

Figure 13: *The storming of the Bastille.*

Chapter 2

The political dynamic

The term '**politics**' is derived from the Latin *politicus* (adjective) and the Greek *politikos*, meaning of the city or used as an adjective in describing the city, the government or the state. The term refers to the government in power and the struggles and opposition related to the exercise of authority (Le Petit Robert 1977).

'**Power**', from the Latin *posse* and popular Latin *potere*, is an auxiliary verb meaning the ability to implement, act upon, or make possible a wish. Its use as a noun refers to the ability or authority to impose the will of an individual or group, upon the conditions of existence of communities of people, of animals within an environment, or of plants and trees (Le Petit Robert 1977).

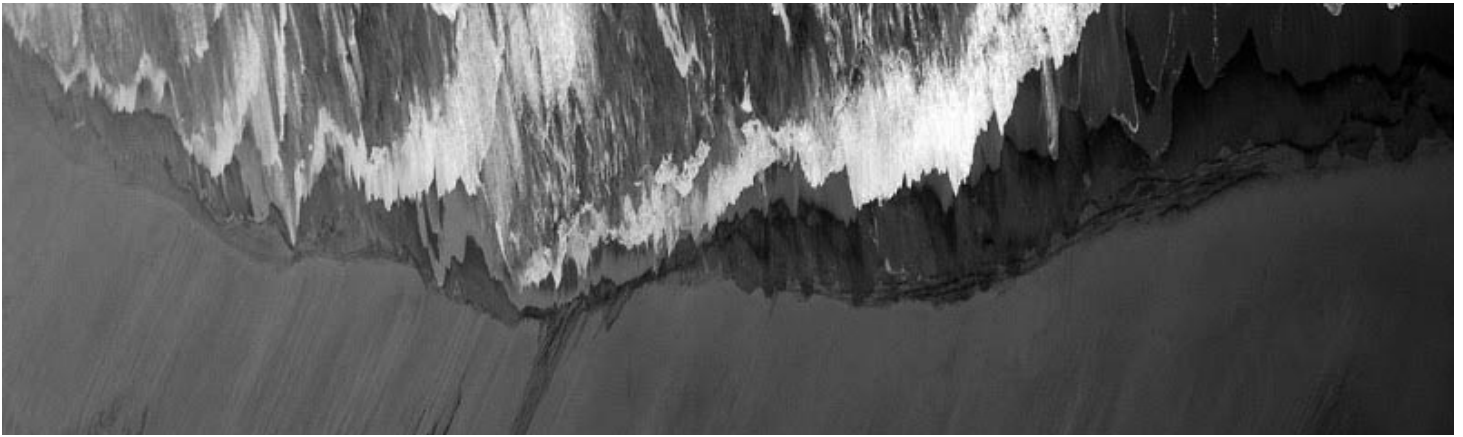


Figure 14: *Where the desert meets the sea* (Hotson, J. 2011).



Figure 15: *The island in the sea* from the Russian science fiction film *Solaris* (Tarkovsky, A. 1972).

Introducing power

Power cannot be understood if one ignores the importance of the availability of resources for cultural groups, the cultural identity, or the possibility of a conflict of interest. Human beings are not the only living creatures on the planet, and both animals and plants are affected by decisions made, and the ideas and wishes of power-groups. Groups implementing power, organizing, controlling or arranging the lives of subjected communities or environments, may be fallible, and insensitive to the feelings and wishes of humans or creatures within an environment. Decisions made, and the administrative processes, which implement the decisions of those in power, have implications which affect the lives of the majority of citizens or other living creatures, within an environment.

Political power, which resorts to military intervention, may result in the disruption of family life, cultural tradition, quality of life and preservation of environment. Power may also play a passive role, in that power-groups may 'allow events to take place' (the gradual disappearance of the Amazon Jungle, is evidence of this; trees cannot defend themselves, nor can they run away). The implementation of power can then affect the quality of life – the right to life – of people, animals and plants. If the necessary wisdom is not evident in the ranks of the powerful, then individual moral responsibility may

be superseded by the will and desires of the group, and a sense of personal culpability may be undermined, extreme cases of this result in genocide.

Power is an operation between elements in interaction; objects and forms do not exert power of their own volition but are rather part of the exercises of power regimes, which utilise the material accessible to them in order to present a formidable image, to convince and in support of their claims. An autonomous power is the 'freedom' that a government has to exercise jurisdiction over their own territory. In architectural language, many would align transparency and freedom, but I would like to build on the link between autonomy and freedom and hence, make the claim that autonomy in architecture, by way of its removal and withdrawn nature, is a more suitable response to the political and social context than transparency is.

Within the language that is used to describe these various concepts, we have revealed thought structures; if the dictionary can be taken as a kind of baseline, we can understand in its interpretations, evidence of 'locked-in' hierarchies, where the words that we choose are raw forms in the construction of what we perceive as meaning and loss of meaning.

Knowledge (expertise) and Power (relations) form part of the construction of ‘truths’, what is then immediately obvious is that power is not an objective basis for ‘founding’ truth although it may create facts galore. What of knowledge then? For knowledge to form an objective starting point from which one could build, it would have to be apolitical, which it is not. Freedom presents no greater hope; freedom is resistance to the political, an imaginary ideal that carries an enormous weight. The obsession with freedom is a fixation with the abstract; we are controlled by norms and the system is in place and needs little enforcing. Power is a productive engine that self-sustains, ever generative of new relations and drawing new interactions into its orbit.

Smooth versus striated space, and engaging strategies

Architecture and the urban condition present us with a number of obstacles for the body, which serve to channel movement and influence action. In this next section we look at different circumstances such as containment and openness, and how these conditions become part of a political scenario.

The ‘common’ is a term, coined by Deleuze and Guattari, used to describe space where freedom of movement is possible, this is also known as smooth space (Anarchist Federation 2015). Smooth space is not demarcated and lacks the definition of containment; the desert begins to approach this, as does the sea. They may be the closest examples, the coloniser hates the apparent ubiquity of leaking space and seeks an oasis or begins to place barriers to organise and retain a small piece of the endless, seeking to halt movement and create a place to wait.

Even in the absence of political control of expansive territories, the desert and sea cannot ever present a completely blank slate; dunes shape alcoves, large waves tower on the palate, ever in motion. The endless change in surface patterns makes these territories difficult to inhabit, give us the flatlands, the fields tethered and tended! Deleuze and Guattari refer to the striation of the common as a means of control, plots once allocated imply ownership, open water is under jurisdiction and is managed, privatisation of common assets sets up thresholds of inclusion and exclusion. Territories are not always physical, the internet, the musical score, these too are never neutral as there are always those with vested interests in their colonization (Anarchist Federation 2015).

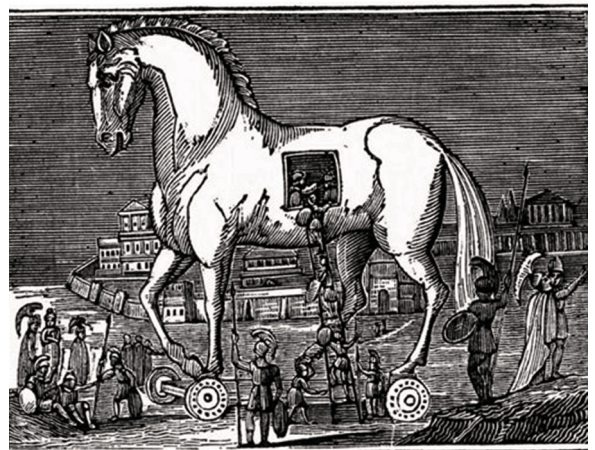
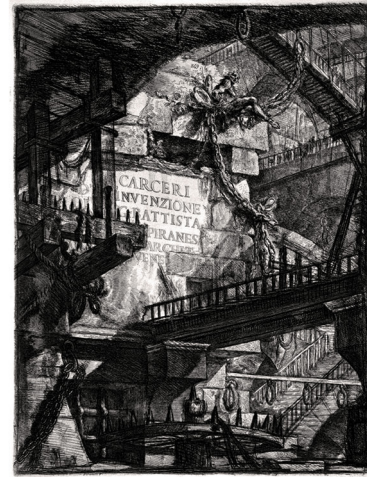


Figure 16: *Confinement, total confinement, false freedom and a trojan horse, a symbol of the undermining of hierarchies from within* (Author 2015). Photomontage using thick wall, Piranesi’s Carceri, wall-less image and trojan horse.



Figure 17: *Building cuts* (Matta-Clark).

The process of smoothing territory has some affinity with nomadism while striation is related to a sedentary lifestyle. The definition of these processes is more complex than simply the presence or absence of boundaries; explorations into the ‘breaking’ of objects, denies them their physicality, thereby becoming a method of smoothing the urban (Lambert, L. 2013). This technique is investigated in the work of Gordon Matta-Clark in his *Building cuts*. Matta-Clark’s experiments are works of ‘architectural accident and of failure introducing “spaces of collapse and removal”’. Further exercises question the politicisation of territory and its ownership (Axioti, E. 2008).

Matta-Clark and a group of artists (the Anarchitecture group) bought and possessed during a period of years, parcels of gutter space property in Queens and Staten Island. They gathered written documentation, exact dimensions and full-scale photographs of these properties, but these were literally inaccessible. They were places that could be owned but never experienced and certainly never occupied. The plans of the sites themselves were schematic grids upon which property lines governed the real estate. The paradox of buying an unusable land as part of the exchange market functioned as a critique on the notion of property and land acquisition that were part of the architectural market (Axioti, E. 2008).

Urban territory can equally be smoothed when we respond differently to it, in other words when we deny the implications of boundary. Zizek’s comment on the refugee crisis in Western Europe is this: “Refugees are the price we pay for a globalised economy in which commodities – but not people – are permitted to circulate freely. The idea of porous borders, of being inundated by foreigners, is immanent to global capitalism”.

Zizek brings the issue of climate change into the discussion, making the point that the redistribution of populations is immanent, as territory will, over time, become increasingly uninhabitable. “Humankind should get ready to live in a more ‘plastic’ and nomadic way. One thing is clear: national sovereignty will have to be radically redefined and new methods of global co-operation and decision-making devised... large migrations are our future” (London Review of Books 2015).

For the sedentary, tending the fields of agricultural growth, striation is inherent in the demarcation of private property; once striated, land can be assigned a

value. In the old story of the founding of Ancient Rome, Romulus builds a wall in order to define the limits of the City. When Remus jumps over this wall, he is killed by Romulus for committing the first violation of private property in Roman history (Lambert, L. 2013 pp. 40).

Do outlines and jurisdictions really have the power that we attribute to them? Deleuze gives us this example, where in the forest, individual trees are bodies, but as a collective these bodies have power. When walking through the forest, one is perhaps afraid on the lone route through dense foliage, not knowing just how much more forest there is. The thinning of the trees and the return to openness signify the limit of the forest and the limit of its power. But there is no outline, rather a 'tension towards limit'. "Things are bodies, that means that things are actions. The limit of something is the limit of its action and not the outline of its figure... The thing is thus power and not form. The forest is not defined by a form, it is defined by a power: power to make the trees continue up to the moment at which it can no longer do so" (Lambert, L. 2013 pp. 63-65). How does this combine with our understanding of objects and forms in relation to power exercises? The forest does not have power in itself, only when you enter into it can it exert a force over you; the limit of the form is only oppressive when you are within it.

The state objects to smooth space as it diminishes the possibility to control and order. Smooth space can also serve to preserve dividing structures, in other words it can act in service of the state; the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea is an example of this. Territories often form a major part of war-strategy; the vast Russian landscape and the bitter cold winter played as large a role in the defeat of the German Army as the force of their opponent.

So smooth spaces can be utilized for strategic operations, they can also be hostile; one can die in the desert alone, our dependence on organization leaving us helpless. "They can also exist in the cracks of striated spaces, creating an individual and temporary sense of liberation that doesn't disturb the social order. The urban explorer constructs a smooth space in their movement through a city, traversing the locked, boarded up and hard to reach places. But this doesn't remove the striations themselves, it merely allows an individual the thrill of working around them" (Anarchist Federation 2015).

Smooth space is also the situation of protest, the collective reclaim space from the powers that be. The conquest of social space leads to the determination of a number of norms, which we must satisfy if we are to find approval or have any hope of finding employment, our basic survival is therefore under threat. The series of chambers within the hierarchy, schools, universities, memberships, work places, these become valves where narrow points of entrance to 'society' reduce access to the many while those admitted must conform. Eloquence, skillsets, background and financial status may allow entrance so that while all are equal under the law, personal circumstances either liberate one to participate in this chain or bar access. "This level of insidious social control would be impossible without a system of rigid segments, arranged to act as a single resonance chamber through which an ideology could flow" (Anarchist Federation 2015).

Architecture employs hierarchies, itself emphasizing economic levels and management structures, sedimenting traditions and cultural beliefs and grading privacy. Architecture creates an inside and an outside, which is applied across scale and controls and limits movement. With this idea of inside and outside, we have also the insider and the outsider, the national and the immigrant. Striation affects the way that people think about themselves, the way that the mind interprets and synthesizes the information around us. This synthesis takes the form of connection, disjunction and conjunction.

We connect legitimately in our awareness of how people, minds, events, social systems and so on are complex and contradictory, and made up of an array of unique parts. We connect illegitimately in our simplification of human and social complexity, in treating everything and everyone as an already determined whole object... We disjoin legitimately in recognising difference and treating it inclusively. We disjoin illegitimately in tying difference into strict binaries, and excluding that which doesn't fit... We conjoin legitimately in being open to the shifting of our horizons, to the finding of a new position. We conjoin illegitimately in always referring back to a rigid and unchanging ground, which generates segregation. Nationalism is a perfect example of such an unchanging ideological ground (Anarchist Federation 2015).

When we simplify, we compress space, when we allow for understanding and accept complexity, it is as though

we leave open spaces from which to understand the processes that produce people in very different ways (Anarchist Federation 2015). If we understand these mental processes and attitudes to operations of territory, we begin to unpack the larger strategy which is at play. The starting point of a particular strategy is difficult to pin down – the strategy is insidious, operating at all levels of society. Effective management of this strategy keeps the state in place but the individual may unwittingly reinforce this even if they wish to throw it over.

A negative relative deterritorialisation antagonizes the strategy, but in exciting it, it may serve to reinforce and strengthen its hold. An election is an example as it institutes a temporary chaos, which settles afterward into resentment, acceptance or complacency. Another example is the magazine *Charlie Hebdo* where the problem, as Zizek describes, "...is not that it went too far in its irreverence, but that it was a harmless excess perfectly fitting the hegemonic cynical functioning of ideology in our societies. It posed no threat whatsoever to those in power; it merely made their exercise of power more tolerable" (London Review of Books 2015).

A positive relative change is an interruption via a zone inaccessible to the play of state hierarchies, as it is operating outside of known networks, it often does not gather the support that it needs to breach the overall structuring of authority, it becomes isolationist. A revolutionary change is absolute; it tears through the fabric of society constituting an irreparable schism, which the state does not have capacity to patch over. When this is a negative absolute change such as a militarized uprising, the effect may be to replace one kind of domination with a tyrannical other. Positive absolute change creates institutional networks which work free of domination before the revolution occurs (Anarchist Federation 2015).

Implicit / Explicit

Further to the operations of power, its implementation can occur out in the open or it can be hidden. Basil Bernstein differentiates between rules that are explicit versus those that are implicit; both have implications. Explicit hierarchical rules are clear and defined, they are easily understandable to those that they apply to, in other words authority is explicated. With implicit hierarchical rules, there is the 'masking of power', its opera-

tions hidden behind what is opaque, be they traditional or linguistic structures. Implicit forms of authority allow for individual interpretation whereas explicit forms minimize the risk of transgressing 'norms' (Sadovnik, A. pp.13).

The famed explicitness of the colonial forms part of the colonists' belief in their role of enlightening the 'uninitiated', their duty to remould the 'primitive' mind. As described by Jean-Pierre de la Porte,

Most colonials are dutifully explicit because the subjectivity and freedom they cherish depends on it. Most colonials come into existence through a distinctive game of question and answer; here is one example of it from that great student of western explicitness, Basil Bernstein:

Mother: Danny, don't jump on that poor worm!

Danny: I will mommy!

Mommy: Danny how would you feel if you were that worm and a big nasty boy came and jumped on you?

This is the root of middle class faith in explicitness: the little dialogue builds a society out of unique points of view which exchange over and over, augmenting layers of uniqueness each time like snowballs. A society of peers, existing nowhere except in chatter and intimacy, results (2011 Explicit / Implicit).

Colonials' distance from their land of origin reinforces their desire for an iron-grip on norms, casting them in a relationship to norms that is more extreme than that of the inventors of these same norms. "Since colonial societies do not have control over their own norms but imitate them from afar, they cannot change these norms, even after changing their own social relations and group boundaries strenuously" (de la Porte 2011).

When norms are internal to a society, rather than borrowed, the influence of the market on culture is more easily assimilable; the influence of the global on the local presents less of a threat. The aspect of 'mime' in the colonial society, along with their particular racial criteria, means that the seemingly impersonal market economy is extremely threatening, as is the cosmopolitan. The fantasy that is colonial society, is under constant threat, hence colonials' paranoia and continued rejection of anything perceived as belonging to an outside realm (de la Porte 2011).

Explicit societies either align themselves with the market economy or with a system of values, the notion of ‘civilization’ and assorted racial perspectives. Where the market system is adopted, resources are managed and risk shared; those who hearken after civilizing standards are inflexible and thereby “haunted by risk”. Civilization is the ability to make use of nature as a resource without succumbing to its influence; the mother gives birth but the place of the womb is something repulsive, an excluded origin little better than the horror of the coffin, the patient worms, the dark and moist underground.

Traditional cultures are rarely market cultures, “...they are the great laboratories of the implicit”, and they make easy prey for colonial invasion, which wields its explicitness to invalidate the ‘superstitions’ and customs of local populations. Traditional cultures’ apparent acceptance of myth is a threat to the explicit, myth is the only place where fact cannot intrude, it is unknowable, hence the mists of time, the fog of war, where logic eludes and intuition must triumph. “In an implicit culture norms are legitimate because others have accepted them and not because they have or can be comprehensively justified. In a similar way, social belonging is based on place of birth or birth order and not on the art of expressing yourself to others as if from inside their point of view.” Traditional cultures can easily assimilate the workings of market cultures, as they are made up of networks, making them flexible in adapting to and realigning proximities (de la Porte 2011).

Traditional culture is used to working with mute norms that are external to it and is able to blunt their oppressiveness through a high degree of social solidarity – this is why it was the matrix of resistance in South Africa, Palestine, Afghanistan, Iran and Vietnam... Colonial cultures, by contrast, have the greatest difficulty co-existing with traditional cultures. Lacking the mechanisms to benefit from the presence of any other culture in their midst, they see traditional culture as a threat dissolving their explicitness in an ‘arbitrary’ and imposed consensus (de la Porte 2011).

A certain kinship can be found within another argument, Georges Canguilhem, philosopher and medical historian, claims that the ability of an organism to change its own norms is directly related to the health of that organism. If it is that “...illness is nothing but the

atrophy, or the weakening, of such a power of innovation” (Esposito 2011), then we can read colonial societies, in their incapacity to adapt, as diseased entities with a single fate.

The obsession with the explicit, a word derived from the Latin *explicat* meaning ‘unfolded’, is something shared by scientists who aim to present us with models of the universe that should somehow trump everything of mystery and as yet unknown.

Physicists estimate that less than five per cent of the known universe is visible—where “visible” means only that we could, theoretically, observe it, given the right instruments and sufficient physical proximity... For the past five hundred years, the great project of science has been to dispel as much as possible of this invisibility... In a universe that is vast and mostly matterless, in which the invisible exceeds the visible by a staggering margin, the extraordinary fact about us is that we number among the things that can be seen (2015 Schulz).

In his discussion on the reaction to the Charlie Hebdo attack, Žižek describes the difference between Western liberal-secular society, where the state protects freedom and freedom of speech in the public realm but become involved in the private, to use Žižek’s example, in cases “where there is suspicion of child abuse...” Conversely, within Islamic law, the private is protected from intrusion by the state and it is in public that conformity is imposed and behavior strictly monitored. This example frames, in context, the difference in thought pattern, and therefore ideology, between Western and Moslem societies and goes some way towards providing an explanation as to why, in the case of the implicit, public mockery became intolerable; while in the case of the explicit, the power of ‘free’ action and vocal expression was valued above all (London Review of Books 2015).

The ‘norms’ held by different groups are their ‘regime of truth’ and it is within this framework that a community, and the individuals within it, functions. If power were a single action or series of actions, it would be easy to contest, but when it is a truth that forms the basis for a total way of life, one can’t get out of it to break it down without dismantling everything else within its interaction. As Foucault writes, “power is everywhere and comes from everywhere, so whether power relations are hidden or exposed makes little difference as Jean-Pierre

de la Porte explains, power does not operate under a veil, it is part of a strategy that has gathered enormous strength (de la Porte & Theron 2015). Power is not a thing that can be passed from one person to another, it's in the relations, purveying, ubiquitous and difficult to break up.

The birth of the state

Every account of the origins of the state starts from the premise that “we”—not we the readers but some generic we so wide as to exclude no one—participate in its coming into being. But the fact is that the only “we” we know—ourselves and the people close to us—are born into the state; and our forebears too were born into the state as far back as we can trace. The state is always there before we are (J.M. Coetzee 2007).

In a *Diary of a bad year*, J.M. Coetzee questions whether, if accepting our forebears as founders of the state, we should “...also accept its entailment?” Those under the state will find it difficult to change the ‘form’ of governance and much more so to overthrow it. In Thomas Hobbes’ myth, the state meant protection from chaos, and for this gain, as the story goes, people willingly surrendered their power. The division between legal citizen, with state as protecting overseer, and outlaw, hunted by the authorities, is the degree of freedom; the “perfect liberty” on the outside is of little use as one is cut off from both protection and resources.

The ‘giving up’ of one’s liberty is, however, irreversible; “[t]he option is not open to us to change our minds, to decide that the monopoly on the exercise of force held by the state, codified in the law, is not what we wanted after all, that we would prefer to go back to a state of nature.” The birth certificate renders one a ‘subject’ and an identity, with all the implications for behavior that this involves. This notion of certification restricts freedom of movement and if one is alive or dead, this is corroborated by paperwork. In a rather macabre example, Coetzee details how,

The state pursues the certification of death with extraordinary thoroughness—witness the dispatch of a host of forensic scientists and bureaucrats to scrutinize and photograph and prod and poke the mountain of human corpses left behind by the great tsunami of December

2004 in order to establish their individual identities. No expense is spared to ensure that the census of subjects shall be complete and accurate (Diary of a bad year 2007).

Democracy, according to Coetzee, is spread by telling people that in place of no choice, they now have a choice between A and B, and between A and B one is ‘free’ to choose; the state operates with such limited freedoms. This freedom is also only available to those in support of democracy, “During the cold war, the explanation given by Western democratic states for the banning of their Communist parties was that a party whose stated aim is the destruction of the democratic process should not be allowed to participate in the democratic process, defined as choosing between A and B.” Complacency is what sets in after independence has been forfeited for those that are “content to live as they were born.” The other alternatives: revolt or what Coetzee terms ‘inner emigration’, “the way of quietism, of willed obscurity” (Diary of a bad year 2007). The point being made here is not that democracy is good or bad, or that state control should be abolished and chaos welcomed, it is a comment on the arbitrariness of the appointment of leadership, the main requirement being peaceful transition.

The rule of succession is not a formula for identifying the best ruler, it is a formula for conferring legitimacy on someone or other and thus forestalling civil conflict. The electorate—the demos—believes that its task is to choose the best man, but in truth its task is much simpler: to anoint a man (vox populi vox dei), it does not matter whom.

Democracy, can also be read as totalitarian; if you wish to make changes to the system, you have to do this from within the system by putting yourself forward for office (Diary of a bad year 2007).

Political ‘agonism’

For Chantal Mouffe, the political arena is a space of constant conflict. In her book, *On the political*, Chantal Mouffe criticizes left wing democracy as not really being an open discussion. Democracy, according to Chantal Mouffe, is under threat from complacency and a lack of interrogation of accepted norms. Democracy, which is



Figure 18: *Politicians fighting* (Crimea).

held together by agreement, in the absence of conflict, becomes a farce and is not reflective of the jarring and warring of real concerns. According to Mouffe, antagonism creates enemies whereas ‘agonism’, a term she has coined, creates adversaries. Agonism implies a healthy level of disagreement, which is not limited to the obvious rhetoric.

If the use of language provides an insufficient means with which to describe and manage the complexities of society and global politics, the belief that the endless conversing between different representative parties with their public, and ‘freedom’ of speech, will keep society peaceful and ‘civilised’, seems unlikely.

It’s been a European dream that democracy, or the devolution of power to the majority, and unrestricted discussion aimed at consensus somehow go together. Jürgen Habermas is the greatest modern exponent of this view of civil society as inherently a conversation, therefore being able to reach some mutually satisfactory compromise or some kind of binding consensus through communicating. It’s this pacification of public space, which is the striking political theme in Habermas, and perhaps the utopian aspect of his thought. Whereas for somebody like Chantal Mouffe, the very problem is the pacification of these processes which she equates with depoliticization (de la Porte & Theron 2015).

Jean-Pierre de la Porte describes that depoliticization is occurring as a result of the ‘technocracy’ (2015), the city has become more about management than urban design or architecture, and equally ‘politics’ have become more about the knowledge, in the ‘knowledge and power’ relationship, than about diplomacy or political view. Because it is more reassuring to rely on a ‘fact’ than it is to place faith in power for power’s sake, contemporary hegemonies are more difficult to displace as they always appear to be backed by ‘science’ and we are under the illusion that science is not political.



Figure 19: *Conversation* (Barack Obama).

In antagonism there is no shared ground in the we / they opposition, so opponents are enemies. While in agonism, there is recognition of the legitimacy of the opponent, so enemy becomes adversary. Remembering that autonomy refers to notions of separation, resistance, opposition, confrontation, and critical distance, we could say that a crucial meaning of autonomy in architecture is to constantly produce a form of agonism through the production of images, texts, and buildings (McEwan, C. 2013).

Political representation & composite bodies

In Bruno Latour’s exhibition entitled *Making things public*, the representation of politics are explored by bringing together disjointed things, in the manner of collage, that are not usually associated with politics in order to understand political packaging as well as how, things in their relations, become political.

Anecdote of the Jar
by Wallace Stevens

I placed a jar in Tennessee,
And round it was, upon a hill.
It made the slovenly wilderness
Surround that hill.

The wilderness rose up to it,
And sprawled around, no longer wild.
The jar was round upon the ground
And tall and of a port in air.

It took dominion every where.
The jar was gray and bare.
It did not give of bird or bush,
Like nothing else in Tennessee.

Wallace Stevens’ poem is a description of how an object can change the environment. In the poem, nature



becomes a kind of assembly, the valley transformed into a parliament. Politics and art are always an issue of representation, once you seat people, you have hierarchy; bodies in space create an architecture reflective of the differences between people rather than democracy as a whole. So there is missing information in politics, we are told the information which is the best representation, the best side if you like. What Latour says, is that the information that is absent in politics, is abundant in the world of goods; so much information is pasted onto the packaging of every commodity that we are inclined to ignore it and smokers continue to smoke.

The section, 'composite bodies', makes evident the danger of early political models and is an exploration into the representation of the relationships between people and people themselves. Through a series of collages, drawings and photomontages, the 'body politic' is illustrated by way of image. This includes large images that are made up of smaller constituents whereby the techniques of visual representation are applied to the portrayal of political representation.

Thomas Hobbes, with his book *Leviathan* which was published in 1651, founded the concept of the modern state. In this the state is referred to as an artificial being which becomes a political organ, the biological reference to organ gives rise to the terms organization, here the Latour points out the unresolved contradiction in legitimizing a social and artificial entity through biological metaphor related to the human body. The sovereign is a legal being that supposedly represents, and acts as a protector over, the interests of multiple citizens. A legal

person, in uniting the 'common will' has created the idea of representation, hence why we speak of a parliamentary representative democracy. This thinking goes back to the Leviathan, where the state is considered to be an organic body, derived from this, the enemy of the state becomes the pest.

These biological metaphors are widespread and can be very dangerous, think of the exhibitions of so-called 'degenerative' art in Nazi Germany; aside from the modern art, which was displayed and derided, images of people with physical and mental disabilities were displayed as a precursor to the eventual murder of thousands of the disabled.

So being a mere subject is still an assignment of a kind of power if one is healthy rather than sick, sane rather than mad, our very sentence structure is constructed to attribute authority to the individual, the doer, the one that 'makes things happen'. At a grander scale, these pathologies of power give rise to Fascism. And as the occurrences of world wars have proven, reason is not enough – humanism is dead and we must find something to replace it.

Figure 20-21: *Depictions of Leviathan* (Hobbes).
Figure 22: *Bush portrait from US war dead, 2004*
This anonymous picture of the president is made from photos of the first thousand Americans killed. The 'excess' Iraqi dead, continuously suppressed by governments, was estimated in 2006 by independent experts at 655,000 (Artist unknown).

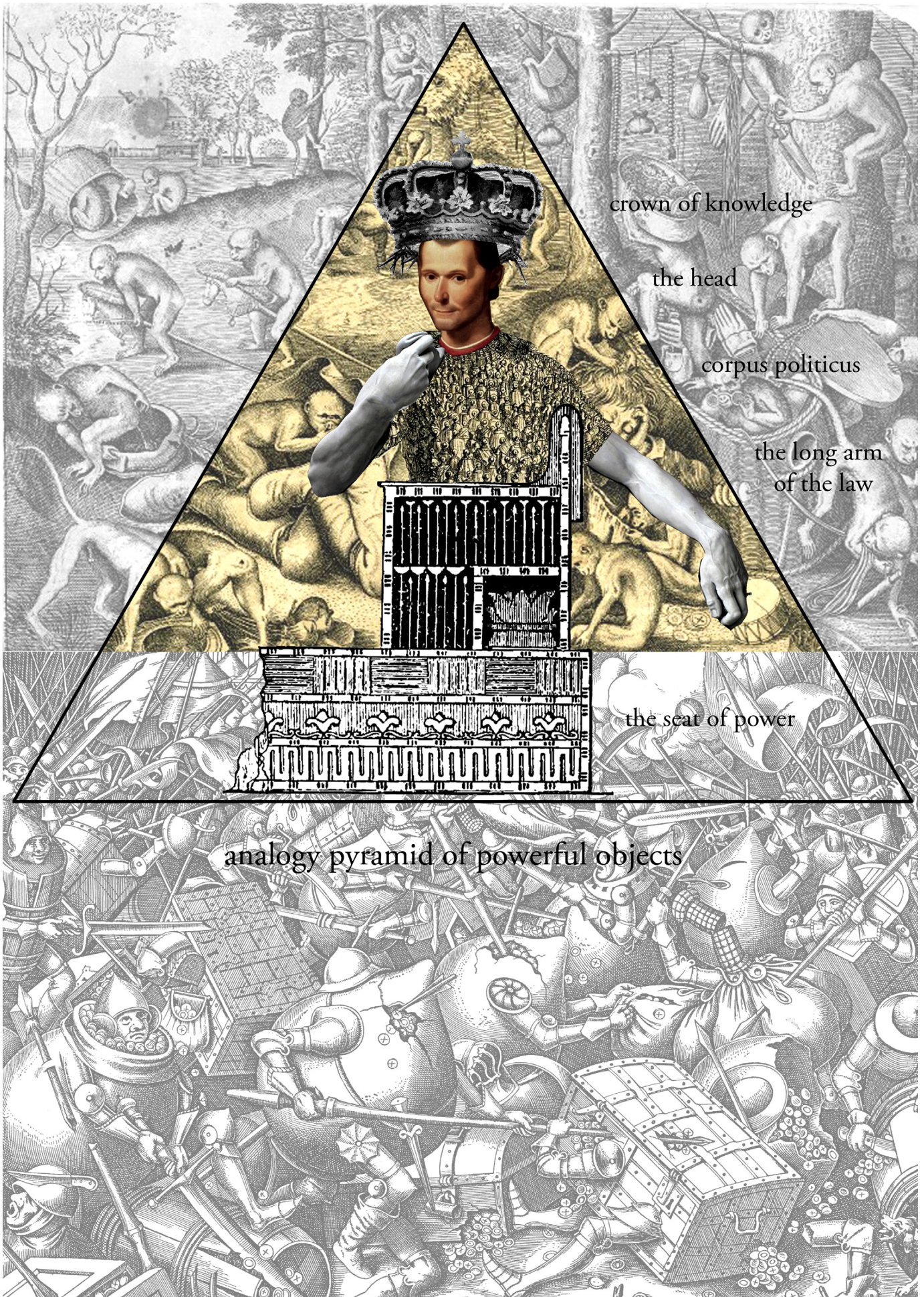


Figure 23: *Analogy pyramid of powerful objects* (Author 2015).