04 2008

# Η κριτική ως αντι-ηγεμονική παρέμβαση


## Chantal Mouffe

## Μετάφραση στην ελληνική: Γιώργος Κατσαμπέκης


□□□ □□ π□□□□γγ□□□□μ□ □□ □□□□□μ□ π□□ μ□□ □□□θ□ – «□□ □□□□□ □ □□□□□□□□;» –, □ π□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □χ□□ □□ □□□□□ μ□ □□□ □π□φ□□□ □χ□□□□□ μ□ □□ μ□□φ□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□ π□□ □□π□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□ □π□□θ□□□□. □□□γμ□□□, □π□□χ□□□ □□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □χ□□□□□□ μ□ □□ φ□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□ γ□□μμ□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ π□□□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□□. Θ□ □π□□π□ □□□π□□ □□ □□□□μ□□ωπ□□□□μ□ □□□ π□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□ μ□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ [judgment] □ μ□ □□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ [practice]; □□□□□□, □πω□ □□χ□□ □χ□□ □π□□□□□□□χθ□□, μ□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□μ□□□ μ□ □□□ Δ□□φω□□□μ□ □□□ μ□□□□□□□ χ□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□ω□□□□□□□□□□□□□; □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□ω□□□□□□□ π□□ θ□ μπ□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□γ□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□□ □□□□μ□□ωπ□□□□□□ □□□ θ□μ□□□□□. □π□π□□□□□, □πω□ □ω□□□ □χ□□ □□μ□□□□□□□ □ Foucault, □ □□□□□□□□ □□ μπ□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□χω□□□□□□ □π□ □□ □□□□□□□□μ□□□ □□□ □□□ γ□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□μ□□□ □□ □□□□□π□□□. □□ □□□□□□□□□□□μ□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□ □□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□ □□□□□□□□, □□□□□ θ□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□ π□□□□□ □ω□ π□θ□□□□□ □□□μ□□ω□, ω□□□□□□ □□□□□ □ □□□□□□□ □□ θ□ μ□□ □π□□□□□□□□□ □π□ □□□□□μ□□ □□□φω□□□□□. Θ□ β□□□□□□μ□□□□□□ γ□□ π□□□□□□□γμ□ □□□μ□□□ □□□□ Habermas, π□□ □π□□□□□□□□□□□ πω□ □ □□□□ω□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □π□ μ□□ μ□□φ□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□□ θ□ω□□□□□ – □□□□ □□π□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□ θ□ω□□□□□ □□□□ □π□□□□□□ω□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ – π□□ π□□□χ□□ □□ □□□φ□□ γ□□ □□□ π□□γμ□□□π□□□□□□ □□χ□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ω□, □□□ □□□ω□ π□□, □πω□ □ Foucault, □□□□μ□□ωπ□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□ ω□ π□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□.

□ □□□χ□□ μ□□ □□□ θ□ □□□□□□ π□□□ □□γ□□□□□μ□□□□□. Θ□ π□□□□□□□□ω □□□□ □□□□□□ μ□□ □□□ π□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□, □□□ π□□ □□γ□□□□□μ□□□, □□□ □χ□□□ □□□μ□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□π□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□. □□□π□□ω □□ □□□□□□□ω □□□□□χ□□□□□□□ μ□□ □π□ □□□ π□□ □□μ□φ□□□□□□ □□μ□□□ □π□□□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□, π□□ □π□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□π□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□ μ□ □□□□□□ *εγκατάλειψης* □□□ *εξόδου* □□□ □□ □□□□θ□□□ μ□ □□□ π□□□□γγ□□□, β□□□□μ□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□, □□□ □π□□□ □χω □□□□□□□□□ μ□ □□ □□□□□□□□ μ□□. □□□π□□ μ□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□ω □□□ β□□□□□□□ □□□φ□□□□ □□□μ□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□γγ□□□□□□, □□ □π□□□□ θ□ μπ□□□□□□□□ □□πω□ π□□χ□□□□ □□ □□□χω□□□□□□□□ μ□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□π□: «□□□□□□□□ ω□ □π□μπ□□□□» [withdrawal from] □□□ «□□□□□□□□ ω□ □μπ□□□□» [engagement with], □□□ □□ □□□□ω □□□ □□□□γ□□□□□□ □π□ □□γ□□□□□μ□□□ θ□ω□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□. Θ□ □π□□□□□□□□ω πω□ □□□□□□□ □□ π□□β□□μ□ μ□ □□ μ□□φ□ □□□ □□□□□□π□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □π□□ □□□ □π□□□□ □□□□γ□□□□□ μ□□□-□□γ□□□□□□□□ [Post-Operaist] □□□χ□□□□□ □πω□ □ Negri □□□ □ Virno, □□□□□□ □□□ □χ□□□ μ□□ □□□□□ωμ□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ π□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□ γ□□□□ □□□ □□□γ□ω□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□ω□□ [ineradicable] □□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□γω□□□μ□□.

## □ □□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□

□□ μ□□□□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□π□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ π□□ π□□ωθ□□□□□ □π□ □□□□ Michael Jardt □□□ Antonio Negri □□□□ *Αυτοκρατορία* [*Empire*] □□□ □□□ *Πλήθος* [*The Multitude*], □□□□□□ □□ μ□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ μ□ □□ □□ω□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □π□□□□γ□□□□ μ□□□ μ□□□μ□□□□□□□□□ π□□□□γγ□□□□. □□□□ □□ γ□□μ□ □□□□, μ□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□ □□γω □ω□ □□□□□□μω□ μ□□□□χ□μ□□□□μ□□ π□□ □φ□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□ω□□□□ μ□□ □π□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ 20□□ □□□□□□. □□□□□□ □□ □□□□γ□□, π□□ □□□□□□ □□□□π□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ π□γ□□□μ□□π□□□□□□□ □□□ □ω□ μ□□□□χ□μ□□□□μ□□ □□□ π□□□γωγ□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□, π□□ □χ□□□ □□χ□□□ □□□ □π□□□□□□ □ω□ □γ□□ω□ □ω□ □□γ□□□□, μπ□□□□□ □χ□μ□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□θ□□□ ω□ □□□□:

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible] Hardt [illegible] Negri [illegible] «[illegible]» [«mass intellectuality»], [illegible] «[illegible]» [illegible] «[illegible]» [«general intellect»], [illegible]

5. [illegible] Hardt [illegible] Negri [illegible] [cooperation] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible

> 
μ□□□□γ□□□□ □□□□μ□□□ □□□ □□□θ□□□ π□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ γ□□ □□ □□μ□□□□γ□□ μ□□□ □□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ [counter-empire] μ□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□□ □□γ□□ω□□□ □ω□ π□γ□□□μ□ω□ □□□□□ □ω□ □□□□□□□□γ□□ □□□ □□□ π□γ□□□μ□□π□□□□□□□, □□□ω□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□γ□ω□□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□θ□□□□□ π□□□ □□□□□□ □□□π□□□.

□□ □□□□□ □□ □□μ□□□ □□□□□□□ □□ π□□□□□□□□□□□μ□ □□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ Paolo Virno, □□□□□ □□ □□μπ□□□□□□□□μ□ □□□ □□□□□□□. □□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ Virno □□□ β□β□□□ □□□ Η *γραμματική του πλήθους* [*Grammar of the Multitude* ], □□□□□□□□□□□ □μ□□□ □□□ μ□ π□□□□□□□ □□□π□□□ μ□ □□□□□ □ω□ Hardt □□□ Negri, χω□□□ □□ □□□π□□□ ω□□□□□ □□□ □□μ□□□□□□□□ □□□φ□□□□. □□□ π□□□□□□□γμ□, □ Virno □□□□□ π□□□ □□γ□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ γ□□ □□ μ□□□□□. □□□ □ Hardt □□□ □ Negri □χ□□□ □□□ μ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□μ□ □χ□□□□□ μ□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ π□□θ□□□, □□ □π□□□ □□□γ□□□□ θ□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □γ□□θ□□□□□□□□□ μ□□□ «□μ□□□ Δ□μ□□□□□□□», □ Virno β□□π□□ □□□ □□□χ□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ ω□ □□□ □μφ□□□γ□μ□□□/□μφ□□□□π□ φ□□□□μ□□□ □□□ □□□γ□ω□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ μ□□φ□□ □π□□□γ□□ □□□ □π□□φ□□□□□π□□□□□□[1] [precarization] π□□ □□□□□ χ□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ μ□□□-φ□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□ □□□θ□□□ πω□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ π□θ□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□□, □□□□□ □□□□□ □□μβ□□□□□□ γ□□□□ □χ□□□ μ□□□□□□□π□□ □□ □□□□γ□□□ π□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □π□□φ□□□□□π□□□□□□□. □□□□□, □□□□□ □□ □□μ□□□□□□□□ □□ γ□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□γ□□□□□□ ω□ □□□ □□π□ «□□θ□□μ□□□□ □□μμ□□□□□μ□□» [«spontaneous communism»], □πω□ □ □ Hardt □□□ □ Negri, □ Virno □□□□□□□ □□ θ□ω□□□□□ □□□ μ□□□□-□□□□□□□□μ□ ω□ □□□ «□□μμ□□□□□μ□ □□□ □□φ□□□□□□□». □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□μ□□□ □□ □□π□□□□□□□□□□□□□ π□ω□□β□□□□□□□ □□□□χ□□□□□□□□□□ γ□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□μφ□□□□□ □□□□□β□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□□θ□□□□ π□□ θ□ μπ□□□□□□□□, □π□ □□□□□□ □□□θ□□□□□, □□ □χ□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□ □□□μ□ γ□□ □□□ π□θ□□□ □□μμ□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□□□□.

□□□□□ π□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□μ□□□π□□□ □□□ □□□□□μ□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□ω □□□ □π□□□□ □□ □□□θ□□ θ□ μπ□□□□□□□ □□ □π□□□□θ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□, □ Virno □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □ μ□□□□-□□□□□□□□□ □π□χ□ □π□□□□□ □□□ □□μ□□□□γ□□ μ□□□ «Δ□μ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□θ□□□», □□□□□□□□□□ μ□□ □φ□□□□ □□□□□□□ □π□θ□□□ω□ π□□ □□□ □□□γχ□□□□□□ π□□□□ □π□ □□ □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ β□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□-□□□□□□□□ γ□□ □□ □□□□□□β□□ □□□ □□π□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ π□□ χ□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□θ□□: □□□□□□□ [exodus] □□□ π□□□□□□□□ □□□π□□□□□ [civil disobedience]. □ □□□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□ □□μφω□□ μ□ □□□ Virno □□□ π□□□ω□ □□□π□□γμ□□□ μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□, □□□□□□ □□ □□□□μ□□ωπ□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□γχ□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ μ□□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□□/□π□□□□□□□□□ □π□ □□ □□□□□□□ μ□ □□□π□ □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□μ□□□□□□ χ□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ [publicness of Intellect] □□ω □π□ □□□ □□γ□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□θ□□□ μ□ □□□□□. □□□□□ □π□□□□□□ □□ □□μ□□□□γ□□ μ□□□ μ□ □□□□□□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□ □φ□□□□□□ □□□ μ□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□ωμ□□□□□, μ□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□μ□□□□μ□□, μ□ μ□□φ□□ μ□-□□□□π□□□ωπ□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□ω-□□□□□□β□□□□□□□□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□□□□ □□γ□□ωμ□□□□□ γ□□ω □π□ □□□□μ□□π□□□□□□□, □□μβ□□□□□ □□□ □□β□□□. □ □□μ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□θ□□□ □□φ□□□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ω□ μ□□□□□□□□ω□ π□□ π□□□ □□□ φ□□□□□□□□□□ □□ μ□□□□□□□π□□□ □□ π□□□□□□□φ□□□ □□□ □□□π□□□□□□□□ μ□□ □□□□□□□□ π□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□ γ□□□□ □□β□□□□□□□. □ □□□π□□ □π□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □ «□□□□□□□□γμ□□□/□□μ□□□□□ □□□□□» [«acting in concert»] □□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ □π□□□□θ□□□ □□□ □π□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□, □□□ □□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□θ□□μ□□□ □□ γ□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□ θ□□□ □□□. □□ □□□□□ □□□ □ π□□□□□□□□ □□□π□□□□ π□□π□□ □□ χ□□□□φ□□□θ□□ □π□ □□ φ□□□□□□□θ□□□ π□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□ □□□ □π□□□□ □□□□θω□ □□□□π□□□□□□□. □□□□□ π□□□π□ω□□ □□□ □□□θ□□□ □□ □□μ□□□□□ π□□□□ □□□ □γ□□□□□ □□□□ □□γ□□□□□μ□□□□ □□μ□□ □π□□□□ □□□ □□μμ□□φ□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□χ□□ □□□ □□□□□γμ□□□□. □□□□ θ□ □π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□μ□ □□□π□ □π□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□. □□□□□ π□□ θ□ □π□□□π□ □□ □π□□□□□□□ □□□□□β□□μ□ □□□□□□ μ□□ □□□□□□□ □□□π□□□□□, π□□ θ□ θ□□□□ □π□ □μφ□□β□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□χ□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□.

□□□□□ □φ□□□ □□□ □□□π□ μ□ □□□ □π□□□ □□□μ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□π□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ π□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □π□□□□θ□□ω□□ □□□ □□□θ□□□, □□□ □π□□χ□□, □□□□□ □□ γ□□μ□ μ□□, □□μ□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□φ□□□ □□□μ□□□ □□□□□ Virno □□□ □□□□□ Hardt □□□ Negri, □□ □π□□□□ □π□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □γ□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□. □π□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□, □φ□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □π□□χ□□ π□□□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□ω□□□□□□□, □ □γ□□□□□ θ□ π□□π□□ □□ □□μβ□□□□□ □□ μ□□φ□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ω□□□ □□ □□θ□ □□π□. □□□□□ □□

«[illegible]» [«being against»] [illegible] γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible] π[illegible] θ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible] π[illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μπ[illegible] [illegible]χ[illegible] ω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]χθ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]θ[illegible]χ[illegible], [illegible] [illegible]μπ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] β[illegible] μ[illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible], [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μπ[illegible] [illegible]γχ[illegible] ([illegible] β[illegible] μ[illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible]) θ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]. [illegible] π[illegible]γμ[illegible] μ[illegible]ω [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible], μ[illegible]ω [illegible] [illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible]πω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], π[illegible] πω[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] θ[illegible] μπ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] γ[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible]μ[illegible]μ[illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible]μφω[illegible] [illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible]. [illegible]μ[illegible]γ[illegible]μ[illegible]ω[illegible], [illegible] Virno π[illegible] [illegible] χ[illegible]μ[illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] «[illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible]», [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]π[illegible] β[illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]ωπ[illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]θ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible]χω[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] π[illegible]β[illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]μφω[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] ω[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] μ[illegible] θ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible], [illegible]θ[illegible]ω[illegible], [illegible]π[illegible]φ[illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible]. Δ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]ωπ[illegible]μ[illegible] γ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] μ[illegible] μ[illegible] π[illegible]π[illegible].[2] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible]-[illegible]γ[illegible]ω[illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] μπ[illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] π[illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μπ[illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] γ[illegible] β[illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]-[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]-[illegible]. [illegible] Virno, [illegible]πω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Hardt [illegible] [illegible] Negri, [illegible]π[illegible] πω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]θ[illegible] [illegible] μπ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]φθ[illegible] π[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]ωπ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible]-[illegible]π[illegible]ωπ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible], θ[illegible] μπ[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μφω[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]χ[illegible] θ[illegible]μ[illegible].

## [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Θ[illegible] [illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] π[illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible]. [illegible]μφω[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]π[illegible]ω [illegible]γγ[illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible]χ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]β[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible]χ[illegible]μ[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible]θμ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]μ[illegible] π[illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]-φ[illegible]μ[illegible], [illegible] π[illegible]ω πω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]β[illegible] μπ[illegible] [illegible] γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] θ[illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]μ[illegible] π[illegible] π[illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] Ernesto Laclau [illegible] Η*γεμονία και σοσιαλιστική στρατηγική* [*Hegemony and socialist strategy. Towards a radical democratic politics*]. [illegible]μφω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] β[illegible]π[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]χ[illegible]μ[illegible]μ[illegible] ω[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]χ[illegible]γ[illegible] π[illegible], [illegible]πω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] π[illegible] θ[illegible]ω [illegible] [illegible]ω ω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] π[illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]β[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]π[illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] π[illegible]β[illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]- [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible]μφ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]μ[illegible]ω[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] θ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]β[illegible] ω[illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]μ[illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]μ[illegible] π[illegible] [illegible]θ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] π[illegible]γωγ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible]-φ[illegible]μ[illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]μ[illegible] μπ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] μ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] θ[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]φ[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]. [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]π[illegible] θ[illegible] [illegible]π[illegible]ω [illegible]μ[illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]χ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]φ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γ[illegible]ω[illegible] [illegible] π[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]γω[illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

□□μφω□□ μ□ □□□ π□□□□γγ□□□ □□□ □π□□□ □π□□□□□□□ω, □□ □□□ β□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□ γ□□ □□□ □□□□μ□□□π□□□ □□□ □□□□μ□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □ «□□□□γω□□□μ□□» □□□ □ «□γ□μ□□□□». □π□ □□ μ□□ π□□□□□, □□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□γ□ω□□□□□μ□ □□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□ ω□ □□□ π□□□□ π□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□γω□□□μ□□ □□□ □□□□□ μ□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □π□□□□□□ □□ □□μβ□β□□μ□ μ□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ [final ground] □□□ □□□ □□□π□□□□□□□μ□□□□□□ π□□ □□□π□□ □□□ □□θ□ □□□□ [order]. □□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□ □□ □□□γ□ω□□□□□μ□ □□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□ φ□□□ □□θ□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ω□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□μ□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□ ω□ π□□□□□□ μ□□□ □□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□□ □ω□ □π□□ω□ □□□χ□□ □□□□□□ □□ □□θ□□□ω θ□□ μ□□ □□□□ □□ □□□ π□□□□□□□ □□□□χ□μ□□□□□□□□□□□. □□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□θ□ω□□□, μ□□ω □ω□ □π□□ω□ □□μ□□□□γ□□□□□ μ□□ □□□□μ□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□θ□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□μ□ □ω□ □□□□ω□□□□□ θ□□μ□□, □□□□□□ □□□□ π□□ □□□μ□□□□μ□ «□γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□». □□θ□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ μ□□ π□□□ω□□□□□ □□□ □β□β□□□ □□□□□θ□ω□□ □□□□χ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□. □□ π□□γμ□□□ θ□ μπ□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□ □□ □χ□□□ □□□ω□, □φ□□ □ □□θ□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □π□□□□□□□μ□ □□□ω□ □□□□□□□□□□ω□. □□□□□□ π□□□□□ □ □□φ□□□□□ μ□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□μ□□ □χ□□□ω□ □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□ π□□ □□ μ□□ □□□□μ□□□ □□□γμ□ γ□□□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□ ω□ «φ□□□□□□ □□□□», μ□□□ μ□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□γ□□□ π□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□ □□ □π□□□□□□□μ□ π□γ□ωμ□□ω□/□□□μ□□□□□□□ [sedimented] □γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□: □□□ □□□□□□ π□□□ □ □□□□□ω□□ μ□□□ β□θ□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□μ□□□□□□□□□□□ □□ω□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ π□□ □□ □□μ□□□□γ□□□. □□θ□ □γ□μ□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□ω□□ □□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□□ π□□ π□□β□□□□□□ □π□ □□□□-□γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ π□□ □π□χ□□□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□θ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□ □γ□□□□□□□□θ□□ μ□□ □□□□□ μ□□φ□ □γ□μ□□□□□□.

□□□□□□□ω □□□ □□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□χθ□□ □□□□□ □ □γ□μ□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□π□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□ μ□□□β□□□ □π□ □□□ □□□□□□□□μ□ □□□ μ□□□-φ□□□□□□□μ□. □□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□ □□□ □γ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □π□□□□□ □□□ μ□□ μ□□□ □□γ□□□, □□ □γ□□□□ □ω□ □□γ□□□μ□□ω□, □□□□□□ □□ □□χ□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□γ□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□γ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□μ□□□□□ □□□□□□ π□□ □□□□□□□μ□□□□□□□□□ □π□ □□ □□φ□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□. □□□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□ γ□□□□□ □□□□□ □□φ□□ μπ□□□□μ□ □□ □□□□□□□□□μ□ □π□ □□□ □□□□□φ□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ π□□ β□□□□□□□μ□ □□□□□ □□γ□□□□□ □□□ Luc Boltanski □□□ □□□ Eve Chiapello π□□ □□□ β□β□□□ □□□□ *Το νέο πνεύμα του καπιταλισμού* [*The New Spirit of Capitalism*] φ□□□□□□□ □□□ φω□ □□□ □□□π□ μ□ □□□ □π□□□ □□ □□π□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□θ□□□□□□ □□ χ□□□□μ□π□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□μ□□□ □ω□ □□ω□ □□□□μ□□ω□ γ□□ □□□□□□□μ□□, π□□ □□□π□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□ 1960, π□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ μ□□□-φ□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□μ□□ □□□ μ□□□□χ□μ□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□ □□□□□ μ□□φ□□ □□□γχ□□. □□□□□ π□□ □□□μ□□□□□□ «□□□□□□□χ□□□□ □□□□□□□» γ□□ □□ □□□φ□□θ□□□ □□□□□ □□□θ□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□: □□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□θ□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□χ□□□□□□□□, □□□□ □□□γ□□ □ω□ μ□ □□□□□□χ□□□□□ □□μ□□, χ□□□□μ□π□□□θ□□□□□ γ□□ □□ π□□ω□θ□θ□□□ □□ □□□□□ π□□ □π□□□□□θ□□□□□ □π□ □□ □□□ □□□π□ □□π□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□θμ□□□□□, π□□ □□□□□□□θ□□□□□ □□ π□□θ□□χ□□□ π□□□□□□□ π□□ □□□□□□ χ□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ π□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□μ□□.

□□□□□ □□□ □π□□□ μ□□, □□□□□ π□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□φ□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□ π□□□□□γγ□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □π□□□□□□□□□□ π□□ μ□□ □□μ□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□□ μ□□□β□□□□ □π□ □□□ □□□□□□□□μ□ □□□ μ□□□- φ□□□□□□□μ□ □□□□□□ μ□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□θ□ω□□□ □ω□ □π□□χ□□□□□ □□γω□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□, □π□□□□π□□□□□□ μ□□ □□ □π□□□□□□□□□□μ□ □□□□□□ □□□ μ□□□β□□□ μ□ □□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□μβ□□□□□. □μ□□□γ□□μ□□ω□, □□μ□□□γ□□μ□□ω□ Boltanski □□□ □ Chiapello □□□ χ□□□□μ□π□□□□□□ π□□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□□γ□□ □□□□ □ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□φ□□ π□□□□□□□γμ□ □□□□□□ π□□ □ Gramsci □□□μ□□□□ «□γ□μ□□□□ μ□□ω □□□□□□□□□π□□□□□□□» □ «π□θ□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□» γ□□ □□ □□□φ□□θ□□ □□ μ□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □π□□ □□□□μ□□□ π□□ □π□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□ γ□□ □□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □π□ □□ □π□□χ□□ □□□□□□μ□ μ□□ω □□□ □□□□□□π□□□□□□□ □□□□□ μ□ □□□□□ □□□π□ π□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□π□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□μ□□□. □□□□□ □□□□□□□□□μ□ □□ μ□□□β□□□ □π□ □□□ □□□□□□□□μ□ □□□ μ□□□- φ□□□□□□□μ□ μ□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□, μπ□□□□μ□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□□β□□μ□ ω□ □γ□μ□□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □π□ □□ □□φ□□□□□ γ□□ □□ □π□□□γ□□θ□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □π□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □π□ □μφ□□β□□□□□ □□μ□μ□π□□□□□□ □□□.

□□□□□□ □□φ□□ □□□, □□□□□ θ□ω□□□μ□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□□ π□□γμ□□□□□□□□□ μ□ □□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□, □ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□, χ□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□□ □□□□□□π□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□, □□□ μπ□□□□

□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□ □□□□□ □π□□□□□□□ □π□ □□□□□ □π□□χ□□□□□□ θ□□μ□□□□, □□□□□ □□□□□ □μ□□□□ □μπ□□□□□ μ□ □□□□□□□ π□□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□ □□□□□θ□ω□θ□□□□ □□ □π□□χ□□□□□□ □□γ□□ □□□□ □□ π□□□□□□□□□, μ□□ω □ω□ □π□□ω□ □ □□□χ□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□ □□□θ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□π□□□γ□□□□□, □□□□ μ□ □□□χ□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ μ□□□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□□. □□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□, θ□□ω □□ □□□□□□ω, □□□□ μπ□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □π□□□□ □□□ χω□□□μ□ □ω□ □□□φ□□ω□ □□□□□χ□□ω□ □ω□ □π□□ω□ □ □□μ□□□□□□ □□□□□θ□ω□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □ω□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ θ□□μ□□. □ □□□□□□□□ □□□γμ□, □ □□□γμ□ □□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□θ□ω□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□μ□. Δ□□φ□□□□□□□□ θ□ β□□θ□□μ□ □□□□μ□□ωπ□□ μ□ μ□□ χ□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□θ□□□□□ □□□□□π□□□□□, □φ□□□□□□□□ □□□□ π□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□ π□□□□π□θ□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□θ□ω□□□□ □π□ μ□-π□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□μ□□□□. □□□□γμ□□□ □χ□□μ□ π□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□γμ□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ω□ □□□□□ □π□□□□□ μ□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□χ□□ □□□□□□ □□□γ□□□ □□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□. □□□□□□ □π□μ□□ω□ □□μ□□□□□□□ □ □□□γμ□ □□□ □π□-□□□□□□π□□□□□□□, □□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □π□ μ□□ □□□γμ□ □π□□□□-□□□□□□π□□□□□□□ □□□ □ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □ □□□□□θ□ω□□ □□□ □π□□χ□□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□ □□ π□□□ μ□□□ μ□ μ□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□θ□ω□□□. □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□ π□□ □□□π□□ □π□ □□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□γγ□□□□□□ μ□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ω□□□ □ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ π□□ θ□ω□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□ω□θ□□ □□ β□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□ π□□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□ □π□□θ□□ μ□□ □□□ □□□□□, □π□□□□□γμ□□□ □π□ □□□□□π□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□. □□□□□ □□□□π□□ □π□□□□□, □□ □□□ μ□ □□□□□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□ □□□π□, □π□ □□□□□ θ□ω□□□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□θ□□□, □□ □π□□□□□ θ□ω□□□□□ □□□ □ □□□□□π□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ χ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□θ□ω□□. □□μφω□□ μ□ □□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□ π□□□□γγ□□□, □ □□□□□ω□□□□ π□□γμ□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□ω □□□ □□γ□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ π□□□□□ □□ □π□□□□□□□μ□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□ μ□□□ω □□□ □□□□□γωγ□□ □□ μ□□ π□□□□□π□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□ γ□ω□□□□□□□ π□□γ□□ω□ π□□ □□γ□□□□□□μ□□□□ μ□□φ□□ □π□□□□□μ□□□□□□□□□ω□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□ π□□□□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□ □χ□□ □□□□ π□ω□□□χ□□□ □□□□□ □□μ□□□□ □π□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ω□□□□□□ □χ□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□χ□μ□□□□□□□ □□□□ □π□□□□□□π□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□θ□ω□□ □π□□□□□□□ □π□ μ□□ □□□□□γω□□□□□□□□ □□□□□π□□□θ□□□ □□□□ □π□□□□□ □ □□β□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□θ□□□□□μ□□□ □□□ □ω□ π□□□□□□ω□. □□□□□ π□□ □π□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □π□μ□□ω□ μ□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□ □□□□ □π□□□□□ □ □□□χ□□ □□□□□□, μ□□ω □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□-□γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□μβ□□□ω□, □□ □□□□□θ□□□□□□ □□□□ □π□□χ□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□θ□□□□□□□□□ μ□□ π□□ π□□□□□□□□□□□□ χ□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □π□□□□□□□□□θ□ω□□□□ □□ω□ □□□□ π□□□□□□□ □□□□□χ□□ω□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□φ□□□□□□□□ □χ□μ□□□□□μ□ □□□□□□□□□.

## □□□□□□□□□□□

□□μ□□ω □□□□ □□□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□ □□φ□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□φ□□□□□ μ□□□□□□ □ω□ □□□□ π□□□□□γγ□□□ω□ π□□ □χω π□□□□□□□□□□□□, π□γ□□□□□□ □π□ □□□□ π□□□□ □□□□φ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□□ π□□ □□□□□ π□□□□χ□□□□ □□ θ□ω□□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□ □□□□π□□□□□□ □□□□□. □ □□□□□□□γ□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□, β□□□□□μ□□□□ □□ μ□□ □□□□□□□γ□□ □□□□ □μμ□□□□□□□, □π□θ□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□ω□□□□□□ π□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□ μ□□ □□□□□ω□□□□, π□□□□ □π□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□χ□□□, □π□□□ □□ π□□θ□□ θ□ □□□□□□ □□ θ□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□β□□□□□θ□□ □μ□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□γ□□□□□ □□□□□□□□/□μ□φω□□ χω□□□□ □□□□ □□□γ□□ □□□□ □□μ□□ □ □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□ □π□□ □ □□□□□γω□□□μ□□ θ□ □□χ□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□. □ □γ□μ□□□□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□ □□□□□θ□□ω□, □□□□γ□ω□□□□□□ □□□ □ □□□□□γω□□□μ□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□π□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□□ □□□□π□□□ μ□□ □□□□□ω□□□□□ □□□□□□□□μ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ μπ□□□□□ π□□□□ □□ □□γ□□□□□□θ□□ π□□□ω□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□□ μ□□ π□□□ω□ π□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ μ□□ □π□□□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ π□□□ □□□θ□□□μ□□. □□μφω□□ μ□ □□□ □π□□□ π□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□ □μμ□□□□□□□, □□ π□ω□□□χ□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□ π□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□π□□□□□□□□. □□ π□□□□□□ π□□□π□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□ □π□□□□□ □□ μ□□ β□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□ □□μφω□□ μ□ □□□ □π□□□ □ φ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ω□□□□□□ □□□μ□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ θ□ω□□□□□□□ ω□ □□φ□□□□□ □□π□□□□□ □□□□χ□□□□□□□□ □ω□□□□□□ □□□□□μ□□. □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□ π□□β□□μ□ μ□ □□□□□□ □□□ □μμ□□□ θ□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □ □□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ π□□□γ□□φ□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□. □□□ □□□□□γω□□□μ□□. □μ□□□γ□□μ□□ω□ □ □μ□□□γ□□μ□□ω□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□ π□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□ θ□ω□□□□□□□□□, □□□ χ□□□□μ□π□□□□□□ □□□μ□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ «□□□□□γω□□□μ□□», □□□□□ □□□□□ □ □□□□□□□ □□□ θ□ω□□□□□□□ ω□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□ □□□□□□μβ□□□□□□□ μ□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□φ□□□□□ □□□□□ □π□□□ ω□

π□□γμ□□□□□ □□□□θ□□□. □πω□ □χ□□μ□ π□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ *Ηγεμονία και σοσιαλιστική στρατηγική*, □ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□ β□□π□□μ□ □□□ □□□□□□□ μ□ □□□□□□ □□□□γω□□□μ□□ □π□□□□□ μ□□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□ π□□□□γγ□□□ □π□□ □□ □□χ□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□ π□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□ □□□ □□□χω□□□μ□□, □□□ □π□□□χ□μ□□□□ □□□□□□□□□. □ □□□□γω□□□μ□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□π□□□ □□ μ□□ π□□β□□μ□□□□□□ π□□ θ□ω□□□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□ ω□ □□□□ □μ□□□γ□□□ χ□□□, □π□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□μβ□β□□□□□ μ□ □□□ □□□γ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □πω□ □χ□□ □□□□□□□□ □ Ernesto Laclau, □□ □□□ π□□□□□ □□□ □□□□γω□□□μ□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ μ□ μ□□ μ□-□χ□□□□□□□ □χ□□□, □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ χ□□□ □□□□π□□□□π□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□γ□□□□□ □ □□□□□ π□□□ □□□ □□□□□. □□□□□□ μ□□□ □π□ □□□□□□ □□ μ□ □□□γ□γ□μ□ □□□□□□γ□□□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□□ □π□ □□□□□ □□ μ□ □□□γ□γ□μ□ π□□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□ □□μ□□□□γ□θ□□ □ χ□□□□□ γ□□ □□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□, π□□π□□ □□ □γ□□□□□□□□□□□μ□ □□□ □□□□ □ω□ □μμ□□□□□□□□ π□□□ □□□□□ □μ□□□γ□□□□□ □□□□□μ□□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□□ π□□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□γ□ω□□□□□□μ□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□γ□□□□□□□. □□□□□ □π□□□□□□ □□□ □γ□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□ μ□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□ π□□□ □π□ □□□ □□□χω□□□μ□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□, χω□□□ □π□□□□□□π□□□ □□□γ□□ γ□□ □□ □□μ□ □ □□ □□□□□□□ □□□ □π□□ π□□□□□□□□ □ π□□□□□□□□ θ□ □□χ□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□.

Θ□ μπ□□□□□□□ □□ □π□□□□□□□χ□□□ □□□ □ □□□□□□□γ□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□ □□□□□□ □ □□□□□□□□□πω□□ μ□ □□□φ□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□γ□□ □□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□μμ□□□□□□μ□□ □πω□ □□ β□□□□□□□μ□ □□□□□ Marx. □□□γμ□□□ □π□□χ□□□ π□□□□□ □□□□□□ □□μ□□□ □□□μ□□□ □□□□□ □π□□□□□□ □ω□ μ□□□-□□γ□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □μ□□□γ□□μ□□ω□, γ□μ□□□γ□□μ□□ω□□□□□ □□□□□□□ □□□ □χ□□μ□ π□□□□ □□ □□□□□□μ□ μ□ π□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□ μ□ π□□θ□□, π□□ □□□□□□ □□ π□□□□μ□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□ □π□□□□μ□□□, □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ π□□□π□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□ θ□ω□□□□□□□ ω□ □□□□□ μ□□□□□□θ□□□□□ μ□χ□□□□μ□□ □□□□□□□χ□□□ π□□ □□□ μπ□□□□□ □□ μ□□□□χ□μ□□□□□□□□. □□□π□□ «□□ μ□□□θ□□» π□□□□□□μ□□□□□ □□ □□μ□□□□γ□θ□□□ π□□□θ□□□□□ γ□□ μ□□ □□μφ□□□ωμ□□□ □□□□ω□□□ π□□□ □π□ □□ □□μ□, □□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□□χ□□.

□□□ □ π□□□□γγ□□□ μ□□ □χ□□ □π□□□□θ□□ «μ□□□-μ□□□□□□□□» □□□□ □φ□□□□□□□ □□□□β□□ □□□ γ□γ□□□□ □□□ □χ□□μ□ □μφ□□β□□□□□□ □□□ □□π□ □□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□ π□□ □π□□□□□□□□ μ□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□. □□ □□ □□ φ□□□□μ□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ π□□ □μπ□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□ π□□γμ□□ω□□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□□, □χ□□μ□ θ□□□□ □π□ □μφ□□β□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ μ□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□μφ□□□ωμ□□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□. □ □□□γ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□ω□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□γω□□□μ□□□□□ □□□ □□□γ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□π□□□ □□□□π□γ□□□□□ □□□ π□□□□□χ□ □□□ □□θ□ μ□□φ□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□□ω□ □γ□μ□□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □ □□□□□□γ□□□□□□ □□□ μπ□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□φ□□□: □ □□□□γω□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□γ□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□ □□γ□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□μ□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□ □φ□□□ □□□ π□□□□□□□□, □□□□□ □□μ□□□□□□ □□□ □□□γ□□ □□□□□μ□□□π□□□□□ □□□ μ□ □□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□□ μ□□□□□□ □ω□ □□γ□□□□□μ□□ω□ □γ□μ□□□□□□□ π□□□□γμ□□ω□ π□□ π□□□π□θ□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□θ□□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□θ□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□μβ□□□□□□□ π□□□μ□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□ω□□□□□□ □ω□□. □ □γ□μ□□□□□ □□□□□□□μβ□□□□□□□ μ□□ω □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□μβ□□□□□ □□μ□□ω□, □□ □π□□□ □□μ□□□□□□ □□θ□□□□□□□□/□□θ□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□μ□ □ω□ θ□□μ□□ □□□ □ω□ □□□□ω□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□θ□□□□□□□ □□□ «□□□□□ □□γ□□□», μ□□ω □□□ □π□□□□ μ□□ □□□□μ□□□ □□□□□□□□ □□□ π□□γμ□□□□□□□□□□□ □□θ□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□ □□□□□□□ □π□□□□□□□μ□ θ□ □□□□□□ π□□□□ □□□□χ□μ□□□□□□, □β□β□□□ □□□ □□□□ω□□ □□ π□□□□□□□□□□ □π□ □□□□-□γ□μ□□□□□□□ □π□μβ□□□□□. □ π□□□□□□□ □□μβ□□□□ χ□□□ π□□□□ □□ □□□ π□□□□ χ□□□γμ□□□ □π□ □□□□ □□□□γω□□□μ□□□ □□□ □ □□□□□□□□ □□□ μ□ □□□□□□ «□□□□□□□□γμ□□□□/□□μ□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□» [acting in concert] □□□γ□□ □□□ □β□□□μ□ □□□ □□□□□□□γ□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□γω□□□μ□□ (π□□ □χω π□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□μ□□□□μ□ «π□□□□□□□□») π□□ π□□□χ□□ □□□ □χ□□□□-□π□□β□□□□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□□. □□□ □π□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□ π□□□μβ□□□ π□□□□ □μπ□□□□□□□□ μ□ μ□□ □□□□μ□□□ π□□χ□ □□□ □π□□χ□□□□□ □γ□μ□□□□□ π□□□□□μ□□□□ □□ □□□□θ□□□□□/□π□□□□□□□□□θ□□□□□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□□□χ□□□. Δ□□ μπ□□□□ π□□□ □□ □□□□□ μ□□□ □□□□π□□□□□□□□□□□ □ □□ θ□ω□□θ□□ ω□ □□π□□□□□□ □π□□□□ □□□χ□□□□ □□□□ □π□□□□□□□θ□ω□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□ □χ□μ□□□□μ□.

□□□ □□□□ □□μ□□□□□□ π□□χ□ □□□ □γ□μ□□□□□□ π□□□□□□□□□ β□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□θ□□□ω□□ μ□□□ «□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□μ□□□» μ□□□□□□ □ω□ □□□φ□□ω□ □□□□μ□□ω□, □□□□□ □□ μ□□□□χ□μ□□□□□□□□□ □□ □π□□□□□□□□□ π□□ θ□ θ□□□□□ □π□ □μφ□□β□□□□□ □□□ □π□□χ□□□□ □□μ□ □ω□ □χ□□□ω□ □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□φ□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□□ □ω□ □□μ□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□μ□□ω□ π□□ □π□□χ□□□ □□□□□ □□□□ω□□□□□ μ□□ □□□ □□γ□□□□□□□□

[illegible]

*Δημοσιεύτηκε στην τριμηνιαία επιθεώρηση πολιτισμού Ένεκεν (αφιέρωμα στην Σαντάλ Μουφ), τεύχος 19, Ιανουάριος-Μάρτιος 2011, σελ. 68-80.*

---

[1] [illegible] *πρεκαριοποίηση* ([illegible]).

[2] [illegible] Hardt [illegible] Negri [illegible] «[illegible]» [multiplicity of singularities], [illegible] «[illegible]» [singular multiplicity]. [illegible]