

the open body, this voice among others, and the abandoned buildings becoming something, this movement of wishing and making, the shadows, the emptiness, this beating life and fragile idea, he moves forward, to enter, to search — and the others as well, the floating subjects, and the sudden togetherness, to be side by side, the shadows, the silence, the city outside, we feel its light as it pours of wishing and making,

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through the windows and the cracks, to catch our hands, the corridors, the decayed materials, rooms of dust and cardboard, she pauses to count the broken pieces, to listen to the footsteps around her, side by side, the floating subjects, in search, for something, a possibility: the making of a network, which is a type of vitality, each a figure within, along the stairs and the empty offices, the glass and the papers left behind, this abandoned building that turns into a world as they enter, capturing the emptiness this imaginary republic, of crossed lines and stolen joy





It is like a ship Like a shipwreck This abandoned place Abandoned Empty

It is like a ship Abandoned Capsized Turned over Lost On the island of the urban center

It is like a ship The island of resistance This ship and the island The territory and the horizon around What can we find here To hide in the ship To occupy

It is like an empty fortress This abandoned ship Around which the population and the political territories exist This ship becomes an autonomous figure It takes over It introduces something else The pirate The pirate And the ship The abandonment and the possibility The take over It is a minor figure This pirate A pirate imagination That fills this ship with its own fantasies Phantoms Fabrications

This ship is a kind of factory The factory of ideas Of making

Of taking Of giving away itself Through each other To spread the pirate imagination Free culture And the free scene Of making with what can be found in the trash of the empire The pirate To leave the ship at night and to steal from the island And to return To run back into the factory of ideas The open community of free culture This ship is always searching for new islands Let us ride the seas Let us take to the wind Let us drift

We are marooned on this island of the urban center Here all types of misfits come out to play The pirate is an open figure It appeals to the imagination of others It assembles together all types of minor thought Poor materials Lost desires Forgotten skill The knowledge that can be made from such an assemblage To recuperate the open possibility of something only glimpsed on certain occasions This pirate imagination This art of survival

The pirate ship is resonant with its own imagination It beats out like an energy It fills the ship with its screaming It is a dance of death



The opera of the buffoon What folly What fantasy These fingers that get themselves dirty in the detritus of the empire We are hiding out in this dance of death The song of the metropolitan Indians As they broadcast their radiophonic literatures and lamentations Their community reports Their gibberish The metropolitan Indians on the air Searching for a new island A city of pirate constructions The media take over The broadcasts that send out their energies into the wind Across the streets Of the productive city To infiltrate every corridor of activity Of family relations Of these bodies working together For the good of someone The pirate has no interest in such productions This dance of death Speaks only to the fugitive and the exile

The ship is a type of autonomous construct that may also become a prison I can no longer leave this ship The island offers nothing Already the natives are restless Can you hear the city outside Just beyond these walls It is so active It threatens to take over It threatens the soft occupation The fugitive assemblage of the pirate figure as it dances and drums its lamentations It wails for the figures that only trespass the lines of the gridded city

It spreads the ocean across the urban center It is a type of contamination This pirate imagination

Let us swim in this ocean Of fugitive ideas To make from the debris of the empire all sorts of constructs I know you understand what I speak of I know you have the same wishes This sexuality of imagination run wild At sea and in the wind Broadcasting and transmitting all that it produces through itself as an open possibility As a figure on the run We are runaways We are shipwrecked We are in need of a new ocean The finger The muscle The fever The wish

I wish for the emptiness The abandoned place The opening Everything is falling apart There are only shadows here A stillness The pirate is a type of ghost It is always haunting the empire With its imagination Its restlessness Its desire for freedom The pirate looks for entrances From behind From underneath It breaks the walls It tunnels This figure of abandonment and shipwrecked ideas

It gathers the pieces and the fragments In order to build a new ship The broken soldier The dance of death The drum that plays itself Ghosted by forgotten rhythms Suddenly It comes alive The ship is always resonant with festivity Drunkenness Criminality The erotic The dark knowledge The fugitive idea The pink nation The dance of death The bones of the empire Coming alive

The corridor The window The trash The left behind The informal The camps The desperate music The strained voice The shadow The marooned And the shipwrecked The runaway The fugitive sound The metropolitan Indian that takes to the wind And the pirate that produces a new ocean

Es como un barco Como un naufragio Este lugar abandonado Abandonado Vacío

Es como un barco Abandonado Volcado Entregado Perdido En la isla del centro urbano

Es como un barco La isla de la resistencia El barco y la isla Alrededor el territorio y el horizonte ¿Qué podemos encontrar aquí? Escondernos en el barco Ocupar

Es como una fortaleza vacía Este barco abandonado Alrededor del cual la población y los territorios políticos existen Esta nave deviene una figura autónoma Toma el control Introduce una cosa más El pirata El pirata Y el barco El abandono y la posibilidad La toma Es una figura menor Este pirata Una imaginación pirata Que llena este barco con sus propias fantasías Fantasmas Fabricaciones

Este barco es una suerte de usina Una usina de ideas

De haceres De apropiaciones De entregarse a sí mismo A través de cada otro Fundiendo la imaginación pirata La cultura libre Y la libre escena De construir con lo que podemos encontrar en la basura del imperio El pirata Dejar el barco de noche y robar en la isla Y regresar Corriendo a la fábrica de ideas La comunidad abierta de la cultura libre Este barco está siempre en busca de nuevas islas Vamos a cabalgar en los mares Dejémonos llevar por el viento Vamos a la deriva

Estamos abandonados en esta isla del centro urbano Aquí todo tipo de inadaptados salen a jugar El pirata es una figura abierta Que apela a la imaginación de los demás Reúne a todos los tipos de pensamiento menores Pobres materiales Deseos perdidos Olvidada habilidad El conocimiento que puede ser hecho de tal montaje Para recuperar la abierta posibilidad de algo solamente vislumbrado Esta imaginación pirata Este arte de sobrevivir

El barco pirata es resonante con su propia imaginación Late como una energía Llena el barco con su griterío Es una danza de la muerte La ópera del bufón Qué locura Oué fantasía Estos dedos que se ensucian detritus del imperio Escondiéndonos en esta dan muerte La canción de las indias met A medida que transmiten su y lamentaciones radiofónica Sus reportes comunitarios Sus galimatías Las Indias metropolitanas al Buscando una nueva isla Una ciudad de construccione Los medios de comunicació Las emisiones que lanzan su al viento A través de las calles De la ciudad productiva Para infiltrar de actividad too De relaciones familiares De estos cuerpos trabajando Por el bien de alguien El pirata no tiene interés en producciones Esta danza de la muerte Habla solo al fugitivo y al ex

Esta nave es un tipo de cons nomo que puede también de prisión Ya no puedo dejar esta nave La isla no ofrece nada Ya los nativos están inquieto ¿Puedes oír la ciudad allí afu Justo más allá de estos muro Es tan activa Amenaza con hacerse cargo Amenaza a la suave ocupaci El fugitivo ensamblaje de la pirata mientras danza y tamb

_	Se lamenta por las figuras que solo tras- pasan las líneas de la ciudad grillada Extiende el océano a través del centro
n en los	urbano Es un tipo de contaminación
nza de la	Esta imaginación pirata Dejémonos nadar en este océano
etropolitanas	De ideas fugitivas
us literaturas	Para hacer de lo que queda del imperio
as	toda suerte de construcciones
	Sé que entiendes de qué hablo
	Sé que tienes los mismos deseos
al aire	Esta sexualidad de la imaginación se
	vuelve salvaje
nes piratas	En el mar y en el viento
ón tomados	Emitiendo y transmitiendo todo lo que
us energías	produce a través de sí como una posibi-
	lidad abierta
	Como una figura a la carrera
	Somos fugitivos
odo pasadizo	Estamos naufragados
	Estamos necesitados de un nuevo
o juntos	océano
	El dedo
tales	El musculo
	La fiebre
	El deseo
exilio	
	Yo deseo el vacío
structo autó-	El lugar abandonado
evenir una	La apertura
	Todo está cayéndose a pedazos
e	Solo hay sombras aquí
	Una quietud
COS	El pirata es un tipo de fantasma
fuera?	Siempre está rondando al imperio
OS	Con su imaginación
	Su intranquilidad
)	Su deseo de libertad
ción	El pirata busca entradas
a figura del	Desde atrás
borilea sus	Desde abajo
	Rompe muros





Hace túneles Esta figura de abandonamiento e ideas naufragadas Recoge las piezas y los fragmentos Para construir una nueva nave El soldado roto La danza de la muerte El tambor que se toca a sí mismo Fantasmado por ritmos olvidados De pronto Deviene vivo Este barco está siempre resonando con festividad Ebriedad Criminalidad Lo erótico El conocimiento oscuro La idea fugitiva La nación rosa La danza de la muerte Los huesos del imperio Deviniendo vivos

El pasillo La ventana La basura Lo dejado atrás Lo informal Los campamentos La música desesperada La voz tensa La sombra El abandonado Y el náufrago El fugitivo El sonido fugitivo La India metropolitana que toma al viento Y el pirata que produce un nuevo océano.

/ translation: Luis Guerra

Stavros Stavrides: I am thus very suspicious or reserved about the idea that we can build our own small enclaves of otherness, our small liberated strongholds that could protect us from the power of the state. I don't mean that it is not important to build communities of resistance, but rather than framing them as isolated enclaves, we should attempt to see them as a potential network of resistance, collectively representing only a part of the struggle. If you tend to believe that a single community with its commons and its enclosed parameter could be a stronghold of liberated otherness, then you are bound to be defeated. You cannot avoid the destruction that comes from the power of the state and its mechanisms. Therefore, we need to produce collaborations between different communities as well as understand ourselves as belonging to not just one of these communities. We should rather understand ourselves as members of different communities in the process of emerging.

An Architektur: But how can it be organized? What could this finally look like?

Stavros Stavrides: The short answer is a federation of communities. The long answer is that it has to do with the conditions of the struggle. I think that we are not for the replacement of the capitalist state by another kind of state. We come from long traditions, both communist and anarchist, of striving for the destruction of the state. I think we should find ways in today's struggles to reduce the presence of the state, to oblige the state to withdraw, to force the state to be less violent in its responses. To seek liberation from the jurisdiction of the state in all its forms, that are connected with economical, political, and social powers. But, for sure, the state will be there until something—not simply a collection of struggles, but something of a qualitatively different form—happens that produces a new social situation. Until then we cannot ignore the existence of the state because it is always forming its reactions in terms of what we choose to do.

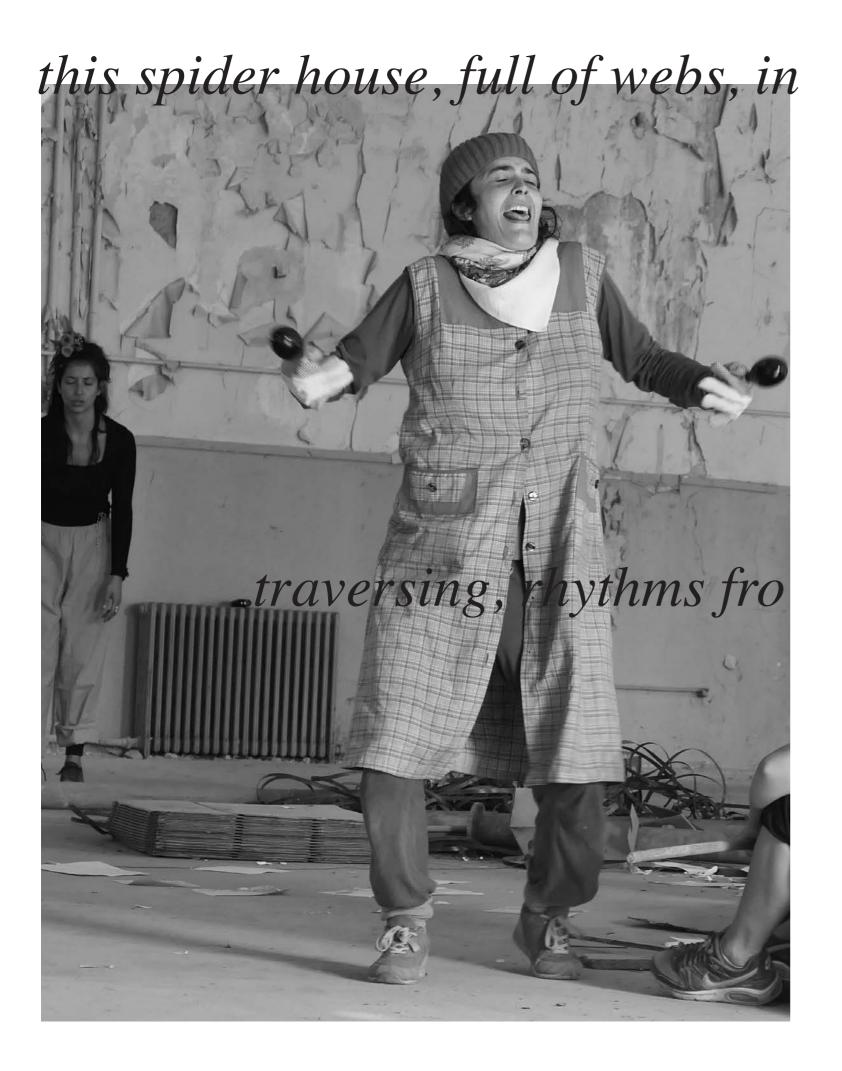
An Architektur: We have discussed a large variety of different events, initiatives, and projects. Can we attempt to further relate our findings to their spatial and urban impacts, maybe by more generally trying to envision a city entirely based on the commons?

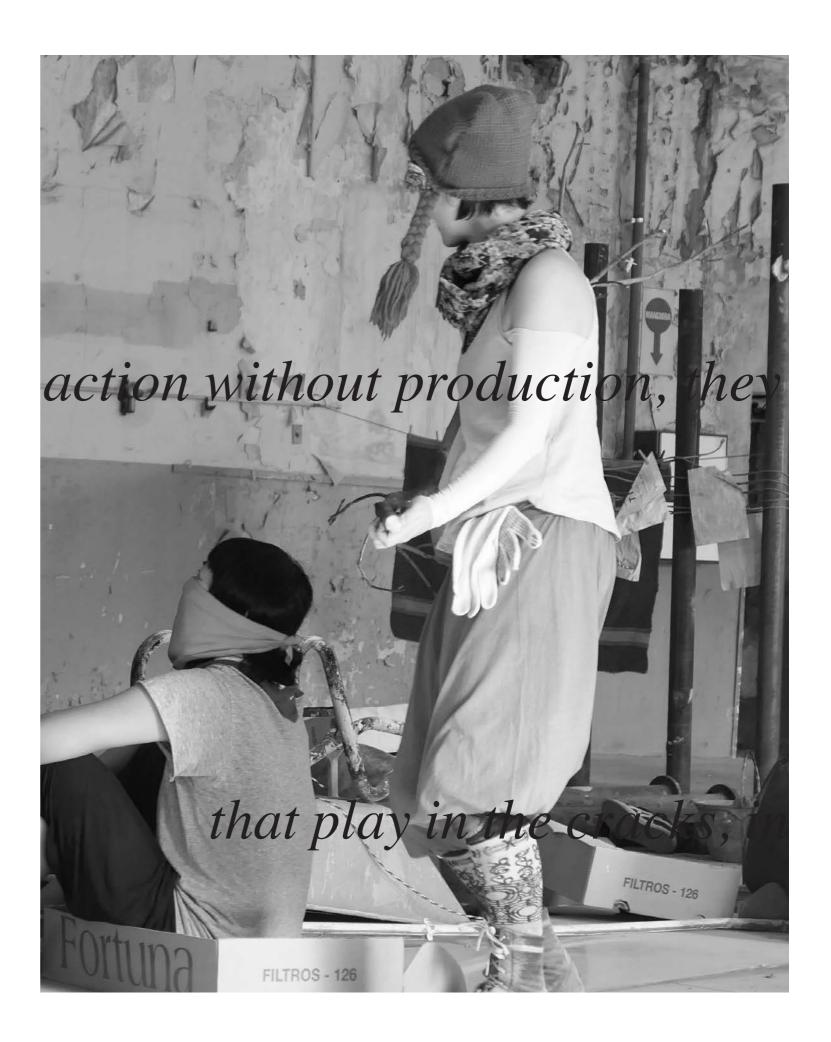
Stavros Stavrides: To think about a city based on commons we have to question and conceptualize the connection of space and the commons. It would be interesting to think of the production of space as an area of commons and then discuss how this production has to be differentiated from today's capitalist production of space. First of all, it is important to conceive space and the city as not primarily quantities—which is the dominant perception—the quantified space of profit-making, where space always has a value and can easily be divided and sold. So, starting to think about space as related to the commons means to conceptualize it as a form of relations rather than as an entity, as a condition of comparisons instead of an established arrangement of positions. We have to conceive space not as a sum of defined places, which we should control or liberate but rather as a potential network of passages linking one open place to another. Space, thus, becomes important as a constitutive dimension of social action. Space indeed "happens" as different social actions literally produce different spatial qualities. With the prospect of claiming space as a form of commons, we have to oppose the idea that each community exists as a spatially defined entity, in favor of the idea of a network of communicating and negotiating social spaces that are not defined in terms of a fixed identity. Those spaces thus retain a "passage" character.

Once more, we have to reject the exclusionary gesture which understands space as belonging to a certain community. To think of space in the form of the commons means not to focus on its quantity, but to see it as a form of social relationality providing the ground for social encounters. I tend to see this kind of experiencing-with and creation of space as the prospect of the "city of thresholds." Walter Benjamin, seeking to redeem the liberating potential of the modern city, developed the idea of the threshold as a revealing spatiotemporal experience. For him, the flaneur is a connoisseur of thresholds: someone who knows how to discover the city as the locus of unexpected new comparisons and encounters. And this awareness can start to unveil the prevailing urban phantasmagoria which has reduced modernity to a misfired collective dream of a liberated future. To me, the idea of an emancipating spatiality could look like a city of thresholds. A potentially liberating city can be conceived not as an agglomerate of liberated spaces but as a network of passages, as a network of spaces belonging to nobody and everybody at the same time, which are not defined by a fixed-power geometry but are open to a constant process of (re) definition.

There is a line of thinking that leads to Lefebvre and his notion of the "right to the city" as the right that includes and combines all rights. This right is not a matter of access to city spaces (although we should not underestimate specific struggles for free access to parks, etc.), it is not simply a matter of being able to have your own house and the assets that are needed to support your own life, it is something which includes all those demands but also goes beyond them by creating a higher level of the commons. For Lefebvre the right to the city is the right to create the city as a collective work of art. The city, thus, can be produced through encounters that make room for new meanings, new values, new dreams, new collective experiences. And this is indeed a way to transcend pure utility, a way to see commons beyond the utilitarian horizon.

/ From an interview with Stavros Stavrides, e-flux 1/17.





Manifesto for Cultural Survival:

Notes to Oneself on Becoming a Warrior of the Imaginary

1. movement strategies: primary relation of body & space (conditioning effects, spatial tensions, relational proximics: I am myself the moment "I enter") – to produce space: against, trespass, return, occupy (inside/outside, against/with, contact/conflict): *where am I*?

2. voice-agency: upon entering, one speaks (to negotiate the lingustic pressure – "speak up son!"), holding the tongue (the silent treatment: "I refuse" /// I give you my silence), occupying the tensed border of nonsense – one must aim for laughter!! and to speak this body, toward and for you: the intimate, the speech that touches me

3. the crowd: the few becoming a sum (adding up: these others I find myself next to), to be: alongside and with (feeling the heat of this other, that I brush against ("skin ego": *I give you my skin*)), the caress: along with others: passion/compassion, a formation: the collective project: relational intensities – co-emergence: together

4. constructions/the material drive: act of making something, to give form to this coming together: I want to live here! (to shelter, to house, to conduct a space: a stage that announces: *we are here* (territory, connecting process: the boundary line as linking channel: community of networks)): a web trembling with the rhythms of this self-organization

5. we must celebrate: perpetual festivity, spirit of joy and of love, of loving relations, this ethic of the open social body: erotic-becoming (the fragile community knows it is always on the verge of collapse: *let us party like it's 1999*): death drive /// life drive: to enact one's own "passion play" (collapse/ renewal, jouissance/revitalization): creativity

6. memory, remembering: primary experience of cultural revelation: this something I do not understand and that pierces me: to make possible: I am captured by this memory: it drives me forward (movement, longing, primal progression): *I have been here before and I will nurture the conditions for its continual manifestation: to never give up* (to dream)