

74th Lecture at the Gramsci Monument, The Bronx, NYC: 12th September 2013

12 NOTES ON DEMOCRACY

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1. What if the *truth* of democracy were non-democracy?
2. What if democracy existed only as an opening to the dimension of its negation or exclusion?
3. What if democracy had to open itself to a negativity (or positivity), to a danger and a threat, to an absolute alienness and incommensurability in order to constitute and assert itself as democracy, as a measure and a measure of rule?
4. What if excess, the self-surpassing and self-transgression toward an otherness eluding the *kratein* (of rule) of the *demos* (of the people), the power to rule of the people, were part of democracy as subject and of the subject of democracy?
5. Democracy would be something accelerated toward its impossibility.
6. It would be nothing other than the turbulence and insecurity of a movement of exertion.
7. It would have to refuse the comfort of a sovereign self-enclosure in order to affirm this refusal as its adequate sovereignty.
8. The sovereignty of democracy, its democraticity, could lie in the affirmation of that which unsettles and endangers it most of all.
9. At no point in time would democracy have had the nature of a calming-down.
10. Not for a moment would the subject of democracy come to enjoy the narcissistic self-certainty of those who are standing on the 'right side' to fight the 'good fight'.
11. Democracy would be a fighting against, a questioning and *epoché* of this certainty, a kind of self-affirmative scepticism which did without the luxury of a good conscience as well as the arrogance to be the bad conscience of someone else.
12. Democracy exists only beyond good and bad conscience, beyond the category of conscience altogether.