Janem

I need to begin this discussion with a few brief propositions. I have argued that the texture as well as the structure of our present of time is best called postmodernity, and in what follows I want to expand that claim to include some items not generally thought of as postmodern: economics, for example, but also food; temporality, but also politics. But you'll see what I mean by all that soon enough.

postmodern; and the first is the supercession in it of time by space. I have even gone so far as to argue that time is abolished in postmodernity, I won't perform that idea now; but let's just or now, say that for us today, in all kinds of ways, space and the spatial, and aesthetic the theme of space, the political/reality of space, has overtaken an older modernist emphasis on time.

But the principal spatial phenomnemon Rhkdkdkdkdkdkdkdkdkkd on which I want to insist is the that of globalization; indeed I want to say that for me postmodernity and globalization are one and the same. Postmodernity is khkdk as it were the cultural, the superstructural face of what globalization appears to be the infrastructure, the economic reality. The two terms are two codes which can be translated into one another, depending on the context in which they are needed.

To argue these presuppositions would require more than a lecture in itself, and therefore let's just take them now for granted and begin on our concrete topic, whose first stop will be art and aesthetics itself. We're going to see shortly,

as my title hints, that the postmodern involves something of a replay of the medicasi debate of the color biogination, over universals

While to the Act the sport of the formation of the second

So Cet so begin with Universals.

In art, universals are called genres; and it is clear enough that modernism took as one of its vocations to shatter the generic universals and to create works which were unique, one-time events not to be repeated at the property of the scarcely classifiable under the rubric of this or that genre, even though in many cases the fossilized traces of the latter may here and there show through. In that sense, then, modernism was also nominalist, and wished to substitute unique and unclassifiable objects for the standardized repetition of the

formulaic and the practice of this or that specific genre: these last then sink to the level of mass culture and continue to conteller be practiced (although themselves exhausted) to the present day, in pre

How then is the postmodern and i, ts nominali sm any different from the modernist xecation? Let's be fairly fairly general about this: the modernist still aims to produce or create a work, it is the work that is thek unique and a one-time formal achievement. We may then draw two corollaries: first, that the creation of this work is also the creation of a style, it is style which is essentially unique\about the one-time work (and when the possibilities of new atyles are exhausted, enter into its terminal crisis). The then modernism will second coroldary lies in what may crudely be called the religion of art, or at least the sense that art is a total vocation, and that one enters into it as one enters a religious order; and that its practice in principle eventuates in a transcription of everything in the world. It is to be wholly complete and autonomous in itself, the well-known Book of the World, about which Mallarmé famously said that "tout, au monde, existe pour aboutir au Livre". There subsists in film, but also in a certain literature (like that of Sebald), a survival of all this, which I

will call late modern, but which no longer concerns us here.

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Now, despite their shared nominalisms, postmodernism discards most of these premises. It is no longer a religion of art, but in it the practice of art seems to regress to a kind of handicraft, albeit often an industrial one. It no longer has anything to do with style, and for a very good reason: style is the mark of the unique personality; how could it survive the famous death of the subject, how could it characterize the famous "man without qualities", the decentered or depersonalized subject, the end of individualism. Let's say that the Abstract Expressionists were the last to have style, to cherish brush-strokes: after them Warhol or even Damien Hirst!

And what about transition.

Many critics and aestheticians have indeed spoken of the Walter volatilization of the object today. This means not only Benjamin's reproduceability, multiplication and standardization; it also means the end of the older whoma such as the oil painting or the statue. A more positive example of the changeover would be the primary of the installation, which includes a number of objects of different kinds, a painting perhaps, but also a rug, all piece of furniture, a text, a sample of graffiti, and so on.

None of these objects is the objet d'art, it lies in their combination and their relationship, it is space rather than presence. And it is also i mpersonal, the space of an installation cannot have a style in the older sense. Walk walker.

But let me know try to characterize what it is the postmodern artist seeks to produce (if we still want to retain the word art for something which may also be seen as a very different kind of activity. I mark a difference rather than a judgement beng).

Postmodern art seeks, not an object to be produced, but

rather what I will call, without being altogether satisfied

(Maybe even
with the term, a strategy, and indeed a strategy of production, as we
I don't mean by that a technology although to be sure technology
is involved. Warhol's silk-screens can have any kind of visual
content you like, they are a strategy of production, the invention
of a kind of production. They mark an innovation, but I would
want to argue that it is not a stylistic innovation, it is
not the creation of a style; you could call it a style of
production but it is not in that sense expressive, kuknktkdk, as //k y
older
the/styles of the moderns, seemed too be. I will give a more
extensive example of this new process later on.

it was no doubt anticipated in the logic of mo dernism at certain extreme moments. Beyy's, for example, or Oiticka also invented something like production processes and of course the wniting of these histories is a dreadize process, one can bakek construct prededessors and even rate survivals, it is unverifiable except for the light it sheds and the ainterest, it penerates. What I would want to observe here is that both Beuys and Oiticka also have theres, certain kinds of obsessive content runs through their works, in bo th cases perhaps, although very differently, a preoccupation with the body. I believe that it is such thematic content which is expunged from the postmodern, as time is expunged from space, as volume is expunged from the photographic. And that Ceymis a fundamental differences the

We can draw a few initial conclusions from these first observations. First of all, clearly enough the installation marks a significant disintegration of the old classical system of the fine arts, if not its complete restructuration. In a movement characteristic of the postmodern, the arts, which in modernity developed in a regime of differentiation, each tending towards a kind of autonomy or semi-autonomy in its own right the arts now in the postmodern reverse that direction and conflate, falling back on one another in new and unexpected symbioses. So it is that photography, once a poor cousin of painting, has become a major art in postmoornity, but has also known all kinds of hybridizations and graftings with the other arts. This is something of an equivalent of the supercession of fiction by non-fiction in literature) and it is of course an unsurprising development in the society of the spectacle, where we are already bombarded by thousands of images a day in real life. But it should also be remembered that photography is an abstraction of the visual and the tactile, the bodily (we have already mentioned the way it launders (concrete corporeality in Bours); we will come back to this crucial matter of postmodern abstraction later on. the hybridization of the arts gives us yet another reason why the search for some unique density and perfection in any given art is no longer a viable ambition.

Two more developments need to be mentioned at this point.

If the individual arts no longer have any telos or momentum of their own (as in the modern), then it also becomes somewhat more comprehensible why the avant-gardes should have ceased to exist in the postmodern. Clearly, this vanishing of the

avant=gardes as such (perhaps COBRA and situationism were the

last of the species) has other determinants as well, and in

particular the weakening of collective structures and in

particular the crisis of politics - I mean of party politics (for

the vanguard party had also relationship to the vanguard artistic

and will welk.

movements). But has anything taken the phace of the avant-garde

on the current scene?

I believe that here again the installation gives us a clue: for does this assemblage of heterogeneous objects and items in a momentary constellation not have its kdkgkdk macro equivalent in the very contemporary museum itself, wit h its heteroclete shows and its ingeniously themed (and equally ephemeral) exhibitions? The conclusion is inescapable: the collective avant-garde has in our time and in postmodernity been replaced by the single figure of the curator, who now becomes the demiurge of those floating and dissolving constellations of strange objects we still call art. It would be worth our Social and even political while to pursue the significance of the emergence of this new figure, the postmodern curator, who may be expected to have his or her equivalent in other realms of the information society, such as medicing, the university, business administration, government, and the like. Unfortunately that is speculation we cannot pursue any further here.

But if, still pursuing the idea of the installation to which we now momentarily return, we see this newly emergent form as a kind of descendent of the old happenings of the 1960s, then we can observe yet another feature of interest for us, one related to that ephemerality of the installation or indeed of the exhibition which we have just touched on. It is indeed

this, that the new form of art is not an object but an event. It is made, not for posterity, or even for the permanent collection, but rather for the now and for a temporality which may be rather different from the old modernist kind. This is indeed why it has become appropriate to speak of it not as a work or a style, not even as the expression of something deeper, but rather as a strategy (or a recipe) - a strategy for ptoducing an event, a recipe for events. (Jumping ahead to politics for a second, can we not see the great mass demonstrations - what are they called in "texting" language? - the equivalent of just such events, rather different from the old-fashioned revolutionary conspiracies? Symptoms of a different temporality, rather than even direct signs of the emergence of something like the people or democracy...)

Editdkdkdkdkdkdkd One final observation before we try to say what kind of an event these postmodern kdkdkd artistic happenings might be. I mentioned technology a while back: did I add that in our postmodern age



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we not only use technology we consume it, and we consume its exchange value along with the rest of its more symbolic essence. Just as in an older period, the automobile was consumed as much for its libidinal value and its symbolic overtones as for its practical use-value, so today, but in far more complex way, the computer and the Internet and their ramifications - already well integrated into Utopian political fantasies - and cultural have replaced an older artistic/consumption, which they have both modified and supplanted. We consume the very form of communication along with its content.

But this distinction - between form and content - now brings me to the essentials of what I wanted to observe about art today, in what is not only a postmodern but also a theoretical age. The great SF writer Stanislaw Lem once wrote a series of book reviews of imaginary books, books from the future which neither he nor anyone else would ever write. It was a prophetic gesture, and demonstrated that you could consume the idea of a book with as much satisfaction as the real book itself.

How then to characterize the spirit of the newer works? I want to go back to that older category of art criticism which invoked the inspiration, the Einfall, the "idea" for a work, and to adapt it to this newer production for which the idea, is a kind of technical discovery, or perhaps an invention in the sense of the contraptions of the lonely crackpot inventors or obsessives. Art today

form of this new paredigm; but I sleawant to try to catch the spirit of so much of contemporary or postmodern visual art which

is generated by a single bright idea which, combining form and content, can be repeated ad infinitum until the attist's name takes on a kind of content of its own. Thus Xu Bing conceived pretrates the idea of making up conjunctures of lines, that looked like real Chinese characters but were utterly without meaning: we might think of nonsense words or even zaum or Khlebnikov&s made-up language, yet these Western phenomena really have no raus tv equivalent for the/dimension of the Chinese system. This was thus a remarkable conception or Einfall, a discovery of genius, if you like - provided it is understood that it constitutes formal neither sm innovation, nor the elaboration of a style, nor is it autoreferential in the modernist sense or even sesthetic or estranging in the sense of altering/perception or intensifying kekekekekekekek 1t. The question that interests me is whether we can call henceforth this art "conceptual" in a now older and/more traditional sense. I understand conceptual art as the production of physical objects which flex mental categories by pitting them against each other, as with Hegel's determinations of Yet these categories, whether we can reflexion in the Logic. express them or not, are somehow universal forms like Kant's categories or Hegel's moments; and conceptual objects are therefore a little like antinomies or paradoxes in the verbal-philosophical realm - occasions for a meditative practice.

With Xu Bing and the rest of a postmodern artistic production for which I take him to be paradigmatic, it seems to me that the situation is wholly different. His "texts" are they are as it were soaked in theory, they are as theoretical as visual,

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but they do not illustrate an idea, nor do they offer material for a meditation or a mental or conceptual exercize. A concept is there, but it is siggular, and this conceptual art is nowinalistic rather than universal. I want to recall an encounter I found suggestive: asking a younger artist whether anyone still copied the old masters, as Picasso still did, or jackson Pollock, I received the following response, no, we get our ideas from theory, from reading Baudrillard or Deleuze or whoever. "Getting our ideas": I want to use this expression to drive home my point here, namely that when we look at works of this kind, we are engaged in a theoretical process, that is: what we "consume" is no longer a purely visual or material entity, but rather the idea of such an entity. What the artists now create is not the "work" in whatever older or newer sense, but rather the idea of the work. Manney

Today we consume, not the work, but the idea of the work, as in imaginary

Lem's/book reviews; and the work itself, if we can still call

it that, is a mixture of theory and singularity. 't is not

material - we consume it as an idea rather than a sensory

presence - and it is not subject to aesthetic universalism,

insofar as each of these artifacts reinvents the very idea

of art in a new and non-universalizable form, so that it

is in that sense even doubtful whether we should use the

general term art at all for such singularity-events.



I have not forgotten that I promised to hakekekekeked draw some analogies and indeed relationships between this new kind of art other contemporary practices such as and some new kind of postmodern economics. But I cannot resist/ inserting here a different kind of example of the postmodern aesthetic event: it will be brief, as the portions are in any case so small. I refer to postmodern cuisine, as it is exemplified in Ferran Adria's now famous restaurant El Bulli in what is sometimes called (he doesn't like the term) "molecular" bookings The thirty-five courses that make up a meal at El Bulli are all unfamiliar looking (or if they look familiar you are in for a shock when you taste them). They are no longer natural objects, or perhaps I should say they are no longer realistic objects: rather, they abstractions of the natural - the taste of asparagus for example, or of eggplant or of persimmon, has been separated from the body of its natural container and incarnated in a new texture and form not only the famous foam (whose heyday at El Bulli goes back to an earlier period, I believe) but little caviar shapes, or sauces, or cocktails and the like. "eanwhile the new form is important in and of itself, and each new item is recorded and registered (not only by a written and then computerized recipe, but I think they are rarely cooked again after that season ) by photography: it is the image that is preserved, and you consume the image, along with the idea; and indeed t he conjuncture of elements, in what is, just like khi postmodern art itself, a unique event. The older foods, whether in the realism of classical cuisi, ne or the modernism of the nouvelle variety, were still classifiable under the great universals of seafood, meat, vegetables, spices and the like. These "astronauts' snacks" of El Bulli -

domination of the universal and its naming system, they are in other words singular in all the heightened significance postmodern philosophy has given to that term and which we will eventually confront.



Now in all of this I have not lost sight of our starting point, which was not aesthetic but economic, and indeed turned on that peculiar form of the singularity which is called the derivative. The postmodern text - to use a more neutral term than work - the postmodern artistic singularity-effect, if you prefer, is of the same unique type as knikdkdkdkdkdkdkd that unique one-time financial instrument called the derivative such is what I have wanted to affirm here. Both are at least in part the result of the situation of globalization, in which multiple determinants, in constant transformation at different rates of speed, henceforth make any stable structure problematic, unless it is simply a pastiche of forms of the past. The world financial market is mirrored in the world art market, thrown open by the end of modernism and of its Eurocentric canon of masterworks along with the implicit or explicit teleology that informed it. Now, to be sure, anything and everything is possible, but only on condition it embrace ephemerality and consent to exist but for a brief time, as an event rather than as a durable object.

the economic. No description of the postmodern can omit the centrality of the postmodern economy, which can succinctly be characterized as the dominance of finance capital over old-fashioned production. I follow Giovanni Arrighi in seeing the emergence of a stage of finance capital as a cyclical development; as Braudel famously put it, "reaching the stage of financial expansion" every capitalist development "in some sense announces its maturity", finance capital "is a sign of autumn". Arrighi's three cyclical stages can be described as implantation of capitalism; production and development; saturation and financial speculation. After which capitalism moves on to fresh territory.

would Any satisfactory account of postmodernity/required us to read a proper description of finance capitalism onto the record, something we have no time for here. Suffice it to say that the displacement of old-fahloned production and profit by speculation on a kind of futures market in stocks - and stocks which have very little concrete content at that, which have but the most tenuous links with the actual production whose value they used to represent + is the source and dontext of those myriad theories of the simulachum, the image, spectacle society, immateriality of all kinds, including the various kak current ideologies of communication. Finance capital can be been as a new kind of second-degree abstraction quite different from the older modernist kind; as\a kind of meta-signifying system quite different from ngturally enough older practices of the sign - and such developments have fundamental consequences for artistic and cultural production as well as for monceptuality and daily life.

I must here however limit myself to a single bllustration of this process, albeit a wery significant one indeed, and that is the strange and unique mutation of traditional insurance and

investment in what is called the derivative of postmedern economics, that is derivative finance capital.

It is not possible to project a concept of the derivative for reasons that will shortly emerge; any example of the derivative will thus be non-exemplary and different from any other one, and yet perhaps a very over-simplified model

of the battern a through the sense of it, along with its indissoluble relationship to globalization. They imagine a U.S corporation contracting to provide ten million cellular phones to a Brazilian subsidiary of a South African corporation. Its interior architecture will be produced by a German-Italian corporation, its casings by a Mexican manufacturer, and a Japanese firm will also provide other components. Here we have at least six different currencies, and their exchange rates are in perpetual flux, as is the standard norm in globalization today. The relationship of each of these exchange rates to the others will then be guaranteed by a kind of insurance, 1-1 that makes many different insurance contracts, maybe six or insurance constacts which will make up that "financial instrument" which is this unique derivative in question. Obviously the situation (and the "instrument") will be far more complicated than that. But what is clear is that, even taking the old-fashioned futures market as a kind of simplified and primitive ancestor, there can never be another derivative quite like this one in its structure and requirements. Indeed, it is more like a unique event than it is a contract (something with a stable structure and Erpoma and bee their authorities a juridical status). Meanwhile, as they point out, it only can be inspected and analyzed after the fact, such that, for knowledge, this "event" exists only in the past. The authors conclude, pessimistically, that there can never be genuine

Au investment

regulation of such a transaction since each one is radically different: in other words there can really be no laws to moderate the kindled dynamics of this kind of instrument (which no less than Warren Buffett has called the financial equivalent of the nuclear bomb).

Whatever the political implications of such a phenomenon (and there are many), we may acknowledge the invention of a new kind of concept to deal with it, it is the idea of the "singularity", a term that has known enormous fortune in the postmodern period (even though its philosophical origin goes back to Duns Scotus). In postmodernity, singularity can be used in at least four different contexts.

where it does not seem clear (to me) whether the term means something beyond physical law as we know it, or something anomalous which has not yet been explained by scientists (but which will eventually fall under an enlarged scientific law of some kind, yet to be theorized). What is useful here is then the notion of a singularity-event, which, as in the financial dynamics of derivatives we have just outlined, lies on the border between an unrepeatable event in time of some sort and a unique structure which may come together just once but which is nonetheless a structure of some kind and susceptible to structural analysis.

In Science Fiction this clearly becomes the dominant ambiguity, but ktkdkdk rather than with the black holes and sub-atomic peculiarities of the physicists, it is linked to computers and artificial intelligence. Here the singularity is is projected as a leap or evolutionary mutation of some sort, something that can be dystopian or Utopian according

to the context. Dystopian singularity would be the emergence of a mechanical species that transcends the human in its intelligence (and malignity) as in the Terminator series or Battlestar Galactica. Utopian would then be the emergence of the posthuman in/hitherto human species, a kind of mutation of the human in a new hybrid or android type of superhuman intelligence within our own human nature. This use seems the farthest from the usage that interests us here, save that its visionary notion of a period or evolutionary leap does somehow correspond to the old modernist teleology of art, - make it new, invention, destruction of the past, emergence of new perceptions and new forms of experience, and even new kinds of human beings as in avant-garde politics. This Utopian strain is then still very much at least a subterranean current in contemporary or post-contemporary Science Fiction, and thus testifies to the on-going awareness of a historical change, as well as the stirrings of some deeply buried and feeble sense of history and the future.

clearly it is the philosophical notion of singularity which is the crucial one for us, insofar as it steadfastly repudiates traditional philosophical notions of universals, and of the traditional scheme of those particulars or individuals which are subsumed under universals. The concept even of singularity (but can one/call it a philosophical concept in that sense?) breaks with all that and posits a focus on the absolutely unique. In this sense we are indeed back in medieval philosophy and the quarrel of nominalism against universalism; and to that degree Adorno is right kinklick to the return of identify/nominalism as a fundamental feature of modernity (and presumably therefore also of postmodernity). Adorno's

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The concept of Singularity breaks with all that and points a books on the absolutely unique, #18817

This is in fact a return to the old quarrel between realism and nominalism in the Middle Ages where universals and platonic ideas are considered mere empty words designed to bring order to a world of absolutely unique and ungeneralizable things and substances. Universals are thus mere flatus vocis, empty sounds which have little enough to do with reality.

to pause here to observe that I do not consider the description I have been giving here to be some properly postmodern philosophy. There is such a thing nowadays, there are philosophers who endprse what they call postmodern philosophy as their slogan. I believe that such a philosophy is associated with two specific causes, namely anti-essentialism and antifoundationalism. These may be described as the struggle against any normative idea of human nature, and the repudiation of any ultimate metaphys8cal system (any idea of nature as such). I'm perfectly willing to endorse these principles, to which I would add constructivism and also a certain historicism (often called relativism by the philosophical enemies of so-called postmodern philosophy). But all these principles were already inherent in Sartrean existentialism, and so their compression into a single program is scarcely surprising (at least to me, who was always a Sartrean in the first place).

But I am now not in the process of proselytizing or advertising for this system; rather I take so-called postmodern philosophy as yet another symptom of postmodernity as such, along with the other features I have been describing, such as the work of art, food, derivatives, and so forth. Indeed, in order to grasp the significance of postmodern philosophy and of Sangularia in it we must move from the philosophical

level to the socio-political one, in which the struggle against universals inherent in the very concept of singularity is a struggle against hegemonic norms and institutional values, whether cultural or juridical. Universals are here felt to be normative and thereby oppressive and binding on minorities and individuals. If you posit some universal human nature, in other

deviations,

words, you are already affirming a norm from which all deviations, whether collective or individual, can be denounced and condemned. And to denounce such norms kdk becomes a burning political issue, as in identity politics and the politics of secessionist groups and marginal or oppressed cultures. For at their outer limit the hegemonic or oppressive norm can reach genocide and the ideals of ethnic cleansing, something we witness everywhere as a reaction against for the plebeienization I have already described as a world-wide phenomenon; but also against the CVG (SW) deterioration of national autonomies under globalization.

Yet even this seemingly legitimate resistance to oppressive norms and universals remains dialectically ambivalent.

The most dramatic examples are to be found in the areas of feminism and gender preference: for to assert kdkdkdkk universal rights flor women is also necessarily to challenge cultures in which another status of women is prescribed; the doctrine of universal human rights is still a doctrine of universals. Yet the repudiation of such universals is equally contradictory: for just as individual cultures can challenge the universal norm of an ascribed human nature (nowadays generally an American one), so also women can challenge the universalizing norm inherent in this or that cultural custom or "law". Singularity would in that sense seem to remain a purely individual affair, and untranslatable to a collective equivalent unless that collectivity affirms its own uniqueness and singularity (an affirmation that generally seems to take the form of religion).

We have already implied, however, that singularities or their concept exist on two other levels: the economic level of the derivatives and finance capital; and that aesthetic level to which we hakedkedked now come.

Now we have very little time £dkdk to deal with what are perhaps our most important topics - the transformations of subjectivity and lived experience in the postmodern, and the transformation of politics. You understand t hat as with philosophy I have my own opinions, my own judgements, my own preferences, about all these things, but I am trying as much as possible to give a relatively neutral description of &dkdkd historical change, a historical transformation on all levels, which I believe to have happened or to be in the process of happening. It is not a transition from one mode of production or even from one society to ano ther, we are still very wuch within capitalism; but it is at least a change from one mo ment of capitalism to ano ther, and has momentous consequences for all kinds of structures and experiences, as I have tried to show.

As for subjectivity itself, and personal experience, I've already mentioned a kind of displacement from the experience of time to that of space: but surely the center of our subjective experience, our phenomenological or existential, experience, remains temporal. We would then in that case need to see what temporality konnkalake feels like under the regime of space, and I think this involves something more drastic than the old Bergsonian critique of spatial experience in terms of some deep time of the elan vital. I think it could be argued that all the fascination of modernism with deep time - not only in Bergson, but also in Thomas Mann or Proust - such fascination

future thinking and research as it does conclusions from past

It seems appropriate enough to begin with space and time for pestmodernity can certainly be characterized as the increasing predominance of the spatial over the temperal, in literature Think of the importance of deep time in and art for example. the modern classics, in/Proust or/in Thomas Mann, in Platonov or in D.H. Kawrence. I think it could be argued that all that temperal fascination derived from the unevenmess of the modernizing world - the coexistence of slower village or rural temperalities with the dizzying rapidity of the big cities and of industrialization. But modernism is in that sense the expression of incomplete modernization, and we can draw the conclusion that the postmodern is what we get when modernization is complete, when when the countryside is abolished (that is to say the peasantry have hildhikdlidhikdkilkdkilkdkdk become wage workers and the older agriculture has been transformed into agribusiness). Now, in this/complete modernization, even the differences between industrial labor and the life of the city bourgeoisie is effaced, or everyone is unemployed everyone has become a consumer, everything has become a shopping mall, space has become ankdkmkdkdkdkdkd infinite extension of surfaces which are images; and Difference - a temperal phenomenon has given way to Identity and standardization. You will observe that this is still only true in a few privileged spaces and countries in the world: but that makes my point, namely that today what constituted uneven development locally and nationally has now been projected onto a global scale, culture itself has become a space of uneven development, as we find reflected in such works as Pascale Casanova's World Republic of Letters. The connection to globalization is clear: this sense of a

period, the period of imperialism, of metropolises and colonies; it could only have become possible after decolonization, and I'll come back to other results of that immense process.

But in our present context, it is rather of business thatwe have to speak than of national liberation; and it is not even of immense new multi-national corporations (vastly beyond anything Lenin had in mind by monopoly in an older medernist peried) We must speak of the communications technologies that make these gagantic business transnationals possible, and this is a topic which leads in many directions. MacLuhan would certainly have identified the computer and the Internet with fundamental modifications of subjectivity, and he would have been right put we'll talk about that later on under that specific rubric. The cultural specialists in technology would then have their own word to speak on its transformation of the body and of the phenomenology of the object world: it seems to me no accident that cultural theory today has been so radically transformed by the technological perspectives of the new media. We've already underscored the significance of finance capital: in this context, however, it remains to stress the way in

which, in computerization,

in which spatial distance is now translated into a virtual temporal simultaneity, and in which, in other words, space abolishes time. Investments, speculation, the selling off of acquisitions whole national currencies, divestments and kdkdkdkk, the commodification of a future you can buy and sell - kakdkakdkdk hawdkrkdkdkdkdkdkdkdkdkdkdk the newer communications technologies have accelerated these processes to the point where the passage of time, Bergsonian durée, has been virtually eliminated. As can be imagined, such an eclipse of time passing seriously modifies human experience if it does not in fact gravely amputate it. Walter Benjamin already saw this coming, when he evoked the emergence of the dream-bird of fantasy from the Nobedy is bored any more, there are melanchbly egg of boredom, no longer any provinces or any provincials: in the 20th century the filmmaker Ken Russell predicted that in the twentyfirst century standard feature films would run no longer than fifteen minutes; and in a sense he was right and popular culture gives us many hints bfikthd brindhdkd about this phenomenon, whose equivalent is the disappearance of plot. Action films today really have no plot, the latter is a pretext for explosive events that fill up minute after minute of the viewing. It call this the end of temporality, the reduction to the Body and the present. What is sought for is an intensity of the present. the before-and-after tends to disappear. And clearly enough this is something that happens to our sense of history as well: no previous societies have had as little functional memory, as little sense of the/past as this one; and clearly the disappearance of the past entails the disappearance of the future as well in the long term. No one believes in long term societal change any longer; our present is hemmed in by a sense

100 23.) of the past as failed or successful modernization (it simply means getting rich), and a conception of the future as impending natural and ecological disaster. Such are only some of the consequences of a primacy of space over time in postmodernity.

All of this has much to do with the transformation of the individual subject today: at the first stirrings of postmodernity, the structuralista and poststructuralists spoke of the "death of the subject", by which they meant, in less meledramatic language, the increasing fragility and vulnerability of the blder bourgeois individualism, its deterioration under conditions of large-scale institutions and the decline of that capitalist competition which brought it into being in the first place as a defensive ego and a powerful and Oedipal identity. All of the features I have attributed to some properly postmodern subjectivity are to be understood in terms of that process - the reduction to the present, the body as some last reality to survive the exhaustien of bourgeeis culture, the mutability and changeability, variability, of moed replacing the self-confident stances of an older emotional system.

When opened to the vicissitudes of that even vaster landscape which is glebalization itself? No longer protected by family or region, or even by the nation itself and national identity, where vulnerable the/emergence of the/subject into a world of billions of anonymous equals is bound to bring about still more momentous changes in human reality. This is the moment when we pass over from postmodern subjectivity to the new social conditions of postmodernity, which have been characterized politically by what is often called identity politics. But we have to be more precise about thanks such terms, which whose dialectic Redwiked confronts us with an unexpected paradox. For MA

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it is a noteworthy and revealing, symptomatic social fact that the term identity politics is also just as appropriately and just as often termed the politics of difference; and this almost Hegelian equivalence of Identity and Difference affords a significant insight into the nature of this new political phenomenon, which is not to be confused with an older nationalist or ethnic or religious dynamic.

Intred, we can look at globalization, or this third stage of capitalism, as the other side or face of that immense movement of decolonization and liberation which took place all over the world in the 1960s. The first two stages of capitalism, the period of national industries and markets, followed by that of imperialism and the acquisition of colonies, the development of a properly colonial world economy - these first two moments were characterized by the construction of otherness on a world scale. First, the various nation-states organized their populations into competing national groups, who could only feel their identities by way of xenophobia and the hatred of the national enemies; who could only define their identity by opposition to their opposite numbers. But these nationalisms quickly enough took on non-national forms as, particularly in Europe, kilk various minorities and other language speakers evolved their own national projects.

Then, in that gradual enlargement which is not to be confused with a later globalization, the systems of imperialism began to colonize the world in terms of the otherness of their colonized subjects. Racial otherness, and a Eurocentric or Americanocentric contempt for so-called underdeveloped or weak or subaltern cultures, partitioned so-called modern people from those who were still pre-modern, and separated

advanced or ruling cultures from the dominated. With this moment of imperialism, modernity, the second stage of capitalism, a world-wide system of Otherness is established.

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It will be clear, then, that with decolonization all that is gradually swept away: those subaltern others - who could not speak for themselves, bet alone rule themselves - now for the first time, as Sartre famously put it, speak in their own voice and claim their own existential freedom. Now suddenly the bourgeois subject is reduced to equality with all these former others, and a new kind of anonymity reigns throughout world society as a whole. Billions of real people now exist the unillions of your own nation, your own exist. I will an exist the unillions of your own nation, your own was a whole all this have to do with politics? I will again.

remarks which are descriptive and do not pretend to offer any solutions or even my own personal opinions and positions on the subject. But since we were talking about space, I will primphskdk put a very simple proposition to you, namely that today, all politics is about real estate. Postmodern politics is essentially a matter of land grabs, on a local as well as a global scale. Whether you think of the question of Palestine, the settlements and the camps, for of the politics of raw materials and extractions, whether you think of ecology (and three rain forests) or the problems of federalism, citizenship and immigration, or whether it is a question of gentrification kill in the great cities as well as bidonvilles, the favelas and the townships - today everything is about land. In Marxist terms, all these struggles result from the commodification of land and the dissolution of the last

and of course the movement

remmants of feudalism and its peasantries, their replacement by industrial agriculture or agribusiness and farm workers.

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Where is time in all this? It is to be found in the new flash crowds enabled by cell phones and texting: the new mass demonstrations of Seattle and Tien-an-men, of Eastern Europe, of Tahrir Square and of Wisconsin. These ara truly mark the emergence of what my friends Michael Hardt and Tony Negri call multitude: but they are no longer the politics of duration but the politics of the instant, of the present, what Negri himself has called constitutive power, as opposed to constituted power. Postmodernity in general is characterized by this new kind of present time, a reduction to the present, a reduction to the body. In this new dialectic of omnipresent space and the temporal present, history, historicity, the sense of history, is the loser: the past is gone, we canno longer imagine the future. It is clear that this waning of history confronts politics and political practice with some very serious problems: the moment to break off this survey.