

"A rectangular inner courtyard is bounded by a building that is roofed in by a never-ending stairway. The inhabitants of these living-quarters would appear to be monks, adherents of some unknown sect. Perhaps it is their ritual duty to climb those stairs for a few hours each day. It would seem that when they get tired they are allowed to turn about and go downstairs instead of up. Yet both directions, though not without meaning, are totally useless. Two recalcitrant individuals refuse, for the time being, to take any part in this exercise. They have no use for it at all, but no doubt sooner or later they will be brought to see the error of their nonconformity."
(Lithograph and text by M.C. Escher.)



Have a break...
University of York
ALTERNATIVE PROSPECTUS



Rowntree Mackintosh Limited York



MANIA

NO BIG DEAL

SOME COPIES OF LAST YEAR'S A.P. ARE LEFT.
THEY ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE ANARCHIST
GROUP AT 'THE STUDENTS UNION', UNIVERSITY
OF YORK, HESLINGTON, YORK.

GULP! NO WHACKING?
HOW WILL I KEEP THE LITTLE
MONSTER IN CHECK? I'LL HAVE
TO THINK UP OTHER
PUNISHMENTS!



When we repossessed £900 or so of the £10million or so that moves thru this university every year, & which is largely wasted in bad teaching, unnecessary research & general junketing, we did however cause something of a stir in the national press which we had not failed to estimate in our planning. Roughly, we know that it has to be best to say what you mean & fuck those who wouldn't like it. You can't expect to be well-loved if you try to keep sane in the temple to bourgeois mindlessness, the training ground for future gentle & not so gentle persuaders.

So when a prospective Tory candidate got hold of a pre-distribution copy of last year's Alternative Prospectus & complained to the national press, both he and we were quite happy with the free publicity. We were amused by the national press's unanimity over such a document of obscene Marxist ramblings, for we knew for a fact that none of the papers had actually seen a copy of the A.P. before they condemned it.

In case you didn't see last year's handout, what happened was that a loose group of feminists, socialists & anarchists, or some such, produced an equally loose compendium of critiques that exposed, by examples & close argument, the sham of the excellence of university education & life. With some sense of reality, of mediaconsciousness, they included some calculated obscenities - fuck, shit, cunt - how shocking to speak the language of daily life the nation's privileged school-leavers. To help the A.P. slip thru any censoring net at the schools it was packaged as a beautiful facsimile of the official propaganda, the York University Prospectus.

The illegal authorities who run the university were not amused. There can be no talking back to the masters. But national publicity meant that big business, the government and all those mummies & daddies might start to wonder if perhaps York University was somewhere not quite nice & under control. Customers & patrons might take their money elsewhere.

When it comes to any sort of confrontation the management of York University, the administrators & academics, come out in their true colours as bullies. The perpetrators of last year's A.P. must be caught & punished. The boat must not be rocked - & certainly nothing must change away from the university as a production line of 'civilised' zombies towards real education. So the A.P. at least kept the issues open & maintained some sort of a confrontation with illegal power.

We did not know, nor did we really care to know, exactly how many potential students we 'affected' (or disaffected) & nor did we care. We guessed that one of the smallest university expenditure of the year might have had the greatest qualitative effect of the year. When the shit hit the fan, we knew we had done some good by the extent of the reaction, & especially by the reactions of the 'authorities' of the university & of the Student Union bureaucrats. It became clear that many students here found their experience of the place affirmed & perhaps crystallised consciously by the A.P. We hope many school-leavers heard a few home truths about university life which might save them some of the pain of isolated despair in the face of totalitarian thought control which normally holds the propaganda field & presents itself as humane, liberal, excellent, civilised. We hope we told some of the true story of the system of intellectual repression, main-

tained by a class of oppressors. We didn't think we would change minds. But we know that the right word in the right ear at the right time can help make up minds.

So, no, the campus didn't undergo massive rioting & revolutionary activity. Nor did the government & bizniz withdraw its patronage spectacularly & new students stay away in droves. Roughly what happened was as follows: the Student Union Executive tried to get the editors/writers no confidence by the student body, which would then allow the University 'authorities' to 'discipline' them. But the students overwhelmingly endorsed the A.P. Many students at York thought it was a pretty good representation of what goes on. Meanwhile the academics of one department (English) picked on 'their' student involved & asked him to leave. When he wouldn't they said they might not be able to mark his degree work. Having thus blown their gaff they could hardly do anything less than give him a respectable degree, or he could have sued them on their own admittance of unfair marking. He got a good degree. The other department involved was asked to discipline 'its' student &, craftily, refused to. In the end they merely marked his final degree work right down & he failed his degree - having been set for a good degree until that autumn. Against the rules of the university this student was refused the possibility of resitting his exams next year. He may yet take this to law.

Finally, the 'authorities' thought they could trace the handiwork of a troublesome academic in that A.P. Unable to attack him openly, they got at him by breaking UCCA confidentiality on a friend of that academic. Secretly the university boss asked the department concerned (Sociology) to refuse entrance to that candidate, and, even though she was more than adequately qualified, that centre of liberal or socialist bullshit was very happy to keep her out of the university.

Last year's A.P., for all its faults in style, presentation & coherence, proved its value in the vindictive response it elicited from the nice 'authorities'. Perhaps the most important response was that, even before Thatcher got into power, the 'authorities' decided that they'd had enough trouble with Sociology, & decided to cut the department - initially by 1/3rd. The year before too many students had conspicuously failed their degrees from that department, & over the years too much trouble had come from that quarter. This is of some significance - for all its double-dealing, Sociology is still probably the most liberal department in the university. Clearly the university system will move to the right, favouring, in the 'Social Sciences', Tory Economics & fascist rat Psychology.

That A.P. & this A.P., then, are no big deals. But neither can they be dismissed as 'mere Marxist obscene ramblings'. The A.P. reveals that the truth polarises things, &, in its own little way, plays a part in that polarisation. Because of the last one we now know, for instance, that a recent boss of the university, a self-professed liberal & Christian, would allow premeditated murder in "certain circumstances", but not the writing of obscenities. Hopefully the fool would never command a gun, but he was elected by his obscene class to command the education of many young people.

The last A.P. said: "Fuck the bosses". This A.P. sees no reason to change its mind. Never trust the University. It represents Money & the State. It will lie & cheat. One day all the marvelous physical capital will belong to the people. But in the meantime the game of greed will intensify, & the A.P. would be failing in its duty if it did not warn you.

In a society dominated by the organisation of appearances the university is concerned, first and foremost, with its own image. The two letters from the Vice Chancellor show that this is his prime role ("I see one of my roles as being an ambassador") and concern for the 'contents' of the 'package' that he has been entrusted to look after and promote is secondary.

The V.C. is one of those who control this society, one of those who produce and organise the vast array of images and appearances - ranging from the obvious advertising, to that of a degree equaling 'knowledge'. Just as things are sold on account of their packaging and not what they ostensibly are, so universities must be seen as 'nice' places giving a 'good' education to 'responsible' students. As long as this image is believed the reality can continue unquestioned by admin. students and public alike. Anything that spoils or detracts from the image, even if it happens to be the 'contents' must be hidden.

Hence when the university held an Open Day in the middle of exam time - (attracting 8,000 visitors to look around the place i.e. the "imaginative landscaping" acclaimed in some 'Shell Guide of nice things') - nothing must spoil the day. When the poster - shown right - was put up in an attempt to get across the reality of exams (see p.24), for after all the aim of Open Day was to "show the university at work", they were immediately torn down by the administration. So much for freedom...but their image remained untarnished.

The V.C. found the posters obscene, while refusing to realise that most students find exams obscene. In destroying the posters the university showed its real character; liberal deception and disgust for what students really feel. His 'clear duty' was to protect the public and prospective students from the reality of student life, and to protect the good name of the University - the image must be kept sacred at all costs.

The second letter brings out even more clearly, in his concern for packaging, that he is the guardian of appearances, the custodian of images. We suggest that he takes more notice of the contents - both in this prospectus and in his (sic) university.

In reply to your letters about the removal of a poster on Open Day. I agree with you that for normal circumstances reasonable procedures are followed with regard to notices of all kinds. Open Day was not, however, a normal occasion for the notices in question were not posted until visitors to the University were already on campus. There was no doubt in my mind that the posters in question would have been grossly offensive to many people, would have greatly harmed the reputation of the University as a consequence and were indeed expressly designed to do so. In those circumstances there was no time to wait for usual procedures, as those putting up the posters at very short notice knew very well, and it was my clear duty to protect the public and the good name of the University by agreeing that they should be removed.

Yours sincerely,

A.B. Seal

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

TO: The President.....

FROM: The Vice-Chancellor.....

Students' Union.....

27 July 1979

Dear Mike,

Arising from our conversation about the Alternative Prospectus, I think I ought to say that I would be very distressed if the cover of that Prospectus was such as to lead to the possibility that it might be mistaken for the official University Prospectus by schools and other external bodies. I hope you will make sure that no such confusion will be caused.

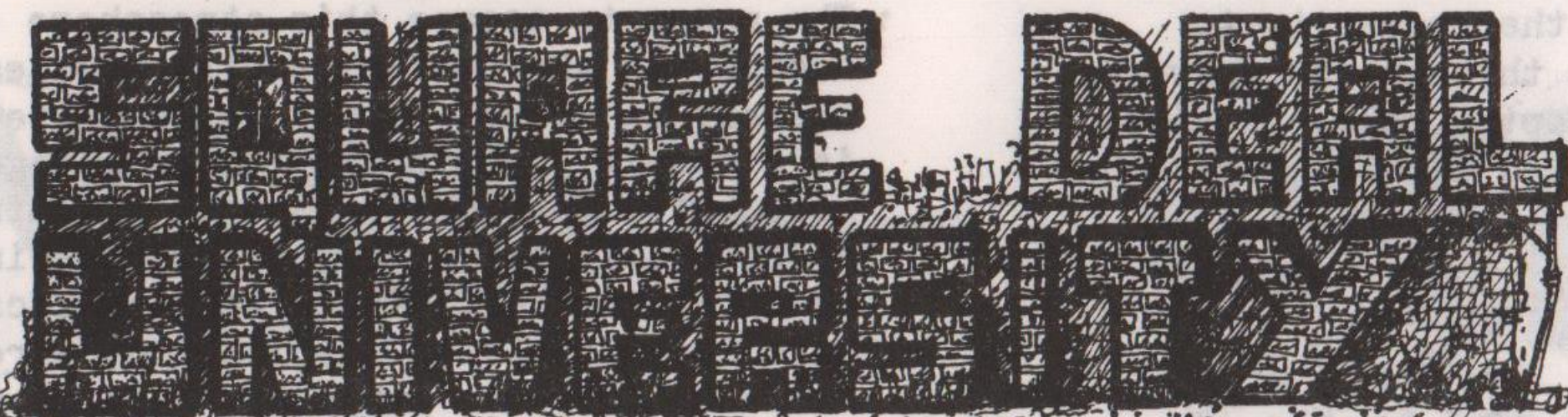
exam nerves causing
you tummy trouble ???



CLEAN UP YOUR
OWN BLOODY MESS

essay bank campaign against academics and students
- AN EASY LIFE FOR ALL -

2



These two, rather, different, views on the role of the 'supervisor' and the Undergraduate Office come from the (confidential) Staff Handbook and the official Prospectus. Yet another example of the 'double-talk' but quite an interesting one.

UNDERGRADUATE PROSPECTUS

On registration each undergraduate is assigned to a member of the relevant teaching department who, wherever possible, is a member of the same college and acts as his supervisor throughout his course. He is encouraged in the first instance to take all questions about university life and personal problems to his supervisor, who will do everything possible to help either personally or by calling upon other services concerned with student welfare (e.g. the Undergraduate Office, College Deans, Medical Centre), where expertise has been accumulated in handling a wide range of student problems.

An undergraduate meets his supervisor during the first few days of his course and thereafter is required to see him at the beginning and end of every term and at other appropriate times. It is hoped, however, that this formal contact will serve only as a framework and that each student will come to regard his supervisor as a personal friend with whom he can discuss difficulties at any time. Normally a supervisor will be an undergraduate's tutor for some part of his course so that he knows the student's academic work as well as being familiar with his personal interests and progress.

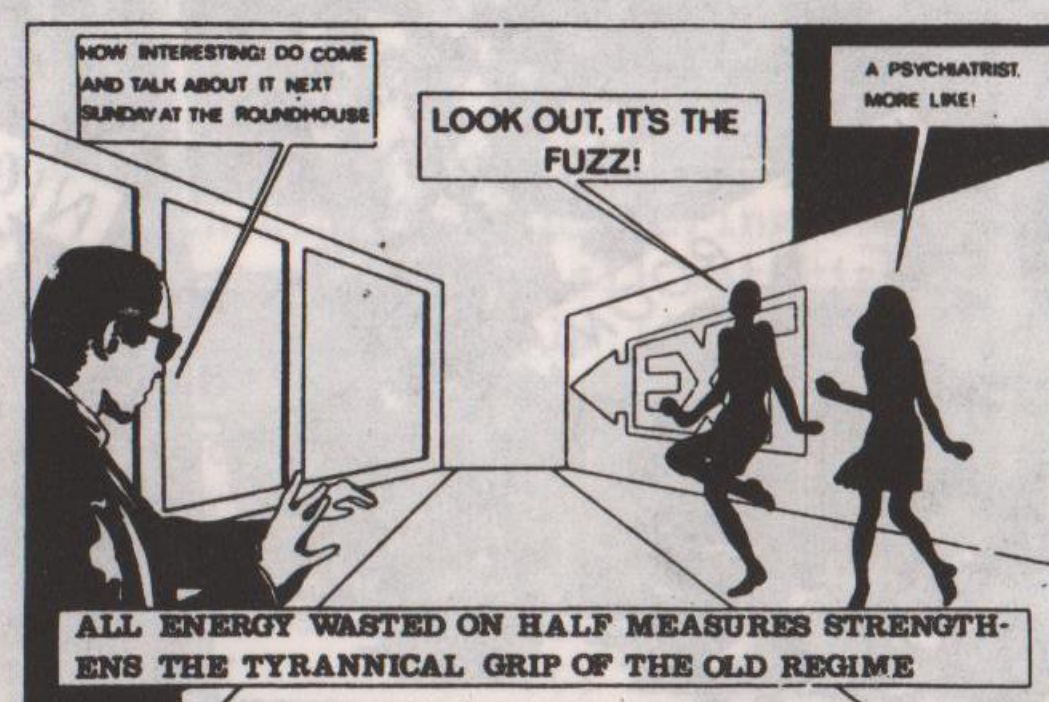
The supervisor is asked to take on the role of a personal friend. Yet at the same time s/he is expected to fulfill the role of secret policeman. Unjustifiably, medical opinion is used to assess the mental health of various students. This information is added to the student files. The supervisor is also expected to assess academic work and deal with disciplinary matters. Only the most schizophrenic of them could not fail to allow one affect the other.

Undergraduate Office

The Undergraduate Office is part of the Registrar's Department and deals with matters concerning undergraduate students. Close liaison is maintained with departments, supervisors and colleges on all aspects of student welfare, including the all-important matter of student grants. Considerable experience has been gained over a wide range of problems and students are welcome to call at any time to discuss any difficulty in complete confidence with a senior member of staff. Where appropriate he will put students in touch immediately with any other services they may need.

The false facade of the Undergraduate Office is presented to the student. The benevolent face of authority is shown as caring about important matters such as finance. You are urged to discuss your problems 'in complete confidence'. But a 'personal confidential file' is kept, and it may be 'inspected at any time'. Are the two compatible? The student finds it impossible to see part of his/her own file, let alone the whole of it. The liberal outcry about the misuse of psychiatric help is widespread, but in a 'liberal seat of learning' they have found that control is best kept by labelling protest 'deviance'.

"In the traditional psychiatric hospital today, despite the proclamation of progress, society gets the best of both worlds - the person who is 'vomited' out of his family, out of society, is 'swallowed up' by the hospital and then digested and metabolized out of existence as an identifiable person. This, I think, must be regarded as violence. The process of getting rid of someone is, of course, denied, usually by some form of assertion of the inherent peculiar badness and madness of certain individuals. This denial, which operates both in the family and in the wider society, is that most sterile, tortuous and yet all-pervasive piece of social illogic, the negation of negation." FROM 'PSYCHIATRY AND ANTI-PSYCHIATRY' BY DAVID COOPER (PALADIN)



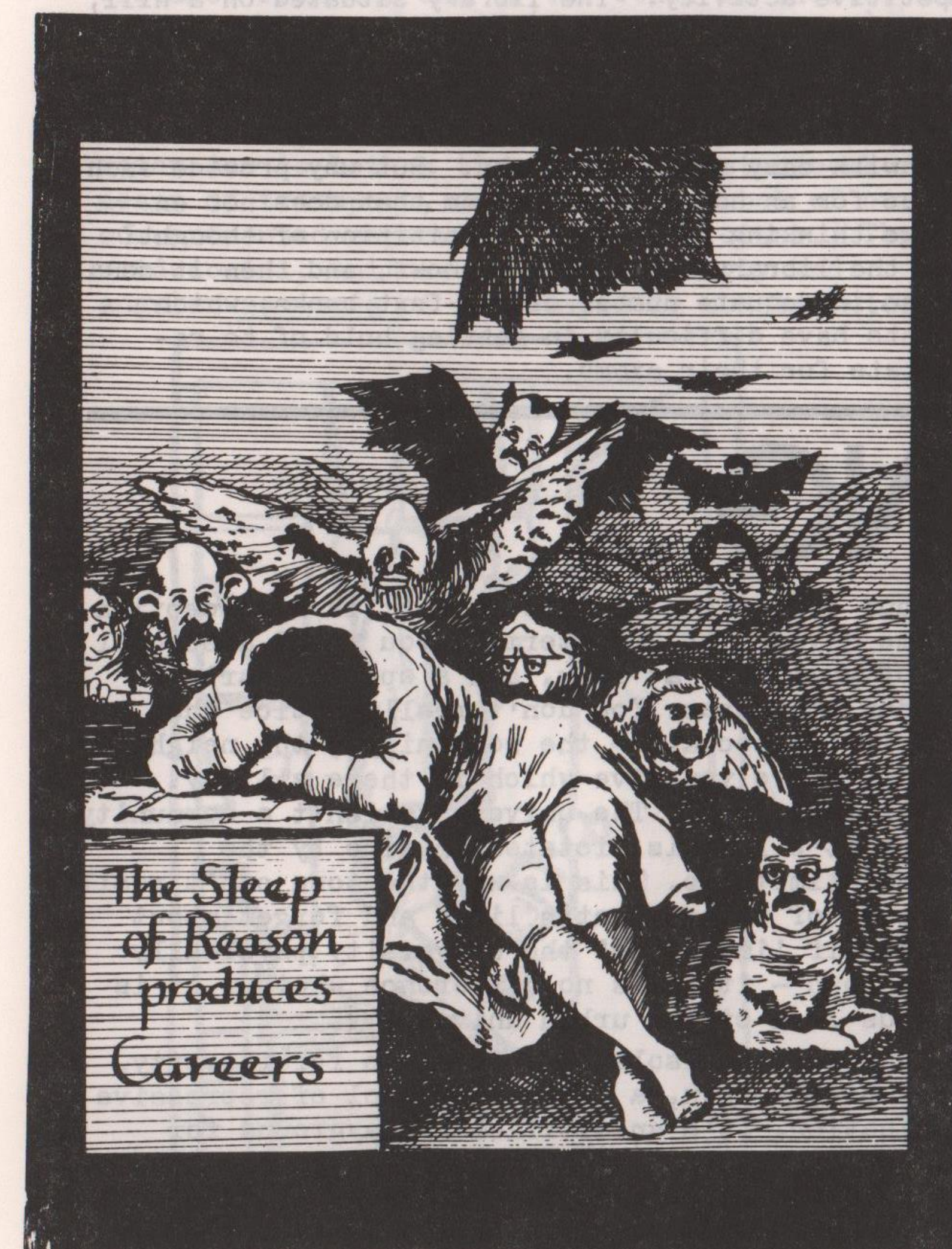
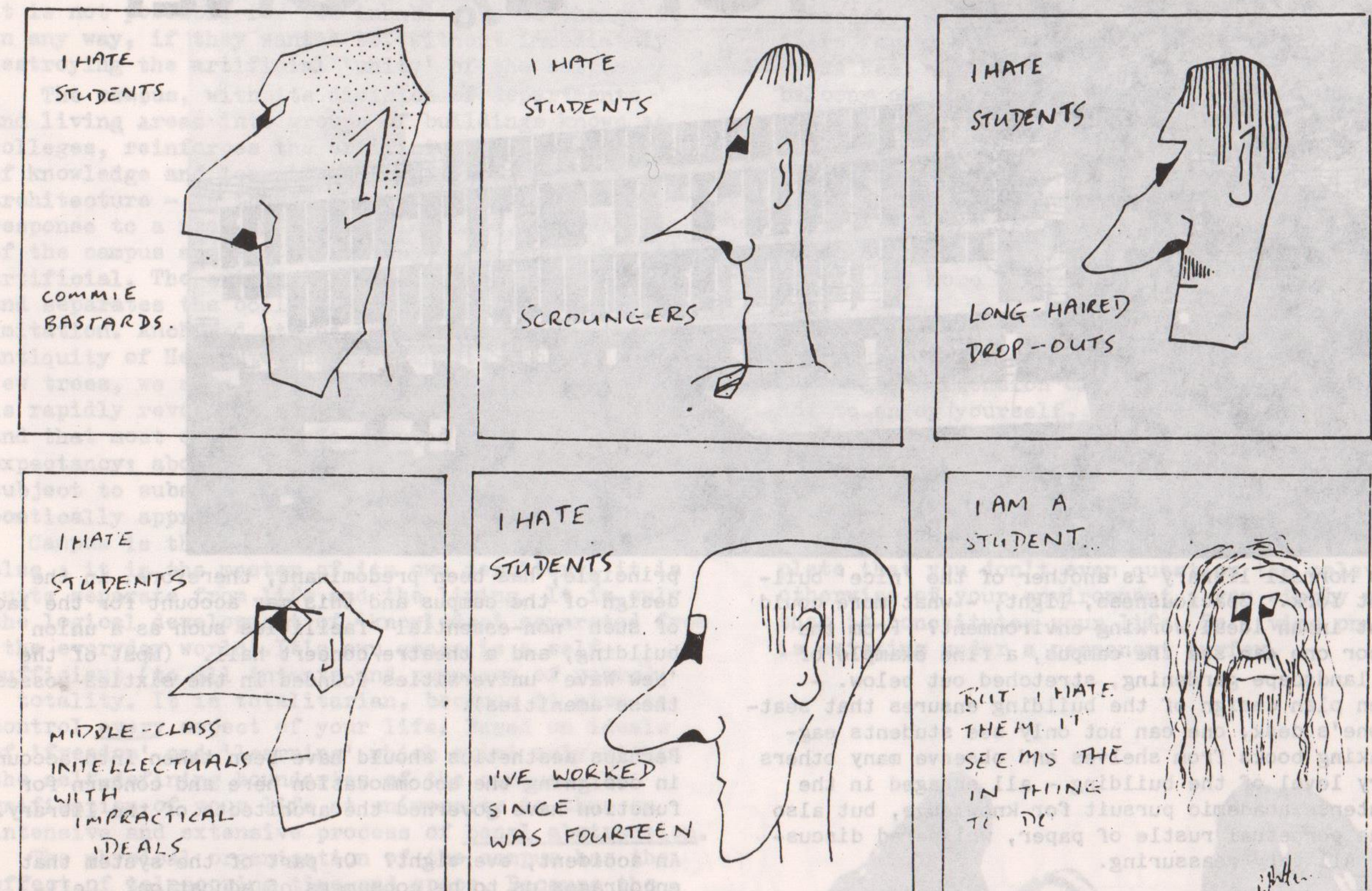
UNIVERSITY OF YORK

Staff Handbook

The supervisor is intended to be the person to whom his supervisees can turn for advice and help on any problem, whether academic or personal, and who will therefore take a particular interest in the students whom he is appointed to supervise. He is also consulted on disciplinary matters concerning his supervisees and is given certain specific responsibilities in the regulations on, for example, lodgings and undergraduate student residence.

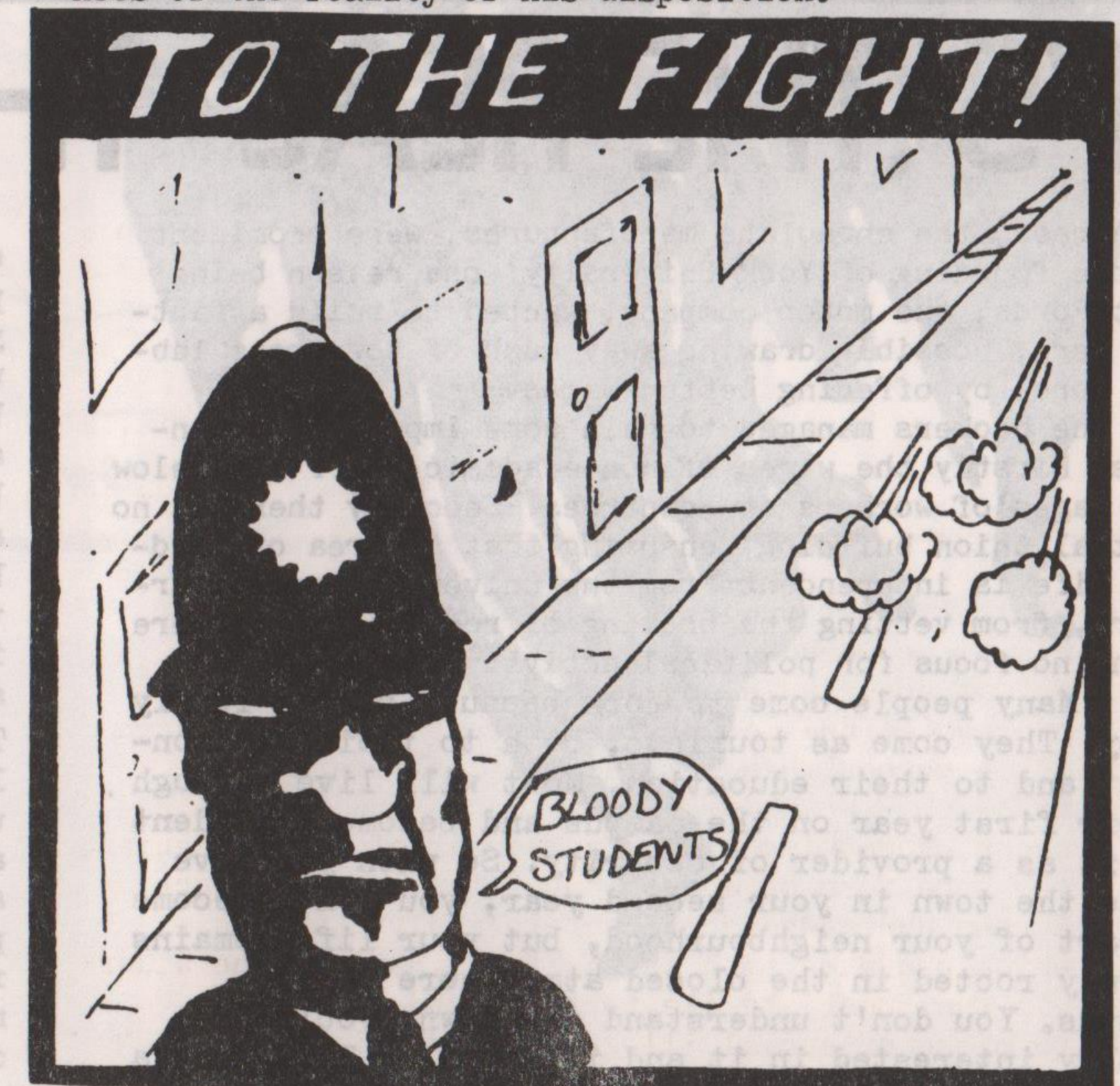
Access to consultant psychiatrist

As part of the general welfare provisions, Dr H. M. Klar, a consultant psychiatrist at Bootham Park Hospital, has agreed to advise members of staff if they need help in handling particularly difficult student problems.



Quotes from 'The Poverty of Student Life'.

"The student, if he rebels at all, must first rebel against his studies, though the necessity of this initial move is felt less spontaneously by him than by the worker, who intuitively identifies his work with his total condition. At the same time, since the student is a product of modern society just like Coca-Cola, his extreme alienation can only be fought through the struggle against this whole society. It is clear that the university can in no circumstances become the battlefield; the student, insofar as he defines himself as such, manufactures a pseudo-value which must become an obstacle to any clear consciousness of the reality of his disposition."



TOP 2% ONLY



The J B Morrell library is another of the 'nice' buildings at York. Spaciousness, light, - what more could one want in an ideal working environment? From the top floor one can see the campus, a fine example of modern landscape gardening, stretched out below. - The open plan design of the building ensures that seated at one's desk, one can not only see students eagerly taking books from shelves and observe many others at every level of the building - all engaged in the same intense academic pursuit for knowledge, but also hear the perpetual rustle of paper, whispered discussions. All very reassuring.

The library, then, has been designed according to the principle that the sight and sound of learning - near every section is visible from each level - and acoustics are better than Central Hall, is the important thing. The building is an anachronism in view of the strictly 'functional' design of most other facilities has been determined by the idea of a student as a unit with certain basic requirements, primarily food and shelter. These requirements are 'satisfied' by the provision of breeze block cells and a starch diet mostly consisting of chips. The welfare, material and psychological, of the individual units is sacrificed to a stark utilitarianism. The utility

principle, has been predominant, therefore, in the design of the campus and this may account for the lack of such 'non-essential' facilities such as a union building, and a theatre/concert hall. (Most of the 'New Wave' universities founded in the sixties possess these amenities).

Perhaps aesthetics should have been taken into account in designing the accommodation here and concern for function have governed the architects of the library.

An accident, oversight? Or part of the system that encourages us to be consumers of education? Cell-block rooms that turn 'studying' into an isolated and competitive activity. The library situated on a hill, becomes the focus of this consumption process, but is designed in such a way as to give the impression of a pleasant atmosphere, part of the pleasantness of a library - to provide a place where it is possible to think with easy access to books. But why provide such a place for an educational system that does not encourage thinking but merely a repetition of thought? Hence the library has very few books, and then it does have an inadequate number of set-text books, which students have difficulty in getting hold of to regurgitate for their exams.

IT'S THE REAL THING...

Rowntrees, the chocolate manufacturers, were prominent in the founding of York University: one reason being that Fords, the motor company, wanted to build a factory here, possibly drawing away much of Rowntrees labour force by offering better wages.

The backers managed to gain some important advantages. Firstly the wages of non-academic staff are below the wages of workers at Rowntrees. Secondly there is no central union building, ensuring that no area of student life is independent from the university administrators, from vetting the booking of rock bands to there being no focus for political activity.

Many people come to York because of the lovely city. They come as tourists, both to their environment and to their education. Most will live through their first year on the campus and become dependent on it as a provider of security. So when you move into the town in your second year, you don't become a part of your neighbourhood, but your life remains firmly rooted in the closed atmosphere of the campus. You don't understand the town, you're not really interested in it and its people. It's just a place where you can get food, beer, clothes and so on.

Your conception of life in York is a conception of time divided up into terms: you spend a special part of your time at York, and a special part of your day on campus. You don't really notice that which is 'unspecial' - the community, the neighbourhood where you live which is there all day and all year round. The university isn't a community because it's life is dictated in time by the academic timetable. This is why the town can't really be a part of the student's life: and forget about the idea of 'immersing' the university physically in the town - it makes no difference whether it is a campus or a civic, urban university.

The campus is an isolated substitute for the city. It's a pseudo-town, a pathetic symbol of repressive urbanisation. It's an artificial playground for adolescent children (students) and adolescent adults (academics). Kids from the town are the only people who make campus life seem like a part of reality; their subversiveness through play is recognised by the administration, which is now trying to discourage them.

University is distinctly a lived-in place, as

distinct from a living-place. It is an artificial place built for students, not actually made by students according to their own social requirements. It's atmosphere was purpose-built by a group of professional sociologists and architects. It's environment and surroundings are the result of such a degree of co-ordination and overall planning that it is not possible for its inhabitants to change it in any way, if they wanted to, without immediately destroying the artificial 'unity' of the campus.

The campus, with its division of departments and living areas into groups of buildings known as colleges, reinforces the artificial specialisation of knowledge and learning by making it concrete in architecture - as though the campus was built in response to a real and developing need, instead of the campus and its activities being equally artificial. The artificial lake which divides and separates the colleges is, literally, a shallow imitation. Anchored at one end to the reassuring antiquity of Heslington Hall, with its ancient Yew trees, we sometimes forget that the campus site is rapidly reverting to the marsh it originally was, and that most of the prefabricated buildings (life expectancy: about another twenty years) are now subject to subsidence and structural decay. How poetically appropriate..!

Campus is the place where learning happens, nowhere else: it is the master of its own territory, it is quite separate from life and the living. It is only the logical development of 'knowledge' separated from 'the everyday world'. It's own space is a self-sufficient (to all intents and purposes of yours) totality. It is totalitarian, because it aims to control every aspect of your life. Based on ideals of 'freedom' and 'learning' which exist only within the self-defining boundaries of the campus, the unification of your life at university is thus an intensive and extensive process of banal abstraction.

The physical organisation of the campus has the effect of telescoping time and space. Because the campus sets itself up as a social totality, the distance from one end to the other is shorter and quicker than in reality (the world outside.) This suppression of time and geography corresponds to an increased separation and isolation of the individuals who live there (just as, in the city, the motor-car is both a time-saving, distance-shortening means of transport, and also the symbol of our compartmented separation from each other.) The nondescript, uniform, repressive, ugly and angular sameness of the campus is complemented by



"AND HERE WE SEE A TYPICAL STUDENT AT WORK IN HIS SPACIOUS STUDY-BEDROOM... COAS!"

its division into identical compartments, the college blocks and rooms: that is to say, we are forced into uniformity at the same time as we are kept in isolation. The personality of the individual is absolutely restricted to the four walls of a college cell.

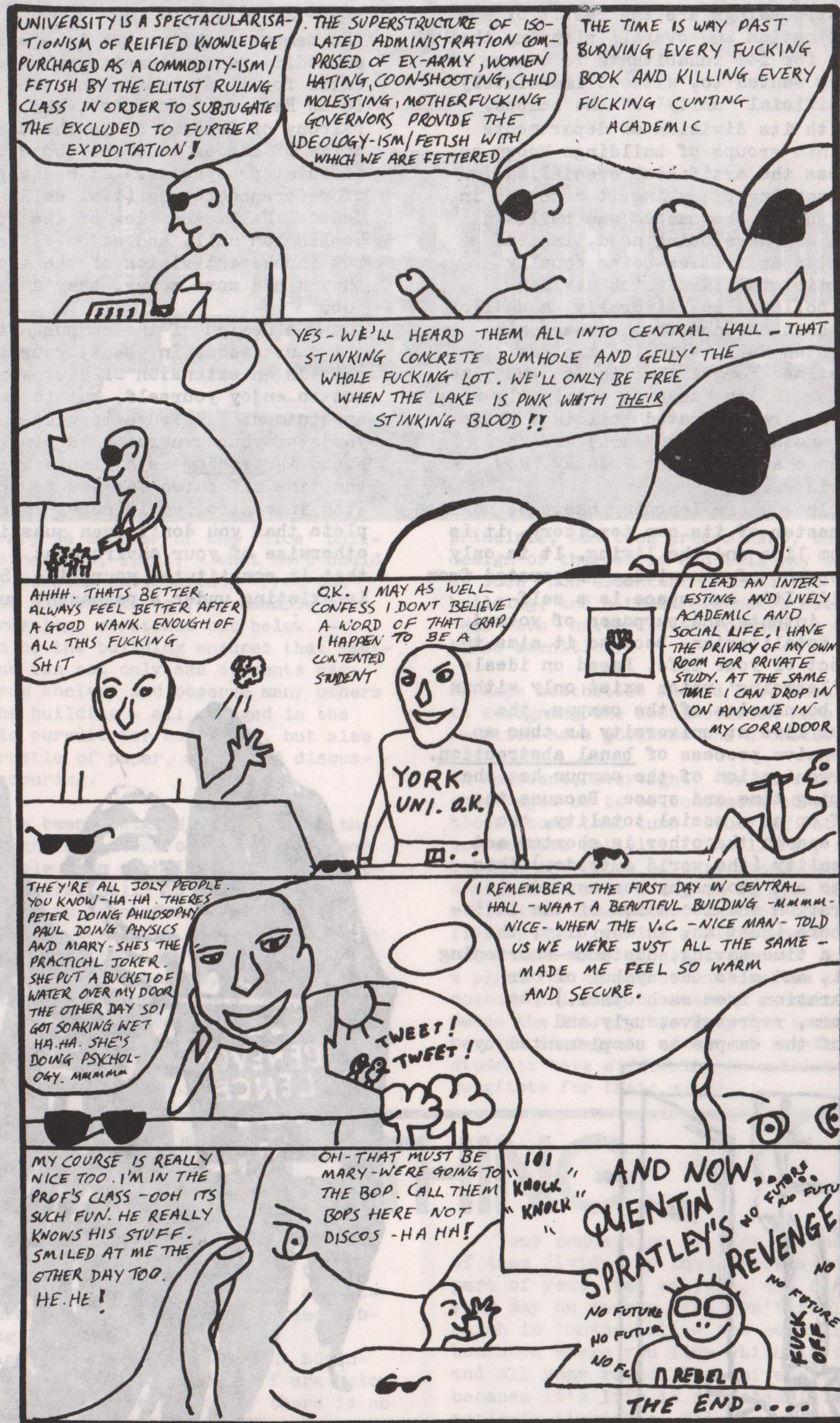
The campus architecture is a self-advertising commodity, a spectacular sales-gimmick. Everyone falls for it at once. Hence the slogan, "Architecture is as Real as Coca-Cola", which was painted on the balcony of Central Hall. The campus is an eye-catching array of images (see the photographs in the official prospectus.) It has a planned, fixed number of reference-points (i.e. selling-points); the lake, Central Hall, the view of the Upper Lake from Heslington Hall, and so on. It's a persuasive but incoherent vision of the totality of space. If they'd had more money, they'd have done a better job.

The design of the campus anticipates and controls all your needs. In space, your movement around the site is an extension of your work - you take a walk, not to enjoy yourself, but to get to your next appointment: leisure is what happens within a few yards of your own room. In time, every minute you spend in freedom is a minute guiltily stolen from the time allocated for you to spend working or spending in controlled leisure. This control is so complete that you don't even question the relevance or otherwise of your environment: you simply accept that it constitutes your life. So living on campus is existing under a permanent curfew.

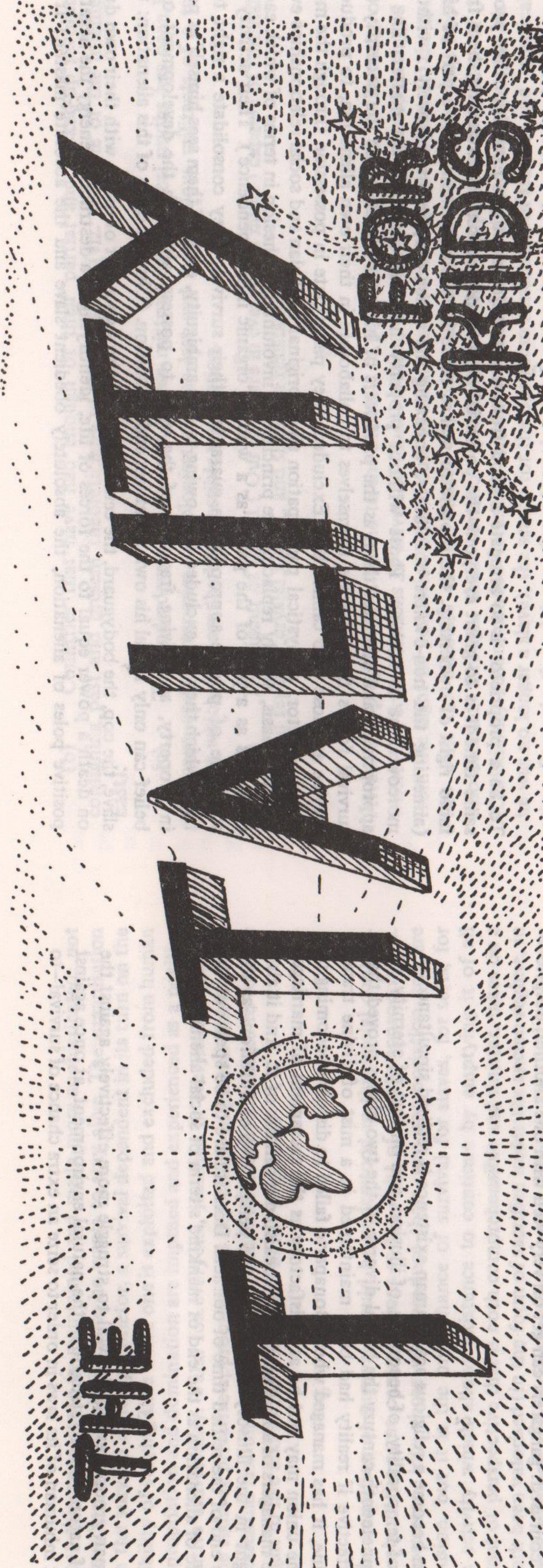


Wizard of Oz to the Straw Man:

"Why anyone can have a brain, thats a very mediocre commodity. Back where I come from we have universities, seats of great leaning, where men go to be great thinkers, and when they come out they think deep thoughts - and with no more brain than you have. But they have got one thing that you haven't:- a diploma."



University of York
**NO
ADMITTANCE**



"...even the most mediocre intelligence will understand (this text) by the third attempt..."

We reprint this text because it looks to be the first (and hence, logically, the last) complete statement of that group of revolutionary agitators known as the Situationist International. We use it as it appears in Chris Gray's translated compendium *Leaving the 20th Century* - the incomplete work of the Situationist International, Free Fall Publications, 1974. This is at present out of print.

The S.I. did no more than express "what everybody knew" in the decade or so leading up to the events in France in 1968. But that expression both predicted and created the conditions for the first fully national sign of the revolution of the wage- and salary-slaves of modern, passive, apathetic, consumer, spectacular society. The massive strikes and occupations that stopped the economy of a seemingly successful 'post-industrial' society were novel in the conditions that generated them and in their leadership and goals. A modern proletariat rebelled against not only the capitalist masters but also the traditional 'leadership' of those brokers of labour power, the union and party Marxist bureaucrats. The successes and failures of May '68 are down to a situationist attitude that found its most coherent and consistent voice and practice thru the S.I. This can be seen particularly as the disruptions on the Nanterre campus moved into Paris, and as the street fighting there sparked the general strike and occupations.

Everything kids might want to know. The *Totality* summarises history to date, and, by means of philosophy undercuts philosophy much as Marx performed the same job for the 19th century. True speech speaks of itself as it speaks of the world - it understands itself as both product of and creator of the world of which it speaks. This is something capitalist and state capitalist (party Marxist) culture finds very difficult or illegal. Lies and secrecy are the communicative forms of greed. Since party Marxists are not out to abolish state power but to grab it and further impose it, few so-called Marxists actually follow the spirit of Marx's openly reflexive writings.

Rather, East or West, we are swamped with (mis-)information issued Godlike by Authorities - Scientists, Experts, Artists, Intellectuals, Directors, Politicians, Bureaucrats - whose last object will be the revelation of the motivated nature of their monological pronouncements. They aren't about to preface each lie with the phrase: "Of course, I speak as a member and/or agent of the class of bosses..."

Dialectical writing such as this needs, apart from a sense of humour (and time), a way of reading quite different than that demanded by our school systems and the general culture. Because it is abstract it can speak to anyone who can be bothered to listen to it and speak back. The general culture insists on a speedreading scan for bits of information that are generally either false or fantastic. Revolutionary writing - which is to say any that involves the reader and hence affects his life - invites you to travel at the snail's pace of conversation, with you, the reader supplying one side to the story, taking the normal detours, asking the questions, perhaps finding some of your own answers...

The Totality for Kids

Almost everyone has always been excluded from life and forced to devote the whole of their energy to survival. Today, the welfare state imposes the elements of this survival in the form of technological comforts (cars, frozen-foods, Welwyn Garden City, Shakespeare televised for the masses).

Moreover, the organisation controlling the material equipment of our everyday lives is such that what in itself would enable us to construct them richly, plunges us instead into a luxury of impoverishment, making alienation even more intolerable as each element of comfort appears to be a liberation and turns out to be a servitude. We are condemned to the slavery of working for freedom.

To be understood, this problem must be seen in the light of hierarchical power. Perhaps it isn't enough to say that hierarchical power has preserved humanity for thousands of years as alcohol preserves a goetus, by arresting either growth or decay. It should also be made clear that hierarchical power represents the most highly evolved form of private appropriation, and historically its alpha and omega. Private appropriation itself can be defined as appropriation of things by means of appropriation of people, the struggle against natural alienation engendering social alienation.

Private appropriation entails an organisation of appearances by which its radical contradictions can be dissimulated. The executives must see themselves as degraded reflections of the master, thus strengthening, through the looking-glass of an illusory liberty, all that produces their submission and their passivity. The master must be identified with the mythical and perfect servant of a god or a transcendence, whose substance is no more than a sacred and abstract representation of the totality of people and things over which the master exercises a power which can only become even stronger as everyone accepts the purity of his renunciation. To the real sacrifice of the worker corresponds the mythical

by Raoul Vaneigem. first appeared in the journal *International Situationist* Nos 7 & 8. 1962 - 63. Translated by Chris Gray. This print by the *@lternative prospectus*, York University Student Union, 1979. Communications to: *Existential-Marxist Group*, the Student Union, York University, Heslington, YORK, England.

sacrifice of the organiser, each negates himself in the other, the strange becomes familiar and the familiar strange, each is realised in an inverted perspective. From this common alienation a harmony is born, a negative harmony whose fundamental unity lies in the notion of sacrifice. This objective (and perverted) harmony is sustained by myth; this term having been used to characterise the organisation of appearances in unitary societies, that is to say, in societies where power over slaves, over a tribe, or over serfs is officially consecrated by divine authority, where the sacred allows power to seize the totality.

The harmony based initially on the 'gift of oneself' contains a relationship which was to develop, become autonomous and destroy it. This relationship is based on partial exchange (commodity, money, product, labour force . . .) the exchange of a part of oneself on which the bourgeois conception of liberty is based. It arises as commerce and technology become preponderant within agrarian-type economies.

When the bourgeoisie seized power they destroyed its unity. Sacred privative appropriation became liacised in capitalistic mechanisms. The totality was freed from its seizure by power and became concrete and immediate once more. The era of fragmentation has been a succession of attempts to recapture an inaccessible unity, to shelter power behind a substitute for the sacred.

A revolutionary movement is when 'all that reality presents' finds its immediate representation. For the rest of the time hierarchical power, always more distant from its magical and mystical regalia, endeavours to make everyone forget that the totality (no more than reality!) exposes its imposture.

1

Bureaucratic capitalism has found its legitimate justification in Marx. We are not concerned here with assessing the role of orthodox marxism in reinforcing the structures of neocapitalism, whose present reorganisation testifies to the greatest respect for Soviet totalitarianism. The point is to stress the extent to which Marx's most profound analyses of alienation have been vulgarised in the most commonplace facts, which, robbed of their magic and embodied in every gesture, have become the sole substance, day after day, of the lives of a growing number of people. Bureaucratic capitalism contains the self-evident truth of alienation; it has brought it home to everybody far more successfully than Marx could ever have hoped to do. It has become commonplace as the disappearance of material poverty has merely revealed the mediocrity of existence itself. The extent of our impoverishment may have been reduced in terms of mere material survival, but it has become more profound in terms of our way of life—at least one widespread feeling that dissociates Marx from all the interpretations imposed by a degenerate Bolshevism. The 'theory' of peaceful coexistence has spelt it out to those who were still confused: gangsters can get on very well with one another, despite their spectacular divergences.

2

'Any act', writes Mircea Eliade, 'can become a religious act. Human existence is realised simultaneously on two parallel planes, on that of temporality, of becoming, of illusion, and on that of eternity, of substance, of reality.' During the nineteenth-century the brutal divorce of the two planes proved that power would have been more effective if reality had been maintained in a mist of divine transcendence. To give reformism its due, it has managed where Bonaparte failed to dissolve becoming in eternity and reality in illusion; the union may not be as satisfactory as the sacrament of marriage, but it lasts, and that's the most the managers of social peace and coexistence can ask of it. And it also leads us to define ourselves—caught in the illusory but inescapable perspective of duration—as the end of abstract temporality, as the end of the reified time of our acts. Does it have to be spelt out: to define ourselves at the positive pole of alienation as the end of mankind's term of social alienation?

3

The socialisation of primitive human groups reveals the will to struggle more effectively against the mysterious and terrifying forces of nature. But to struggle in the natural environment, at once against and with it, to submit to the most inhuman of its laws in order to seize an extra chance of survival—to

importance to the exploiter that this appearance is maintained and made more sophisticated: not because he is especially machiavellian but simply because he wants to stay alive. The organisation of appearances is dependent on the survival of the proprietor, a survival dependent in its turn on the dispossessed, it creates the possibility of staying alive while one is exploited and excluded from human life. Thus, initially, privative appropriation and domination are imposed and experienced as a positive right, but in the form of a negative universality. Valid for everyone, justified in everyone's eyes by divine law or natural reason, the right of privative appropriation is objectified in general illusion, in a universal transcendence, in an essential law under which everyone, individually, manages to tolerate the limits assigned to his own right to live and to the conditions of life in general.

6

The function of alienation as the condition of survival should be understood in this social context. The labour of the dispossessed obeys the same contradictions as the right of private appropriation. It transforms them into the possessed, into those who produce their own appropriation and are responsible for their own exclusion, but it is the only chance of survival for slaves, for serfs, for workers—so much so that the activity which allows existence to continue by emptying it of all content finally, through a reversal of perspective that is both comprehensible and sinister, takes on a positive sense. Not only has work been valorised (in the form of sacrifice under the ancien regime, in its brutalising aspects in bourgeois ideology and in the so-called popular democracies), but moreover, from a very early stage, to work for a master, to alienate oneself with the best will in the world, became the honourable—and virtually indisputable—price of survival. The satisfaction of basic needs remains the best safeguard of alienation; it is best dissimulated on the grounds of its 'necessity'. Alienation multiplies needs because it can satisfy none; today, lack of satisfaction is measured in numbers of cars, fridges, t.v.s: the alienating objects have lost the ruse and the mystery of transcendence, they are there in their concrete poverty. To be rich today is to possess the greatest number of impoverished objects.

So far, surviving has stopped us living. This is why the impossibility of survival is so important. That it is impossible can only become more and more obvious as comfort and overabundance of the elements of survival reduce life to a single choice: suicide or revolution.

7

The sacred even presides over the struggle against alienation. As soon as the violence of the relationship between exploiter and exploited is no longer concealed by the panoply of mysticism, the struggle against alienation is suddenly revealed as a ruthless hand-to-hand-fight with naked power, discovered in its brutal strength and its weakness, a vulnerable giant whose slightest wound confers on the aggressor the notoriety of an Erostratus; since power survives, the event remains ambiguous. Destruction—sublime moment when the complexity of the world becomes tangible, transparent, within everyone's grasp, revolts for which there can be no expiation—those of the slaves, of the Jacques, of the iconoclasts, of the Enrages, of the Federes, of Kronstadt, of Asturias, and—a promise of things to come—the hooligans of Stockholm and the wildcat strikes . . . Only the destruction of all hierarchical power will allow us to forget these. We intend to make sure that it does.

The deterioration of mystic structures and their slowness to regenerate themselves have not only made possible the prise de conscience and the critical penetration of insurrection. They are also responsible for the fact that once the 'excesses' of revolution are past the struggle against alienation is grasped on a theoretical plane, as an extension of the demystification preceding revolt. It is then that revolt in its purest and most authentic features is re-examined and disavowed by the 'we didn't really mean to do that' of theoreticians whose job it is to explain an insurrection to those who created it, to those who intend to demystify by acts, not just by words.

All acts opposing power today call for analysis and tactical development. Much can be expected of:

(a) The new proletariat, discovering its penury amidst abundant consumer goods (viz. the development of the working-class struggles beginning in England; equally, the attitudes of rebel youth in all the highly industrialised countries).

do this could only engender a more evolved form of aggressive defence, a more complex and less primitive attitude, manifesting on a more evolved level the contradictions that the forces of nature, which could be influenced while they could not be controlled, never ceased to impose. As it became social, the struggle against the blind domination of nature succeeded in the measure that it gradually assimilated primitive and natural alienation, but in another form. Alienation became social in the struggle against natural alienation. Is it by chance that a technical civilisation has developed to the point where social alienation has been revealed by its conflict with the last areas of natural resistance that technical power hadn't managed (and for good reasons) to destroy? Today the technocrats propose to put an end to primitive alienation: overcome with brotherly love, they exhort us to perfect the technical means which 'in themselves' would enable us to conquer death, suffering, sickness and boredom. But the miracle wouldn't be to get rid of death, the miracle would be to get rid of suicide and the desire to be dead. There are ways of abolishing the death penalty which make one miss it. Until now the specific application of technics to society, while reducing quantitatively the number of occasions of suffering and death has allowed death itself to eat like a cancer into the heart of life.

4

The prehistoric period of food gathering was succeeded by the period of hunting during which the clans formed and struggled to ensure their survival. Hunting-grounds and reserves were established and used for the benefit of the group as a whole. Strangers were banned absolutely as the welfare of the whole clan depended on the observation of its boundaries. So that the liberty won by settling more comfortably in the natural environment, by more effective protection against its hazards, itself engendered its own negation outside the frontiers laid down by the clan and forced the group to moderate its customary activities by organising its relations with excluded and menacing tribes. From the moment it appeared, economic survival on a social basis engendered boundaries, restrictions and conflicting rights. It should never be forgotten that until now both our own nature and the nature of history have been produced by the development of private appropriation: by a class, a group, a caste or an individual seizing control of a collective power of socio-economic survival, whose form is always complex, from the ownership of land, of territory, of a factory, of capital, to the 'pure' exercise of power over men (hierarchy). Even beyond the struggle against regimes whose vision of paradise is the cybernetic welfare state, lies the necessity of a still vaster struggle against a fundamental and initially natural condition in the development of which capitalism plays only an episodic role, and which will only disappear with the last traces of hierarchical power; or else, of course, the 'marcassins de l'humanite'.

5

To be a proprietor is to arrogate a good from whose enjoyment one excludes other people; at the same time it is to grant everyone the potential right of possession. By excluding them from the de facto right of ownership, the proprietor makes those he excludes themselves a part of his property (annexing the non-owners absolutely, annexing the other proprietors relatively): without whom, moreover, he is nothing. Those without property have no choice in the matter. The proprietor appropriates and alienates them as the producers of his own power, while the necessity of physical survival forces them despite themselves to collaborate in their own alienation, to produce it. They survive as those who cannot live. Excluded, they participate in possession through the mediation of the proprietor, a mystical participation since originally all clan and social relationships evolved on a mystical basis, slowly replacing the principle of involuntary cohesion in terms of which each member functions as a part of the group as a whole ('organic interdependence'). Their activity within the structure of private appropriation guarantees their survival. They consolidate a right to property from which they are excluded and, owing to this ambiguity, each of them sees himself as participating in property, as a living fragment of the right to possess, although the development of any such belief can only reveal his own exclusion and possession. (Chronic cases of this alienation: the faithful slave, the cop, the bodyguard, the centurion, who through a sort of union with their own death confer on death a power equal to the forces of life, identifying in a destructive energy the negative and the positive poles of alienation, the absolutely obedient slave and the absolute master.) It is of vital

(b) Countries that have had enough of their partial and tricked-up revolutions and are consigning past and present theoreticians to the museum (viz. the role of the intelligentsia in the East).

(c) The underdeveloped nations, whose mistrust of technical myths has been kept alive by the cops and mercenaries of colonisation, the last and over-zealous militants of a transcendence against which they are the best possible vaccination.

(d) The vigour of the SI ('Our ideas are in everyone's mind') capable of forestalling remote-controlled revolts, 'crystal nights', and sheepish resistance.

8

Privative appropriation is bound to the dialectic of particular and general. In the realm of the mystic, where the contradictions of slave and feudal systems dissolve, the dispossessed excluded in particular from the right of possession endeavours to assure his survival through his labour: the more he identifies with the interests of the master the more successful he will be. He only knows the other dispossessed through their common predicament: the compulsory surrender of labour force (Christianity recommended voluntary surrender: once a slave offered his labour 'of his own accord' he was no longer a slave), the search for the optimum conditions of survival and mystical identification. Struggle, though born of a universal will to survive, is engaged on the level of appearances where it brings into play identification with the desires of the master, and introduces a certain individual rivalry of the masters amongst themselves. Competition will develop on this plane for as long as a mystical opacity continues to envelope the structure of exploitation, and for as long as the conditions producing this confusion continue to exist; or, alternatively, for as long as the state of slavery determines consciousness of the state of reality. (By objective consciousness we still understand consciousness that is conscious of being an object.) The proprietor, for his part, is forced to acknowledge a right from which he alone is not excluded but which, however, is apprehended on the level of appearance as a right valid for each of the excluded taken individually. His prerogatives depend on this belief, and on it a strength which is essential if he is to hold his own amongst the other proprietors; it is his strength. If, in his turn, he seems to renounce the exclusive appropriation of everything and everybody, if he seems to be less a master than a servant—a servant of the public good, a defender of the faith—then his strength is crowned with glory and renown and to his other privileges he adds that of denying on the level of appearances—the only level of reference of unilateral communication—the very idea of personal appropriation. He denies that anyone has this right, he repudiates the other proprietors. In the feudal perspective, the proprietor is not integrated in appearances on the same level as the dispossessed, slaves, soldiers, functionaries, servants, etc. The lives of the latter are so squalid that the majority can only live as a caricature of the Master (the feudal, the prince, the major-domo, the task-master, the high priest, God, Satan . . .). Yet the master himself is also forced to play the part of a caricature. He can do so without especial effort: his imitation of total life is already caricatural, completely isolated as he is among those who can only survive. He is already one of our own kind, with the added grandeur of a past epoch, with its strength and its nostalgia. He too was waiting, just as we are waiting today, longing for the adventure where he could become one with himself, where he could find himself once more on the pathway to his total perdition. Could the master, at the moment he alienates the others, suddenly realise he was only an exploiter, a purely negative being. This is neither likely nor desirable. By ruling the greatest possible number of subjects doesn't he allow them to stay alive, doesn't he offer them their only hope? (Whatever would happen to the workers if someone didn't employ them? as Victorian 'thinkers' liked to ask.) In fact, what the proprietor does is to exclude himself officially from all claim to private appropriation. To the sacrifice of the dispossessed, who through his work exchanges his real life for an apparent one (for the life that stops him killing himself and allows the master to kill him instead), the proprietor replies by appearing to sacrifice his nature as proprietor and exploiter; he excludes himself mythically, he puts himself at the service of everyone and of myth (at the service, for example, of God and his people). With an additional gesture, with an act whose gratuity bathes him in an other-worldly radiance, he gives renunciation its pure form of mythical reality: renouncing common life, he is the

poor man amidst illusory wealth, he who sacrifices himself for everyone while other people only sacrifice themselves for their own sake, for the sake of their survival. He turns his predicament into glory. The more powerful he is the more spectacular his sacrifice. He becomes the living reference point of the whole of illusory life, the highest point which can be reached in the scale of mythic values. Withdrawn 'voluntarily' from more common mortals, he is drawn towards the world of the gods and, on the level of appearances (the only general level of reference), it is faith in his participation in the divinity which consecrates his position in the hierarchy of the other proprietors. In the organisation of transcendence, the feudal—and, through osmosis, the proprietors of power or of production material, in varying degrees—is led to play the principal role, the role he really does play in the economic organisation of the survival of the group. So the existence of the group is bound on every level to the existence of the proprietors as such, to those who, owning everything since they own everybody, also force everyone to renounce their lives on the pretext of their own renunciation, absolute and divine. (From the god Prometheus punished by the gods to the god Christ punished by men, the sacrifice of the proprietor becomes vulgarised, loses its sacred aura, is humanised.) Myth unites proprietor and dispossessed. It envelops them in a common form where the necessity of survival, as an animal or as a privileged being, forces them to live on the level of appearances and under the inverted sign of real life, which is that of everyday praxis. We are still there, waiting to live before or after a mystique against which our every gesture protests in its very submission.

9

Myth, the unitary absolute in which the contradictions of the world find an illusory resolution, the harmonious-constantly harmonised vision that reflects and strengthens order—this is the sphere of the sacred, the extra-human zone where, among so many other wonderful revelations, the revelation of private appropriation is not to be found. Nietzsche was very much to the point when he wrote: 'All becoming is a criminal emancipation from eternal being, and its price is death.' The bourgeoisie claimed to replace the pure Being of feudalism with Becoming, while in fact all it did was to deconsecrate Being and to reconsecrate Becoming to its own advantage; it elevated its own Becoming to the status of Being, no longer that of absolute property but that of relative appropriation: a petty democratic and mechanical Becoming, with its notion of progress, of merit and of causal succession. The life of the proprietor hides him from himself; bound to myth by a pact of life or death he can only become conscious of his own positive and exclusive enjoyment of any good through the lived appearance of his own exclusion—and isn't it through this mythic exclusion that the dispossessed will discover the reality of their own exclusion? He accepts the responsibility of a group, he assumes the proportions of a god. He submits himself to its benediction and its punishment, he swathes himself in his austerity and wastes away. The master is the model of the gods and the heroes, the face of the proprietor is the true face of Prometheus and of Christ—the face of all those whose spectacular self-sacrifice has made it possible for 'the vast majority of men' to continue to 'sacrifice themselves to an extreme minority, to their masters. (Analysis of the proprietor's sacrifice should be worked out more subtly: isn't the case of Christ really the sacrifice of the proprietor's son? If the proprietor can only seem to sacrifice himself on the level of appearances, then Christ stands for the real immolation of his son when the circumstances leave no other alternative. As a son he is only a proprietor at an early stage of development, an embryo, little more than a dream of future property. In this mythic dimension belongs the celebrated remark of the journalist Barres at the moment when the 1914 war had made his dreams come true at last: 'Our youth, as is fitting, has gone to yield our blood.') This rather distasteful little game, before it took its place in the museum of rites and folklore, knew a heroic period when kings and tribal chieftains were ritually put to death according to their 'will'. Historians assure us that these august martyrs were soon replaced by prisoners, slaves and criminals. They may not get hurt any more, but they've kept the halo.

10

The concept of a common fate is based on the sacrifice of proprietor and dispossessed; in other words, the concept of the human condition is embodied by an ideal and tormented image whose function is to resolve the irresolvable opposition between the mythical sacrifice of a minority and the

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house of a hanged man. Since the key of will-to-live has been lost, we have wandered through the corridors of an endless mausoleum . . . Those who still accept their exhaustion, their squalor and stagnation can imagine they just couldn't care about life as easily as they can fail to see a living denial of their despair in each of their everyday gestures, a denial which should make them despair only of the penury of their own imagination. These images, as though life had fallen into a trance, offer a field of possibilities with the conquering and the conquered animal at one pole and the saint and the pure hero at the other. The smell in this shithouse is really too much. The world and man as representation reek of carrion, and there's no longer any god around to turn the butchery into beds of lilies. After all the ages men have died having accepted without appreciable change the answers of the gods, of nature, of biology, it wouldn't be unreasonable to ask if we don't die because so much death comes, and for specific reasons, into every moment of our lives.

Privative appropriation can be defined essentially as the appropriation of things by means of the appropriation of people. It is the spring and the troubled water where all reflections mingle and blur. Its field of action and of influence, spanning the whole of history, seems to have been characterised until now by being based on a double determination of behaviour: by an ontology founded on self-negation and sacrifice (its subjective and objective aspects respectively) and by a fundamental duality, a division between particular and general, between individual and collective, between private and public, between theoretical and practical, between spiritual and material, between intellectual and manual, etc., etc. The contradiction between universal appropriation and universal expropriation postulates that the master has been seen for what he is and isolated. This mythic image of terror, impotence and renunciation occurs to slaves, to servants, to all those who cannot stand to go on living as they are; it is the illusory reflection of their participation in property, a natural illusion since they really do participate in it through the daily sacrifice of their energy (called pain or torture in antiquity, and labour or work today) since they themselves produce the property which excludes them. The master himself can only cling to the notion of work-as-sacrifice, like Christ to his cross and his nails; it is up to him to authenticate sacrifice, to appear to renounce his right of exclusive enjoyment and no longer to expropriate with a purely human violence (violence without mediation). The grandeur of the gesture obscures its initial violence, the nobility of sacrifice absolves the warrior, the brutality of the conqueror shines in the light of a transcendence whose reign is immanent, the gods are the intransigent guardians of law, the cantankerous shepherds of the meek and law-abiding flock of 'being and Wanting-to-be-Proprietor'.

The gamble of transcendence and the sacrifice entailed are the masters' greatest achievement, their most accomplished submission to the necessity of conquest. Anyone, be he brigand or tyrant, who intrigues for power unpurified by renunciation will sooner or later be tracked down and killed like a mad dog, or even worse—like someone who pursues no other ends than his own and whose conception of 'work' has been formed without giving a damn what anyone else may think. Troppmann, Landru, Petiot, balancing their budget without taking into account the defence of the Free World, the State or human 'dignity', never stood a sporting chance. Freebooters, gangsters, outlaws, refusing to play by the rules of the game, disturb those whose conscience is at peace (whose consciousness is a reflection of myth) but the masters when they kill the criminal or enrol him as a cop re-establish the omnipotence of 'eternal truth': those who don't sell themselves lose their right to survive and those who do sell themselves lose their right to live. The sacrifice of the master is the matrix of humanism, and let it be understood once and for all that this makes humanism the grotesque negation of all that is human. Humanism is the master taken seriously at his own game, acclaimed by those who see his apparent sacrifice as a reason to hope for salvation and not just the caricatural reflection of their own real sacrifice. Justice, dignity, honour, liberty . . . these words that yap or squeal, are they any more than household pets whose masters have calmly awaited their homecoming since the time when heroic domestics fought for the right to walk them on the street? To use them is to forget that they are the ballast which allows power to rise, to rise out of reach. A future regime might well decide against promoting sacrifice in such universal forms and begin to track these words down and to wipe

real sacrifice of everyone else. The function of myth is to unify and make immortal, in a succession of static instants, the dialectic of 'will-to-live' and its negation. This universally dominant factitious unity attains its most tangible and concrete representation in communication, particularly in language. Ambiguity is most obvious on this level, it reveals the absence of real communication, it leaves the analyst at the mercy of ridiculous phantoms, at the mercy of words—eternal and changing instants—whose content changes with the person who uses them, just as the notion of sacrifice does. When language is put to the test it can no longer dissimulate the basic misunderstanding and the crisis of participation becomes inevitable. The traces of total revolution can be followed through the language of a period, always menacing and never fulfilled. They are intoxicating and chill signs of the tumult they foreshadow, but who is prepared to take them seriously? The discredit striking language is as deep rooted and instinctive as suspicion towards myths—not that everyone doesn't remain as fond of them as ever. How can key-words be defined by other words? What phrases can show the signs giving the lie to the phraseological organisation of appearances? The best texts still await their justification. Only when a poem by Mallarmé becomes the sole reason for an act of revolt will the relationship between poetry and revolution lose its ambiguity. To await and prepare for this moment is not to manipulate information as the last shock-wave whose significance escapes everyone, but as the first repercussion of an act still to come.

11

Born of man's will to survive the uncontrollable forces of nature, myth is a policy of public welfare which has outlived its necessity. It has consolidated itself in its tyrannical strength, reducing life to the sole dimension of survival, denying it as movement and totality.

Attacked, myth will unify all that attacks it. It will engulf and assimilate it sooner or later. Nothing can withstand it, no image, no concept that attempts to destroy the dominant spiritual structures. It reigns over the expression of facts and lived experience, on which it imposes its interpretative structure (dramatisation). Private consciousness is the consciousness of lived experience which finds its expression on the level of organised appearances.

Myth is sustained by rewarded sacrifice. As every individual life is based on its own renunciation, lived experience must be defined as sacrifice and recompense. As a reward for his asceticism, the initiate (the promoted worker, the specialist, the manager—new martyrs canonised democratically) receives a niche carved in the organisation of appearances. He is made to feel at home in alienation. But collective shelters disappeared with unitary societies, and all that's left today is their concrete translation as a public service: temples, churches, palaces . . . memories of a universal protection. Shelters are private nowadays and even if their protection is far from certain there can be no mistaking their price.

12

'Private' life is defined primarily in a formal context. Obviously it is created by the social relationships based on privative appropriation, but its essential form is created by the expression of these relationships. Universal, beyond opposition but always opposed, this form makes appropriation a right acknowledged universally from which everyone is excluded, a right to which renunciation is the only access. If it fails to break free of the context imprisoning it (a secession which is called revolution) the most authentic experience can only become conscious, can only be expressed and communicated by a movement of inverting the sign by which its fundamental contradiction is dissimulated. In other words, if any positive project fails to revitalise the praxis of radical overthrow of the conditions of life—conditions which, in their entirety, are those of privative appropriation—then it will not stand the slightest chance of escaping the negativity that reigns over the expression of social relationships: it will be recuperated in inverse perspective, like the image in a mirror. In the totalising perspective in which it conditions the whole of everybody's life, and in which its real and its mythic power can no longer be distinguished (both being real and both mythic) the movement of private appropriation has made negativity the only possible form of expression. Life in its entirety is suspended in a negativity which erodes it and defines it formally. To talk of life today is like talking of rope in the

them out; if so one could well foresee the left-wing engaged in one more plaintive battle of words whose every phrase extols the 'sacrifice' of a previous master and calls for the equally mythical sacrifice of a new one (a left-wing master, a power mowing down workers in the name of the proletariat). Bound to the notion of sacrifice, humanism is born of the fear of both masters and slaves: it is the solidarity of a shitscared humanity. But those who have rejected all hierarchical power can use any word as a weapon to beat out the rhythm of their action. Lautreamont and the illegal anarchists were well aware of it; so were the Dadaists.

Thus, the appropriator becomes a proprietor from the moment he puts the ownership of people and of things in the hands of God, or of a universal transcendence, whose omnipotence streams down on him as a grave sanctifying his slightest gesture. To oppose the proprietor thus consecrated is to oppose God, Nature, the nation, the people. In short, to exclude oneself from the world in its entirety. 'There can be no question of governing and even less of being governed', writes Marcel Havrenne so prettily; for those who add violence to his humour, there can no longer be either salvation or damnation, there can be no position in the universal comprehension of things, neither with Satan, the great recuperator of the faithful, nor in any form of myth since they are the living proof of its redundancy. They were born for a life yet to be invented; insofar as they lived it was on this hope that they finally came to grief.

Two corollaries of the singularisation of transcendence:

(a) If ontology implies transcendence, any ontology justifies a priori the being of the master and of hierarchical power wherein the master is reflected in degraded, more or less faithful images.

(b) Upon the distinction between manual and intellectual work, between practice and theory, is superimposed the distinction between work-as-real-sacrifice and its organisation in the form of apparent sacrifice.

It is tempting to explain Fascism—amongst other reasons—as an act of faith, an auto-da-fé of a bourgeoisie haunted by the murder of God and the destruction of the great sacred spectacle, vowing itself to the Devil, to an inverted mysticism, a black mysticism with its rituals and holocausts. Mysticism and high finance.

It should never be forgotten that hierarchical power cannot exist without transcendence, ideologies and myths. Demystification itself could be turned into a myth: it would be sufficient to 'omit', most philosophically, active demystification. After which all demystification, separated hygienically little pieces, becomes painless, euthanatic, in a word, humanitarian. Were it not for the movement of demystification which will end by demystifying the demystifiers.

14

When the bourgeois revolutionaries attacked the mythical organisation of appearances, they attacked, quite despite themselves, not only the keypoints of unitary power but the keypoints of any hierarchical power whatsoever. Can this inevitable mistake explain the guilt-complex so typical of bourgeois mentality? The mistake was undoubtedly inevitable.

In the first place a mistake because once the cloud of lies dissimulating private appropriation was pierced, myth itself disintegrated and a vacuum was revealed which could only be filled by poetry and delirious liberty. Certainly orgiastic poetry to date has not destroyed power. Its failure is easy to explain and its ambiguous signs reveal the blows struck at the same time as they heal the wounds. Historians and aesthetes can keep their collections: one has only to pick at the scab of memory and the cries, words and gestures of the past make the whole body of power start to bleed freshly once more. The whole organisation of the survival of memories will not stop them being forgotten as soon as they come to life again and begin to dissolve in experience; the same applies to our survival in the construction of our everyday lives.

An inevitable process: as Marx showed, the appearance of exchange value and its symbolic substitution by money split open a radical crisis latent in the heart of the unitary world. Commodities

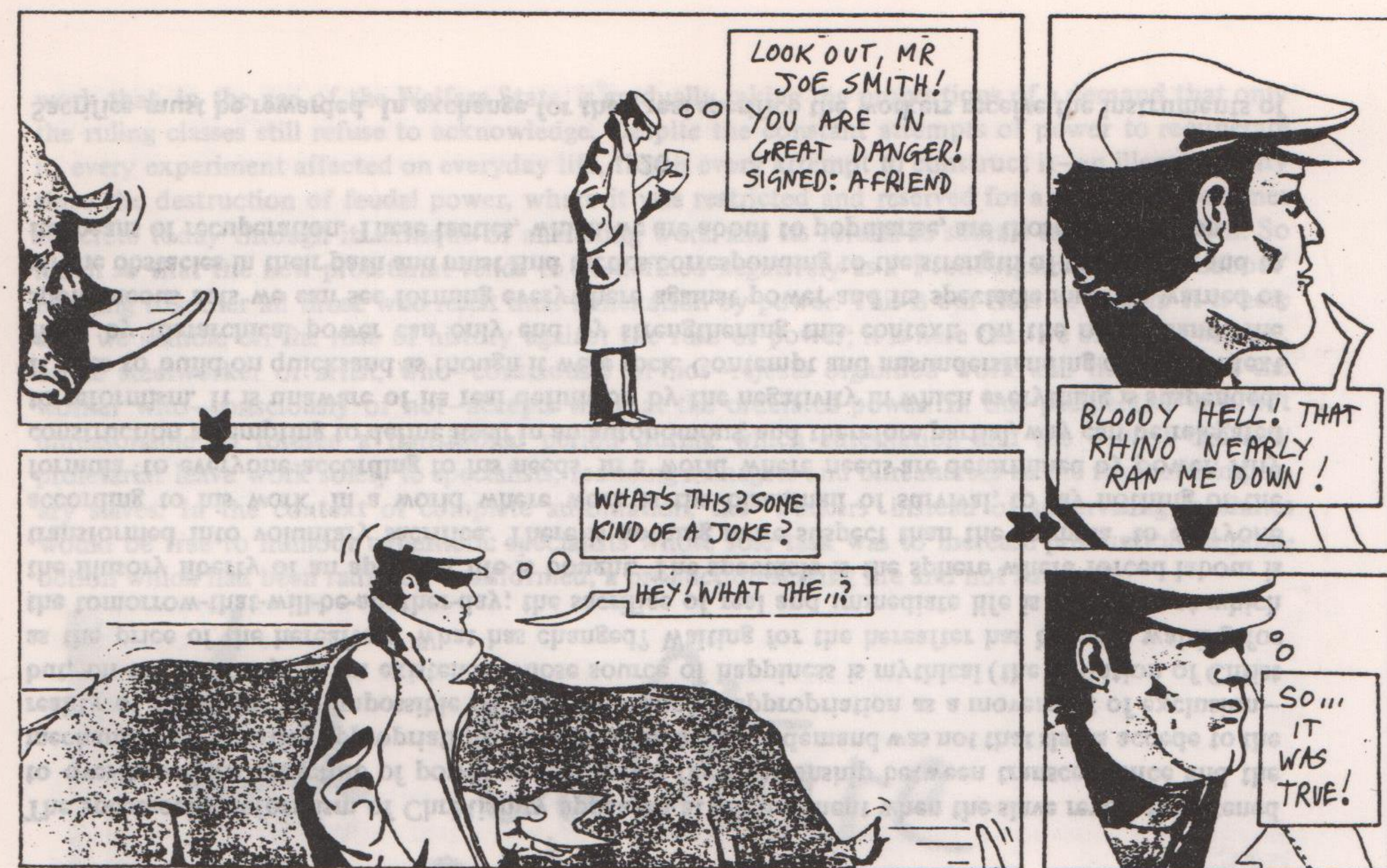
introduced a universal character into human relationships (a dollar bill represents all I can buy with this sum) and an egalitarian character (equal things are exchanged). This 'egalitarian universality' partly escapes both the exploiter and the exploited while both accept it as a common measure. They discover themselves face to face, no longer confronted in the mystery of divine birth and ascendance, as the nobility once was, but in an intelligible transcendence, that of the Logos, a body of laws that can be understood by everybody, even if any such understanding remains cloaked in mystery. A mystery with its initiates, first of all priests, struggling to maintain the Logos in the limbo of divine mysticism, soon yielding to philosophers then to technicians both their position and the dignity of their sacred mission. From Plato's Republic to the cybernetic state.

Thus, under the pressure of exchange value and technology (which could be called the 'do-it-yourself-mediation-kit'), myth was gradually liacised. However two facts are to be noted:

(a) As the Logos frees itself from mystic unity it affirms itself at once in and against it. Upon magical and analogical structures of behaviour are superimposed rational and logical structures which negate while conserving them (mathematics, poetics, economics, aesthetics, psychology, etc.).

(b) Each time the Logos or the 'organisation of intelligible appearances' becomes more independent it tends to break away from the sacred and to become fragmented. As such it presents a double danger to unitary power. We have already seen that the sacred expresses the seizure of the totality by power, and that anyone wanting to accede to the totality must do so through the mediation of power: the interdict striking mystics, alchemists, gnostics is sufficient proof. This also explains why power today 'protects' specialists, in whom it can sense—but without really trusting

DANGER IN THE STREET



FROM - Metal Hurlant No. 16, 1977

the sacred) decanted and became solid as soon as the sacred stopped acting as a catalyst. Their materiality was revealed and, as the capricious laws of economy succeeded those of providence, the power of men began to appear behind the power of the gods. Today, endless roles correspond to the mythical role everyone once played under the divine spotlights. Though their masks are human faces, they still force both actor and extra to deny their real life, to fulfil the dialectic of real and mythical sacrifice. The spectacle is nothing but deconsecrated and fragmented myth. It forms the armour of a power (which could also be called essential mediation) that is exposed to every blow once it no longer succeeds in dissimulating in the cacaphony where all cries drown one another out and become harmonious, the nature of privative appropriation. And just how much shit it heaps on everyone.

Roles have become impoverished in the context of a fragmentary power eaten away by deconsecration just as the spectacle betrays its impoverishment in comparison with myth. They betray its mechanisms and its artifice so clumsily that power, to defend itself against popular denunciation of the spectacle, has no alternative but to denounce it first itself. Even more clumsily it changes actors and ministers, it organises pogroms of putative or prefabricated producers of the spectacle (agents of Moscow, Wall Street, the judeocracy or les deux cent families). Which is to say that the whole cast has been forced to become hams, that style has been replaced by manner.

Myth, as an immobile totality, encompassed all movement (the pilgrimage, for example, as fulfilment and adventure within immobility). On the one hand the spectacle can only conceive the totality by reducing it to a fragment inserted in a series of fragments (psychological, sociological, biological, philological, mythological visions of the world), while, on the other hand, it is situated at the point where the movement of deconsecration converges with the attempt to reconstitute. Thus it can only succeed in imposing immobility within the movement of reality, the movement changing it despite its resistance. In the era of fragmentation, the organisation of appearances makes movement a linear succession of immobile instants (this progress from notch to notch is perfectly exemplified by Stalin's 'diameter'). Under what we have called 'the colonisation of everyday life', the only possible change is change of fragmentary roles. In terms of more or less inflexible conventions one is successively:

them—the missionaries of a reconsecrated Logos. There are historic signs that testify to the attempts made within mystic unitary power to found a rival power asserting its unity in the name of the Logos: amongst which, Christian syncretism, the psychological explanation of God, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Aufklärung.

The masters who tried to retain the unity of the Logos were well aware that only unity can stabilise power. Examined closely, their efforts have not been as vain as the fragmentation of the Logos in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries would seem to prove. In the general movement of atomisation, the Logos has been broken down into specialised techniques (physics, biology, sociology, paprology, etc., etc.) but at the same time the need to re-establish the totality has become more and more imperative. It should never be forgotten that an all-powerful technocratic power could now begin to plan the totality: the Logos would succeed myth as the seizure of the totality by a future unitary (cybernetic) power. In this perspective, the vision of the Encyclopaedists (strictly rationalised progress stretching into the indefinite future) would only have known a period of indecision lasting two centuries before its realisation. This is the direction in which the Stalino-cyberneticians are preparing the future. In this perspective, peaceful co-existence should be seen as the basis of totalitarian unity. Everyone must realise that they have already rebelled.

15

We know the battlefield. The problem now is preparing for battle. Otherwise the pataphysician, armed with his totality without a technique, and the cybernetician, armed with his technique without a totality, will consummate their political coitus. And they will be duly blessed.

From the point of view of hierarchical power, myth could only be deconsecrated if the Logos was reconsecrated or if at least its deconsecrating elements were reconsecrated. To attack the sacred was at the same time to liberate the totality, thus to destroy power. But the power of the bourgeoisie, broken, impoverished, constantly harassed, maintains a relative stability by its use of this ambiguity: technology, which deconsecrates objectively, appears subjectively as an instrument of liberation. Not a real liberation, which could only be won by deconsecration—that is to say, by the end of the spectacle—but a caricature, an ersatz, an induced hallucination. What the unitary vision of the world transferred to the beyond (the image of elevation), fragmentary power inscribes in a future state of increased well-being (the image of the pro-ject), of tomorrows-that-will-be-another-day, but which will really be no more than today multiplied by the number of gadgets to be produced. From the slogan 'Live in God' we have gone on to the humanistic motto 'Survive as long as you can', which means 'Stay young at heart and you'll live a long time'.

Myth, deconsecrated and fragmented, loses its grandeur and its spirituality. It becomes an impoverished form, retaining former characteristics but revealing them as something concrete, brutal and tangible. God doesn't run the show any more and until the day of the Logos takes over, armed with technology and science, the spectres of alienation will materialise everywhere, sowing disorder in their path. Pay attention to them: they are the first manifestations of a future order. We must start to play from this moment if the future is not to be ruled by the principle of survival or if even survival itself is not to become impossible (the hypothesis of humanity destroying itself). And with it, obviously, the whole experiment of constructing everyday life. The vital objectives of struggle for the construction of everyday life are the key-points of all hierarchical power. To construct one is to destroy the other. Caught in the vortex of deconsecration and reconsecration, essentially we stand for the negation of the following elements: the organisation of appearances as a spectacle where everyone denies themselves; the separation on which private life is based since it is there that the objective separation between proprietors and dispossessed is lived and reflected on every level; and sacrifice. The three are obviously interdependent, just as their opposites—participation, communication, realisation. The same applies to their context—non-totality (a bankrupt world, a controlled totality) and totality.

16

The human relationships previously dissolved in divine transcendence (in the totality crowned by

citizen, father, sexual partner, politician, specialist, businessman, producer, consumer. Yet what supervisor doesn't feel watched himself? You may get a fuck, but you'll always get fucked. The proverb is universal.

The epoch of fragmentation has at least eliminated all doubt on one point: everyday life is the battlefield where the battle between the totality and power takes place, power using all its strength to control it.

What do we demand in pitting the power of everyday life against hierarchical power? We demand everything. We have taken our place in the general conflict stretching from domestic squabbles to revolutionary war and we have gambled on the will to live. This means we must survive as anti-survivors. Fundamentally we are only concerned with the moments when life shatters the glaciation of survival (whether these moments be unconscious or theorised, historic—like the revolution—or personal). But we must realise we are also prevented from following the course of these moments freely (apart from the moment of revolution itself) not only by the general repression exercised by power but also by the exigencies of our own struggle, of our tactics, etc. It is equally important to find the means of balancing this additional 'percentage of error' by widening the scope of these moments and by showing their qualitative importance. Our remarks on the construction of everyday life cannot be recuperated by cultural or sub-cultural establishments (New Left Review, etc., thinkers with three weeks paid holiday) for the very good reason that all situationist ideas are no more than the development of acts attempted constantly by countless people to try and prevent another day being no more than twenty-four hours of wasted time. Are we an avant-garde? If we are, to be avant-garde means to keep abreast of reality.

17

It's not the monopoly of intelligence we hold but that of its use. Our position is strategic, we are at the heart of every possible conflict. The qualitative is our force-de-frappe. People who half understand this review ask us for an explanatory monograph thanks to which they will be able to convince themselves they are intelligent and cultured—that is to say, idiots. Someone who gets fed up and chucks it in the gutter has more sense. Sooner or later it will have to be understood that the words and phrases we use are still outdated by reality. The distortion and clumsiness of the way we express ourselves (that someone with taste called, not inaccurately, 'a somewhat irritating kind of hermetic terrorism') comes from our central position on the ill-defined and shifting frontier where language sequestered by power (conditioning) and free language (poetry) fight out their complex war. To those who can't keep up with us we prefer those who reject us impatiently because our language isn't yet authentic poetry—the free construction of everyday life.

Everything related to thought is related to the spectacle. Almost everyone lives in a state of terror at the possibility they might awake to themselves and their fear is carefully kept alive by power. Conditioning, the poetry of power, has subjected so much to its control (all material equipment belongs to it: the press, television, stereotypes, magic, tradition, economy, technics—what we call sequestered language) that it has almost succeeded in dissolving what Marx called the non-dominated sector of nature to replace it by another (viz. our identikit picture of 'the survivor'). Lived experience, however, cannot be reduced to a series of empty configurations with such facility. Resistance to the exterior organisation of life, to the organisation of life as survival contains more poetry than any volume of verse or prose, and the poet, in the literary sense of the word, is the person who has sensed or understood that this is so. But the life of any such poetry hangs on a thread. Certainly, as the Situationists understand it, it is irreducible and cannot be recuperated by power (as soon as an act is recuperated it becomes a stereotype, conditioning, the language of power). However, it is encircled by power. It is by isolation that power encircles the irreducible and pins it down; yet complete isolation is not feasible. The pincer movement has two claws: first the threat of disintegration (insanity, illness, destitution, suicide) and, secondly, remote-controlled therapeutics; the first granting death the second no more than survival (empty communication, the cohesion of friends or families, psychoanalysis prostituted to alienation, medicare, etc.). Sooner or later the SI must define itself as a therapy: we are ready to defend the poetry created by everyone against the false poetry manipulated solely by power (conditioning). Doctors and psychoanalysts had better get it straight too unless they

are prepared, one fine day, to take the consequences for what they have done along with architects and other apostles for survival.

18

All antagonisms that have not been resolved, integrated and superseded are losing their significance. These antagonisms can only evolve while they remain imprisoned in previous forms which have not been superseded (anti-cultural art in the cultural spectacle, for example). Any radical opposition that has either failed or been partially successful—which comes down to the same thing—wastes away gradually into reformistic opposition. Fragmentary opposition is like the teeth on a cogwheel—they marry another and make the machine go round, the machine of the spectacle, the machine of power.

Myth held all antagonisms in the archetype of Manicheanism. But what can function as an archetype in a fragmented society? In fact the memory of previous antagonisms, utilised in a patently devalued and non-aggressive form, appears today as the last attempt to bring some coherence to the organisation of appearances, so great is the extent to which the spectacle has become a spectacle of undifferentiated confusion. We are ready to wipe out all trace of these memories, harnessing all the energy contained in previous antagonisms for a radical conflict yet to come. A river will burst from all the springs blocked up by power; a river which will change the face of the world.

A travesty of antagonism, power insists that everyone be for or against The Rolling Stones, le nouveau roman, the obscenity laws, Chinese food, LSD, short skirts, the United Nations, pop art, nationalisation, thermonuclear war and hitch-hiking. Everyone is asked their opinion of every detail to stop them having one of the totality. The manoeuvre, however inept, might have worked were the commercial salesmen involved not waking up to their own alienation. To the passivity imposed on the dispossessed masses is added the growing passivity of directors and actors submitted to the abstract laws of the market and the spectacle, exercising a less and less effective power over the world. Already signs of revolt are breaking out among the actors; stars who try and escape publicity or rulers who criticise their own power; Brigitte Bardot or Fidel Castro. The tools of power wear out. Their desire for their own freedom, as instruments, should be calculated on.

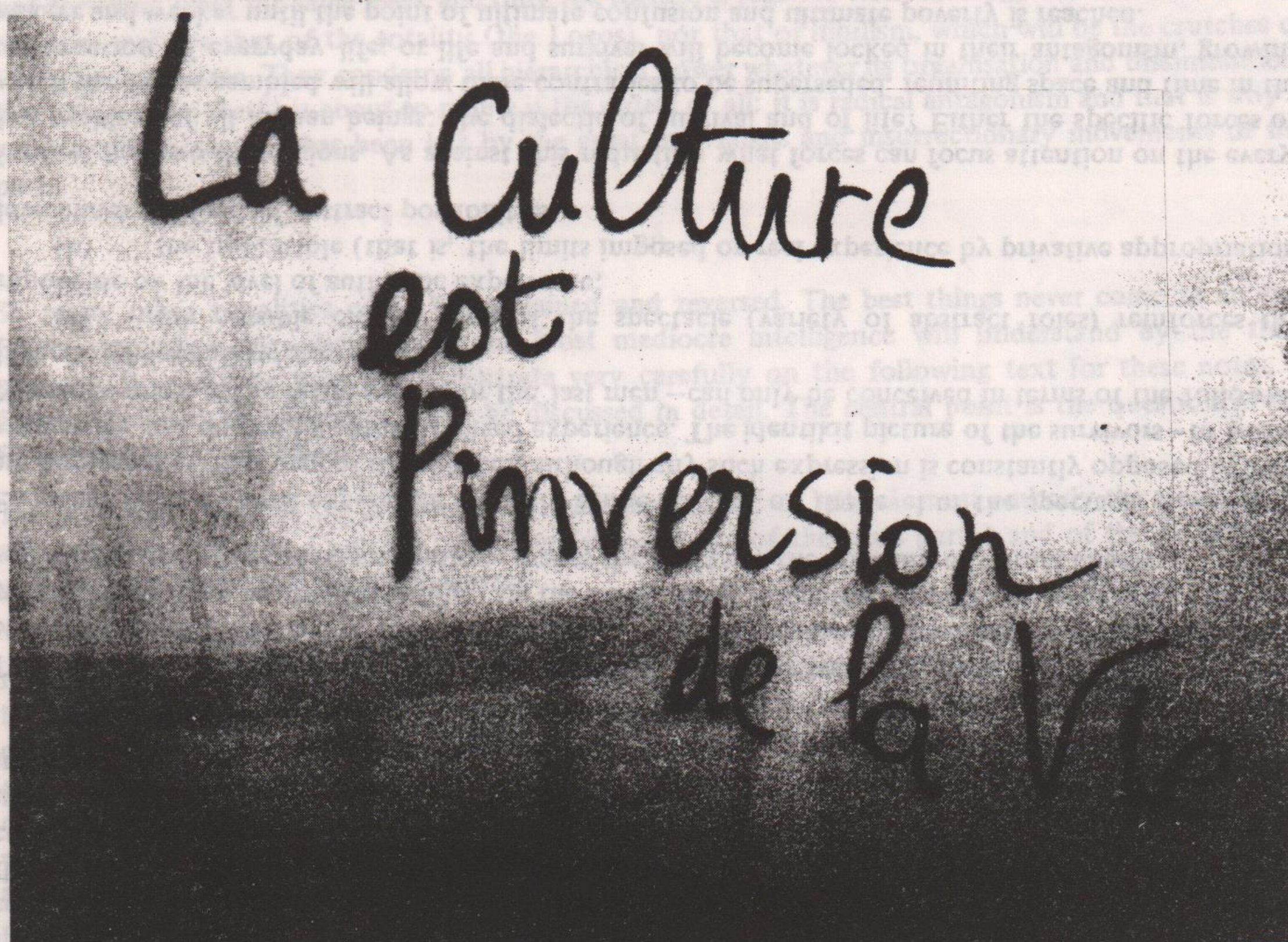
19

The spectacular reformism of Christianity appeared at the moment when the slave revolt threatened to overthrow the structure of power and to reveal the relationship between transcendence and the mechanism of privative appropriation. Its central democratic demand was not that slaves accede to the reality of a human life—impossible without denouncing appropriation as a movement of exclusion—but, on the contrary, to an existence whose source of happiness is mythical (the imitation of Christ as the price of the hereafter). What has changed? Waiting for the hereafter has become waiting for the tomorrow-that-will-be-another-day; the sacrifice of real and immediate life is the price at which the illusory liberty of an apparent life is bought. The spectacle is the sphere where forced labour is transformed into voluntary sacrifice. There is nothing more suspect than the formula 'to everyone according to his work' in a world where work is the blackmail of survival; to say nothing of the formula 'to everyone according to his needs' in a world where needs are determined by power. Any construction attempting to define itself in an autonomous, and therefore partial, way can be relegated to reformism. It is unaware of its real definition by the negativity in which everything is suspended. It tries to build on quicksand as though it were rock. Contempt and misunderstanding of the context fixed by hierarchical power can only end by strengthening this context. On the other hand, the spontaneous acts we can see forming everywhere against power and its spectacle must be warned of all the obstacles in their path and must find tactics corresponding to the strength of the enemy and to its means of recuperation. These tactics, which we are about to popularise, are those of diversion.

20

Sacrifice must be rewarded. In exchange for their real sacrifice the workers receive the instruments of

work that, in the age of the Welfare State, is gradually taking the proportions of a demand that only the ruling classes still refuse to acknowledge. Despite the constant attempts of power to recuperate it, every experiment affected on everyday life, that is every attempt to construct it—an illegal activity since the destruction of feudal power, where it was restricted and reserved for a minority—becomes concrete today through its critique of alienating work and its refusal to submit to forced labour. So much so that the new proletariat tends to be defined negatively as a 'Front Against Forced Labour' bringing together all those who resist their annexation by power. This is our field of action. It is here that we gamble on the ruse of history against the ruse of power; it is here that we back the worker, be he steelworker or artist, who—consciously or not—rejects organised work and life, against the worker who—consciously or not—accepts work at the orders of power. In this perspective it is not unreasonable to foresee a transitional period during which automation and the will of the new proletariat leave work solely to specialists, reducing managers and bureaucrats to the rank of temporary slaves. In the context of complete automation, the 'workers' instead of supervising machines would be free to humour cybernetic specialists whose sole task was to increase production—a production which had been radically transformed, a production serving life and not survival.



Culture is the inversion of life

22

Unitary power endeavoured to dissolve individual existence in a collective consciousness, so that each social unity defined itself subjectively as a particle with a clearly determined weight suspended as though in oil. Everyone had to feel blinded by the evidence that the hand of God, shaking the recipient, used everything for designs of his own which transcended the understanding of each particular human being, and appeared as the emanations of a supreme will bestowing sense on the slightest change. (In any case, all perturbation was an ascending or descending movement towards harmony—the Four Reigns, the Wheel of Fortune, the trials sent by the gods.) One can speak of a collective consciousness in the sense that it was simultaneously for each individual and for everyone: consciousness of myth and consciousness of a particular-existence-within-myth. The power of the illusion is such that authentic life draws its significance from what it is not; from this stems the

their liberation (comfort, gadgets) which, however, are a purely fictitious liberation since power controls the ways in which all material equipment can be used, since power utilises to its own ends both the instruments and those who use them. The Christian and bourgeois revolutions democratised mythical sacrifice or the 'sacrifice of the master'. Today there are countless initiates who receive the crumbs of power for having put to public service the totality of their partial knowledge. They are no longer called 'initiates' and not yet 'priests of the Logos': they are just known as specialists.

On the level of the spectacle their power is incontestable: the candidate on 'Double Your Money' or the GPO clerk, itemising the mechanical subtleties of their Anglia, both identify with the specialist, and we know how production managers can use these identifications to bring skilled labourers to heel. Essentially the true mission of the technocrats would be to unify the Logos, if only—through one of the contradictions of fragmentary power—they weren't all so pathetically isolated. Alienated as they are by their interference with one another, they know the whole of a fragment and all realisation escapes them. What real control can the atomic technician, the strategist or the political specialist exercise over nuclear weapons? What absolute control can power hope to impose on all the gestures forming against it? The stage is so crowded that only chaos reigns as master. 'Order reigns and doesn't govern' (Editorial Notes, Internationale Situationniste, 6).

Insofar as the specialist takes part in the construction of the instruments that condition and transform the world he initiates the revolt of the privileged. Previously any such revolt has been called Fascism. It is essentially an operative revolt—didn't Nietzsche see Wagner as a precursor?—when actors who for a long time have been pushed to the side suddenly demand to hold the leading roles. Clinically speaking, Fascism is the hysteria of the spectacular world as it reaches a paroxysm. In this paroxysm the spectacle momentarily assures its unity and at the same time it reveals its radical inhumanity. Through Fascism and Stalinism, its romantic crises, the spectacle betrays its true nature: it is a disease.

We are poisoned by the spectacle. All the elements necessary for a cure (that is, for the construction of our everyday lives) are in the hands of specialists. Thus, from one point of view or another, we are highly interested in all of them. Some are chronic cases: we don't intend, for example, to try and show the specialists of power, the rulers, just how far their delirium has carried them. On the other hand, we are ready to take account of the rancour of specialists imprisoned by roles which are constricted, grotesque or infamous. We must confess, however, that our indulgence has its limits. If, despite all we do, they continue stubbornly to put their guilty conscience and their bitterness at the service of power, to fabricate the conditioning that colonises their own everyday lives; if they continue to prefer an illusory representation in the hierarchy to the reality of realisation; if they continue to brandish their specialisation (their painting, their novels, their equations, their sociometry, their ballistics); finally, if they know perfectly well—and very soon it won't be possible to ignore it—that only the SI and power hold the key to their specialisation, if then they still choose to serve power because power, battenning on their inertia, has so far selected them for its service, then fuck them! No-one could be more generous. Above all they should understand that henceforth the revolt of non-ruling actors is a part of the revolt against the spectacle.

The general abhorrence excited by the lumpenproletariat comes from the use to which it was put by the bourgeoisie. It served both as a means to regulate power and as a source of recruits for the more equivocal forces of law and order: cops, informers, hired guns, artists... Despite which, its implicit critique of the society of work is remarkably radical. Its open contempt for both employers and employees contains a valid critique of work as alienation, a critique that hasn't been taken seriously until now both because the lumpenproletariat was essentially the sector of all that was ambiguous in society, and also because during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries the struggle against natural alienation and the production of well-being still seemed to be valid pretexts for work.

Once the abundance of consumer goods is known to be no more than the other side of an alienated production, the lumpenproletariat acquires a new dimension: it liberates a contempt for organised

clerical condemnation of life, reduced to pure contingency, to squalid materiality, to vain appearances and to the lowest level of transcendence becoming increasingly debased to the extent that it escapes mythic organisation.

God was the guarantor of space and time, whose co-ordinates defined unitary society. He was the common reference-point for all men; space and time came together in him as in him all beings became one with their destiny. In the era of fragmentation man is torn apart between a space and a time that no transcendence can unify through the mediation of a centralised power. We live in a space and time that are out of joint, deprived of all reference-point and all co-ordinates, as though we were never to come into contact with ourselves, although everything invites us to.

There is a place where one makes oneself and a time in which one plays. The space of everyday life, that of one's true realisation, is encircled by every form of conditioning. The restricted space of our true realisation defines us, though we define ourselves in the time of the spectacle. Or, alternatively: our consciousness is no longer consciousness of myth and of particular-being-in-myth, it is consciousness of the spectacle and of the particular-role-in-the-spectacle (I pointed out above the relationship between all ontology and unitary power, and in this context we could remember that the crisis of ontology appears with the movement towards fragmentation). To express this once more in different terms: in the space-time relationship in which everyone and everything is situated, time has become the imaginary (the field of identifications); space defines us, although we define ourselves in the imaginary and although the imaginary defines us in as far as we are subjectivities.

Our liberty is that of an abstract temporality in which we are named in the language of power (these names are the roles assigned us) with the choice left to us of finding synonyms officially registered as such. The space of authentic realisation (the space of our everyday life) is, on the contrary, the kingdom of silence. There is no name to name the space of lived experience, if not in poetry, in language struggling to be free of the domination of power.

23

When the bourgeoisie deconsecrated and fragmented myth its primary demand was for independence of consciousness (demands for freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of research and refusal of dogma). So consciousness stopped being more or less consciousness-reflecting-myth. It became consciousness of successive roles played in the spectacle. Above all what the bourgeoisie demanded was the freedom of actors and extras in a spectacle no longer organised by God, by his cops and his priests, but by natural and economic laws, 'inexorable and capricious laws': cops and specialists on the payroll once again.

God has been torn aside like a useless bandage and the wound has stayed raw. The bandage may have stopped the wound healing up, but it justified suffering, it gave it a sense well worth a few shots of heroin. Now, suffering has no justification whatsoever and heroin is far from cheap. Separation has become concrete. Anyone at all can put their finger on it and the only answer cybernetic society can offer us is to become spectators of putrescence and decay, spectators of survival.

Hegel's drama of consciousness is more exactly consciousness of drama. Romanticism echoes like the cry of the soul torn from the body, a suffering made even more intolerable because we all find ourselves alone to face the collapse of the sacred totality, and of all the Houses of Usher.

24

The totality is objective reality in the movement of which subjectivity can only participate as realisation. Anything apart from the realisation of everyday life belongs to the spectacle where survival is frozen (hibernation) and served out in slices. There can be no authentic realisation except in objective reality, in the totality. All the rest is caricature. The objective realisation that functions in the mechanism of the spectacle is nothing but the success of power-manipulated objects (the 'objective realisation in subjectivity' of famous artists, of film-stars, of the celebrities of Who's Who). On the level of the organisation of appearances, every success—and even every failure—is inflated until it becomes a stereotype, and is broadcast by the information media as though it were the only

possible success or failure. So far power has been the only judge, though pressure has been brought to bear on its judgement. Its criteria alone are valid for those who accept the spectacle and are satisfied with playing a role within it. And there are no more artists on that scene, there are only extras.

25

The space and time of private life were harmonised in the space and time of myth. The universal harmony of Fourier answers this perverted harmony. As soon as myth no longer encompasses the individual and the partial in a totality dominated by the sacred, each fragment erects itself as a totality. The fragment erected as a totality is, in fact, the totalitarian. In the dissociated space and time that makes private life, time—made absolute in the form of abstract liberty, which is that of the spectacle—consolidates by its very dissociation the spatial absolute of everyday life, its isolation and constriction. The mechanism of the alienating spectacle exerts such strength that private life reaches the point of being defined as something that is deprived of spectacle. The fact that it escapes spectacular roles and categories is experienced as an additional privation, as a sense of sickness which power uses as a pretext to reduce everyday life to insignificant gestures (to smoke a joint, read a book or make a cup of tea).

26

The spectacle that imposes its norms on lived experience itself stems from lived experience. The time of the spectacle, lived in the form of successive roles, makes the space of authentic experience the area of objective impotence while, at the same time, objective impotence—resulting from the conditioning of privative appropriation—makes the spectacle the absolute of virtual liberty.

Elements born of lived experience are only acknowledged on the level of the spectacle where they are expressed in the form of stereotypes, although any such expression is constantly opposed in lived experience and denied by authentic lived experience. The identikit picture of the survivors—to whom Nietzsche refers as the 'little people' or the 'last men'—can only be conceived in terms of the following dialectic of possibility/impossibility:

- (a) the possible on the level of the spectacle (variety of abstract roles) reinforces the impossible on the level of authentic experience;
- (b) the impossible (that is, the limits imposed on real experience by privative appropriation) determines the field of abstract possibilities.

Survival has two dimensions. As against this reduction what forces can focus attention on the everyday problem of all human beings: the dialectic of survival and of life? Either the specific forces on which the SI has gambled will allow these contraries to be superseded, reuniting space and time in the construction of everyday life; or life and survival will become locked in their antagonism, growing weaker and weaker until the point of ultimate confusion and ultimate poverty is reached.

27

Lived experience is shattered and labelled spectacularly in categories, biological, sociological, etc., which, while being related to the communicable, never communicate more than facts emptied of their authentically experienced content. Thus it is that hierarchical power, imprisoning everyone in the objective mechanism of privative appropriation (admission-exclusion, viz. section 3) also dictates the nature of subjectivity. Insofar as it does so it forces, with a varying degree of success, each individual subjectivity to objectivise himself—that is to say, to become an object it can manipulate. This forms an extremely interesting dialectic which should be analysed in greater detail (cf. the objective realisation in subjectivity—that of power—and the objective realisation in objectivity—which comes into the praxis of constructing everyday life and of destroying power).

Facts are deprived of content in the name of the communicable, in the name of an abstract universality, in the name of a perverted harmony in which everyone realises themselves in an inverted perspective. In this context the SI belongs to the tradition of dissent which encompasses Sade,

of humanity and inhumanity are measured by purely quantitative variations of passivity. The quality is the same everywhere: we are all proletarianised, or well on the way to being so. What are the traditional 'revolutionaries' doing? They are eliminating certain distinctions, they are making sure that no proletarians are any more proletarian than everyone else. But what party wants to end the proletariat? The perspective of survival has become intolerable. What we are suffering from is the weight of things in a vacuum. That's what reification is: everyone and everything falling at an equal speed, everyone and everything stigmatised with their equal value. The rein of equal values has realised the Christian project, but it has realised it without Christianity (as Pascal understood it) and, above all, it has realised it over God's dead body, contrary to Pascal's expectations.

The spectacle and everyday life coexist in the reign of equal values. People and things are interchangeable. The world of reification is a world without a centre, like the new towns are its decor. The present withdraws before the promise of a perpetual future which is no more than a mechanical extension of the past. Time itself is deprived of a centre. In this concentration-camp universe victims and torturers wear the same mask and only the torture is real. No fresh ideology will be able to soothe the pain, neither that of the totality (the Logos), nor that of nihilism, which will be the crutches of the cybernetic state. They condemn all hierarchical power whatever its organisation and dissimulation. The antagonism the SI is about to renew is the oldest of all: it is radical antagonism and that is why it can assimilate all that has been left by the great individuals and insurrectionary movements of the past.

30

So many other banalities could be examined and reversed. The best things never come to an end. Before rereading the above—even the most mediocre intelligence will understand by the third attempt—it would be wise to concentrate very carefully on the following text for these notes, as fragmentary as the preceding, must be discussed in detail. The central point is the question of the SI and revolutionary power.

The SI, being aware of the crisis of both mass parties and of 'elites', must embody the supersession of both the Bolshevik Central Committee (supersession of the mass party) and of the Nietzschean project (supersession of the intelligentsia).

(a) Whenever any power has set itself up to direct revolutionary will, it has a priori undermined the power of the revolution. The Bolshevik Central Committee was defined both as concentration and representation. Concentration of a power antagonistic to bourgeois power and representation of the will of the masses. This double characteristic made sure that it rapidly became no more than an empty power, a power of empty representation, and that it soon rejoined bourgeois power in a common form (bureaucracy), forced to follow a similar evolution. The conditions of concentrated power and of mass representation exist potentially in the SI since it monopolises the qualitative and since its ideas are in everyone's mind. Nevertheless, we refuse both concentrated power and the right of representation, conscious that we are taking the only public attitude (we cannot avoid being known to some extent in a spectacular manner) that we can give those who discover revolutionary power through our theoretical and practical positions, power without mediation, power entailing the direct action of everyone. Our guiding image could be Durutti's brigade moving from village to village, liquidating the bourgeois elements and leaving the workers to see to their own organisation.

(b) The intelligentsia is power's hall of mirrors. Opposing power, it never offers more than cathartic identifications playing on the passivity of those whose every act reveals real dissent. The radicalism—of gesture, obviously, not of theory—which could be glimpsed in the Committee of One Hundred and in the 'Declaration of the 121' suggests, however, a number of different possibilities. We are capable of precipitating this crisis, but only by entering the intelligentsia as a power (against the intelligentsia). This phase—which must precede and be contained within the phase described in (a)—will put us in the perspective of the Nietzschean project. We will form a small, almost alchemical, experimental group within which the realisation of the total man can be started. Nietzsche could only conceive an undertaking of this nature within the framework of the hierarchical principle. It is, in fact, within this framework that we find ourselves. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that we

Fourier, Lewis Carroll, Lautreamont, Surrealism and Lettrism—at least in its less-known forms, which are also the most radical.

Within a fragment erected as a totality each further fragment is itself totalitarian. Sensibility, desire, will, taste, the subconscious and all the categories of the ego were treated as absolutes by individualism. Today sociology is enriching the categories of psychology, but the introduction of variety into the roles merely emphasises the monotony of the reflect of identification. The liberty of 'the survivor' will be to assume the abstract constituent to which he has 'chosen' to reduce himself. Once there is no question of true realisation, only a psychosociological dramaturgy is left in which subjectivity functions as an overflow to get rid of the effects one has worn for the daily exhibition. Survival becomes the final stage of life organised as the mechanical reproduction of memory.

28

Until now the approach to the totality has been falsified. Power has been inserted parasitically as an indispensable mediation between men and nature. But the relationship between men and nature is founded only by praxis. It is praxis that is always breaking the veneer of lies that myth and its substitutes try to substantiate. It is praxis, even alienated praxis, that maintains contact with the totality. By revealing its fragmentary character, praxis reveals at the same time the real totality (reality): it is the totality being realised through its opposite, the fragment.

In the perspective of praxis every fragment is the totality. In the perspective of power, which alienates praxis, every fragment is totalitarian. This should be enough to wreck the attempts cybernetic power will make to envelop praxis in a mystique, although the seriousness of these attempts should not be underestimated.

All praxis belongs to our project. It enters with its share of alienation, with the dross of power: however we can purify it. We will clarify the manoeuvres of subjection and the strength and purity of the acts of refusal. We will use our strategy, not in a Manichean vision but as a means of developing this conflict in which, everywhere at every moment, adversaries are seeking one another and only clashing accidentally, lost in irremediable darkness and confusion.

29

Everyday life has always been emptied to substantiate apparent life, but appearances, in their mythical cohesion, were powerful enough to ensure that no one ever became conscious of everyday life. The poverty and emptiness of the spectacle betrayed by every type of capitalism, by every type of bourgeoisie, has revealed the existence of everyday life (a shelter-life, but a shelter for what and from what?) and simultaneously its poverty. As reification and bureaucratisation eat deeper and deeper into life, the exhaustion of the spectacle and of everyday life become increasingly evident to everyone. The conflict between the human and the inhuman has also been transferred to the plane of appearances. As soon as Marxism became an ideology, Marx's struggle against ideology in the name of the richness of life was transformed into an ideological anti-ideology, a spectacle of the anti-spectacle (just as within the avant-garde the fate of the anti-spectacular spectacle is its restriction to the actors, anti-artistic art being created and understood only by artists; the relationship between this anti-ideological ideology and the function of the professional revolutionary in Leninism should be studied). Thus Manicheism was resuscitated for a time. Why did St. Augustine attack the Manicheans with such acerbity? Because he knew the danger of a myth offering only one solution, the victory of the good over the evil; he knew that this impossibility threatened to wreck the whole structure of myth and to focus attention on the contradiction between mythic and authentic life. Christianity offers the third way, the way of sacred confusion. What Christianity accomplished by the strength of myth is accomplished today by the strength of things. There isn't any longer the slightest antagonism between Soviet workers and capitalist workers, or between the bomb of the Stalinist bureaucrats and the bomb of the non-Stalinist bureaucrats: there is only unity in the chaos of reified beings.

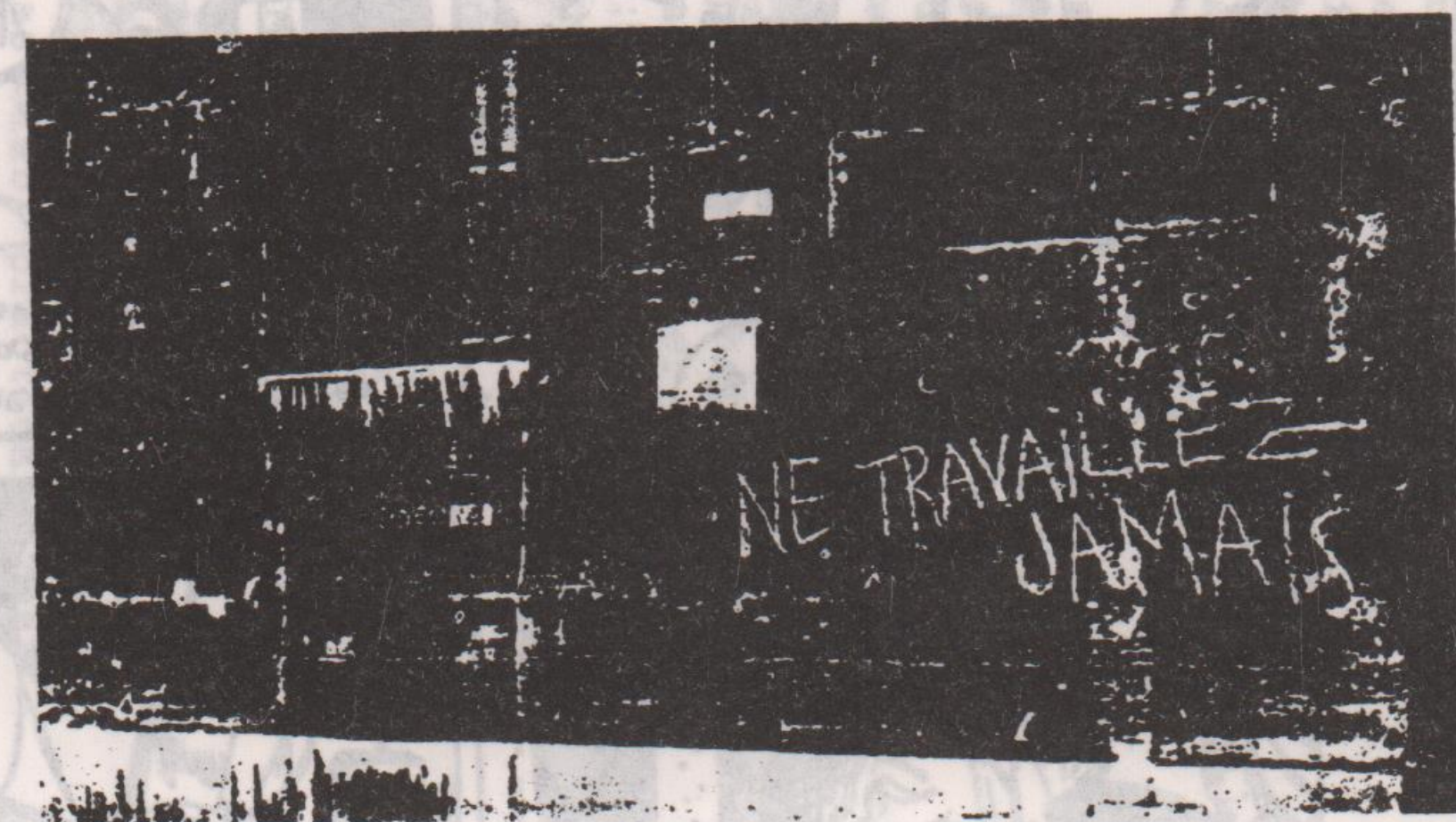
Who is responsible? Who should be shot? We are dominated by a system, by an abstract form. Degrees

present ourselves without the slightest ambiguity (on the level of the group, the purification of the centre and the elimination of residues now seem to be completed). We accept the hierarchical framework in which we are placed, waiting impatiently to abolish our domination of others, others we can only dominate on the grounds of our criteria against domination.

(c) Tactically our communication should be diffused from a centre that remains more or less occult. We will set up a non-materialised network (direct relationships, episodic contacts without ties, development of embryonic relations based on sympathy and understanding, in much the same way as the red agitators before the arrival of the revolutionary armies). We will claim as our own, through their analysis, various radical gestures (acts, writings, political attitudes, works) and we will consider that our own acts and analyses are demanded by the majority of people.

In the same way as God formed the reference point of past unitary society, we are preparing to create the central reference-point of a unitary society now possible. This point cannot be fixed. As against the ever-renewed confusion that cybernetic society draws from the past of inhumanity, it stands for the game that everyone will play, 'the moving order of the future.'

Raoul Vaneigem; IS Nos 7-8, 1962-63



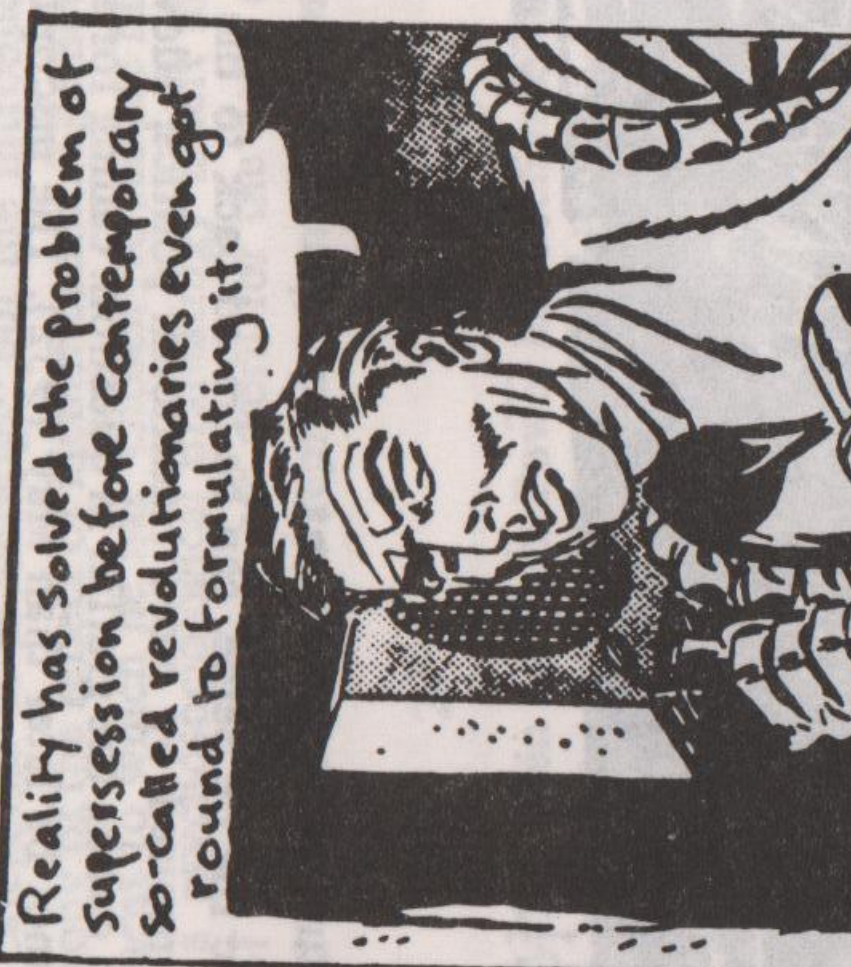
'Never Work'

Preliminary programme to the situationist movement.

This inscription, on a wall of the rue de Seine, can be traced back to the first months of 1953 (an adjacent inscription, inspired by more traditional politics, allows one virtually one hundred per cent accuracy in dating the graffiti in question: calling for a demonstration against General Ridgway, it cannot be later than May 1952). The inscription reproduced above seems to us to be one of the most important relics ever unearthed on the site of Saint-Germain-des-Près, as a testimonial of the particular way of life which tried to assert itself there.

Survival and its false contestation

TRAITE DE SAVOIR-VIVRE A
L'USAGE DES JEUNES GENERA-
TIONS
par Raoul Vaneigem
(Gallimard)



Dear Mark,

How are you? Not that I really care, but it is the done thing and now I have done. I hope that you are having a more exciting time in fabby-doo York than I am here. There is a terrible feeling of staleness around me. It may be coming from me and it may be coming from everything else. Probably it is a bit of both. There is a lot of shouting about rights and plans for the future but no-one seems to do anything. All they really care about is their pints and their tiny, tiny lives. Whatever happened to the paradise they promised us at school?

It has just been announced up here that there is not going to be a nursery in the university but £25,000 is going to be spent on a new car park for 37 cars. And do the students care? "Oh it's terrible! It's so unfair. When are we going up the Grange?" (The Grange is our student/staff club)

What's more, there is a table-tennis table in every hall. Roll on the sixth-year common room. "Wanna game of 't-t'? Pool? Pinball? Darts? Table-football?" Anything to ward off the boredom and the meaninglessness of it all. What is it worth? I don't know anything about psychology that I could not have taught myself in sixth-year with my 'O' grades. Remember physics? The workings of an eye? I have just done that again. "For the people who have no scientific background knowledge." I don't want to work but I don't want to do nothing either.

How's the political situation in York? Stagnating nicely? It is here. The mindless, dogmatic party hacks repeat the party lines ad nauseam. So what if Trotsky's brother's step-daughter's uncle's dog once said that the state should provide all and as such charity should not be allowed. Great so it is true. But how can you say that to the people who need it? Go ask the state? So they say they will not support the charities campaign.

As for the first year, "Come on - let's be radical!" "Yeah, sure man. Oh, just let me finish my first degree first. I'll have time then." There is all the loving backstabbing of school here, only here they do it all by apathy. "Aw shit I only got an 'A' minus for that last lab. practical. That means that I lose approximately 1% of my total practical work which constitutes approximately 20% of my whole term's work! And that constitutes 12.5% of my final degree! God, I'd better get down to it. I'll miss that next General Meeting. Oh yeah! And I'll miss that concert. Christ that means I can do 5 EXTRA HOURS! THINK OF IT! FIVE HOURS STUDYING THE SEVEN NAMES THAT I HAVE TO LEARN FOR THE STRUCTURE OF THE EYE! MY GOD! MY DEGREE (FIRST CLASS) (HONS) IS ALMOST IN THE BAG!!! fuck! I'm a good student." I bet you didn't realise that it was so hard to be a student, eh, Mark? You've got to do these things, ye ken, so you can end up like Donald and Maisie. Fine up-standing people. Keen rotarians ye ken.

Think of it. I've got my own guttural pseudo-glaswegian accent now! You are missing all this by being at that B.O.F. hole for Oxbridge rejects. Hah! Hah! Bet you care too.

I don't know why I am writing this. You've heard it all before and you must be as bored of my egocentric bleatings as I am. It's just that I am so bored and frustrated that it has just got to get out somehow. I am sorry to have bored you.

Best wishes (whatever happened to love?)

Euan.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

AN ARTICLE ABOUT HOW THE UNIVERSITY CATERS FOR US.

The university kindly donated to York by Rowntree Ltd. has adapted the food industry's marketing methods for the marketing of its own product, the 'Degree'.

Food is not bought for its nutritional value (the most nutritional food is the most unattractive and, therefore, the most unpopular). Food is bought because of its colour, texture, and taste (when the appearance of unattractive nutritional food is changed then it suddenly becomes popular). These selling-points are extended to the packaging of food, which is intended to appeal to the purchaser. (The word 'consumer' now takes on a double meaning - the person 'consumes' the packaging before she 'consumes' the food). Packaging is so important in persuading the consumer to buy the food that the qualities of packaging here gradually become more important than the qualities of colour, texture and taste (through a parody of those qualities), just as colour, texture, and taste

Stirling University
Stirling.

It can't happen here...

If you think that we are just talking about what goes on at York, this letter was written by someone at Stirling - pissed off with the same things as people here. Christ, is it really this bad at York and Stirling??? Or could it happen in other places as well???? God forbid!



superceded nutritional and vitamin value. As capitalists are more interested in the act of sale than in what they are selling, packaging has become so important that the content is now of minimal importance - in other words, the packaging itself is now the product. Instead of people being attracted by advertising into buying the product they are now simply buying the advertisement itself. As such, the way food is marketing is a good allegory for the way the 'Degree' and the 'University' are sold to students - the appearance of academic worthiness is more important than the reality.

Just as we need to consume food in order to survive, we are told that we need to consume the 'Degree' in order to live comfortably (ie make lots of money) in the future. The University substitutes its pre-packaged food for our thought, by academic force - feeding - 'don't think - eat!'

And it's all just shit in the end anyway.

EXAMS

In March 1974 an advert appeared in the national papers, put out by thirty 'top industrialists'. According to them, people got as much from 3 years in the army as from that time in university. Higher education was simply a lesser form of 'military discipline', so why not admit it & join the army instead?

WHAT DO EXAMINATIONS MEASURE ?

Orthodox answers range from "knowledge & quality of mind" to "moral & psychological fibre". But 2 things are clear: exams would be useless if they did not measure "cognitive achievement", & they are not supposed to measure certain other things such as what year it is, what university you attend, what subject is being examined.

The Robbins Report showed statistically what had been known for some time - that exams set out with the intention of fixed proportions of pass/fail & 1st/2nd class degrees: "Pass-fail decisions at fixed percentages are, in fact, not the outcome but the very intention of examination processes."

The result is inevitable: the grade awarded a given paper depends on the 'quality' of the other scripts in the same batch. Grading is comparative, as any honest examiner reflecting her practice can confirm. So exams do measure what year it is.

Moreover, the fixed proportions themselves tend to vary between faculties & universities.

There is ample evidence that exam-induced anxiety adversely affects the performance of all but a small proportion of students. There is even evidence that the quality of the handwriting affects the marking (see *University Quarterly*, 1967). So exams also measure how upset students are & their calligraphic skills.

HOW RELIABLE ARE EXAMINATIONS ?

Any studies of examinations as reliable indices of academic achievement show exactly the opposite: different examiners will mark the same paper in different ways, often with wildly varying results. The classic study by Hartog & Rhodes found that in Maths, for instance, there was only a 34% chance of examiners agreeing on assessment. In many other cases it was found that examiners' assessments could just as easily be based on chance as on 'marking'.

WHY ARE EXAMINATIONS NEEDED ?

"...exams have an essential social purpose... They serve a function for society at large in attesting to standards of academic performance... If a specialist is wanted for sixth form work it is a great help to know that one man (sic) has an upper second class degree & another only a third. The simple truth is that these class divisions represent very real differences in performances, as anyone who has taught & examined for a few years will know. A complicated society depends on such safeguards & classification. To abolish exams would leave us altogether too vulnerable." Prof C.B. Cox, *Black Paper on Education*.

Cox further defends exams: "Much opposition to exams is based on the belief that people work better without reward or incentive, a naive view which flies in the face of human nature. All life depends on passing exams."

It might be true that where students do not select their studies on the basis of an interest in the subject, but on the contrary are faced with an imposed curriculum which they must master at the cost of incurring a variety of life-long penalties, exams may be an effective incentive to work. But it is reckless to generalise from this to 'human nature'. It is like saying people won't work without armed guards standing over them, just because that's how it is in prison workshops.

A related point is that the 'work' exacted from students under threats of failure in examinations, & so on, may be qualitatively different from that done by spontaneous learners. You'd need a lot of evidence on long-term memory & other matters before accepting the simplistic hypothesis according to which there is an effectively homogeneous process called 'work' which students facing exams do & those not facing them evade. We know for sure that the 'work' which exams cause people to do is just that work needed to pass exams - often just a few weeks cramming - & it remains to be proved that this is 'the same' as intellectually fruitful 'work'.

WHAT DO EXAMINATIONS ACHIEVE ?

First, they spread sickness & death. There is no doubt that exams annually precipitate a wave of tension, misery & unrest among students. Statistical evidence shows a significantly higher rate of mental illhealth amongst students around exam times. At the British Student Health Association conference it was agreed that between 8 & 11 per cent of all students seek medical treatment for exam-related conditions. You have to guess how many don't seek treatment for similar conditions.

Here are some descriptions by medical authors of common reactions to exams:

"During the course of an exam students are sometimes brought out in states of almost physical collapse, shivering, unable to write, think or even walk." *The Practitioner*, 1971

"Examination panic. These are cases of students who start their papers but get increasingly anxious or exhausted & finally leave the exam room. Sometimes they actually faint or have nosebleeds, sometimes they are overcome by headache or migraine, but for the most it is just an increasing & overwhelming feeling of nervousness, tension & despair, with an incapacity to remember things they previously knew. The great majority of these students have already suffered from a long period of mounting pre-exam strain." *Handbook on British Student Health Services*.

These observations could be multiplied & elaborated. When you face examinations you face your (social) death. The big thing is, literally, keeping your shit together. The picture of misery the quotes suggest should be familiar to anyone who has been through a school. The impact of exams on the health of students is not uniform: women, as usual in the sexist society, suffer more than men, & overseas students more than locals: "feeling low/depressed - no: 93 people, interviews: 210. This includes an unexpectedly high proportion of overseas students feeling lonely, disorientated or misunderstood. The majority of people in this section are willing to seek medical help when appropriate (if not already receiving it) but a number do make complaints about the medical centre in terms of just treating symptoms with medication rather than dealing with the underlying causes of anxiety, etc" from the report of the University Anglican Chaplain, York 1979. A study done in Manchester shows that nearly twice as many women as men are made sick by exams - so exams also measure what sex you are! This is addition to the demonstrated fact that exam performance is adversely affected just before & during the menstrual period.

Since, as we have seen, exam results are essentially comparative, the outcome is not only that those who are sick underperform, but those who are not automatically benefit from the ill-fortune of their fellow candidates. Competition is based on natural characteristics & functions accordingly, as in the law of the jungle.

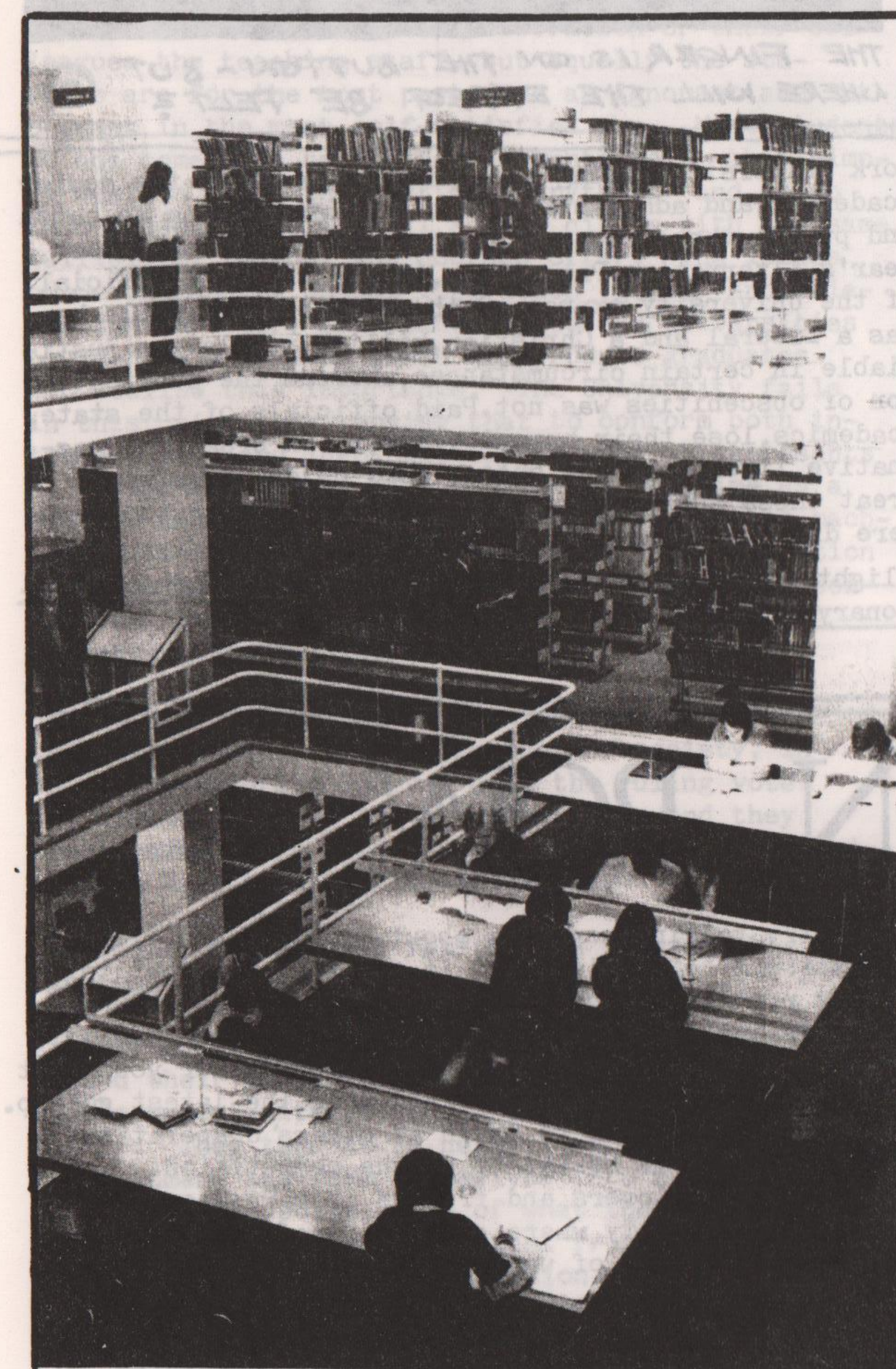
The second great achievement of exams is that they maintain & reproduce social inequality. On the one hand they exclude people from further study & on the other they are used to distribute the available 'stations in life'.

The normal defence for this is, of course, the 'need to maintain high standards'. This is no defence. Not only do exams not measure 'real life' abilities & 'excellence of mind', but because exams cannot measure more than what the candidate currently knows - no exam could predict what the person might become as a result of further study, changed interests, changed motivation, etc. Using exams to exclude people from further study cannot be justified educationally. Further, & more significantly, the

meritocratic defense fails because educational achievement depends more on family background, the culture of the home & factors traceable to social class. Universities are simply the 'educational' form of class, of the class, sexist & racist society.

The third great achievement of exams is that they bolster certain values in their victims: "By discouraging students from co-operating with each other the assessment system inhibits the prime virtue of civilised society - that of mutual aid. By isolating people from each other & encouraging them to regard their work as a private & measurable achievement, it enforces & reinforces the view that different people deserve different rewards in life." *Handbook on British Student Health Services*.

Obviously exams are a means of social control & are authoritarian. They are a pivotal part of an education sys-



These students have volunteered to take part in an experiment organised and controlled by the Government. They are kept in a condition of sensory deprivation for three periods of ten weeks for three years. They can receive over £1,600 per annum. The aim of the experiment is to examine the effects of this treatment on the subjects' conceptual continuity - interestingly enough they become dependant on printed matter, taking what they read to be reality.

Upon close examination of the photograph you will notice how elements of individuality have diminished as personality fades; taking on a unique unidimensional monochromatic appearance: known as the "Blue Peter" or "cardboard cut-out" effect. As yet no explanation has been found for this, but studies have shown that job prospects are not effected - indeed last year one of the subjects became President of the Students Union! This is part of a long standing Government operation which has already proved very successful; several students who have undergone the experiment have become leaders of the N.U.S.

tem geared to forcing people into pre-existing & unorthodox social & economic roles. Certification by this education system labels the skills of individuals who then sell their labour in the market - if there are any buyers. Certificates do not measure collective ability but individual endurance. Employers looking for certified labour are not very interested in grades or indices of scholarly achievement, but with evidence which the certificates provide for the possession of attitudes & acquired behavioural habits that make the ex-student suitable for work. The certificate matters insofar as it shows that its owner has absorbed the lessons of the hidden curriculum. Submitting to exams is more crucial than results gained. The grade shows how far the person has submitted to the assessment system & hence to his/her masters. Your certificate shows your exploitability - it's as simple as that.

THIS WON'T HURT



Altho the total immersion of someone in an office is an acute mental disorder it is often experienced as a social privilege, a form of well-being. This is not a case of being meek in order to be exalted; it is not a case of deferred enjoyment, of self-denial as a means to a later self-realisation. No: this "self-satisfaction" is quite gratuitous. The experience of being privileged, of being "superior" is lodged not in the individual but in the office itself.

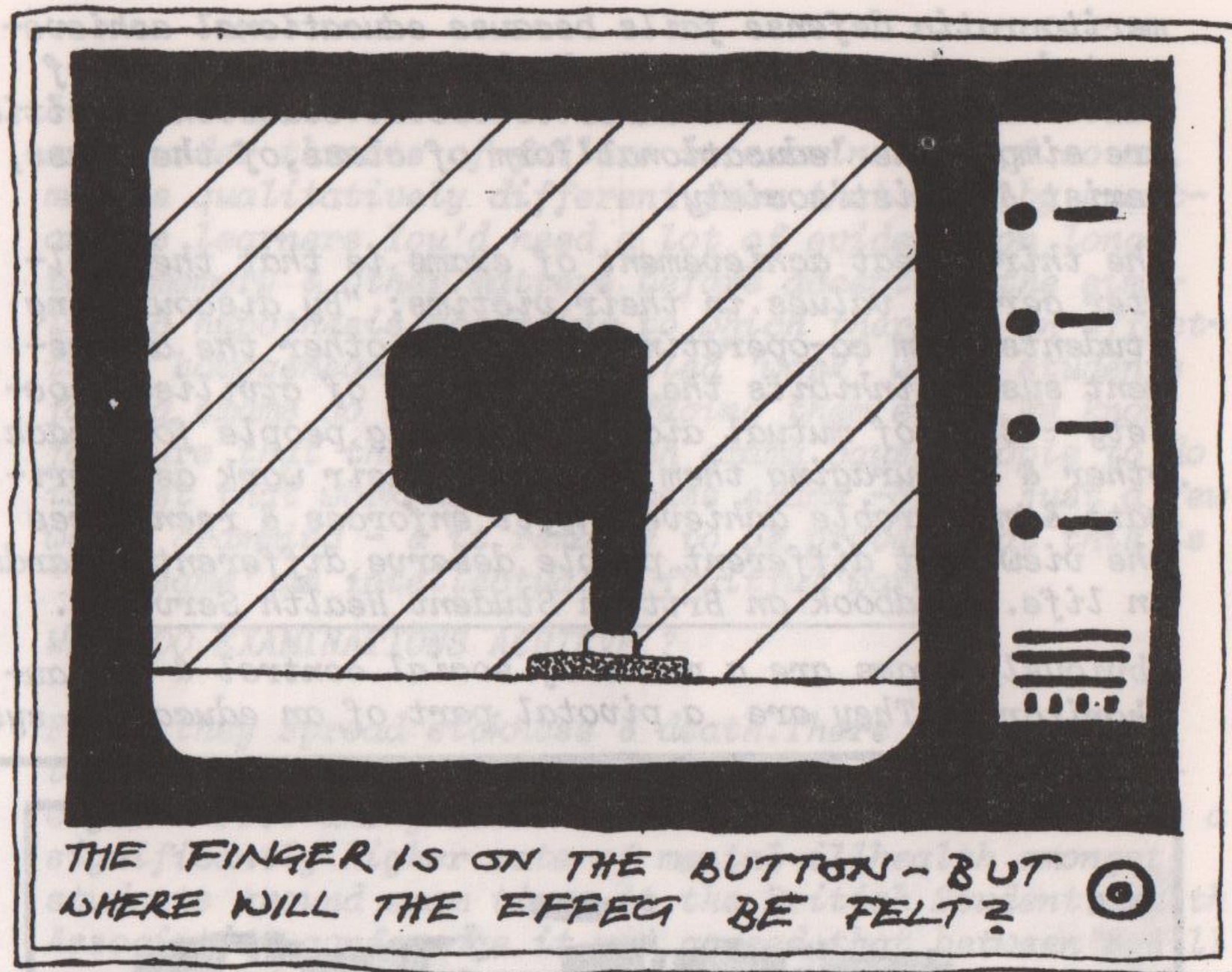
This total denial of the will and choice of the self accompanied by an internalised official self-satisfaction is very common among members of the academic establishment, formerly known as clerics, later as clerks, in France known as state functionaries, in the USA as professors and in Britain as professors and lecturers. An academic is a clerk whose specific office is to profess the thoughts of a given profession and impose them upon the next generation. Once upon a time, at a lower level of personification of social powers, a similar functionary was said to profess the thoughts of a given school, leaving open the possibility that, on another day, the same person could profess the thoughts of another school, or read the conceptions of another area of knowledge. But these days, at the present level of personification the individual is, or embodies a given school of thought or area of knowledge. For example a given functionary is a Sociologist, Psychologist, Economist, Physicist... Furthermore, this is all the individual is in exactly the same way that a desk is all that a desk is. An Economist cannot become an Anthropologist without ceasing to be what he was, any more than a desk can become a chair without first being decomposed into wood and nails. Hence each academic really does treat each student new to his discipline not just as if the student's head is full of the wrong or inappropriate knowledge which must be emptied out before the new knowledge is poured in, but treats each student actually as such a container.

The individuals who occupy the offices of the academic establishment together personify the whole spiritual life of modern industrial society. The sort of behaviour which can be expected in these people has been illustrated by an experiment in a major U.S. university. But don't think it wouldn't happen in Britain. The 'subjects' of the experiment were modern intellectuals. The experiment included a random sample of people picked from among those who consider themselves, and are, military physicists, philosophers, mathematicians specialising in nuclear war, musicologists, specialists in the social psychology of concentration camps, historians, price theorists, as well as those aspiring to these offices. The 'subject' of the experiment, the academic, is shown a room equipped with an electric chair. He is told that a 'pupil' will be strapped to the chair during the experiment. He is told that the experiment is about "learning theory". Neither of these statements is in fact true -

they are designed to elicit the behaviour the academic would show if the situation were real. Actually the experiment is only a game, so to speak, and not the serious business of government, teaching, riot-control or war. So no "pupil" is actually strapped to the chair. And the experiment is not about "learning theory" but about the 'subjects' of the experiment, the academics. The academic is then led to another room from which he is to "give the pupil a test". He reads a question into a microphone and hears the "pupil's" reply over a speaker. In front of the academic is a panel of buttons. Labels identify an amount of voltage administered to the "pupil" by each button. The panel goes as high as 450 volts, and buttons corresponding to the highest voltages are marked "caution, severe pain". Every time he hears a wrong answer the academic is to push a button corresponding to a higher level of voltage which passes thru the "pupil". As the voltage increases the "pupil" pleads and protests: "Let me out. I have a bad heart..." The academic listens to the speaker, waits for wrong answers, and continues to increase the voltage.

It might be wondered what would happen to our planet if the people Plato called Philosopher-Kings, the most conscious members of society, had the power to make ultimate decisions. It might be asked what future the earth would have if this depended upon whether or not a modern Philosopher-King, a £6000 to £20,000 a year man, a cultured intellectual, pushed the last button, perhaps as part of a "pacification program", or as part of an experiment in "learning theory". In the experiment described above 6%, almost 2/3rds of these intellectuals, pushed the last button.

It is noteworthy that the 'subjects' of this experiment are in fact objects in all respects except, perhaps, in appearance. The alienation of human powers takes its most acute form among those most removed from any pressing reality, the representatives of modern intellectual life paid by big business and the state. Hence, here in



York University, during inquisitions in which the senior academics and administrative staff were trying to catch and punish those responsible for the contents of last year's Alternative Prospectus, the most senior official of the University expressed the opinion that, while he was a Liberal and a Christian, killing people was justifiable in certain circumstances, whereas the publication of obscenities was not. Paid officials of the state, academics, lose their humanity, their own creative, imaginative liveliness and become dead objects who would treat those subject to their power as if they too were mere disposable objects.

Slightly amended from: Michael Velli *Manual For Revolutionary Leaders*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1974 pp. 26 -27

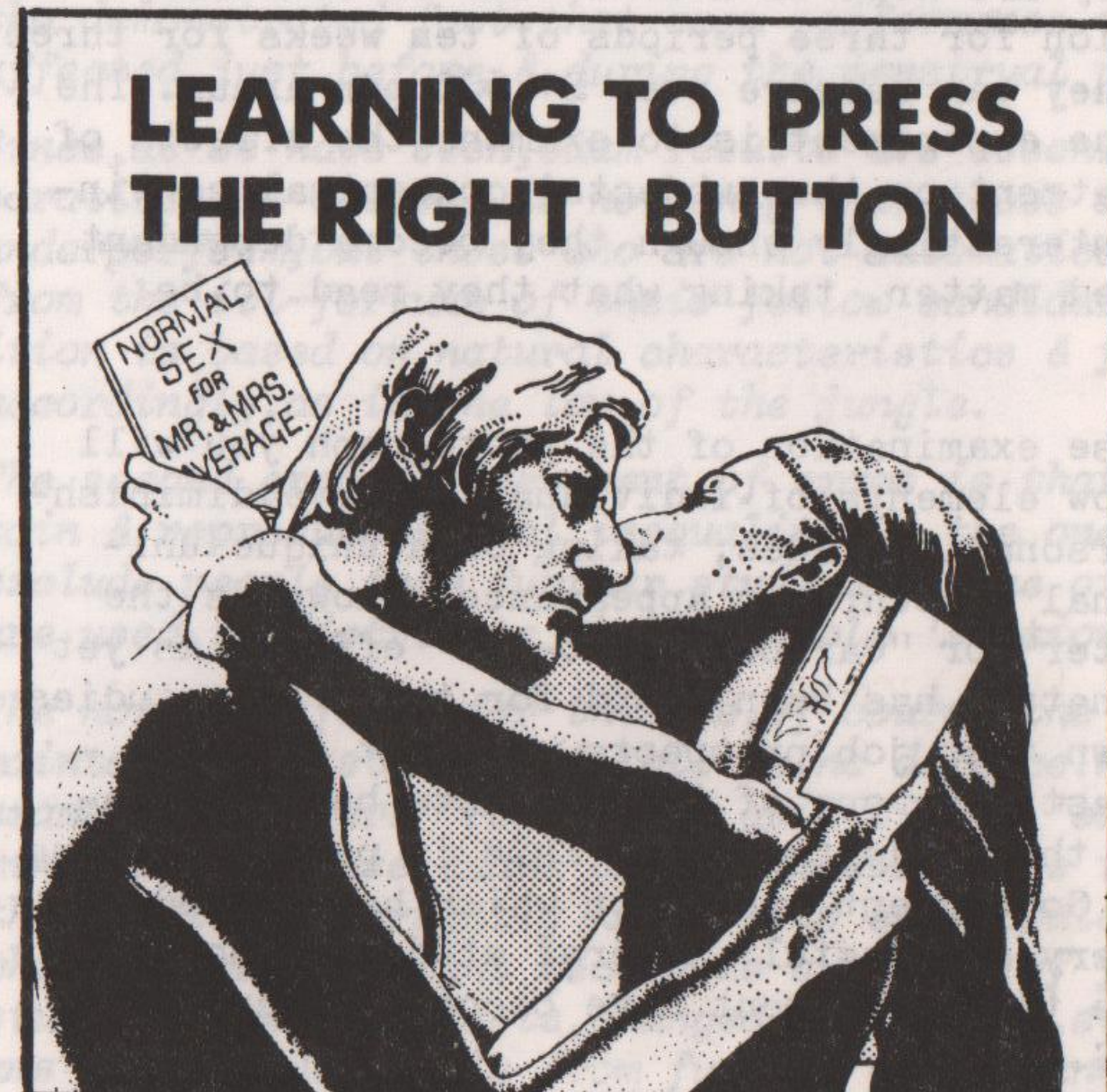
DESOLATION ROW

University is, to a great extent, a sexual playground. You come here from school, away from the morality of parents and teachers, and enter a community where a 'permissive' morality reigns. However, instead of being a society where all is free and easy, and where actions go unnoticed, pressure from friends becomes more oppressive and insidious than back home.

Friends' attitudes towards you depend a lot on your position in the sexual game. In some circles, it's important to be one of the boys/girls, occasionally sleeping with someone, but never letting it turn into anything permanent. In others, partnership is important, and if you're not going out with someone, you're in some way deficient. Breaking out of the accepted mode of behaviour is traumatic - friends' attitudes change and all of a sudden you realise that you are liked not because of the way you are, but because of the way people imagine you to be. Bourgeois morality is alive and thriving at York, at the beck and call of 'revolutionaries' who chide one another for not being 'bi-sexual' or 'gay'. Others are suspect because they may be.

Within all types of relationships a loneliness exists. One can be lonely because one is partnerless, and therefore 'insufficient', or because one has a partner yet real communication is impossible. A University society is not particularly conducive to sensitivity. Everyone wants to protect themselves, and others' feelings become subordinated to one's own. Survival is the name of the game. Your own sensitivity can be easily used and abused by others; people will take advantage of you and you might well end feeling more bitter than everyone else. Sensitivity doesn't stand a chance here, especially not in isolation, precisely because of its nature - it is one of the most important forms of sharing and co-operation. Everything within the university - grading, exams, set routines, etc. militates against co-operation. People are isolated in their 'education', and this isolation carries through to personal relationships.

You can try talking honestly about problems and dissatisfactions to a friend, but it may well turn out to be a 'my problem is worse than yours' type contest. We even trade our miseries against each other, continuing the competitiveness of university in private. Or you might find that your conversation turned into the latest gossip. We find ourselves able to laugh at others' desperation. Either way, there is no let up in the competition. Solidarity among lovers and friends is rare; keeping confidences in a society where gossip is coinage is never easy. There is a lack of understanding; a non-ability to see a problem from the other person's point of view. Everything is geared towards selfishness, so it is hardly surprising that this is what appears. The University reflects itself in bedrooms all over campus - the hopelessness and the despair.



LEARNING TO PRESS THE RIGHT BUTTON

One in Ten

This article must necessarily be concerned with Gay Men at York University as the Gay women are mostly submerged beneath the feminist movement, for their own (and very valid) reasons. Despite the pretentious claim of the University, that it is a 'place of liberality and enlightenment' there is in some perverse and fortunate sense an eternal blindness and willing ignorance among both the administration, the departments and the students themselves that makes a mockery and an hypocrisy of this claim. It is unusual in any academic institution to expect or receive justice from either the Administration or their colleagues the teaching staff, but equally the students are for the most part just as ignorant and intolerant in the most self-satisfied way. Most students do not come here hoping for enlightenment, they simply want to 'make the best of everything' and to do this necessitates a small social circle with the same gullibility to what the courses offer. The issues of Sexism and of sexual liberation (gender and orientation) are very important issues and universities could take a lead on these and produce graduates who realise this importance. The University fails in this, simply by proving that to conform both intellectually and ideologically to what it represents is to assure oneself of a happy carefree time as a student and a prosperous future as a cog in the machinery dispensing orders in life with the supposition of 'intellectual superiority'. As long as this continues, the university will fail in its goals of enlightenment and liberality.

Gays at university have to realise that by nature they are opposed to the structure of society, in which the majority forever cast the ruling vote. The dictatorship of the heterosexual. And they should take every opportunity, and create opportunities to demonstrate this opposition.

Homosexual men at York fall into 3 recognisable categories -

Firstly there are 'Queens' who have 'come out' - admitted their homosexuality - and they take every available opportunity to show their pride in their sexuality. They tend to be noisy, demonstrative, ready for argument and form themselves into a clique. They are aware politically of what their homosexuality means, and to some extent frighten others by their boisterousness and reputation. They are incurable gossips and socially very mobile. There is a sense in which they protect themselves by an aggressive and argumentative image, this is coupled with an almost neurotic need for an audience. They are concerned with liberation (both in the legal sense and in the way the homosexual traps himself inside a role within a group) and they consider that whilst at the university, the battle still has to be fought on the streets. Otherwise within the university the battle takes place in the JCR or the snackbar or the disco. Queens tend to keep in touch with political hacks and attend UGM's.

Secondly there are 'Gays' who are perhaps more socially mobile due to increased acceptability because they are primarily charming and pretty. They tend to have regular boyfriends, fall into the Mr and Mrs type role. They are quiet, fairly unobtrusive though they know the 'Queens'. Their low profile is dangerous in a place like York which is like a stage and unless there are high profile Gay characters performing, then the question of acceptance and tolerance let alone of liberation moves backstage. Gays are usually known as such only to other socialites and have only themselves to blame if there is a resurgence of anti-gay feeling and action. Though credit where credit is due, they do at least admit their homosexuality and this 'coming out' is an enormous achievement.

The third category is that of the 'closets'. If 10% is an accurate statistic for the % of the population that is gay, then there must be hundreds of 'closets' at York. Some have reputedly formed a very sophisticated network and have very incestuous love affairs, sharing partners, etc. They regard their homosexuality either as a private vice which is the more pleasurable for its secrecy or else it is a hang-up. They have no understanding of homosexual politics nor any wish to have. They are not concerned with gay liberation either, they sit on their pretty arses. These are the typical students who simply happen to be homosexual. Names and identities of this brotherhood rarely come to light and you have to use your intuition, but they are proud of their secret sexual society and unless you make the disgraceful decision to go 'closet', friendship, let alone acquaintance and membership are out of the question. Sexually they doubtless have the most vigorous time, but it is at the expense of an ignorance of the political nature of a sexuality which is central to their lives and at the maintenance of a heterosexual exterior.



There are loads of professed bisexuals especially among the socially mobile where it is still very fashionable to be a beautiful person and 'bi' as well. (Will they never forget Bowie!). Most Gays and Queens know the bisexuals due to interlocking social circles.

There is a very great need for Gay Liberation in the legal sense and just as great a need for Gays to understand the ways in which their sexuality conditions and informs everything for Gays to understand the ways in which their sexuality conditions and informs everything they do, think or perceive the university Gaysoc has declined over the past 3 years due to a lack of unity and understanding amongst its members. During the last academic year there was an incident in which a Gay man was attacked and thrown in the lake by fellow students. Support was tremendous, but the possibility of legal action arose due to the 'over 21' law.

The duty of all gays on campus is to keep gay issues in the limelight by maintaining a strong Gaysoc in which unity and action are the keynotes. Otherwise we have only ourselves to blame if such an incident occurs again, or the notorious complacency of the majority of students at York will continue on anything except the issues they are concerned with in their next essay, seminar or tutorial. On these grounds there is essential need for links with the feminists, for an analysis of all sexual liberation, action and unity.

Over the last few years one of the main aims of the Gay Liberation Movement has been the eradication of heterosexual societies use of gay stereotypes. By imposing meaningless labels and generalizations society has reduced the popular image of a gay person to a Larry Grayson or John Inman figure, or the tweed suited masculine woman. The 'limp wristed queen' or 'butch dyke' stereotypes, propounded by media and comedians, have served as effective tactics in reducing 1/10th of the population to a pathetic source of cheap jokes. Unfortunately, the imposition of devisive and meaningless labels has not been restricted to heterosexual bigots. The gay population abounds with seemingly aware individuals who delight in classifying themselves and others in convenient groups and types. Before Gay people can expect to escape from the labels and stereotypes cast on them by heterosexuals, they must challenge the employment of such methods amongst themselves.

BY WAY OF REPLY

As Gore Vidal commented there is no such thing as a homosexual, only people who are emotionally and physically attracted to members of their own sex. To divide homosexuals into sub-groups is a dangerous adaption of heterosexual society's most powerful weapon of oppression. By imposing derogatory labels and stereotypes dangerous people are easily classified and ridiculed. The classification of people according to the clothes they wear, how they behave in company, how energetic their sex lives might be, detracts from the only division that is of any importance; their awareness of the political implications of their sexuality or their lack of awareness.

To differentiate between those gay people who are aware and those who are not does not involve an irrelevant and facile discussion of 'types'. Sexual and political awareness cannot be identified with what gay 'type' one may fit into. No single group possesses the monopoly of gay consciousness, political awareness or activism. The only vaguely accurate way of classifying different 'gay types' is to describe their appearance and perhaps mannerisms. These might reflect awareness but in most cases are irrelevant. It is surely a waste of time to discuss whether 'effeminate' gays - 'queens' (or whatever label one might choose) are more chatty, argumentative or socially mobile than 'macho' gays (whether ordinary gay like chocolate eclairs and 'effeminate' gays prefer vanilla slices). This might well be true. But so what! Such a facile generalized description of literally thousands of people is ominously similar to the heterosexual men describing women as gossipy, emotional, etc. etc. or gay men as limp wristed, camp, bitchy, etc. etc.

The aware gay person is not the one who wears the correct costume, be it leather or sequins, or who can fit homosexual people into convenient types, but who questions society's conditioning, reflects male and female roles and devisive stereotypes, and follows the lifestyle he or she desires.

This is the common ground between the Gay movement and the women's movement, that being the over throw of male and female stereotyped and allotted roles. This does not simply mean challenging the popular ideal of a man and a woman for one can swap images with the person of the opposite sex and still retain an oppressor and oppressed relationship. Before women can gain full sexual liberation, and equally it is necessary for the traditional male and female roles to be destroyed, not swapped. But many gays ape heterosexual

relationships by remaining in monogamous couples. It is common to find dominant gay assuming the male role while his or her partner assumes a passive conventionally female role. (Both partners are equally condemnable for they simply reinforce the popular ideal of heterosexual relationships). In contrast many gays refuse to have any consideration for their sexual partners, boasting of their sexual prowess much the same as the worst heterosexual man.

It has been claimed that only gay men, who refer to themselves as 'queers' have 'come out', admitted or should I say announced their sexuality to themselves and other people, and therefore are the only truly aware gays. Firstly, coming out is not a one off event it is a continuous process for wherever one meets new people it is necessary to 'come out' again and again. Secondly, coming out is an ongoing process for it involves a constant growing awareness of oneself, one's



sexuality and the social and political implications of their sexuality. Unfortunately, at York there are no gay consciousness raising (self-awareness) groups. Gay women often join a women's CR group which, is of immense importance. There is no justification for the claims that 'queers' are the only gay people at York aware of the political implications of their sexuality. This is not to deny the immense political importance of 'queens', by dressing and behaving in a non-masculine way they overtly challenge the basis of heterosexual society; male and female stereotypes. However, 'queens' can be seen as politically counter productive in that they only reinforce the gay stereotype but adopt a conventionally female image. By characterizing society's image of women they degrade women in the same ways as a drag artist degrades women, and therefore ironically (perhaps) work against the objectives of the feminists. This can also be applied to ultra-macho lesbians who ape the stereotype macho man. Clearly the swapping of male and female images does little to actually challenge sexual stereotypes.

In the same way gays who adopt an ultra-macho image can be seen as reinforcing the masculine heterosexual male stereotype. Again, as with queens, their image could be seen as politically justifiable in that they are challenging the stereotype of the effete, camp homosexual. Clearly both the 'queen' and 'macho' gay image can be viewed as either politically sound or unsound, depending on why the image has been adopted. More often than not both gays who adopt macho and queen images do not consider the political implications of these images. As the whole concept of stereotypes and labels has been used by heterosexuals to alienate and oppress homosexual people it would seem sensible for the oppressed to not only challenge society's stereotypes, but also to avoid devising their own. The whole area of images and stereotypes should be treated with the scorn it deserves. The only way to destroy a stereotype is not to slip into one. People should be able to wear whatever clothes they like; adopt whatever mannerism they choose. If heterosexual society is so concerned with stereotypes let heterosexual people be bogged down in the same, old image. Our existence is a challenge to heterosexual society, why should we accept its method of classifying one another, for in the last analysis it is a devisive and oppressive tactic that has been used against us for centuries.



How can a middle-class white woman taking a degree course at university say she is oppressed? This is the kind of question asked of feminist students by some men, and depressingly, often by other women. After all aren't we living proof of the fact that women, at least middle-class white women, have achieved their liberation? What more can we ask? OK, so 50 years ago most of us wouldn't be here; in that sense progress has been made, but are we now to sit back and be content with what we've got? Obviously not. But obvious to whom? To many of our male and female contemporaries we are making a lot of fuss about nothing. After all, university students are liberated, open minded, left-wing etc.etc. Aren't they? Surely sexism does not exist in universities? In this article we hope to show that nothing could be further from the truth.

Apart from the fact that most women at the university are to be found in the Arts rather than the Science departments (with the exception of biology, after all girls like nature don't they?) there is the everyday sexism that we face continually. Not just out in the big wide world but on our own wonderful enlightened campus. Remember the Freshers Ball, the big meeting for first years, not very different from your average disco cattle market was it? And how many women feel comfortable drinking in college bars on their own? How many of us have been shocked by the attitude of other students - often those we thought were our friends - when we expressed interest in joining the Womens Liberation Group? Attitudes ranging from ridicule to surprise to "but you're not lesbian are you?" But students aren't anti-gay? And what about the Junior Common Room of Goodricke College who recently spent funds on an inflatable doll - for hire to trustworthy sexist pigs only. It would be nice to think that this was the act of only an isolated few, but no - it was actually voted in at a JCR meeting. There was also the case of the guy, widely renowned as a 'right on' socialist, showing porn films. The attitude of the administration towards women has also been made abundantly clear in their reaction to womens demands for better lighting on campus. An official handout was distributed advising women to avoid walking in dark areas late at night - a typically negative suggestion. Better lighting has since been granted, but only after numerous meetings with officials, petitions, graffiti, and a Reclaim the Night march on campus.



Perhaps all these examples can be explained away in terms of a few sexist individuals. We certainly don't think so, but in case you do read on. York University like any other is a male dominated institution. The Students Union is male dominated, union meetings are male dominated, JCR Committees are male dominated, Student TV and Radio is male dominated, the teaching staff of all departments are male dominated - even in departments like psychology where most of the students are women.

The point that we really want to get across is that many women at university seem to have illusions about their own degree of liberation, simply because they have made it to university. OK, we're not being battered, most of us don't have kids to look after, we're not working our guts out in factories or slaving over house work all day, BUT that does not mean that we are lib-

erated. How many women still see their time at university as a chance to do something before marriage or before employing working class women as home-helps or nannies or cleaning women while they pursue their specialized careers as 'liberated working mothers'. Leaving university with a degree won't solve everything. We will still have to face discrimination in employment, social security, the law etc. We are still just as likely to be raped, treated as a sex object and generally harassed by men.

Sexism has to be fought on many levels, personal and political. We have our own problems to face as a group and much is still to be achieved. We must also show our solidarity with other women and not allow ourselves to become complacent.



I am writing this as a Gay Feminist, in that I relate sexually, and more important to me, emotionally, to women.

As a woman at university I found myself, as in society at large, in a male dominated environment both in it at intellectual and social aspects. I also find that as I am one of the few openly Gay women at university, I am considered an oddity, and my sexuality is not taken seriously. There seem to be few women as compared to men who have 'come out' at university. Maybe because women have less chance to see themselves in sexual terms. It is often only in the Women's Movement, that women come to define themselves as lesbians, for this is where the nature of female sexuality is discussed. As a result lesbian political activities are closely related to feminist activities in general.

But sometimes problems do arise between heterosexual and lesbian feminists. Gay women can feel alienated in womens' groups discussing relationships usually defined in terms of men or in considering men's role in Women's Liberation.

Nor are York Lesbians happy about mixed Gay Groups; university Gay Soc or York CHE (Campaign for Homosexual Equality). They tend to be male dominated and in social events, eg. Gay Disco's at Kings Manor or the York Arms. Even if we are accepted it is often purely as emotional props to Gay Men's problems.

Furthermore male Gays often reinforce the very stereotypes that Feminists are trying to destroy.

Therefore, there has been a move towards getting up a Lesbian group to discuss our own particular issues and to involve Gay women who don't define themselves as Feminist or who do not regard their 'private life' as having political significance. We aim in a Lesbian group to discuss personal/political problems, to organize a telephone service for Gay Women who need information, help or just a chat.

A Lesbian group of this nature has never existed in the town or at the university and our problem as Gay women in a heterosexual university and society in general dictate that we need one now!!!

"It is easy to read Gay and women's publications and regurgitate chunks of sound political theory; political groups on campus do it everyday. The most secretive, or 'closeted' gay person could probably read 'Gay Left' and 'Spare Rib', and write a perfect analysis of gay and women's oppression. It is the way in which a gay person lives her or his own life, and how he/she treats other people that is truly important, no matter how conversant they are in sexual politics, or whatever image they might have adopted."

DR. JEKYLL, MR. HYDE, FAUSTUS AND THE MERCHANT OF YORK.

Excerpt from a letter from the Vanbrugh provost to a student;

"...Thirdly, your frank admission that the accomodating of a guest overnight is a frequent occurrence seriously jeopardises the understanding on which you booked your room, namely, that it was for the use of one person. No respectable establishment offering accomodation would allow two people to be accomodated in a room designed for single occupancy.

I take note of your general dissatisfaction with the conditions under which you are expected to live in college. Most undergraduates do not find these particularly irksome. Clearly the answer is in your own hands, and I have your assurance that you are diligently seeking accomodation elsewhere. It would be highly satisfactory from all points of view if these arrangements were completed before the beginning of next term. In the meantime I expect you to behave in a responsible manner with regard to your room and property."

We pretend to come here to learn, discover, doss. These are all things we could do more effectively outside the thought/action (theory/practise) dialectic that is so convenient for both u. and our escapist academic overlords. They are all excuses. We come to be groomed, smoothed out, tailor made for a job that is cosy at others expense, and we know it. We run away from it in the jolly carefree excesses of our three years, itself the currency we exchange for free control over our bodies and minds. We allow the status quo and its guardians to determine our lifestyle because its easier and guarantees the innumerable little things we all need because having is more satisfying than being. (Also because the less one respects oneself, the more one needs the prop of property.)

The sordid merry-go-round begins the moment we move in to our production line bedrooms. Right from the Freshers Balls with thier (intellectual/political/macho/trendy/sexy etc.) posturings, our identities become totally as a student, with only those slight variations allowed by 'respectable' ready to wear stereotypes.

As we stay we discover that the administration plays as big a part as our department, continually concerned to influence our attitudes and behavior in matters that are none of their concern. Matters of lifestyle, usually seen as individual preference, become matters of right and wrong. What time we wake up, work, when we do our washing up, the state of our room, whether our friends 'sleep over'; these all become matters for them to oversee. They do this thoroughly - not only do our cleaners check on us, but the domestic bursar checks on them. We have been taught the right approach, and the usual accomodation set up of a deposit on the state of the property could not be considered. Neither could we clean our rooms ourselves. We are here to 'study', and that alone; our minions can do the dirty work.

The same criticisms apply to the Rhymer scheme, where the University finds one rented property for £1 a week on top of the already high rent. Here 'ole man Rhymer' himself can give us a surprise visit, patronise us, threaten us, write us letters that he himself acknowledges aren't factual, and generally exploits the fact that he allows us no tenancy rights. All is to the end of ensuring that we behave 'responsibly' - as they find convenient.

Third years are encouraged to move back into college, because it is better for their 'studies' in a vacuum, and more difficult not to be the conventional / accepting / good student their cowardice wants and expects us to be.

The whole thing is a mirror image for our future lifestyle. 'Everything we need' is pre-packaged and laid down for us. We pass the days in re-arranging someone else's knowledge (bureaucracy); and the nights escaping from our own corseted sterility in bars, or watching the the latest wallowing, plastic 'art' film. To escape our own responsibility and the stench of putrefication, we pretend not to care, tell ourselves and each other that we are ripping-off the system, having a doss, will change it all after it has accepted us. We pretend that all this cannot affect us, does not change our perception and sensitivity. Isolated as a student (and rejected by the town people for the easy answer scum that we are) we become more and more limited to this version of unreality by having nothing with which to compare it. We become unsure and confused by the inevitable contradictions of all this and with what University claims to represent. Shattered by the protective woolly bombast of the academics and administration, we wonder whether they might really have the answers (to one degree or another). We look up to them for some simplifying guidance. They are, however, at the most guardians, not possessors, of knowledge. Their justice, too, is a sham. Last years AP editors were threatened and browbeaten because they were dissenters, were inconvenient; there was no appreciation on their side of the issues involved. In other incidents some 'people' who attacked and threw a gay into the lake received a lighter punishment than someone caught spraying graffiti; (a fine six times larger and one years suspension - they also wanted to stop him coming back if anyone ELSE sprayed graffiti: hows that for a threat?) Their reasoning is clear - for all rulers in this society property is more important than people. For the rulers at University theirs is the line of least resistance (is that not why, after all, they are here?) and almost behind their own backs every time they provide an easy 'answer' they tear yet another pound of fleash from our backs. At University we might see only Dr. Jeekyll but turn up the pressure and our backs feel Shylock, Faustus and Mr. Hyde.

What follows is a reply to a letter from P. Smith (the undergraduate officer, a top man in the university and therefore to be respected/fearful) asking two students to discuss the "general state of the property" of their rented house:- specifically a complaint about noise but also to keep the house rented to students. There then follows a reply by Smith to their letter (annotated).

THE MOLE
SAYS...
HAVE YOU SEEN
WHAT'S BEHIND
YOU?

UNIVERSITY OF YORK
HESLINGTON, YORK, YO1 5DD
TELEPHONE 0904 59861

UNDERGRADUATE OFFICE
Senior Assistant Registrar: Peter Smith

19 June 1979

Dear Mr.

PETER SMITH AT HIS
MOST HUMAN (DR. JEKYLL)

Thank you for your letter of 16 June, the tone of which I am bound to say I found only marginally more acceptable than the spelling.

As far as your personal circumstances are concerned, you are, of course, free to reject any offer of help, and I am delighted that you feel so confident of your ability to deal with this potentially difficult situation.

I think I should make the point, however, that the University does have an interest in circumstances such as these because, as you know, the accomodation situation is difficult in York, and inconsiderate and even irresponsible behaviour by students can cause a landlord to refuse to let property to students in future. Furthermore, you should know that the Students' Union is also actively concerned to ensure that property is not lost to students. Perhaps, therefore, you should have a word with the appropriate Union officer before finally formulating your approach to this matter.

HERE HE COMPLETELY
MISSES THE POINT - THE
LINE WAS SATIRICAL,
NOT INTENDED TO
IMPRESS. WHO WANTS
TO IMPRESS AN EX-
BRITISH ARMY INTELLIGENCE OFFICER?

Your last point would have impressed me more had it not taken two minds to produce your relatively undistinguished and somewhat immature letter.

I ought to say in conclusion that if there are any further complaints, I shall have no alternative but to offer you a more determined invitation to discuss the matter.

Yours sincerely...??

Peter Smith

THE IRONY HERE
INDICATES MANY
YEARS EXPERIENCE
IN DEALING WITH
INSUBORDINATES.

ALWAYS MAKE
PROBLEMS EASIER
FOR YOURSELF -
DON'T SOLVE THEM
[OTHER PEOPLE ARE
EMPLOYED FOR THAT]

A RELATIVELY UN-
DISTINGUISHED AND
IMMATURE POINT
THIS MAN IS GOOD
AT VEILED THREATS





+Patrick Rooney, aged 9, shot by RUC, Divis Flats, Aug '69
+Gerard McAuley, 15, shot at Clonard, Aug '69 +Desmond Healy, 14, shot by army, Aug '71 +Martin McShane, 15, shot by army while playing with a toy gun, Coalisland, Dec '71 +Francis Rowntree, 11, shot by rubber bullet with battery implanted in it, Divis Flats, Apr '72 +Michael Magee, 16, shot at New Barnsley, May '72 +Margaret Gargan, 13, John Dougal, 16, Davis McCaffrey, 14, killed at Ballymurphy massacre, Jul '72 +Anne Marie Caldwell, killed by lightless army vehicle, Jul '72, Ramoan Gardens +Gerard Gibson, 16, shot with hands in pockets, Jul '72 +William Warnock, 15, killed by army, Cuba Street, Oct '72 +Bernard Fox, 14, shot by army, Ardoyne, Dec '72 +Stephen Geddis, 8, killed by a rubber bullet, Divis Flats, Dec '72 +Sean O'Riordan, 13, shot in the head as he walked down street, Clonard, Mar '72 +?? Heatley, 12, shot by soldier, Newry. Soldier convicted of manslaughter but released on appeal +Majella O'Hare, 12, shot walking down road, Armagh +Brian Stewart, 13, shot with plastic bullet, Turf Lodge +John Collins, 16, shot in stolen car +?? Savage, shot in stolen car, Ardoyne +Peter Crawford, 15, shot in grounds of Royal Victoria Hospital, Andersonstown +John O'Boyle, 16, shot in back at arms dump he'd reported to the police, Dunloy +Michael Neill, 16, shot by army, Ardoyne +?? McWilliams, 16, shot by army who claimed he had a petrol bomb +a girl, aged 7?, run down by an army vehicle, New Lodge +a boy, killed with his father, Ardoyne +two itinerant boys, shot by army having been seen stripping lead off an old building, city centre, Belfast +Maguire children, Finaghy Road North. Mrs Maguire disputes official version & thinks children may have been shot. No inquest to date.

THOSE MEMBERS OF THE FORCES OF 'LAW & ORDER' CHARGED OR CONVICTED SO FAR THIS YEAR (from Ireland Unfree Vol 1, no 3, Tyneside Irish Solidarity Campaign, 1979): Sgt John Weir, murder, RUC. PC William McCaughy, murder and kidnapping Sgt James Armstrong, RUC, kidnapping. Bobby McLure, RUC, attempted murder and bombing. 2 members of the Argyles accused of bayonetting to death a civil rights worker in Fermanagh. 10 Kings Own Scottish Borderers - theft. Sgt William Wylie, RUC, assault, fined £30. James Stewart (6 months), Robert Kerr, Robert Stewart (6 months suspended), all UDR, burglary. Military Policeman James McKeefery and Trooper John McKenzie, burglary & malicious damage. Sapper Kevin Sykes, assault on a man "for being cocky". Lance Corporal Ian Mullen, assault & actual bodily harm, fined £50. PC Colin Campbell, RUC, attempted murder. His victim was chief witness in the Shankhill Butchers case. Messrs Redfern, Church, Davidson & Allen, all UDR. Already sentenced for murder, rape, burglary & arson, now found guilty of 2 more murders. Corporal Peter Moore, Green Howards, blackmail, 18 months. William Black, RUC, theft of a pistol, one year suspended sentence. Eddie McIlwaine, LOUDR, one of the 'Shankhill Butchers', sentenced for his part in 19 killings. Ronald Gibson, Mark Ham, Kenneth Spence, all LOUDR, each fined £50 & 4 months suspended sentence for desecrating a Catholic church. Kenneth McClinton, UDR, murder, 2 life sentences. David Gilliland, 6 years, Wilf Kelly, 3 years, Billy Arnold, 2 years suspended, all RUC, convicted of driving round Fermanagh, shooting up the homes of known republicans. Private Glen Todd, UDR, stabbing a man, 4 months suspended. DC Kenny French & DC Alastair Newell, Castlereagh RUC, assault. Ernest Findlay, UDR, threatening a man with a pistol, 3 months suspended. Brian Gillen, UDR, illegal possession of arms while in the Republic of Eire.

Fathers Faul & Murray, in their pamphlet Violations of Human Rights in Northern Ireland, 1968 - 78, comment on

"...the astonishing fact that in the ten year period no British soldier or policeman in Northern Ireland has served a single day in jail for shooting dead 60 innocent people, torturing 800 people, using inhuman and degrading treatment on arrested persons. This fact has been publicly proclaimed on many occasions and the British have never been able to deny it. It indicates a very serious imbalance in law and order and the administration of justice. One can only presume that it is so arranged for the political purposes of the British administration."

Northern Ireland Official Police Report for 1978 (1977 figures in brackets): Violent deaths down to under 100 for the first time for 6 years. Other violent crimes down except bombings: planted 633(535), exploded 455(366), targets attacked 420(413). There was a drop in no. of people charged with 'terrorist type' offenses: 843(1308).

1000 known deaths 1968-1977
"over 300" soldiers killed, 1979
129 RUC killed to June, 1979

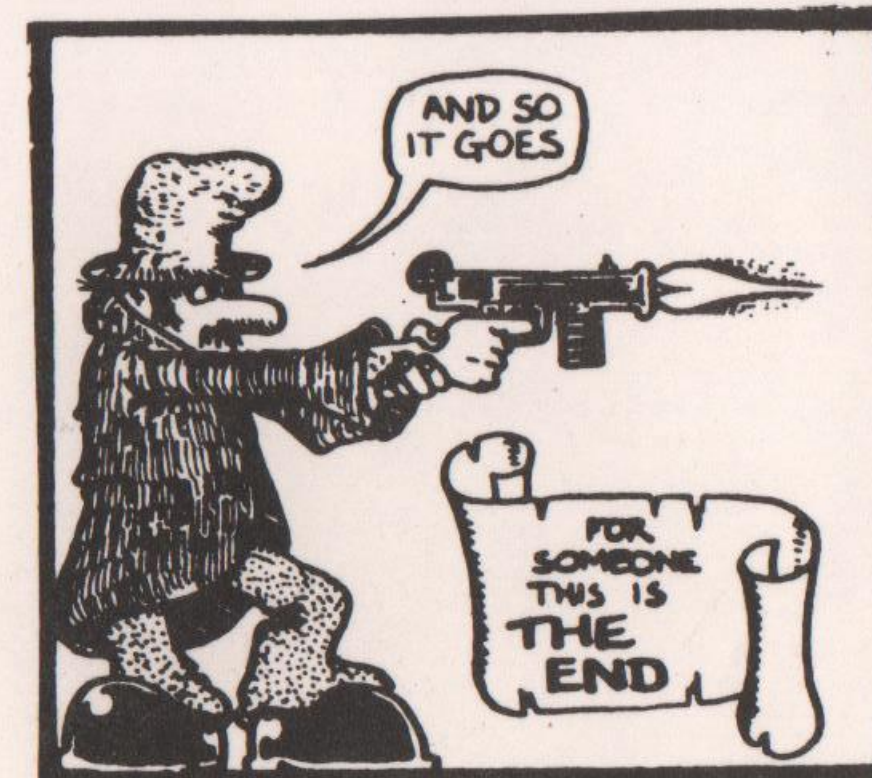
... AN IRISH JOKE ...

32. Highest unemployment in UK
Lowest pay.
Worst housing
Highest prices for food, beer, etc.



UNIVERSITY

Wait for 4 clean beats (Andy)



① I DON'T WANT TO GO TO UNIVERSITY

THEY ALL TURN OUT LIKE THEY'RE MEANT TO BE
THEY ALL TURN OUT LIKE YOU, NOT ME
I'LL NEVER GO TO UNIVERSITY.

4 beats.

NICE BUILDINGS NICE VIEWS URGH
NICE ROOMS NICE LOOS
NICE YOU AND NICE ME
ELITIST UNIVERSITY.

② I NEVER WANT TO GO TO UNIVERSITY

WE'LL ALL TURN OUT LIKE WE'RE MEANT TO BE
WE'LL ALL TURN OUT LIKE YOU AND ME
WE'VE ALL GOT TO GET A NICE DEGREE.

→ Whole chorus unaccompanied.

NICE STUDENT NICE BOOKS
NICE IMAGE NICE LOOKS
NICE YOU AND NICE ME
LYING UNIVERSITY - - - NICE ASSEMBLY LINE!

③ WE NEVER MEANT TO GO TO UNIVERSITY

WE'LL ALL TURN OUT LIKE WE'RE MEANT TO BE
MIDDLE-CLASS MORONS LIKE YOU AND ME,
I WISH WE HADN'T COME TO UNIVERSITY
... BUT WE'RE HERE NOW

Please send me the books I have detailed below

Author Title
ALL COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE RISE OF TAX-
PAYERS' MONEY SPENT ON THIS PUBLICATION
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HESLINGTON, YORK / CRITIQUES FROM PARENTS AND M.P.S
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