

Invisible philosophers, my fellow travelers

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Invisible Philosophers – My Fellow Travelers

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‘Hi, my fellow travelers in space and time,’ I think, as I read the protocols of the invisible philosophers. I read how they ponder on the good life, how they wrestle for truths. Truth, as Foucault has said, requires the subject’s practice; in speaking truly, this changes. The event hits us and sweeps us away.⁽¹⁾ But what do I understand of what my fellow travelers, the invisible philosophers express, and how are we connected? Here, my perspective from central Europe, amid financial power; there, in China, in peripheral and precarious situations? Where are we similar and, yet, where are we completely different?

What, for example, does it mean to argue in a different language system; how do thoughts written out in logograms develop? Do they follow fundamentally different rules of discourse? Is the inherent point of reference different from the practice of thinking in opposites that is common in western parlance?

78

不可见的哲学家 ——我的旅伴

多萝特·里希特

“你好，我的时空旅伴”，当阅读这些“不可见的哲学家”的文案时我想到。我读到了他们如何反思优裕的生活，也了解到他们如何为真理而斗争。真理，正如福柯所说，要求主体的实践。但说实话来，这也会变化。这个项目打动我们的同时又逐出我们。⁽¹⁾但是我该如何理解我的这些旅伴，这些无形的哲学家所表达的东西，以及我们怎么发生联系？在这里，我的观点来自欧洲中部，在金融权力的中心。在那里，中国，是否处于更加边缘和危险的境况？我们在哪些地方是相似的，又在哪些地方是完全不同的？

例如，在不同的语言系统下讨论有什么样的意义？想法怎么在速记中发展？他们是否在根本上遵循了不同的话语规则？

And am I not trying to install an opposition here? I'm touched by the descriptions of struggling to survive, which remind me of my own; the efforts to earn enough money to provide for the children, the struggle to find a meaningful job and maintain bearable conditions. As if I were looking in a funhouse mirror, I recognize the difficult living conditions common among the academic proletariat in a far more attenuated form.

I cannot tell whether
it is a dream, or a fantasy,
which is so simple that is
making more money
to let my family live a happy life.
Sometimes I wonder:
Can I realize this simple dream
relying on my own efforts?

Today, when messages can go around the world in milliseconds, is there a new amalgamation of shared wishes? Our real/false wishes? Is there an actual awareness in falsities?

The Digital Present

In *The Shape of Things* Vilém Flusser describes the historic moment of the digitalization of all spheres of life as follows:

“Our environment consisted of things until recently: of houses and furniture, of machines and vehicles, of clothing and laundry, of books and pictures, of cans and cigarettes. Humans were part of our environment then, but science had largely objectified them. They became, like the other things, measurable, predictable and manipulatable. In short, the environment was the condition for our existence.”⁽²⁾

语言中指涉的内部关键点是否不同于对想法的实践？这在西方语境中是恰恰相反的吗？我现在不就是在建立一个对立面吗？我感动于描述中所说的为生存而努力，因为它让我想到了我自己：我努力赚钱给孩子，挣扎着找一份有意义的工作并且维持可以忍受的生存条件。就如同我在照一面哈哈镜一样，我认出了这种艰难的生存条件以一种更衰竭的形式普遍存在于学院无产阶级。

其实已经分不清楚
到底是梦想，还是幻想。
其实很简单，就是
努力赚更多的钱
让家人过上好的生活。
有时候自己心里会想，
凭我自己的努力，
能实现这个简单的梦想吗？

今天，当我们的信息以毫秒的速度环绕世界，那里是否有一个新的共同的愿望积聚？我们真实或虚伪的梦？在谎言中是否有一个实际的意识？

数码现时

维兰·傅拉瑟在《事物的形态》中描述生命所有形态数码化的历史时刻：

“我们的环境最近包含了各种事物，房子和家具，机器和车辆，衣物和洗衣房，书籍和图片，罐头和香烟。人类是我们环境的一部分，然而科学大量地物化他们。他们变得像其他事物那样可测量，可预估，而且可操纵。简单来说，环境是我们存在的前提条件。”⁽²⁾

Now, however, we are catapulted into the world of non-things; somewhat disoriented, we are confronted with processes we only understand with difficulty. Flusser already strikes a nostalgic note: "Non-things currently intrude into our environment from all sides and they change the things. One calls these non-things 'information'."⁽³⁾ And envisioned as a phenomenological draft, he tries to describe these non-things:

"They are immaterial information. The electronic images on a television screen, the data uploaded into a computer, all the rolls of films and microfilms, holograms and programs, are so 'soft' (software) that any attempt to grasp them with your hands fails. These non-things are 'ungraspable' in the precise meaning of the word. They are only decodable. Although they seem, like the old information, to be recorded in things: in cathode tubes, in celluloid, in chips, in laser

beams. But despite this being 'ontologically' true, it is an 'existential' deception. The material substrate of this novel information is existentially suspicious."⁽⁴⁾

From Flusser's point of view, the environment in which one has to orient oneself becomes more and more "soft, nebulous, ghostly."⁽⁵⁾

Now, as an art historian educated on Roland Barthes, I don't see an absolute difference in processes of signification; meanings are created when several symbols are joined together in new formations. Material constitution plays a part in this, but, in the end, the ideological meaning is decisive. Yet, Flusser's text in particular shows that the 0/1 machine is even more ubiquitous now; all processes of production and information pass through this machine nowadays. Entirely new infrastructure has emerged; the previous unity of space and time has been completely destroyed, as Peter Weibel convincingly explained in a lecture on the transformation of space and time.⁽⁶⁾ Railways have already killed space these days,

然而现在我们被弹射到了非事物的世界;或多或少分不清方向,我们遭遇了那种具有理解难度的进程。傅拉瑟已经发出了一种怀旧的信号:“非事物现在从四处侵入了我们的环境中,而且它们改变着事物。有人称这些非事物为‘信息’。”⁽³⁾ 他将其想像为现象学的图纸,并且尝试描述这些非事物:

“他们是非物质的信息。电视屏幕上的电子图像,被上传到电脑的数据,一卷一卷的电影胶卷和缩微胶卷,全息图和程序,它们是如此的“软”(软件)以至于你无法用手抓住它们。这些非事物正如它们名字的含义那样是抓不住的。它们只是可解码的。尽管它们看起来像旧有的刻录在事物上的信息,例如在阴极管上,在赛璐珞上,在芯片上,在激光束

上。尽管它在本体上是真实的,它却是一种存在的骗局。新兴信息的物质基质在存在上是可疑的。”⁽⁴⁾

从傅拉瑟的观点来说,人引导自己所在的环境变得越来越“软、朦胧、鬼魅”。⁽⁵⁾

现在,作为一个受罗兰·巴特教育的艺术史学家,我没有看到在意指进程中一个绝对的不同;意义在各种符号被联合在一起形成新形态的时候被创造。物质构成在这其中是重要的一环,但是最后,意识形态的意义是决定性的。虽然,傅拉瑟的文本特别显示0/1机器现在更加无所不在;所有的生产过程和信息如今都经历了机器。全新的基础设施已经浮现;之前作为整体的空间和时间已经被彻底毁坏,如同彼得·韦伯尔在一场富有说服力的演讲中所解释的时空转变那样。铁路已经开始消灭空间,韦伯尔说;北海涨潮直抵我们的家门口,世界各地的图

Weibel says; the North Sea surges up against our very doors, images from all over the world flood directly into our living room, while the landscape in between becomes invisible. Telecommunications initiated a new form of communication; bodies remain, images are reproducible, mobility and multiplication are dominant. In the remote society the logic of distribution changes; it is marked by the dissolution of the power of the location. It transports dislocated visual spaces, while they simulate spooky action at a distance. The image obtains unprecedented power; the historic, contextual character of images is lost. They become epistemic things, still objects and already symbols – or still symbol and already object? The longing for the object, the aesthetic object, therefore happens within this historic moment; right here and now things evanesce; their material constitution, their place, their presence become nebulous.

Globalization of What?

These objects that are already symbols, or symbols that are already objects, circulate as images and as wish-production machines. They are global, accessible everywhere, and they flood us more than the water of the North Sea. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak convincingly describes the process of the emergence of culture:

“What people call transculture is culture as it happens. Culture alive is its own counter-example. Transculturation is not something special and different. It is a moment in a taxonomy of the normality of what is called culture. To assign oneself the special task of cultural translation or plotting cultural translation has therefore to be put within a political context.”⁽⁷⁾

In this respect, the overlap and mixing of culture is neither new nor extraordinary. New and extraordinary, though, is the speed at which this happens. New is the intensity of the appeals

像如洪流般涌进我们的客厅，尽管其中的风景变得不可见。电子通讯开启了一个新的交流形式；身体尚留存，图像却变成可以复制的，移动性和增殖成为主导。在遥远的社会，传播的逻辑变了；它由在地权力的溶解所标示。它运输转载着移位的视觉空间，尽管它们运程模仿一种幽灵般的行动。图像蕴含着史无前例的能量；图像的历史和语境特征已经消失了。它们成为认知的事物，是否它们仍然是物体，已然是符号，还是说它们仍然是符号，已然是物体？对于客体，美学客体的渴望因而在这一历史时刻发生；而且就在此时此地事物消散；它们的物质构成，位置和存在变得模糊。

什么的全球化？

这些物体已经是符号，或者说符号已经是物体，并作为图像和造梦机器运转。它们是全球的，在任何地方都可以获得，它们淹没我们的程度胜于北海的水。佳亚特里·C·斯皮瓦克很说服力地描述文化浮现的进程：

“人们所说的跨文化指的是文化发生时的状态。活态的文化是其自身的反证。跨文化并没有什么特殊和不同的。它是一种称为文化的正常分类下的结果。委任某人做文化转译或策划文化的转译使其置于一种政治的语境中。”⁽⁷⁾

在这个方面，文化的交汇和融合并不是什么新鲜特别的事。虽然新和特别加速了这个过程。新是诉求的强烈表现，它被包含在全球流通的图像之中。诉

that are contained in images circulating the globe. Appeals, as Althusser understands it, form subjectivities.⁽⁸⁾ In a reactive process, the subject responds to being addressed from outside. When we revise this, using Lacan's overlapping triangle of visual regimes, it becomes apparent that a subject, as a subject of representation, always believes it is seen from the outside. Accordingly, the subject endeavors to project images of itself outward onto an imaginary screen. Lacan reverses the paradigm of the self-aware subject of a central perspective viewing space, "[I]n the scopic field, the gaze is outside; I am looked at, that is to say, I am a picture."⁽⁹⁾ The flood of images in which subjects are drowned is similar; this is the transparency upon which we draft our subjectivity. In this respect, these images consistently operate on the basis of our

subjectivities, and the relation between being singular or plural, so accurately characterized by Nancy – the basis for profoundly social, functioning entities – also establishes a streamlining of subjectivities worldwide. These operations on the open psyche, if you will, don't dissolve on a one-to-one basis into subjects that resemble each other, but also act as a potential for disturbance, as a non-integrative foreign object, as non-integrative wish production. As Spivak correctly establishes, this can't be thought of without a political dimension – that is, the interests of different groups, production processes, the distribution of labor, and added value.

求，正如阿尔杜塞所理解的，形成了主观性。⁽⁸⁾ 在一种被动的过程中，主体回应于外部对其的强调。

当我们使用拉康重叠的视域三角形来修正它时，它成为了一个显而易见的主体，作为再现的主体，它总是相信这是从外部所看到的。相应地，主体竭力将自己的图像向外投射到一个想像的屏幕上。拉康颠倒了中心透视观看空间中自我意识主体的范式：

“在观测的领域，凝视是外部的；我被看，也就是说，我是一个图像。”⁽⁹⁾ 主体淹溺在图像的洪灾中也是相似的情况。这就是我们草拟我们主体性时覆盖在上的透明之物。在这一层面上，这些图像不断地在我们主体性的基础上操作，在

单一和多元的关系里，南希准确地描绘——深刻的社会和功能性的实体也建立了一个关于世界范围内主观性的支流。这些处于开放心智下的操作，如果你愿意，不要最终落入一对一的事物彼此类似的层面，但是应该作为一种干扰的可能，一种非综合的异质客体，作为一种不整体的愿望生产。正如斯皮瓦克所精准地确认的那样，这不能在一种没有政治纬度的情况下被思考——这种纬度包括：不同群体的兴趣，生产的过程，劳动力的分配和附加值。

Globalization for whom?

The wonders of globalization, however, have not leveled the stark differences in distribution, but aggravated them. This is about labor in the post-industrial age, when the antagonistic positions of employer (that is, industrialist) and employee (that is, factory worker) are no longer a given. The labor struggle and the rights derived from it are no longer pertinent, as Toni Negri asserts: "The process of decentralization is pronouncedly far-reaching. It makes up an essential aspect of that which will be called the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism some years later. Firstly, the decentralization of some core areas of industry on the part of entrepreneurs aims at making the unyieldingness and resolve that defined the antagonistic attitudes in factories impossible."⁽¹⁰⁾

If I wanted to succeed, I had to be ruthless. Nobody could help you. If there was a stepping stone or shoulder, you had to step on it, so you could go further. Now I feel it was quite reasonable, but not absolutely right. There were many ways to success, while he just chose a ruthless way.

What I hear in the messages from the people who strive to abstract essential wisdoms from their life in China is, that events befall them – economic circumstances, the violent husband, the illnesses, the overextension. The conditions under which solidarity is difficult, under which public discussions are impossible. What I hear is that structural violence hits, just like everyday misfortunes and strokes of luck, the disabled child, the new love. What I hear is that what separates us – a different language, a different way of expressing oneself, different points of reference; what I hear is what connects us, the impact we all experience during the event.

83

为谁而全球化？

然而，对于全球化的疑问，尚未平衡分配中的显著差异，而是恶化了这种差异。这有关在后工业时代的劳工、雇主（也就是实业家）和被雇佣者（也就是工厂工人）敌对的位置不再是被赋予的。劳工的努力以及从中获得的权利不再相关，正如托尼·内格里所说：“去中心化的过程显然太难达到了。它组成了一个根本的方面，也就是所谓的，从福特主义到某些年过后的后福特主义的转变……首先，工业某些核心区域的去中心化对企业家来说旨在创造这种坚毅不屈，然后决意要在工厂里明确敌对态度是不可能的。”⁽¹⁰⁾

他说如果想成功，心就必须狠一些，不然谁能成就你，如果有垫脚的石头或是肩膀一定要踩在上面，走得才会快。现在想想有一定的道理，但不完全是，通向成功的路很多，只不过他用了一个非常狠的手段。

人们努力地想从他们的生活抽取抽象的、根本的智慧，我从中得到的感受是，在中国，经济条件，暴力的丈夫，疾病和过度劳动都降临在他们身上。这种条件下，团结是困难的，公共的讨论也是不可能的。我听说暴力经常发生，这就像每天都有的不幸，突如其来的好运，残疾儿童，新欢。我所听到的就是将我们分离开来的东西——不同的语言，表达我们自己的不同的方式，不同的参照点；我所听到的就是将我们连接起来的東西，我们在活动中所共同经历的冲击。

Money is essential to human beings, and old Chinese sayings reflect this:

You can force even ghosts to work for you if you have enough money”;
“Money is a knife that can kill you before you know it”; “You can pursue anything in the world except diseases, and you can live without everything except money”;
“Money is not omnipotent, but without money, even God is no longer omnipotent.

“The absolute gap between the richest and poorest states of the world has increased, no matter which parameter you use to measure it: income, health or education,” we are informed by David Held in the article ‘Globale Ungleichheiten’:
“In 1960 the income of the richest twenty percent of the global population amounted to about thirty times that of the poorest; in 1997 the factor was already seventy-four. Today, the richest

five percent of humanity receive 114 times that of the poorest five percent; and the one percent at the top of the income column have at their disposal the same as the yearly income of the poorest fifty-seven percent combined.”⁽¹¹⁾

Money becomes a sinister fetish and nothing seems to indicate that a more just kind of distribution is in sight on the macro level; on the micro level, everyone fights for themselves. Women probably suffer twice as much in many societies, not just because of social injustices, but also from gender-specific oppression, as a female philosopher drastically describes. Her husband beats her – a phenomenon that affects all classes of Western society too. Raising children entails dependence on family structures, as the sister in China formulates:

钱对人来说是基本的, 有些中国的老话反映了这点:

“有钱能使鬼推磨”, “钱能在你意识到它之前杀了你”, “你可以追求世界上任何东西, 除了疾病, 你可以一无所有地生活, 除了钱”, “钱不是万能的, 但没有钱, 上帝也不是万能的”。

“世界上最穷和最富阶层之间的绝对差异已经增加, 不管你用什么尺度去衡量它: 收入、健康和教育”, 大卫·赫尔德在文章《全球的不平衡状态》中说道: 在1960年, 占全球人口百分之二十的富人的收入相当于穷人的三十倍; 1997年, 这个系数已经增长到七十四。今天, 人类人口中百分之五的富人

的收入是百分之五的穷人的114倍; 收入顶端的百分之一的人跟最穷的百分之五十七的人口加起来的年收入一样。”⁽¹¹⁾

钱成为了一种罪恶的崇拜, 好像没有什么表明在宏观层面的分配是可以看见的, 每个人都在为他们自己奋斗。在许多社会中, 女人可能要承受两倍的痛苦, 这不仅仅是因为社会的不公正, 而且来源于特定的性别压抑, 正如一个女哲学家激烈地描述的那样。她的丈夫打她——这同样也是一个影响西方社会所有阶层的现象。养育孩子需要依赖于家庭结构, 正如这位中国姐妹这样描述道:

Raising my kids stopped me from starting my own career, so am I useless?

When I was twenty-seven, I gave birth to twin sons. They brought me hope as well as struggle. How could I raise them? They were both in poor health at four. Life was so difficult. I bought them clothes and food but had little time to care for them. I prepared dinners for them, but I had no time to eat, because I had to put the kids to bed. Around one o'clock in the morning, I always reached out from my bed to grab some steamed bread. I was 1.6 meters tall and weighed no more than fifty kilos. I was too weak to even stand still. But my husband always scolded and beat me, even when I was that busy.

My children gradually grew up, and I always became tired easily. My biggest dream then was to see my twin sons go to school (I being alive) one day, and I would be able to sleep for three whole days. Luckily, I saw my kids grow up and sent them to school.

Alienation

The crisis and excessive demands that our fellow travelers describe is caused by the continuous crisis of capitalism. It acts as an instrument of power:

“To put the question in terms of theft (of alien labor time) has the advantage of revealing that capitalistic relations of production rest intrinsically upon forms of exploitation. This approach can shed a different light on the (financial) crisis we have been experiencing for several years now. In reality, we should acknowledge that the

“几个孩子长大连给我一个自由发展的机会都不给，我是不是太无用了。

到我27岁那年生下了我的双生儿子，两个儿子给我带来了希望。说是希望，我这四个孩子可怎么带呀？老大四岁，管不过来，不是这个感冒了，就是那个发烧了，真是度日如年，不短吃也不短穿就是没时间给他们做。晚上我把饭做好了，他们该哭着睡觉了，结果大人不吃饭。夜晚1点前后，讲什么卫生不卫生呢，在被窝里伸出手拿一点馍馍之类东西吃。那时我1米6的个子只有不到100斤的体重，真是风

能吹走，再忙再累也避不了丈夫隔三差五的打骂。孩子一天天大了，我也一天天地瘦了，我最大理想就是能（活着）看到孩子上学了。就睡上三天三夜。这样一年一年的孩子都上学了。”

异化

我们的旅伴所描述的崩溃和过度的需求是由资本主义持续危机引起的。它作用为一种权力的工具：

“把这个问题放在盗用（或者说让渡的劳动时间）来看可以揭示资本主义的生产关系本质上依赖于剥削的形式。这种方式从另一种角度解释了我们迄今经历了好几年的金融危机。在现实中，我们必须承

crisis is permanent. It is the horizon of our existence. Crises take different names; their phenomenology varies and, accordingly, the forms of our fear also change. But we were never in a situation relieved by crises. No single moment of our existence was exempt from one or another crisis. And we will never overcome crises or be drawn from them.”⁽¹²⁾

The alienation that arises from these circumstances manifests in the alienation of personal relationships. And so I read of the invisible philosopher's struggle to raise the children, often-times at the cost of rarely seeing them, because they live in different cities, and the sadness of not being able to be there for the parents. Manufacturing processes and what is expected of wage labor have long since radically changed. In the sense of the *New Spirit of Capitalism*, as Eve Chiapello and Luc Boltanski investigate it, unconditional availability and mobility is expected of everyone.⁽¹³⁾ So the lament of one of the fellow travelers resonates with me:

86

认，危机是永恒不变的。它是我们存在的范围。危机可能有不同的称谓；它们的现象是不同的，相应地，我们恐惧的方式也在变化。但是我们从来没有在危机中感到如释重负过。我们存在的每一刻都在一个又一个的危机中。我们永不能克服危机或者从中得到什么。”⁽¹²⁾

在这些情况下产生的异化显示在私人关系的异化中。因此当我阅读到这些不可见的哲学家在努力养育他们的孩子时，我总是以看不见他们为前提，因为我们生活在不同的城市，我为无法做些什么而悲伤。生产过程以及工薪阶层所期待的东西长久以来被激烈地改变。伊夫·夏佩罗和吕克·博尔坦斯基在《资本主义的新精神》观察道，每个人都渴望无条件的可能性和移动性。⁽¹³⁾ 所以下旅伴的哀叹让我共鸣：

I'm a migrant worker in Beijing, from a rural area, with regret for the past and hope for the future. My father died in a car accident on September 29 (according to the lunar calendar) last year. Until now I've wondered if I had stayed with him, talked to him, bought him delicious food, and seen him one last time, I might have felt better.

Nevertheless, it is dangerous to feel alike on an affective level, as it can shroud the real circumstances. Labor as such, its distribution, and the distribution of profits have shifted radically within the last thirty years. While planning and organization remained well within the network of the first world, manual labor and mechanical tasks were relocated to so-called developing countries. A working class is therefore still needed, however it has to be implemented geographically in the home countries of the workers, because otherwise the low wage system would no longer function. Western industrial nations strive to limit subjects willing

我是一位农村来北京的打工者，我感受到后悔也看到未来希望。去年农历九月二十九日我父亲因车祸去世。我时常在想，如果能在他身边陪他说话，买点好吃的，能见最后一面，内心还好受。

不管怎么说，在情感层面上感觉相似是一种危险的说法，因为它掩盖了真实的情况。像这样的劳动力的分配，以及利益的分配已经在过去三十年激烈地转变。尽管计划和组织在第一世界的关系网中维持得很好，体力劳动和机械工作最后还是被安置到所谓的发展中国家。因此，工人阶级仍然是被需要的，然而在地理层面上来说，它需要在那些工人自己的国家被实施，因为如果不这样的话，低收入系统就不能起作用。西方工业国家努力地限制人们向

to migrate to certain territories. Migration across national borders calls national sovereignty itself into question. To consolidate the state of affairs, nationality is directly linked to nativity, as Giorgio Agamben outlines it:

“If the refugee represents such a disquieting element in the order of the nation-state, this is so primarily because breaking the identity linking the human and the citizen, nativity and nationality, put the originating fiction of sovereignty in a crisis. Single exceptions to such a principle, of course, have always existed. What is new in our time is that growing sections of humankind are no longer represented inside the nation-state, and this novelty threatens the very foundations of the latter. Inasmuch as the refugee, an apparently marginal figure, unhinges the old trinity of state-nation-territory, the refugee deserves instead to be regarded as the central figure of our political history.”⁽¹⁴⁾

特定区域的迁移。跨国界的移民使国家主权自身成为了一个问题。为了巩固事态，国籍直接与出生地相关，正如乔治·阿甘本所概述的那样：

“如果难民在单一民族国家的秩序中代表了一种令人不安的元素，这基本上是因为那种打破联系人类和公民、出生地和国籍的身份的做法将最初关于主权国家的幻想置于危机之中。当然，这条准则之外的孤例总是存在的。我们这个时代新的现象是：人类增长的部分不再在单一民族国家之内被呈现，这种新兴的现象威胁着单一民族国家存在的基础。因为难民，这种典型的边缘人，拆卸了以前国家——民族——领土的三位一体，难民反而应当被视为我们政治历史的中心人物。”⁽¹⁴⁾

While the impoverished (European) working class was directly confronted with a rich upper class in the eighteenth century, today the lines of conflict run horizontally across the whole world.⁽¹⁵⁾ How can we build solidarity? Where can we locate enemies and where can we connect with friends?

Deleuze und Guattari, too, ask: what is philosophy?⁽¹⁶⁾ They see philosophy as the process of working on concepts. “The philosopher is the concept’s friend; he is the potentiality of the concept. That is, philosophy is not a simple art of forming, inventing, or fabricating concepts, because concepts aren’t necessarily forms, discoveries, or products. More rigorously, philosophy is the discipline that involves *creating* concepts.”⁽¹⁷⁾ And once again they reject an applied notion of philosophy:

“What would be the value of a philosopher, of whom one could say: ‘He has created no concepts; has not created his own concepts?’

尽管曾经贫穷的欧洲工人阶层直接遭遇过十八世纪的富裕上流社会，今天这种冲突的界线横跨整个世界。⁽¹⁵⁾ 我们如何团结起来？我们怎么定位我们的敌人，我们又去哪里联系我们的伙伴？德勒兹和瓜塔里也问过：什么是哲学？⁽¹⁶⁾ 他们将哲学视为在概念上不断工作的过程。“哲学家是概念的朋友；他是概念的潜能。也就是说哲学并不只是一种构成、发明、装配概念的艺术，因为概念不必然是形式、发现或产品。更加严格的说法是，哲学是关于创造概念的学科。”⁽¹⁷⁾ 而且再一次地，他们拒绝将哲学作为一种应用的选择：

“有人可能会说哲学家的价值是什么：‘他什么概念也没创造，还是说他暂时没有创造出自己的概念？’我们至少可以看到，哲学不是什么——它不是沉思冥想，不是反思，也不是交流。即使有时会相信它是其中一个，或者其它几个，这其实是每一个

We at the very least see what philosophy is not: it is not contemplation, reflection, or communication. This is the case even though it may sometimes believe it is one or other of these, as a result of the capacity of every discipline to produce its own illusions, and to hide behind its own peculiar smokescreen. It is not contemplation, for contemplation are things themselves as seen in the creation of their own specific concepts. It is not reflection, because no one needs philosophy to reflect on anything”.⁽¹⁸⁾

Deleuze and Guattari plead for the irreducibility of philosophy (plane of immanence, form of the concept), art (compositional plane, strength of invention, affect), and science (planes of reference and coordination, function of cognizance, partial observer).

Currently, this precise order seems to have been dissolved. Art is supposed to function as research and an emotional element is attributed to science. Regardless of how one may want to evaluate this, the political dimension of philosophy, or invisible philosophy, is significant to our topic. And any theory that wants to be political needs to be operational to a certain degree. For if we want to become politically effective, argued Oliver Marchart during a presentation in Zurich,⁽¹⁹⁾ we have to fulfill four criteria: first, acting politically means acting together; second, acting politically means acting in an organized fashion; third, acting politically means acting strategically; and fourth, acting politically means acting through conflict.

In the digital age this means that not only is the site of production obscure, but the means of production the working class is supposed to take over is, too. The media theorist Alexander Galloway said in an interview,

88

学科生产自己幻象的能力而已，由此自己藏在自己制造的特殊烟幕之后。它不是关于沉思的，对于沉思来说，是指事物在它们自己的特殊概念创造的时候被看见。它不是关于反思的，因为没有人需要哲学来反思什么……”⁽¹⁸⁾

德勒兹和瓜塔里为哲学（内在性层面、概念性图式）、艺术（构成层面、创造力、情动）、科学（参考层面、协作、认知作用、局部观察者）的不可约性辩护。

现在，这种精确的秩序看上去被消解了。艺术应当起研究的作用，情感性的元素则应该归因于科学。无论有人想怎样评价它，哲学的政治纬度，或者不可见的哲学，对我们的话题来说都是重要的。任何

想成为政治性的理论都需要在某种程度上是可以操作的。我们如果想在政治上变得有效，正如奥利弗·毛尔乔尔特在苏黎世的一次演讲中说，⁽¹⁹⁾我们需要实现四个标准：第一，政治地行动意味着一起行动；第二，政治地行动意味着在一种有组织的样式下行动；第三，政治地行动意味着有策略地行动；第四，政治地行动意味着通过冲突行动。

在数码时代，生产的地点不仅仅是模糊的，工人阶级本应该接管的生产方式也变得模糊。媒体理论家亚历山大·格洛威在一次采访中说：

“……然而决定性的是，我们在处理一个新现实，这个现实不再带有一个‘神秘的外壳’和一个‘理性的核心’，正如马克思谈商品那样，我们要处理的是一个有着理性外壳和神秘核心的现实。电脑专家骄傲地谈论黑暗迷乱的技术。因此当今存在更少的关

“... But what is decisive is, that we are dealing with a new reality, no longer with a ‘mystical shell’ and a ‘rational kernel,’ as Marx wrote of the commodity, but with a rational shell and a mystical kernel. Computer experts speak with great pride of the technology of obfuscation, of ‘darkening.’ Therefore, today, it has less to do with decoding the inner workings of the ‘black box,’ and more with functionalizing it through programming. Yes, it could still open up, but these days, of course, it’s substantially more difficult to know what these means even are and where they’re located. The political power of the labor strike, for instance, resulted from the knowledge that the factory was the place of production. But how is it today? ‘Taking to the streets’ doesn’t achieve anything anymore, because the streets are, in a way, dead capital, a Potemkin village with nothing behind it. On no account do I want to deter people from political activism, but I think that the places and methods have to change – which isn’t easy in a time of consistent decentralization of power.”⁽²⁰⁾

Galloway attests to the contemporary (digital) network’s ability to integrate or ignore practically any input or source of disturbance, which makes resistance so difficult; he sees the refusal of hierarchical structures as a possible strategy for the Occupy movement, the refusal of very concrete demands and spokespeople. Here we arrive at the problem of what can be politically effective, and that requires, in my opinion, something Marchart demands: a rudimentary organization, which can then express protests or demands. And here, once again, commentary from an invisible philosopher, who justifies why anti-hegemonial movements in art, in culture are important, why political demands are still necessary:

What a party, or a government should do is to ensure the well-being of its people, and to take the principle of serving the people wholeheartedly, as a lifelong duty. No country can exist without the support of its people.

89

于解码‘黑盒子’的内部工作，更多的是关于通过编程来实现智能化。”

“是的，它仍然可以打开，但是在现在，当然，大体上更加难知道这些方式是什么以及它们位于哪里。例如，劳工罢工的政治力量来源于知识，而工厂是生产这种知识的地方。但是今天是怎样的呢？‘带到街头去’并没有完成任何更多的东西，因为街道从某种方式来说是死去的资本，正如没有含义的矫饰的门面一样。我绝没有要阻止人们进行政治行动的意思，但是我认为地点和方式需要改变——这在一种持续的权力去中心化的时代是不易的。”⁽²⁰⁾

格洛威证明当代数码网络的能力是整体化以及实际无视任何的投入或干扰的来源，它使反抗变得很

艰难。他将对于阶层结构的拒绝视为占领运动的可能策略，也就是拒绝具体的要求和代言人。现在我们面临的问题是什么是政治有效的，在我看来，它需要毛尔乔尔特所呼吁的东西：一个可以表达抗议和需求的基本组织。在这里，又一次地，在不可见的哲学家的评论中，有人证实为什么在文化艺术领域反霸权运动是重要的，为什么政治的需求仍然有必要：

我想一个政党，一个政府都一样，时刻想着广大民众所想；全心全意为人民服务是我们党的一贯纲领，终身职责。政府不脱离民众，这是治国安邦的根本。

(1) Michel Foucault, *Die Sorge um Sich, Sexualität und Wahrheit*, Frankfurt am Main, 1986. Published in English as *The History of Sexuality*, 3 vols., New York, 1978. Frankfurt am Main: 1986.

(2) Vilem Flusser, *Dinge und Undinge, Phänomenologische Skizzen*, Munich/Vienna, 1993, p. 80.

(3) Ibid., p. 81.

(4) Ibid., p. 82.

(5) Ibid., p. 82.

(6) Peter Weibel, "Iconic Turn, Ortlosigkeit und Bilderfülle, from 46:07", last accessed December 27, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5IlpNADoqYM>

(7) Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *More Thoughts on Cultural Translation* (2008); website: "More Thoughts on Cultural Translation", last accessed August 9, 2016, <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0608/spivak/en>

90

(8) Louis Althusser, *Ideologie und ideologische Staatsapparate*, VSA 2010; published in English as "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in: idem, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New York, 2001.

(9) Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*; rev. ed., New York 1998.

(10) Toni Negri, "Autonomie und Separatismus", in: Toni Negri, Maurizio Lazzarato, Paolo Virno, *Umherschweifende Produzenten, Immatrielle Arbeit und Subversion*, preface by Yann Moulier Boutang, Berlin 1998, p. 27.

(11) David Held, "Globale Ungleichheiten", in: Ulrich Beck, ed., *Generation Global, Ein Crashkurs*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, p. 106.

(12) Roberto Nigro, "Alienation, the Social Individual, and Communism: Marx in the 21st Century", in: *OnCurating 30, Work, Migration, Memes, Personal Geopolitics*, Dorothee Richter, Eleonora Stassi, Tanja Trampe, eds., June 2016.

(13) Luc Boltanski, Eva Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, New York/London: Verso, 2006.

(14) Giorgio Agamben, in: *On Curating Issue 30, Work, Migration, Memes, Personal Geopolitics*, Dorothee Richter, Eleonora Stassi, Tanja Trampe, eds., June 2016.

(15) See also: *OnCurating Issue 30, Work, Migration, Memes, Personal Geopolitics*, Dorothee Richter, Eleonora Stassi, Tanja Trampe, eds., June 2016.

(16) Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?*, Hugh Tomlinson, Graham Burchell, trans., New York/Chichester 1994.

(17) .. Deleuze, Guattari 1994, (see note 15), p. 5.

(18) Ibid., p. 6.

(19) Oliver Marchart, lecture on the political in the arts, conference *Third, Fourth, Fifth Spaces – Curatorial Practices in New Public and Social (Digital) Spaces*, Nov 8–9, 2013, Migros Museum für Gegenwartskunst, Zurich. See also the video recording <http://www.curating.org/dorothee-richter-oliver-marchart/>, last accessed July 14, 2016.

(20) <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/politisches-handeln-im-internet-14308016-p2.html>, last accessed July 13, 2016