

# DIALECTICAL ADVENTURES INTO THE UNKNOWN

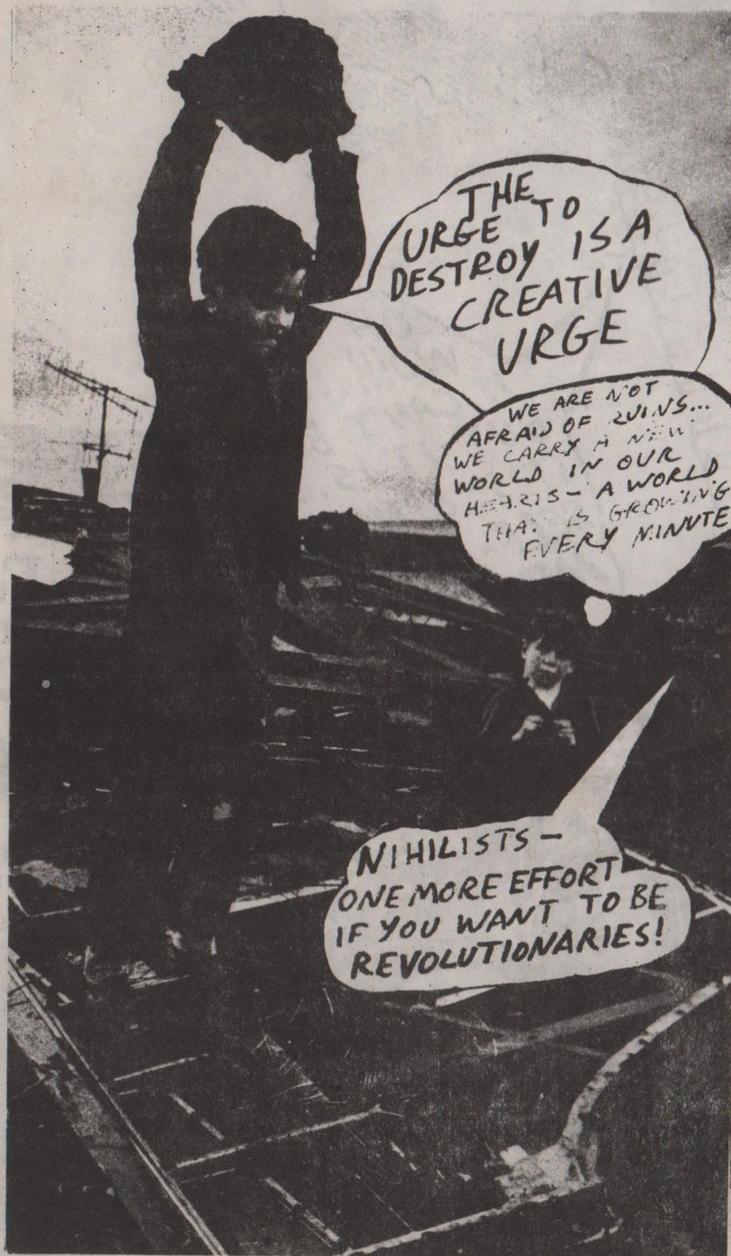


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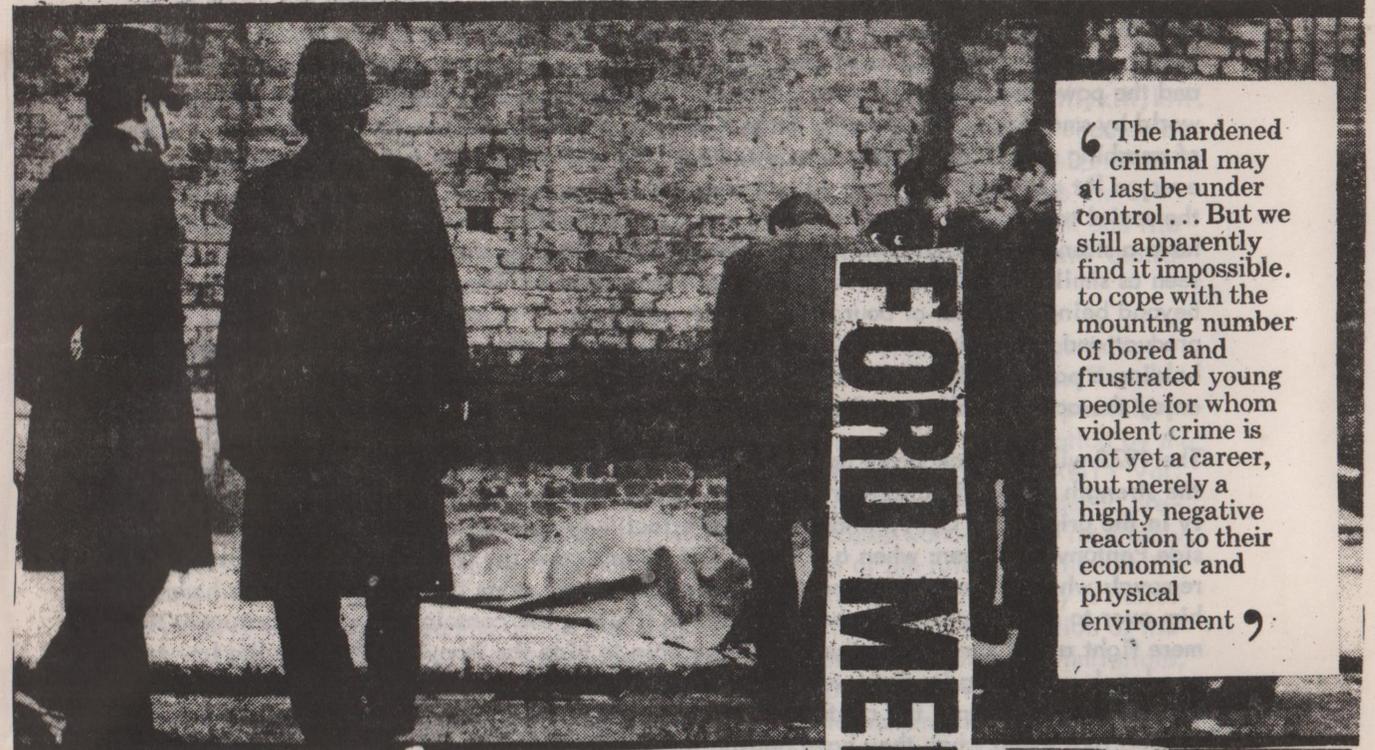
# the work of negation [& the negation of work]

Struggles, whose unconscious, essential reasons are qualitative and subjectively generated (lack of control over ones' life, boredom etc.) are expressed in quantitative terms, the terms the commodity permits (more money, equal pay etc.) - demands which, although arise out of the struggle with real needs, have already been superceded in acts, and thus insure that consciousness remains false (e.g. 'Defend the Unions' = 'Defend the recuperators'). The Left ignores the radicality of the acts (unofficial strikes, etc.) to concentrate on justifying the reformism of the demands. All demands, in appealing to others - bosses, Trade Union bureaucrats etc. - insure that the proletariat never becomes a class for itself. In concentrating on quantitative demands the Left insure that strikers remain defined by capitalism, and that they accept the framework of spectacular definitions, where relations between men take on the form of relations between things (i.e. the quantitative). In the realm of the quantitative individuals and groups can no longer recognise each other, nor be recognised. Only the qualitative enables people to see the possibilities for their own self-realisation in the self-activity of others. The following is an attempt to examine the qualitative...



The official miners strike of 1972 went dangerously out of the control of the officials who gave it their blessing. Against their orders, the miners stopped doing maintenance work - closing down the pits completely. The contempt for work, and the bosses violence, was articulated in a T.V. programme, when the miners were asked if they realised that by refusing to do maintenance work they were putting the future of the pit in danger. One replied, "So what - who wants to go down the bloody pit again anyway?". Another said that in closing down the pits they had already saved several lives. The rank and file organisation of the whole 'community' (a community based on defending itself, rather than individuals realising themselves in common, which can only exist on any large scale from the revolutionary moment onwards) against the police at Saltley Coke Depot shows the inability of the bureaucracy to contain the struggle within legal limits. And the, albeit temporary, refusal of some sections of miners to return to work, despite a 20% wage rise, shows as much a resistance to forced labour as contempt for the union hierarchy that negotiated the rise. Clearly Heaths' fear that the "traditional British way of doing things" was being undermined was a justified expression of the growing refusal to submit.

The refusal to submit is manifested daily in the unpublicised ways workers avoid work, both individually and collectively - sabotage being the most obvious example of this refusal. Whilst the playfulness of spanners in the works rarely reaches the imaginative creativity of



The hardened criminal may at last be under control... But we still apparently find it impossible to cope with the mounting number of bored and frustrated young people for whom violent crime is not yet a career, but merely a highly negative reaction to their economic and physical environment

## FORD MEN GO ON RAMPAGE

By PETER PRENDERGAST  
**ANGRY workers went on the rampage at a giant Ford car plant yesterday.**  
The men who work at Dagenham, were protesting against losing pay through being laid off.  
First they held a meeting in the factory canteen. Then some of them stormed off to the administration block to demand pay.  
**Panels**  
Angry at finding no one there, some of them SMASHED twenty windows in the canteen. RIPPED out electric wires and pneumatic hoses. KICKED and damaged body panels that were waiting to be fixed to cars. Most of the 1,500 workers then left the factory, and after a small group who stayed behind to stage a sit-in followed suit.  
Last night, a Ford spokesman said, there had

**Shoplifting 'for fun'**  
CHIEF London Magistrate Sir Frank Milton described shoplifting as "an additional tourist attraction" when told today how an Argentine couple laughed their way through a thieving spree.  
Miss Marie Vila, 66, a teacher, and Hector Jose Bollafo, 33, farmer, both staying at the Horseguard Hotel, Whitehall Court, Westminster, admitted in Marlborough Street Court, stealing two nightdresses, four briefs and a suitcase from an Oxford Street store.  
Sir Frank said as he fined them each £100 with £25 costs, "Some people steal because they are in need, some because they are ill, but you steal because you think it is fun."  
**Mini-mob rampage closes a school**  
DAILY MIRROR Monday, July 15, 1974  
FOUR young children went to school at the weekend - and wrecked it.  
In a two-day rampage they smashed and vandalised their way through classrooms, staffroom and stockrooms.  
Damage was so bad that parents were warned last night to keep their children away from the school - Wykeham Junior and Infants, at Hornchurch, Essex today.  
"It is unbelievable," said headmaster Hugh Croucher.  
"Not one of the twenty-two classrooms has escaped."  
In two days these four have turned the school into a mess of broken glass, upturned desks, torn papers and ruin.  
None of the wreckers was aged over ten. It seems they got in through a ground floor window on Saturday, Mr. Croucher said.

**Battle at Butlins as staff run riot**  
By NED GRANT  
A HOLIDAY camp erupted into violence when fifty staff went on the rampage early yesterday.  
They battled with security officers on an anti-noise patrol outside staff chalets at Butlin's camp at Minehead, Somerset.  
Police from three nearby towns were called as the guards were beaten up.  
The workers, some chanting "We hate security," were armed with iron bars and one carried an axe, the guards claimed later.  
A chalet occupied by two security officers had

**IRRESISTIBLE**  
A DRIVER who rammed sixty cars in Calumet Park, Illinois, told police: "It felt so good after hitting the first one I just couldn't stop."

the guy in a Blackpool rock factory who, given notice to quit, substituted the words 'Fuck Off' for the usual 'Blackpool Rock' motif (resulting in the management having to destroy half that year's products), sabotage always inverts the rules of productivity before pleasure and the power of things over men. Likewise, vandals show their disgust for a disgusting world by smashing up the housing estates and schools which oppress them... and in the act of smashing something up they are united with the world and with their own actions. However, a lot of vandalism is purely cathartic: vandals purge their frustrations without changing the social relations which create the frustrations in the first place - most gangs, for instance, have a strong hierarchy. Shoplifting, although an almost exclusively individual act, can be seen as similar to sabotage etc. in its assertion of the individual above things (and their price). Beyond being a refusal of bourgeois property relations, it is also a rebuttal of the use of both product and productive force. The sociologists and store detectives, neither being noted for holding a particularly playful attitude towards life, have failed to spot either that people enjoy the act of stealing or that they are beginning to steal because they enjoy it.

The 1972 wildcat dock strike against the Tories' Industrial Relations Act, whilst demonstrating the strength of the direct power of workers against the forces of law and order, remained firmly in the grip of the C.P., whose stewards effectively policed solidarity demonstrations outside Pentonville prison: when a bus was used to barricade the street the stewards insured its removal; when an 'unruly' element suggested the crowd storm the jail the stewards handed him over to their opposite numbers in blue. In limiting the consciousness of the struggle to a mere fight against the Tories, the C.P. were able to hide the irony of hitting at the law on one level, yet doing its dirty work on another. However, even Bernie Steer, the freed C.P. steward, could glimpse the contradictions of his party's position: "The workers will not be treated like sheep when they have nothing to look forward to but a change of sheepdog". With the violent jostling of bureaucratic sheepdog, Jack Jones, whose job it is to herd the flock into capitalists' stockades, it is clear that the sheeps tattered clothing hardly serve to cover the wolf-men baying to get out.

The Lincoln bus strikers were quick to learn that unofficial industrial action can reverse court decisions. The worker jailed for stealing was released almost immediately without even presenting his case in his application for bail - so his mates went on to reverse the managements' decision to suspend a driver for allegedly smoking in his cab.

"It is the organisational form itself which renders the proletariat virtually impotent and which prevents them turning the Union into an instrument of their will. The revolution can only win by destroying this organism, which means tearing it down from top to bottom so that something quite different can emerge."  
- Anton Pannekoek.



Gripes: Militant dockworkers beset union leader Jones

"Bawling and bustling won't deflect Jack Jones or any other leader. This kind of behavior is contemptible and has nothing to do with trade unionism." - Vic Feather, former general secretary of the T.U.C., TIMES, 17/8/72.

The C.P.s' reaction to the jailing of the Shrewsbury 3 is in obvious contrast to their reaction to that of the Pentonville 5. The building workers organised and co-ordinated their flying pickets and fight with scabs without the interference of the C.P. bureaucrats. "Kill, kill, kill! Capitalist bastards - this isn't a strike - it's a revolution!" was one of the slogans chanted by pickets during the '72 strike (quoted in 'The Sunday Times', 7/10/73). Despite their industrial power, the C.P. has predictably made only half-hearted solidarity gestures to free the 3. Their token demonstrations and one day strikes are an attempt to appease their rank and file without antagonising UCATT or the TUC, towards which all their trivial 'hopes' and 'aspirations' are directed.

Despite their right-to-work (read: 'right to be bored'/'right to be exploited') sloganising, the wildcat factory work-ins and occupations concretely pose the question of the self-management of the means of production. However, even those which maintained full participation in decision-making, in contrast to those subjected to bureaucratic manipulation by the C.P. (UCS, Bryants, the Manchester AUEW sit-ins) and even mangement (SOLIDARITY Vol. 7, no.5 reports of a factory in which the manager called and ran a work-in in order to prevent the liquidator taking over the factory; the slogan of the bosses work-in was, inevitably, 'the right to work'), have accepted the return of the old bosses or the rule of the new as the price for their survival. Whilst the return of the normal conditions of wage slavery is hailed as a victory, the radical meaning of the experience is lost in the reformist definition of the struggle. However, the activity of the women workers of Fakenham, despite its' limitations, represents a qualitative change from the normal trend of occupations. In taking over the factory they were not merely rejecting the passive role assigned to women, but went beyond the partial critique of Womens' Liberation; they could be identified with all those who act to seize control over their lives. The usual subservient role of women in strikes was reversed: it was the husbands who made the tea whilst the women decided strategy. Initially a struggle over redundancies, they soon confronted the State and the bureaucracy which no longer dared represent them - by occupying the social security offices and those of 'their' union (not, unfortunately, going as far as the Pilkington workers who, over 4 years ago, smashed up their local office of the notorious scab union - the GMWU). Ignoring suggestions from the Leftist organisation, the International Marxist Group, to run their work-in through a hierarchy of committees and sub-committees, they managed their struggle by means of regular meetings of all the occupiers. Despite their industrial isolation and numerical weakness, and with no history of struggle, in a matter of weeks these women were able to cut through almost all the hurdles of illusions, exposing the Lefts' undialectical ideology of 'stages of consciousness' for the absurd lie that it is. However, unable to extend their struggle, they were forced to legalise their work-in in order to survive. Whilst authentic self-management can only exist in areas where the tyranny of the market has been overthrown, there are aspects of the Fakenham take-over which represent a qualitative change from the dominant form (though not use) of production: mutual teaching and sharing of skills, and, consequently, inter-changeability of tasks, fortnightly meetings with decisions made collectively, no wage differentials, and a 20-hour week. Equality here has been based not on some abstract concept, nor on a mere quantitative assessment, but on the destruction of hierarchy (including the specialist hierarchy of knowledge, but not the fundamental hierarchy - the subordination of people to the laws of commodity produc-

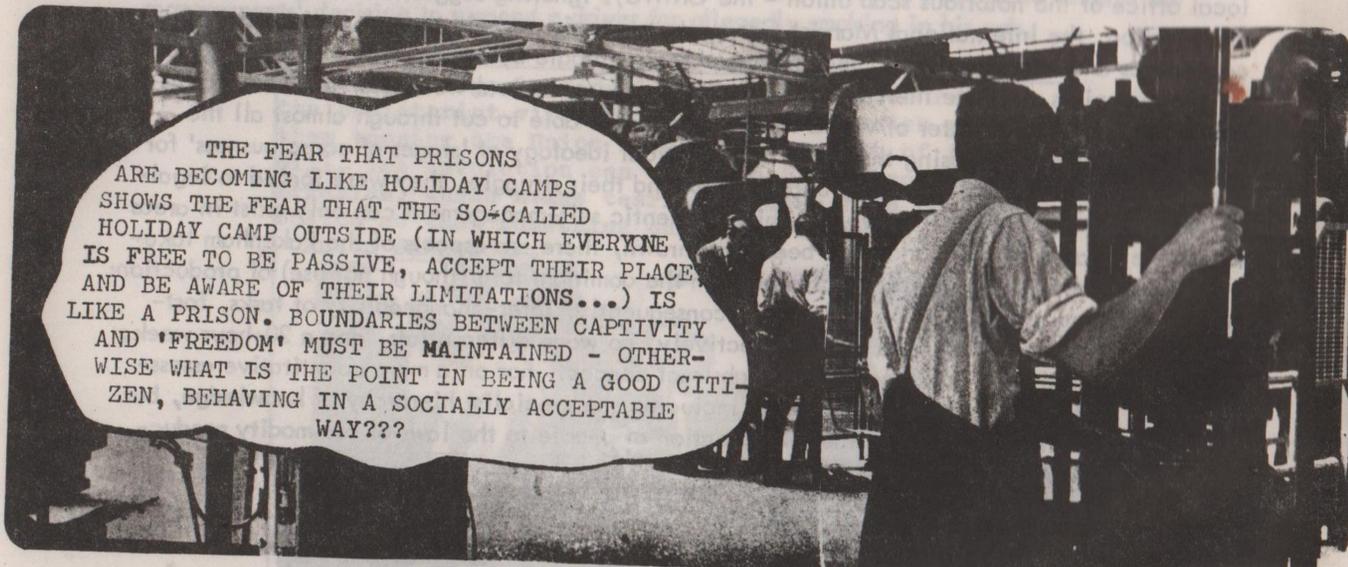


THE WORKERS OF FAKENHAM

tion) and an inevitably concomitant, albeit partial, step towards the destruction of the barriers separating the workers from each other. Its logical extension, which cannot exist under capitalism, is the equality of masters without slaves. Only by becoming conscious of the possibilities engendered by their self-activity can the Fakenham workers generalise their struggle to others and escape the boredom of their new routine and the isolation of running their own alienation in a 'self-managed' enclave.

Whilst sporadic rioting abounds in Her Majesty's Prisons, the sit-downs of 1972 were the first co-ordinated expression of the fight against the concentrated hell existing behind the barbed wire and metal bars. However, the insurrection was largely run by the reformist organisation, Preservation of the Rights (sic) of Prisoners, whose main aim is to get union rights for prisoners. Trying to look respectable and influence (top) people, they limit their demands to more humane treatment for the prisoners - which is a bit like asking the Gestapo to use slippers to kick their captives in the balls. Humiliation can never be humanised, despite the efforts of the humanists. Dick Pooley, former head of PROP, admitted containing the anger of the prisoners: "In Gartree, for example, we have 100% support, and when we call for a sit-down, they do it. But there are people in there who'd burn the place down. Luckily in Gartree there are responsible blokes behind us, who will not let the violent element get out of hand." The violence of the authorities following the non-violent revolt is enough to expose the limitations of such priestly leaders. Their righteous condemnation of this repression did not lead them to question the non-violent strategy and reformist analysis which insured its success. In Brixton, the prisoners showed their mistrust for the negotiations being made 'in their interests' by continuing their sit-out (despite threats from the authorities) because, they said, it was sunny. Pity the PROP theoreticians (who define prisoners as victims of society - a purely passive definition, ignoring the elements who actively refuse to 'play' by society's rules and get caught) failed to mention that the cells most people inhabit outside might have been criticised by similar action.

Opened in 1969, Coldingley in Surrey has been described as 'a prison in a factory'. A new concept in prison design, it enables inmates to work in modern industrial shops (like this one for metal shelving) in maximum security



THE FEAR THAT PRISONS ARE BECOMING LIKE HOLIDAY CAMPS SHOWS THE FEAR THAT THE SO-CALLED HOLIDAY CAMP OUTSIDE (IN WHICH EVERYONE IS FREE TO BE PASSIVE, ACCEPT THEIR PLACE AND BE AWARE OF THEIR LIMITATIONS...) IS LIKE A PRISON. BOUNDARIES BETWEEN CAPTIVITY AND 'FREEDOM' MUST BE MAINTAINED - OTHERWISE WHAT IS THE POINT IN BEING A GOOD CITIZEN, BEHAVING IN A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE WAY???

The crisis hitting world capitalism (a decline in economic growth accompanied by accelerating inflation) clearly reveals how commodities are in the saddle riding an increasingly reluctant mankind. In the immediate future the rulers of this country are likely to attempt a precarious balance between repression and 'participation' (i.e. getting the workers to help in their own exploitation: running their own alienation) in order to weaken the opposition to capital which will arise in response to its crisis. But the crisis will only be final if the proletariat (all those who have no control over their lives and know it) asserts its autonomy against the

# Wilson: How the worker can help to run his factory

DAILY MIRROR, 25th April 1973

## Business leaders back Jones

LEADING industrialists—worried about the image of British industry being portrayed by some politicians—have joined in the appeal by Mr Jack Jones to set the record straight.

In an open letter to newspapers, Mr Jones has rejected allegations during the election campaign that the unions are dominated by extremists and said the claims were damaging Britain.

Now acting through the London Chamber of Commerce, businessmen representing international companies operating in Britain are planning to take active steps to improve on what other countries think of British industry.

### Image abroad

Commenting on remarks in Mr Jones's letter about damage to exports caused by "union-bashing" politicians, a Chamber spokesman said: "In many respects the Chamber supports the essence of what he is saying."

"We have decided to set up a working party to look at the whole question of the British image abroad. This will be led by a number of senior foreign industrialists working in Britain."

Mr Jones's public appeal not to ignore the falling number of days lost through strikes, and the co-operation between management and workers over the three-day week would give new urgency to the project.

"Outside the political context of attacks by politicians on unions, most industrialists would probably echo the basic sentiment what Mr Jones has said."

# IT'S WAR AGAINST BOREDOM

By ALAN LAW Industrial Correspondent

**T**HE Government, the Confederation of British Industry and the TUC are linking up to conquer the increasing problem of boredom at work.

Employment Minister Maurice Macmillan yesterday announced the joint scheme aimed at improving the quality of our working lives.

The Ministry is backing the project with money, top psychologists and social service experts.

The joint working party, led by Mr Robin Chichester-Clark, Minister of State at the Employment Ministry, will draw up a programme of experiments in industry and commerce.

Mr. Macmillan said last night: "We have produced an industrial society which has produced a higher standard

of living as a result of production techniques.

"But it is these techniques which have produced difficulties and additional stress in people's working lives.

"Rewards to workers have been concentrated too much in extra money. Now we want to give them extra satisfaction in doing the job."

Mr. Macmillan said that "boredom by automation" must be curbed.

He said that employers must understand that it is people, not machines, who matter.

### Monotony

And he said: "The action we intend to take is aimed at making people's working lives more satisfactory."

Mr. Macmillan said that motor car belt production did not have the "monotony on monotony."

He said the job of the working-party will be to find ways of minimising boredom, monotony and the feeling of insignificance on shop-floor working throughout the country.

The working-party has been set up after an exhaustive report on "the quality of working life" by Dr. Norman Wilson, a senior occupational psychologist.

## Tory charter for workers' power

Unless radical changes are made in relations between management and shop-floor it will become increasingly difficult for modern industry to function effectively.

- H. WILSON

Sunday Mirror Industrial Correspondent

HALF the directors of every firm should represent such interests as the workers and the local community, says the Tory Bow Group today.

In a report on worker participation, the group calls for "a gradual but fundamental change" in the ownership and control of industry.

"If companies are not to become subject to tighter and tighter statutory control, it is vital that the self-regulatory powers of boards should be reinforced from within," says the group.

So the option should be open for up to half the directors to be nominated by non-owner interests.

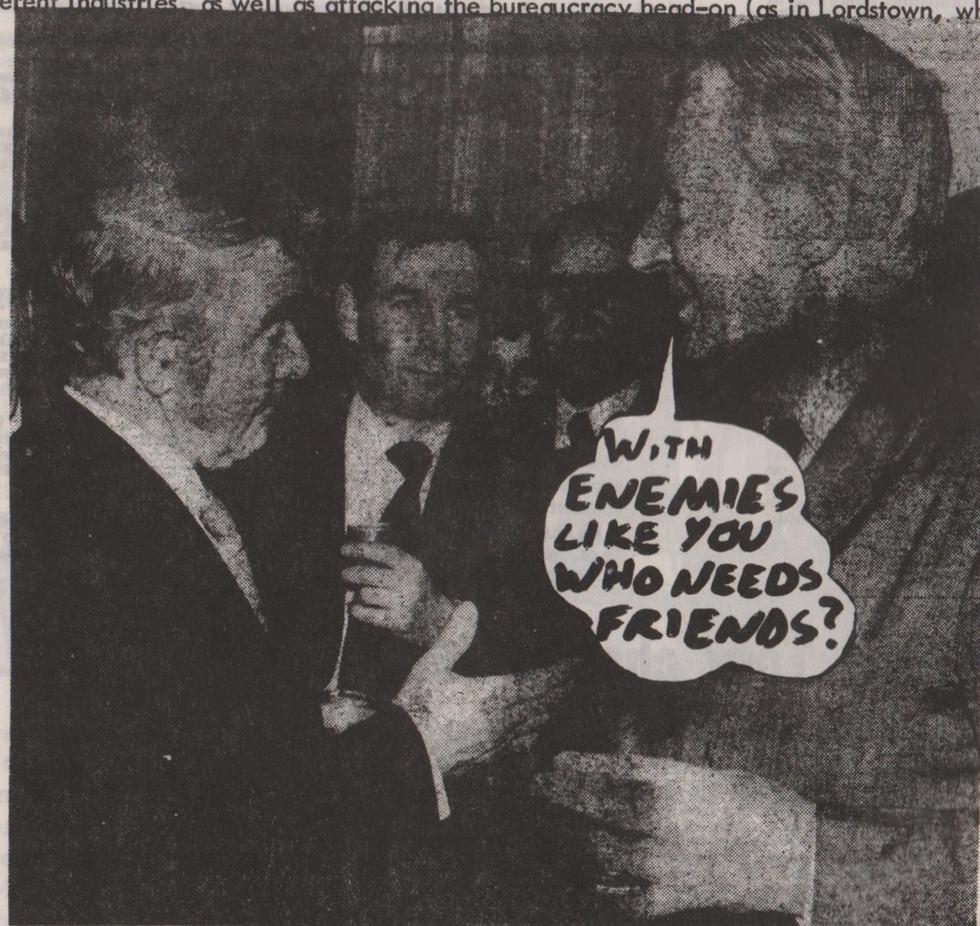
This goes beyond the concept of worker directors and would permit one or more members to be nominated by the appropriate level of local, regional, national or European government.

The report adds: "In a society whose real wealth is continuously growing, the spread of ownership to all the people is a force for stability, dignity and responsibility."

The group wants a system under which firms set up capital funds. A proportion of the profits paid to workers would be paid into these funds.

autonomous power of things, which it can only do by going beyond the quantitative level at which the crisis strikes. However, the most recent workers' struggles in this country have failed to break out of the control of the Union bureaucrats, who owe their allegiance to the existing order of things. If the workers are forced to prostitute their labour to the capitalist in order to survive, it's clear that the role of the union is that of pimp, negotiating the rate of exploitation. The unions' task is to integrate the workers into the capitalist structure, which sometimes necessitates a stance of opposition in order to lead a struggle, which might otherwise escape its grasp, back into acceptable limits. As Joe Gormley stated during the recent miners' strike: "The argument by the lads for continuing with the strike was that if it was called off, the members might walk all over us." (Times 9/2/74) - a fear that might have been meant literally in view of what the dockers did to Jack Jones in '72. Gormley was obviously afraid of any kind of rank and file action, which is why he was opposed to flying pickets, used by the building workers in '72. "Flying pickets can fly out the window", he stated just before the miners' strike began. And the rank and files' compliance with the NUM 'executive' shows their failure to achieve, let alone extend, the autonomy of the '72 strike.

During the 1969 Port Talbot wildcat strike, the steelworkers told the press that they had neither leaders nor spokesmen: "We are our own leaders", they declared. The struggles of the future necessitate an equally clear awareness of their self-activity: they must speak in their own voice and not allow others to steal it 'on their behalf'. No matter how sincere, workers who attempt to attack the bureaucracy within the terms the union permits will inevitably tangle him/herself up in ever-tightening contradictions: such confrontations are as useless as shadow-boxing. The union must be by-passed: workers must create their own non-hierarchical groups capable of subverting the key sectors of production and consumption (e.g. in Lordstown, U.S.A., car workers consciously organised the sabotage of well over half a million cars, as part of their struggle against boredom) and linking with similar groups in different industries - as well as attacking the bureaucracy head-on (as in Lordstown, where



7 "Our quarrel is not with the unions... Our quarrel is only with the extremists who want to destroy the moderates in the unions - who want to destroy the unions themselves as they exist in this country". - E. HEATH (Sunday Times 10/2/74)

strictly mandated delegates physically disrupted union-management negotiations).

The real fruit of all struggles lies not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding self-confidence and consciousness of the participants; their real victory will be in the conscious appropriation of the use of their lives through the absolute power of the workers' councils (as outlined in Kronstadt '21, Barcelona '36, Hungary '56 etc.)

Whilst the general form of self-management has begun to appear in the unofficial struggles outlined above, their content (the experience of collectively seizing the means of production, the streets, fighting the law, the State, the union bureaucrats etc. - the change in relationships, the pleasure and the element of play, if any) has not. The above has largely been an external observation; the content of these struggles must be rediscovered by the participants if it is not to be smothered under the blanket of ideology: analysis must unite with experience if it is not to become abstract.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE - YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR BOREDOM - YOU HAVE A WORLD OF PLEASURE TO GAIN!

#### INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION



Paris barricades May 1968

DULL IT ISN'T

OUR LOOTING OF FURS AND CHAMPAGNE IS NO MORE AN EXAMPLE OF OUR ATTRACTION TO THE 'WESTERN WAY OF LIFE' THAN THE LOOTING OF TVs IN WATTS WAS PROOF OF THE INTEGRATION OF BLACKS INTO THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. OUR ACTIONS SHOULD INSTEAD BE CONSIDERED AS SIGNS OF THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER NOW POSSIBLE: "TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS DESIRES" - IN THIS CASE STILL THE FALSE "DESIRES" PRODUCED BY THE COMMODITY SYSTEM

And in Portugal...

The euphoric carnival that erupted onto the streets following the death of the old regime flowed freely into the factories in the form of spontaneous mass strikes, occupations and go-slows...and the Communist Party plays its traditional counter-revolutionary role, by slandering the strikes, denouncing them as 'fascist provocations' - which simply means that they are outside its control.

...and in America...

For thirty days we, the truck-drivers, occupied the streets of the city, preventing the passage of commercial vehicles, allowing only food and medicine to be circulated, fighting the National Guard with bricks, and co-ordinating the whole battle for the terrain of the city OURSELVES.

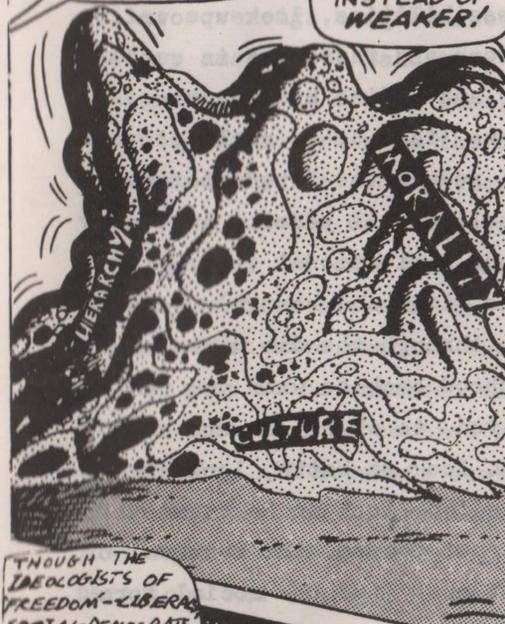
Cleveland: May 11, 1970

IT ISN'T POSSIBLE!! NOBODY COULD STRUGGLE SO LONG WITHIN MY LIVING CAGE!

AND YET--HIS MOVEMENTS GROW STRONGER INSTEAD OF WEAKER!

BUT, EVEN IF A MIRACLE OCCURS--EVEN IF HE SHOULD BREAK OUT-- IT WILL AVAIL HIM NOTHING!!

MY SUPER-HUMANOID STANDS READY TO DEFEAT HIM--AS HE HAS DONE BEFORE!!



THOUGH THE IDEOLOGISTS OF FREEDOM--LIBERALS, SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS, BOLSHEVIKS AND EVEN ANARCHISTS-- HAVE HELPED TO DEFEAT THE WORKERS COUNCILS OF THE PAST--

...THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF THESE REVOLUTIONARY MOMENTS-- PARIS 1871, GERMANY 1918, KRONSTADT '21, BARCELONA '36, BUDAPEST '56 ETC--

...CAN ASSURE THAT NO ONE WILL DEFEAT THE EMERGING FORCE OF THE NEW PROLETARIAT!!



A flame burning in my mind, wildness in my head, soaring through to my heart, passion throbbing like a laughing crying sob of eternal sensual delight, mad joy surging through my limbs, insanely screaming to myself: Yes Yes Yes, a flooding desire bursting through the ice of banality, washing away all constraints, seizing the streets, looting the supermarkets, the beginning of the re-creation of our childhood, fusing the most sumptuous, dazzling, exotic, flowing, funniest, orgasmic of our dreams with the real world, with each other...suddenly we find sensuality tickling our finger-tips, our minds drunken with joy in a revel where no-one is sober, the adventure is immediate, words begin to make love, the cobblestones, as weapons of self-affirmation, become soaked in our power, become tools for the construction of the greatest work of art of all: ourselves, and our eyes can already see the sun of subjectivity rising on the horizon of our consciousness, its glowing warmth evaporating the grey clouds of the commodity, singing out NOW YES NOW YES as we smash our way through that which hitherto has smashed us...

THE MORE VIBRANTLY THE FUTURE IS VISUALISED, THE MORE POWERFUL IS THE FORCE OF DESTRUCTION - BAKUNIN.



"I've been in this factory for twenty years now, and I've seen people make so many mistakes. All the time fighting for handfuls of rice, you know. And it's never done us a scrap of good. But now they are starting to understand that it's no good fighting for scraps, that the struggle now is to have everything. In the factory either you have everything or you have nothing. There can't be any half measures." - Italian FIAT worker, quoted in *Italy*, '69-'70. Big Flame, Clarendon Road, Wallasey, Cheshire, England.

Utopian? Naive? To those commonsensible smugs who, in imposing limitations on the consciousness of possibilities, lock up our passions and fantasies in our minds and bodies by demanding that we 'face up to reality' (i.e. reduce the future to what capitalism will permit) and 'accept our limitations' (i.e. give up the fight and resign), we say "Peer through the dim mists of adulthood back to when you really lived, to when you were a child. Look at Watts, look at France '68, look at Portugal this year." Of course, the festival of revolt must find the social form that gives its essence unimpeded expression. Or else the various bosses will smother the cry of freedom with the dull monotone of 'Business As Usual', justifying themselves according to the sober principles of 'realism', which is merely the reality of the order of things which have weighed down humanity for two centuries, the only reality these bosses can conceive of because, steeped as they are in its quantitative rationale, they can only get 'enjoyment' through their management of it: the illusory control of an economy, the laws of which in fact control the controllers, confers upon the bosses a real power over people from which they get their profits and their 'meaning' to life.

To prevent this, spontaneity must seek its consciousness,

must search for the social form in which it can unleash itself; history has shown us this form in the power of the workers' councils: sovereign neighbourhood & factory assemblies mandating delegates, revocable at any time, to execute and co-ordinate the decisions made by the people themselves. The councils of the future must destroy not only the geographical barriers but also the illusions which have enabled those of the past to be smashed: all social life must be centred on themselves, all separate centres of power treated as enemies. They must aim to overcome all separations and contradictions (the split between work and leisure, neighbourhood and work-place, town and country etc.). Internally, the councils must guard against all hierarchical pretensions (status, for example) and bureaucratic growths through the constant surveillance of delegates by the base (through telecommunications, for example) and the continual rota-



tion of delegates to prevent the development of authoritarian experts. The power of the workers' councils is the historically specific form in which the proletariat abolishes itself as a subjugated class, in which individuals are directly tied to world history, in which history is consciously made by each and everyone of us, in which the self-management of all is dependant on the self-management of each, in which the pleasure of one is inseparable from the pleasure of all: it seeks to make "the senses direct theoreticians in practice" (Marx), to dissolve the inner-outer antinomy so that (wo)man recognises him/herself in the world (s)he has made, to bring truth into the world, so that thought is corrected by practice and practice corrected by thought and the dichotomy between the two disappears. "The world has long harboured the dream of something. Today, if it merely becomes conscious of it, it can possess it in reality." (Marx). The development of automation heralds the possibility of the complete abolition of forced labour and at the same time, the creation of a purely playful type of free activity. The productive forces must be put at the service of our imaginations and will to live, of our countless dreams, desires and half-formed projects, of our wildest fantasies. They must be given real, not abstract, powers. We must create environments which transform individual and group experience and are themselves transformed as a result: a real time and space in which all our desires are realised and all our reality desired: game-cities. The total work of art.

# Irish bone stew

Insofar as the fighting in Northern Ireland is a religiously motivated anti-colonialist and nationalist struggle, it offers no possibility of radical change. The most advanced stage was the indiscriminate looting in Ballymurphy and the Bogside, the short-lived Derry street councils of 1969 and the mass rent strike in the Catholic areas following internment, which were all a critique in acts of all political parties and the reign of commodity values which forms their foundation. This practice was far ahead of Irish political ideology, which has never emerged from militantism, sacrifice and suicide. The supposed oppositions between 'English' and 'Irish', 'Protestant' and 'Catholic', 'North' and 'South' all mask the essential unity of the whole facade against any glimmer of real life. The Southern Irish, English Left (setting up impotent terrorists like the Price sisters as martyrs), Irish Americans and so forth all vicariously participate in these mock battles from the graves of their daily existence. Until all the Christian creeds and political doctrines are dumped in history's dustbins, along with their apologists, no change is possible. All we have now is - on one side - continuous terrorism, impotent because of the theoretical illiteracy of the terrorists: they can't see further than their machine guns. And on the other, an ascendant separatist (masked as 'loyalist') Protestant working class, capable of overthrowing the Faulkner government - but only through the tiny elite of the Ulster so-called Workers' Council, complete with the backing of the bigots - Paisley, Craig etc. The most likely outcome of all the sound and fury will be the traditional one: a pot of bones from which the spectacle will prepare its' stew for time to come.

The unusually open repressive nature of British rule in Northern Ireland (indiscriminate killing of demonstrators, internment without trial, torture etc.) can only be seen as the culmination of the economic contradictions of Ireland: the enormous contradiction between monopoly production and the largely tribal (pre-capitalist) society in which it was suddenly planted. Up until the early 19th century, it was the south that was industrially advanced, while the northern counties had an ill-organised and archaic peasant industry. A hundred years later, the situation was the other way round. This resulted from the difference in land tenure systems, the system in the north ("Ulster Custom"), being more secure and facilitating capital accumulation. From 1820, linen became the northern growth industry, supplemented by shipbuilding after 1850. In this century, the southern Irish bourgeoisie resorted to protectionism against the imperialist market to arrest any further industrial decline. (The islands' population has fallen steadily to its' present four and three quarter million.) The political failure of the industrial bourgeoisie at the beginning of the century, plus the geographical concentration of big industry in the north-east, caused the contradiction between big and small bourgeoisie - a contradiction which exists in all capitalist societies, but which is usually kept well in hand by the big bourgeoisie - to become aggravated in Ireland to the point where the only solution was the division of the nation. Partition was not a cause but a consequence of this division. It arose out of the uneven development of Irish capitalism. In 1920 the two parts of Ireland would not fit together to make a harmoniously functioning bourgeois system. The two bourgeoisies had conflicting interests in the market; politically, they took the form

LONG LIVE THE  
LIBERAL OCCUPATION



U.D.A.

SPOT THE DIFFERENCE.

I.R.A.



DAILY MIRROR, Thursday, June 27, 1974

## COURAGE OF DYING IRA MAN

By JOHN SANDIFORD

THE POLITICS OF SUICIDE

THE courage of IRA hunger striker Michael Gaughan as he faced death was described by a prison doctor yesterday.

"I think his political motivation was such that it over-rode the natural fear of death," said Dr. Brian Cooper.

"There is no doubt in my mind that he was a very brave man."

"He told me he knew he was going to die and was looking forward to it."

Gaughan, the 24-year-old bank robber, died three weeks ago at Parkhurst jail, Isle of Wight after sixty-five days on hunger strike.

Everyone wants to breathe and no-one can breathe, and many say 'We will breathe later', and most do not die, because they are already dead.

of nationalism and Unionism.

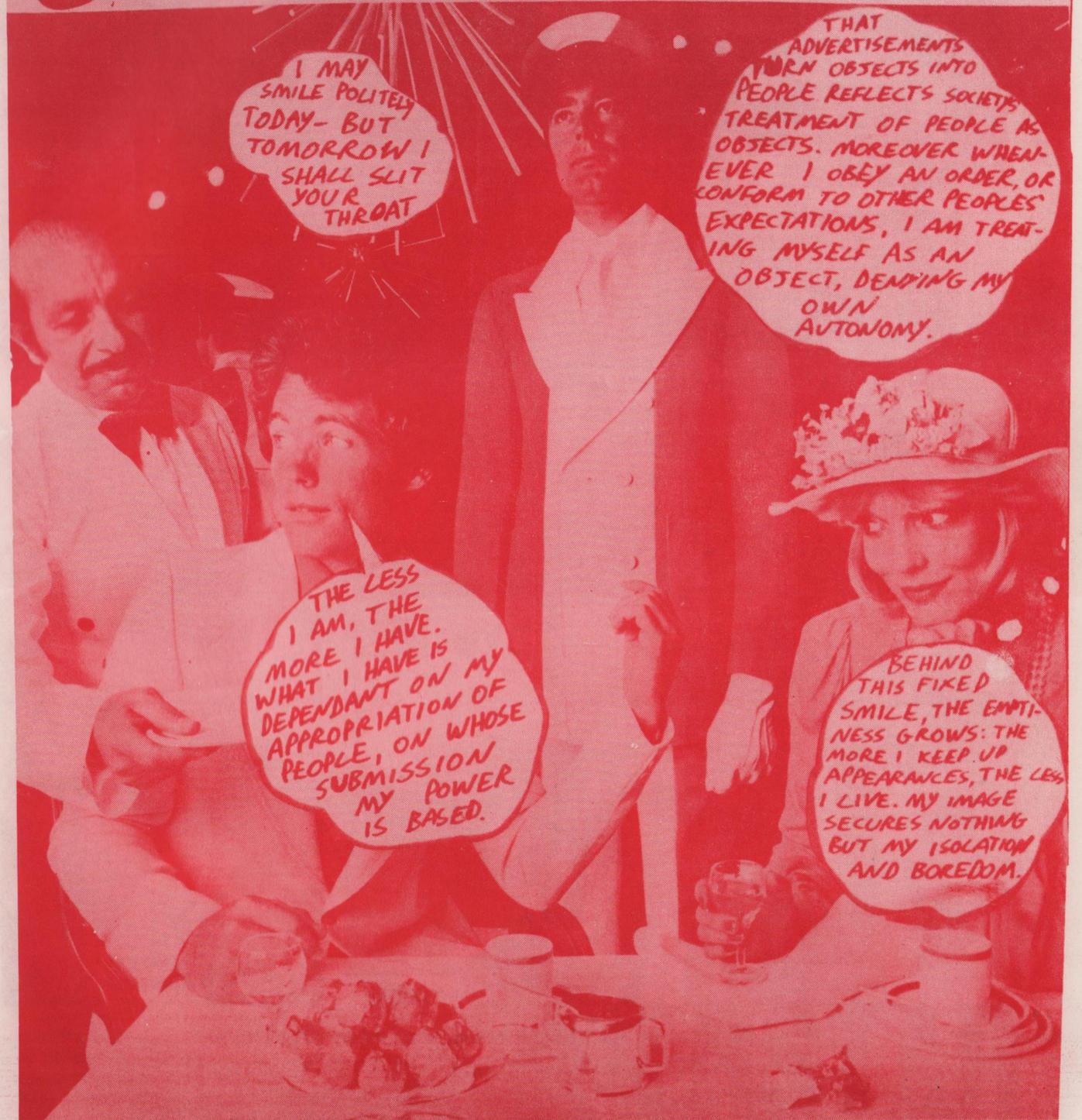
The protectionism of Fianna Fail in the south reached the limit of its effectiveness by the end of the thirties. After that, southern industry could only increase by operating on the international capitalist market. In the late fifties the inevitable conclusions were drawn: protectionism was dropped. The politically dominant petty-bourgeoisie of the thirties has now given place to a stable grouping of large-scale industrial elements. The new situation was reflected by the repeal of the Manufacturers' Act in 1959 and the Free Trade Agreement with Britain in 1965. On March 4th 1968 the Irish Press declared in a front page headline: "ECONOMICS AND REASON WILL END THE BORDER". In other words, capitalism has no further need for the border. Business interests both in the south and the north recognize this. At the moment, we are witnessing the spectacle of a bourgeoisie abandoning its insular nationalism in favour of Europeanism (a compromise between various national ideologies), while the Left (Sinn Fein et al) heroically struggles on carrying the torch the bourgeoisie have since extinguished. Having missed the ideological boat, the Left stands on the dock frantically shouting "Traitor!" (as if the bourgeoisie could betray themselves).

The IRA dare not analyse the economic situation in Ireland for fear of revealing its counter-revolutionary position throughout its' existence. It can merely present the Northern ruling class as the incarnation of gratuitous evil, rather than a class stuck with a sectarian ideology of its' own making which refuses to disappear when the requirements of the economy demand it. The Official IRA held recently to a programme demanding a ragbag of private ownership, nationalisation of key industries, credit unions, land co-operatives and a ceiling to land holding. Recently, they have placed more emphasis on the land co-operatives. They aim at worker-ownership based on 'Irish and Christian values'(!). It is completely false to recognise any revolutionary possibilities in either wing of the IRA as it exists today. The nostalgic nationalism and vague dreams about land co-operatives are relics with no significance. The leadership is rigidly authoritarian, capricious and sexually archaic. The IRA acts as a 5th column police force, dealing severely with looters, suppressing sexual 'offences' such as adultery and homosexuality, and the use of proscribed drugs (really dangerous drugs like work, T.V. and religion are honoured and respected by almost everybody). We must clear away the dross of bygone historical struggles. Let there be no mistake about it, nationalism is the antithesis of the revolutionary project. Whilst nationalism historically appears as the ideology of a definite stage of capitalist development, always serving the capitalist interest no matter how it is dressed up in the rags of left-wing ideology, internationalism could only belong to the left-wing groups and their patron countries as an ideological justification for the power of the bureaucracy. Bureaucratic societies (Russia etc.) are precisely the dictatorship of the proletariat turned upside down - a dictatorship over the proletariat in its' name. In the past, nationalism at least had the merit of recognising that it was Ireland, and the concrete circumstances of Ireland, which had to be changed. But today, all these ideologies must be superceded if any revolutionary movement is to emerge. (Ideologies, in Marx's sense of the word; are ideas which serve masters.)

The coming revolution can only find aid in the world by attacking the world in its totality. The revolutionary movement can only rise up over the grave of Sinn Fein and the other 55 varieties of leftism operating in Ireland.



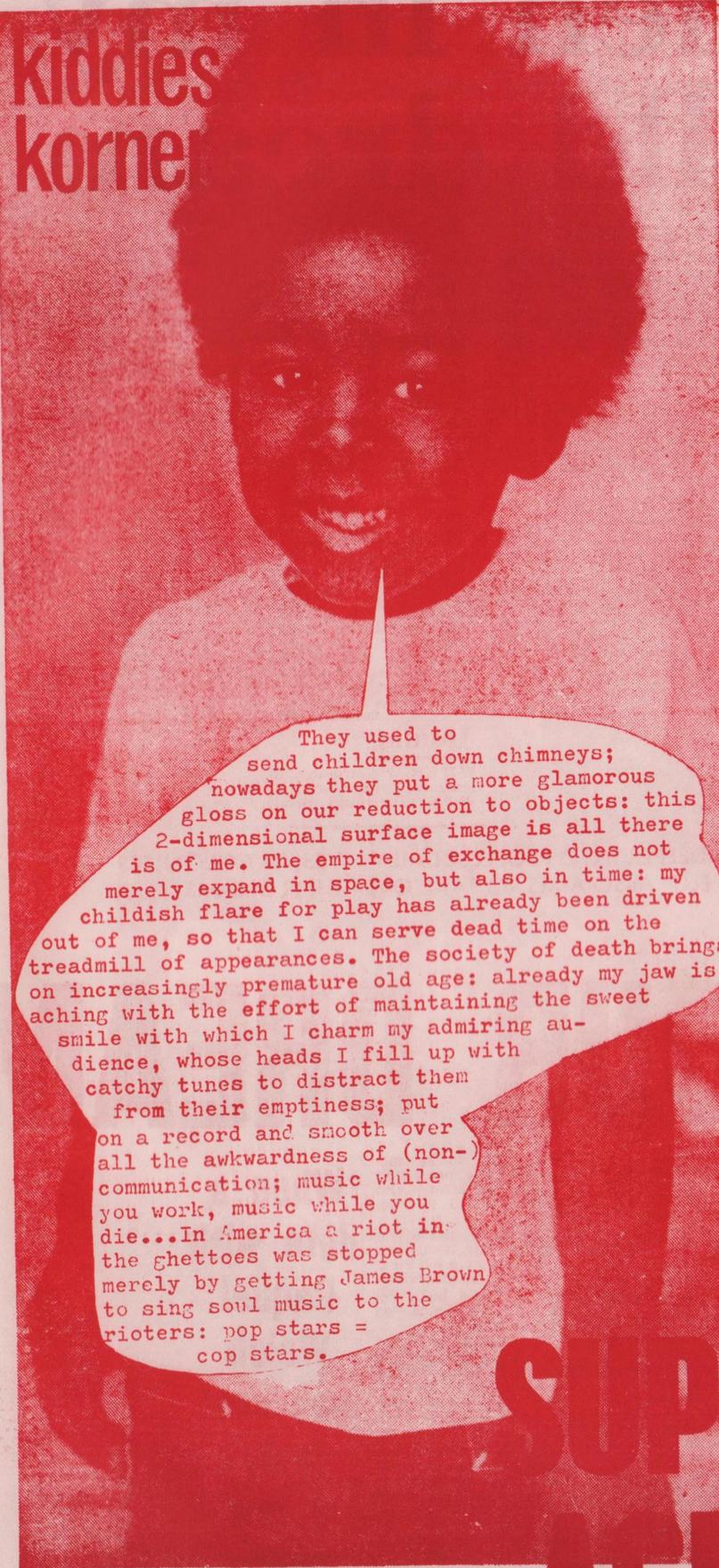
# COLOUR SECTION



"I never go anywhere without my Barclaycard."

Barclaycard puts more power behind you!

# kiddies korne



They used to send children down chimneys; nowadays they put a more glamorous gloss on our reduction to objects: this 2-dimensional surface image is all there is of me. The empire of exchange does not merely expand in space, but also in time: my childish flare for play has already been driven out of me, so that I can serve dead time on the treadmill of appearances. The society of death brings on increasingly premature old age: already my jaw is aching with the effort of maintaining the sweet smile with which I charm my admiring audience, whose heads I fill up with catchy tunes to distract them from their emptiness; put on a record and smooth over all the awkwardness of (non-) communication; music while you work, music while you die...In America a riot in the ghettos was stopped merely by getting James Brown to sing soul music to the rioters: pop stars = cop stars.

making an unexpected trip - back home to mum. But perseverance is what explorers are made of. Later a determined Tony - his full name is Tonino Mastrolorito - was on his way again. He marched into San Remo railway station - clutching a toy pistol. "I'm catching the first train out of here - I'm off to see the world," he told the station-master, jabbing the pistol at him. "It will be curtains for anyone who tries to stop me." Again, police were called. But Tony was debent by the end. "You're got me this time," he yelled. "But just you wait - I'll make it."

Maturity. Tony is only four. And when he boarded a bus in San Remo, Italy, on the first stage of his journey, the conductor naturally asked him what he was doing out alone. The intrepid explorer replied: "I'm going on a tour of the world." A policeman was called. Soon the little boy was

**DAILY MIRROR MARCH 28 1970**

## 'HAPPY PILLS' PUT MORE IN DANGER

By RONALD BEDFORD  
Mirror Science Editor

THE British are in danger of becoming hooked on "happy pills," two leading drug specialists warn today. They say much of the blame may lie with doctors who find it easier to dose out drugs than to listen to patients' problems. The specialists report a startling increase in the number of prescriptions for those that lift depression, or calm stress. Prescriptions for the ups-and-downs drugs rose from 37,700,000 in 1967 to 41,700,000 in 1971, the last full year for which all the facts are available.

half the adults in the land, and one child in three, take every day. The experts ask a higher standard of well-being now being sought by more people? Are individuals becoming more intolerant of the everyday stresses? The answers they say, must be found. If the suspicion is confirmed that the psycho-active drugs are being handed out too freely, doctors will have to re-think their prescribing habits.

Professor James Cooks and Dr. Lloyd Christopher report their views in the Journal World Health. They say more than



Next time those housework headaches become just too much for you, why don't you turn to Yeast-vite and get the relief you need.

Yeast-vite understands and knows how to help.

IN A WORLD DOMINATED BY 'UNSOLVABLE' PROBLEMS, THE COMMODITY 'RESOLVES' PROBLEMS IN A CONCRETE, NO-NONSENSE MANNER. IN THIS AD CONSCIOUSNESS IS ATTRIBUTED TO A THING, IN ORDER TO INSURE ITS ABSENCE IN THE INDIVIDUAL: THE COMMODITY 'KNOWS HOW TO HELP' THE HELPLESS INDIVIDUAL.

# SUPERSTAR AGED FIVE

All set to storm Britain... a tiny pop singer with £80,000 in the bank

# The men in my wild dream

WE ASKED: What's your wildest daydream? Here are your £1-winning replies.

WITH one other woman, and five males, three of whom fancy me like mad, I am in paradise, shipwrecked on a tropical island.

During the day we fish and swim from the coral reef.

At night I dance around the beach fire, my sinuous body and long, auburn hair inflaming my three lovers.

And when we are rescued, I will marry the tall, lean, slightly older, intelligent one.

Reality? I'm 50 and grey-haired, and I can't swim. But a woman can dream, can't she?

Mrs J. C.,  
Heanor, Derbys.

## Fired

I WALK up to our works manager one morning and say: "I've just



bought the business. You're fired."

B. W.,  
Norwich, Norfolk.

## Embrace

I AM running across a cornfield in my long white dress with waist-length black hair flowing in the wind.

Running towards me is Steve McQueen, wearing just hipster jeans, his bronzed chest glistening in the sun. He whirls me

high in the air, and we sink to the ground in a passionate embrace.

Mrs M. K.,  
Basingstoke, Hants.

## Interview

MY daydream is of an interview for a job which goes like this:

Interviewer: "Have you any children?"

Me: "Yes, two boys, aged eight and ten."

Interviewer: "How

lovely! We are looking for somebody like you, with children.

"You need the money, and you will work well."

Mrs J. P.,  
Derby.

## Retired

MY favourite dream is of a secluded, rose-covered cottage in the country, where I retire to enjoy my old age and go fishing every day.

I'm only 15, but I'm looking forward to it.

D. NOBLE,  
Trelawny, Glam.

## Furnishing

OUT of the houses advertised to be sold I pick one with six or eight bedrooms. I decorate it, choose carpets and furniture, and fill the pantry with food. Then I go home and tell the family: "We're moving."

Mrs S. A. CHAPMAN,  
Gillingham, Kent.

## Ironing

WHEN I'm ironing, I imagine I have won a £5,000 Premium Bond

prize. If I have a lot of ironing I make the prize £25,000

Mrs M. J. PORTER,  
Hadleigh, Essex.

AS I am ironing my father's shirts, I imagine they are Paul Newman's.

Miss LESLEY SKETCHLEY,  
Mablethorpe, Lincs.

The Sun, 18/6/73.

AS THE SPECTACLE PENETRATES DEEPER INTO PEOPLES' DAILY LIVES, IT COLONISES NOT ONLY THEIR FANTASIES, BUT ALSO AIMS TO TAKE OVER THEIR DREAMS.....

# DIAL YOUR DREAM

**R**ECORD pools winner Colin Carruthers, 24, says his biggest thrill would be to get actress Raquel Welch into the passenger seat of a Lamborghini — driven by himself, of course.

But all of us — even without a £629,000 pools win — may, a few years from now, be able to get our thrill-of-a-lifetime at any time.

Scientists know that electrical stimulation of different areas of the brain can create different states of mind with all the sensations of the real thing.

"And this suggests that artificial experience may eventually become available to the consumer," says US author David Rorvik. In his book *As Man*

By RONALD BEDFORD

Becomes Machine (Souvenir Press, £2.50), Mr. Rorvik says:

"It is possible to visualise 'dream machines' that would replace TV and the cinema. Even the average household might one day be equipped with such a device."

For a few pence fed into a slot, Mr. Rorvik explains, people would be able to dial the dream experience of their choice.

They would be linked to a computer-controlled master machine that would stimulate their brain centres to produce the experience they most desired.

Mr. Rorvik says: "It might be a night in bed with the individual's favourite actress,

guaranteed to be successful, or a precarious climb up Everest — also guaranteed to be successful."

The experience would happen only inside the sensation-provoked brain of the individual, but it would be a fictitious experience as real as reality.

Well—would it work? A British research worker told me: "Technically this is possible now. But a great deal of thought would have

to be given to the long-term consequences before the method could be applied wholesale.

"Some scientists argue that it would be less harmful than, for example, the use of drugs for 'trips'."

When a date with Raquel Welch may cost only a few pence

SUNDAY MIRROR 25/3/73

"However estranged, everyone possesses and recognises an irreducible part of creativity, a camera obscura safe from invasion by lies and constraint. If social conditioning ever controls this part of man, it will only reign over robots and corpses". — R. Vaneigem.

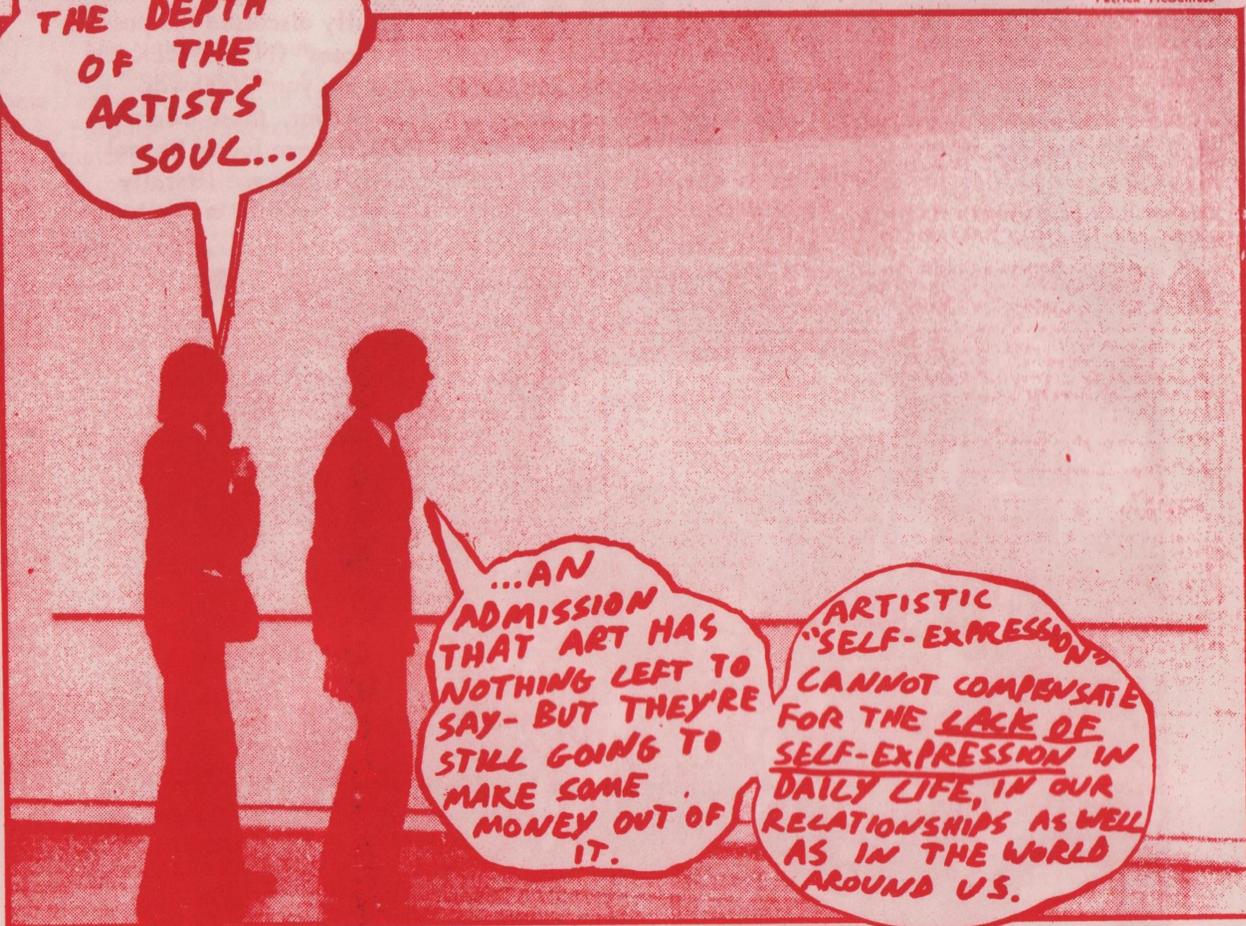
Contemporary research into the factors 'conditioning' human life poses, implicitly, the question of (wo)man's integral determination of her/his own nature. If the results of this research are brought together and synthesised by the cyberneticians, then man will be condemned to a New Ice Age. A "Commission on the Year 2000", set up in 1967, gleefully discussed the possibilities of "programmed dreams and human hibernation for medical purposes" (NEWSWEEK, 16/10/67). The Sunday Mirror article on the opposite page implies that the year 2000 was, from the scientists' viewpoint, a somewhat pessimistic estimation. If, however, these means of conditioning are seized by the revolutionary masses then creativity will have found its real tools: the possibilities of everyone freely shaping their own experience will become literally demiurgic. From now on Utopia is not only a desirable project, but both a feasible and vitally necessary one.



# THE ARTS

Patrick McGuiness

SUCH A SUBTLE  
EXPRESSION OF  
THE DEPTH  
OF THE  
ARTISTS'  
SOUL...



...AN  
ADMISSION  
THAT ART HAS  
NOTHING LEFT TO  
SAY- BUT THEY'RE  
STILL GOING TO  
MAKE SOME  
MONEY OUT OF  
IT.

ARTISTIC  
"SELF-EXPRESSION"  
CANNOT COMPENSATE  
FOR THE LACK OF  
SELF-EXPRESSION IN  
DAILY LIFE, IN OUR  
RELATIONSHIPS AS WELL  
AS IN THE WORLD  
AROUND US.

A space to watch: a couple of schoolboys inspect one of the two paintings by Bernard Cohen, newly acquired by the Tete

Culture -  
both high and low -  
is the false 'realisation'  
of the imagination (from Lau-  
treumont to Disney), false in that  
it is realised in petrified forms,  
(novels, plays, songs etc.) sep-  
erated from the daily life of  
individuals & their world,  
shared purely as an end  
product, but not as  
immediately created  
experience.



To concentrate  
the senses on this  
separate sphere is to  
make illusions sacred, and the  
lived reality of the dialectic between  
self and world profane: seperation perfected...  
life decreases as illusion increases...  
lived experience dries up whilst  
the world is flooded with  
surrogate experience.

Lonely Lautreamont lets his imagination flow into the fantastic separate form of the book, creates his private subjective world and falls into it: madness, subjectivity stuck in the head, incommunicable wealth, desperate to be shared and lived in the real world...Lewis Carrol, shy and sexually inhibited in his life, compensates for this by letting go on paper....art as gratification substitute...Everything of value in art has always cried out aloud to be made real and to be lived. Creativity must be freed from the forms into which it has been ossified, and brought back to life. Art must stop being an interpretation of sensations and experiences, and become the immediate creation of sensations and experiences. The problem is how to produce ourselves, and not things which enslave us.



Destruction of the Vendome Column, Paris Commune, 1871.

## THE GREATEST WORK OF ART OF THE 19th CENTURY

"Never before has there been so much talk about civilisation and culture as today- today, when it is life itself which is disappearing. And there is a strange parallel between the general collapse of life...and this obsession with a culture which has never co-incided with life, and which is designed to domineer over life." - ARTAUD.

## WOMAN'S EYE VIEW

### It's time kids learned life's often a bore

ALL I hope is that those 15-year-old schoolgirls who've been learning a new trick - attempted suicide - because they're "so bored" at having to stay on at school another year aren't going to be pampered too much.

I hope, too, that adults won't start bending over backwards in their attempts to interest and amuse them during this last year so that the "little darlings" won't carry on with this attention seeking nonsense.

Above all, I hope there's no more talk from women magistrates as we had last week: "To some extent I sympathise with the children."

Because, to my mind, all these do-gooding "Let's-try-to-understand-the-young" brigade are barking up the wrong tree on this one.

All right, so being at school for a great deal of the time, IS boring.

So is standing at a factory bench. So is serving in a shop. So is working in a typing pool. So is being a "glamorous" air hostess.

So is writing a column, come to mention it.

Everything. EVERY job, every situation and indeed every relationship has its boring times, but what sort of training are we giving our youngsters if we don't prepare them for this true but dreary fact of life?

Particularly to the most boring job of all - that of being a full-time wife and mother tied to the kitchen sink all day.

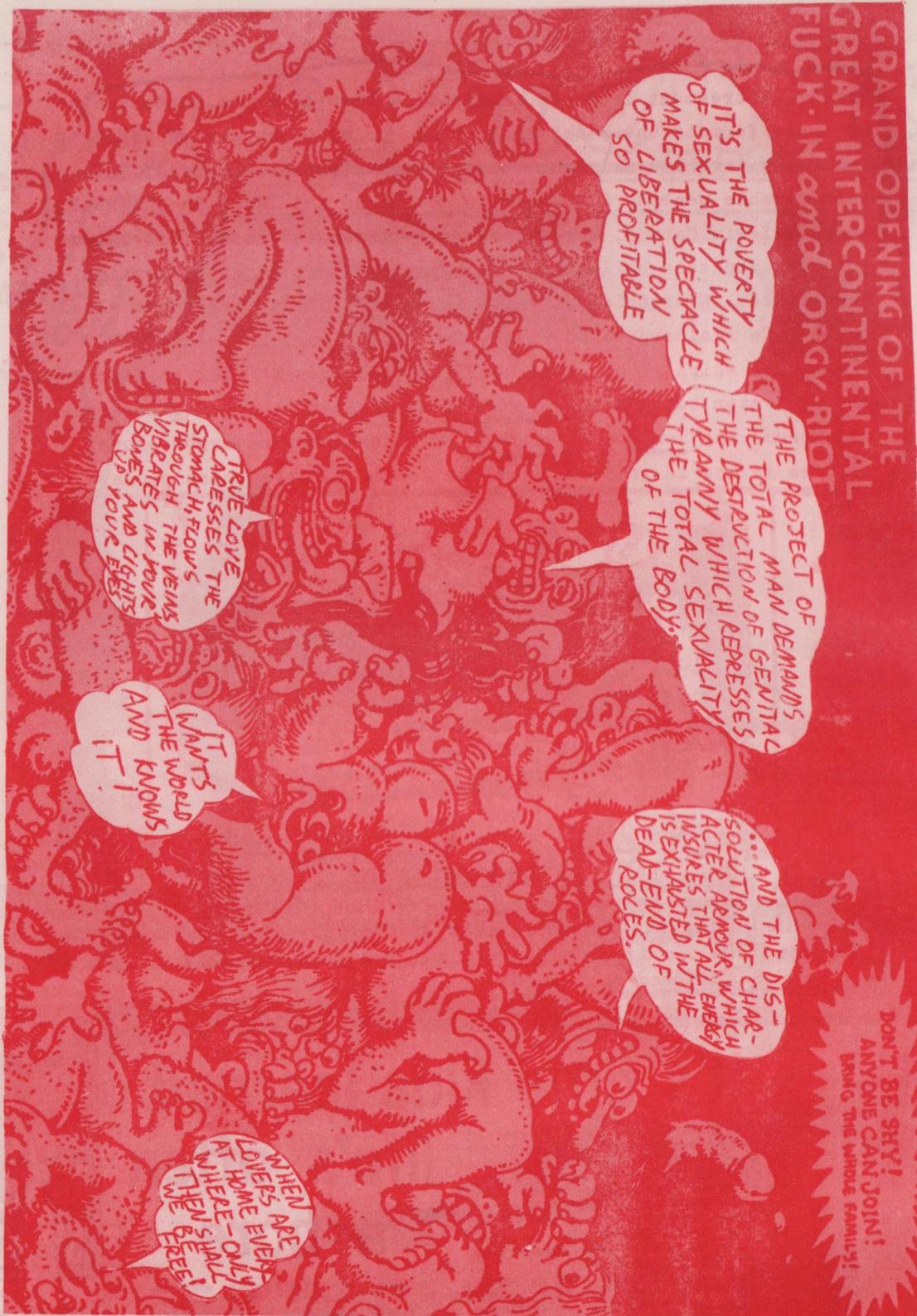
[No, no, I'm not saying it's boring ALL the time, but a jolly good part of it is, let's be honest.]

Frankly, instead of pampering and worrying and going on about these 15-year-olds, I believe that high on the curriculum of

the last year's syllabus should be a course on preparing for life after school. And high on this list should be a lesson on "How to cope with boredom - starting from now."

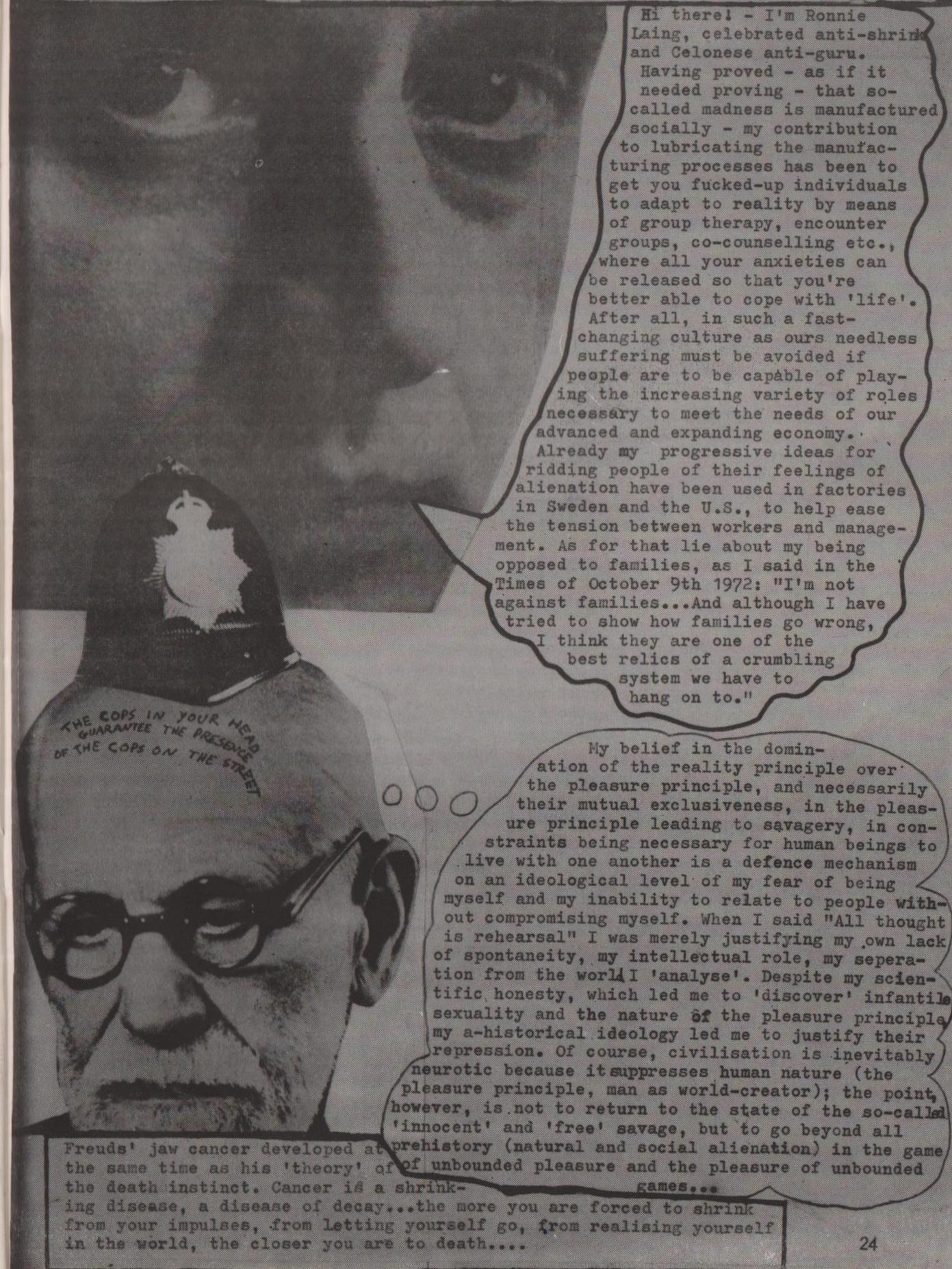


ADAPT  
ACCEPT  
RESIGN  
DIE



Undischarged sexual energy is turned inwards and makes the sufferers less and less spontaneous. The character neurotic is afraid of adventure, he dreams rather than lives, he needs fantasies to get turned-on sexually. "Armour is protection against a never completely subdued nature within oneself and against social misery outside oneself...this armouring is the basis of loneliness, helplessness, craving for authority, fear of responsibility, mystical longing, sexual misery, of impotent rebelliousness as well as of resignation of an unnatural and pathological type...this alienation is not of biological, but of social and economic origin." (Reich)

# DO-IT-YOURSELF PSYCHIATRY (LESSON 1)



The nightmare of the contemporary city expresses, concretely, the prevailing organisation of everyday life: space and time engineered to isolate, exhaust and abstract us

In the city, citadel of capital, buildings and streets are everything, people are nothing; and the 'permanence' of the architecture reinforces the belief in the permanence of this world.



Having a shit is far more exciting than watching the best film: it's the trivial which, steeped in our own subjectivity, re-invented as ours, which must be de-trivialised and become the focal point of our attention; in concentrating on ourselves and our own activity the spectacle appears as it essentially is: empty. But once an action becomes routine, or reduced to a behavioural category (like 'having a shit') or becomes demanded, defined, assessed and fixed by others, it freezes, becomes impoverished and is lost; its ability to be in the 'here and now' disappears. Games are the best way to reinvent the world, to transform every moment collectively and individually; they require more than the simple rule of immediate pleasure which enables everyone to see themselves in the other; it's here that the ability to 'be here now' is sovereign.

Only in so far as people fail to affirm themselves can they admire this world in any of its aspects, only in so far as people fail to become conscious of their own creative/destructive activity (dreamed and practiced) will they fail to negate what negates them.



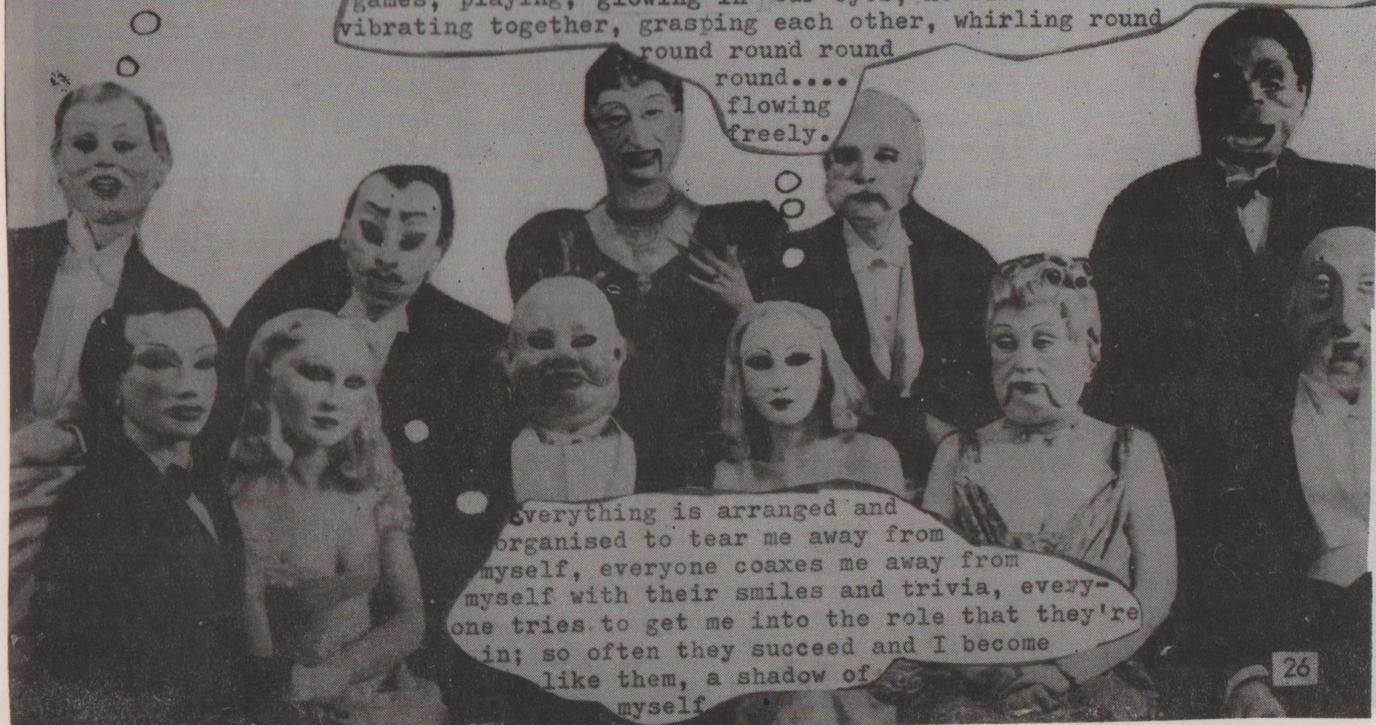
I want to turn my inside out, to make the vibrations and moving colours inside my mind and body appear out there in the real world, to feel at one with the world... but all I ever feel is at none with the world of things, a world designed for the maximum efficiency of the smooth running of the commodity economy and its spectacle, but never for the exploration and gratification of sensual pleasure, never created to enable people to be immediately creative, never as a playground for our desires, a static, colourless, flat world.

FROM BEHIND EVERY MASK THE MALADJUSTED INDIVIDUAL RESTLESSLY STALKS THE PRISON BARS OF HIS ROLE

I remember once - our gaze met and melted... our gaze caressing each others eyes... tingling in the head, whirling down the throat... exploding laughing in the stomach...but now our eyes are empty, eager to be distracted, glazed and dulled eyes, reflecting our weariness, and our words no longer play together

There's a conversation in the middle, to which everyone contributes; it bounces between them, towards one and then the other; I throw my bit in, but it's not me, I'm outside: it bounces this way, that way. Then: laughter...and the conversation evaporates. Silence. I sink into my own head, yet somehow I'm tangled up in that silence, it niggles at my stomach. The eyes of everyone else seem to have turned inward. It seems as if that laughter was mere illusion, the feeling of togetherness a lie...real or not, it has gone, and I am alone, like the others

monotone, fixed phrases, masks of self-confidence, rigid gestures, reminiscences, anecdotes, 'jokes', discussions on abstract politics, sport, the latest film, play, the last acid trip, our holidays, the price of food, the price of dope, who's pregnant, who's been busted...but never words touching, changing, intermingling, laughter games, playing, glowing in our eyes, no fire and air and our bodies vibrating together, grasping each other, whirling round round round round.... flowing freely.

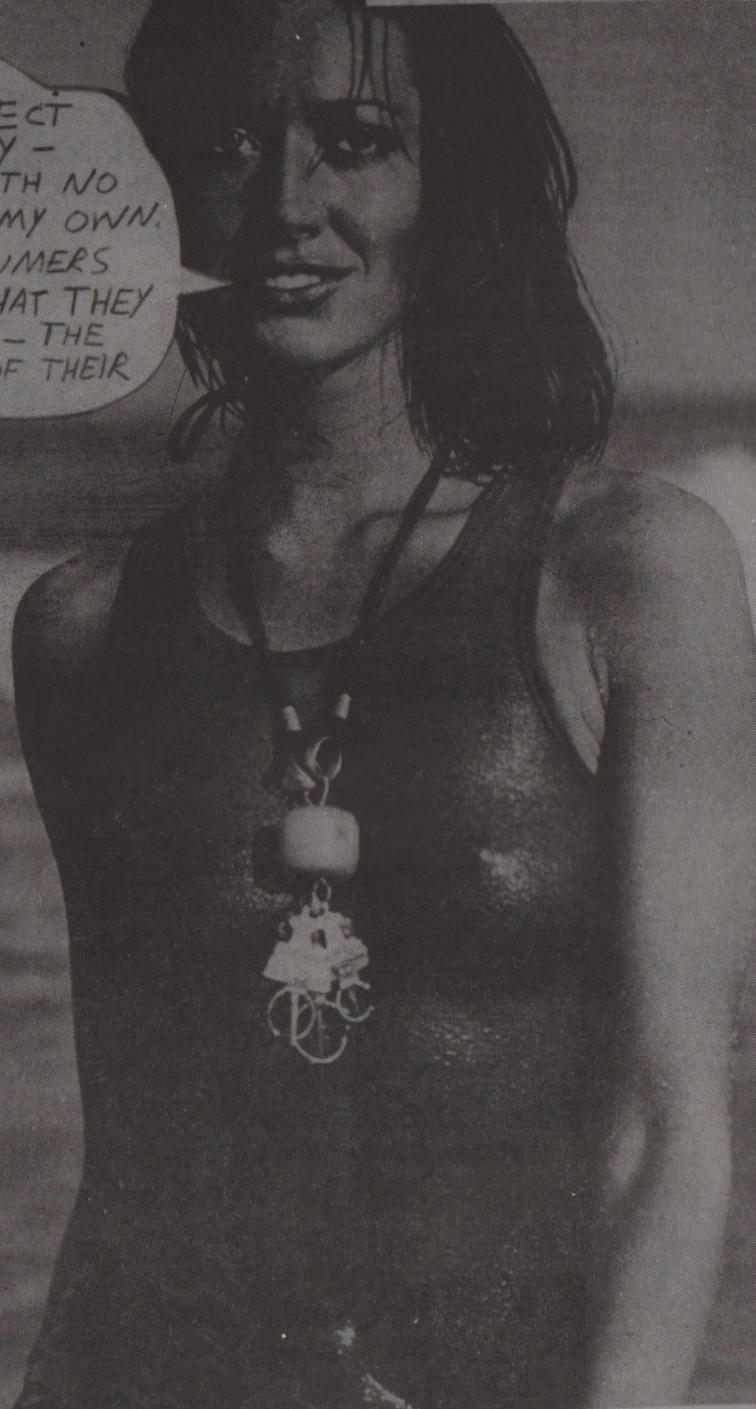


Everything is arranged and organised to tear me away from myself, everyone coaxes me away from myself with their smiles and trivia, everyone tries to get me into the role that they're in; so often they succeed and I become like them, a shadow of myself

Sheer enjoyment

.....CAN ONLY BE STOLEN - NEVER BOUGHT;  
CAN ONLY BE CREATED - NEVER CONSUMED.

I AM  
THE PERFECT  
COMMODITY -  
AN IMAGE WITH NO  
REAL LIFE OF MY OWN.  
LOVEURS & CONSUMERS  
SEEK IN ME WHAT THEY  
CAN NEVER FIND - THE  
GRATIFICATION OF THEIR  
DESIRES.



The increasingly 'pornographic' content of advertising (and the media in general) serves the dual purpose of marketing a whole range of products by random sexual image association, and of tranquilising the negative energy of dammed-up eroticism (which has the potential of transforming the world) with a deadening repetition of isolated and reified sexual situations imprisoned eternally in stereotypes and impotent fantasy.

Sheer Enjoyment with Manikin  
from Britain's leading cigar makers.

Ma  
CI

# TODAYS' PUNCH & JUDY SHOW

"All other questions, be they religious, national or political, have been completely exhausted by history. Today, therefore, there remains only one question, resuming all the others: the only question from now on able to stir the people - the social question." - BAKUNIN.

For the ruling classes politics is the technique by which they manage commodity society, the organisation of principles for the management of social reality by groups with differing interests within these ruling classes, and the interaction of these groups. As a technique of commodity management, it is ubiquitous, colonising all time and space. It is both a result and perpetuation of mans' seperation from the world, a result and perpetuation of fragmented experience: an abstraction with a real effect on the world.

The political frame of mind is political precisely because its thought never leaves the confines of politics. Everything else becomes secondary. Drives are put at the service of the political organisation, instead of strategy being put at the service of our drives: people are valued only as political beings, dispossessed of their individuality and their real experience. Hence the politicos conversations usually remain on an abstract level - never relating ideas to daily life. Often boring and unconvincing, their conversations almost always attempt to convert you to their ideology, an excuse to relate to people. \* 1

The Left, always altruistic, whether parliamentarist, vanguardist or service-orientated, are unconscious victims of the Christian ideology of sacrifice and self-denial (pause to wipe away a tear of sympathy). These rebels with any cause but their own, try to escape the consciousness of the misery of their own lives, by conjuring up some self-importance through organising others. But, incapable of seeing the realisation of their desires (assuming they have any) in the activity of others, they cannot possibly fight for others to do the same - i.e. help to generalise isolated acts of refusal. They wear their activism like medals - the more

they are seen to be 'doing' the greater their moral authority.

"The Other in whom I do not find myself is nothing but a thing, and altruism leads to the love of things. To the love of my isolation...I recognise no equality except that which my will to live according to my desires recognises in the will to live of others."(Raoul Vaneigem).

Altruism insures that the Left cannot understand the struggles they hope to lead; they cannot see that the struggle is against isolation, sacrifice, roles, hierarchy, etc., and thus mirror capitalism in their organisations, reflecting perfectly the antagonism between self and

"The faster the  
bowling the better I  
like it. Cricket with a tennis  
ball doesn't make much of a  
spectator sport. No, its all  
part of the rough and  
tumble of politics."\*

\*H. WILSON, FEB. 11th  
'73, DAILY MIRROR

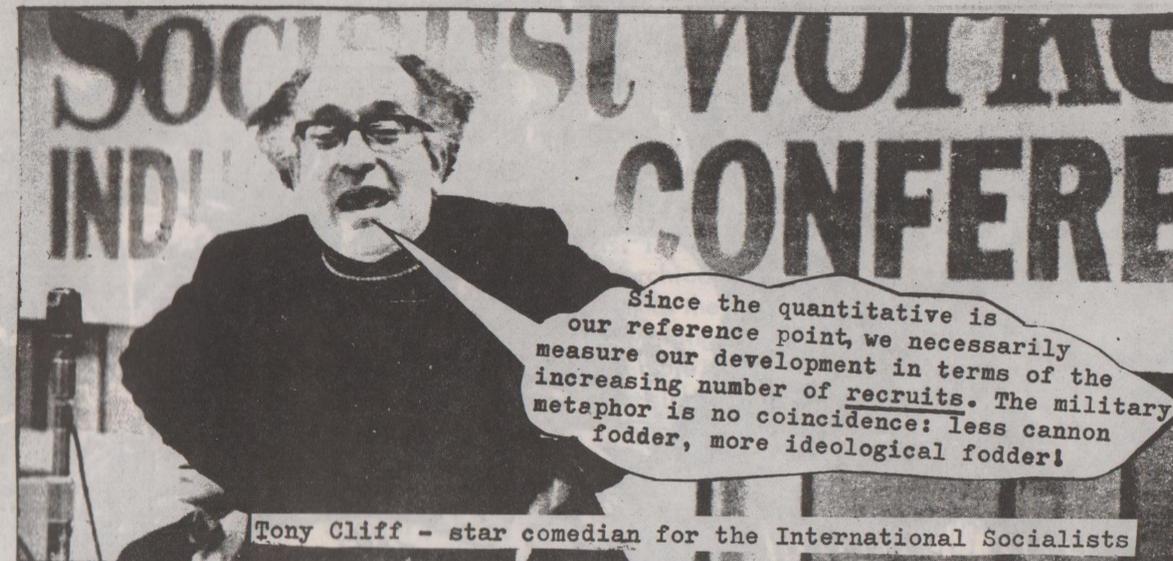
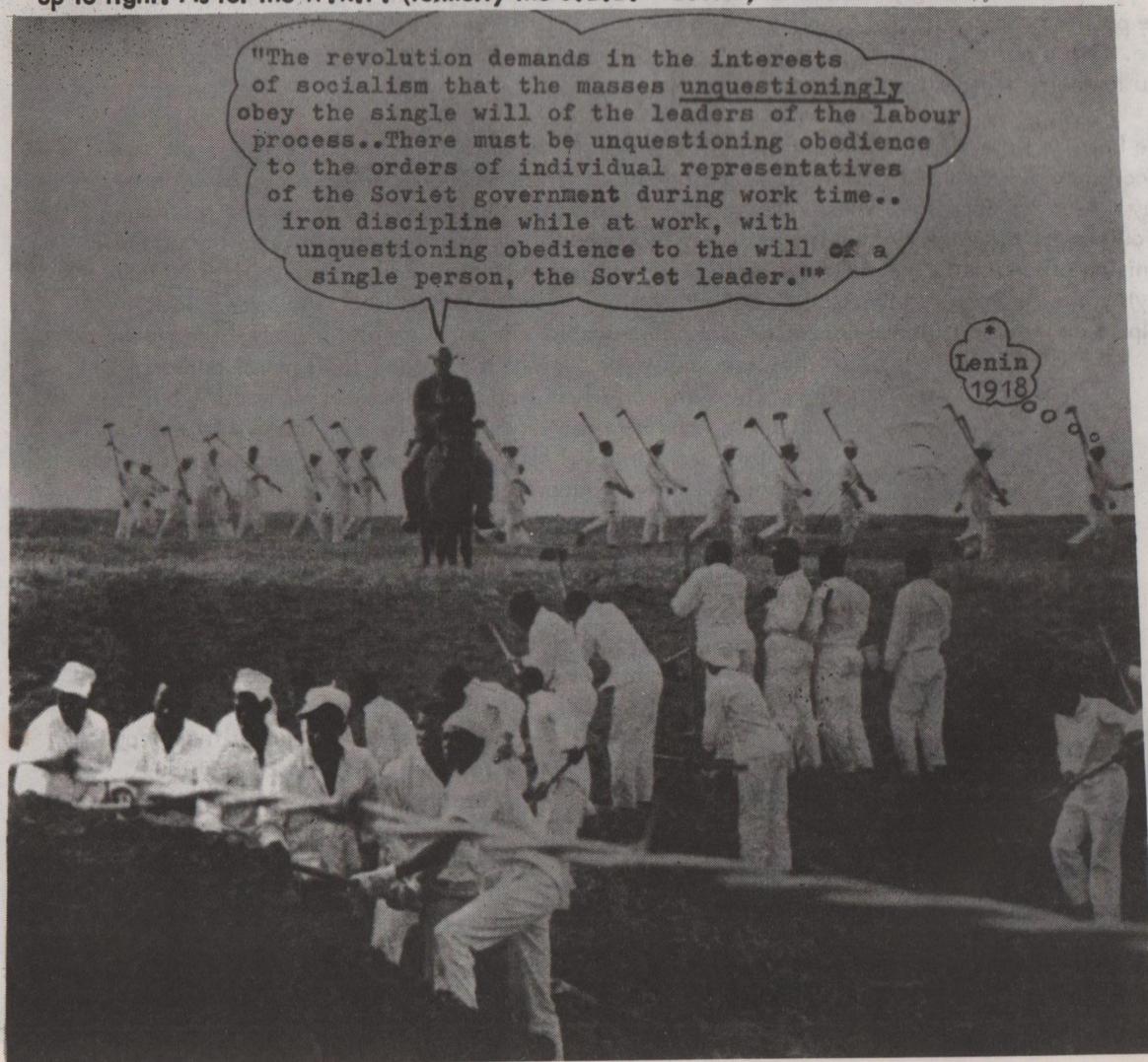
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other, the individual and society. They cannot see what makes them want to change the world, and thus create a meaning for their lives by trying to help others, justifying their existence according to

\* 1. This political role eases the anxiety and uncertainty involved in relating to people without overcoming the isolation which is the cause of such symptoms.

the ridiculous clichés of 'revolutionary duty' and 'political commitment' (to the solitary confinement of 'revolutionary' cells?).

The Leninists' (International Socialists, International Marxist Group, Workers Revolutionary Party, Militant etc.) endless exposures of the 'betrayals' of Trade Union and Labour leaders expose nothing but their own hierarchical ambitions, which they show every time they try to manipulate a struggle around their superficial "transitional" demands in order to squeeze out a few recruits. Their papers (despite the usefulness of some of the information) are not just boring and superficial (i.e. journalistic) - their consciously projected deadly serious workerist image is as insulting and patronising in its assumptions about what workers want as it is in trying to give it to them. The separation of 'theory' from propaganda stems from an equally elitist motive: get the workers interested on a simple level and 'politicise' them on the heavy stuff later. The only effect of this can be to create a dependency on those who claim to be the most knowledgeable. Thus their statistic-packed articles which prove beyond a doubt that the absolute final and irreconcilable crisis of capitalism is at hand, merely re-introduces the specialism of bourgeois economists and politicians, who use the complexities of running the commodity economy to justify their authority, within the 'revolutionary' groups. These articles inevitably conclude that the only thing standing in the way of socialism is the absence of the Revolutionary Party - the fairy godmother whose ideological magic wand insures that the workers shall get to the festival of the oppressed dressed up in their immaculate false consciousness. I.S. betrays itself with its' absurd slogan 'Vote Labour without illusions', which is rather like urging people to pray for rain, but don't believe in God: the cul-de-sac of mystification leads only to the shithouse of confusion, which is just what the professional 'revolutionaries' want: I.S.'s numerous 'rank-and-file' groups are as bureaucratic as the union bureaucracy they were set up to fight. As for the W.R.P. (formerly the S.L.L. - Society of Leaden Leaders), one of



I.S.'s rivals for the dictatorship over the proletariat in the name of the proletariat, its' rigidly disciplinarian centralism and archaic (anti-) 'sexuality' (expulsions of homosexuals, strictly enforced sexual segregation in the summer camps) make the Tory Party look relatively radical. Its' eternal drone of 'Force the TUC to call a General Strike to kick out the Tories and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies of nationalisation under workers' control' - recently re-cycled to cope with a change of government (which shows how the electoral circus defines completely the politics of this sect) - is only relevant to the pathetic sacrificial character-armoured parrots who have to repeat it outside the tube every night. Some of the Leninist groups (I.S., for example) have such 'faith' in the autonomy of their members that they have to issue them with a list of prescribed slogans on a demonstration. They conveniently forget that it is essential that the revolutionaries be revolutionised themselves, which is why they can only imitate the Bolshevik model of organisation, attempting to insure yet another 50 years of counter-revolution. Marx ("I am not a marxist") answered these marxists over a hundred years ago: "The emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself."

The Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists admits to being nothing more than a vaguely libertarian I.S.: they fight constantly for 'genuine rank and file organisation' but never see what organisation is for. In every struggle they only see its' official economic level, and they compartmentalise Workers' Councils into an ideal to be aimed at, but never a project resulting from the premises now in existence, the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. They fight for 'democratic control' of what Malatesta called "reactionary institutions" - the unions, completely mystifying the essential role of the unions in supporting capitalism. Their opposition to individualism becomes an opposition to individuals, and they end up with the same false collectivity as all the other sects, packaging politics in a separate box from the life of the individual. Their federalism is purely formal: their 'autonomous' groups are not to develop a theoretical/practical coherence autonomously, but rather function as just another piece in the confused jig-saw called ORA.

'Libertarians' (an amorphous body, linked mainly by an often merely formal rejection of leaders, which is less the absence of leaders than the creation of conditions for leaders to emerge, who are in no way responsible to those they pretend not to lead) for the most part accept the fragmented categories by which the spectacle divides and rules: women, gays, prisoners, tenants, blacks, claimants, etc., uniting on a vague, simplistic, a-historical level: 'Smash the State', 'Power to the People', etc. Peoples' problems are seen in terms of their various compartments, rather than in terms of their total experience. Most of them fail to generalise, which is reflected in their parochial inability to extend beyond the 'community' in which they are so politically active, and to place this activity in some general perspective. And their relationship to the 'community' is often very patronising. Hence Islington's Gutter Press says: "We don't want to say 'crime is great' - there's nothing great about... small-time thieving, it's desperate, individual, and in most cases born losing." (Issue 13).



THE CONSTANT  
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OUR CAUSE OF OTHERS

And yet many of those around Gutter Press rip-off regularly from their local supermarket... clearly one has to lie to win people over. Their politics is neither - with sporadic exceptions - pleasurable, stemming from their individual uniqueness, nor does it have any theoretical framework, which is often dismissed as a wheelchair revolutionaries' wank. The attempts to stick together the various fragments into an ersatz totality - a popular front of the alternative society, with everyone isolated together - can easily be sucked back in as grist for the spectacular mill, despite the sincerity of the participants (for instance, in the U.S.A. 'Community' Power - over the world as it exists now - is increasingly being used to recuperate the negative violence that has exploded in the cities in the past). It is up to each one of us to refuse to sacrifice ourselves for the boss - be it community, factory, party or State.

Whilst many claimants unions do not just function as social workish service groups, nor as fertile(?) ground for the Leftists patronising 'consciousness raising' (read: 'ideological indoctrination'), and are genuinely self-managed, they organise purely on a survival level. Whilst screwing the State for as much as you can get is necessary and desirable, the C.U.s don't go beyond that. And the idea of revolution, slipped in surreptitiously after the transitional demands, is always posed (if it's ever posed) purely in quantitative terms: the 'power of the people' against the State is to replace production for profit with that well-worn phrase 'production for use'. But what use remains unsaid. Since claimants are an eclectic conglomeration defined by the State, C.U.s can only fight on the battlefield chosen by power.

Solidarity is the only group to have developed an analysis of society on an international level. However, they see the development of consciousness in a somewhat simplistic, mechanistic way. Their 'thesis', briefly, is as follows: the fundamental contradiction of capitalism is that

the 'order-givers' constantly aim to reduce the 'order-takers' to cogs in a machine - yet in order for the machine to work demand constant participation from the 'order-takers'. Abracadabra! - consciousness dawns - workers see themselves as the real managers - Hey presto! - workers seize factories - workers councils proclaimed! The present re-organisation of capitalism, manifested industrially by the plans for workers 'participation' (the programme of all three major parliamentary parties) will institutionalise this contradiction into an active alienation... besides, the binary division of the world into reifiers and reified ignores the complexity of commodity fetishism which reifies the reifiers. Their 'analysis' is based on a conception of the proletariat as purely the negation of hierarchical forms of production, never as the negation of the bourgeois use of production, never as the invention of a new use of life. Thus they present an immaculate blueprint for the workings of the councils, whilst ignoring individuals, their subjectivity, creativity and pleasure. Since they cannot see the project of the councils as the destruction of all that exists independantly of individuals, the critique of the commodity-spectacle in practise, they can still talk of wages, money, work and institutions. For them, despite the cheerful smiles of the cartoon worker-hedgehogs in their pamphlets, the councils are simply an ideal economic structure. And the transformation of the world is not a joyful journey without end, but a dull necessity for "which, whether we like it or not, many million man-hours of labour will probably have to be expended" (Workers' Councils and the economics of a self-managed society, Solidarity pamphlet 40). Their critiques of the repressive hierarchy engendered by the past revolutionary movements fail to focus on what is was that this hierarchy repressed and perverted - the rage to live without restraint.

The spectacular 'extremism' of the now silent Angry Brigade - bombing the latest newsworthy cabinet minister, publicising itself through overground and so-called underground newspapers - merely reinforced that which they seemed to oppose. Their 'opposition' to 'spectacles' (applied simplistically to the Miss World contest) blinded themselves - and much of the 'underground' (e.g. Ink, I.T. and Frenz fervently clapping from the risk-free sidelines) - to the spectacular nature of their opposition. A similar contradiction was manifested in their opposition to 'leadership', whilst at the same time declaring that they were preparing for



Vaillant throws a bomb into the French Chamber of Deputies, December 1893.

armed struggle on behalf of the 'working class', betraying an elitist world-view. Frustrated by their inability to hit out at the society that oppresses them, they chose to romantically imitate the tactical scouts of yesterday - Ravachol, Vaillant etc., displaying as much a refusal to learn from history as a lack of imagination. As for the defence groups set up immediately a comrade gets arrested, their outraged cry of indignation designed to inspire solidarity from the masses never gets them further than an occasional resolution of support passed at a union meeting. Since they can only react to an issue they insure that the State defines their activity, keeping them running fast to stay still. The issue is a life-belt the ruling class throws out to an unimaginative Left, without which it would drown.

The 'opposition' by counter-specialists to the authoritarian expertise of the authoritarian experts offers yet another false choice to the political consumer. These 'radical' specialists (radical lawyers, radical architects, radical philosophers, radical psychologists, radical social workers - everything but radical people) attempt to use their expertise to de-mystify expertise. The contradiction was best spelt out by a Case Con 'revolutionary' social worker, who cynically declared at a public meeting, "The difference between us and a straight social worker is that we know we're oppressing our clients". Case Con is the spirit of a spiritless situation, the sigh of the oppressed oppressor; it's the 'socialist' conscience of the guilt-ridden social worker, insuring that vaguely conscious social workers remain in their job, whilst feeling they are rejecting their role. At best this rejection merely replaces a repressive altruism with a benevolent one - the do-gooder showing their clients how to escape through the loop-holes in the rules of the old world. The confused mish-mash of reformist and revolutionary ideology permeating Case Con is expressed in their aim to phase out the role of the social worker altogether and their demand for more social workers to lighten the work load. 'Radical' lawyers attempt to exploit the internal contradictions of the law but, like the social workers, always remain loyal to its terms, as if the resolution of relevant contradictions doesn't lie outside and against the law. Their specialism leads them inevitably to mystify the really radical nature of self-managed struggles; as one of them said on T.V.

## 'COP-OUT'

is a magazine for rank and file radical policemen as fed up with their role as agents of social control as with the conditions of their work.

We recognise that ultimately the function of the policeman is to protect the ruling class and its property. But we believe that it is too simple for policemen who realise this to quit the force and leave it to the racists and other bigots. That way we would be abdicating our responsibility as revolutionaries to raise the consciousness of our fellow work-mates, as well as our 'clients', as to the repressive nature of the force. We therefore base our organisation on the following 6-point transitional programme:

1. The right to withdraw our labour.
2. Community control of the police.
3. The right to abstain from police duties at picket-lines and demonstrations.
4. 30% wage rise and four weeks annual holiday.
5. Abolition of police uniform and truncheons.
6. The replacement of police numbers with name-plates.



Whilst we realise that the present leadership of the Police Federation are incapable of struggling for these demands, the majority of policemen are not aware of this. We therefore act as a pressure group to expose the leadership when they fail to put our demands into effect.

FOR A TRULY SOCIALIST POLICE FORCE READ 'COP-OUT'

recently: "Mass action can be a good way of getting the law changed." The academic counter-specialists attempt to attack (purely bourgeois) ideology at the point of production: the university. Unwilling to attack the institution, the academic milieu, the very concept of education as a separate activity from which ideas of separate power arise, they remain trapped in the fragmented categories they attempt to criticise. Non-sectarianism is the excuse for their incoherence, which has its real basis in their inability to understand the absurd vicious circle of criticising false categories (psychology, philosophy, etc.) within the prison of these categories, within the prison of separated thought.



THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY

It is the subjective experience of alienation (the lethargy, the frustrations, the isolation and degradation), and not any external issue, which forms the point of departure for a truly revolutionary opposition to capitalism: it is not one or another isolated aspect of contemporary civilisation which is horrifying, but the absolute impoverishment of life. Revolution is essentially a game - as much as the society it pre-figures - and one plays it for the pleasure involved. Today this can only mean the total destruction of hierarchical power. Only Marx's original project, the creation of the total man, of each individual re-appropriating the entire experience of the species, can supercede the individual v. society dualism by which hierarchical power holds itself together while it holds us apart. If it fails in this, then the new revolutionary movement will merely build an even more labyrinthine illusory community; or, alternatively, it will shatter into an isolated and ultimately self-destructive search for kicks. If it succeeds, then it will permeate society as a game that everyone can play. Life and revolution will be invented together or not at all. Meanwhile, the project is to identify and mercilessly oppose all the obstacles to our living without restraint.

"It must be said once and for all that man only plays when he is a man in the full meaning of the word, and he is fully human only when he plays." - SCHILLER.

"I call it the State where everyone, good and bad, loses himself: the State where universal slow suicide is called - life... Only where the State ends, there begins the individual who is not superfluous; there begins the song of necessity, the unique and inimitable tune. Where the State ends, look there, my brothers! Do you not see it, the rainbow and the bridges of the superman." - NIETZSCHE (THUS SPOKE ZARATHUSTRA).

# THESES ON FEMINISM

"The anchoring of sexual morality and the changes it brings about in the organism create that specific psychic structure which forms the mass-psychological basis of any authoritarian social order." - Wilhelm Reich.

1.

Men and women will be given perfect equality as inanimate digits in the society cyberneticians dream about. Womens' oppression will only cease when the whole system of imposed roles is overthrown, as part of the general opposition to the society where people's interaction is everywhere mediated by images.

2.

Womens' seperation - both subjective and objective - from history gives them an opportunity for critical revolt; this, however, is obscured to the extent that it is harnessed to left-wing ideology. In the moment of total rejection of the given social relationships, everything is possible; instead, most women seek shelter in a structure whose very attractiveness is its smothering and ultimately destructive familiarity. In the established ideologies of revolution, the discussion of the role of women has become mythologised into a partial issue competing with many others, if it is not swamped entirely by the quantitative analyses so beloved of specialists. It is the attempt to relate to traditional 'revolutionary' ideology - with its emphasis on state power and a 'period of transition' - which leads to the endless debate over job and economic status, caste and class, and sexual identity. Because it is subsumed by a series of traditionalist rationalisations, the analysis of female identity has not been developed into a total critique.

3.

A critique of female identity implies a critique of all sex-defined roles, which is inescapably a critique of roles in general. Roles suck dry the will to live; keeping and handling them determines the position held in the hierarchical spectacle. Male chauvinism consists in the reproduction of woman as appendage, property object and helpmeet, and the denial of her autonomy and her real desires. In the fight against heirarchy, women have in the past enjoyed a head start by being concerned with the more immediate concerns of life and thus having fewer boots to lick. But they are rapidly losing this advantage as the market completes its global occupation of the gap where daily life once was. The generalised reign of value denies humanity to everyone, irrespective of class or sex. As J.P.Voyer says of the sexual liberationists: "They insult me by insinuating that this world, being the world of 'men', is therefore my possession...me, who doesn't even have the full use of my own life!" Of course, "dominant sexuality" doesn't exist. There is only sexual misery: a real oppression and an image of happiness. Under the



reign of commodity production, where human relations take on the historically specific form of value - i.e. they are mediated by things (the only legal social relationships) - authentic non-role bound, immediately pleasurable human relations remain clandestine. Value as universal socialisation, as a unique and inversed form of humanity, makes it impossible to socialise this relationship, which still remains "the most natural", that is to say, the most frustrated by the prevailing social organisation. This is the crux of the spectacles' supercession, since the passionate interaction of individuals is the moment when the character amour, which is a visible symptom of the spectacle effect, can be dissolved. (It would be comic, if it wasn't so sad, to see the demands of some feminists for housewives to enter the labour market by receiving house-work wages. The equality of slaves.)

4.

The extreme form of womens' liberation has been a brand of militant lesbianism involving separation from the 'oppressor' (men). The predominant attitude of this separation (whether or not it is realised in a separatist colony) is antagonism, distrust and hatred. The separatist woman is defined by this attitude. She has a social identity which can be nothing but negative (offering no opportunities for supercession); it becomes merely the negation of the traditional female identity. By finding a new role in which to relate to men, she perpetuates her subservience to the world of appearances. Rather than relate to men and women as individuals, she continues to define them through the juxtaposition (to her, antagonism) of the sexes. She expends all her energy in that friction. She is successfully protected from a submissive relationship with men; yet she submits to a fragmented view of the world which is not of her own making.

5.

The majority of feminists fail to realise that they are rebelling against an image of men which is as superficial as the image of women they have rejected for themselves; by limiting the critique of psychological stereotypes to women, the realm of the possible is drastically narrowed. Their critique has only constructed the image of the New Woman to be realised in the 'post-revolutionary' era'. The New Woman like the New Man are mystifications postponing the necessity of calling into radical question all that the revolutionary project must encompass. Those who aim for womens' liberation without the liberation of men dig naught but their own graves.



**MINIMUM DEFINITION OF REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS**

(Adopted by the 7th conference of the Internationale Situationniste in July 1966)

Since the only purpose of a revolutionary organisation is the abolition of all existing classes in a way that does not bring about a new division of society, we consider an organisation revolutionary which purposefully pursues the international realisation of the absolute power of the workers' councils. That power has been outlined in the experience of the proletarian revolutions of this century - Russia 1905, Kronstadt, 1921, Asturias 1934, Spanish Revolution 1936. It is power without mediators.

Such an organisation makes a unitary critique of the world, or is nothing. By unitary critique is understood a total critique of all geographic areas where various forms of separate socio-economic powers exist, as well as a critique of all aspects of life.

Such an organisation sees the beginning and end of its own programme in the complete decolonisation, the complete liberation of daily life. It aims not at the self-management by the masses of the existing world but at its uninterrupted transformation.

Such an organisation embodies the radical critique of political economy, the transcendence of commodity and wage-labour. It refuses to reproduce within itself any of the hierarchical condition prevailing in the world that dominates us. The only limit to participating in its total democracy is that each member recognise and appropriate for himself the coherence of its critique. The coherence has to be both in the critical theory and in the relationship between the theory and practical activity. A revolutionary organisation radically criticises every ideology as separate power of ideas and as ideas of separate power. It is at the same time the negation of any leftovers from religion and of the prevailing social spectacle which, from news-media to mass culture, monopolises communication between men around their alienated activity. The organisation dissolves any revolutionary ideology by revealing it to be the sign of the failure of the revolutionary project, as the private property of the new specialists of power, as the imposture of a new representation which erects itself above the real proletarianised life.

The category of totality, of the global critique, is the last judgment of the revolutionary organisation, so the organisation is, in the end, a critique of politics: it must aim explicitly through its victory at the dissolution of itself as a separate organisation.

And who are we?

A group of friends - hardly an organisation. There hasn't been an equal participation in the coherence of the critique to call ourselves that (for instance, most of this journal was put together and written by just one of us). Collective and individual theoretico-practical coherence at this stage can only be a group goal.

We came together initially to produce a poster attacking the 'choice' presented at the election, exposing the unity behind the facade of alternatives: a false start, since it meant that an external issue manipulated by power was defining our activity; we were only defining ourselves negatively rather than affirming ourselves starting with ourselves. The poster, 'An Appeal For Moderation' - supposedly signed by Heath, Wilson, Thorpe, Len Murray, Joe Gormley and Campbell Adamson, suffered from a number of small defects (e.g. 'A refusal to vote is a vote for extremism' implied that a purely passive refusal is a threat to the system) as well as being a bit too subtle. The development of the technique of 'diversion' (phony posters, bubbles on ads. etc.) is dependant on peoples' response to it.

If we are to continue our tentative collective existence it will be essential to develop our sense of play both amongst ourselves and through our direct intervention in the banal situations of 'life' in capitalist society: supermarkets, rock concerts, meetings, museums etc. Most importantly, if our theory is to have any practical force, which it must do, if it's not to stagnate into ideology, we must develop ways of communicating it to that section of the proletariat who are initially alone capable of placing the forces of production at the service of individual needs and passions: the workers.

Whilst we have appropriated the theses of the Situationist International we prefer to avoid calling ourselves situationists, a term which is increasingly becoming as vague as 'anarchists'. We have enough prisons without categories: type-casting kills.

The following texts are available from us:

Notice to the Civilised Concerning Generalised Self-Management by Vaneigem. (a more developed outline of the transition from a revolutionary situation to the power of the workers' councils than has been elaborated in this journal)

News of Disalienation (taken from the American journal 'Diversion', mainly about struggles in the States)

Decline & Fall of the Spectacular-Commodity (about the 1965 Watts riots)

A few copies of a pilot translation of the Society of the Spectacle by Debord (which, together with Vaneigem's 'The Revolution of Everyday Life' - a full translation of which should be out in the not-too-distant future, forms the basis of the situationist critique of present conditions).

This translation of the Society of the Spectacle is complete with the one relevant correction so kindly pointed out to us in a tediously trivial document called 'Some Precisions', which reads like a 'situationist' Mrs. Dales' Diary - giving all the irrelevant details of who split with whom, when and why. The document was put out by an invisible organisation called Piranha, a group of pathetically comic poseurs, whose absurdly grandiose delusions in their own importance, a ridiculous self-image of the threat they pose to the old world, is but a mask for emptiness: these self-styled emperors have no clothes and secretly they know it. They merely imitate ideologically the megalomaniacal style of the S.I., but without having even earned it: a facade for impotence. Their theatrical display of self-confidence and omniscience - a performance of a kind of 'situationist role' - a group character armour - is merely a cover for (and reinforcement of) their stupidity and inability to relate to people: knowing that politeness is the art of non-communication they believe that its' false antithesis - insult - must be the art of communication, an art these ham actors specialise in...we're in danger of falling into the same trap.....

Those pamphlet junkies, content merely to use this to fill in a gap in their head or in the conversation not only don't understand it, but expose their impotent complacency and lack of creativity: this pamphlet is to be mercilessly (at the very least) criticised/lived/discussed/superseded/re-lived.

YOUR TURN TO PLAY.

Even in the most degrading situations the element of play can hold back the full weight of humiliation.

A conversation about the weather at least shows the desire to communicate, even if it shows peoples' inability to communicate. The point however is to turn even the most mundane situations into a game.