

dissatisfaction as a dissatisfied dispersion in social zero-space and to help out the nihilistic condotierri with a critical theory, but to lead them to the point where they function in an emancipatory manner.

The Subrealistic movement understands itself as an experimental zone testing the project of whole man. History is in the service of individual happiness. As agents of history we operate against the fundamental gesture of functionalized idling which dominates under the reign of exchange and which we begin to destabilize by making use of disconnected passing situations starting with games as weightless periods of time with the reversal of standardised perspectives. The game as a serious motive force of human behavior starts with the individual's consciousness of himself and history.

While in prehistoric situations ideas could fail and individuals could nevertheless free themselves, today it is not ideas which fail but individuals. For that reason we have to assert our consciousness as social power.

We hold the feeble, the compromising in contempt, because the storm is imminent which will obliterate this oppressive atmosphere. The mass-uprising of this epoch stands ready on the horizon to turn the tide of history itself.

He who has not reached the summit of possible liberation will be found in the depths of total defeat.

REVOLUTIONARIES ORGANIZE !

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Subrealistic Movement

VACATION OF HEGEL

Latest campaigns
of critico~practical theory

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TAKE COURAGE

Today courage is all that is missing. In these days and in front of our eyes, out of the distant and the near past, bastions of this modernized old world are collapsing. Nothing of what claimed to be an eternal value for centuries has been able to keep it's promise in the epoch of spectacle that has become negative.

The prospects of this world fall like exchange - rates, and only an artificially performed self-hypnosis of the individual still supports the imaginary life, creates short-lived values.

In this situation, where all values are null and void but man can be all, many compete to appear even emptier than this world already is.

This is an epoch between conformism and uproar. False ideas of yesterday furnish energy for the transformation - plants of misery. But at the same time, those under this shadow-regime who know that there is no more to lose than the eternity of loss are rising.

Time of insurrection gone? Realize a petty life through the prism of private happiness? Forget yourself to give life to dull commodities? Never was it more depressing than today to speak about normal life without feeling disgust.

Monstrous in these states of semi-consciousness is not the power but the voluntary assumption of powerlessness, beyond which everything should appear so complicated as to justify the totally idealistic complexity of a bunch of luke-warm conceptions. Opportunism is the sticky glue connecting social nothingness

with material nothingness - commodities. Pacifism terrorism, inwardness, mysticism. Categorical imperatives of survival. Guarantee of globally renewing values.

There is only one peace in this world, the peace of cemeteries, and only one life, the life of commodities. The rest is transcendence of this state. Therein all mystics will be found, all pacifism, terrorism running amok and the murmur of narcissism.

We express our disgust of these abominations, particularly of the demands which have often enough been made of us, to fit our radical perspectives, which are the global counterpart of this situation, into such a multiplicity of simplicities.

For us it remains evident that if we want to breathe freely, to experience ourselves totally, to at all constitute ourselves as individuals and if we want to begin our history, the first step necessary is a radical revolution. There are no other alternatives. Nobody has the freedom to choose, except in an illusory manner, between different malaises. Everyone faces misery, but the point is to end it.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION

The world has been changed, only to stay the same. By its own dynamics the society of spectacle has gone from the positive into the negative. Within this movement, in which society describes itself negatively, false criticism of it on the other hand swings from the negative into the positive.

The historically accumulated consciousness and the disappearance of the bourgeoisie as a class with the loss of its hegemony has produced a social state dominated by an illusionary consciousness about the reality of society.

Globally the world is in the process of transforming itself into a cybernetic society, which - after the feudal principle of domination and the principle of exploitation by the bourgeoisie - aims to put an end to the history of mankind by the principle of organization. Yet the absence of the social confirms the presence of the social question.

The spectacular admission that capitalism is not able to produce any social progress, both presupposes and has as a consequence that the stagnation, the social failure of this epoch is transferred more and more into the interior of the individual. This interior becomes the domain of false identity, where man exists as what he is not.

The objectivity of the commodity has become the nature of man, his passive subjectivity is his personal expression: pretended subjectivity as the ideology of the individual existing without a context. Nothing does more justice to this world than the psychologisation of life, the externalisation of the inner - the expropriation of

a possibly dynamic factor - and internalization of the outer. What remains is the individual as pure commodity.

In this way cybernetic thinking, the basis, of the new manner of production, is spreading universally; it is becoming social, while the social becomes cybernetic, and disintegrates.

BAD ETERNITY

Men relate to each other like things do and it is things which speak the language of men. Never can such a boring life be free from the shackles of constant justification designed to conceal alienation. Through the undermining of values the economy has lost its only real value: to be a way of thinking about a world which has become the dominant reality to such an extent that another one is hardly imaginable. Indeed alienation never stopped at the factory walls - with an aggression comparable to the expansion of commodities - it became more and more general, until it finally attacked the commodity by beginning to destroy commodity's carrier - man. In the same movement what has been said about labour became true for commodities: that the substance of concrete use, the aspect of use has become less important than the abstract usefulness, the aspect of exchange.

Although this world has made productivity to motto it proves to be an absolutely unproductive state, which has nothing to offer in exchange for all the renunciation it demands of man but commodity, the concrete form of social illusion. The economic way of thinking is nothing but the counterstrategy directed against flagging enthusiasm for consumption, the attempt counteract the scarcity of real innovations; it is the veiling of the fact that the precondition and the product of every economy is always renunciation.

DEAD VALLEY

At the edge of this world's dismembered consciousness grows the awareness of the fact that economy has lost its dynamics, is a heart grown cold, for which ecology is the promising impulse that the steam-engine was for the 18th century.

Within the ecological thinking the archaism of economy and reason is rediscovered and united anew. Its utopian ideas extend no farther than the reformistic lever which sets the wheel it pretends to stop in motion again. Ecological thinking proves to be tortured humanity among things, the humanity things acquire through the reason of use. Confronted with the loss caused by the alienated manner of production, the ecologists hope to purify the totally senseless by a moral effort.

THE FIFTH COLUMN IN THE LINE OF HIERARCHIC ALIENATION

Since 1968 the class-struggles have shattered the trade-unionist wage-idylls whose hegemony was choking the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat. As a result of the reemergent dynamics of social violence the trade-unionist and political variant of the abolition of class-struggle is a lost cause.

All attempts to renew the trade-unions fail to break out of the essence of trade-unionist existence: participatory defence of the wage-system as a recognition of the whole system. A good unionist is always a good policeman.

The State produces order to fill up the vacuum left by the destruction of the social, but it can give society only an imaginary guarantee. It enjoys the upper

hand where, by making use of the old ideological fetters which historical struggles in spite of their creative destructivity never fully abolished, it has been able to employ the historical action to its own advantage.

Everything is trembling in the midst of this reigning silence. The cybernetic power realizes Marx' conception of the slow extinction of the State - but already within capitalism; moreover it realizes all the conceptions of freedom which revolutionary thinking has abandoned because of their lack of radicality, in a society the domination of whose members is exerted multicentrally in and by every individual. The old centralism of power has become a determinant of its weakness.

The real star of the society of commodity is terrorism. There is no exemplary deed in it any more, since nothing can break through the passivity of the spectator. Only the ritual victim remains to guarant the happiness of others.

Terrorism destroys without being able to conquer; its essence is restauration.

THE LEGITIMISERS OF OBLIVION

In this creation of subjective resignation and state organization structuralism is the theoretical correspondence; the power of this thinking is only the official thinking of power, its whole poverty is concentrated in the historical abdication of the individual. For its creators, a few former specialists of ultra-leftist politics like Foucault, Glucksmann, Guattari etc., the results of ethnological ideology - that some tribes allegedly have no history - appear as a plausible explanation for the impossibility of acting in one's own history. Participation in the abolition of the revolution is the whole structuralistic project.

In the past epoch this abolition has been the task of a passion dissolved in commodities. From now on it is incumbent on consumers themselves, in particular the critical ones.

This is the degenerate character of a Left that draws its whole sense of identity from its defeats: unrestrained weakness oscillating between cult and self-pity.

The cultural commodity today reflects a monstrous domination of defeat; in its films and books it shows how to defend defeat against an unlived life, how to get by in such a situation.

THE FEUDAL-SOCIALIST LIE

The socialist bureaucracy is subject to the critique of the revolution which was initiated in 1921 by the sailors of Kronstadt. The revolutionaries here confront a power encasing itself in armour, which is promoting the technocracisation of the economy and at the same time insisting on central command. Thus the bureaucratic power presents an image of feudalistic structure, and forgoes its claim to be the guarantor of historical development.

The truth of the bureaucracy is not one of a degeneration, but one of a class constantly struggling for power. Like any other declining class it fights for survival without a net of utopian promise: on one hand the illusion that a bureaucratic power might modernise itself has been shattered since the occupation of Czechoslovakia by troops of the Warsaw Pact; on the other hand China, as the last bastion of a militant bureaucratic power, is emerging, after the downfall of its ultra-radical wing, from archaic ideological productivism into a modern commodity-economy. The formation of a second center has put an end to great schism within the uniform bureaucratic camp: from now on the differently developing bureaucracies will be concerned to defend their common ground.

The proletariat of these zones reward the treason of Leninism by strict absence from the interests of the State; this absence has led to a hollow society saved from implosion only by a sphere of hollow phrases.

KEEP IN STEP, REVOLUTIONARIES !

The futile and hopeless life, grey and everyday, apparently never ending, apparently never having begun, is doubtless the driving force impelling us to see a fulcrum for our lever precisely here. No modernity can abolish this state of universal misery and cultural stupefaction. Anybody who talks about everyday-life today without speaking of revolution carries a carcass on his tongue.

This world which saw us so full of life in 1968, hopes for oblivion, hopes to see us as a sceptical varnish on the melancholy lifeless picture it has become. Only we don't play this old charade, this desperation borrowed from afar.

We are as little a phantom as communism was in 1848. This world must be its own ghost now, while we are everything it lacks.

Against this totalitarian power, which by administering everything separates it and leaves it to exist in fragments, the Subrealists assert organized action as the starting-point of every revolutionary perspective against this world. An organized revolutionary axis is the field of a coherence which is missing everywhere, a coherence necessary to make a departure from the horizon of licensed opposition possible. Located in the historical process the essence of the organization is its becoming, and yet everything has to be expressed by its existence itself; each detail shows itself in its global and concrete truth. So the purpose of our alliance - as an historically determined means - is not to obviate history, but this alliance itself.

We are a main-office of non-oblivion, the negative office of history. We are not about to locate dispersed