THE CITADEL & other sordid tales

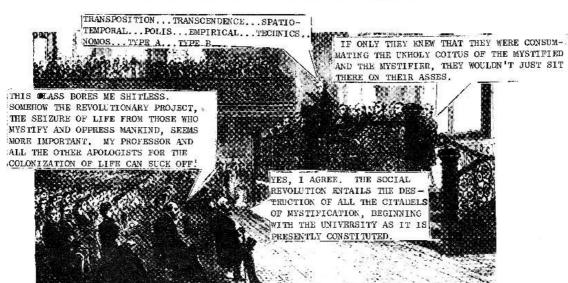


AS I SEE IT, THE MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IS THE CONTINUAL MYSTIFICATION OF THE SIUDENT, WHO MUST ALWAYS REMAIN THE PASSIVE RECEPTACLE OF HUMANITY'S PAST EXCREMENT. THESE STUDENTS SHALL BE EDUCATED, BUT IN A FRAGMENTARY MANNER UNABLE TO COMPREHEND THE TOTALITY OF EXISTENCE OR TO CONCEIVE OF A NEGATION OF THE WHOLE.

QUITE SO. IF THESE YOUNG PEOPLE
WERE EVER TO TRANSCEND THE ROLE OF
"STUDENT" - A TERM USED TO DESIGNATE
THE RESULT OF THE STATE -CONTROLLED
SOCIALIZATION PROCESS - WE WOULD BE IN
REAL TROUBLE. AS IT IS, THEY REMAIN
MYSTIFIED, POSSESSORS OF A CORPUS OF
FRAGMENTARY PSEUDO-KNOWLEDGE.

SOMETIMES, IN MY DARREST DREAMS, I HAVE THIS HORRIBLE VISION THAT THESE YOUNGSTERS CAN ACTUALLY STOP BEING STUDENTS, SUPERSEDE THEIR FRACEMENTARY CONSCIOUSNESS OF LIFE, AND MOVE IN A REVOLUTIONARY MANNER TO CONFRONT THE TOTALLTY OF THEIR OPPRESSION. IN THIS HORRID NIGHTMARE THEY ACTUALLY BECOME DE-MYSTIFIED, AND NO LONGER RECOGNIZE MY SANCTIFIED POSITION AS THE GUARDIAN OF "KNOWLEDGE." BUT THEN THIS UGLY VISION PASSES, AND I GO OUTSIDE AND SEE THEM HURRYING TO CLASS, CONVINCED THAT THEY ARE RECEIVING AN "EDUCATION" - AND I REALIZE HOW LUCKY I AM TO TRACH HERE AT THE UNIVERSITY





DEAN, WE'VE REALLY GOT SOMETHING GOING HERE.
THE STUDENTS HAVE DELUDED THEMSELVES INTO THINKING THAT THE UNIVERSITY IS APART FROM REALITY THEY DON'T EVEN CONCEIVE OF THEMSELVES AS BEING
PART OF SOCIETY, SO THEY DON'T HOLD US RESPONSIBLE
FOR ANYTHING. OUR COUNTER-INSURGENCY PROGRAM ALMOST WORKS OF ITS OWN ACCORD.

I QUITE AGREE, I WONDER WHAT ALL THE LITTLE BUGGERS THINK THEY ARE GOING TO CONFRONT WHEN THEY LEAVE HERE?



YES, ISN'T IT AMAZING HOW THEY INVOLVE THEMSELVES
IN SO MANY MARGINAL ACTIVITIES WHICH ONLY REINFORCE
THEIR ILLUSORY CONSCIOUSNESS OF EXISTENCE?

I REALLY DIG MY PROFESSOR'S LECTURES. HE'S SO CUTE AND TELLS SUCH FUNNY JOKES, I DON'T CARE IF I DON'T UNDERSTAND WHAT HE'S SAYING - I HAVEN'T UNDERSTOOD MUCH MY WHOLE LIFE THROUGH. THE ENNUI OF MY EXISTENCE? WHAT'S THAT? I DIG IT HERE AT THE UNIVERSITY; I'VE NEVER BEEN SO FREE IN MY LIFE.

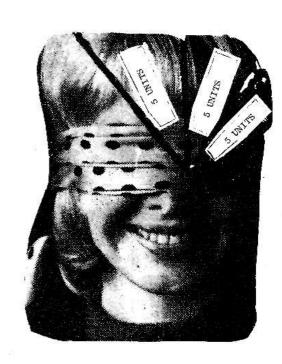


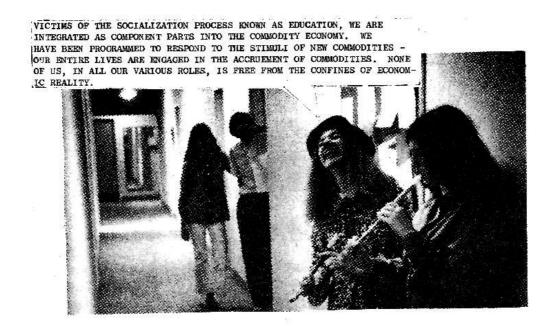


DON'T YOU EVER WANT TO EXPERIENCE SOMETHING THAT IS REAL
FOR A CHANGE? IF WE ARE EVER
TO BE FREE OF THE MYSTIFYING
ONDER THAT PREVENTS US FROM
REALIZING OUR HUMANITY, WE MUST
MOVE AGAINST THOSE WHO MISSHAPE
OUR LIVES - THESE INCLUDE THE
MASTERS OF THE STATE AND THE
ECONOMY, AND EVEN UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS.



THE UNIVERSITY HAS BECOME A SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF IGNORANCE; "HIGH CULTURE" HAS TAKEN ON THE RHYTHM OF THE PRODUCTION LINE. UNIVERSITY TEACHERS ARE ALL CRETINS, MEN WHO WOULD BE GIVEN THE BIRD BY ANY AUDIENCE OF CHILDREN, BUT ALL THIS HARDLY MATTERS: THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO GO ON LISTENING RES-PECTFULLY. IN TIME, IF CRITICAL THINKING IS REPRESSED WITH ENOUGH CONSCIENTOUSNESS, THE STUDENT WILL COME TO PARTAKE OF THE WAFER OF KNOWLEDGE - THE PROFESSOR WILL TELL HIM THE FINAL TRUTHS OF THE WORLD. TILL THEN - A MENOPAUSE OF THE SPIRIT. AS A MATTER OF COURSE, THE FUTURE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY WILL CONDEMN THE DOINGS OF LECTURE HALL THEATER AS MERE NOISE. THE STUDENT IS ALREADY A VERY BAD JOKE.







THE SPECTACULAR SOCIETY CHOOSES THE COMMODITY AS ITS MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THE COLONIZATION OF DAILY EXISTENCE. IN HIS FUNCTION AS CONSUMER, MAN IS REDUCED TO THE LEVEL OF A THING. REIFIED EXISTENCE IS THE EXPERIENCE OF ILLUSION, IN WHICH "LIFE" PRESENTS ITSELF AS AN INFINITE SEQUENCE OF PSEUDO-EVENTS, NON-MOMENTS SPENT IN THE ENNUL OF CONSUMING DEAD TIME. PROHIBITED FROM LIVING, MAN IS ONLY ABLE TO SURVIVE. THE ACCUMULATION OF COMMODITIES AS ERSATZ LIFE - IN PLACE OF LIVING - IS TESTIMONY TO THE VAPIDITY OF GUARANTEED SURVIVAL:

false opposition: the new left alternative





MOVING FROM ITS INFANT POSITION OF LEFT-LIBERALISM OF THE EARLY 60'S, THE NEW LEFT WAS SUCKLED BY THE WET-NURSE OF THE "ANTI"-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE. UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND THE DYNAMICS OF ADVANCED BUREAUCRATIC CAPITALISM AND ITS "PRC-TACUEAR COMMODITY FORM, THE NEW LEFT IDENTIFIED WITH CAPITALISM'S APPARENT "ENEMISS"; FAILING TO UNDERSTAND THE GLOBAL PRESENCE OF HIERARCHICAL POWER AND ITS SPECTACLE, THE NEW LEFT REVELLED IN IDEOLOGICAL NECROPHILIA, BASING ITS POLITICAL ANALYSIS ON THE WARMED-OVER EXCREMENT OF LATTERDAY BOLSHEVISM IN ALL ITS HIDEOUS MANIFESTATIONS. CHOOSING THE BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE OF LENINIST ORGANIZATION, THE LEFT PROCEEDS IN RITUALISTIC PROTEST WHICH SERVES ONLY TO RECUPERATE THE DOMINANT SPECTACLE - THIS IDEOLOGICAL CIRCUS IS CONSUMED BY THE PUBLIC AS THEY WATCH THE ANTICS OF THE MOD SQUAD PARADE ACROSS THEIR TELEVISION SETS.

WHO IS THAT MASKED MAN, ANYWAY?

THE RECENT CRISIS IN LAOS HAS FURTHER REVEALED THE IMPOTENCE OF THE DECAYING PSEUDO-REVOLUTION (PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY IN THAT IT MERELY SEEKS TO REPLACE THE CAPITALIST HIERARCHY WITH A BUREAUCRATIC ONE). NEVER ABLE TO TRANSCEND ITS GUILT-RIDDEN FOUNDATIONS, THE NEW LEFT FOUNDERED ON THE ROCKS OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT. WITH THE AUTOMATON'S OF THE LEFT SO RELIANT ON THE INITIATIVE OF THIRD-WORLD FORCES, "PROTEST" HAS BEEN REDUCED TO TEDIOUS HISTRIONICS - WHAT IS TERMED "REVOLUTION" IS MERELY A MASTURBATORY DISPLAY OF POWERLESSNESS. "DISSENT" HAS BECOME SO BORING THAT MOST STUDENTS HAVE RETURNED TO THE WOMB OF APOLITICISM, REVELING IN THEIR OWN ALTENATION, STUDENTS USE DOPE AND ROCK N'ROLL AS COMPENSATION FOR THEIR VACUOUS EXISTENCE.



WARNING: DO NOT PLAY WITH EXPLOSIVES IN THE TOWNHOUSE WHILE YOUR PAREMYS ARE ON VACATION IN THE CARIBBEAN! BOURGEOIS GUILT MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH!

SUBSTITUTING THE MYTHIC STRUGGLE FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF HIS EXISTENCE, THE SACRIFICIAL MILITANT OFFERS HIMSELF AS SURROGATE VICTIM TO THE ALTAR OF THE PSEUDO-REVOLUTION. UNABLE TO REALIZE HIMSELF, THE MARTYR EXISTS ONLY TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF OTHERS' MISERY. THIS SICKENING, SELF-CONSUMING "ALTRUISM" PRESENTS ITSELF IN VARIOUS PERVERTED FORMS: THE PEACE CORPS, WEATHERMAN, THE VENCEREMOS BRIGADE AND OTHER EVANGELISTIC REVIVAL MOVEMENTS.







THOSE WHO RAISE THE BANNER OF "ANTI-CAPITAL-ISM" IN SO-CALLED "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES CON-STITUTE A BUREAUCRATIC ELITE WHO REPRODUCE THE COMMODITY ECONOMY ON A LESS SOPHISTICATED SCALE THAN THEIR POWER-HOLDING COMRADES IN THE WEST. IN THESE PSEUDO-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THE PROLETARIAT - THE ENTIRE LABOR FORCE - IS APPROPRIATED BY THE BUREAUCRACY AS A COMMODITY. PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL - INDUSTRIAL-IZATION - IS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE PARTY ELITE THROUGH THE TOTALITARIAN SUBJUGATION OF THE PROLETARIAT WHOSE REIFIED EXISTENCE IS MANI-FESTED BY THE ABSENCE OF AUTONOMOUS EXISTENCE ON THE PART OF THE MASSES, WHO IDENTIFY WITH THE ABSOLUTE LEADER - AND LIVE ONLY THROUGH HIM - BECAUSE HE IS ALL. IN THIS CLOSED SYS-TEM, WHERE WORK IS GLORIFIED AS A SACRIFICIAL OFFERING TO THE "PEOPLE," THE PROLETARIAT REMAIN IMMISERATED IN AN ECONOMY THAT IS ULTIM-ATELY BUREAUCRATIC CEPITALISM, PREVENTED BY THE ELITE FROM TAKING CONSCIOUS POSSESSION OF THEIR OWN LIVES. AS OUR CRITIQUE IS NECESS-ARILY CLOBAL, WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE CLOBAL NATURE OF THE PROLETARIAN PROJECT - WHICH IS THE DESTRUCTION OF ALL HIERARCHY - A NEGATION ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE ABSOLUTE POWER OF THE WORKERS COUNCILS.

(ON THE GLOBAL NATURE OF THE SPECTACULAR COMMODITY ECONOMY, PEKING, FOREIGN LAN-GUAGES PRESS, 1971.)

DURING THE REIGN OF THE COMMODITY SPECTACLE, MASS SOCIETY HAS BECOME PROLETARIANIZED, WITH THE VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE EXISTING IN A CONDITION OF ABJECT POWERLESSNESS. UNABLE TO ALTER THIS IMMISERATED STATE, MAN IS REDUCED TO THE LEVEL OF PASSIVE SPECTATOR - DAILY LIFE NEVER LEAVES THE IS INCREASED, BUT COLONIZED MAN IS NONETHELESS ENSLAYED BY HAS ALIENATED LABOR TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. CONDEMNED TO THE SLAVISH TASK OF PUR-CHASING WHAT HE HAS PRODUCED, THE WORKER CONSUMES HIMSELF. TO BE A PRO-LETARIAN IS TO RECOGNIZE THE IMPOVERISHED QUALITY OF ONE'S APPROPRIATED LIFE AND TO BE COGNIZANT OF ONE'S ABSOLUTE INCAPACITY TO ALTER THE MISER-ABLE STATE OF AFFAIRS WITHIN THE EXISTING STRUCTURE. AS THE SPECTACLE RE-VEALS ITS BASIC TAUTOLOGICAL NATURE - THAT ITS GOAL IS ITSELF AND NOTHING ELSE, AND AS COMMODITIES LOSE ANY SEMBLANCE OF USE-VALUE, THE PROLETARIAT WILL EMERGE AS THE NEGATING FORCE OF THE SPECTACLE - THOSE WHO HAVE MADE

IT WILL DESTROY IT.

HERBERT, AND IT IS BY MEANS OF WORKERS COUNCILS THAT THE PROLETARIAT WILL REALIZE THE PROJECT OF RESTRUCTURING THE

MORLD, NEGATING ITS CLASS STATUS IN THE PROCESS. REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZA-TIONS WHICH WILL EXIST BEFORE THE EMERGENCE OF WORKERS COUNCILS MUST CON-CEIVE OF THEMSELVES AS ONLY TRANSITORY PHENOMENA - SEEKING TO PROVOKE CRI-SES WITHIN THE DOMINANT SPECTACLE AND TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SITUATIONS AS THEY PRESENT THEMSELVES - BUT DISSOLVING AS SEPARATE ENTITIES AT THE MO-MENT OF PROLETARIAN INSURRECTION.



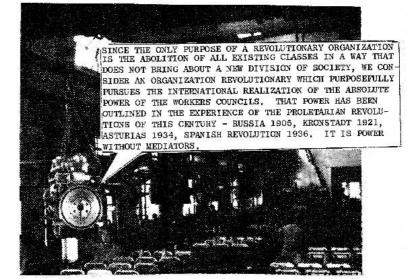
IN OUR STRUGGLE TO EFFECT THE TOTAL NEGATION OF HIERARCHICAL SOCIETY, WE MUST BE CAREFUL TO AVOID THE PITFALLS OF ENTRISM - A LOSS OF ENERGY OCCUR-RING WHEN ONE SACRIFICES COHERENCE TO THE EXPEDI-ENCY OF FRAGMENTARY OPPOSITION BASED ON IMMEDIATE ISSUES. SINCE OUR AIM IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE DESTRUCTION OF CLASS SOCIETY, WE MUST PROCEED AT OUR OWN LEVEL OF SUBVERSION, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE MOMENTARY PYROTECHNICS OF THE PSEUDO-REVOLUTION: BE IT WOMEN'S LIB, ECOLOGY, OR THE LATEST ANTI WAR MARCH.





ARRIVEVENTURA

INSTEAD OF THE PSEUDO-CONFRONTATION BETWEEN TWO COMPETING BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION WILL REQUIRE THE EMERGENCE OF A THIRD FORCE - THE WORKERS COUNCILS, WHOSE AIM IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE DESTRUCTION OF ALL HIERARCHICAL POWER AND THE UNINTERRUPTED TRANSFORMATION OF DAILY EXISTENCE. IN OUR STRUGGLE, WE HAVE NO USE FOR IDEOLOGY, WHICH POSES ITSELF AS THE SEPARATE POWER OF IDEAS AND AS IDEAS OF SEPARATE POWER, BUT FOR THE CONSCIOUSLY LIVED PRACTICE OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY.



PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON THE CONDITION THAT, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THEORY AS INTELLIGENCE OF HUMAN PRACTICE BE RECOGNIZED AND LIVED BY THE MASSES. IT REQUIRES WORKERS TO BECOME DIALECTICIANS AND TO INSCRIBE THEIR THOUGHT INTO PRACTICE.





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