

FETISH

WHAT'S THE REASON YOU'RE FROM RUSSIA AND PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION PHOTOGRAPHY IS THE ONLY WAY TO IDENTIFY YOU FROM YOUR OWN COUNTRY? CONSIDER PLAYING WITH THE LETTERS OF THE NAME OF THE CAR YOU'RE DRIVING TO FIND OUT THE REASON. THE LETTERS IN THE NAME OF THE CAR YOU'RE DRIVING TO FIND OUT THE REASON ARE IN THE NAME OF THE CAR YOU'RE DRIVING TO FIND OUT THE REASON. THE LETTERS IN THE NAME OF THE CAR YOU'RE DRIVING TO FIND OUT THE REASON ARE IN THE NAME OF THE CAR YOU'RE DRIVING TO FIND OUT THE REASON.

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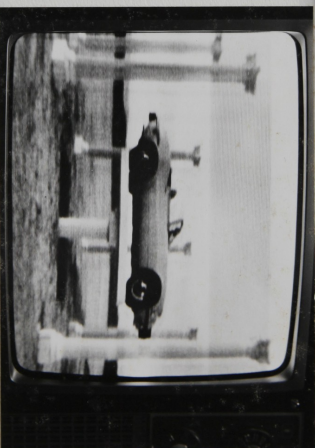
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SHIP TO: NAME *Paul Tucker, 78*

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THE WALKERS



The question is who controls language that controls us?

IS it not th

The dominant position

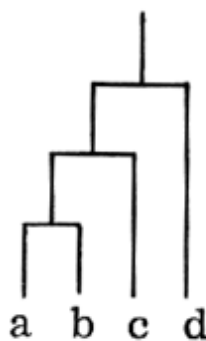


Communism is not a set of measures to be put into practice after the seizure of power [...]. All past movements were able to bring society to a standstill and waited for something to come out of this universal stoppage. Communisation, on the contrary, will circulate goods without money [...] it will tend to break all separations. – Gilles Dauve and Francois Martin, *The Eclipse and Re-Emergence of the Communist Movement*.

The example of the German, and above all, of the Russian revolutions, shows that the proletariat was fully capable of destroying a social order which presented an obstacle to the development of the productive forces, and thus to the development of capital, but that at the moment that it became a matter of establishing a different community, it remained a prisoner of the logic of the rationality of the development of those productive forces, and confined itself within the problem of managing them. – Jacques Camatte, 'Proletariat and Revolution', *Invariance* Series II no. 6, 1975.

Fact

- A Days
- B Machines
- C Long
- D Short



In communisation there is no *appropriation* of goods by any entity whatsoever ; no state, commune, or council to represent and dominate proletarians in expropriating capital and thus carry out an *appropriation*. Changing the property regime entails the constitution of a new form of economy, namely socialism, even if it is called an economy of solidarity. When socialism was really possible, communism was postponed to the end of time, and yet socialism could never be what it claimed to be : the transition to communism. This fact made it finally the counterrevolution adequate to the only real revolution of the period. Communisation doesn't constitute an economy. It makes use of everything, but has no other aim than itself. Communisation is not the struggle *for* communism ; it *is* communism that constitutes itself against capital. – B.L., 'The Suspended Step of Communisation', *Sic #1*

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APRIL 19th + 20th 2012

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& HARDCORE THEORY: HOW TO / GENDER / INTIMACY /
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Has the soldering been done? No, it's got to be done again, it's always waiting to be done it's never done. As though there were no more movement, no results from the movements, no change, only a ridiculous illusion of work which would be undone as soon as it's been finished under the influence of some curse. – Robert Linhart, *The Assembly Line*

Self-organisation is the first act of the revolution; it then becomes an obstacle which the revolution has to overcome. – Theorie Communiste,

There is nothing to affirm in the capitalist class relation, no autonomy, no alternative, no outside, no secession. – Endnotes, *What Are We to Do?*

Language is not simply discreet and defensive. It theorizes what is about to be done: it already is a project. It never talks for the sake of talking. – Alice Becker-Ho

The determinate failure of this programmatic revolution bequeathed a post-WW2 capitalism where the workers' movement had a certain power within capitalist society but no longer carried its earlier aspect of autonomous revolutionary affirmation. It was this situation that the development of a revolutionary theory had to confront. The struggles which then gave rise to new theoretical production in the 60s and 70s were — whatever the hopes of groups like the *Situationist International* — not beyond programmatism. Rather, they took on a contradictory character: counter-cultural utopianism and “resistance to work,” issues of everyday life, coinciding with — and in many ways depending upon — the strength of a more programmatic movement. It was in this contradiction and these struggles that the theory of communisation [...] could arise. The resolution of these struggles in capital's favour marked the end of that cycle in a restructuring in which the class's possibilities of a positive autonomy and affirmation within capitalism would be suppressed. It is for *Theorie Communiste* exactly this defeat that creates a new configuration of the class relation in which the existence of the class is no longer experienced as a positivity to affirm but as an external constraint in the form of capital. And it is this configuration which necessitates both a new understanding of communism and a new reading of Marx. — *Endnotes*, ‘Communisation and Value-Form Theory’, *Endotes #2*

A Workshop of Fictional Communism 19/04/2012

Anti-Workshop about how reading and writing fiction informs and changes our notions of what communism might be.

The possible structure could be to spend an hour introducing what we're attempting to do by reading a short story or series of extracts of short stories and looking at how they relate to both our experiences within capitalism (as activists, artists, writers, though most importantly as human beings) and to the question of communism. This discussion will be followed by writing some very, very short stories, comic strips and poetry depending upon what form individual participants wish to work in. One option will be to write collectively (in small groups) around themes that have arisen in the first hour and/or according to writing games. One such game we could use was invented by the Surrealists and entitled 'Exquisite Corpse'.

William R. Rubin describes it in his 'History of Surrealism' thus:

Among Surrealist techniques exploiting the mystique of accident was a kind of collective collage of words or images called the *cadavre exquis* (exquisite corpse). Based on an old parlor game, it was played by several people, each of whom would write a

phrase on a sheet of paper, fold the paper to conceal part of it, and pass it on to the next player for his contribution.

The technique got its name from results obtained in initial playing, "Le cadavre / exquis / boira / le vin / nouveau" (The exquisite corpse will drink the young wine). [...] These poetic fragments were felt to reveal what Nicolas Calas characterized as the "unconscious reality in the personality of the group" resulting from a process of what (Max) Ernst called "mental contagion."

The objective will be for the group to write sequentially (anything from a line or suggestive word through to a short paragraph or even a drawing) with each participant picking up from where the last one left off.

This could be used to develop and explore 'fictional communism' as an experiment in looking at what is frequently excluded from theory (affect, emotion, dreams, desire), immediately establishing different social relations within the group(s) formed through the duration of the session and possibly shifting what our notion of what might constitute communism. Hopefully the series of texts generated will interlock and reveal something of the 'unconscious' personality of the communization festival and the experimental groupings that compose it.

Two texts generated in the workshop follow >>>>>>

Working in a Zoo

Morning is the best time of the day. The ape drinks champagne and sleeps all day to the sound of loud music. Just open the cages!

'You remember when we were working in the zoo, and shit hit the fan? When the hippopotamus sprayed its shit all over the old lady in her mink and her grandchild..?'

Sitting in the office drinking coffee. Being bored. Having a faint smell of flamingo shit in my nostrils.

'The cage in the cage in the cage in the cage in the cage.'

I clean the space by marking out my space, I take the shit I produce and mark out my place with my hands. Trapped behind bars, my fellow apes felt so far away. This melancholy built upon me every moment.

'Productivity in the zoo means that you feed the animals and facilitate and monitor their reproduction. Productivity is good and important'.

As the riot began, and all animals would rise against the workers.

'Propagating the species: artificial insemination and electro ejaculation.'

Two poisoned dead suns lurk behind the smoke. With robotic movements shovelling manure... it smells like potential and sounds like sweet music to my ears.

'When night falls we forget everything-except their dreams.'

And all the cages became flooding like and all the animals were absorbed so it came into a stew. The future the future the future there will be just holo zoos 3d printed from corn.

'And this was how the ancient esoteric prophecy of the constant revolution came into the world.'

Space

The planets frequencies resonates with our new energy bodies, thus our collective subconscious became conscious and we decided to settle at this distant planet disappearing slowly. I don't know whether I'm falling or moving upwards. Madonna is by my side also just gliding into the void has being filled of nothing nothing nothing but a black space that does not speak to me of love in the blackest void I had ever known. My heart was a tiny point of beating white light in an enclosed but infinite abyss. Am I alone here? Just the memory of human community. I screamed into the space. I wish I had grown up during the space race. I cannot stop thinking about it. It was a time of true vision and determination. How I wish they could sleep. The silence of the world was like a glimpse of light from the engines interrupted of a space riot throwing bricks in a vacuum. Vacuum derives you of any possibility to live happily ever after.

Shooting up a prosthetic to numb the phantom. Phantom going into interstellar overdrive in order is alienation. Alienation or alien-nation? Well, who cares... kill it, kill it with fire! I am becoming desperate. And confused, as space collapsed, Captain Cooper found his ass unfolding, enclosing his body and his inner intestines floating about in weightless space he cried. Worked his/her ass off for light years this reality is a crutch why we not forbid work after the uprising of the unicorns in 2107, better I find my way to the Betty Ford space clinic. Every illness evaporated as soon as we learned how to connect with the consciousness of the planet. We, the human race, evolved to a higher state of collective consciousness. What is consciousness? What is collective? We can only be conscious only if we share our perceptions of the cosmos as an ever circulating circle jerk of rotating bodies jerking spasmodically as they replicate the entropy of the social miasma.

In passing: may I say that all too often men are betrayed by the word "freedom"...No, freedom was not what I wanted. Only a way out; right or left in any direction; I made no other demand... – *Franz Kafka*

The destruction of exchange: this means the workers attacking the banks which hold their accounts and those of other workers, thus making it necessary to manage without; this means the workers communicating their “products” to themselves and the community directly and without market; this means the homeless occupying homes, thus “obliging” construction workers to produce freely, the construction workers taking from the shops at liberty, obliging the whole class to organise to seek food in the sectors to be collectivised, etc. Let’s be clear about this. There is no measure which, in itself, taken separately, is “communism”. To distribute goods, to directly circulate means of production and raw materials, to use violence against the existing state: fractions of capital can achieve some of these things in certain circumstances. That which is communist is not “violence” in itself, nor “distribution” of the shit that we inherit from class society, nor “collectivisation” of surplus-value sucking machines: it is the nature of the movement which connects these actions, underlies them, renders them the moments of a process which can only communise ever further, or be crushed. – TC, 'The Present Moment'



[...] if capital has resolved the problem of programmatism it should not be forgotten that this happened in a restructuring, that is to say in a counter-revolution, the resolution was produced against the proletarians, and not as a gift from capital. And today the problematic of revolution as communisation raises problems just as redoubtable as those of programmatism, because when it is action as a class which becomes the very limit of class struggle, and you can only make the revolution in and through that action, you have some god-awful problems. – Roland Simon (Theorie Communiste), interview Riff-Raff.

They

say it is

love.

We say

it is

unwaged

work. —

Silvia Federici, 'Wages Against Housework'

The question does remain however, about the nature of the subject 'proletariat' as the agents of communisation in communisation theory. To me, it seems you need at least this minimal affirmation of some class subject to distinguish communising from rioting and looting – or be forced to admit that rioting and looting is in an important sense communisation – and at the moment, I am not convinced that distinction can be made within communisation theory without sneaking in some faint but vital trace of 'programmatism' through the back door, which is the proletariat as a kind of (non-) subject. This is something that would need to be resolved, for me, through further reading and discussion. It seems to me like one of a number of presuppositions in communisation theory which are not articulated as such but which seem to ground a lot of other structural elements in the theory – but which are also problematic in terms of other elements, like the idea of class belonging as constraint. It may be that this residual proletarian identity is something that needs to be negated actively in the communising process, rather than passively as it is by capital right now – in this respect it functions like 'self-organisation', which is a precondition for revolution but must be overcome within it. But I am not yet clear where the residual affirmation of a revolutionary subject is coming from. – Marina Vishmidt, 'The Economy of Abolition/Abolition of the Economy', *Variant* #42.

Communising a place means: setting its use free, and on the basis of this liberation experimenting with refined, intensified, and complexified relations [...] Communism is possible at every moment. What we call “History” is to date nothing but a set of roundabout means invented by humans to avert it. The fact that this “History” has for a good century now come down to nothing but a varied accumulation of disasters shows how the communist question can no longer be suspended. It is this suspension that we need, in turn, to suspend. – The Invisible Committee, *The Call*

Every revolutionary and reformer is a fugitive. To fight for change is to be incapable of changing oneself. To reform is to be beyond repair. – Fernando Pessoa, *The Book of Disquiet*

The communist perspective is anti-political, not a-political. – Gilles Dauvé

COMMUNISATION AND CRISIS



CRISIS AND COMMUNISATION



Communisation starts in the crisis activity to go beyond it. Communisation doesn't correspond to an ideal or a political slogan. It is the solution to the difficulties the proletariat encounters in its reproduction in the crisis activity. The crisis activity is a struggle against capital to ensure survival, nothing more. Once the proletariat's attempts at demands have proven ineffective in saving the proletariat economically, communisation makes the jump into non-economy. There is a paradox here: the economic crisis is at its deepest, the proletariat's needs are immense, and the solution is to reject productivism. Indeed, 'production' without productivity is not a production function. It is a form of socialization of people which entails production, but without measuring time or anything else (inputs, number of people, output). – Bruno Astarian, 'Crisis Activity and Communisation'

The steps of communisation are those of a tightrope walker. – *Theorie Communiste*, 'The suspended step of communisation', *Sic #1*

During the phase of the deepening of the crisis, the revolutionary proletariat reproduces itself mainly by plundering capital's property. Even in a lean economy, there are inventories. The crisis activity will consist (among others) in seizing them. In this phase already, one can imagine a divergence between a counter-revolutionary tendency which tries to account for everything, to regroup the goods, to coordinate their distribution, to impose criteria for rights and obligations, etc., and a communising tendency which rejects this looting economy and opposes the establishment of higher distribution authorities, even democratically elected, etc. This second tendency will insist that a local deepening of the revolution, absolute gratuity, are better than an abstract solidarity and an egalitarianism that can only be measured and managed by a power. – Bruno Astarian, 'Crisis Activity and Communisation'

In order to get out of this vicious circle, we have to try to understand positively what the individual of communism is. Actually, this isn't totally mysterious. To approach him, we have the insurgent proletarian, the proletarian whom we see in the crisis activity, in the insurrection, and not the rebellious individual [...] The specificity of the crisis activity is that it emerges from an interactive relationship among proletarian individuals which signals concretely the crisis (not yet the abolition) of class contingency. [...] Now what do we see in the crisis activity? We see individuals, who only yesterday formed an undifferentiated mass of wage earners, invent social forms of struggle with unsuspected imagination, we see them take decisions (and often apply them), we see them adapt from one hour to the next to changing circumstances, we see them forget their personal interests of "before", sometimes burning their bridges at the risk of their lives. And all of this without a leader, or at least a pre-existing leader, without a pre-existing organization, without a formal pledge and without responsibility towards a principle. – Bruno Astarian, 'Crisis Activity and Communitisation'

Capital now exacerbates, fragments and more than ever relies on the divisions between workers. Once the proud bearers of a universally relevant revolutionary essence, the Working Class, in its autonomy as a class within capitalism, can no longer build its power as a class against capital. Today, the revolution must emerge from the disunity of the proletariat, as the only process capable of overcoming that disunity. If revolutionary action does not immediately abolish all divisions between proletarians, then it is not revolutionary; it is not communization. – Maya Gonzalez, 'Communitisation and The Abolition of Gender

In the present moment, the very inability of workers to unite on the basis of a workers' identity thus forms the fundamental limit of struggle. But that limit is at once the dynamic potential of this cycle of struggles, bearing within itself the abolition of gender relations and all other fixed distinctions. It is no historical accident that the end of the former cycle of struggles coincided with a revolt against the primacy of the Worker – a revolt in which feminism played a major role. To re-imagine a workers' movement that would not demote women, blacks, and homosexuals to a subordinate position is to think a workers' movement that lacks precisely the unifying /excluding trait that once allowed it to move at all. – Maya Gonzalez, 'Communitisation and The Abolition of Gender

Today, the presence of women within the class struggle can only function as a rift, a deviation in the class conflict that destabilizes its terms. [...] For as long as proletarians continue to act as a class, the women among them cannot but lose. In the course of struggle, women will, therefore, come into conflict with men. They will be criticized for derailing the movement, for diverting it from its primary goals. [...] It is only from within this (and other) conflicts that the proletariat will come to see its class belonging as an external constraint, an impasse which it will have to overcome in order to be anything at all beyond its relation to capital. That overcoming is only the revolution as communization, which destroys gender and all the other divisions that come between us.

– Maya Gonzalez, 'Communitisation and The Abolition of Gender



The point is to take account of the essential critique addressed to the 'alternative' (no possibility of developing communism within the world of capital); but to recognize that there is also necessarily a relation between that which proletarians are today and that which will one day allow them to produce communism, in other words, that it is possible to practically address problematics related to communism, even if it's impossible today to live something which 'tends towards' communism or prefigures it. I've thus argued that the communizing movement is characterized by the fact that it already poses in struggles questions which have the same nature as those which will lead to the production of communism at the moment of the revolution; but that the responses that it brings, cobbled together with what capital renders possible today, are not themselves communist. – Leon de Mattis, 'Reflections on the Call'

It is 'utility' itself that cannot exist without profit. Nothing that isn't profitable can be useful in capitalism. – Leon de Mattis, 'What is Communitisation'

Communitisation in whatever form always seems caught in a tension between an immanent supersession of capital, the gradual proliferation of struggles that breach the limits of party, self management and workplace organisation, and the radical break, the institution of what Benjamin termed 'the real state of exception' in opposition to the state of exception imposed by the sovereignty of the state. This two-fold rhythm of communitisation is paralleled by the tension that's evident, in any attempt to theorise and practise it in the present, between a subjective activity and a more objective analysis of capital. – John Cunningham, 'Invisible Politics', *Mute*

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Manual labour, time entering into the body.
Through work man turns himself into matter,
as Christ does the Eucharist. Work is like
death. – Simone Weil

... to arrive at the realization of its strength the
proletariat must trample under foot the
prejudices of Christian ethics, economic
ethics and free-thought ethics [...] It must
accustom itself to working but three hours a
day, reserving the rest of the day and night for
leisure and feasting. - Paul Lafargue, *Right to
be Lazy*, 1888

Revolt is permanent, irreducible. It is a spring
of perversity that does not run dry. If it has
been duped today, it is renewed tomorrow. It
has no memory, it has no history, no value, no
allegiance, it goes uncalculated and is
unpredictable. Revolt persists on the other
side of every fence that could be built to
include it. – Frere Dupont from Brief
Statements on Revolt and Structure

Communist* **Teach-in and** **Film Festival**

Full Unemployment Cinema (UK)
& The Copenhagen Commune



Antiauthoritarian **Communism**

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April 19-20, 11am-late