicity and as a collective assemblage of enunciation (*agencement collectif d'énonciation*), a dynamic processual and heterogeneous ensemble that at once forges and expresses bonds to the world.¹⁵ With their complex overlaps and synesthesias of the textual, the phonic, the sonorous, the scopic, and so forth, audiovisual assemblages deploy their puissance most powerfully precisely where language and metalanguage fail. Their internal consistency is greatest precisely at the extreme points of liquefaction of their components. Assemblages do not emphasize either the differential of difference or—which also plays out in conservatism, fundamentalism, or, say, in a dystopian interpretation of media convergence—the leveling into the identical. Rather, they operate in fields of tension and dynamics of differentiation. The in-connection-with is never their result but rather their conceptual core. Invariably, assemblages are *collective* and correlational. The meaning or result(s) they generate at once transcend state and enunciation—as in cinema—because they unfailingly participate in both state and enunciation, by transforming them (hence *enunciation*). Accordingly, an assemblage, especially in its minoritarian style, does not express “something”; it never refers to a content-form that precedes its enunciation. An assemblage is not closed off, either internally or externally, but rather is metastable, constantly in the process of becoming. Hence, assemblages are not balanced but instead passionate immanences infused with puissance and desire, which can directly intervene in the processes of producing subjectivity.

Ciné Place-Making

Belgian filmmaker Robin Vanbesien and his collaborative contexts have been putting “Ciné Place-Making” into practice. This polyphonic cinematic practice, a “co-elaboration with,” has set out to make common cause, a kind of communal hallucination around the evidence of things not seen, realized as a *forme à transformation* and as movement, as “walking with time to a place that is not yet there,” as Bouba Touré put it.¹⁶ In the words of Vanbesien, “Filmmaking reveals itself as a sort of place-making.” And someone else adds, “Cinema is too important to leave to the filmmakers.” Here, the point is not to settle oneself in and take up a place but rather to create an environment *with* and as cinema—by means of *displacements*—that goes beyond generating significant articulations. Perhaps Guattari would describe Ciné Place-Making as an ecological ensemble comprising neighborly

relations of forces rather than a composition of self-contained, self-referential units. The Ciné Place-Making collective is less a form than an existential practice, a *Ciné Assembly* of cinematic acts at the intersection of autoethnography, storytelling, and care.¹⁷ The acts consist of minute rhythms, small space-time milieus that here have been allowed to germinate as cinematic snippets and lead toward new montages in the encounter with actions that affect them.¹⁸ Deleuze and Guattari refer to the emergence and becoming of expressive matter as “territory.” By developing (critical) temporal constancy and spatial range (between intermediary and annexed), expressive matter acquires a certain autonomy, forming motifs and counterpoints that in turn lead to their own evolutions . . . A territorial assemblage emerges via the occurrence of a “reorganization of functions and a regrouping of forces.”¹⁹ A *Ciné Assembly* is marked by a ritornello: at check-in, what one carries around is laid out; a *ciné note*, a cinematic note, is handed over to the collective field of forces—the tip of a time-retention is spatialized. “A territory is always en route to an at least potential deterritorialization.”²⁰

The *Desmesura* (Excesses) of Care

The care with which contingent and singularizing processes in cinema such as Ciné Place-Making are kept going should be called “cinema of care.” Guattari would describe these processes as allo- and autopoietic nuclei of subjectivation.²¹ Here, cinema by no means merely implies the place where a film is shown or a transparent medium but rather indicates the process encapsulating a multiplicity of signs and abysses, voices and images, speeds and densities; it is to be understood as an immanent relation with all its potential (dis)continuities. Contemplating what care could be, without paternalism and beyond the commonplace abstracting, regulating, or individualizing reductions, led Post Film Collective “to imagine care as a notion and practice beyond the limits of what is already understandable. This is because here . . . care is lived, felt, and imagined in relation to its absence.”²²

With the concept “care,” feminists have come up with a perspective that, in the wake of the feminist domestic labor debate of the 1970s, should lead them out of the Marxist impasse that considered domestic labor as unproductive, as about to disappear, and as insignificant in the history of labor as forms of unfree labor, such as the coloniality of slave labor and the persistence of such working relationships as forced labor and bonded labor.²³ Care as personal work should focus less on a debate regarding surplus value and more on the production of social relations (e.g., social and cultural capital, elites, whiteness, emancipated femininity, etc.), thus encompassing far more than the so-called domestic labor question on which

the feminist movement crystallized throughout the 1970s. Joan Tronto and Berenice Fisher even refer to care as a “species activity,” one “that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave into a complex, life-sustaining web.”²⁴

Karl Marx saw in “service labour” nothing more than the useful effect of a use-value.²⁵ Yet, service is not merely a remnant of feudalism. Marx did not succumb to such amnesia concerning modernism. Instead, he argued that increased industrial productivity leads to an increase in the “unproductive” employment of a section of the working class and that, “hence it is possible to reproduce the ancient domestic slaves, on a constantly extending scale, under the name of a servant class, including men-servants, women servants, lackeys, etc.”²⁶ For Marx, however, service remained personal (hence, not social), even though he refined with the greatest accuracy the English working class census of 1870 in terms of gender and fields of labor and noted the overwhelmingly marginal aspect, numerically speaking, of the productive working class vis-à-vis the “agricultural labourers” and a vast—decoded as female—“servant class.” In Marx’s view, the most notable feature of the servant class is that its wages are fed by “revenue” and not by capital—that is, the servant class does not generate wealth (surplus value) but merely consumes it in the form of rewarded living labor. Depending on the quality of the service involved, the servant can therefore appear *superior* (as, for instance, a public servant) or *inferior in rank* to the person paying for the service.²⁷ This might well be due to the fact that the class character of servants remains somewhat blurred in its demarcation as a distinguishable social class, characterized not so much by its social role as by its personal attribution, and that for a long time service has received scarcely any analytical attention. Only the decolonial feminists have rendered visible those gendered and racialized social relations of power, domination, and violence that exist on the margins of capitalist worlds; it is they who speak, for instance, of a “political economy of care.”²⁸ In this context, care refers not only to working relations but also to the work’s contents, which have to do with personal dependencies as well as existential vulnerabilities and were symbolized, for example, by (fictitious) kinship relations. However, these often obscured the shadow of enslavement and other ways of being forced into service that loomed over these working relations.²⁹ The Spanish verb *servir* means to be subjected to another person.³⁰ Conversely, care does not stand in a binary difference to production, nor does it seek to attribute itself to a kind of precapitalist idyll of *living labor*. Moreover, the project to sketch from the practices of care an ecological ethics of “*more-than-human* relations” seeking to jettison anthropocentrism remains necessarily incomplete.³¹ Rather, historical movements of re-

■ 24. Berenice Fisher and Joan Tronto, “Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring,” in *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women’s Lives*, ed. Emily K. Abel and Margaret K. Nelson, 35–62 (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1990), 40. ■ 25. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Ben Fowkes, vol. 1 (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, 1976), 299. ■ 26. Marx, 574. See also the work of J. K. Gibson-Graham and their concept of “capitalocentrism.” ■ 27. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 28, *Marx: 1857–1861* (London: Lawrence and Wishart; New York: International Publishers; Moscow: Progress Publishers; in collaboration with the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, 1986), 396. ■ 28. Shireen Ally, *From Servants to Workers* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 121. ■ 29. See Dirk Hoerder, “Historical Perspectives on Domestic and Care-Giving Worker’s Migrations: A Global Approach,” in *Towards a Global History of Domestic and Caregiving Workers*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Silke Neunsinger (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 61–109. ■ 30. See Aurelia Martín Casares, “Domestic Service in Spain: Legislation, Gender and Social Practice,” in *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity: Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th–21st Centuries*, ed. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, 189–209 (Bern: Lang, 2004), 208. ■ 31. Maria Puig de La Bellacasa, *Matters of Care* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2017). ■ 32. Marta Malo, *Calar los cuidados: Vínculos, desmesura y memoria radical* (Malaga: Subtextos, forthcoming). ■ 33. Félix Guattari, “On Machines,” trans. Vivian Constantinopoulos, *Journal of Philosophy and the Visual Arts*, no. 6 (1995): 8–12. ■ 34. Guattari; and Félix Guattari, “À propos des machines,” *Chimères: Revue des schizoanalyses*, no. 19 (Spring 1993): 85–96. ■ 35. Henning Schmidgen, *Das Unbewusste der Maschinen: Konzeptionen des Psychischen bei Guattari, Deleuze und Lacan* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1997), 13. ■ 36. Félix Guattari, *Écrits pour l’anti-œdipe* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Lignes, 2012), 363–401. ■ 37. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972), trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 1.

emperor of Brazil (1831 to 1889). She came across this regal portrait by Jean-Baptiste Debret at the Royal Palace in Petropolis, near Rio de Janeiro, in the late 1980s. The painting shows the emperor as an infant in an everyday scene; namely, in the arms of his black nurse and governess.³⁸ Subsequently, not only did Segato ascertain how the painting was officially attributed to an unknown painter in 1999—following the publication of Lilia Moritz Schwarcz’s *As barbas do Imperador* (The emperor’s beard)—and then renamed *Nhozino no colo da mucama*, but she also began to reflect on what she designates the double erasure of a fundamental relational space: on the one hand, the negation of an intimate public scene featuring a black wet nurse and nanny; on the other hand, the allegorical separation from Brazil’s African origins. Furthermore, Segato traces in the critical work of Brazilian social anthropologist Rafaela de Andrade Deiab the simultaneity in which the maternal and the racial, as well as the becoming object of the body, have been rendered invisible.³⁹ Based on infant portraits taken at Militão Augusto de Azevedo’s photo studio in Rio de Janeiro, Deiab reveals how the *mães-preta* (black mothers) still appeared full-length next to their white infants in pictures taken throughout the 1870s (sometimes to calm the toddlers and to keep them still during the long exposure times necessary for early photographs; incidentally, the German verb *stillen*—nursing—literally means “calming by nurturing”). Over time, however, their faces and bodies were increasingly cropped or shifted into the background, any trace of their existence allowed to fade away. Ultimately, by dint of retouching, they vanish completely, so that by the turn of the twentieth century nothing remains to testify to their presence. Segato is primarily concerned with maternal transmissions, with the multiplicity of motherhood and its violent reduction, as well as with the heterogeneous and complex biological, juridical, and “real” assemblages of motherhood, with the legitimately satiating and substantial, with kinship and physical connections, with the two *Orishas*, *lemanjá* and *Oxum*, with sweet and salty waters, as well as with an interpretation of the foreclosure of the black mother in the white bourgeois nation-state discourse, which couples bourgeois domesticity with emotional and caring femininity.

But how then is one to distinguish a feminist care machine from a care assemblage? Is it simply a question of framing or of scale? Or of applying a principle? Absolutely not. Because the machine is always both multiplicity and core. Once again to Malo: listen to the malaise in the care assemblages. And, on the other hand, listen to the hum of machines. According to Deleuze and Guattari, machines are akin to a “set of cutting edges that insert themselves into the assemblage undergoing deterritorialization.”⁴⁰ Such obstructions and kinks then sketch out the variations and mutations that an assemblage exhibits. A machine resembles a key in that it can only ever be applied to a particular door; it serves not only to open an assemblage or a

■ 38. Rita Segato, “Black Edipus: Coloniality and the Foreclosure of Gender and Race,” in *The Critique of Coloniality: Eight Essays*, trans. Ramsey McGlazer (New York: Routledge, 2022), 133–58. Originally published in *O Édipo brasileiro* (2006) and in a revised and expanded version in *El Édipo brasileiro* (2007). ■ 39. Rafaela de Andrade Deiab, “A mãe-preta na literatura brasileira: A ambiguidade como construção social (1880–1950)” (PhD diss., University of São Paulo, 2006), <https://doi.org/10.11606/D.8.2006.tde-04092007-123741>. ■ 40. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 333. ■ 41. Deleuze and Guattari, 325. ■ 42. Deleuze and Guattari, 100. ■ 43. Deleuze and Guattari, 143. ■ 44. Deleuze and Guattari, 142. The abstract machine, however, is nothing like a “pure” machine, which does not exist. See Félix Guattari, *Écrits pour l’anti-œdipe* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Lignes, 2012), 394. ■ 45. See (Camille) Adéba Amúró, *Le nom dans l’Ajátádó: Une matrice des fragments d’archive* (Cotonou: Les Éditions des Diasporas, 2020). ■ 46. Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 123. ■ 47. Deleuze and Guattari, 125. ■ 48. Deleuze and Guattari, 133–34. ■ 49. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* (1975), trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 70. ■ 50. Suely Rolnik, *Zombie Anthropophagie* (Vienna: Turia+Kant, 2018). ■ 51. Guattari, “On Machines,” 8.

territory but also to close it. Feminist care machines, whose matter of expression consists of care and whose statements and acts define the consistency of care as a synthesis of heterogeneities, thus operate by plugging into certain care assemblages, where they function as an “assemblage converter.”⁴¹ Feminist care machines might even point to an abstract machine, insofar as care turns out to be “like the diagram of an assemblage”; care is always singular, while the care assemblage itself is collective. An abstract machine—that in which one finds oneself—“draws lines of continuous variation, while the concrete assemblage treats variables and organizes their highly diverse relations as a function of those lines.”⁴² The assemblages of the racist and sexist, indeed hetero-normopathic division of labor have mostly determined, stratified, arranged, and organized care in ways that have been traversed by the abstract care machine in countless historical variations, *to reestablish yet again* the connection between forms of expression and life itself. The feminist abstract care machine operates through a deeper connection between function and matter; its line of deterritorialization is absolute and positive, “identical to the earth itself.”⁴³ Care does not express anything, care has not been formed and is entirely without substance. Care cannot represent anything but is “merely” defined by its diagrammaticism, which “constructs a Real that is yet to come.” Hence, Deleuze and Guattari refer to the abstract machine as the “Real-Abstract.”⁴⁴ An abstract machine never semiotizes and certainly not exclusively through language. Hence, it is all the more imperative to work in the opposite direction, to develop an abstract feminist care machine, to set it in motion, and to make it operate and evolve in specific assemblages, starting from sometimes quite highly diverse semantic fields (French *sollicitude*, *souci*, *soin*; that is, concern, worry, care) and etymologies of care, such as in the German (*be*)*kümmern* (to chagrin/concern oneself), *Kummer* (distress/sorrow), and *karg* (dry, sparse, poor, infertile); the French *curieuses* (inquisitive people); the Latin *sollicitare* and *cura*; or the Fongbe *ku ibanì*, *ku ice*, *ku alejo* and *ku ife*.⁴⁵

But what then about the breast and milk? It is the connection that makes the machine. In the Kafka-inspired art machine described by Deleuze and Guattari, it is through those very connections with “sisters” (*sœurs*, freedom of movement), “maidservants” (*bonnes*, freedom of expression), and “whores” (*putains*, freedom of desire) in anti-familial, anti-bureaucratic, and anti-marital comminglings that the rupture with the given assemblage occurs and deterritorialization commences. A continuing line of flight is released from the circular reproduction, along which expression moves further and further away from an oedipal, in the topmost case, transgressive (nuclear) familialism (Deleuze and Guattari speak of a celibate or bachelor machine), whereby the liaising persons (the younger sister, the maid servant, and the sex worker) become ever more superfluous. This erasure—the urge to get

rid of any female or simply *gender-differentiated* figures and replace them with machines—pervades the somewhat strained masculinism surfacing in *Anti-Oedipus*. Occasionally, reference is made to images such as Francis Picabia’s painting *Fille née sans mère* (Girl born without a mother; 1917) or to phrases such as “non-human sex,” the “non-human element of sex,” or the “non-oedipal woman.”⁴⁶ *Anti-Oedipus* also critically takes issue with the “confused exaltation of mothering and castration” in the Women’s Liberation Movement in France.⁴⁷ As for the generative gender of the *n... sexes*, it strikes me that the desiring machine is blocked here rather than liberated through differentiations. After conjuring away the social and organic encumbrance of the feminist movement, gender singularity emerges as the unleashed power of a (*heterosexual*, masculine, and narcissistic) libido that transcends the enclosing anthropomorphism.⁴⁸ The present text aims to flush out and thwart such tendencies toward machine chauvinism with LGBTQIA+ feminist flows and cuts.

“If we try to sum up the nature of the artistic machine for Kafka, we must say that it is a bachelor machine, the only bachelor machine, and, as such, plugged all the more into a social field with multiple connections.”⁴⁹ In contrast to this “deterritorialisation incest” in the arts and its paranoid phallogocentrism and phallogocentrism, the feminist care machine operating at the core of the cinema of care is never an expression that puts content to flight and vice versa. Whenever the feminist care machine moves assemblages of mercenary caretaking, it does so in the figure of a giggling virgin machine in Luce Irigaray’s sense of the term; that is, an *afemme* whose gender is never one but always at least two, one of the most basic material-semiotic difference machines. Feminist care machines operate and evolve in a field of tension between the objectifying capacity of perception and the vibratory capacity of affects, as Suely Rolnik describes the paradoxical process of subjectification between center of indetermination and resonant body, between extrapersonal and personal entities.⁵⁰ This in-between space, interval, and gaping dissonance can be overcome only by leaps and poiesis, in transfigurations between forms of expression and life principles, and as reconfigurations of the habitat of alterity, as new modes of existence and new relational territories.

For Guattari, the theme of the machine embodied the hope of associating neither too much fascination nor too much humiliation with respect to technology and of reconceptualizing the machine differently at the interface of the being of things (inertia, nothingness), *techné*, subjective individuation, and collective subjectivity.⁵¹ How remarkable that reflections about the break, the interface, the cut and incision (e.g., in turning away from structure), and the code are so much more elaborate and frequent than those on fluidity. The machinic phylum is a concept that refers to evolutionary-biological lines of descent (i.e., to the theory of heredity). Deleuze and Guattari employ

it to designate the line of filiation of assemblages of people and materials. The phylum comes close to the life sciences concept of milieu, the meaning of which, as Georges Canguilhem indicates, shifted from mechanics to biology at the end of the eighteenth century, situating the living amid a superposition of physical and anthropo-geographical influences, oscillating between the middle position (the living as milieu), transmission fluid, and the living environment (the living *within* the decentered milieu).⁵² In order to realize itself, a machinic phylum must differentiate and form assemblages that extract a complex of singularities and qualities from its flow. While the mutations, changes in direction, and incisions aim at a synchronous time of events, the phylum seems to communicate with the diachronic viewpoint of the steady and continuous in the machinic. The flows per se are a difficult category. A noncoded flow is precisely the thing or the unnamable, as Deleuze pointed out at the beginning of his 1971 lecture in Vincennes/St. Denis.⁵³ The deluge would represent the deep-seated fear in every “socius”; something noncodable would flow over it.⁵⁴ The fluid, according to Luce Irigaray, is invariably either surplus or absence; it eludes identification. It runs away in every direction. It is the Other of philosophical discourse insofar as it is either idealized or subjugated; it is both a corporeal and physical reality that (still) resists adequate symbolization, from which it is excluded. In Irigaray’s early text “La mécanique des fluides” (The Mechanics of Fluids) she mentions milk, luminous flow, acoustic waves, gases inhaled and emitted, urine, saliva, blood, plasma.⁵⁵ Fluids mix and dilute. They evaporate or are consumed. They are neither completely separable nor static but part of an infinite processualism influenced by diverse forces and open to change. A body that leaks and oozes—mucus, saliva, blood, air, urine, feces—from all its closures, a body that has decoded all that flows within itself, would be a body without organs. Machinic material flows are recognizable only *through* and *in* the codes that encode them. Materiality and conceptuality are deeply intertwined and mutually dependent. Look at it!: breast-milk-mouth. Perhaps, however, something akin to a (queer) feminist care phylum exists if we understand the phylum itself as nothing other than a kind of aggregate of consistency of corporeal fluidity; indeed, of body fluids that flow through the enormously heterogeneous care assemblages, ever ready for a break, an extraction, a transfiguration, flushing or flowing around blockages, on the side of life, ever ready for a grafting of *soma* and *techné*.⁵⁶

We urgently need to relate to the *coupure-flux* of care in the machinic sense. This consists in improvising and using up self-organizing connections, thus generating organic forces with cultural and formative ones and thereby dealing with the knowledge and ability to maintain, care for, and repair things necessary for life and ultimately to keep life itself going! This is how to set in motion feminist care machines within assemblages of racialized and gendered (free and unfree) labor, in households that are always alien, ineluctably alien, and which

■ 52. Georges Canguilhem, *Knowledge of Life* (1952), trans. Stefanos Geroulanos and Daniela Ginsburg (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 117. ■ 53. Gilles Deleuze, “Anti-Œdipe et Mille Plateaux: Cours Vincennes-St Denis; Cours du 16/11/1971,” Webdeleuze, <https://www.webdeleuze.com/textes/118>. ■ 54. Gilles Deleuze, “Anti-Œdipe et Mille Plateaux: Cours Vincennes: Nature des flux; Cours du 14/12/1971,” Webdeleuze, <https://www.webdeleuze.com/textes/115>. ■ 55. Luce Irigaray, “The ‘Mechanics’ of Fluids” (1977), in *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke, 106–18 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 113. ■ 56. See Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 335.

today have led to entirely innovative industries and specifications; for example, egg donor and family manager. Not least in the sense of Sophie Lewis's provocative formula *Full Surrogacy Now* (2021), feminist care machines—just as in the fragmentary, incomplete character of the machinic assembly of breast and milk, which instead of symbolizing a childsubject-mother relationship, depending on the perspective, implies the multiplicity of nurturing and consuming care and interdependence assemblages (which, in Donna Haraway's terms engenders kin or nonhuman "critters")—generate new intermediary (no)bodies, *afemmes* both *in* and *against* normopathic colonial capitalism.

Healing Festival: Cinema and Traumas

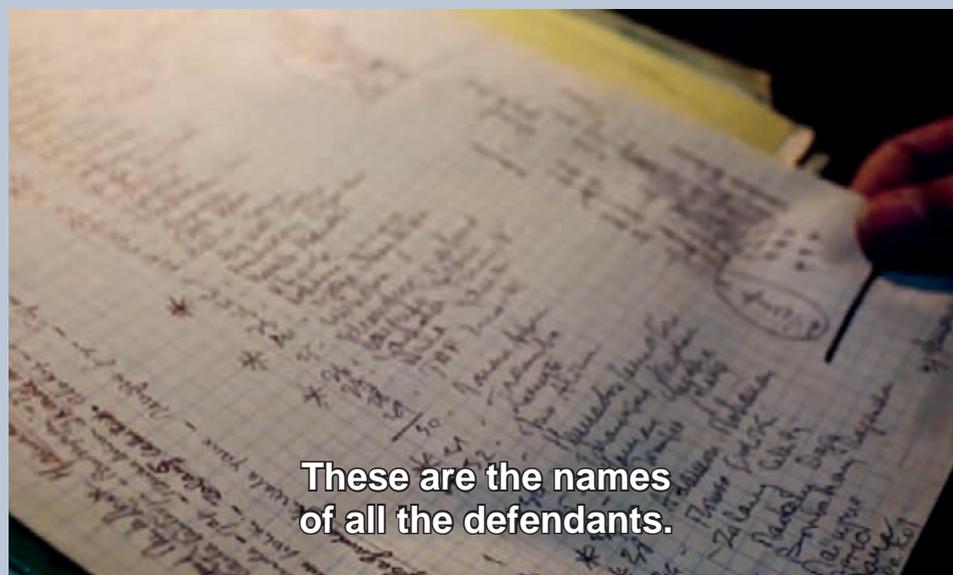
Jean-Pierre Bekolo



What do we call this thing we are doing here?



Next to the colonial camps.



These are the names
of all the defendants.

The Quest for a Cinema of Care

Anne Querrien

During the preparatory research for the exhibition *machinations*, we, the friends of Félix Guattari, videographer François Pain and philosopher Anne Querrien, were invited to participate in a group that was first called “Le cinéma comme machine” (Cinema as Machine), then “Le cinéma du care” (Cinema of Care). Two other groups were called “Schizomachines” and “Machines de guerre” (War Machines). I was asked to take a particular interest in “Guattari’s machines”; that is, in Guattari’s conceptualization. These concepts overlapped with those of the other groups, but we complied with the request.

To comply with a request might appear strange when one is asked to carry out one’s research without clearly defined instructions. Pain and I have been involved since the end of 2020 in a collective project to republish and elucidate Guattari’s concepts and to review all the fields of practice in which he worked. The year 2022 marked both the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *Anti-Oedipus* (1972) and the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of *Chaosmosis* (1992). We have set up a website, *Chaosmosemedia*, to publish texts by the friends of Guattari. So, our own approach during these two years objectively corresponded with the Museo Reina Sofía proposal.

The work of the Cinema Machine/Cinema of Care group was complicated by the COVID-19 pandemic. We had had high hopes that the group’s meetings would allow us to make progress in the exploration of the work of Guattari and his friends on this hypothesis of a social cinema machine that would be a machine of care in the double sense of “attention” and “taking care.” A machine of attention, in the sense of the ecology of attention analyzed by Yves Citton, obviously already exists. To make a successful film without paying attention to a multitude of details on several levels is impossible: visual and acoustic details, but also details of setting, color, and intention. Every film is a collective assemblage of enunciation, in the sense that we give to this concept in the research text devoted to it. But every film is also a collective assemblage of enunciation in the sense that it is a truly collective enterprise that, as the credits show, mobilizes heterogeneous aptitudes and strengths and articulates them in a particular way.

But can a film also be a machine for taking care in the trivial sense of the term? Can it make the people to whom it is applied feel better? We know of two people who have explicitly made this hypothesis: Fernand Deligny and Guattari. Guattari, occupied with his writing, was never able to workshop with the residents of La Borde or the members of the Centre d’études de recherches et de formation institutionnelles (CERFI). He nevertheless wrote a screenplay, *Un amour d’UIQ* (*A Love of UIQ*, ca. 1980–1987) that he wanted Robert Kramer to direct. It was a “normal” film with a written scenario that the director, text in hand, would try to make. By blurring the boundary between the molar (i.e., human) scale and the infinitely small, molecular scale, the film attempted to deal with the emotions—particularly love and jealousy—that run through everyday life. If we can harness the infinitely small, we can put into perspective the fears associated with it.

In 1975, in response to an invitation to tender by the Centre national de la recherche scientifique on the policies they should adopt regarding teenage gangs, Guattari and the CERFI proposed a project of care that would combine treatment and attention. With the photographer Martine Barrat, they lent video recording equipment to gangs of adolescents from working-class districts in New York (Harlem and the Bronx), so that the youths could put their disagreements into images. Barrat thus embarked on several years of photographic work with these young people, giving rise to a more peaceful image, as is always the case with this sort of documentary initiative.

Jean-Pierre Bekolo's desire to develop a cinema of care led us to explore the feminist audiovisual archives at the Centre audiovisuel Simone de Beauvoir in Paris. Because video emerged at the same moment as the women's liberation movement, this medium was able to reach in a short time a level of notoriety that would otherwise have been impossible due to its lack of representation in official media. In addition to the lightness of the equipment, which made it possible to film demonstrations that were not covered by mainstream media, viewing in small circles around the video recorder and a television set encouraged discussions in small groups to raise awareness. The center has set itself the task of collecting and distributing all the films and videos of which the authors are women and, more recently, members of the LBGTQI movement. (Screenings are now held in larger, more institutional venues. Even if the authors are invited to participate in introductory debates, cinema architecture is hardly conducive to discussion.) Around 350 films are kept at the archives of the center and are available on demand.

Part of this feminist audiovisual archive consists of documentary films about women's movements throughout the world. Another part comprises films that have an autobiographic or biographic dimension, following stories of women's emancipation. We felt that Bekolo's proposal for a self-produced cinema of care—which would support the search for a different life by activists or ordinary citizens, a search that would offer an alternative to the Hollywood model of success through money and beauty, which is more or less inaccessible to most—called for precisely this biographic dimension. As we noted with Guattari in the research on desiring-machines, the desiring life bounces back from its failures, but it becomes paranoid when it does not reach its goal of grandeur. And what better way than the cinema to reflect upon these failures on life's journey, not over long distances but at the points of bifurcation, the moments when the desiring-machines break down and writing or audiovisual production becomes indispensable.

Dialogue with Jean-Pierre Bekolo

For Bekolo, a cinema of care should enable an individual and collective self-analysis of the traumas encountered throughout life and even by previous

* A literal translation of this neologism would be "to camerate"—Trans.

generations. Colonization was not only a question of creating inequality of rights and wealth between colonists and colonized. It was also about the destruction of cultural identities and ways of thinking, of which traces nevertheless remain thanks to the work of writers and artists, as well as in many forms of popular expression. And, as the work of archaeologists demonstrates, these traces are brought to light more through images than words. In our research on the collective assemblage of enunciation we emphasized that psychoanalysis is a talking therapy and that it has its limits; that is, it is incapable of understanding that which is beyond speech, that which cannot be formulated—because formulation is already a negotiation with a dominant framework. The #MeToo movement is an excellent example of the impossibility of expressing trauma before a normalizing framework of reception has been established.

Bekolo proposes reenacting trauma with a group of actors and including all the parties concerned in the reenactment; that is, moving from a cinema of individual care or small analytical groups to a spectacular form of cinema. This would not necessarily be expensive if an entire population were to reenact its own history, but it might pose the same logistical problems as “normal” cinema. The idea is to link the traumatic past to a future ameliorated by new institutions. For example, a film might depict a rape that actually took place and is therefore present in popular memory and bring this rape before a fictional court that would condemn it, thus preparing for a future society without sexual violence. Such a cinema of care would present a transformative and restorative justice similar to that of the various “truth and reconciliation commissions” that exist in Africa, based on the model of the one initiated in South Africa by Desmond Tutu in 1995 after the end of the apartheid regime. The polyphony achieved by bringing together a collective assemblage of enunciation around the challenge of healing society of its traumatic events could then give rise to a plurality of film fragments, a sort of festival of paths and voices that are proposed as a way out of trauma. I attended such a commission near Johannesburg as it deliberated which of several families claiming a plot of land would receive it.

Paradoxically, Bekolo’s call to institute a cinema of care distracted us from taking an interest in his actual productions during this period: *Our Wishes* (2017) and *Making of Miraculous Weapons* (2021) were not included in our joint work. Our awareness remained superficial, waiting for a solicitation that never came. And yet these productions clearly contribute to a care for Cameroon’s history, which needs to be reenacted by contemporary actors if it is to be known, and needs to be fictionalized if it is to make visible the desires of an entire country. A television series seems to be the right medium for such a project, because it enables the reactions of spectators to be incorporated as the series progresses, hence embodying the reciprocity expected of a cinema of care.

Bekolo’s idea of creating a cinema of care based on a place, with all its unconscious dimensions, its history, and its imprints, rather than creating it for

spectators, seems a prerequisite for making cinema a tool for collective awareness, for making a collective assemblage of enunciation. In this place is a community sick with its own history, its members more or less affected, and a range of implications in the problem to be treated. These differences would be considered in the elaboration of the staging. Bekolo’s other idea—to call upon the spectators to become actors and directors of new episodes of a film, when this film has such a strong identity as does his film *Naked Reality* (2016)—does not seem to have worked for the moment. Day-to-day cinema has no surreal exquisite corpses. Nevertheless, by participating in the filmmakers’ film library LaCinetek, Bekolo is encouraging a project of this kind, but on a different scale and under different conditions. *Cinéma d’auteur* (independent cinema) picks up on existing films, creating a new *auteur* and at the same time a new community of actors. It takes care of the community of directors.

“Camérer,” Fernand Deligny’s Cinema of Care

Deligny was an educator who dedicated his life to living with young people who did not speak— young delinquents in the first part of his life and then psychopaths. Living with a small group of young people and a few friends in France’s most welcoming rural region, the Cévennes, he wondered how he could keep a record of the actions of those who were unable to speak about it. Unlike deaf-mutes, who understand dominant meanings as soon as they are taught them, these were young people whose strange behaviors— spinning around, screaming, running frenziedly out of reach—were difficult for nonvolunteers to tolerate. Deligny succeeded in creating living spaces for these young people who had been rejected or confined by specialist institutions. By recording daily life, Deligny and his companions were able to create a distance and attentiveness that made “close presence” both bearable and interesting. When the experiment began, the chosen observation tool was the map. The adults who were in close presence with the children drew up maps of their displacements and their activities. Contrary to their initial impression of chaos and contrary to the general discourse surrounding these children, they were able to observe regularities. The use of the camera came later, with the advent of video and light equipment. Short films were made to keep parents up to date with the actions of their children and their membership in this small community. A few “big films” were made, including *Le moindre geste* (*The Slightest Gesture*, 1971), which was shown in 1978 at the Cannes Film Festival. As Deligny wrote, the film editing somewhat standardizes the gestures through its management of duration. For example, shoes that took two hours to tie in real life are tied in a few minutes in the film!

Deligny’s work on images, analyzed in many previously unpublished texts, has now been published under the title “Camérer”: linking people to one another through the camera-machine.* Between the person

who writes (Deligny or the scriptwriter) and the person who “camerates” (the director) is the *camérier*, a network created by the act of making a film. The question is one of filming how they enter into a relationship. A camera is used to detect that there are human beings and that the attraction of human beings is exerted unbeknownst to us. The types of cinema are as numerous as the types of freedom. Images imagined in advance are domesticated and do not venture far. An image is an event, an encounter. In a well-prepared film, the most striking images emerge unannounced, unforeseen by the spectator. The distance between what happens and what is planned is like the line of the tide at the edge of the water.

The camera perpetuates the thing, the event; it is a ruse, an invention. The slightest image is a machination. Who is being machinated? The person using the machine. The image, like the revolution, arises from circumstances that are completely independent of will and action. We have to be able to construct horizontally so that the image can be understood from the place from which it comes, from the “place of being.”

To “camerate” is to see that which cannot be seen, to allow the other to be different. The spectator must not be forced to be only what we suppose of him. *Camérier* is to seek to efface the inescapable boundary between what human beings perceive to be reality and the real, often identified a priori as nothingness. By shooting images, the nothing, the real, will appear.

several centuries has crushed subjectivity under a hierarchical lead blanket. A new subjectivity based on seeing and transmitting would develop totally new relationships. We regret that, for the time being, this research is too often clad in the trappings of the past. Can we imagine images that are not domesticated? Sticking together bits and pieces is not sufficient. What do the world’s fluxes convey?

The Cinema of Guattari

In popular French, if an individual’s behavior in public makes others feel uncomfortable, another person might say “Arrête ton cinéma” (stop making a scene): stop singling yourself out, making a spectacle of yourself, appealing to others to make things different. Cinema, then, is subversion, deviation, difference. But Guattari spoke of a dominant cinema in the name of which this difference must quickly fall into line, a dominant cinema that takes on the visual and auditory characteristics specific to each style, an evolution produced by the microsubversions that emerge at every epoch. These microsubversions occur on the edge of the subjectivity implied by the dominant order. This order is a conglomeration of heterogeneous contributions brought by history, not simply an accumulation of strata but displacements at different speeds and a clearing of volcanic spaces. Guattari believed that the technical evolution of the means of media production toward ever-greater miniaturization for commercial reasons would give minority subjectivities the means to develop other types of cinema, to describe worlds other than those in which they are oppressed. Cinema could be an instrument of political fiction.

As the reactionaries lament, this miniaturization might enable everyone to escape the imperative of knowing how to read and write which for

Do You Remember the Care Revolts?*

Marta Malo

* This text is taken from a book in progress entitled *Calar los cuidados: Vínculos, desmesura y memoria*, which is to be published in 2024 by SubTextos. It is based on conversations with the research group on care cinema within the framework of the exhibition *machinations* at the Museo Reina Sofía, conducted by Brigitta Kuster with the participation of Jean-Pierre Bekolo, Anne Querrien, and François Pain. The conversation was adopted and nourished by companions from the Casa Azul in Málaga, who make collective thought into a dissident way of being in this world. Thanks to Kike España, Sara Jiménez, Isabell Lorey, and Gerald Raunig for pushing my intuitions always a little further. Another fundamental source was a series of conversations on care with a heterogeneous group of women and dissidents with whom I maintain a vital political friendship: Alcira Padín, Débora Ávila, Margarita Padilla, Natalia Luc, Marta Pérez, Irene Newey, Ethel Odriozola, Maggie Schmitt, Anouk Devillé, Raífaela Pimentel Lara, Amalia Caballero, Constanza Cisneros, Ana Rojo, Lotta Tenhunen, Nazaret Castro, Verónica Gago, Paula Calderón, Cristina Vega, Javier Rosa, and Francesco Salvini. ■ 1. See the texts published by the collective Precarias a la deriva, *A la deriva (por los circuitos de la precariedad femenina)* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2004); Precarias a la deriva, "Una huelga de mucho cuidado: cuatro hipótesis," *Contrapoder*, no. 8 (2004), <https://transversal.at/pdf/journal-text/779>; and Precarias a la deriva, "De la precarización de la existencia a la huelga de cuidados," in *Estudios sobre género y economía*, ed. María Jesús Vara (Madrid: Akal, 2005). ■ 2. See, for example, Nancy Fraser, *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis* (New York: Verso, 2013). ■ 3. In September 2007, the Foro de Vida Independiente organized the first March for the Rights of Persons with Functional Diversity. Through the Agencia de Asuntos Precarios (Agency of Precarious Affairs), an organizational space created in Eskalera Karakola based on Precarias a la deriva, we joined in the effort of campaigning in the street. Over the following year, people from the Foro de Vida Independiente and the Agencia de Asuntos Precarios met once a month to think together. Later, a group of people systematized those shared reflections in a collective book entitled *Cojos y precarias haciendo vidas que importan: Cuaderno sobre una alianza imprescindible* (Madrid: Traficantes de sueños, 2011). For more information on the Foro de Vida Independiente, see <http://forovidaindependiente.org/>.

Crisis has been hovering over our lives ever since neoliberalism settled among them, shattering the mirage of permanently expanding well-being and development constructed by the European social democracies. We feminists placed the focus on how this crisis was expressed in care. We said that its provision in the most vulnerable phases of life was less and less guaranteed for more and more layers of the population. We wrote a good deal about the crisis of care¹. Others spoke about the crisis of social reproduction.²

The effervescence and vitality of decolonial thought and the anti-racist movements, along with the growing protagonism of racialized persons, helped us to understand the Eurocentrism of this image. Dialogue with the Foro de Vida Independiente (Forum of Independent Life) made us raise questions about the violent and disciplinarian conditions of the provision of care, where this existed.³ For years, my own experience as a single parent left me mute, physically and mentally extenuated by the first-person experience of contingent, intensive caring and stricken by a genuine crisis of language: how to fashion words with true sense out of a knot tied in one's throat, from a savage experience of (im)possibility?

I see today that, in saying that the provision of care was no longer guaranteed, we took for granted that previously that care had been provided by the family, the welfare state, or a functional coupling of the two. We were universalizing a factory-family social state order that had existed in Europe and the United States during part of the twentieth century for a specific sector of the working class in particular countries, an order sustained by colonial and rural plunder, hunger and war in other parts of the world, and which had imprisoned those who dared to disorder it or simply could not and did not fit into it, in various highly violent institutions. Just try telling the whores, the Gipsy women, the single mothers, the madwomen, the poverty-stricken, the lesbians, and the transgender people that care was previously guaranteed and offered sufficient protection at moments of vulnerability.

Shattering the mirage of an era "before" protection does not mean denying there has been a change, a caesura. The factory-family social state order (as part of the capital-labor pact) has been dismantled piece by piece, minutely and pitilessly, placing all its institutions in crisis. The idea enshrined in the American New Deal that the state must provide a system of protection, at least for its "national" population, has gone up in smoke. The very promise of an expanding welfare that would include an increasing number of people has vanished into thin air. Today, more and more people are unsure what will happen if they fall sick, grow old, or lose their faculties. Nor is it very clear who is going to look after the children or how they will do it, a doubt that spreads at the same speed as the multiplication of programs and policies in the name of childhood. Child and youth poverty has shot up as fast as their future seems to disappear. The feeling of uncertainty, of the ground moving under our feet, is spreading like lava, slowly and inexorably.

In the first decade of the 2000s, when organizing workshops with other comrades to think collectively about these things, placing the emphasis on the crisis of care and the disappearance of collective guarantees for life's moments of vulnerability, we found ourselves sharing the table with a couple of ultraconservative Catholic associations from our district.⁴ For the fervent parishioners who answered our call, the cause of this crisis was the destabilization of the family, and the remedy was a remoralization of life; in particular, that of women. From their cozy position, the parishioners devoted themselves to this task, “banging on” at migrant mothers who put up with the moral lessons in exchange for some legal advice and support in taking care of their children. Their attitudes and messages were not so different from those issued in earlier decades by the Feminine Section of the Spanish Falange. In that unexpected encounter, we started to glimpse what was to be vigorously pursued a few years later. Now that the United Nations has fully incorporated the language of care, we see how two reactionary interpretations of its crisis are being consolidated in our part of the world.

One is the interpretation formulated through the religious fundamentalism of various beliefs and through the conservative right, which equates the crisis of care with the crisis of the family. For them, the cause of the difficulties in tending to children or lonely old people is to be found in moral depravity, with addiction to alcohol, drugs, and gambling thrown into the same bag as sexual liberty, women's rejection of their traditional role as wives and mothers, the feminist movement, or the “gender ideology” that is supposedly depraving childhood. Their antidote to the vice they believe is rotting our societies is a remoralization of life and a repatriarchalization of the family, where women can have a position of strength (“we're neither male chauvinists nor feminists”) if their energies are devoted to caring for the home and morally safeguarding their husbands and children. This feminine referent, the savior of traditional values, requires stigmatization of the “bad women” associated with the forces of darkness, malignancy, and madness: those who have abortions, those who act with sexual freedom, those who disobey their husbands or make love with their women friends, those who dress as they like, organize protests, want to keep their children, and so on.⁵ The anti-feminist reaction is served.

Unfortunately, elements of this moralizing discourse are also to be found in a certain sector of the Left. More discreetly and surreptitiously, and certainly less aggressively than on the Right, the crisis of care is blamed on so much diversity and coming out of the closet, so much rampantly unnatural behavior, and an abandonment of the home that means forgetting the essential value of care. When all is said and done, they will say, all the heterosexual nuclear family needs to be the perfect place for containing the crisis of care is a slightly more equitable distribution of the housework.

This moralizing reading of the crisis of care, which obliterates the memory of the horrors and violence of the nuclear home, is sometimes mixed with another interpretation: “repentance.” This blames the crisis of

■ 4. This was during a series of workshops on care organized by the collective *Precarias a la deriva* in the district of Lavapiés, Madrid, throughout 2004. ■ 5. See “Siempre que hay desorden, la culpa se la echan a las mujeres y a las disidencias,” *Laboratoria*, ca. February 2022, <http://laboratoria.red/publicacion/siempre-que-hay-desorden-la-culpa-es-de-las-mujeres-y-de-las-disidencias/?portfolioCats=15>; and Lisset Coba, Cristina Vega, Eva Vázquez, and Ivonne Yáñez, eds., *Brujas, salvajes y rebeldes* (Quito: Acción Ecológica, 2021). ■ 6. See Paolo Virno, “Do You Remember Counterrevolution?,” *Virtuosismo y revolución: La acción política en la era del desencanto* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2003), 127–53.

care on the desire for freedom and experimentation associated with the movements of the “Long 1968.” This discourse has it that, without knowing so, the attacks launched then on disciplinarian institutions like the psychiatric hospital, the school, the family, and the factory knocked down the walls protecting us from the barbarians of the marketplace. As a result of that madly impetuous assault on everything, we now find ourselves naked, defenseless, and disoriented amid the violent feast of neoliberalism. If we want to solve the care crisis, this reading concludes, we must return to fundamentals and recover the dignity of these institutions, including the family.

This “repented” interpretation has its feminist version, which boils down to saying that, in fleeing from the kitchen pots, we embraced an emancipation via the labor market that brought just as, much unhappiness for us and our loved ones. The solution thus involves reconnecting us with motherhood, creating from it “tribes” that will support us and conquering rights that will provide it with coverage in its specificity.

Both the moralizing and the “repented” interpretation are reactionary—if not in their intentions, most certainly in their effects. They differ in their aggressiveness, but both are tinged with nostalgia for a better time “before,” a time of welfare and protection when care was guaranteed. This time “before” can be situated in the days of a strong social state (the version of social leftism) or else in much more remote eras of moral integrity (the version of religious fundamentalism) or connection with our “natural” selves (the version of community naturalism), but it is always an idealized “before,” frozen in time and somewhat vague in its specific historical referents. “Exactly when was that?” is never answered.

Paying attention to its melody and connecting its common notes, I began to wonder whether the expression we had been using, “crisis of care,” did not already contain the germ of reaction as a way of formulating the problem. In brandishing it, we were not only falling into rampant Eurocentrism, universalizing a past of protection that was always partial, and ignoring the different forms of mistreatment and violence it was associated with; we were also missing the target.

In “Do You Remember Counterrevolution?” (1983), the Italian philosopher Paolo Virno reads neoliberalism as a counterrevolution against the desires for transformation associated with the Long 1968.⁶ “Hacking” the “repented” interpretations of those years, the problem was not that we wanted too much freedom but how the sense of that freedom was stolen from us and, in its place, we were given the shit we wallow in today.

Repeating Virno’s gesture, I propose opposing the reactionary interpretations of the crisis of care, which would make us “repent” what those revolts wanted to achieve, by activating a political memory that reads those movements in a transversal and capillary fashion, placing the accent on what happened then to the social organization of care. It is a question of disrupting the segregated gaze that studies those movements in separate blocks, with the workers’ and students’ movement on one side, feminism on another,

the movement against lunatic asylums in a further compartment, the educational reform in a different one, the experiences of community life and the counterculture in yet another, and so on and so forth.

Instead of applying the analytical scalpel, which separates and classifies, I propose submersion in the social magma of the second half of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, taking note that, while the European and American feminists were burning bras and creating spaces for talking about contraception and sexuality or claiming a salary for domestic labor, the neighborhood movements of the workers’ districts were occupying buildings to set up self-managed schools and that, while the movement for the transformation of psychiatry opened up the asylums and proposed a new relationship between the city and psychic suffering, other ways of living together in community were being explored in thousands of places around Europe. Similarly, while housewives and prostitutes were asserting themselves as a working class, the demands made by many anti-prison movements included the liberation of adulteresses, lesbians, and other women of “easy virtue,” disrupting the dichotomy between “good” and “bad” women that had proved so functional for the patriarchal order.

Even if each movement and geographical location has its singularities and its own history, the years coincide, lives cut across movements, citations and mobilizations were shared, points of contact and conversation were established, and chains of transmission and reappropriation were forged.

What interests me about this immersion in the “great festive atmosphere” recalled by so many of the protagonists of those years is to visualize what happened to care in the space “between.” That is, between the feminist movements for sexual and reproductive rights and the radical movements that transformed the psychiatric hospital; between the neighborhood movement and the rich experiences of the movements for educational reform in Spain, Italy, France, and Germany; between the attempts at community life and the general flight of women from the home into not only the labor market but also political participation, experimental and community initiatives, and other areas; and between the workers’ movement and the campaign for salaried domestic labor or the prostitutes’ strikes.

The image that emerges from this transversal reading is not that of a mere assault upon the main care institutions (family, school, asylum) but of a constellation of care “revolts,” with, on the one hand, a rejection of the organization of care that existed in the Fordist period and, on the other hand, a collective search, with small- and medium-scale experimentation, for other kinds of social organization of care.

At this point, a conceptual clarification is perhaps necessary. I understand care as a heterogeneous set of practices that do not preexist its social organization. The tasks of sustaining life at its moments of greatest vulnerability are completely disparate. They include work with a high physical component, like the maintenance and hygiene of

spaces, utensils, and clothing; the obtaining and preparation of food; and the hygiene, manipulation, and healing of bodies, especially during the first and last phases of life. They also include other fundamentally immaterial tasks, such as sustaining links and rituals, listening and attending to nonbodily malaise, and transmitting language and stories, songs, dances, habits, and customs.

All these tasks are labeled “care” and are unified in a single field on the basis of their grouping and enclosure within the institution we call the home. Therefore, what we understand today as care is anchored to the figures of the home; that is, its idealized social figures (the nuclear family, with its housewife and its paterfamilias) and its heterosexual and procreative regulation of sexuality. In some cases, care is also grounded in the institutions that appear to manage, complement, and contain the dysfunctions and limitations of this primary institution: the hospital, the school, the asylum, the hospice, the prison. What I call “care revolts” focus on different pieces of this interlocking system and, in doing so, turn it upside down, helping to disengage care, sexuality, and the question of how the sustenance of human vulnerability might be differently organized.

I am aware that this reading is slightly forced. The word *care* was not current in the 1960s and 1970s. Rarely is it found in the lexicon of the manifestos, leaflets, and articles that circulated from hand to hand. At most, some feminist groups spoke of “social reproduction.” *Care* was also used in the movements to transform psychiatry to rethink the type of social relationship with madness that was being aspired to. To apply the term retroactively and generally is a highly anachronistic exercise. Nevertheless, I defend it because the past is not something inert that has been and gone; its lights and shadows still inhabit us.

Calling for the opening of the past, or rather of a dialogue with what persists in us of the past, and resisting its closure is a way of fighting for its power over the future. It is an affirmation that the struggles that were have not been completely defeated but are silently transmitted from one generation to the next as a flame for possible revolt, inhabiting our imagination as a desire for the common that we do not relinquish.

Here is an idea of nonlinear memory in the wake of the philosophy of Walter Benjamin and his *Thesis on the Philosophy of History* (1940). As Isabell Lorey writes in her reading of this text by Benjamin, it is possible to “let oneself be hailed by the oppressed voices of history,” which “can be heard again and play a role in the now.”⁷⁷ The question is one of updating the struggles in the present, of not preserving them as dead material out of nostalgia or reverence but of prolonging “the fate of the past . . . as present,” accessing (here Lorey cites Alex Demirović) “what in another time might have been historically different in order to prevent the continuation of violence, oppression, and exploitation.”⁷⁸

Since nothing of what has occurred is lost, we can convene the past actively in the present to shatter the

■ 7. See Isabell Lorey, “Benjamin: Saltos del tiempo-ahora,” in *Democracia en presente* (Málaga: SubTextos, forthcoming). ■ 8. Alex Demirović, “Der Tigersprung: Überlegungen zur Verteidigung der ‘Gegenwart,’” *PROKLA: Zeitschrift für kritische Sozialwissenschaft* 46, no. 2, (2016): 307–16, here 312–13; quoted in Lorey, *Democracia en presente*. ■ 9. With this paradoxical statement, Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar assesses the outcome of the series of popular and indigenous mobilizations that swept Bolivia from 2000 to 2005. See “Entrevista a Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar,” *Lavaca*, March 29, 2006, <https://www.lavaca.org/notas/entrevista-a-raquel-gutierrez-aguilar>. ■ 10. Not for nothing does Friedrich Hayek, one of the principal exponents of neoliberalism, dedicate much of his theory to ridding the concept of liberty of the spurious meanings with which, in his opinion, it has been associated. In his work *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960), Hayek devotes some twenty pages to differentiating the liberty he advances from (1) “political liberty,” meaning “the participation of men in the choice of their government, in the process of legislation, and in the control of administration”; (2) intimate or subjective liberty, which frees us from “temporary emotions, or moral or intellectual weakness”; and (3) freedom as the can-do of individuals, the “physical ‘ability to do what I want.’” In this last distinction, Hayek lays special emphasis on liberty’s connection with any “demand for the redistribution of wealth.” In neoliberalism, freedom is solely and exclusively individual, and its principal site of verification is the market: we are free to the extent that we can compete, buy, and sell freely. Friedrich Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty: The Definitive Edition*, vol. 17 of *The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek*, ed. Ronald Hamowy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 61, 64–65, 68.

continuities that ensure domination and to arouse its forces in us.

Within this active and affective relation with the past, I defend the interest of an anachronistic reading that engages with all that occurred in the Long 1968 in relation to what today we call “care.” And I defend it because, within the limits of that social outbreak made of strikes, assemblies, barricades, self-management, irreverence, and experimentation, it allows us to discover attempts at life in common that challenged the institution of the home and tested other ways of taking charge of and sustaining our common vulnerability.

Most of these experiments were brief and offered no definitive “solutions” free of contradictions. There is no doubt, however, that at different places in Europe and the United States, in neighborhoods, schools, hospitals, community centers, clubs, and associations, a gigantic collective effort was made to resolve those contradictions in a different way, with a determination to undo the patterns of enclosure and violence that sustained the existing social organization of care.

Entering the tangle of those experiments from the knots of the present provides us not with perfect recipes for what ought to be done but with glimpses, prefigurations, and clues to other frameworks for friendlier and more promising care. It reminds us what collective practice was capable of and gives us inspiration, encouragement, and determination. None of this is a disconnected past but forms part of the here and now, constituting our most intimately rebellious DNA and allowing us to understand why we sometimes feel at home in places and contexts we have never visited.

In its turn, the anachronistic reading I propose yields another diagnosis of the present. The neglect of children, the defenselessness and overburdening of mothers, and the solitude of old people have nothing to do with a crisis or “lack” of care resulting from the excesses of the past, from psychiatrists and teachers who forgot the value of limitations and restraint, from denaturalized women who put their personal ambitions before their children, or from a wave of feverish liberty that made us individualistic hedonists. No. The aporias we face are the product of a counteroffensive that closed what the care revolts had opened.

Many of the demands of feminism, anti-psychiatry, and educational reform became law but were emptied of much of their essence in the process. Or, to quote Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar’s summary of the results of other struggles in other latitudes and at another historical period, “we won, but we lost.”⁹ Among what was won—in some places more than others, and always depending on social class—were greater reproductive rights and a certain margin for self-determination in the sexual and affective life of women. Also won was a certain recognition of the dignity and human rights of the main receivers of care (children, the mad, the old, the sick), but the aspiration for a new social organization for care was lost.

Every experience has its own microhistory, but in this broadly anachronistic reading I would dare

to say that, in each and every case, the massive cry of freedom was taken and stripped of community. Neoliberalism is the child of this schism. In a particularly skillful judo lock, it translated the desire for freedom that fed collective experiments into products for free individual consumption.¹⁰ It reorganized care and made it a new frontier for accumulation. What we are suffering today, then, is not so much a crisis of care as its neoliberal reorganization. For this reason, talk in the United Nations about the economy of care is not so strange, for care has become an asset, a new value frontier for capital, and that is what “produces” its shortage. Our challenge today should be to reconnect liberty, community, and vulnerability for all. In this operation, the care revolts of the past are our allies.





List of works

Georges Adéagbo

„La Révolution et les révolutions“..!, 2016–2023
[“The Revolution and the revolutions“..!]
Installation
Dimensions variable
Collection of the artist,
Kulturforum Sud-Nord and
Barbara Wien gallery
pp. 26–29

Efrén Álvarez (in collaboration and with contributions from Veronica Lahitte and Antonio Gagliano, Bookshop La Canibal, Antoni Hervàs, Víctor Jaenada, Jeleton—Jesús Arpal and Gelen Alcántara—and Andrea Ganuza)
Propaganda por el acto de recordar: la era de la razón, 2023
[Propaganda by the deed of remembering: The age of reason]
Installation
Dimensions variable
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
pp. 32–35

Ismaïl Bahri

Foyer, 2016
Video, sound, color, 30’
Collection of the artist
p. 121

Sammy Baloji

A Blueprint for Toads and Snakes, 2018
Installation
Dimensions variable: stage 360 (depth) × 360 (width front) × 120 (width back) × 250 (height) cm; portraits 63.5 × 43.5 cm ea.
Kanal Foundation, Brussels
pp. 46–49

Jean-Pierre Bekolo

Healing Festival: Cinema and Traumas, 2023
Video installation, color, sound, 64’ 05”
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
pp. 133 (stills), 214 (stills)

Ahmed Bouanani

Manuscript of the final version of the poem *Mémoire 14*, ca. 1970
Ink on paper
26 × 20 cm (two pages)
The Archives Bouanani

Mémoire 14

[Memory 14]
35 mm transferred to digital format, b/w, sound, 24’
The Archives Bouanani
pp. 56–57 (stills)

Arabic manuscript for the voice-over of *Mémoire 14*, 1971
Ink on paper
26 × 20 cm
The Archives Bouanani

Photographs exhibited next to the projection of *Mémoire 14*:

Unknown

Mujer y soldado, n.d.
[Woman and soldier]
Photograph b/w
12 × 17 cm
The Archives Bouanani

Unknown

Old woman who lived through the Republic and the Rif War, 1969–1970

Photograph b/w
10 × 13 cm
The Archives Bouanani

Unknown

Shooting of *Mémoire 14*, with Ahmed Bouanani on the right, 1969–1970
Photograph b/w
13 × 19 cm
The Archives Bouanani

Touda Bouanani

Ahhhh!, 2020
Markers on paper
43 × 45 cm
Collection of the artist

Sidna Ali, Ras al Ghoul et les cameramen, 2021
[Sidna Ali, Ras al Ghoul and the cameramen]
Markers on paper
43 × 45 cm
Collection of the artist
p. 55

Sidna Ali, Ras al Ghoul et le débarquement américain, 2021
[Sidna Ali, Ras al Ghoul and the American landing]
Markers on paper
43 × 45 cm
Collection of the artist

Sidna Ali, Ras al Ghoul, Abdelkrim Khattabi et la République du Rif, 2023
[Sidna Ali, Ras al Ghoul, Abdelkrim Khattabi and the Republic of the Rif]
Markers on paper
43 × 45 cm
Collection of the artist
p. 54

Cian Dayrit (in collaboration with RJ Fernandez and Henricus)
Natural Histories of Struggle, 2021
Objects, embroidery, images, and digital printing on fabrics
pp. 60–63

Natural Histories of Struggle: Class
130 × 175 cm
Courtesy of the artist and the Neil K. Rector Collection, USA
pp. 62–63 (center top)

Natural Histories of Struggle: Cult
120 × 180 cm
Collection of the artist and NOME, Berlin
pp. 62–63 (center bottom)

Natural Histories of Struggle: For Land
125 × 185 cm
Collection of the artist and NOME, Berlin
pp. 62–63 (right bottom), 60–61 (detail)

Natural Histories of Struggle: Rhizome
115 × 160 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía
pp. 62–63 (left bottom)

Natural Histories of Struggle: Sovereignty
115 × 160 cm
Collection of the artist and NOME, Berlin
pp. 62–63 (left top)

Natural Histories of Struggle: The Wilderness
125 × 170 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía
pp. 62–63 (right top)

Esperanza Collado and Paula Guerrero

Sin título, 2023
[Untitled]
Digitalized drawing
Dimensions variable
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
p. 8

Ângela Ferreira

Rádio Voz da Liberdade, 2022
Installation
Sculpture of aluminium, DM wood, PVC, and iron:
330 × 230 × 190 cm; framed stamp: 34 × 25.5 × 2.5 cm; pencil drawings on paper: 32 × 38.5 × 4 cm; and facsimiles of PIDE (Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado): 34 × 25.5 × 2.5 cm
Collection of the artist, Cristina Guerra Contemporary Art and NF/Nieves Fernández
pp. 2–3 (detail), 36–37

Dora García

The Deviant Majority: From Basaglia to Brazil, 2010
Video, color, sound, 34’
Contemporary Art Collection Fundación “la Caixa”
pp. 90–91 (stills)

Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi

Frente a Guernica, 2023
[In front of Guernica]
Video, color and b/w, sound, 100’
Narrator 1: Yervant Gianikian; narrator 2: Lucrezia Lerro; montage: Yervant Gianikian and Luca Previtali; original music: Luis Agudo
Work produced by the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2023
pp. 50–52 (stills)

In the anteroom of the screening of *Frente a Guernica*:

*“Dal polo all’equatore”:
Marinetti e il impero italiano*, 1987

[“From the Pole to the Equator”: Marinetti and the Italian Empire]
Watercolor on paper
33 × 24 cm (two pieces)
Collection of the artists

Noi due cineasti, 1989–1996
[We two filmmakers]
Watercolor on paper
24 × 18 cm (ten pieces)
Collection of the artists

Oh, che bella guerra!, 2003
[Oh! What a lovely war]
Watercolor on paper
12 × 15 cm
Collection of the artists

Oh, Uomo!, 2004
[Oh! Man]
Print on paper
69 × 49 cm
Collection of the artists

Manifesto Imperium, 2013
[Imperium manifesto]
Ink on paper
21 × 15 cm
Collection of the artists

Manifesto “Dal polo all’equatore”, 2013
[Manifesto “From the Pole to the Equator”]
Exhibition copy
Collection of the artists
p. 53

Heiner Goebbels

The Last Painting, 2019–2023
Video, color, sound, 20’
Recorded during the artist’s performance *Everything That Happened and Would Happen* at the Park Avenue Armory, New York, on June 7, 2019; camera: Da Ping Luo; sound: Jody Elff
Collection of the artist
pp. 137–139 (stills)

Patricia Gómez and María Jesús González

PLEASE DON’T PAINT THE WALL. CHARLIE-I-1d. Archivo CIE El Matorral, Fuerteventura, from the project *À tous les clandestins*, 2014
Torn mural on transparent fabric
135 × 195 cm
R/E Collection
pp. 70–71 (detail)

PLEASE DON’T PAINT THE WALL. Pabellón D-7844. CIE El Matorral, Fuerteventura, from the project *À tous les clandestins*, 2014
Torn mural on transparent fabric
170 × 185 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 68–69

Raphaël Grisey and Bouba Touré

Sowing Somankidi Coura, a Generative Archive, 2017
Installation
Dimensions variable
Collection of the artists
pp. 128–31

Traana

[Temporary migrant]
Video, color, sound, 27’
Collection of the artists

Xaraasi Xanne, 2022
[Crossing voices]
Video, color, sound, 123”
Collection of the artists

Félix Guattari

Untitled (The politic of experience), n.d.
Exhibition copies
Emmanuelle Guattari archives
pp. 154–55

Les 14 points. Tenseur et synapses, n.d.
[The 14 points: Tensor and synapses]
Exhibition copy
Archives Félix Guattari / IMEC

Le court-circuit diagrammatique, n.d.
[The diagrammatic short-circuit]
Exhibition copies
Archives Félix Guattari / IMEC

Untitled (The 4 triangles: Machine, semantics, semiotics, reference), n.d.
Exhibition copies

- Archives Félix Guattari / IMEC
p. 153
- Transcodage. Gribouillis*, n.d.
[Transcoding: Scribbles]
Exhibition copies
Archives Félix Guattari / IMEC
- Untitled (Analytical quantification), n.d.
Exhibition copies
Archives Félix Guattari / IMEC
p. 149
- La quantification analytique*, n.d.
[Analytical quantification]
Exhibition copy
Annick Kouba archives
p. 148
- Visag  t   et identification*, n.d.
[Visage and identification]
Exhibition copy
Archives F  lix Guattari / IMEC
- Rehabiliter le contenu dans son h  t  rog  n  t  *, n.d.
[Rehabilitating content in its heterogeneity]
Exhibition copy
Archives F  lix Guattari / IMEC
- Machine d'encodage a-s  miotique*, n.d.
[A-semiotic encoding machine]
Exhibition copy
Archives F  lix Guattari / IMEC
- S  miotique a-signifiante*, n.d.
[A-signifying semiotics]
Exhibition copy
Archives F  lix Guattari / IMEC
- Les formations du noyau d'agencement*, n.d.
[Formations of the nucleus of agency]
Exhibition copy
Chim  res magazine
- Interfaces Machiniques et h  t  rog  n  se*, n.d.
[Machine interfaces and heterogenesis]
Exhibition copy
Archives F  lix Guattari / IMEC
- Flux, synapses, composants de passage*, n.d.
[Flow, synapses, passage components]
Exhibition copies
Chim  res magazine
- Gribouillis*, n.d.
[Scribbles]
Exhibition copies
Archives F  lix Guattari / IMEC
pp. 150–51
- De l'efficience s  miotique*, diagram presented at Guattari's homonymous seminar on May 4, 1982
[On semiotic efficiency]
Exhibition copy
Archives F  lix Guattari / IMEC
- Substituer l'enonciation    l'expression*, s. f.
[Substitute enunciation for expression]
Exhibition copy
Chim  res magazine
p. 152
- hackitectura.net (Pablo DeSoto, Sergio Moreno and Jos   P  rez de Lama)**
Cartograf  a cr  tica del Estrecho de Gibraltar, 2004
[Critical cartography of the Strait of Gibraltar]
Exhibition copy
Courtesy of the artists
- In the context of UNIA arteypensamiento
pp. 64–67
- Femke Herregraven**
Spectres of Calculated Prophecies, 2023
Lightbox
100 x 330 cm
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
pp. 142, 144–45 (detail)
- Split Ends #10022021*, 2023
Ink on linoleum board
120 x 90 cm
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
p. 143 (top)
- Split Ends #09112020*, 2023
Ink on linoleum board
120 x 90 cm
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
p. 143 (bottom)
- Huanchaco**
Manual para hablar con Dios, 2018
[Manual for speaking to God]
A3 prints made with a typewriter and ink drawing on Hahnem  hle paper in a methacrylate box
29.7 x 42 cm ea.
Long-term loan of Fundaci  n Museo Reina Sof  a, 2022
pp. 7, 96–97
- Transmis  n de rollos telep  ticos*, 2018
[Transmission of telepathic reels]
Video, color, sound, 25'
Long-term loan of Fundaci  n Museo Reina Sof  a, 2022
- Iconoclastas**
Cuidados comunes en Lavapi  s, 2020–2022
[Common care in Lavapi  s]
Intervened maps
60 x 256 cm
Collection of the artists (work produced for the exhibition *Graphic Turn: Like the Ivy on the Wall*, Museo Reina Sof  a, 2022)
pp. 72–73
- Abu Bakarr Mansaray**
Computer Virus (the Male), 2008
Ballpoint pen, colored pencil, and graphite on paper
125 x 200 cm
Collection of Farida and Henri Seydoux, Paris
pp. 25 (left), 229 (detail)
- What Is This?*, 2013
Ballpoint pen, coloured pencil, and graphite on paper
86 x 113.5 cm
Collection of Farida and Henri Seydoux, Paris
pp. 23 (detail), 24 (right)
- Alien's Ultimate (Bad Ass)*, 2016
Ballpoint pen, colored pencil, and graphite on paper
120 x 160 cm
Gallery MAGNIN-A, Paris
p. 25 (right)
- Ebola Virus Missile Industry*, 2017
Ballpoint pen, colored pencil, and graphite on paper
120 x 150 cm
Private collection, Paris
p. 24 (left)
- Loreto Mart  nez Troncoso**
Poemarios garabato, 2023
[Scrawl poems]
Installation, sound composition, 30'
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
pp. 102–3
- Monlee & Roxlee**
The Great Smoke, 1984
Super-8 transferred to digital format, color, sound, 6'
Collection of the artists and AgX Film Collective, Boston
pp. 30–31 (stills)
- Abdul Hay Mosallam Zarara**
The 1965 Revolution, 1974
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
41 x 40 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 58 (top center)
- Student Uprising in Ramallah*, 1976
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
41 x 5.5 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 58 (top left)
- The Martyr Raja'a Abu Amasheh*, 1976
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
83 x 81 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 59 (top right)
- The Traditional Al Samer Dance*, 1976
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
74.5 x 106.5 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 59 (bottom left)
- Hope and Smile*, 1977
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
8.5 x 57.5 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 58 (bottom right)
- Lebanese National Resistance Front*, 1984
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
80 x 49 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 59 (bottom right)
- Resistance in Marj Ibn Amer*, 1984
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
68 x 39.5 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 59 (top left)
- Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah) 21*, 1985
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
84 x 56.5 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 58 (top right)
- Oh Homeland, Oh Night*, 1988
Acrylic on sawdust and glue
60.5 x 80.5 cm
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
p. 58 (bottom left)
- Rabih Mrou  **
Our Hirk: The Tishreen Revolution, 2023
Two-channel video, color, sound, 52' 33"
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
pp. 43 (stills), 167 (stills)
- Bouchra Ouizguen**
Corbeaux, 2017
[Crows]
Video, color, sound, 7' 37"
Compagnie O – Bouchra Ouizguen, production Association Rokya / Association Originale, coproduction MuCEM / Festival de Marseille
pp. 106–7 (stills)
- Fran  ois Pain and Fran  ois Marcellly-Fernandez**
Pol  gono de sustentaci  n / ACE (Agenciamiento Colectivo de Enunciaci  n), 2022–2023
- [Support polygon/CAE (Collective Assemblage of Enunciation)]
Video, color, sound, 60' 34"
Collection of the artists (work produced for this exhibition)
pp. 126–27
- Ant  n Pati  o**
Esquizoide, 1978
[Schizoid]
Mixed media on paper
Dimensions variable
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sof  a
pp. 104–5
- Juan P  rez Agirregoikoa**
Undesirable Aliens, 2021
Videos
Collection of the artist
pp. 140–41
- MIRACLE MIRACLE by Milton Friedman*
Video, color, sound, 20' 54"
pp. 140–41 (bottom)
- Playing the Emigration Game*
Video, color, sound, 15' 55"
pp. 140–41 (center)
- George Cantor Explaining the Concept of State to the Hungry Pigeons*
Video, color, sound, 11' 36"
pp. 140–41 (top)
- La rara troupe**
Exercises from *Rodando el l  mite: autogesti  n y disparate*, 2019–2020
[Shooting on the edge: Self-management and nonsense]
Video, color, sound, 42' 54"
Collection of the artists
p. 132 (stills)
- Rodando el l  mite: autogesti  n y disparate*, 2020
[Shooting on the edge: Self-management and nonsense]
Video, color, sound, 24' 22"
Collection of the artists
pp. 224–25 (stills)
- Dania Reymond**
La temp  te, 2016
[The storm]
Video, b/w, sound, 10'
Centre national des arts plastiques. FNAC 2016–0177
pp. 122–23
- Florencia Rodr  guez Giles**
Biod  lica, 2018
Pencil and pigments on paper, mounted on canvas
Diptych: 220 x 450 cm and 220 x 150 cm
Servais Family Collection
pp. 114–15, 200–1 (detail)
- Rojava Film Commune**
Ev  n di r  y   qirkirin   de, 2020
[Love in the face of genocide]
Video, color, sound, 52' 15"
Collection of the artists
pp. 78–79 (stills)
- Eran Schaefer**
Nomadesque, 2023
Installation
Dimensions variable
Collection of the artist (work produced for this exhibition)
pp. 80–81, 170–71
- In the *Nomadesque* installation:
- Frenkel Brothers**
  دياف شريف ام, 1935–1936
[Nothing to do]
35 mm transferred to digital format, b/w, sound, 9' 13"
Courtesy of CNC - Centre

- National du Cinéma et de l'Image Animée, Paris.
Acknowledgements: Didier, Jeny and Dany Frenkel
- Poster of عافدل
بينظول, 1938–1940
[National defense]
Ink on paper
60 × 90 cm
Courtesy of Didier, Jenny and Dany Frenkel
- عافدل بينظول, 1938–1940
[National defense]
35 mm transferred to digital format, b/w, sound, 14' 24"
Courtesy of CNC - Centre National du Cinéma et de l'Image Animée, Paris.
Acknowledgements: Didier, Jeny and Dany Frenkel
- Une expérience atomique*, 1953
[An atomic experiment]
16 mm transferred to digital format, b/w, sound, 1' 44"
Courtesy of Didier, Jenny and Dany Frenkel
- Le trésor insaisissable*, ca. 1953–1960
[The unattainable treasure]
16 mm transferred to digital format, b/w, no sound, 2' 4"
Courtesy of Didier, Jenny and Dany Frenkel
- Salomon Frenkel**
16 mm portable film projector, ca. 1960
Home-designed and -produced artifact
38 × 40 × 49 cm (open)
Courtesy of Didier, Jenny and Dany Frenkel
- Tejal Shah**
Between the Waves, 2012
Five-channel video installation, color and b/w, sound, 85' 40"
Collection of the artist, Barbara Gross Galerie, Munich and Project 88, Bombay
pp. 108–9 (screening), 110–11 (stills)
- Tai Shani**
THE NEON HIEROGLYPH - Chapter 3, 2021
Video, color, sound, 7' 02"
Collection of the artist
pp. 112–13 (stills)
- Rayyane Tabet**
Exquisite Corpse, 2017
Installation with one-person military tents, maps, family tree, books, and accessories for military tents
Dimensions variable
Sharjah Art Foundation Collection
pp. 82–85
- Taring Padi (in collaboration with Just Seeds)**
All Mining Is Dangerous, 2010
Xylographic print on fabric
108 × 495 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 74 (detail), 76–77 (right), 176–77 (detail)
- Taring Padi**
Barisan Tani Mati Di Lumbung Padi, 2021–2022
[Rows of dead farmers in rice barns]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
134 × 78 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 75 (detail), 76–77
- Koruptor Penjahat Kemanunisiaan*, 2021–2022
- [Humanitarian crime corruptor]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
127 × 75 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Krisis Iklim Boom Waktu*, 2021–2022
[Time boom climate crisis]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
108 × 87 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Military Destroy Our Earth*, 2021–2022
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
130 × 81 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- More Debt More Corrupt*, 2021–2022
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
149 × 83 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- More Power More Corrupt*, 2021–2022
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
130 × 73 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- One Song One Struggle*, 2021–2022
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
129 × 74 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Perdagangan Karbon Muslihat Oligarki*, 2021–2022
[The carbon trade of the oligarchy's deception]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
128 × 85 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Poli-tikus*, 2021–2022
[Poli-rat]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
130 × 75 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Politik Tuna Etika*, 2021–2022
[Politics of the ethics]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
134 × 71 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Sita Asset Koruptor*, 2021–2022
[Confiscate corruptor's assets]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
152 × 67 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Sita Seluruh Asset Koruptor*, 2021–2022
[Confiscate all corruptor's assets]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
140 × 90 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Tikus Oligarki*, 2021–2022
[Oligarchy rat]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
123 × 85 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Wadas Melawan*, 2021–2022
[Wadas against]
Cardboard puppet and acrylic paint
117 × 90 cm
Collection of the artists
pp. 76–77
- Test Dept**
DS30, 2014
- Video, sound, color, 30' 25"
Collection of the artists
pp. 18–19 (stills), 192–93 (stills)
- Todo por la praxis (in collaboration with the assembly of Museo Situado)**
Cacharro, 2020–2023
Agitation and propaganda device
Dimensions variable
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230 × 195 cm
Collection of the artist
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Dimensions variable
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Dimensions variable
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