



**RAW/WAR** by **AMERIGO MARRAS** and **BRUCE EVES**. Statements: Reindeer Werk and Art Communication Edition. Voices: Amerigo Marras, Bruce Eves and Paul Robinson. Music: John Catto, David Clarkson, John Hamilton and Ian MacKay. Recorded live at the Crash 'n' Burn, 15 Duncan Street, Toronto, Canada. @ 1977 Crash 'n' Burn Records.



**ART COMMUNICATION EDITION**  
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**ART COMMUNICATION EDITION proposes for itself the role of being the 'antithesis to dominant ideologies', rather than the role of being alternative to the hegemony of commercially motivated journals. As a forum for neglected aspects of contemporary art activity, ART COMMUNICATION EDITIONs are the platform for participating in a discourse on the condition of the cultural reality, as it is described by social stances and by the indexical presence of art as a labour in a capitalist society, that is the noticeable element of media or art as media.**

## RAW (WHAT) WAR?

We mean to have this issue, as a recording of a concluding act with the punk rock burst. Probably others or ourselves will resurface the histories of the punk rock scene as it was generated by the Crash 'n' Burn at the CEAC during the spring and summer of 1977.





## **SIDE A**

**1.2.3.4.5 (music) 5,4,3,2,1**

**- you people are the police, you people are your own point of view**

**1,2,3,4,5 (Music) 5,4,3,2,1**

**- any refusal to co-operate is a transgression on the code of ethics**

**1,2,3,4,5 (music) 5,4,3,2,1**

**- the contrary to not biting the hand that feeds is to shut up and hide our critical senses**

**1,2,3,4,5 (music) 5,4,3,2,1**

**- as a dialectical process, we see social struggle as cultural struggle**

**1,2,3,4,5 (music) 5,4,3,2,1**

**- behaviour is not concerned with interpersonal games as a means to communicate**

**1,2,3,4,5 (music) 5,4,3,2,1**

**- thus, whatever we do, even the annihilation of any system, becomes a further contribution to the establishments' history, or does it?**

**1,2,3,4,5 (music) 5,4,3,2,1**

## SIDE B,

The art world, the chain of immense institutions and associated business proceeds to impose a fiction as the cultural reality. If we intend culture as the expression and consciousness of a human grouping then we must also believe that there is no absolute culture nor absolute language. As a dialectical process, we see social struggle as cultural struggle. We see that dominant culture is located antithetically to the marginal position of minority cultures and beliefs (as expressed by age, sexual and language differences). As radical marginals, it is incorrect to place oneself in an alternative situation. That is to say, it is ludicrous to think that it is only a matter of time before we receive recognition for our labour. We do not want 'recognition' by the dominant culture. We want to simply eliminate the dominant culture 'tout court'. To assume such a stance is to think that other relationships are possible and they are. The active participation (and self-awareness) by the majority is the social pattern that will doom cultural hegemony.

What is the definition of society?  
What society?  
What definition?  
Does society reproduce other bourgeois models?  
Does a repressive society reproduce repressive social models?  
What is the language of each society?  
What is the language of each society?  
What is the behaviour of each society?  
What is the behaviour of each society?  
Does the questioning of the bourgeois social model create perhaps a new social model?  
Who is questioning?  
Who is determining the social parameters?  
Does self management produce a model of continuous change?  
How can ideology change social practice?  
What are the tools to change such a practice?  
Is it rather a change in consciousness?  
Is such consciousness an individual viewpoint?

scram...don't bug me...get lost...I hate you...  
fuck off, you creep...get your fucking hands  
off me...don't touch me...you bastard...son of  
a bitch...go fuck yourself...get away you brick  
sweaty balls...I can't stand you...stick it up  
your fucking ass...you whore...I'll rip your  
lungs out...slimy pimp...you make me sick...  
you're a turd...don't make me puke...yuck...  
stick your dog shit head in the sewer...you're  
the scum of the earth...lousy lay...stinking ass  
...you make me want to vomit...shove your  
money, your fucking money down your  
bloody throat...shut up...shut up...don't you  
dare say a word...don't talk to me...shake  
your shit out of here...you...dipshit you snoid  
...you dumb suck...you suck the bag...ah, I  
think I'll throw up...blah...you're disgusting...  
oh, yeah...you dipshit...go twist your balls  
elsewhere





**RAW/WAR** by **AMERIGO MARRAS** and **BRUCE EVES**. Statements: Art Com-

munication Edition. Voices: Amerigo Marras, Bruce Eves and Mickey Skin. @ 1977 Crash 'n' Burn Records.







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# 9 art communication edition





Luke Hombour, Director

[illegible]

It is our feeling that FROM THIS POINT ON, ILL. W. as it is presently constituted, will tell us something about time and activity in this province. It will tell us that art is alive and reasonably well, and that the personality itself, no matter what the world does not necessarily interfere with the flow of

[illegible][illegible]

to promote their relationship with the British Council. The use of video by artists in Britain has been a controversial issue for some time. In the mid-1970s, the Interdisciplinary arts group INTERMEDIA, since the inception of a black and white part a pak, the use of relatively low priced hi-tech video became widespread. The artists' use of video has been against the grain of interviews and informational programs we have chosen to deal with. This video and use of multimedia attributes to a growing consensus in the arts and is providing an overview of three different approaches to the medium. However, the video and the use of multimedia are really defining the final product and because of that the making of videotape is still very much an urban affair (no submissions were received from outside the lower mainland). Artist co-operatives, such as the Western Front and Satellite Video Exchange/Video Inn are examples of where groups of artists have banded together to make substantial purchases of equipment for the production and exhibition of videotapes. Independent producers have had to seek out sponsors. Independent producers have had to seek out sponsors. Independent producers have had to seek out sponsors.

[illegible]

### Final Value

[illegible]

through the  
rhythm and densities across the  
paper in subtle convoluted ways in a sensuous and readable  
notation that derived from the multifarious richnesses of  
nature, provides a satisfying grammar of objects  
and images and the emotional states in which objects are  
suspended. One of the unflagging excitements of photography  
for me is the mute eloquence of photographs that decides to  
speak to me from the world it, for William  
Carlos Williams, "so much" dependent upon "red wheel  
barrel beside the white barn" that "the great deal  
seems to multiply to itself, to itself, to itself, to itself." Olaf  
Storö's tractor and ferryboat upon Marian Perine's  
Bancroft is exquisitely rumpled and expressive beds.  
Kazum Tanaka's encyclopaedic parade of tattoos there is  
God's plenty — so obsessively and expertly marshalled for  
our inspection that the suite of photographs begins to take  
on the reverent aura of a religious iconography. Upon  
Tim Roth's enigmatic suffering figure like a  
crucifix and upon the "brutally homogenized  
civilians, glowing with entrapped light

# ish Columbia Artists

The photographs in this exhibition all have this double edged meaning, this depth of value. For this reason it is unlikely that they will tell us much about the shape of the British Columbia photographic scene. Rather, they are a Western portion of a universal fabric of aesthetic excellence within the medium. There are good photographs.

Good photographs are not about things. They are not about things. They are metaphorical swinging doors that open directly into the machinations of mind. We don't come upon them with the weight of philosophical inspection at the ready. We look merely. The photograph then does its work (sometimes moments, sometimes hours, sometimes days later). And then the world is filled with energy and flooded with meaning. They are metaphors of the process. The process appears to be as simple as, well, a flummed bed. And as appearance is, it is not real.

Casey John Fred DeWall

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Still from 'VIVA PORTUGAL', an 'eyewitness to the revolutionary process' to be premiered in Canada at the Funnel, November 8, 1977.

ART COMMUNICATION 9

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IF ANARCHY SUCCEEDS EVERYONE WILL FOLLOW

In the western capitalist countries the Fall has cooled the steam produced by the 1977 summer of rock. Punks, mannerists, opportunists, nouveaux riche, promoters, fashion burnt, and all the other idiots fallen into the image of anarchy as dictated by the vogue punk, rush towards the cliché of fashion like flies to a mound of shit. The fashion, the image, the shit has been widely explored and exploited by the mass media. Even the usual 'avant garde' magazines have covered the news while placing themselves into the picture. Capitalization has taken place as the time to cash in arrived. At last, the idea of anarchy makes money and the economical statement that punk rock might have made in the beginnings is forgotten. Those who are aware of the media tornado over punk rock are now imperializing those alien meanings into just another fashion. The only innovation is a new fashion consciousness, things are still the same: the same jobs, the same sexism, the same domination, the same shit that we all buy in supermarkets, in drugstores, in dildo stores or whatever. All that is left now is to go mad while preserving a sense of fashion. The fad creates uniformity and the star syndrome that is so prevalent already in the perverse 'normal state', the grit and the illusion of consumerism. ART COMMUNICATION EDITION 9 flirts with the notion of madness, annihilation, and the organization of a different order of things. All the authors work in independent situations and work towards an imprecise alternative. We, as editors, play a complacent role, patiently allowing (like madmen takers) the bursts to happen, the one contradicting the other. The central issue is one of a genetic regeneration, one that is of madness permitted, isolation to be the singular direction we are forced to take. Each person establishes his/her own history. Encounters with others are on an occasional level, never definite nor permanent. We continue to speak in an alien tongue (for ourselves) with nobody there listening. We are in an emotionless reality. To cry or to laugh is not historically correct. If anarchy succeeds, everyone will follow. As anarchy succeeded, everyone is following, consuming the marketable image of anarchy as it must. We must prepare ourselves for the success of anarchy and for the emotionless world where sanity is a thing of the past. We are mad. We are mad in all its meanings. And we are ready to place the right device in the right place. Does any one understand what we mean?

## THE ART OF MADNESS

Discussion paper for the Social Violence and Behaviour Workshop  
The Free University  
Documenta 6

Those of us who work in areas of creative action eventually become aware of the structures surrounding and defining our operations. These are firstly the institutions of the art-world, galleries, dealers, government art sponsorship bodies, etc; and hospitals, clinics, in the area of art therapy; also schools, colleges, etc. in the area of teaching; they are the more obvious manipulators and definers of artistic creativity in our society. But secondly, there are the less obvious but more important structures which articulate the two-way relationships between social oppression and resistance to it. These structures too limit creative action, by making people resistant to art's primary function: to discover humanity. We are discussing here the role of art as an agent of social change, of its potential for resistance. But not the sort of art that we find here in Documenta; I think most of this art alienates people. Later I will be talking about one sort of art which may be able to produce change, derived from art therapy (which is my special interest). Before doing this I think we ought to examine the wider problem of social oppression and resistance. To help us in this I will use an analysis based on the work of the French philosopher Michael Foucault<sup>1</sup> (anyone who is interested can follow it more closely in *Radical Philosophy* 17+). This approach is appropriate for analysing advanced capitalist repression and resistance, where head-on confrontation often seems to be counter-productive.

We start off from the premise that no knowledge is value free; e.g. Foucault identifies 4 modes of concrete historical "a priori's", regulating discourses on topics such as psychiatry, medicine, natural history, etc.. They are:

- i. the constitution of possible objects of knowledge (mental illness, the clinical case, the table of species... and so on)
- ii. the social, political, and epistemological positions that are taken by the promoters of the discourse (psychiatrists, clinicians, economists, educators...)
- iii. the ways of ordering concepts within a particular discourse (taxonomies, semiologies, curricula...)
- iv. the strategic principles governing the ways in which themes and theories are transformed inside and applied outside the particular discourse.

These a priori's are regarded by most people as substantive facts of life, e.g. there is such a reality as the "clinical case". A consequence of the existence of these four "a priori's" is that the production of knowledge is tied into the exercise of power. But this is not straight forward power exercised crudely within the current ideology of power as repression. We need a different model, more appropriate to our historical situation in bureaucratic society, where few people are openly oppressed. Foucault arrived at his conclusions via an historical investigation of the C19 prison system, and of C20 sexuality. (Both of these areas are linked into psychiatry and therefore are therapy.) The play of power in these complexes was not straightforwardly repressive and prohibitive; reform seemed

positive, productive, and creative, in that new tactics and techniques were continually being devised—to manufacture docile, utilizable, social individuals. Creative repression, in other words, masquerading as reform, as sexual liberation.

The visible, challengeable, "terminals of power", i.e. the form of the law, the force of the state, do not affect the production of knowledge in any obvious way. But the value of knowledge is affected by a subtle form of "self-repression" by individuals, a consequence of anonymous systems, possessing an unstated but decipherable "rationality" acting on them. The omnipresence of this sort of power, producing itself at each instant, at every point, encompassing everything, coming from everywhere, is the nightmare of our society. It is not the effect or creation of a calculating will, of a class or oligarchy, but is made up of local tactics of power, often clearly explicit, even cynical; combining and composing into strategies without a strategist. So we must understand power not as a property but as a strategy, not localized in the relation of state to citizen, or at the boundaries between classes. Ironically few of the oppressors benefit, except in material terms. The jailors are also prisoners. Resistance to this power is often annulled when it is confronted directly, as Nietzsche says, "The will to power can manifest itself only against resistances therefore it seeks that which resists it". So effective resistance, like power, must be dispersed, mobile, local, and heterogeneous.

Our concerns, as artists, therapists, teachers, are to identify the local conditions wherein this power manifests itself; in the individual members of society with whom we have our dealings. These dealings usually take the form, in our institutional disciplines, of surveillance of the individual's physical existence, and the organized questioning and supervision of his/her subjectivity. This production of knowledge about the individual maximizes the power of the regime intent upon turning personalities, not only into objects (i.e. reification) but into subjects, whose subjective preoccupations, like masturbation, can form a useless short-circuit, inimical to change. C19 prison reform and psychiatric reform is an example of this repression inside out; "the soul, prison of the body". As an C18 text puts it "an imbecile despot can bind his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them more tightly with the chain of their own ideas, its end attached to a solid base of reason..."

The big change which took place in the C19 was that in the penal system, "reformers" turned the judicial pattern and the pattern of punishment from inquisition into research. A new concern with punishment as prevention developed where the individual is a body to be trained, through absolute institutional power. Similarly there were changes from soldier "types" being sought to maintain the small private armies of the C18, to soldier being produced by the "training manuals" for the mass armies of the C19, and of course the parallel production of "workers" by the factory system was clearly analysed by Engels. The function of the state was to produce out of the raw material of humanity specific types.



The focal concept in this application of power is "docility", and the more docility is achieved the more the dynamic, and increasingly intensified pursuit of knowledge, malleability, and utility of individuals increases. In this situation even the buildings are diagrams of power, as are the hierarchies within them, the dress, the examinations, the privileges, the highest of which is freedom from surveillance. The whole social body becomes a field of perception, and the assembly of institutions of surveillance is the base for the disciplinary colonization of society. The schools, hospitals, prisons, clinics, now extend their surveillance to the families of their subjects, (e.g. Laing—the family is mad); the police keep an eye on "everything which happens". The criminal, the madman, interest us not only by their acts, but by their life, and it is their life that the institutions are created to control. The power of society, to punish its members, legitimized in the penal system, is transformed into non-punitive strategies of control via medicine, psychiatry, education, public assistance, and social work.

A major concern of Documenta in this context is in intense subjectivity expressing a philosophy of "truth through self-interrogation". A philosophy described, as I see it, from a misunderstanding of psychoanalysis. As I mentioned earlier, this can also be a strategy of power on the part of society's controllers, if it is not balanced by "praxis" with the world. I prefer the terms introjection, the taking of the world into oneself, and projection, the placing of one-self out in the world, to subjectivization and objectivization: in this model, praxis is the crossing-over point, and creative action is the epitome of praxis.

To my way of thinking the task of helping people to discover their individual creative power is a key political role for the artist/educator/therapist. This is the force that can counteract their internalized institutionalized power. My own work with psychiatric patients has shown me that everybody's creative power can be released. In this respect although it is not strictly necessary for people to go mad before they

gain access to their creativity, madness provides two of the three conditions which I think favour creative potency. They are:

- i. a place in which it is safe to be absent-minded, which can be the art-therapy room—(an asylum within the asylum).
- ii. the ability to accept a state of temporary chaos—(this is what madness is).
- iii. and finally the ability to de-differentiate, to loosen and re-draw boundaries—(which is something that art teaches us)

I try to simulate these conditions, creating symbolic asylums, symbolic chaos, and symbolic de-differentiation via drawing and painting. I have found that participating in creative change at a symbolic level i.e. through drawings and paintings, generates self-confidence in people; e.g. working with Open University Summer-School students, where the context is ideal for creating these three conditions, one finds an enormous outpouring of rich vital images, which often shocked and moved their producers. They showed the people who made them a more questing, less subservient aspect of their personality. These works were not analysed for hidden meanings, but were accepted as evidence of repressed (since childhood) creative approach to life, which can be carried through from symbolic change to personal change, and from personal change to participation in social change. It is usually only artists who have the chance to discover the freedom that can result from seeking change. When ordinary people discover this too, at a personal level, they will be able to resist the hypnotism of the mass media on the one hand and repressive subjectification on the other.

1. Radical Philosophy N. 17, Summer 1977, Frampton Press, Oxford.
2. Marion Milner 'On not being able to paint', Heinemann Educational Paperbacks, (1970)

Amerigo (Menas) discussion at the Free International University



Rosa Euse and Joseph Beuys during Ron Gillespie's performance at Documenta 6, September, 1977

From three different forms of reflections on art, aesthetics, poetry, and criticism, the "movement for genetic art" establishes its roots in the last, in interpretation, fixing itself in the depth of history.

No foundation, then, in an aesthetic matrix, which would lead to dogmatic paths, but observations and hypotheses—deriving from a historic-critical methodology—which demand an order and a sense from aesthetics. Research, consequently, on the origins of art, conducted with Stanislavskijani's seed method, is the area that has produced the genetic hypothesis.

The supposition has been put forward (alluded to in a note which appeared in the "Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno" on 17.3.76) that the first manifestations of art are the "sounds" obtained by percussion or beating, and that they are the reproduction of "genetic time", or the maternal (heart) beat.

An attempt was made therefore, to penetrate into the tie that unites the being with his matrix, and to understand to what extent "genetic time" has conditioned man. Some observed "phenomena" may be suggested. The baby's thumb in its mouth, vaginal and anal explorations (the heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual man), pleasure in receiving sperm, handshaking, instances of contact and warmth in general, kisses: all aspects that denote a search for the temperature and the humidity which belong to the prenatal situation which is liquid but non-aerated. In another way: from which is liquid but non-aerated. In another way: from the beginnings of civilization, unconsciously, the obsessive beating of drums has always been used in battles, repeating to the combatants the protecting sense of the genetic beat, as if it wanted to say "Go on, your mother is with you."

The same mechanism has been used, always unconsciously, making the rhythm of tolling bells, of military marches, of litanies, of prayers, of applause, of prosody, of lullabies, of rocking cradles, the pat of a hand on a man or on an animal. All reproductions of the maternal beat.

Having said that, it's possible that primitive man had found and put forward, unconsciously, in the percussion of an object, first, and then with a drum, the original tempo. The symbol follows as the graphical translation of the sound: graphical scansion.

An art takes shape then, that is born from the imitation of reality (the maternal heartbeat), from genetic implications (the mother) in a "time" and "place" to be determined. The concept of mimesis, introduced, even if indirectly, by Pythagoras, and then characterised by Plato, finds its great expansion with Aristotle. Art, for the exile of Calcede, isn't only the imitation of reality, of historic events, but also of the psychological world and of human sentiments. It has also a purifying function "catharsis" (concept of Pythagorean origin): music reconciles dischords by soothing them into a superior harmony; it's a cure for some pathological types!

In the periods before and after Socrates a link has been seen, then, between sound and the psyche. A connection that supports the genetic hypothesis.

Primitive man hit a drum, making sounds. Why? The intimate conviction exists that the action is a demon-

stration of conflict towards the "genetic situation". A dialogue of protest, and at the same time heart-rending, with the matrix in the only code possible: the cardiac tempo, belonging to the totality of both, in the two different frequencies—the foetal one and the one of the "murmur of the uterus"—the I looks for its own identity—detachment—but is attracted, and tied to its origin. Ambivalent impulses and tendencies.

This is the right moment for a quotation: Freud "Totem and Tabu".

The work deals with the application of premises and the results of psychoanalysis, to problems of the psychology of peoples. There is the analysis, in "pre-historic" peoples, of the phenomena of exogamy—the rules by which members of the same totem must not have sexual relations amongst themselves, the prearranged relentless severity to avoid incestuous sexual relations, the first incestual sexual choices of the child, the relationship with the parents, the feeling of unconscious hostility towards the father put against the predominating affection. All ambivalent affectionate behaviour—ground from which the Freudian conscious rises. In other words there is there the skilful analysis of the Oedipus complex.

"The child comes then to find itself in an equivocal situation, ambivalent where his father is concerned, a struggle from which he removes himself by transferring his feelings of hostility and fear onto a substitute object". Freud concludes "In the Oedipus complex there are principles of both religion and morality, of society and art, and this is in complete conformity with the facts of psycho-analysis, which sees in this complex the substance of all complexes".

Aesthetics (from the Greek *aisthēticós*: that hears—surprising linguistic accuracy) has already had, in the Positivist era, moments of reflection on psychology and psycho-analysis, exploring both the ontogenetic ground and the philogenetic ground. Where psychology is concerned however the hypotheses put forward, are the same as for other experiences and not for the specific nature of art, have been revealed as weak. The exception is that of Richards, who with the introduction of cenesthesia-aesthetics is that pleasure that brings the harmony and equilibrium of all our impulses—sees art as the moment that fixes the equilibrium of the moods and the senses: the harmonic equilibrium.

What is harmony and what is its tempo and function?

The hypothesis of the cardiac beat, of the mother, as a unit of measure of harmony and of all poetry shows itself as increasingly decisive. This could explain the "sound of colour" of Argan, or the sound of the bells of Ceroli.

A richer fount of psychological aesthetics is that derived from psycho-analysis, from which it is largely drawn, specifically where the quoted ambivalences take shape—the Freudian one is surprising concerning God the Father, from the Christian myth, as "killed" by Christ, who in this way freed men from the weight of original sin with the sacrifice of his own life.

The ground of ambivalence has been dug also by Octavio Paz, from the critical point of view, an inter-

preter who puts himself between a Positivism or "totalitarisme historique" and the "revolte contre l'histoire" from the matrix of Dieguez.

Paz, on the one hand a poet and on the other a critic, reaches a "dialectical ambivalence". A work of art can be considered historic in two ways: a social product and an autonomous creation that transcends the historical plane but needs it for its own definition. A pendular oscillation that includes in its scope both history and the autonomy of art.

At this point the roads of Aristotle, Freud, Richards, and Paz, like that also of the Russian Formalists, and the American psychologist Lee Salk (Le scienze, 1973 n. 60) who intuitively, in parallel with Weiland and Sperber, the role of the cardiac beat in the mother-son relationship and the importance, from the psychobiological point of view, of the prenatal sensorial experience of the child, meet in the genetic hypothesis, in the beat and in the rhythm.

It can be seen in Paz that criticism assumes a pendular rhythm, but a work of art could be seen with the same "movement". There has always been the expression "to scan a facade" (Migliorini in his etymological dictionary says of 'salire'—"to go up or rise"—to raise and life the foot to indicate a rhythm) in the sixteenth century Alberti and the Palladian school structured a facade on musical principles, on tempo "polyphonic-proportion". Alberti: "We'll draw out, therefore, all the rules of completion of musicians". Then Leonardo: "Music is the sister of painting—both create harmony".

But what is the "basic" tempo of man, of his history, if it isn't 'la scansione', the cardiac beat "fixed" in the water of the womb? The examination must be made of a Palladian structure, or of a bronze facade of Mies van der Rohe, to ascertain if it is based on the cardiac tempo: 80 (the mother) 120 (the foetus) pulsations a minute—the ratio is interesting  $\frac{2}{3}$  ( $\frac{80}{120}$ )  $\frac{3}{3}$  ( $\frac{120}{120}$ ) to be confronted with the Pythagorean 3. Examine this with the law of the pendulum  $T = 2\pi\sqrt{\frac{l}{g}}$  (mt. 0.56 for the frequency of 80 beats) examine them with all the dialectical development of the two different tempos.

Up to this point the genetic implications of a work of art have been suggested. But where is art going and what is the artist's and the intellectual's job today? Another reflection on Freud is called for. To cure the neuroses of complexes, he applies as it has been said, the therapeutic technique of "Transfer", which induces the patient to transfer onto another person—usually the doctor—the charge of affection whose remote repression is at the base of the disturbance. If this logical mechanism is accepted, art, understood as a product, can and must enter hospitals, with the responsibility to receive, and gather in the charge of affection, and must live in the streets, in schools, in factories where every sound of the poetic depth has been lost.

An art, then, of social catharsis, in the same way social as is the call in "Unrest in civilization" that Freud makes to all the possible forces of culture to erect barriers against the aggressive instincts of a primary hostility which sets man one against the other.





A basic premise to the practice of alternative cultures is the elimination of an unjust material access implemented by exploitative economies. An alternative practice takes form in the necessary steps of: (1) investigating, (2) criticism, (3) organizing, (4) practical model setting, and (5) ultimately the building of a marginal set of cultures that reflect an alternative economical reality.

1.

The act of investigating the existing reality is the indexing of the pattern of cultural domination within localized and external situations. To investigate is to arrive at a list of available means of production, including all those tools and places that allow or limit some sphere of action. The available tools and places map an actually possible implementation. The map of unavailable tools and places is instead the delineation of the hierarchical system itself, or the morphology of the dominant ideology.

2.

To some operators, criticism is equated to non culturally bound activity in literature, politics, sociology. This equation is however the effect of a compromised viewpoint of those individuals afraid of bringing forward a potentially new ground. Critical manifestations of the given cultural and material reality facilitate the process of dissolution of an exploitative system. To fear the counteraction is to delay a social change. To stand out for the rights to justice and self determination is the first step in the reorganization of the world. To criticize is to demarkate the incorrectness of decisions made by others over our own lives.

3.

Organizing means putting together intentionally in working collectives the elements of available means of production, structuring in an use value the cooperative forces of several people and tools to share a specific cultural and economical reality. To organize is to create a front that can operate despite the suffocation of a dominant ideology. One can organize an educational body, a discussion group, a facility of work, a channel of communication (video, broadcasting, journal, etc.), a place to be used by all or for specific functions of alternative economical and cultural usage. To organize also means to work for the liberation of ourselves as members of oppressed minorities, which are discriminated in their access to the means of production. To organize is to abolish the dependence upon exploitative reality. To organize is to raise the consciousness level of the members of a given group as defined by class, culture, or role.

4.

To set models attempting to offset the established mode of social organization is a show of good faith. However such a pretense exists along thin opportunities, easily oppressed by dominant factors. Previous alternative models have operated in illusory terms; in particular as intentionally separate entities from the consumerist world, but in practice an escape yet dependent upon surplus values of the capitalist mode of production: the romantic drug cultures of the late

sixties, which naively assumed that a differentiation of place (i.e. locating oneself within pastoral surroundings) would in turn change the economical whole.

On a conceptual level, private expressions as known in post minimal art manufacturing, in video works, in independent film making, etc., attempted to eliminate the subjugation from an art market, still locating the 'wares' within art market structures: the galleries and the specialized media of the art world. The alternative model was in this case an absurdist conceptual model that did not eliminate the contradiction of capitalization by others on one's own work.

### FOR EXAMPLE:

While the CEAC supports the ideology of the sociological art group (Fischer, Forest, Thenot) from Paris, it has adopted an identity of structure with the so-called Free University (headed by Joseph Beuys and coordinated by Caroline Tisdall and Robert McDowell, among others). In participating to the Behaviour Workshop within the Free University at Documenta 6 in Kassel, Germany, a contradiction has been set up in that the Ecole Sociologique Interrogative of the French group was excluded from participation to Documenta 6 on the pretext that the Free University would include all the necessary subjects to be discussed. That is to say that the Free University alone would cover the entirety of an open situation. Common sense alone can tell us that this cannot be the case.

Our organization was invited to participate within the context of another organization. Our understanding of that arrangement was that it was one-to-one. That is, that each organization (or individual, for that matter) would preserve its scope through cooperation and sharing and not through an amalgamation resulting in the establishment of hierarchies. This may be quite naive and full of contradictions.

However, to share commonalities does not necessarily mean to stagnate in a precise model. In fact, shifting the focus makes us realize that there are alternatives to anyone's alternative. So that to the Free University, we have other alternatives. At the same time we encourage a proliferation of associations and groupings into networks. Networks, through their own nature, bind their members through common interests and shared information. However as an act of good faith, they are seldom realized. Community practice is a paper statement, hindered by the social condition that fragments groups and individuals. The notions of investigation and criticism reduce the stability of the network but produce strong occasional groupings and networks with good intentions. Today's society hinders the development of a critical sense and the simultaneous sharing of experiences, as the one excludes the other. Raising a question is automatically taken to be a declaration of mutiny or a splitting of interests.

How then does one defeat the dominant ideology if the alternatives are split by the same dominant ideology? Precisely by oneself becoming the occasional member of some of the thousands of networks in operation and thereby shifting the ground without freezing the role.

## ANALOGICAL AESTHETICS 6

- a. **Artaud, Antonin**
- b. **Barthes, Roland**
- c. **Baudelaire, Charles**
- d. **Benjamin, Walter**
- e. **Berger, John**
- f. **Bochner, Mel**
- g. **Casanova, Giacomo**
- h. **Cook, Geoffrey**
- i. **D'Agostino, Peter**
- j. **Glaze, Lionel**
- k. **Gogh, Vincent Van**
- l. **Hack, Howard**
- m. **Heidegger, Martin**
- n. **Lond, Harley**
- o. **Malevich, Kasimir**
- p. **Malraux, Andre**
- q. **Marx, Karl**
- r. **Matsumoto, Masashi**
- s. **Nodal, Adolfo**
- t. **Phillips, Donna-Lee**
- u. **Proudhon, Pierre Joseph**
- v. **Ruskin, John**
- w. **Schopenhauer, Arnold**
- x. **Thomas, Lew**
- y. **Twain, Mark**
- z. **Vinci, Leonardo Da**

INTERMEDIA ART BROADSIDE #1

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All art is a revolt against man's fate.

No one has ever written, painted, sculpted, modeled, built, or invented except literally to get out of hell.

Art -- in other words the search for the beautiful and the perfecting truth, in his own person, in his wife and children, in his ideas, in what he says, does and produces -- such is the final evolution of the worker, the phase which is destined to bring the Circle of Nature to a glorious close. Aesthetics and above Aesthetics, Morality, these are the keystones of the economic edifice.

It is clear that while production furnishes the material object of consumption, consumption provides the ideal object of production.

In a divided system of false communications whereby the sender controls and limits information and meaning, the recipient of these messages is voiceless -- an ideological patient.

It is not truly speaking, the labour that is divided; but the men: -- Divided into mere segments of men -- broken into small fragments and crumbs of life; so that all the little pieces of intelligence that is left in man is not enough to make a pin or a nail, but exhausts itself in making the point of a pin or the head of a nail.

I have come to see that the arranging of artists in a hierarchy of merit is an idle and essentially dilettante process. What matters are the needs which art answers.

Contemporary artists work in the face of paradox. Once a work becomes a work of art, it assumes the status of a lie despite inspiration or conception.

Only dull and impotent artists screen their work with sincerity. In art there is need for truth, not sincerity.

Art is a Racket.

...so my advice would be to drop the 'known' aspects and move out into a grander, more surprising form of presentation. The 'future of art' lies in its theoretical expansion.

I give warning of a danger. Reason has now imprisoned art in a box of square dimensions. Foreseeing the dangers of the fifth and sixth dimensions, I fled, since the fifth and sixth dimensions form a cube in which art will stifle. Escape before it is too late.

It then becomes clear and certain to him what he knows is not a sun and an earth, but only an eye that sees the sun, a hand that feels an earth...

Every light is a shade, compared to higher lights, till you come to the sun; and every shade is a light, compared to deeper shades, till you come to the night. When, therefore, you have outlined any space, you have no reason to ask whether it is in light or shade, but only, of what colour it is, and to what depth of that colour.

What is drawing? How does one do it? It is the act of working one's way through an invisible wall of iron which seems to lie between what one feels and what one can do. How is one to get through this wall, for it does no good to use force? In my opinion, one must undermine the wall and file one's way through, slowly and with patience.

Some people get a cheap thrill out of detachment.

An author who teaches a writer nothing teaches nobody anything. The determining factor is the exemplary character of production that enables it, first, to lead other producers to this production, and secondly to present them with an improved apparatus for their use. And this apparatus is better to the degree that it leads consumers.

It is clear that while production furnishes the material object of consumption, consumption provides the ideal object of production.

I do not go to the space of a gallery with a collection of fixed and memorable objects. I go there to find the here and now and that is what I present. That is what I expect people to find when they too are there.

We, Suprematists, throw open the way to you.  
Hurry!  
For tomorrow you will not recognise us.

You're considered mad until your idea succeeds.

Why is there something instead of nothing?

The whole field of human activity, the progress of civilization, the tendencies of society, bear witness to this process. All that makes a man, all that he loves and hates, all that affects and interests him, become for him a matter of art. He composes it, polishes it, harmonizes it, until by the prestige of his work one could say he makes matter disappear from it. Man makes nothing according to nature: he is, if I dare put it this way, a ceremonial animal (un animal faconnier).

The 'future of art' lies in its theoretical expansion.

What is fair in men, passes away, but not so in art.

He is troubled by an image of himself, suffers when he is named. He finds the perfection of a human relationship in this vacancy of the image: to abolish in oneself, between oneself and others -- adjectives: a relationship which adjectivizes is on the side of the image, on the side of domination, of death.

...all my life I have been the victim of my senses. I have...

Fucking is the lyricism of the people.

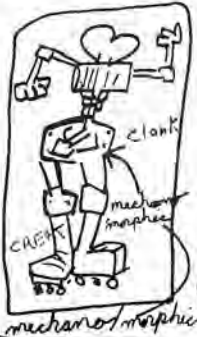
Il faut fusiller le general Aupick!



Little HEARTS in

# HEAVEN IS A DISCO

I've always had a problem with Disco. The social, political + metaphysical aspects remain opaque to me. I've never been able to establish a functional behavior pattern in that specific contextual setting. Just one few pss after another. Why I remember one night in New York.



The thrbbing heart the jerky kinetic motion I feel like I'm riding in a machine



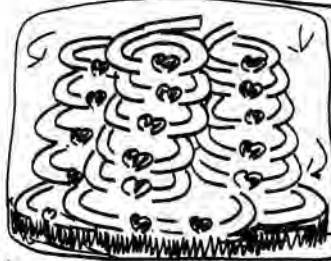
Sometime after pounding the old typewriter keys, grinding out another critical notice, yet another linear logical structure I am mysterious filled with a almost demonic energy!



I dance alone and my mind is awash with strange imagery

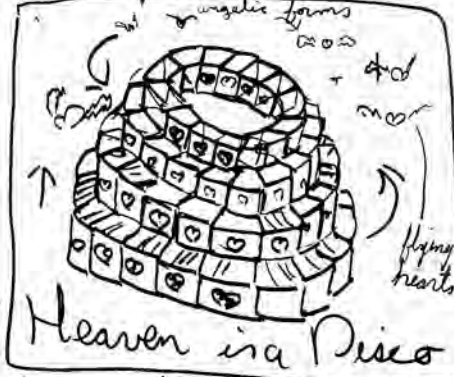


Little hearts wiggling squiggling in the darkness of galactic space. a dance of pursuit and Rapture.



Next a structure of spinning heart portraying the folly and triumph of human emotional life.

Finally the spiritual



Heaven is a Disco  
Yes a concentric structure of hearts one upon another reaching up to, dare I say God

# film



## VIVA PORTUGAL

An eyewitness to the revolutionary process

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 8:30

OPEN SCREENING 16mm, super 8, colour, black & white; sound, silent, loops, dual or more projection, home movies, found films, works in progress, unfinished, first or last films, remakes, outtakes, anonymous, etc., etc.

BRING YOUR FILMS

Open Screenings will be the LAST TUESDAY OF EVERY MONTH.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 8:30

Lawrence Weiner

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 8:30

"Hanamatsuri" and  
"Suwanose, the Fourth World"  
by Shizuki Fujieda

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 8:30

"Viva Portugal"

JIM ANDERSON

GRAVITY IS NOT SAD, BUT GLAD  
Tuesday, November 15, 8:30 p.m.

This film (Can., 1975, colour, 130 min.) is about tearing things apart that are together and putting together what is apart. It is about language and words—mysterious lost meant to be found again meaning of words.

The film is filled with questions and statements on almost everything in our culture; but underneath it all I have tried to keep a delight in the fact that film is something consisting of coloured light on a screen and also of some sort of glad noise coming from a speaker box. The film consists of three reels. Although it is more of an experience to see the film as a total, reels can be seen individually as each is complete in itself.

Reel 1 30 min.

Mainly about the relation between words and things—the nature of naming.

Reel 2 50 min.

The first part utilizes flipbooks to make comments on almost everything. Also, these are the first flipbooks I have ever seen that have sound! The second part consists of some people in a room playing guitars, listening to records and radios and one person plays with a toy airplane.

Reel 3 50 min.

This reel is about an insolent record player. Then many friends of mine answer some questions. Also, some, "modern day" conversations take place. In one conversation the people decide that gravity is not sad but glad!

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 7:00 p.m.

"Diaries, Notes and Sketches"

by Jonas Mekas

Note: the filmmaker will be present.  
To commence at 7:00 p.m.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 8:30

Open Screening

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 8:30  
NEW WAVE ON FILM

"Crash 'n' Burn" Ross McLaren  
"Outrage" Chris Terry & Michael May  
"The Concorde" Peter Chapman  
and probably much more.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 8:30

Kimo & Eddie Retrospective

## CREATIVE ACCESSIBILITY BY DEFAULT: THE POTENTIAL OF SUPER 8

More people are using super 8 each year attracted to it for many different reasons but all sharing the same enthusiasm. As with the birth of all new technologies, the alternatives it provides and attraction of something new leads to great claims for its potential. Certainly the strongest claim made for the medium of super 8 is the creative accessibility it allows. The diversity of films that appear at super 8 festivals reflecting the variety of backgrounds and interests of people using super 8 seems to confirm this claim—super 8's low cost allowing almost anyone to use it. In other words the creative accessibility that super 8 provides is based on its material accessibility.

Super 8 is foremost a consumer item. This accounts for its material accessibility especially when compared to the expense of 16mm and 35mm mediums which are producer items, i.e. they are tools, which in their case, are used to make consumer items: commercial films. With super 8, which is itself the consumer item, the film that it produces is redundant to the market system, but quite unintentionally to the manufacturer super 8 provides a creative accessibility that never existed before with such a relatively sophisticated technology. To say that super 8 is a consumer item is to put super 8 in perspective. It is not simply a new technology with exciting possibilities as if developed isolated from any other concerns. On the contrary, it was developed strictly as a marketable product, along with dishwashers, hairdriers, cars, etc., as yet another means to add to a corporation's profits while at the same time inculcating an ideology that justifies and ensures the necessity of the structure corporations operate in—advanced capitalism. Therefore because super 8 is really a means to profit and subjugation, any creative potential it may have exists by default.

As a consumer item what is the present ideological function that super 8 shares with other consumer items and what is the general historical perspective of consumerism that it is a part of? No thing is a thing in itself but exists in a context. A thing perceived by man becomes a part of a system of relationships made up of all things he has observed, used, and transformed, thereby acquiring its meaning from both its immediate use-value and its place in a system of relationships. The sum of conceptions of the natural and social world interwoven in the material activity of a society is that society's ideology. In fact, the production of all forms of consciousness are derived from material practice and are ideological. The realities of everyday life are centered on some ideology which is taken as natural, but just as there are different possible societies so can there be different ideologies. Therefore ideologies are not immutable, but within an ideology the fact of its contingency is suppressed. The meaning an object acquires from its place in a system of relationships is the total ideology that becomes manifest in it. This meaning goes beyond the object's immediate use-value so that by being added to a system of relationships and changing this mutable structure, the object is in turn changed—all things carry the baggage of the ideology they are a part of.

History is made up of modes of production and capitalism is only one of these. In order to produce capitalism must reproduce the productive forces, which are the material conditions of production and labour power and it must reproduce the relations of produc-

tion, which are relations among people required for the dominant mode of production and are established by a society's material activities, e.g. forms of ownership and distribution. The reproduction of the productive forces is simply achieved by the payment of wages which more or less allows the worker to sustain himself. The reproduction of the relations of production is achieved by inculcating in individual consciousness values and conceptions of the world that legitimize and necessitate the dominant relations of production. This is the function of ideology in late capitalism—the non-coercive means of making the individual acquiesce to his working conditions and all values and attitudes that are required to perpetuate the relations of production needed by the capitalist mode of production. In order to achieve this, ideology, conveyed through education, religion, law, party politics, media, art, etc., must distort the individual's real relations of production. It then conceals itself as ideology to be taken for granted as natural by perpetuating idealist universal concepts such as Truth, God, Justice, the Party, Fact, Beauty, etc. which avoids the material realization of an individual's true relations to the relations of production. As a result history is denied, class antagonisms are concealed, people believe they have been called upon to participate when they are really being used as objects.

The ideological form of the pattern of consumption required to maintain the relations of production of late capitalism is consumerism. Consumerism is only possible because of mass production but rather than being a more scientific and efficient way to increase the standard of living, as we are led to believe, mass production is really a means for the capitalist class to increase their profit and social domination. At the turn of the century management had found that productivity could be greatly increased by making all the decisions for the process of labour. The increase in mechanization such as the assembly line made it possible to specialize labour so that only a small part of the whole process was understood by any one operator. Manual skills were separated from conceptual ones and the management made conceptual skills their domain. The worker at one time a skilled craftsman lost control of his work and became objectified in a process that, rather than being the progressive enlightenment of an advancing technology, was the capitalist's absolute control of work for the sake of higher profits. Yet even this was not enough. The market as well as production had to be controlled to guarantee the success of capitalism. Therefore the individual had to be manipulated in his life outside of work as well as at work. While forms of ideology such as those conveyed through education and religion made the worker accept his conditions at work, the concept of consumerism transmitted through media in the form of advertising guaranteed his support of the market. The illusion was created that the basic problems of the capitalist world were solved and that it only required increased productivity to raise the standard of living. Happiness came to be defined as higher rates of consumption, the power of consumption eliminated class differences, leisure and life style were separated from work and made the primary concerns so that labour issues were kept relatively quiet. The working class was soon integrated into the ideology of the bourgeoisie. Today with the introduction of artificial needs and false freedoms made convincing by ideology



through advertising, the capitalist class, providing for the fulfillment of these needs, accomplishes its material gain as well as ensuring its power by the inculcation of values that make their products indispensable and their way of life a goal for all. When the capitalist class expanded their control of the sphere of work to everyday life through consumerism, the commodification of labour, which made mass production possible, was paralleled by commodity fetishism and the treatment of cultural and social relations as commodity forms. In this process of reification labour is effected by profits replacing human values, machines taking on a greater importance than humans, and the principle of exchange making such processes as production and distribution de-socialized and impersonal. Reification effects everyday life so that personal and social relations take on the character of a relation between things, objects become the centre of people's activities. When people define themselves through the objects of their consumption and like labour, social interdependence becomes fragmented, then freedom becomes the freedom of exchange and commodities rather than communities become the principle of social cohesion. Before consumerism people had strong social ties, but commodities fragmented their interdependent social relations by putting an emphasis on individual life styles possible through the choice of consumer items providing self-identities and status. People now are encouraged to "do their own thing" and "indulge their dreams". Commodities have become the basis of values and social relations.

In summary, apart from realizing profit consumer items also serve the main ideological function of reproducing the relations of production by inculcating values and ways of life that require the products made while at the same time justifying the system and covering up the contradictions and antagonisms within it. Their greatest effect is in fragmenting social relations by being the basis of people's values. Re-creating a base for new social cohesion is an important requirement for any effective resistance to advanced capitalism and the expression of political and social discontent. In other words people must communicate with each other again in order to understand their situations and implement change. Private life styles fostered by commodity consumption were the main obstructions to re-socialization, but a reversal is occurring and the limits may have been reached in the use of consumer items for integrating people into capitalism. Social groups are organizing around shared interests in use of particular commodities so that new social bonds are being formed.

Super 8 was developed as a consumer item, as a commodity made to contribute to a corporation's profits and inculcate the dominant ideology, however, unlike most consumer items it has a great potential, overlooked by its manufacturers, as a relatively sophisticated means of communication and creativity that is easily accessible. This is especially true since the development of single system sound in super 8 because sound, especially sync sound, is an important means of articulating opinions and concepts generally in film. With such a strong means of expression that can be either personal or public, all that is required is a means of distribution and individual or group organization for working on and showing super 8 for it to reverse the effect of consumer items. At first it can offer a

means of subjective expression and creativity to individuals who have been objectified in the process of capitalism, while at the same time establishing new social interrelations. Then as people re-socialize they may contribute to each others' understanding of the political and social structure they live in, communicating through super 8 and finally using it to express their social discontent and as a tool to work toward change. Super 8 would then form an opposition to the established media with the goal of subverting the ideologies expressed in them. To the manufacturer super 8 is a consumer item, a toy with the appeal of gadgetry, and what it produces, the exposed films themselves, are redundant to the market system making them a by-product or waste. For this reason the corporations producing super 8 have not considered their control. It is from the waste of consumer society, the overlooked and therefore uncontrolled by-products of consumer society, that alternatives might be found.

Radically different alternatives come from the least likely sources; not from where they are expected but often from the very thing they are in reaction to. Super 8 as a household item may seem unlikely as an effective alternative means of communication to the established media, but coupled with the fact that it is a relatively sophisticated technology and a readily accessible one, this may be possible. Like televisions and toasters, super 8, as an extension of the family snap-shot camera, is a natural part of the consumer home, so that there is little uneasiness or lack of confidence for the average person in using it as there would be with other kinds of technology with similar capabilities which are not common in the home, such as 16mm or video equipment. Super 8 is therefore not only materially accessible but also an everyday tool.

What is being proposed is that super 8 as a consumer item be converted to a producer item. The exciting feature of super 8 is that this is possible, especially when compared to another consumer item such as television. Television is the ideal form for conveying the dominant ideology because it too is a technology that is easily accessible but it has no possibilities for use by its owner as a means of expression or creativity and can only pump out ideological messages. It is the perfect media for creating a passive audience, i.e. the perfect consumer item. Super 8 which is manufactured simply to be sold and use up raw film is a consumer item, but it can also be used by people as a means of communication, i.e. as a producer item. This transformation depends on how super 8 will be organized and distributed, not on how super 8 films are made or what super 8 films are made (whether they are home movies or films with radical political content).

An essential facet of bourgeois ideology is the separation of pleasure from work. The capitalist structure is served as long as super 8 remains a toy or, if it is to be used as a means of communication, as a professional tool and therefore not for use by the public. (It is interesting to note that manufacturers, appealing to the consumer market and in the attempt to build in obsolescence, have developed the gadgetry on super 8 to such an extent that standard features on most super 8 cameras surpass those on many 16mm cameras. But despite all these new features, few are directed to cre-

ative control, e.g. cameras that are fully automatic often have no manual override, film capacity is limited to fifty feet. After continual demands from super 8 users for greater film capacity, a two-hundred foot cartridge was developed but it can only be used in a special camera which is also a poor quality one.) Super 8 is materially accessible because manufacturers want it to be in order to function as a consumer item. If its potential is fulfilled as a producer item there is little doubt that its material accessibility will be stopped. If super 8 films are established within a significant distribution system so that they function effectively as an alternative form of communications, an important means of dissemination of ideology will be out of the control of the capitalist class. Control of media is a first importance in monopoly capitalism and an alternate form of communications would never be allowed. Access to super 8 would simply be cut off to all but a few by simply raising its costs. On the other hand capitalism is riddled with contradictions which will cause it to bring about its own destruction. As much as super 8 as a socially based producer item is a threat to capitalism, capitalism in its desire for profit may not want to give up such a lucrative industry. Nevertheless already demands are being made from some professional filmmakers, who are considering super 8 as a medium to work with rather than 16mm in order to produce films as consumer items within the established ideology, for more professionally capable equipment and services. This will take super 8 out of the hands of the people with the rise in cost that will result from these demands. This very phenomenon has already occurred in 16mm which was put on the market as an "amateur" medium but then quickly became professional and beyond the means of most people.

If on the one hand professionalization from the commercial film world threatens the revolutionary potential of super 8, then on the other hand the possible status of art is as equally menacing. Art is also an important means of conveying the dominant ideology, especially modern formalist art which includes all recent movements such as Conceptual art and Minimalism as well as what is more strictly called Modern Formalism as advocated by Greenberg et al., and also such "experimental" films as the Structuralist film, of which vaguely similar forms are now appearing in super 8. Contrary to most artist's precious illusion of the autonomy and freedom of art, all art is really tied to social context. In fact, the very belief in art's universality transcending specific material and historic conditions, and in its freedom or token rebellion, is simply bourgeois ideology. Modern formalism as a completely self-referential autonomy is the perfect investment because it is devoid of all social use beyond exchange value. Furthermore, it is not just art's content or form which determines its ideological function, but also the use it is put to and the audience it has. Almost any art can be heralded by the capitalist class as a salve to the meaninglessness of modern life or as a standard of the quality of life. Both rationalizations conceal the real cause of discontent by appealing to universalisms.

Perhaps super 8 in the hands of the people could be a truly radical and social solution for art. Since the end of the sixties it has been recognized by a growing number of artists that the innovations of the avant-

garde are far from radical breaks within art but simply variations of form and style, and that these innovations are certainly not radical in any real sense outside of art in its search for novelty the avant-garde has ironically institutionalized change and reflects the very system of consumerism it blindly functions in. As an approach "toward" a social art such a ludicrous proposal as the democratization of art by making previously exclusive art available to more people cannot be taken seriously except as a dangerous means of increasing the effect of art as a legitimization. Even the introduction of political content into traditional art forms (Social Realism) or avant-garde art forms (the "social purpose" that is now finding its way into reformist formalist's work) are far from being radical solutions for art and are clearly not social ones for the work is still directed to and presented in situations for a bourgeois audience who remain the only audience and subsume the work despite its "infantile" howlings against capitalism. Super 8 as a tool for the people would create a radically different form of art that would hardly be recognizable as art, but it would be an answer to mass art fed to the people as a means of manipulation and to high art, a legitimating force whether hung or performed, and more effective than a "social art" isolated in the galleries.

Exaggerated claims are common to the birth of most new technologies especially when they are a possible medium for art. For example, during the first years of VTR, magazines devoted to the new philosophy of video were making such claims as "The next evolution will be thought patterns generated by the optical computer utilizing lasers and video playback systems." or "Feedback will be the window into the fourth dimension". New galleries eagerly bought VTR equipment and artists used it to masturbate with both metaphorically and literally. Few claims for any new medium are ever realized, least of all the kind that were made for VTR which were based on idealistic conceptions and materialistically unfounded practice—both common characteristics of bourgeois formalist art of the late sixties and early seventies. At the same time that these extravagances came from some users of VTR there were others with less universally ambitious and more socially oriented aims who were using video as a means to community action and who had some success however small. Any similar claims made for super 8 must be put in perspective, a historical materialist one, to make them possible as a practice.

Roy Pelletier



# NOTE ON TIME-LAPSE PHOTOGRAPHY (Recent Films)

Time-lapse photography obviously results in a state of compression; in its production, the camera is situated as a permanent object-among-others: a functionary of state-security. The initial reaction to viewing a time-lapse film is one of surprise, a sense of "cleverness" and wonder at the presence of slow-time phenomena in the life-world.

The viewing of time-lapse film for a period of time, however, eliminates the wonder and results in a series of algorithms which appear to us as internal mechanisms of production. Thus the compression is translated into rules of transformation; these rules are absorbed, become tacit: the appearance of the thing sinks into itself once again. A compression of a compression - the end result being, of course, a single-frame by single-frame film without deliberate continuity - is immediately brought back to the beginning - i.e. with the establishment of the series of positive integers, one thousand comes as no surprise. The time-lapse phenomenon becomes a commodity.

This translation, however, is in dialectic with the continual attempt to reconstitute the original situation, an attempt which may be subverted - i.e. the content of the film may be subverted - by the use of sufficiently short segments which establish nothing but the emblem of their presence. Repeated showing of the film creates a simulacrum of a learning process; eventually even the shortest segments become memorable - but nothing more. The content is as elusive as ever: and for a simple reason: it has never been present on film.

The camera functions as a neutralizing machine; the life-world is present with the theoretical manipulability of the mechanical stage of the microscope. It is not so much the presentation of pattern as the reduction of pattern to gesture.

Economically, the time-lapse installation functions as automatic and continuous labor resulting in the production of an entity. The orientating faculty of the installation in part determines the behavior of individuals in its presence: thus one will stand in front of the camera for a period long enough to form a "temporal portrait", another will change positions radically, frame by frame, and a third will appear on a single frame only - a ghost within the constants of the landscape.

The compression satisfies the demands of a silent cinematography: it is the generation of the visual. The image occupies the screen in a manner parallel to the occupation of the page by the photographic image; the latter is a subset of the former.

"An event is the union of its k-ply intersections of its set of descriptions." The event in the time-lapse film may be read as the passage of film itself: the mapping of camera rate to viewing rate. Within the frame, certain imagic constants are presented; they are read as constants against the shifting of the (often natural) light that plays upon them. The impressionism of time-lapse photography is counteracted by the permanence of underlying entities upon the screen.

The neutralizing function of this technique bypasses the content of an ideologically-loaded art. Peculiarly

enough, the technique itself (unlike the techniques, for example, of multiple exposures or fading, or even the simple pan) remains invisible. The sun appears to rise at a greater rate than usual; the camera (and all other immediate appurtenances) appears to operate normally. The image is embedded, in other words, in a speeded-up life world:

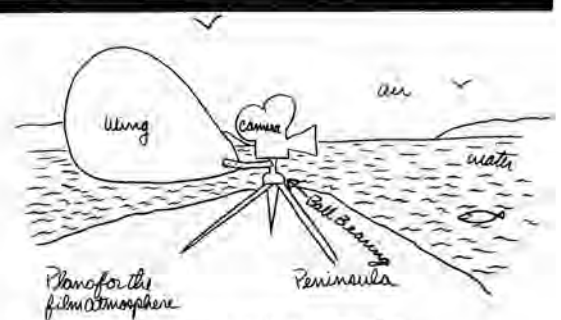
A life world which exhausts itself at a greater rate: offered in one sense as a commodity ("I have captured the rhythms of nature") and in an other as an alien elsewhere ("No one could possibly move that fast").

Time-lapse photography presents itself as the natural function of the camera: For this instrument, which theoretically may operate over an entire bandwidth of speeds, is only artificially held at the speed of the projection mechanism - a speed in which images blend into each other. Consider the possibility of a standard motion picture (embodying the codifications of Hollywood) in which different characters moved at different rates - in which the rate of a scene was determined by an averaging of these rates - in which the voices were similarly "distorted" - in which, in short, time was presented as a fluid.

Time-lapse presents a continuous historicism: At the end of a viewing, the past has been brought up-to-date.

One can make too much of these tokens, situations which come so easily, the appearances of a greater knowledge, the development of symptoms - indicators - of wraith-like existences. The films themselves are museums: as much as anything else they bracket the possibilities of a particular location - they exhaust that location - their silence is that which states, in a certain fashion: there is nothing more to be said: you have it all: and of course nothing more than the havable.

Alan Sondheim  
6/77



atmosphere was made by mounting an air flow on essentially a wind vane. Constructed of bicycle parts the platform on which the camera is mounted rotates freely on a horizontal plane under the action of the wind. The camera is aimed at the horizon which divides the screen in the middle air in the top and water in the bottom with distant mountains on either side. Running at real time the camera records nine minutes of changing wind direction on Downes Point, Hornby Island, B.C.

Chris Gallagher

the Funnel,  
15 Duncan st.,  
Toronto 368-4933



TIM BRUCE 'Visit' 1976



IAN KERR 'London's Burning (Post Office Re-towered)' 1977

TIM BRUCE

My films have developed from early personalised and metaphorical statements, which had little to do with the medium itself, towards films which are overtly concerned with procedures involved in film-making and their time/space relationships.

The turning point between these two opposing directions came with my film 'Home Movie'. It contains elements of both. It is an expression of a state of mind, depicting a claustrophobic emotional 'prison', the metaphor being the frenzied movement of a camera trapped in a house. This tension is relieved by glimpses of the outside world revealed by a second, static camera, (the unattainable). No attempt is made to hide the mechanics of film-making (camera, lights) but the device is not used in a structural way. The camera and the picture it makes still stand for ideas outside the filmed reality.

In 'Scrape' and later in 'Meeting', I became involved in the spatial relationship between picture and sound. I became fascinated with the paradox of dissociating sound and image using location/sync shooting and the continuous take (to establish temporal integrity). In the case of 'Meeting' picture and sound describe different stations on the London Underground. At some point they meet and spatial and temporal integration is established. They part and travel their own paths again, but now their relationship is understood. In rejecting editing I rejected illusory duration. Recording time = Real time.

In my next film 'Left/Stop', I used this picture/sound paradox in a different way. I reintroduced picture editing, but kept a temporal integrity in the soundtrack. An event using two cameras takes place in a room. Camera 1 is static, filming the head and shoulders of a person and recording her voice. She gives verbal instructions to Camera 2. Camera 2 moves around the space according to her instructions, describing the walls of the room. This soundtrack is then used for further camera movements in different spaces and at different times. I see this film and to some extent the previous two as having a sculptural influence, in their concern for a creation of space. It is, however, a 'deep space'; illusory. The material reality of film is only asserted in terms of duration.

#### LONDON FILMMAKERS CO-OPERATIVE MIXED PROGRAM SEPTEMBER 27, 1977

IAN KERR—'London's Burning' (Post Office Re-towered), 1977. A film silk-screen printed from postcard images of the Post Office Tower in London.

STEVE FARRAR—'Ten Drawings', 1976. A selection of graphic marks achieved by drawing directly onto lengths of clear film attached to a rectangular board, side by side. Each rectangle was treated as a complete design. The film was released and joined, end to end.

JANE CLARK—'Arran', 1974. Clark explores elegantly simple landscape images, the line between represen-

JENNY OKUN—'Still Life', 1976. Still Life explores the transformation of an image from color negative to color positive on one film stock.

TIM BRUCE—'Underground Movie', 1975. A film about a particular sound/image relationship, which presents a spatial paradox.

TIM BRUCE—'Visit', 1976. Two separate events are edited together. The action intimates that they are taking place at the same time and within the same spatial relationship as one another. The film goes on to contradict this illusion.

DAVID CRITCHLEY—'20/1/2/64', 1976. This film is concerned with aspects of time and its processing by the filmmaking medium.

CHRIS SWAINE—'Reading-Forgetting', 1976. A major theme and its closure is denied in this episodic film, and as a result emphasis is placed with forms usually subordinate to the main story. It is these micro-themes and their interactions within the sequences that are the subjects of the film.

RAW/WAR by AMERIGO MARRAS and BRUCE  
 Statements: Reindeer Werk and Art Com-  
 munion Edition. Voices: Amerigo Marras, Bruce  
 and Paul Robinson. Music: John Catto, David  
 Clason, John Hamilton and Ian MacKay. Recorded  
 at the 'n' Burn, 15 Duncan Street,  
 Toronto, Canada. © 1977 Crash 'n' Burn Records.





**LAWRENCE WEINER**

**FILMS**

**Thursday, October 27, 9 p.m.**

**LIVE RECORDING**

**Friday, October 28, 9 p.m.**

**CEAC, 15 DUNCAN**

**CHRISTOPHER KNOWLES  
CINDY LUBAR**



**(Rehearsal) at CEAC, 15 Duncan St.  
Saturday, November 12, 9 p.m.**

**Performance at Art Gallery of Hamilton,  
123 King St. W., Hamilton  
Sunday, November 13, 9 p.m.**

The CENTRE for EXPERIMENTAL ART and COMMUNICATION houses in its premises the necessary functions for the investigation, retrieval and production of radical and marginal art through:

**LIBRARY/ARCHIVE:** a growing collection of artists' books, books, sound and video tapes, documents and recordings.

**VIDEO:** production studios, viewing room, public lending service, workshops, NTSC/PAL video transfer facility, and the North American centre for WAVE (World Association Video Editions).

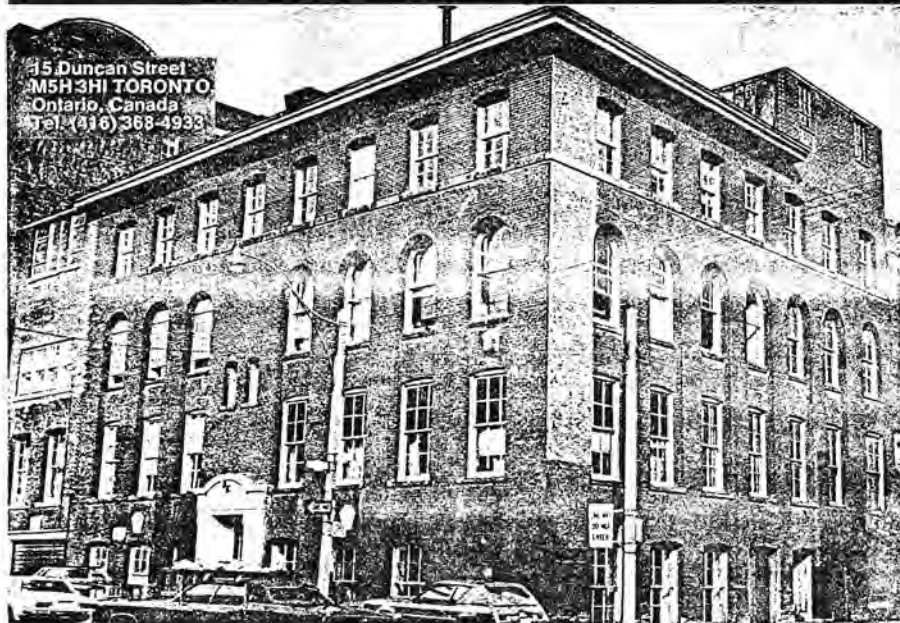
**FILM:** 16mm & super 8 screening facilities and monthly open screenings at "The Funnel".

**PUBLICATIONS:** Supervision publications of new artists' books and catalogues, and ART COMMUNICATION EDITION.

**SERVICES:** Performance and seminar tours, information and artists in residence projects.

**CRASH 'N' BURN:** recordings and Canadian distribution of "Search & Destroy".

C.E.A.C.



The Ivory Tower, claimed in the art practice within pragmatic conditions.

(Centre for Experimental Art & Communication)

the Tunnel,  
15 Duncan st.,  
Toronto 368-4933

# CANADIAN FILMMAKERS MIXED PROGRAMME October 3

AL RAZUTIS—The Wasteland and Other Stories (10 min.) Fixed, single frame, time lapse shot from a camera mounted in a car. View over the drivers shoulder records highway graphics and countryside speeding by intercut with time lapse clouds and a golden idol.

HOLLY DALE & JANICE COLE—Cream Soda (1976, colour, 13 min.) A cinema-verite documentary on a downtown massage parlour. Money, skin, girls at work.

FRIEDER HOCHHEIM—Double Vision (B&W) Imitation cinemascope dual projection unsynchronized reading in German with friend from a couch. Time/screen schizovision.

CHRIS GALLAGHER—Atmosphere

JULIAN SAMUEL—Formation (1976, colour, silent, 11 min.) "Essentially, an abstract quality arises within a 'formalist' composition; we are almost always able to decipher the image (i.e. subject matter), door opening and closing in a shaft of sunlight while simultaneously we can see the situations abstractedness"

Julian Samuel

STURLA GUNNARSSON—A Day Much Like the Others

ROGER ANDERSON—Tablatoons. Painted, scratched, film rhythmically supported by eastern music.

—Yawa Wave Theory (1976, colour, 22 min.) A science fiction comedy exploring various levels of consciousness, specifically a young mans' attempt to stay awake for 48 hours. Starring John H. Willing, guest appearances by Pope Paul and Neil Armstrong.

# AMERICAN FILMMAKERS MIXED PROGRAMME October 11

LENNY LIPTON—Cornucopia (U.S.A., 1968, colour, 8 min.) TV's image raised to a fever pitch to help reveal the chaotic nature of the medium. A driven flux of electronic icons, building in intensity.

JONAS MEKAS—Circus Notebook (U.S.A., 1966, colour, 12 min.) "It's the Ringling Brothers—but really it's the circus of my childhood, with all the phantastic things going on, and colours, and mystery, and exotic, and dreams, and amazement." J.M.

DAVID BIENSTOCK—Brummer's (U.S.A., 1966, colour, 10 min.) This film explores the sensation of an "Impersonal" reality similar to the 'ideal' state of cubism in which form and space constitute an infinity of perspectives. It does so through a slow progression during which the audience becomes aware of these incursions of form and space at the expense of the normal centre of interest, the story.

ROBERT NELSON—Oh Dem Watermelons (U.S.A., 1965, colour, 11 min.) One of the undisputed classics of the Underground cinema. A watermelon, stereotype of the 'nigger', is kicked and caressed, chased and trampled, beaten and bullied, till it turns on its persecutors. Savagely funny, brilliant.

STAN BRAKHAGE—Desistfilm (U.S.A., 1954, B&W, 7 min.)

—Thigh Line Lyre Triangular (U.S.A., 1961, colour/silent/16 fps, 5 min.) "Only at a crisis do I see both the scene as I've been trained to see it (that is, with Renaissance perspective, three-dimensional logic-colours as we've been trained to call a colour a colour, and so forth) and patterns that move straight out from the inside of the mind through the optic nerves...spots before my eyes, so to speak...and it's very intensive, disturbing, but joyful experience. I've seen that every time a child was born...I wanted a child-birth film that expressed all of my seeing at such a time." S.B.

PAUL SHARITS—Ray Gun Virus (U.S.A., 1966, blank colour/sprocket sound, 14 min.) "Although affirming projector, projection beam, screen, emulsion, film frame, structure, etc., this is not an "abstract film"/projector as pistol/time-coloured pills/yes-no/mental suicide & then rebirth as self-projection." P.S.

STANDISH D. LAWDER—Necrology (U.S.A., 1970, B&W, 12 min.) "In NECROLOGY, one continuous shot films the faces of 5:00 p.m. crowd descending via PanAm building escalators. In old-fashioned black and white, these faces stare into empty space...like faces from the grave...The film is one of the strongest and grimmest comments upon the contemporary society that cinema has produced." J.M.

SCOTT BARTLETT—Moon (U.S.A., 1969, colour, 15 min.)

SPECIAL THANKS TO:  
CANADIAN FILMMAKERS DISTRIBUTION CENTRE

## KEITH LOCK

### 10 SHOTS IN A BOARDING HOUSE

(Can., 1973, B&W)

### EVERYTHING EVERYWHERE AGAIN ALIVE

(Can., 1974, colour, 72 min.)

The film is about human construction, human nourishment and natural processes. It requires common sense and mysterious uncommon sense at the same time. When the film was being put together, I must have screened the material which was basically documentary in nature, hundreds of times trying to decide what to do with it. I noticed that whenever certain parts came up, I "heard" sounds from the picture in what was probably some kind of sensory cross-over. These sounds were duplicated as nearly as possible with a sound synthesizer and then added to the picture in the places they belonged. Initially, shot followed shot followed shot, but I didn't want this to happen because I didn't want to be tied to presenting reality in the documentary sense and also because the shots themselves did not follow each other continuously as they were being exposed. Each shot was a complete thing in itself which went black when the camera was switched off. Bits of black were added after some shots and eventually this became bits of pure colours through which afterimages lingered and other interesting effects happened.

FILMS BY SHIZUKI FUJIEDA

NOVEMBER 1, 1977

## "HANAMATSURI"

A documentary film on one of the biggest free concerts of the year (April, 1975).

The place, Gotemba is a foothill of Mt. Fuji. There is a strange architecture which is the peace pagoda of nipponzan Myohoji.

Nipponzan Myohoji is one of the Japanese Buddhist sects. They've been working radically for world peace, especially for abolishing all nuclear weapons. They also have been supporting the peace movements of young people, especially so-called counter-culture people, because of their simple life based on the minimum natural resources.

In short, this film was produced without pressures from any business enterprise or other social or religious power. Instead, many individuals and groups helped us. Some of those are listed on the film credits, but most of them are anonymous. Mass-communication guerillas who secretly permitted us to use their company's possessions are a good example of these anonymous helpers. Without these voluntary back-ups, it would have been impossible for us to overcome the various difficulties which always go with independent producer initiated film making.

We have been surprised and glad to see that so many people have been moved by this problem on the tiny, remote, and unknown island of Su-wa-no-se. These people realize that a small problem embraces the global one when the entire world is to be transformed. We are grateful to be dealing with such a theme. The Su-wa-no-se issue is still alive. The movement to save Su-wa-no-se Sanctuary is day by day expanding its front lines. It is evoking long term changes in every aspect of the modern life-style. We clearly see through our camera lens that the new people, the Post-Su-wa-no-se generation, is now entering our society.

You'll see how Japan's newest people co-operate with the oldest people to share their high energy. This concert could be seen as a sequence to "Suwanose the fourth world", too.

## "SU-WA-NO-SE"

Welcome to our "Su-wa-no-se, The Fourth World". Though it may be best for a film producer to keep silent as the film itself speaks, I am glad to have a chance to offer my greetings and to give our audience some information about the background of the film.

At first, please understand that this film is not aimed at blaming a particular enterprise. The film staff do not bear any personal hostility to Yamaha people or to their clever and powerful president. To be quite frank, any president is to be retired, and any company is to be bankrupted someday. Yamaha is, therefore, meant to represent the big enterprises and their consumers, who have mutually created the spiraling consumption/production system which has resulted in modern industrial exploitation. In other words, Yamaha is no more than a symbol of our own greed, of the heavy industry which exists as a parasite within ourselves. It must be exterminated.

You may also be surprised to see a scene with a smack of religion towards the end of the film. Again, it is not intended to appeal to any particular religious sect. It suggests that an increasing number of the young are sincerely praying in order to purify themselves. They try to see the world through their own clear eyes. Their brains are fresh enough to see through the false belief in the unlimited capacity of modern technological man. They are followers of the Banyan Ashram founders who foresaw the current age of environmental and spiritual pollution, and left Tokyo 10 years ago.



KEITH LOCK  
"Everything Everywhere Again  
Alive"



SHIZUKI FUJIEDA  
"Suwanose, the Fourth World"

# video



**Being the seducer means that you don't have to be ambiguous. This change of attitude is the basis of seduction. Try to make your gestures and words direct rather than confusing.**



**Remember, the essence of successful seduction is self confidence, which means you shouldn't need a roomful of pornography to excite. You are supposed to be enough.**



**Like women, few men are in a constant state of sexual readiness. Their vulnerable moments come and go just as ours do, and introducing the idea of sex is easiest if the mood is responsive.**



**Actually, the change from seductress to seducer is largely a matter of doing what you've already done, only more "openly."**





**And with each change in the degree of initiative you show, you'll move closer toward true sexual equality with men and to the joys such equality can bring.**

"Being the seducer..." Video-project by SUSAN BRITTON



#### STARBABIES INSTALLATION

On October 1, 1976 we presented "The Bearded Lady and Oh Those Pants". The mounting of a celebrity/spectacle around the parody of a drag act involves a number of conceptual involutions which are explored in the "StarBabies" installation at C.E.A.C. on November 4, 5 and 6.

The environment of the "StarBabies" is a media-manipulated behavioural study of the celebrity syndrome from the perspective of the producers, cast and crew: those who create and sustain the elements that nurture stars.

A "Bearded Lady Show" is a manifestation of the inability of this society to relate to its own cultural norms; an inability caused by information overload. The result is a radical wrenching of images out of their context to conform with the need for new structures without exploring the content of the past.

A Spectacle based upon this kind of image contradiction is a form of the Frankenstein myth in drag. We call ourselves "StarBabies" because we are children of the culture that produces constant/instant-pop/cult stars: media monsters.

Warhol says that in the future everyone will be a star for fifteen minutes. "StarBabies" is a dress rehearsal for that future.

#### VIDEO EXCHANGE TAPE CATALOGUE

By Video Inn.  
Vancouver; Video Inn, 1977.

The VIDEO EXCHANGE TAPE CATALOGUE is 'published to promote the exchange of independent and community video productions. The free exchange of videotapes is a concept that we have been promoting for the past five years'. The selection of tapes is wide and includes tapes from community politics, women's groups and, of course, a large selection from artists. The same group publishes the very useful 'International Video Exchange Directory', which although conscious of the problems of obsolescence and accidental important exclusions, is an useful index of community and independent video groups and individual video makers from Canada and abroad.

#### VIDEO MAGAZINE

Edited by Lawrence and Miriam Adams.  
Toronto; Lama Labs, October, 1977.  
\$10 (1 year/6 issues)

'Because of growing and varied video activity in Canada, it seems obvious that this is the right time to begin a publication which will serve the interests of video people from coast to coast. The possibilities for material seem endless, and because we would like to see all interests and activities represented, we intend to publish articles on video art, community channel activities, government policies, social action programming, educational utilization of video, technical forums, personalities, etc.' As a start, 'Video Magazine' has a potential but lacks a cutting edge, being preoccupied with the mechanics of local access (funding, access and distribution). While such an active step as publishing a video magazine should be encouraged, it should be done as a means to break down the barriers of specialization rather than as a medium for the media.

#### A MAGAZINE ON VIDEO TAPE



PUBLISHED BY LA MAMELLE INC.  
CONTEMPORARY WEST COAST ART  
P.O. BOX 3123 SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94119 USA

PAGE 25-

#### IX INTERNATIONAL ENCOUNTER ON VIDEO

The first large national video event in Mexico is being sponsored by the Colegio Nacional de la Comunicación in Mexico City, November 14-17, 1977, in collaboration with the CAYC, Buenos Aires. The tapes will be shown at the Museum Alvar y Carmen Carrillo Gil. Artists invited to the encounter are, among others, Nam June Paik, John Baldessari, Roger Welch, Allan Kaprow, Les Levine, Dennis Oppenheim, Felipe Ehrenberg. The following video operators have been invited for the Colloquium on video art and communication: Garcia Canclini (Argentina), Juan Acha (Peru), Margarita d'Amico (Venezuela), Raul Lomeli and Carla Stellweg (Mexico), Leopoldo Maler (Argentina) and Amerigo Marras (Canada). After the exhibition in Mexico City, the tapes will be shown in the cities of Monterrey and Guadalajara.

#### TWO RECENT PROJECTS AT THE CEAC'S VIDEO STUDIO:

On September 25, Margaret Dragu, Enrico Campana, and Terry McGlade collaborated to produce a live-tape performance of CANAJAN BURGERS. The show had been seen previously in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Winnipeg, and Halifax; the Toronto version drew vignettes from these performances (in fact, were identified as such: "This is Calgary", etc.). The abstractions were miniature mythologies of each region—in an "interview" conducted during the taping, M.D. identified how the imagery for a given performance had been selected, including their arrival a few days prior to a scheduled performance to photograph local sites, the slides of which were shown during the show. A reflective process—a world-view was projected onto and of the audience.

CANAJAN BURGERS stands out in its formal transparency and outspokenness. The pathos of its protagonist(s) (easily sentimentalized) was overcome by the lack of pretension characterizing the production as a whole—e.g., the situation of the audience in the middle of the stage, a participatory involvement, indicated production values as the first allegiance. This stands in potential contrast to the well-intentioned but ineffectual attempts by art-context-workers to beatify housewives or street-cleaners simply by iconizing them within entrenched art media. Here's hoping CANAJAN BURGERS need not justify itself in terms of the criteria that the National Museums prefer to apply.

On October 14, after Woody and Steina Vasulka had shown their videotapes, someone compared their work to that of the man who had "invented" fire—in the way one can find images in a flame, the comparison is apt; but also understood is the power of the image on the TV screen, the manipulation of which could proceed out of control, or which could be appropriated into one's own productivity.

The Vasulkas have been working in video for many years now, earlier on in conceptual video, and since the 70's in synthetic image generation. The recognition they have achieved is international, yet their present work is seen as intermediary to a development that must continue for years to come to begin to meet the expectations borne by, e.g., some of those attending the screening.

Their approaches differ—Woody, the philosopher, struggling with the acquisition of a machine language with which he can carry on a process of self-exploration; Steina, formerly a professional violinist, at ease with the technology, aware of its ambience. Ostensibly one can raise the issue of the domination of thought process by technology, as if there was anyone whose thought processes had not been in some way shaped by that influence. As Steina noted, when a child is learning how to play the violin, mistakes are forgiven, even though it may take a decade to acquire some facility; the Vasulkas and their collaborators must build their instruments concurrently as they learn to play them.

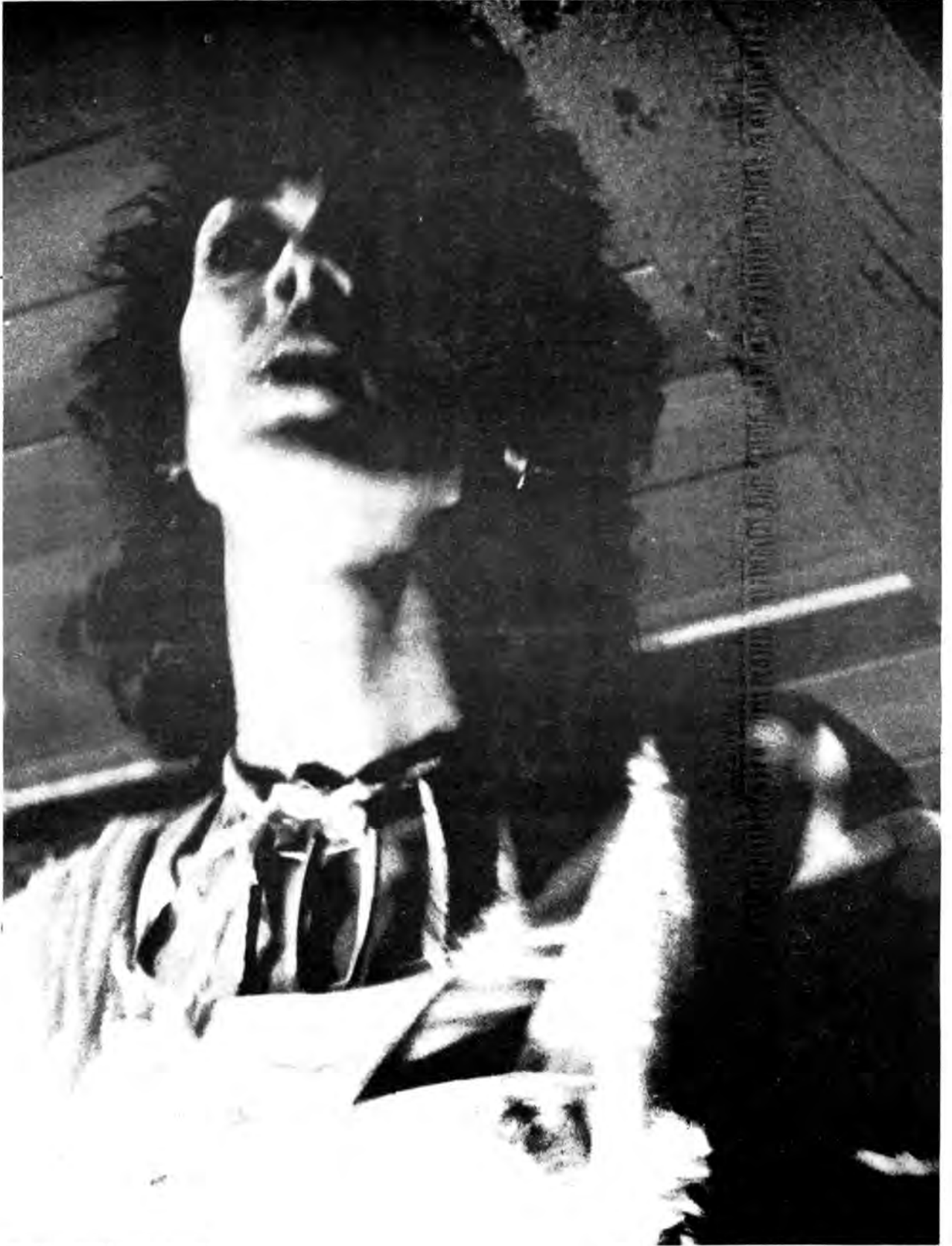
#### LIVE ON TAPE

Placing an emphasis on audio recording LAWRENCE WEINER is presenting a new piece, commissioned by the CEAC, which is an exercise for the RECORDING BY ARTISTS project going on this month. Weiner, who has to his credit several records and will be discussing the problems and the merit of 'recording', will be at the CEAC, October 27-29.





# network



MICHAELE JORDANA, photo by Carol Starr

Michaela Berman is now Michaela Jordana, of the Poles. The change in name coincides with the change in attitude and the certainty about her performance-cum-rock, leaving behind the work and identity of her past. After the shut down of the Crash 'n' Burn, the Poles, together with the other Toronto new wave groups search for places where to perform, a forthcoming one to be located at the Shock cinema.

Antwerp. Bruna and Narcisus Tordoir are among the founders of TODAY'S PLACE, a marginal and 'punk' art centre which is in search of input. Behaviourally connected with the Toronto group, they are stating 'down with sexism', 'we hate sex', 'Down with Reubens'.



Andrzej Lacowicz and Natalia L.L. have returned to the Permafrost Gallery in Wrocław, Poland after their visit to North America and the CEAC, at which they proposed a tougher look for the Eastern European version of 'punk'—bald. At the present, A. L. is organizing an idea-ideology oriented international exhibition in Poland.



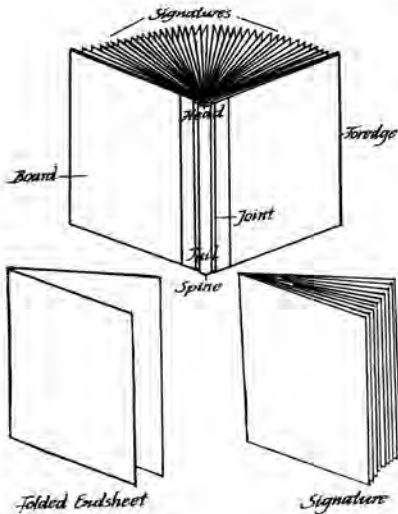


Lech Mrozek of the Galerie Sztuki Najnowszej in Wroclaw, Poland, a young contextualist who organized a seminar 'my view point is not like yours', where he demonstrated the physical contextualization of a live action and an environment (the gallery) as being observable on a different slant... He also states that "each individual decides what meaning a given object should have, and consequently what kind of reaction s/he should take, dependent on his/her proposition and interest".

KAREL MILER, Prague, Czechoslovakia  
Performance action 'Being Dead'



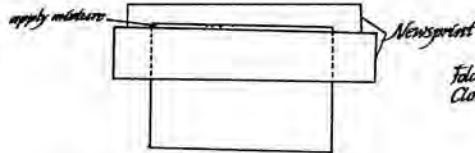
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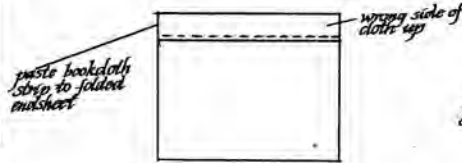
Take 3 signatures and prepare 2 folded endsheets out of the paper you have chosen.

Cut a strip of bookcloth 1 1/8" wide and as long as the folded endsheet.

Apply mixture 1/8" wide along one side of folded endsheet.



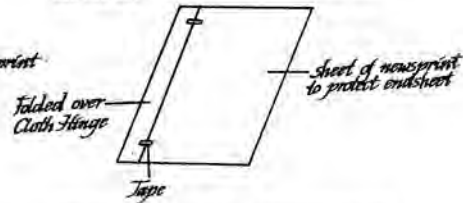
Remove newsprint. Put folded endsheet on clean piece of newsprint.



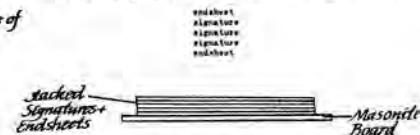
Press bookcloth down with bonefolder. Turn the endsheet and fold the cloth hinge over.

The wrong side of the bookcloth should be on top.

Cut 2 pieces of newsprint to protect endsheet. Tape them underneath cloth hinge.

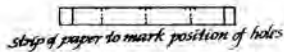


Stack your 2 folded endsheets and 3 signatures on a masonite board in the following order:



Cut paper strip to length of paper. Fold in half and then in half again. Draw line 3/4" on each end of the strip for double-stitch, which serves to link the signatures together.

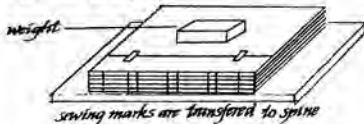
Place your 3 pieces of linen tape over the 3 f-holes and mark the width of the tape.



Make sure your signatures and endsheets are in a square position on the masonite board.

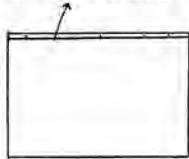
Hold them in position with a lead weight.

Transfer the marks from the paper strip onto the folded backs of your endsheets and signatures.



lift the weight and put signatures aside.

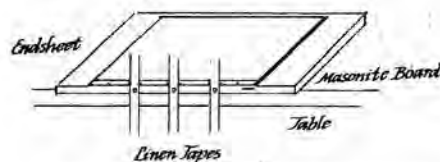
Take your folded endsheet and pierce holes with a needle. The needle should enter slightly below the marks on the fold, so you will not see any holes or thread later when you open the book.



Thread needle with linen thread 5 1/2 times the length of signatures.

Line your first signature up with the edge of the masonite board and let it hang slightly over the table.

Put tapes in position following your marks and fasten them with push pins.



Before the sewing is begun, the endsheet is held open in the center and a weight is put there to keep it in place.

The needle and thread are put through the first hettle-stitch hole, leaving a few inches of thread protruding.

Then the thread is brought back out to the right of the first tape, across it, and back in the inside again, through the hole on the left of the tape.

The sewing continues in and out across each tape, until the thread comes out on the left side through the hettle-stitch hole.

Remove weight.

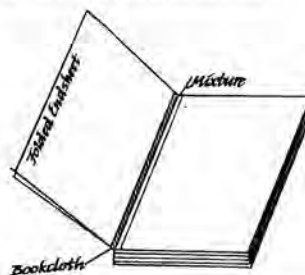
Put first signature in position on top of the endsheet. Find middle of signature and place weight to hold it.

Bring your needle and thread through the hettle-stitch hole directly above.

From now on make the hettle-stitch each time you come in either end. During the sewing keep the thread at a even tension.

When finished make 2 or 3 hettle-stitches in between the thread. Then cut off.

Apply mixture to the spine side of the first signature, about 1/8" wide to top on the endsheet. Then close book and put under weight for a few minutes to dry. This will cover the small piece of bookcloth on the endsheet and give the book more strength.



Place the new signatures between 2 masonite boards, the spine slightly projecting.

Apply hot glue with a brush and work it well between the crevices with a bonefolder. Let dry.

Cut a strip of Home (Japanese Paper) to the width of the spine and length of new signatures.

Paste it down on the spine with mixture.

Let dry.

Continue the sewing around the tapes until you come out through the hettle-stitch on the right side.

Pick up the last thread and tie it to the running thread with a double knot.

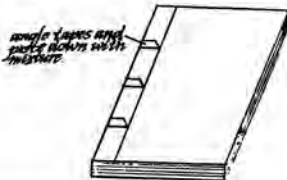
Then put the second signature in position and continue the sewing in the same way.

When you come out at the left side of the hettle-stitch hole, after sewing on the second signature, the hettle-stitch is required. It is made by bringing the needle under the thread that came together the endsheet and first signature, through a loop made by the thread.



Then cut the same strip out of permalife paper and put it on the spine with hot glue.

Let dry.



Cut the coverboards to the exact width of the signatures and 1/1" longer out of .019 benders board.

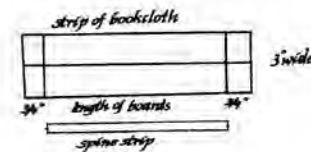
Cut the spine strip, measuring the width of the spine and (plus) 2 board thicknesses.

Length the same as boards.

Cut a strip of bookcloth 3" wide and as long as the boards plus 1 1/2" for the turnovers.

Divide bookcloth strip into half inchwise with a pencil line.

Mark the middle of your spine strip on top and bottom.



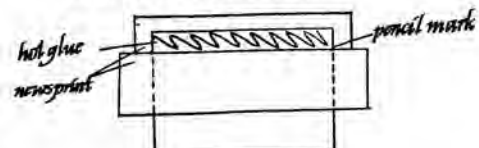
Coat spine strip with hot glue.

Put down on the piece of bookcloth, matching the two marks with pencil line on cloth.

Put 2 strips of board each 1/8" wide on each side of the glued down spine strip, but do not glue these. They only serve as spacers.

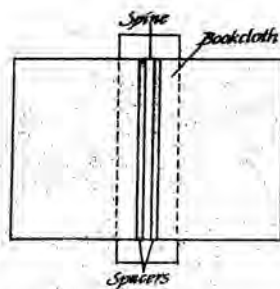
Lay your boards on either side against the spacers. Make pencil marks where the bookcloth ends.

Cover this marked area on the boards with hot glue.

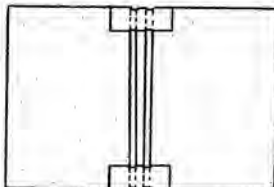


Glue boards to bookcloth pressing them against the spacers and making sure that they form a straight line with the spine on top and bottom.





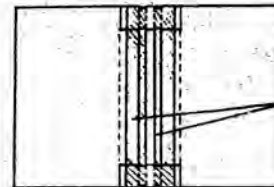
Press down firmly. Take spacers out, turn over and press down with bonefolder.  
Push hot glue on the overlaps and turn in, working with bonefolder.



Draw a pencil line  $\frac{1}{4}$ " along sides of joints.

Cut 2 pieces of bristol to the size of the endpapers.

Cover the hinge space as well as the area marked by your pencil line with hot glue but keep the spine free.



press  
corner with  
hot glue

Then take your own signatures and place them on the right cover-board. There should be  $\frac{1}{8}$ " board overlap on top, bottom and fore-edge.

Press down and bring the last coverboard over so it matches the right one.

Place the book carefully between two brass edge boards. The brass edges should rest in the joints.

Place a waxed board under and on top of the brass edge boards.

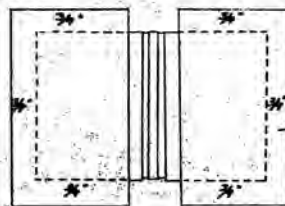
Put the whole thing in the press for a few minutes. Then take out and check.

Insert the two pieces of bristol front and back.

Put book back between brass edge boards and put it in the press. Leave it for 20 minutes.

Cut your decorated paper.

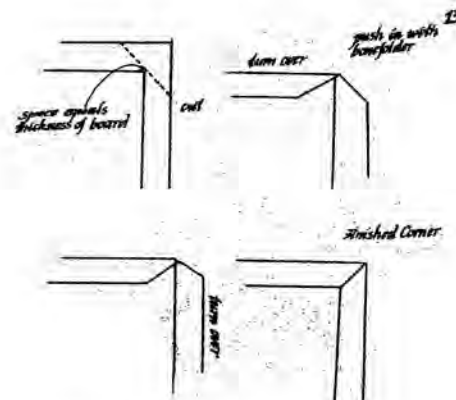
Use piece for the front, one for the back, with  $\frac{1}{4}$ " on top, bottom and fore-edge.



decorated paper

Cover the front piece of decorated paper with whitepaste.

Lift it up on the top right hand corner and bottom left corner. Lay it flat against the bookcloth. Smooth it out using a bonefolder and a protective piece of newspaper, then cut the corners.

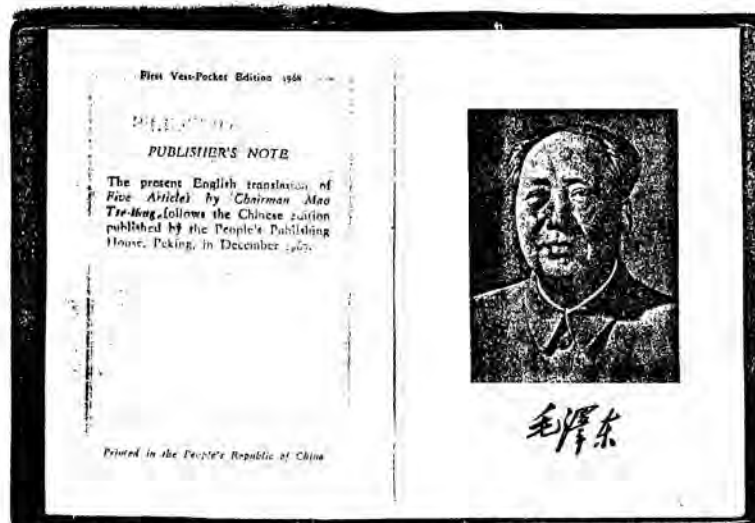


Turn the top over first, then the bottom and last the fore-edge.

Cut 2 boardbeats out of the same paper as your endpapers,  $\frac{1}{8}$ " less than the boards on all four sides. Cover with white paste and paste down to boards. Smooth it out, then insert a piece of bristol in front and back.

Keep book either in a press or under weight, preferably for several days.

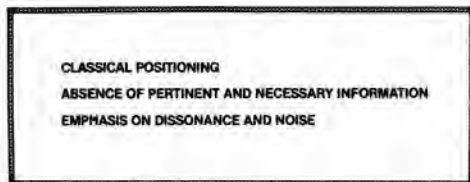
Notes on 'HOW TO MAKE A BOOK' from the Centre for Book Art, New York, N.Y., a step by step do-it-yourself instruction book on book making.



## BLUEPRINT OF A GALLERY SPACE

### ANNOUNCEMENT

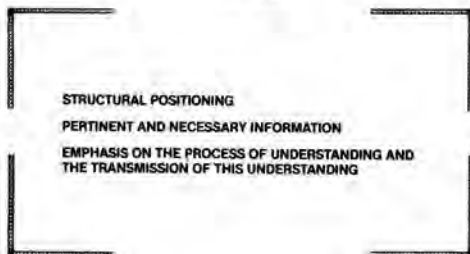
CONTENT:



1A

### PRONOUNCEMENT

CONTENT:



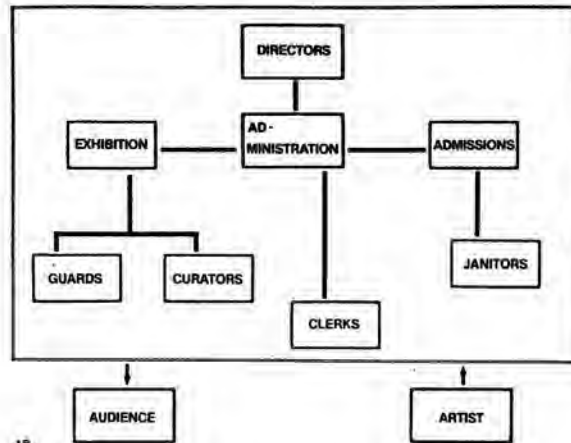
2A

### AREAS OF CONCERN

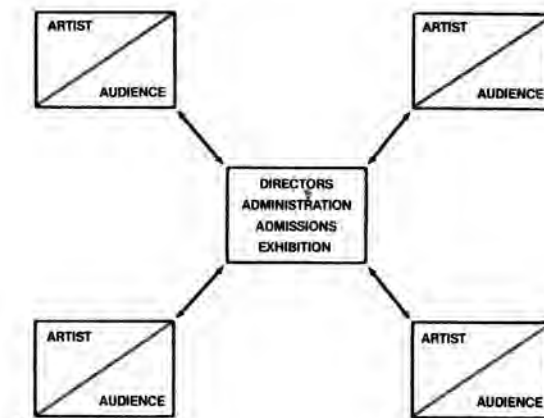
1. UNDERSTANDING AND DEMYSTIFYING OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF ART SYSTEM.
2. RESTRUCTURING COMMUNICATION PROCESS OF ART SYSTEM.
3. INDEPENDENCE FROM INTERESTS WHICH CONTROL THE SYSTEM.
4. DEVELOPMENT OF A NETWORK OF LOCALLY BASED ARTIST GROUPS AND PUBLICATIONS.
5. SHIFT FROM MERE DISSEMINATION TO ACCESSIBILITY OF INFORMATION.
6. RECOGNITION THAT ACCESS TO INFORMATION STARTS FROM WHERE THE INFORMATION USERS ARE.
7. SOCIOLOGICAL CONCERNS: SOCIAL CHANGE, RADICAL POLITICS, STUDIES OF BEHAVIOR, STRUCTURAL RESEARCH OF COMPONENTS, SOCIO-POLITICAL VIEW OF ART HISTORY, DIALECTICAL METHODOLOGY, NOT POLITICAL ART BUT ART AS CONTEXT.
8. THE EXTREMES OF ART—PERSONAL VISION ON ONE SIDE AND SOCIAL VISIONS ON THE OTHER—ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE—THE GOAL IS TO RESTRUCTURE THE ENTIRE SOCIAL ORDER TO DISCOVER OUR HUMAN CONNECTIONS SO THAT THE WORLD CAN BE MADE HARMONIOUS WITH OUR NEEDS.

3A

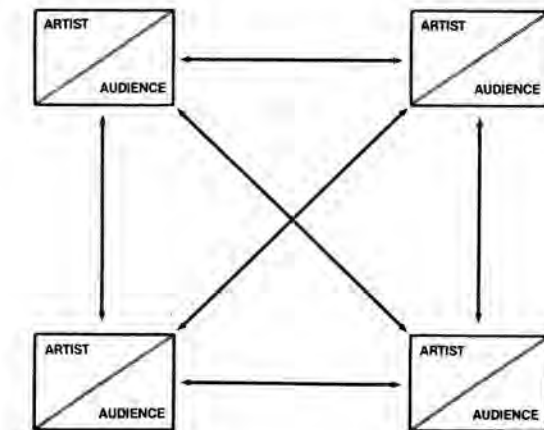
## INFORMATION DELIVERY SYSTEM



1B



2B



3B

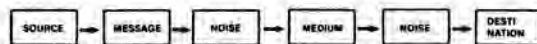
## COMMUNICATION COMPONENT MODEL

INFORMATION CONTROL BY STRUCTURE OF DISSIMILAR COMPONENTS

DISTRIBUTION FROM TOP DOWN (VERTICAL)

MESSAGE VALUED FOR ELITISM, PRESTIGE, NEWNESS, CONSUMERISM—REPLACES FACTS AND IDEAS

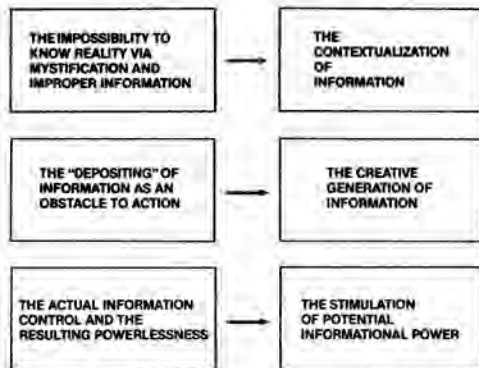
SENDERS' ROLE DETERMINED BY CULTURAL MARKET VALUE



1C

## REDEFINING MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

FROM TO



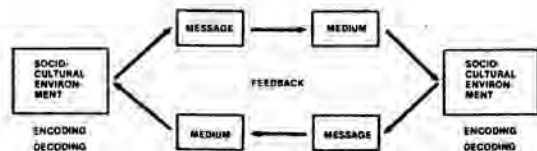
2C

INFORMATION FLOWS FREELY—SIMILAR COMPONENTS

DISTRIBUTION IS HORIZONTAL

MESSAGE VALUED FOR FACTS AND IDEAS IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

SENDERS' ROLE DETERMINED BY INHERENT MEANING AND VALUE



3C

## MATRIX

"CONCEALMENT AND MYSTIFICATION ARE INSTRUMENTS OF POWER ROOTED IN THE INEQUALITIES OF THE SYSTEM" \*

ALL FORMS OF INFORMATION ARE STRUCTURED FOR COMMUNICATION (SYSTEMS)

ALL FORMS OF COMMUNICATION ARE REFLECTIVE OF THE SOCIAL REALITY IN WHICH THEY EXIST (SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT)

ART IS A SYSTEM OF SOCIOLOGICAL COMMUNICATION. INDIVIDUAL (OR COLLECTIVE) PERSPECTIVES OF REALITY (INFORMATION) ARE PUT INTO FORMS AND DISSEMINATED THROUGH THE SYSTEM FOR PLACEMENT AND EVALUATION.

THIS COMMUNICATION SYSTEM IS STRUCTURED TO REFLECT SOCIAL VALUES WHICH ARE SELF-SERVING, I.E., THE PROCESSING OF INFORMATION THAT MAINTAINS ONLY THE REALITY OF THE SYSTEM. OTHER REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES ARE CLOSED-OUT OF THE SYSTEM, ABSORBED AND TRANSFORMED TO FIT THE NEEDS OF THE SYSTEM, OR DENEGATED UNTIL THE SYSTEM CAN ACCEPT THEM.

THUS, THE INFORMATION OF SOCIAL REALITIES IS DEFINED AND/OR LIMITED BY THE SYSTEM. THIS TAKES PLACE THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE SYSTEM: THE PROCESSING BY SENDERS AND DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION TO AUDIENCES. IN EFFECT, SENDERS AND RECEIVERS ARE IMPROPERLY MATRIXED.

10

\* Journal of Communication, Autumn 1976

"RESTRUCTURING SOCIAL FORMS RESULTS FROM CLOSING THE INFORMATION GAP BETWEEN TRANSMITTING AND RECEIVING USABLE INFORMATION." \*

SINCE ARTISTS DEAL WITH FORMS OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION, THE STRUCTURE OF THE SYSTEM BECOMES THE CRUCIAL FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE VALUE OF THE INFORMATION.

IN THE FIRST SYSTEM, THE VALUE OF THE INFORMATION IS EXCHANGED FOR PRESTIGE, MONEY, OR VAGUE PARAMETERS OF "AESTHETICS." THE PRODUCTION OF THE INFORMATION IS NOT VALUED FOR THE REALITY IT REFLECTS.

ARTISTS COMPLAIN ABOUT THE CLOSED NATURE OF THE ART SYSTEM, ABOUT THEIR ALIENATION, ABOUT "ELITIST" VALUES, ETC., BUT THEY GENERALLY STRUGGLE TO FIT INTO THE SYSTEM (BY CREATING A NEW ART THAT IS EVENTUALLY SANCTIONED BY THE SYSTEM THEY ATTACK) OR BY CREATING "ALTERNATIVE" STRUCTURES MODELED ON THE SAME SOCIAL CONCEPTS AS THE EXISTING SYSTEM.

ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS DO PROCESS INFORMATION SO THAT ITS VALUE RESTS ON ITS CONTENT. BUT IN MANY CASES THEY BECOME SCALED DOWN VERSIONS OF PREVIOUS SYSTEMS—EXCLUDING OR LIMITING REALITIES THAT DO NOT ENHANCE THE PRESTIGE OF THE STRUCTURE.

ARTISTS CAN WORK IN THE FIRST SYSTEM, IN ALTERNATIVE SYSTEMS, OR CAN CREATE NEW SYSTEMS—SYSTEMS BASED ON SOCIAL REALITIES THAT REFLECT AN ON-GOING INTERACTION BETWEEN THE ARTIST AND THE AUDIENCE. THE INEQUALITY IN THE FIRST SYSTEM IS THE INTERPRETATIVE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE SENDER AND RECEIVER, AND POWERLESSNESS IN THE CONTROL OF THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS. THE ART SYSTEM IS JUST A MANIFESTATION AND REFLECTION OF OUR SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES.

20

\* Journal of Communication, Autumn 1976

ARTISTS CAN RESTRUCTURE THE ART COMMUNICATION SYSTEM—THIS IS ALREADY HAPPENING IN SOME COOPERATIVE ART ENDEAVORS, IN SELF-PUBLICATION, IN ACCESS TO THE MEANS OF DISTRIBUTION. BUT RESTRUCTURING IS NOT ENOUGH IF ONLY THE ARTIST BENEFITS. CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN SENDER AND RECEIVER CAN LEAD TO WHOLE NEW VISTAS OF INTERACTION AND UNDERSTANDING IF THE ARTIST CONSIDERS THE PRODUCTION OF ART WITHIN THE WHOLE MATRIX OF OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM.

ARTISTS CAN CREATE AN ART THAT DEALS WITH SOCIAL CONTEXTS—THE CONTEXTS THAT REFLECT THE SOCIAL INTERACTIONS THAT ALREADY SHAPE THE ARTIST'S LIFE. THIS IS NOT A NEW FORM OF "SOCIAL REALISM" BUT AN EXTENSION OF AN ART THAT IS ALREADY SOCIAL IN NATURE.

ARTISTS CAN EXAMINE, UNDERSTAND, AND ALTER THE CURRENT SYSTEM—THIS REQUIRES NEW METHODOLOGIES, NEW PERSPECTIVES, NEW ROLES FOR THE ARTIST: AND A DEMYSTIFICATION OF EXISTING CODINGS.

SOME POSSIBLE FUTURES:

INFORMATION=REALITY  
ANOTHER WORD FOR ART  
TAKING ART OUT OF ART  
CREATING OUR OWN HISTORY  
INTERMEDIA AND INTER-  
DISCIPLINARY APPROACHES  
NO LIMITATION  
SELF-ORGANIZATION  
COOPERATION  
SOCIO-PURPOSE

POSSIBLE PARAMETERS:

ART IS NEVER POLITICALLY NEUTRAL  
ALL IDEOLOGIES ARE A METHOD,  
NOT A FAITH  
THE MEANING OF ART IS ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT  
ELIMINATION OF CONFLICTING INFORMATION THAT CANNOT BE  
ADEQUATELY PROCESSED  
OUR REALITIES HAVE AS MUCH VALIDITY  
AS THE "SOCIALLY SANCTIONED"  
REALITIES—THEY REFLECT THE  
CONTEXT IN WHICH WE WORK

30

\* WRITTEN FOR THE VALUE OF THE GALLERY AND THE MECHANICS

OF MANIPULATION: FORCED BY LA MARELLA INC 1977



## ALTERNATIVE WORK PROCESS

A distinction should be made between modes of printform and the need for quantitative reproduction. Such a differentiation reflects the change of meaning when we consider print technology in the present time: offset printing; xeroxing; screening; photostating; microfiche; computing; videoviewing; holographing; mimeographing. Publishing assumes a 'multiple function' as these forms become potentially more available. A common bond among reproduction forms is the resulting sequential reading of publications, which multiply the given 'manuscript'. Reproduction similarities stop here. Each printing mode contains its technical differentiation and its multiplicative efficiency. To produce, for instance, a publication on an offset press implies a different potential multiplication than, say, a xeroxing process. The choices of selecting one form over another is dictated by economical priorities. In other words the production and the publishing operation behave according to the law of a given economical base. That is, the cultural output is parallel to the economical or material base of the producer: its work base. Our work, in fact, determines the cultural object of our condition.

**An alternative work process produces an alternative cultural cell.**

The reverse is however meaningless; since any cultural production depends always on its work base. Work is executed as a function of a material base (that is, the prevalent mode of production of a given society). In fact what might appear to be ordinary in one culture or context is not necessarily so in another one. The access, or the material base, allows for the execution of work in a determinate mode. In turn a material mode, a type of work will produce precise cultural patterns. Alternative, radical, self managed economies will produce corresponding precise cultural patterns.

A word should be said however about the dominant concern in contemporary alternative modes of production. The latter evidencing the superstructural dominance of the economy that sustains it. A great deal of marginal publishing (in today's alternative networks) still maintains a false neutrality and a lack of political consciousness. Simultaneously one can speak of crisis in a historical time when as never before we see the outputting of an endless amount of print. Paradoxically, in self published alternative publications, as the mode of production becomes more available to anyone, the smaller is the access to the same publications, as distribution of marginal presses' publications cannot work (compete) with the conventional modes of distributing mass media publications.

In relation to this problem we should ask who is the recipient of marginal publications? In art circles one can broadly say the 'art world', in political circles one assumes 'the ordinary person'. In the first context the produced propaganda is in relation to styles and to the internal use of a self indulgent operation. In the latter case instead, generalities and doctrinary pieces are hurled to an abstract sense of society.

Another important question is: what is the critical stance one operates in? This means that not all alternative work can be lumped together. One's own dominant context defines the boundaries of work and the effect of the work itself. In other terms, by doing a certain kind of alternative work we might subserve the

system we wanted to attack or alter. Such a phenomenon is noticeable in politically unconscious 'avant garde' works, so common in the eternal formalism of the art world.

The relationship between the two questions shows the role of the alternative publisher as cultural operator. The first question tries to define the boundary of influence and the language, class, behaviour of one's own intention. Implicitly, in asking 'who is the recipient', we also investigate the structures that are used for the dissemination of art information. The network of bookstores, libraries, schools, galleries, salons, street corners, or mail orders are not neutral venues of distribution. Each responds to the accepted norms of standard form and marketing laws. The question 'what is the critical stance' points out the individual ideological limitation and its social base. For instance, an internal use of language diminishes the external use of our work.

The fast changing world in a changing definition of social groupings produces strong factors that mold our intentions and ideological output. More clearly in this phase of advanced capitalism the users are becoming identifiable as the only producers; hence the justification for an art publishing crisis: we are our only consumers. We are our own recipient. We are our only viewpoint, where a self critical stance questions our cultural and material base. The whole phenomenon is redimensioned in relation to our work for our cultural consumption. How different is this from a self indulgent production? The difference is often subtle and contradictory. In a self managed, radical production we eliminate the problem of individual capitalization, we eliminate the paternalist attitude towards others, we eliminate the reactionary hierarchy. A work so expressed favors even exchange of residues among other cultural operators, with whom we share a cultural understanding of the world. When the exchange is amputated by the social hierarchical condition, then we have to discover the domination that a publisher activates over the recipients vulnerable to the publisher's control.

To form networks of alternative publications is a correct form to fight dominant forms of communication, its media and its brainwashed public.

Alternative publishing does not have a public, its consumers are the potential producers of a similar object. Somehow this statement might sound idealistic in so far as we merge the role of producing with the role of consuming. Not so much so if 'work' is the outcome of collective information gathering, placed in an open structure that self doubts its own functions as a continuous struggle.

### CORRECTION

Re: "everything... as a book". I wish to take issue with several misconceptions under which you seem to be laboring:

1. That the books you see in New York are representative of the (best) books now being produced.
2. That P. Frank/P. Dittmar, in their recent "talent-spotting tour", personally managed to see every American artist currently producing books.
3. That N. American artists are not yet past the collage/diary stage and so not concerned with book format, book as object, the further implications of book as book.
4. That American books should be like European books, or compared there to.
5. That "What has not yet happened in America is a re-evaluation of the book..."

I would suggest that your acceptance of the above items places you very much in the same category as those artists you accuse of naivete, and that if you are indeed interested in finding "re-evaluated" books you acquaint yourself with some of those currently being produced on the West Coast.

Stephen Moore  
Director, Union Gallery  
San Jose State University

## BOOKS RECEIVED:

- Kenneth Anger: *Hollywood Babylon*. New York: Dell Publishing, 1975.  
 Ida Applebroog: *It is my lunch hour*. New York: Galileo Works, 1977.  
 .....: *Say something*. New York: Galileo Works, 1977.  
 David Arnold: *Chain of letters*. San Francisco: Trike, 1976.  
 .....: *6 for the 7th Assembling*. San Francisco: Trike, 1977.  
 Antonin Artaud: *The theatre and its double*. New York: Grove Press, 1958.  
 Roberto Bades et al.: *Cagliari—la questione della abitazione*. Cagliari: Edes editrice, 1977.  
 Robert Baranick: *Runner's logbook*, n.p., 1976.  
 Eleanor Beattie: *Handbook of Canadian film* (second edition). Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977.  
 Diane Calder Belsey: *Mother heard*. Northridge: Diane Calder Belsey, 1975.  
 John M. Bennetti: *Image standards*, n.p.; Luna Bisonte Prods, 1975.  
 Alexander Berkman: *ABC of anarchism*. London: Freedom Press, 1977.  
 Joseph Beuys: *Honeycomb*. Heidelberg: Edition Steeck, 1977 (10 postcards).  
 Lynn Hutchinson Brown: *Leonard Hutchinson, people's artist*. Toronto: NC Press, 1975.  
 Michael Byron: *Pieces, a second anthology*. Maple: Michael Byron, 1976.  
 Paul Cardan: *The fate of Marxism*. London: Solidarity, 1966.  
 Andre Carneiro et al.: *Soposia*. Sao Paulo: Editora do Escritor, 1976.  
 Helen Chadwick and David Mayor: *Door to door*. Devon: Beau Geste Press, 1973.  
 Michel Chion and Guy Reibel: *Les Musiques Electroacoustiques*. Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1976.  
 Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer: *The floodgates of anarchy*. London: Sphere Books, 1972.  
 Hans Clavin: *L'Angerie*. Amsterdam: de bezige bij amsterdam, 1973.  
 Mike Crane: *Fili in this space*. Chicago: Running Dog Press, n.d.  
 Ken Doll et al.: *Punks*. San Francisco: Bay Area Dadists, 1975.  
 Mary Jane Dougherty: *The Duddy bird cook book*. Chicago: Running Dog Press, 1976.  
 Harold M. J. Ehres: *Semiotic foundations of typography*. Halifax: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1976 (Design Papers 1).  
 Hamilton Faria: *Diavira*. Curitiba: Editora Cooperativa da Escritores, 1977.  
 Lawrence Farlingham: *A political pamphlet*. San Francisco: Anarchist Resistance Press, 1976.  
 Antonio Ferro et al.: *Post cards*. Naples: Edizioni "Esperimenta", 1977.  
 Felice Frolo: *Il dossier della nuova contestazione*. Milan: Mulino Editore, 1977.  
 Eldon Garnet: *Brekeul*. Erin: Press Porcupine, 1977.  
 Michael Gibbs and Bill Gaglione: *Langwe jarl*. Amsterdam: Michael Gibbs and San Francisco: Bill Gaglione, n.d.  
 Ernest M. Gruenberg et al.: *Diagnostic and statistic manual of mental disorders*. Washington: American Psychiatric Association, 1968.  
 Janusz Haka et al.: *Polish art copyright*. Wrocław: Author's Agency, 1975.  
 Pieter Handling: *Film Canadiana*. Ottawa: Canadian Film Institute, 1976.  
 Volker Harlan et al.: *Soziale plastik*. Achberg: Achberger Verlagsanstalt, 1976.  
 Tom Henriksen and Martha Henriksen: *The organic zucchini*. Toronto: Arterial Books, 1976.  
 Donat J. H. Huguin: *Urban Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1977.  
 Joan Hugo: *A guide to art resources in Los Angeles*. Glendale: ARLIS/NA, 1977.  
 James Richard Hugunin: *Pulp*. Los Angeles: James Richard Hugunin, 1976.  
 Francisco Iregio Script: *Sao Cristovao*. Editora Artenova, 1977.  
 Henry James Korn: *Muhammad Ali Retrospective*. New York: Assembling Press and Sydney: Wild and Wolley Pty., 1976.  
 Andrzej Lachowicz: *Persepolis wizuina i mentalna*. Wrocław: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Szkolne Sztuk Plastycznych we Wrocławiu, 1972.  
 Gilles Larain: *Idols*. New York and London: Links Books, 1973.  
 Michael Leggett: *Afni*. Devon: Beau Geste Press, 1973.  
 .....: *Eroto*. Devon: Beau Geste Press, 1973.  
 John C. Lindsay: *Art in ... Agincourt*. General Learning Press, 1975.  
 Marshall McLuhan et al.: *City as classroom*. Agincourt: Book Society, 1977.  
 Italo Mussa: *Il Gruppo Enrie*. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1976.  
 Edward Mycor: *Damage within the community*. San Francisco: Panjandrum Press, 1977.  
 .....: *Route, route, and range*. Alamo: Holmgren Press, 1977.  
 Ojai Nations: *The strange case of Inspector Loophole*. Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1977.  
 Hermann Nitsch: *Orgies, mysteries, theatre*. Darmstadt: Marz Verlag, 1969.  
 Ted Pearson: *This grit*. San Francisco: Trike, 1976.  
 Robert Peterson: *Unfair to young people*. Milwaukee: Youth Liberation Press, 1975.  
 G. V. Piekhanov: *Art and social life*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977.  
 Michael Polanyi: *Knowing and being*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.  
 Gerd Reitzenstein: *Polemics*. Toronto: Coach House Press, 1977.  
 P. J. Ribeiro: *Birds*. Catagones: Edicao do autor, 1977.  
 Keith Richardson: *Poetry and the colonized mind—Tish*. Oakville: Mosaic Press and Ottawa: Valley Editions, 1976.  
 Ernest Robson: *Vowel and diphthong tones*. Parker Ford: Primary Press, 1977.  
 Hugo Roelandt: *Performance photographs*.  
 Stephen Ruppenthal and Larry Wendt: *A sonic, visual & oral history of sound poetry*. San Jose: Word Works, 1977.  
 Steven G. Russell: *Me and the drifter*. Chicago: Running Dog Press, 1976.  
 .....: *The victims of holiness and other poems*. Chicago: Running Dog Press, 1975.  
 San Diego Bobcats: *Champagne and tears*. Del Mar: Crawl Out Your Window Press, n.d.  
 .....: *My travels with Mao*. Del Mar: Crawl Out Your Window Press, 1977.  
 Eckhard Siepmann: *Montage—John Heartfield*. Berlin: Elephanten Press, 1977.  
 Alan Sondheim: *Function of the avant-garde—possibilities*. New York: Alan Sondheim, 1972.  
 .....: *General description of the world*. Nova Scotia: Alan Sondheim, 1972.  
 .....: *Notes on mechanisms of secrecy I*. New York: Alan Sondheim, 1977.  
 .....: *A number of recent texts added to The Structure of Reality*. New York: Alan Sondheim, 1977.  
 .....: *Outlaw intellectualism—natural hermeneutics*. New York: Alan Sondheim, 1977.  
 .....: *The structure of reality*. Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1977.  
 Larry Sulten and Mike Mendel: *Evidence*. Santa Cruz: Clateworthy Colorways, 1977.  
 Jan Swidzinski: *Art as contextual art*. Warsaw: Galeria Remont, 1977.  
 Lew Thomas: *8 x 10*. San Francisco: Not-for-sale-press, 1975.  
 Caroline Tisdell: *Report to the European Economic Community on the feasibility of founding a 'Free International University for Creativity and Interdisciplinary Research'*. Dublin, Dublin and London: Free University Press, 1975.  
 Frances Torres: *Almost like sleeping*. New York: Frances Torres, 1975.  
 .....: *Everybody's house (is burning)*. New York: Frances Torres, 1976.  
 .....: *The fantasy of a continuous erection is the stone that phallicistic behaviour trips over*. New York: Frances Torres, 1977.

- .....: *Material shown at Vehicle Art* (Montreal November 1974, New York: Frances Torres, 1974).  
 .....: *Personal intersections*. New York: Frances Torres, 1975.  
 .....: *Psychological premises for three art works*. New York: Frances Torres, 1974.  
 Endre Tot: *Total Questions by Tot*. Berlin: Edition Hundertmark, 1974.  
 Barbara Tyler and Victoria Dickenson: *A handbook for the travelling exhibitionist*. Ottawa: Canadian Museums Association, 1977.  
 Nikolaus Urban: *Rope Performance* (sport card), n.p., n.d.  
 Juri Valoch: *12 easels*. Berlin: Edition Hundertmark, 1976.  
 R. Verbeest et al.: *Today S Place*. Antwerp: Today S Place, 1976.  
 Lea Vergine: *Il corpo come linguaggio*. Milan: Pirelli Editore, 1974.  
 Nancy Webber: *Real Estate Calendar*, n.p., 1977.  
 Lawrence Weiner: (various exhibition announcements and postcards).  
 Jan Wojciechowski: *Dzialalnosc "Galerii Niezaleznych"*. Warsaw, Galeria Remont, 1975.  
 Italo Zannier: *Fascismo 1922-1943*. Udine: Centro Iniziative Culturali Pordenone, 1975.  
 Walter Zimmermann: *Desert plants*. Vancouver: ARC publications, 1976.

## PERIODICALS RECEIVED

- Abacadabra. Luxembourg: Abacadabra.  
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# STRIKE

ART COMMUNICATION EDITION, VOLUME TWO, ISSUE NUMBER 1



## **BRAVE NEW WORD: STRIKE!**

Are we supposed to explain the switch from Art Communication Edition to **STRIKE**?

We want to come out closer to the de-training programme, opposed to service systems. We want to effectively move on and merge with the social stance that we foster. We know that within consumerist tactics, the antithetical position, as explained in issue 6 of Art Communication Edition, is an effective strategy. We know that the surfacing of behavioural aspects of our nature, of the nature of systems, of the nature of objects strengthens the break-down of the (cultural?) system. We know that the non-qualitative approach as developed by marginalities increases the reaction against blankness. We know that standing on one's own feet means to realize ideological autonomy. We have to realize a polemical state, a state of permanent questioning. The polemics and its art are the core of our surfacing and switch. To uncover the sore points the polemics, to challenge them is what we mean with **STRIKE**. This is the mechanics of dialectics: polemics and the professing of ideological positioning. As the unresolved contradictions emerge we discover further contradictory issues, and so on. But the premise lies in the speaking out one's own oppressions. The students' riots, the gay activism, the feminist or blacks' polemics, terrorism, and a few other currents have in the past taught us a great lesson. The refusal to co-operate with the subjugations: to strike - The only ones which usually do not go on strike are those individuals that hold power like ministers, bosses, and pimps - for example

# STRIKE



Photo: Art Communication Edition of "Mysteries" by Peter Duda

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Editorial Board:  
Amerigo Marras  
Bruce Eves  
Suber Corley  
Paul McLelland

Contributors:  
Body Politic  
Lily Chiro  
Tom Dean  
Peter Duda  
Lily Eng  
Fred Forest  
John Faichney  
Ron Gillespie  
Alexandre Gherban  
Saul Goldman  
Ross McLaren  
Gerard Pas  
Francisc Torres  
Alan Sondheim

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# **If you have ever subscribed to a magazine, the police could get your name. And use it.**

They have the names of *our* subscribers. And our classified advertisers.  
And a lot of other things as well.

*The Body Politic* is Canada's national gay liberation newsmagazine. It has been publishing regularly for six years.

On Friday, December 30 at 5 pm, five police officers raided the offices of *The Body Politic*. They had a search warrant authorizing them to search for material relevant to charges which might be laid under section 164 of the Criminal Code ("use of the mails for the purpose of transmitting or delivering anything that is obscene, indecent, immoral or scurrilous"). Three and a half hours later, they left with twelve boxes of material, including subscription lists dating years into the past, distribution and advertising records, corporate and financial records, manuscripts for future publication. The works. Almost everything we need for continued publication.

Our lawyer, Clayton Ruby, feels that the warrant is illegal. He is moving to have it quashed in the Supreme Court of Ontario. If he is successful, materials will have to be returned to us.

Three people have now been charged under two obscenity statutes. One charge results from the fact that our book service sold the book *Loving Man* — a photographic guide to gay male lovemaking. The other charge has been laid against the paper itself.

To lay those charges, all they needed was evidence that we had the material for distribution, and evidence that we mailed it. *They did not need sub lists, classified lists, and most of the other material seized.*

**It is a clear attempt to destroy a small Canadian magazine.  
It is a clear attempt to intimidate its subscribers and advertisers.  
That's dangerous.  
And if you want to help us, you can.**

Legal costs are expected to be very high. A donation to THE BODY POLITIC FREE THE PRESS FUND would be very much appreciated. Lynn King of the feminist-identified law firm of Cornish, King, Sachs and Waldman has offered her services free of charge for the administration of a defence fund totally separate from other accounts of the newspaper. Although names of donors will be kept in strict confidence, anonymous donations will be accepted.

*The Body Politic* has received messages of support from the National Gay Rights Coalition, the American National Gay Task Force, the Canadian Periodical Publishers' Association, the Periodical Writers' Association of Canada, June Callwood, Douglas Marshall of *Books in Canada*, and many other individuals and organizations both gay and straight. We would like you to join them.

**Cheques should be made payable to: Lynn King in trust for The Body Politic Free the Press Fund.  
Mail to: Cornish, King, Sachs and Waldman, Barristers and Solicitors, 111 Richmond St. West,  
Suite 320, Toronto, ON, Canada M5H 3N6.**

# ON ORGANIZATION

In my experience of playing the role of artist, within the paradigm of 'art' and taking part in 'art' activities, I am approaching the toleration limit to any further internalization of the notion of 'art' and/or of 'art as something else'.

Any discussion on the function, the structure, the internal principles, the theories, the media image, the strategies, the internal politics of art is a cover-up for the true motivations.

**When we discuss 'art', we are actually using the discourse as a pretext for established relationships in a class structure.**

In capitalist societies, the hegemony of specialized artists as the cultural heroes, the high priests of alienated discourses, is the manifestation of a definite economical and social 'domination': class ideology. The discourse and such manifestations of art are internalized and continue to be marginal for other members of this society.

**To an extent, the art discourse is also marginal and pretextual to the artists themselves.**

It would be useful to investigate the process used in acquiring a role within the territory of art. How, in fact, do we recognize the role of the artist? How has the artist achieved access to the means of cultural production? Obviously each individual has a different personal history and a personal development, making it difficult to identify such a process as an overall pattern.

**The artist's identification can be located in relation to the means of production and in relation to the remuneration one receives from one's society.**

The institutions of the class society impose the ideology of recognition of roles, as is manifested in schooling (1); as is imposed by the behavioural code of the dominant class; as is operated by the division of labour in all of its violent competitive ethics.

**The recognition of the artist's role is re-affirmed by the law of 'scarcity and reward' in a hierarchical society.**

In the art world, culture is defined and controlled by a value system directed by experts (artists, dealers, curators, critics, collectors, grant officers). These experts control the access to the means of production and channel the consumption of a multi-billion dollar operation: the art industry, which sustains the idea of the artist-as-genius. The belief that art is the work of the few 'enlightened' ones mystifies the system of exploitation and prevents the access to the means of cultural production by non-specialists.

**Non-specialists are eliminated from the cycle except as passive viewers of the mythology of heroes and the history written about it.**

What perpetuates the reactionary mystification of the role of the artist is the 'world of scarcity' and the 'incapacity to survive' in a capitalist society. The artist defends the privilege and the entrenchment he/she holds in the capitalist society. Also symptomatic,

even and not less so among the vanguard, alternative and co-op artist's groups (2), is the sense of hopelessness for social change, as these same groups mimic those repressive methods of economical capitalization adopted by the art world.

Artists' co-ops, although to be praised for their attempt to self-organize, reflect the art mythology and the product of advanced mercantile class structure. Here, it is important to ponder the meaning and the effect of collaborative work, that is, to evaluate the sharing of labour and the sharing of the surplus value of such labour.

Paradoxically, even the discussion of the division of labour (the reactionary aspect of specialism in our culture), does not deal with the immediate time and circumstances. The class division and the cultivation of petty-bourgeois ideas are calmly maintained, allowing a smoother and more productive flow of the same contradiction without resolving it.

**Among radicals, marxists, and self-proclaimed vanguardists, we notice elements of persistent sexism, class defense and specialism.**

As is often observed, the contradiction of the artist's condition (3) is left unresolved. Such an attitude discredits marxist theory and practice, and the increased confusion about the positivism among false radicals (the ones who do not make a choice within a contradiction) delays the process of actual change in the value system towards a new culture (4).

One of the motives for withholding self-criticism is self-serving careerism, camouflaged as 'irresponsive' creative behaviour.

**Careerism is activated through the proceedings of back-room politics and the cultivation of the 'art-star' syndrome.**

This attitude is very noticable in most of the New York community of artists, who are caught up in the tendency to produce neutrally directed work, which is consumed by the media mechanism that hypes their significance (5). In less developed 'consumer' societies, such as the ones in most of Europe (east and west), the tendency is for the local artists to long to be part of that media mechanism and to achieve the same access to the means of distribution as in the New York art market. However, as the economy of the European context is in a different stage of development than the U.S., the results are quite different. In Europe, there is still a nineteenth century mercantilistic tendency to 'art', (justified by a semiotic and symbolist interpretation). The European situation is far less aware of the mechanisms for creating a market and the media construction of a history of modernist heroes, though young militant students from the far left are attacking their own art structure (6).

In Canada there is a tremendous influence from the U.S. cultural hegemony due to the physical proximity and the presence of U.S. media which is circulated in the major educational and mercantile circles. (7) However, in Canada, a more mature stage of self-organization and collective association of artists exists, creating yet a different attitude from the

European and U.S. The group orientation of the large number of 'alternative' art centres and galleries serves the petty bourgeoisie with their stated intentions and with their extreme conservatism through lip-service work to the 'system' by most of them.

**Artists, traditionally educated and seldom exposed to self-criticism, operate in a way similar to the mercantilistic method of dealer-worker relationships.**

Participation to the network of alternative galleries is seen as the early stage of careerism and promotional advancement, that starts from the alternative galleries, then goes through the major, respected dealer galleries and finally ends up in the arms and the glory of the large-museum racket, the Art Bank, and the corporate collection systems. The formation of a collaborative group is seen as a method of providing the artist with a device for continued survival but not as a method for providing full access to the means of production and distribution.

In relation to our geo-social viewpoint and historical location, we recognize three distinct cultural groupings, which we can broadly define as: the enemy, the allies (and potential allies), and the ones that we have contact with on a daily basis: our people.

The enemy is made up of those who hold the hegemony of the cultural ideology, as well as the ones who maintain direct control over the economic base of the art market. The enemy is the merchandising of intellectual issues. The enemy is the entire art-world market that is presently directed by the New York cultural imperialism.

**The enemy is the class system that capitalizes upon our work and divides us.**

It preserves the conflict of unresolved contradictions, made hazy by the smoothness of the system, as indicated by Herbert Marcuse (8).

In the category of (potential) allies, we include all artists who have not been absorbed by the art market and those that fight for their rights to survive and those that are oppressed within the capitalist system (under which we are also subjugated).

**The allies are those individuals/groups who have made a decision about their contradiction, attacking the perpetuation of the commodity system.**

The allies are those that share the language and the issues we are exposing (9).

Ourselves and those that work closely with our daily operation are the ones with whom we must form new relationships. Each case, each 'distance' shares particular interests. We should recognize the intention, the practice and the effect of the practice.

To recognize means to index the relationship and the commonality and/or the conflicts arising from their roles and ours within the contexts where we communicate, relative to the locating of a common economical base.

When indexing the enemy, we include those institutions that with their ideologies dominate the idea of commodity culture. This class of specialists is the group of mandarins who advocate 'qualitative judgement' as the criteria for 'survival'. The same mandarins support the rarification of access to the means of

production (the Artforum mentality), and in this list we should include most art magazines, most galleries, most museums, most schools. The enemy class historicizes itself through a string of heroes, the wealthy painters and sculptors. Their history is the careful construction of a logical progression of heroic intervention, theirs is not the history of the class struggle. As a comprehensible pattern, a miniaturized reality, the experts, the granting officers, the police even, historicize the perpetuation of the dominant class.

**The story is common, but not the same, everywhere.**

We should be aware of this class and be able to spot it, for our role here is to expose it for its false consciousness and the imminent danger implied. Our role stands antithetical to this careerism.

Along with the exploited class (the allies who maintain a relationship with the art market), we have to keep our critical view, pointing to the trap of the 'alternative' position in which a large number of marginal artists are placed: they are the raw material for the market place, the appendices to the constructions of history. (10)

The meandering art students and artists in the streets of Soho, the obsessed readers of Artforums, the pathetic pilgrimages into the white-walled sanctuaries are all forms of dependence upon the art market. The galleries present functionless, meaningless, merchandise that is sold off as 'aesthetic', lyrical and well-balanced. The repetition of the stylistic qualities of the artists' best selling pieces, the careful covering of the gallery walls with 'designed for the gallery' items, and the one-man shows are all variants of the same industrialization of the human intellect: the ideology of an alienated class system. The absurd belief, held by a large number of gallery curators and artists, that art is not related to the economical system of exploitation of a country over its inhabitants or over other countries is the classic rime of those who lie or are afraid of admitting the true motivation of their artistic 'career'. The same will admit that art is a system of rewards for the most talented.

**In reality, no one is more or less endowed than anyone else; it is simply a matter of perspective and economical position in the system.**

It is our role to question, to initiate a debate, to expose the role we inhabit. We cannot expose issues by hiding behind the privilege of cultural production. We might end up playing the role of the exploited in one context and the exploiters in another, depending upon how we define the geo-historical boundaries, depending upon how we define the geo-historical boundaries, depending upon our economical base in each context.

For me to say that I come from Canada is a truth and a lie. It is an incorrect statement to assume that I only maintain local contacts, since the effects are felt everywhere, whether I want it or not. When I refer to Canada, I refer to it as a concrete reality: the economical base that allows my work to happen but not my revolt (since I should be able to revolt without its economical support).

**When I speak of a relationship to reality, I mean the location where I realize myself economically: the economical base from which I benefit and of which I am a victim.**



The critical stance towards the socio-historical group with which we are more closely related is more difficult to make clear. With our people, we share the same exploitation from the situation (economical, political, social) wherever we choose to live. The relationship with this group should maintain its continuity, its persistency, without fear of chastisement.

In Canada, among the parallel art centres and collectives, there is the constant threat of being eliminated by the governmental agency at the whim of an arts officer. The funding agencies do have the power to end their support to any of the groups, whose budgets are kept low and expansion is controlled. The repressive 'containment' is subtle and seldom exposed. The artists associated with this system of galleries do not hold open political power or opinion and depend heavily on the 'system' for their access to the means of production and distribution. A recent operation from the main Canadian funding agency was the establishing of an official network, governed by the members of the galleries themselves (in reality controlled by the major two or three gallery members). The creation of this front was justified as a strong lobby for further governmental support. In reality, it constitutes another institution, too busy for its own survival to provide any significant lobbying for its members. Once more the economical motivation of the artist's survival is camouflaged and hindered by 'art' structures that leave the economical base unchanged.

**The context of art is the pretext for survival.**

In the Canadian pretext, the artist faces the lack of a guaranteed income while his work functions as the filler for a meaningless business mythology. I mean that in reality the merchandising of art in Canada is transacted in a very limited way, since there is no tradition to support such a consumer habit (although this habit is increasing). The major collector, the supporter of 'art' production in Canada is the govern-

ment, itself, with its system of purchase, rewards, granting and other programs. But, no system exists to openly guarantee the economical survival of the people. CAR, the Canadian Artists' Representation (artists' union), views the issue in terms of artists' fees, the fee scale and copyright protection. In a cultural and economic climate where the sales of artworks has become more and more irrelevant for the majority of the artists (except, of course, the few linked to the Art Bank and museum sales), where there is an increasing public disinterest in the gallery oriented exposure, and where the proliferation of instant photocopying and reproduction of images for which we quickly lose the original source, it is obsolete to frame the question as a question of fee scale. Even if such a scale could be set up in a well-controlled (policed) manner, it would never compensate nor support the artists that CAR has in mind, never mind the ones who are occupied with other manifestations such as 'performance', seminars, didactic and activist work. Canadian artists cannot under the present circumstances make a living out of their 'privatized' internalized activity. The mercantile market rewards only the few heroified artists, supported by the media hype of the few active 'critics' (who, themselves, have a close economic bind to the gallery they support), since the market itself is perpetuated by the law of scarcity and the rarity of the merchandise. The short-comings of this unbalance is obvious as it is elitist and therefore unjust.

The point I want to underline here is to be capable in recognizing the enemy and the allies and this is the reason why I deny an alternative role for any system. Our people are critical of dominant ideologies.

We search the antithetical ground, along with those sharing our problem.

Obviously we are not talking about 'art' alone, nor about reality alone.



photo: Peter Dudar



**Art (culture) is an integral part of our consciousness of reality.**

When we are talking about behavioural and social parameters, we are implying also other levels of reality: its economic structure, its ethics and its language of repression. The reality that we perceive and fight is the one that we encounter day to day, it is the contradictions that we recognize and require us to make a decision. This reality is validated by the relationships we maintain with other people and institutions, placing our role (11), within economical situations.

**What interests us is the widening of the discussion to include further findings in the antithetical position to the dominant ideology.**

Amerigo Marras

**Notes:**

1. The practice of segregation according to age, similar to the class segregation according to the division of labour, is the device used in modern societies which encourages the practice of compulsory 'training' or 'education' which society forces upon each individual during his/her lifetime. See, for example, the writings of Ivan Illich.

2. See TRA, Milan, Spring issue, 1977, Special Canada, and also Studio International, Feb., 1977, article by Jennifer Oille. Her report has been compiled from a distance without first-hand investigation of the situation and is therefore inaccurate and out of date.

3. See activity and position of former Art & Language (U.S.) in particular THE FOX, 1, 2, & 3 (1975-76).

4. It is interesting to note that 'artists' consciousness about issues like feminism, gay rights, and social analysis are surfacing in art journals and major 'art' events rather late, when the struggle and the public demonstrations have already modified the mass consciousness, with little support by the art community and the vanguard class when the transformation was occurring. Note the persistent lack of actual involve-

ment by the art vanguard even today, revealed by the language adopted in 'exhibitions' such as the recent 'Social criticism and art practice' at the San Francisco Art Institute, August, 1977, where the artists do not implement a 'social practice', but an 'art practice'.

5. Characteristic of the perspective artists have of themselves, is their response to invitations to be involved in 'gallery' situations by asking for information about the 'size' and the physical make-up of the space, by requiring historical information about the previous activity of the space, and by giving credentials such as 'reviews' and newspaper coverage on their own behalf.

6. During the International Performance Series in Bologna, June 1-6, 1977, all the artists participating to the events were either not aware or showed no response to the bloody events occurring in the city of Bologna which left one student killed by the police just outside the doors where the performances were taking place. The artists' refusal to understand the local situation typifies the classical neutrality of the art world towards the human condition, limiting human experience to an aesthetic or visual game playing.

7. See the persistent presence of U.S. based art periodicals outside the U.S., in particular ARTFORUM, ART IN AMERICA, ARTS MAGAZINE.

8. H. Marcuse, ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN, Beacon, 1964.

9. This includes the spectrum from the Italian left wing students, fighting in Bologna; the artists fighting the Pompidou Centre in Paris; isolated artists in Czechoslovakia and Hungary; Argentinian artists who have abandoned their discipline to help the fighting in the countryside.

10. See Tom Wolfe's article "The printed Word" in HARPER'S, 1975.

11. See ART COMMUNICATION EDITION, as the ongoing manifestation of the growth and the information over which we have no control.



photo: Lily Chiro

# THOUGHTS OF STAMMHEIM

As the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany draws near, fewer references are being made to its economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*) of the post war years. While most western countries still suffer from the economic woes brought on by the 1973 oil embargo, West Germans are presently basking in the comforts of having an unemployment rate of 4.4%, accompanied with an inflation figure below 4%. One of the more visible effects of this economic (& political) security has been a re-emergence of the chauvinism and superciliousness for which Germans have long been famous. This was typified in the last election by the campaign slogan of Chancellor Schmidt, "The Federal Republic --- a Model for Europe".

But this autumn Germany was momentarily stunned. Following the assassinations of the Federal Republic's chief prosecutor Siegfried Buback, Dresdner Bank head Juergen Ponto and the president of the manufacturers' association Hans Martin Schleyer, shock waves shot throughout the country. How is it possible that a handful of their own children could declare war on the very society in which they had been raised? What seemed to disturb West Germans most was the attack on their pride, a pride in the society which has offered the highest standard of living and "constitutional freedom" in German history. After all the conditions in Germany can hardly be compared with those of Vietnam or Bolivia.

Naturally the most languid attempts were made by the official press to analyze the problem. While ethnocentrically refusing to shoulder the real blame, West Germans seemed quite content to hang up whipping-boys like Marcuse or make hackneyed references to the failure of the 60's revolution. Rather than pointing to the problems and contradictions within German society, officials have begun to use this recent 'crisis' as justification for tough measures against radical left dissidence. These measures, as we shall soon see, are simply another example of what Dahrendorf called the German "tendency to seek out authoritative and substantive rather than tentative and formal solutions."

In order to develop an overview of the problems and contradictions within modern German society, it is necessary to begin with the German re-constitution of 1949. At this time West Germany undertook the election of its first *Bundestag* (national assembly) under the leadership of Konrad Adenauer. Adenauer, an ex-mayor of Cologne who remained unscathed by the Nazi era, zealously undertook the task of not only rebuilding the economy, but also the problems of overcoming the Nazi past; coping with the massive influx of refugees and the protection of a fragile

Although economic growth progressed at a miraculous rate, the inherent contradictions plagued Bonn from the beginning. Quite aware of the foreign sensitivity on the question of Nazism and war criminals, Adenauer began reconciliation with repatriation payment to Israel. The problems arose when Adenauer began to accept ex-Nazis, whom he considered trustworthy, in high government posts. Protests against this practice became particularly vehement with the appointments of Hans Globke to the Chancellors Dept. and Theodor Oberlander as Minister of All-German Affairs.

Despite the pervading memory of the failure of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi era hanging ominously over, 1952 saw the re-emergence of Nazism in the form of the Socialist Reich Party (SRP). As a result of foreign criticism, Bonn was soon forced to implement the first of many measures which would remove all potentially dangerous opponents. The second of such measures occurred in 1956 with the banning of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD).

Adenauer's darkest moment occurred in 1962 during the notorious "Spiegel Affair". After the publication of an article which criticized German defence policy, the magazine's offices were raided with the auspices of Defence Minister Strauss. After the raid and the arrest of several members of the magazine's staff, a bitter debate arose in the legislature. The Opposition's outrage was followed by the public discrediting of several senior members of the Government, including Adenauer himself. Allegations of Gestapo methods and fascist attacks on democratic rights, supported the call for the Government's resignation. The most significant aspect of the whole affair was Adenauer's unruffled indifference.

As in most universities during the 60's, German students took to the streets. The revolution was on! A backlash resulted in the revival of the neo-fascist National Democratic Party. 1968 brought in riots and protests, which almost brought down the French Government. Law and order became the major issue. Bonn retaliated once again, this time with the infamous 'Extremist Act' which immediately provoked public protest.

In the meantime, misguided youth began to realize that revolution was more than peace marches, sit-ins and getting high. Real change demands unpleasant inconveniences, such as getting killed. Hence, the students rolled up their sleeping bags after the walpurgian binge, descended the sugar mountain and returned finally to peaceful suburbia.

Unlike other countries, however, German youth soon learned they would have to pay for their past indulgences. In an effort to prevent the repetition of such uprising, Bonn commenced to purge the educational system by implementing the controversial Employment Ban under the 'Decree on the Principles Governing the Question of Persons Employed in Public Functions Who are Hostile to the Constitution'. Under the ban all prospective government employees, be they teachers or social service applicants, are interrogated regarding their opinions on matters such as 'democracy in the Federal Republic' and the nature of the 'free enterprise system'. In the past five years over 50,000 citizens have been routinely checked, resulting in over 3,000 known employment bans. But bans have also been extended to the private sector via the circulation of blacklists, distributed by the 'Office for the Protection of the Constitution'.

The inevitable outcome of these restrictions were well articulated by Heinz Braun in his article entitled "Land of Employment Ban --- a Model for Europe?":

"In general, the political function of the employment ban is to sow an atmosphere of fear and intimidation so as to educate good conformists and hypocrites who are prepared to comply with any kind of orders; in the

case of school-teachers, there is an additional objective; to eliminate all committed democrats from the teaching profession, since their democratic alone makes them excessive 'security risk' as educators of the young."<sup>4</sup>

Fear has begun to run rampant in Germany among the few individuals who are still committed to social change. Lately this fear has been all the more reinforced by the apparent public swing to the far right. Revival of neo-fascist para-military organizations, the public infatuation with Nazi regalia and the controversial escape of convicted Nazi war criminal Herbert Kappler seem to support allegations of a "Fourth Reich".

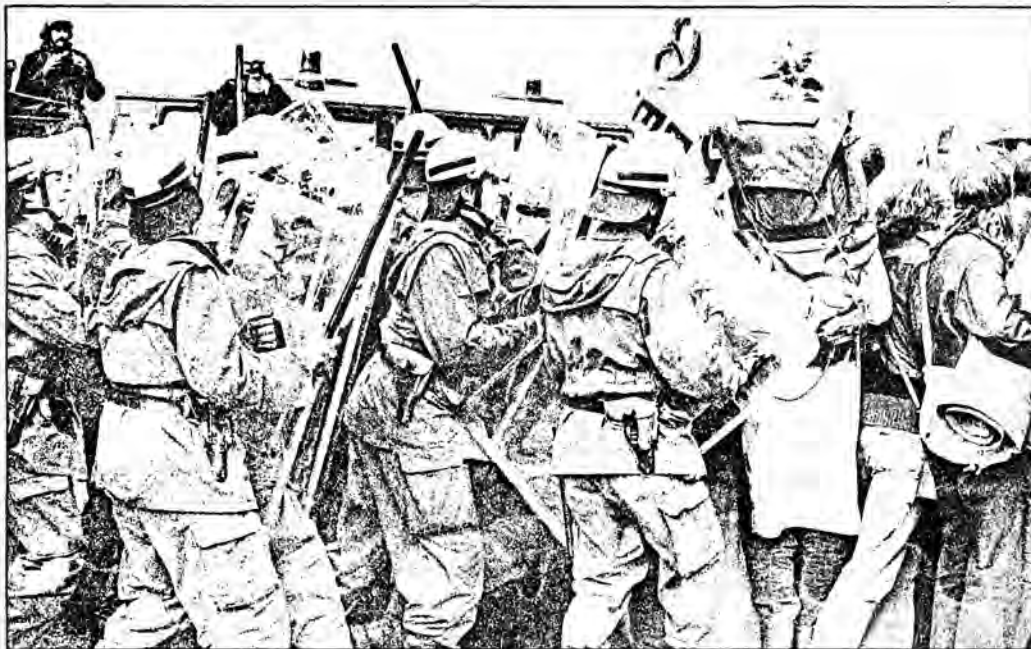
At this point I would like to state that the object of this article was not to create anti-German hysteria. Rather, I have endeavored to articulate the extent to which the system will go in order to preserve the status quo. These dangers are inherent within any system and Canada is no exception. Our complacency about domestic policies such as the 1970 War Measures Act, the current R.C.M.P. scandal and the impending loss of 7,000 jobs in Sudbury only reflect the state of impotency to which we have been led. It was this same complacency that prompted the desperate at-

tacks by the Red Army Faction.

To repeat the words of a close friend, "I hate myself, as every rational man must, for we have been co-opted into a system on whose existence we are sustained." It is a system which thrives off the poverty and suffering of others, such as those people in Soweto, for with every sip of Paarl Sherry our hands are stained with more blood. As for a solution, I don't know, but perhaps Ulrike's final decision has already led the way.

#### NOTES:

1. Ralf Dahrendorf: *Society & Democracy in Germany* (1965), pg. 135.
2. Hans Globke participated in the writing of the 1935 Nuremberg race laws.
3. Theodor Oberlander was a leading member of the NSDAP and from 1939-45 was the Reichfuhrer of the east German provinces.
4. Heinz Braun (member of the presidium of the Vereinigte Deutsche Studentenschaft), "Land of Employment Ban -- a Model for Europe", *World Student News*, vol. 31, No. 3, 1977.



from Atom Express, Goettingen, Germany

# WAS IST KRIMINELL?



# CULTURES/FRAGMENTS DE MUSÉE CONVERSATION AVEC ET ENTRE LES GARDIENS DU MUSÉE D'ART MODERNE DE LA VILLE DE PARIS



photo: Alexandra Gherban

## Introduction sous forme de journal

3.10.1977

j'approche un gardien, micro à la main, et lui pose la première question. Réponse: "monsieur, je n'ai pas le droit de vous parler, il faut avoir l'autorisation du chef du personnel, pour ça". je vais voir le chef du personnel en question, qui decline toute responsabilité, et me conduit au bureau où siègent ses propres chefs, eux non plus ne peuvent pas décider, il faut voir pour ça la biennale de paris, qui occupe à ce moment les salles du musée, après avoir expliqué ce que je veux, à la secrétaire de georges boudaille, j'attends sa réponse, qui m'est donnée dans l'après midi du même jour, et selon laquelle je dois voir le conservateur en chef du musée, jacques lassaigne.

4.10.1977

je parle à madame antonios, qui va parler à jacques lassaigne.

5.10.1977

madame antonios me communique l'accord verbal de jacques lassaigne, j'explique que pour que je puisse faire les interviews tranquillement, il me faudra un papier écrit, contenant l'accord de jacques lassaigne, madame antonios va poser la question à jacques lassaigne.

6.10.1977

madame antonios me communique le refus de jacques lassaigne de me donner quoi que ce soit d'écrit, je proteste, je suis orienté vers une autre secrétaire de jacques lassaigne, à laquelle je dois réexpliquer toute la situation et qui va consulter de nouveau jacques lassaigne.

7.10.1977

je rappelle, on me communique le refus de

jacques lassaigne de me donner un permis écrit pour interviewer les gardiens du musée, et cela sans aucune justification, je réexplique la nécessité de ce papier par rapport aux divers chef de personnel, on me donne la réponse suivante: "écoutez monsieur, on ne peut rien vous donner, tant pis, vous ne faites pas le travail, ayez voir."

10.10.1977

je fais l'interview sans aucune autorisation écrite.

22.11.1977

il est important de remarquer de quelle manière cette institution culturelle facilite un certain type de travail artistique.

(dans le texte qui suit, j'ai utilisé les abréviations suivantes: A.G. = Alexandre Gherban; G.x = gardien no x, le numéro étant donné par l'ordre dans lequel j'ai fait l'interview des divers gardiens).

A.G. Bonjour ma dame, vous travaillez ici depuis longtemps?

G.I. Oui, ça fait 4 ans.

A.G. C'est long. Vous avez du une raison particulière pour prendre ce travail, ou pour vous c'est un travail comme n'importe quel autre?

G.I. Comment?

A.G. Pour vous ce travail, c'est un travail comme n'importe quel autre?

G.I. Non. On travaille du matin jusqu'au soir.

A.G. Ah oui. Et vous aimez ce qu'on fait ici?

G.I. Mm!

A.G. Vous aimez ce qu'on fait ici?

G.I. Un peu, oui.

A.G. Il y a quelque chose comme ça que vous aimez en particulier?

G.I. Enfin, j'aime beaucoup les tableaux. J'aime bien les tableaux très vivants, tous comme ça.

A.G. Là où il y a beaucoup de couleurs?

G.I. Oui, voilà. J'aime beaucoup les couleurs mélangées, comme de l'autre côté, là (montre une salle où il y a des grandes toiles). Et puis en bas, au rez-de chaussée, c'est plus vivant aussi.

A.G. Et les films vidéo, les films sur les télé, vous aimez?

G.I. Oui, j'aime les films aussi.

arrive le chef no. 1. (C.I.)

A.G. Vous travaillez depuis longtemps ici monsieur?

C.I. 11 ans.

A.G. Vous avez vu beaucoup de choses ici.

C.I. Beaucoup d'ennuis.

A.G. Il y a quelque chose qui vous a plu en particulier?

il s'éloigne en disant: "ça va, ça va".

A.G. Bonjour monsieur, vous avez envie de parler un peu avec moi?

G.2. Oh non. J'ai pas le temps. Je travaille,



la. Je travaille.

A.G. Oui je vois bien, mais je vous ai demandé si vous vouliez discuter un peu avec moi.

G.2. Ah non, là je suis sur ma tournée et.... je fais mon travail, quoi.

A.G. Bon, d'accord.

G.2. Je m'excuse, monsieur, j'aurais voulu parler, mais, hé....

A.G. Oui, j'ai compris; vous aimez ce que vous faites ici?

G.2. Ben, comme métier, c'est pas le métier que j'aurais voulu faire, mais... J'aurais mieux aimé faire un métier qui bouge, pas ce métier de, de.... être assis sur une chaise, deux, trois fois, puis être assis, puis... à dire aux gens touchez pas trente six fois la même chose à longueur de journée, mais c'est pas tellement...

A.G. C'est ennuyeux, non?

G.2. C'est un métier pour... c'est un métier pour... euh... c'est un peu réservé, c'est pas pour un jeune. D'ailleurs, maintenant, ils embauchent tout, des jeunes, ou des vieux, comme des noirs, comme des hindoux, comme des... alors on est très mélangés... Et puis chaque métier a ses inconvénients.

A.G. Oui, mais vous êtes dans une ambiance un peu particulière, il y a des choses comme ça autour de vous.

G.2. Ben oui, ben oui.

A.G. Vous vous en foutez.

G.2. Ben, vous savez, des fois c'est pas drôle, on est toujours surveillés; vous savez, quand c'est pas les chefs, c'est la conservation en haut qui nous surveille, le public nous demande des tas de choses, des tas de trucs....

A.G. Oui c'est pas drôle, mais il y a...

G.2. Il y a de beaux tableaux à voir, mais c'est un métier où, c'est un métier sédentaire, quoi. Un métier où tu es toujours assis, moi j'aurais mieux aimé faire un métier où l'on bouge, ici les journées sont longues.

A.G. C'est long, et en plus, je ne sais si vous pouvez parler tellement.

G.2. Et puis dimanche et samedi on travaille, et puis, et... on n'a que le lundi et le mardi... alors on est payés en heures supplémentaires, mais t'as qu'un jour pour te reposer, alors c'est pas tellement...

A.G. Pour les vacances, vous avez un mois?

G.2. Un mois où tu peux buller, mais dans d'autres musées tu ne peux pas tellement, alors... c'est suivant le service, on peut pas choisir, bon, t'as pris le mois d'août, des fois ils te changent, tu vois, parce que, souvent t'es malade... T'est payé, d'accord, mais... ils sont... C'est l'inconvénient du métier. Il vaut mieux faire ça que de rester chez soi et puis... rester chez soi et puis... puisque là au moins tu touches au moins ta paye au fin du mois. Rester chez soi et puis aller pointer chaque 15 jours, mais je le connais, le chômage. Alors, j'aime mieux rester là, moi. Mais je trouve que c'est un métier de fainéant pour moi

(rires)

A.G. A part ça, il y a des choses qui vous plaisent?

G.2. Ah oui, oui, c'est pas très beaux, ça; la salle à côté, c'est vraiment affreux. Ils mettent n'importe quoi. C'est vraiment n'importe quoi... Il y a des photos pornographiques, tu vois ça tous les jours si tu vas au cinéma, alors... Sinon, des fois c'est pas mal... Il y a le permanent en bas, mais là il est fermé, lundi, mardi il est fermé... Mais sinon, il y a des gros tableaux. Des fois on a des roulements, mais des fois, on a un dimanche par-ci, par-là, mais c'est tout.

A.G. Vous vous reposez combien dans la mois?

G.2. Ben je me repose... On a un mois où on peut prendre, si on veut on peut prendre... on peut cumuler, mais... ça dépend, il y a des jours où d'autres sont malades, donc il y a des

jours à prendre et tout...

A.G. Vous pensez changer ce métier-là, vous pensez vous en aller?

G.2. Changer. Changer c'est difficile, si je me licencie, il faut que je me remette au chômage, alors... Il vaut mieux rester là et puis attendre la retraite... C'est dur de trouver du travail même pour ceux qui ont des diplômes.

A.G. Bon; comme je vois un de vos chefs approcher, je voudrais pas vous causer des ennuis. Au revoir.

A.G. Bonjour madame. J'aimerais vous poser quel que questions.

G.3. Pourquoi?

A.G. Ben comme ça, pour moi. Vous voyez, je suis artiste et je fais des discussions avec les gardiens de musée.

G.3. Non.

A.G. Vous n'avez pas envie de parler?

G.3. Non.

A.G. Bonjour madame. Vous avez envie de parler un peu avec moi?

G.4. - geste: non -

A.G. Bonjour madame, vous travaillez ici?

G.4. Oui, je travaille ici.

A.G. Vous êtes gardienne, n'est-ce pas?

G.5. Je suis gardienne.

A.G. Depuis longtemps? Vous travaillez depuis longtemps ici?

G.5. Depuis 6 mois.

A.G. 6 mois.

G.5. Pour qui interviewez? Pour quel pays?

A.G. Pour aucun pays, à titre personnel.

G.5. Alors, pourquoi m'interviewer moi, il faut que je demande l'autorisation à mon chef, si j'ai le droit de, eu, de répondre à vos questions. Moi je ne peux pas parler toute seule.

A.G. Vous avez le droit parce que j'ai l'autorisation de la conservation du musée.

G.5. Mais moi, j'ai pas demandé à mes chefs de, d'interviewer, de que vous m'interviewez, il faut que je... demande à mes chefs, eh, je peux pas vous parler comme ça!

A.G. D'accord. Il faut donc que le chef vous donne l'autorisation.

G.5. A moi, il faut que mon chef me donne l'autorisation. Quelles questions voulez vous me poser?

A.G. Ben, je sais pas, sur.

G.5. Ça fait 6 mois que je travaille.

A.G. Et ça vous plaît comme métier?

G.5. Oui, très bien. Attendez, vous permettez. Si vous m'interviewez, il faut que je demande la permission.

A.G. Oui, si vous voulez, bien sûr.

G.5. Il faut que je demande la permission au chef. J'ai pas le droit de parler toute seule.

-approche le chef no 2 (G.2.)-

G.2. Qu'est ce qu'il y a ? que...?

G.5. Il est en train, il veut m'interviewer!

G.2. Non, non, non, il faut demander—conservation.

A.G. Oui, mais j'ai l'autorisation.

G.2. Le papier!

A.G. Je n'ai pas de papier.

G.2. Moi, il me faut donner, il faut me montrer ça, le chef là-bas—après, partout, quoi, vous promener partout, il faut donner l'autorisation, le chef là-bas, le chef principal. Merci, tout à l'heure.

- la gardienne no 1 s'approche

G.1. On n'est pas bien payés ici... 2000 francs

G.1. On n'est pas bien payés ici... 2000 francs par mois. Alors c'est pas suffisant, parce qu'on travaille le matin jusqu'au soir et le samedi et le dimanche encore, le dimanche n'est pas payé... 32 francs, 35 francs par dimanche.

A.G. Par dimanche, pour toute la journée? Toute la journée. C'est pas payé.

-G.5. s'approche-

G.5. On n'a pas le droit de parler, sans permission.

G.1. Permission de qui?

G.5. Du chef, en tout cas, on ne peut pas parler comme ça.

G.1. Mais non, mais non, mais nous ne sommes pas des esclaves!

G.6. On est des esclaves alors? se forme un groupe—

G.1. Je peux parler à n'importe qui.

G.5. Oui, mais ça, ça c'est en direct, ça!

G.1. Et alors! Il faut justement dire tout ce qu'on pense. Voilà.

G.5. Et alors, parlez!

G.1. Parce qu'il y a beaucoup de choses qui se passent dans le musée et puis il y a beaucoup de personnes dans la direction qu'il ne le savent pas, normalement ils devraient le savoir. Il y a beaucoup de choses qui se font et la direction ne le sait pas, alors... Parce qu'on touche même pas assez, normalement.

G.6. On ne pas assez, on travaille le samedi et le dimanche, et puis on n'a pas le droit de parler.

G.5. Oui, mais ça c'est pas une question du musée, c'est sur l'exposition que le monsieur veut parler. C'est pas sur nos droits!

A.G. Non, non, je veux parler avec vous comme ça, sur tout, et pas sur quelque chose de particulier, qui...

G.6. Si ça vous plaît (rires).

G.5. Ah non, moi, pour ma part, c'est un travail qui me plaît, maintenant il

G.1. Enfin, ça plaît surtout aux gens qui sont âgés, des gens comme madame.

G.5. Je ne suis pas vieille, moi.

G.1. (rires) Parce que ça vous est égal de travailler le samedi, mais moi, ça m'intéresse pas; il y a qui veulent aller danser le samedi.

G.5. Ah moi, je suis veuve, je ne peux pas danser, alors.

G.1. Mais nous, les jeunes,

G.5. Ben, les problèmes de chacun ne sont pas.

G.6. Sont pas les mêmes.

G.5. Vous, vous parlez pour vous, moi, ça m'est égal de travailler, j'ai perdu mon mari, je veux pas aller valser.

A.G. Il y a l'histoire de la paye qui est importante.

G.1. Justement.

G.5. Enfin, ça...

G.6. Tu touches assez d'argent, tu touches même trop, peut-être?

G.5. Je touche assez d'argent? Je touche pour vivre. Je ne gagne pas des milles et des cents, mais je gagne suffisamment pour vivre.

G.6. Tu te contentes de peu, quoi! C'est ça? (rires)

G.5. Aaaaa...

G.6. Tu as bien raison. Tu as bien raison. (rires)

G.5. Moi je sais pas, moi, je peux rien dire. On nous exploite pas, ch. je pense pas!

G.1. Moi, dis-donc, moi, on m'exploite, moi, alors oh là là!

G.5. Eh oui, vous regardez vos problèmes, moi je regarde les miens. Moi je travaille, je dis, merci mon dieu, ch!

G.1. C'est tout?

G.5. Maintenant vous voulez avoir d'autres problèmes, alors, ça c'est à vous, ça c'est à vous de voir. Moi je ne peux pas parler de ça! Moi je ne peux pas parler de ça!

G.6. Tu ne vois pas les choses comme nous.

G.5. Vous, vous avez votre mari et votre paye. Ça fait deux salaires. Moi, je suis toute seule à travailler, je fais vivre ma fille.

G.1. Parce que vous voulez.

G.5. Eh?

G.1. Parce que vous voulez.

G.5. Ah, parce que je veux? Ah oui, je perd mon mari pour que je me refasse une vie!

G.1. Mais biensûr.

G.6. (rit).

G.5. Alors là, je préfère arrêter de parler.

G.1. Vous êtes jeune, vous êtes belle, vous.

G.5. Je suis très bien, vous avez parfaitement raison, mais c'est moi qui ne veux pas d'autre mari, voilà, c'est tout.

G.1. Mais il ne faut pas dire que "j'ai eu un mari et il m'a fait peur"!

G.5. Non, c'est... Je, je ne veux pas. Je ne veux pas, je ne veux pas.

G.1. Ma mère, elle a perdu son mari et voilà, elle a un autre mari.

G.6. Parce que ça lui plaisait.

G.5. Il était trop gentil mon mari, alors j'ai peur de tomber mal, d'avoir un autre homme et de tomber mal. Il avait tout pour lui, mon pauvre mari. C'est pour ça que je ne veux pas me remarier? Et puis ça, ça c'est personnel. Ça c'est des choses qu'on ne doit pas dire.

G.6. Il y a tout dans la phrase (rires).

—le groupe se disperse—.

G.1. Il y a beaucoup qui ont répondu?

A.G. Non, il n'y a pas beaucoup, il y a 2 ou 3 qui ont refusé. Il y a le monsieur, assis sur la chaise, qui a beaucoup parlé, et puis vous, ça va, c'est déjà pas mal.

G.1. Il y a surtout l'augmentation. Surtout pour le dimanche. Normalement, on devrait avoir un week-end, même deux week ends par mois. On peut rester avec non parents, la famille à la maison. Nous on travaille ici, le mari est seul à la maison. Alors c'est pas intéressant, et le lundi, le mardi tout le monde travaille, on ne peut pas aller chez les parents. Puisque les parents travaillent le lundi et le mardi. Et le samedi et le dimanche tout le monde est à la maison, et nous sommes ici, et on fait même pas 2000 francs par mois. On surveille les choses très très chères, des choses qui coûtent très très cher, alors on n'est payés assez. Et puis nous sommes toujours suivis par des chefs. On est pire que les militaires, ici! Les militaires même ont un moment pour la parole. On a pas le droit à la discussion, si on discute, comme ça, voilà le chef tout de suite, et tout le monde à leur postes.

Alexandre Gherban



photo: Alexandre Gherban

# NO BUTTER, NO BUTTER, NO BUTTER: CEAC DRY HUMPS THE AUDIENCE. MOTOR CITY MEETS CEAC: A CONFRONTATION WITH SEARING ANARCHO-FAGGOTRY. ENCOURAGING YONI CONSCIOUSNESS. HETERO CLONES FOR GAY CONSUMPTION: THE AUDIENCE AS SURROGATE SEX VICTIM. WARM IT UP BEFORE YOU EAT IT: MOTOR CITY GETS CRAMPS AND GOES HOME.

They didn't like the wine. The music gave them cramps. They weren't even damp, let alone wet. Bruce was describing brief encounters between consenting adults while CEAC agents dry humped the audience. Alienation was a little bit rampant.

The profound experience of alienation: the alienation of faggots and artists. Dostoevsky's *NOTES FROM UNDERGROUND* is a classic work of alienation. It succeeds in transcending alienation not by the use of an appeasing lubricant but by that act of love and seduction that creates a work of art, that opens us each like a flower, that makes us receptive. Art puts the yoni in the impenetrable brick wall, the crack in the mammon's egg.

We dream of an art that emerges from love and a sense of beauty rather than from a sense of alienation.

There is titillation derived from alienating people as you have been alienated by them. Such an art is impotent and spiteful.

The audience is getting nervous and sore, and CEAC asks, "What is your ideological base? What is the source of your alienation?" If anyone bothered to answer they might have said they were alienated by the image of impersonal sex, by the incompetent foreplay and lack of a lubricant, and by the violence done to their privacy.

If an audience is not to feel righteous in its alienation, then seduction is necessary. An audience not given a resolution will not understand the pettiness of its alienation. An audience not seduced will entrench itself. Who has time for a lousy lover.

One effect of this alienation was that some of the most attentive in the audience, feeling insulted and abused, concluded that CEAC was concerned with a cold, voyeuristic, Warholian observation of behaviour. That is to say, any political stance was lost on the audience.

**MOTOR CITY MEETS CEAC: RADICAL ANARCHO-FAGGOTS IN HOSTILITY AND AGGRESSION INSINUATE THEIR ALIENATION ON COMPLACENT BOVINE AUDIENCE.**

CEAC is an institution in power, and therefore dangerous. Solidarity is rarely a communion and commonly a retreat into fear and alienation, a block with which to wield power: ideology as corporate alienation. The projection of violence is not altruistic but masturbatory and adolescent. The STRIKE image of CEAC is as much adolescent and masturbatory as altruistic: an expression of private violence.

If art is about communication rather than self expression then the expression of personal alienation is a jerk off. Marxist closets, anarchist closets, art closets, cosmic closets: they stink of jerk off.

The alien does not wish to be assimilated. His alienation is his identity.

Music was provided by the Curse. To say that punk rock (in its Toronto incarnation) is petty bourgeoisie alienation is not to say that it is not real alienation, only that it is as flaccid, indulged, and tepid as the bourgeoisie. It is difficult to understand why CEAC aligns itself with such insipid forms. The binding clause appears to be alienation.

**ANOTHER GANG OF SKINNER BOX HOODLUMS OUT TO PASS ON THEIR PROGRAMMING.**

The alien neither understands nor desires a

resolution. A resolution would alienate him. Any part of the alien that is assimilated by the establishment becomes foreign to him. The alien does not wish the acceptance of the establishment, he wishes to restructure the establishment on his own terms.

Every artist not being warmed by the narcotic embrace of the bourgeoisie is prone to alienation from those who are. In our hearts we are all junkies: we want to go home. Though we may take pride in our alienation, flaunt it, we still resent those who have resolved it, by whatever means.

There is always an establishment and always aggressing aliens.

Next Gerard spoke negatively, ate cake, vomited, ate his vomit and chased the audience around the room. In a later interview he claimed to have been trained by a James Dean clone-reject from Captain Videos mondo-revival factory. Then he got hired by that nazi with a club foot fetish, you know, the one that got a Canada Council grant for discipline, precision, and good diction. . . .

And the nerve of those aliens: they imagine, like every ideological idiot in the past, that they are in possession of an ideological sense that will be the final resolution, once they overthrow the opposition, once they become the establishment, imagining that their failure will not be as complete and pitiful as that of the last establishment: once again justifying violence out of pride. Precious egos in political and cosmic closets.

It is a mistake to believe that we are alienated by ideological differences, by different learnings. Ideologies only transfer our alienation, relocating our skin, our fear and our violence. Our skin is the source of our alienation and our skin is not learned.

A child's memory is of the skin's absence, and therefore of alienation's absence. As adults we necessarily embrace our skins and our alienation: to resent the skin is to exacerbate it.

We are to become as little children. That is, we are to embrace the spirit, the skin's absence. But the complexity of adult behaviour is not abnormal or perverted, it is a dealing with the reality of alienation, the skin. The adult may transcend the flesh, not by 'normal behaviour' as defined by the child, but by art and artifice.

**THE REDEMPTION OF CEAC: A MASTERPIECE FOR MURDER CITY. FROM FEAR AND ALIENATION TO TEARS AND TRAGEDY. TWO SOLITUDES ACHE FOR SOLIDARITY, AGAIN, AND AGAIN. MY HEART BREAKS FOR YOU, AND YOU AND OH, FOR ME. BEAUTY FEELS HER FIRST PANGS FOR THE BEAST. FAITH, LIKE A JACKAL, PICKS UP THE BONES. CEAC LIMPS TO THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.**

The back room of Alvin's Finer Delicatessen is alive with revisionist mutterings about behaviour modification in the hands of the haviour modification in the hands of the wrong people. Most of the audience has long since left. Ron, eyes bloodshot and bulging, is attempting to entice the audience to gather around him, to come as little children. He has a story to tell. He wants to tell us that we must become as little children. The audience is hallucinating dada monsters, sex maniacs, purveyors of gratuitous violence. He continues to appeal, his voice hovering somewhere

between sneer and hope, supplication and threat. No one is moving, and he gives it up.

**LET THE LITTLE CHILDREN COME UNTO ME: OR LENNY SNUFFS ANOTHER MOUSE.**

But perhaps now, the audience's heart is breaking. Yes, yes, we do want to be as little children: but oh, look what you've done to us. We've been trained: skinner box monsters, acting from skinner box wisdom. Toronto's gang of skinner box hoodlums has bequeathed its programming on Detroit.

But the alienation of the audience is no longer righteous and hostile, it is tragic and ashamed. Alienation is recognized as universal tragedy. A violence that we all share in brings us together, makes of us conspirators, brethren. The two solitudes ache for one another: the Motor City Princess feels her first pangs for the Beast, and sheds a tear. Now ain't that a miracle, ain't that a masterpiece?

**YOU PUKED ON MY FLOOR AND FOULED MY LIFE, YOU BUGGERED MY SON AND DEGRADED MY WIFE: BUT YES, OH YES, I DO LOVE YOU, AND I'LL REMEMBER YOU ALWAYS. . . .**

Faith, like a jackal, picks up the bones, still hoping for love.

But probably I'm dreaming. This audience is about as yoni as a parking lot, as a car accident: as a bucket full of glass. . . .

Anyway, enter the Buddha, hope for the survivors. The proud and the sure, the liberal and the rational, have all gone home. The lame shall enter first.

**RADICAL NEO BUDDHISM: LILIES IN THE COSMIC CLOSET.**

The Buddha has learned to program the world as it programs her. The Buddha has learned to project the world as it projects her. The Buddha understands herself to be both parent and child, bound to the world in a MARRIAGE WHOSE INTIMACY precludes the concepts of violence and alienation.

The Buddha wants to know: how may we do violence to our audience's world-myth, their belief in and attachment to the material world without fomenting a reactionary alienation, without entrenching the audience in their materialist ideologies, congealing and reinforcing the solidity and opacity of their world view: without clotting their blood?

There is no answer because every world view is false, another false congealing, a retreat into impenetrable surface and alienation. Both love and war are an exacerbation of surface, copulation: but war also consolidates and congeals the opposing bodies and love of the flesh never succeeds in its attempts at union.

The solution is not of this world. The solution is of that spirit which uses us as a mouthpiece through which to howl. The solution is in the praise of that spirit, in a recognition of the violence we do that spirit by maintaining our flesh, and by the realization that we have been provided and blessed with an inclination to love: as the only tool availing us a possible redemption of the flesh.

A preoccupation with love, concerned as it is with our live's wholeness, with communion and communication, can make of our lives a miracle. A preoccupation with the split, the flesh, with matter and the skin's surface, is by its nature counter productive: it is a preoccupation with alienation, the clockwork unfolding of death.

Tom Dean.



# VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH CHARLOTTE HILDEBRAND AND LE GROUPE DE LA PLACE ROYALE (AND ETC.) REFLECT THE DISEASED STATE OF CANADIAN DANCE



collage: Peter Dudar

(Disease: An abnormal condition of an organism or part, esp. as a consequence of infection, inherent weakness or environmental stress, that impairs normal physiological functioning.

Infection: Invasion of a bodily part by pathogenic microorganisms.

Invade: 1. To enter by force in order to conquer or overrun 2. To encroach or intrude upon 3. To infest 4. To enter and spread harm through.)

OR, COMMENTARIES DERIVED FROM THE SELECTION OF PERFORMERS FOR "LOOKING AT DANCE—LIVE" AT THE ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO

("This program was never intended as a survey of Canadian dance. As a matter of fact, the Canadian inclusions were strictly gratuitous, uh,..." "Listen, we're funded primarily by the government of Canada; it's our responsibility to throw in a couple of Canadian acts." STRICTLY HYPOTHETICAL STATEMENTS)

Let me make my position on dance clear. I hate it. That's why I'm trying to replace it with something else. The dancer prototype is perfectly described in this passage from HAGAKURE by Jocho Yamamoto (written in the early 1600's in reference to Samurai):

"A man who earns a reputation for being skilled at a technical art is idiotic. Because of his foolishness in concentrating his energies on one thing, he has become good at it by refusing to think of anything else. Such a person is of no use at all."

Le Groupe de la Place Royale embody this concept (along with the National Ballet, Toronto Dance The-

atre, etc.) The administrators of these organizations have one motivation: MONEY (and the power which its possession implies). THAT'S ALL. Anything else they say is SHIT.

Anyway, before diverging too far, I should state that this is intended as a general overview of dancey things and not a comprehensive review of the A.G.O. dance series.

(Interesting, the selection, though - two-thirds of the program consisted of foreigners.)

I only went to the performances with the Canadian group Le Groupe de la Place Royale; and the American, Charlotte Hildebrand. Trisha Brown I'd seen a couple of times in the United States previously.

I have to diverge here. The following are general instructions on how to form a New York style avant-garde dance group. First of all, it's best to be born in the States. For, unlike Americans arriving here, a Canadian has absolutely no rights, privileges, or access to government funding. In Canada, however, you can feel free to lift American ideas indiscriminately since their style is not yet firmly entrenched here. Take a few classes with Merce Cunningham or one of his former students—that's a must. You have to be a girl (though a trendy variation here is to throw in a little Steve Paxton type contact improvisation)—do try to keep your figure nice and trim—the cuter you are, the better. Devise a series of moves particularly suitable for your body, and put them together in such a way that your dance will have a structured look (it's the keep them counting approach). That's important because you really don't have anything else to communicate. (Though there is the Yvonne Rainer variation in



which you throw in allusions as to how fucked up your love life is.) Now find a group of girls who don't look nearly as good as you do, or move as well—and have them memorize your repertoire of moves. Don't worry, they won't be in your league in luring audience attention.

Now, the look: recognizably dancey, you know, maybe leotards and terry cloth pants (as a rule, everyone should wear matching outfits), and maybe running shoes. After all, Twyla Tharp is into Adidas, you know.

Neat and austere—that's what you're striving for. (Admittedly, there is the Meredith Monk variation, heavy on theatre. Consider voice lessons for you and your crew.) Some makeup would look good under the lights.

Study up on Lucinda Childs, the aforementioned Trisha Brown, Laura Dean, and so on. (If you were American and had their earning potential, you might even be taken on by Performing Arts Services in Westbeth, their mutual manager.) Be a bit disdainful of Twyla Tharp since everyone knows she's sold out.

But, about Trisha Brown specifically. Remember the article about Trisha in *Artscanada* a couple of years back. *Artscanada*, huh? Anyway, on the night of her performance of the same old stuff she's been doing for years it was a question of either going or watching the Shanghai Ballet who at least seem to have a good reason to be doing what they're doing, on television. So I didn't go.

Maybe I should put things in order. Trisha (nice, my career was supported by my mother, upper middle/bourgeois class name) wasn't first on the program. David Earle, Danny Grossman (New York, American), and members of the Toronto Dance Theatre were first. As you might well guess from my intro, I gave up on them I don't know how many years ago. Actually I should partially credit them with confirming my decision to get involved with choreography. It was an "anything I can think of has to be better than this," reaction.

Danny Grossman—yes, well last time I saw him he was sucking up to an Ontario Arts Council officer to stomach-wrenching excess. I'm sure he would have been on his knees, but the officer was a lady. I have this idea that a choreographer's everyday integrity in his work. So fuck Danny Grossman.

(BY THE WAY, I DON'T MEAN TO POINT HIM OUT AS AN UNUSUAL CASE.)

Next on the program: Sara Rudner (American), whoever she is. Apparently she danced with Twyla Tharp (note the running shoes in Sara's photo on the poster). Let's imagine this conversation:

- We could get Sara Rudner.
- Who's she?
- Well I don't know anything about her work, but according to her management, she used to be with Twyla Tharp.
- Well then, she must be good. Think we could get her for a thousand plus expenses?

I looked at her photo and thought, "a typical New York choreographer who gets a bunch of girls together

who don't look as good as...", then, "it's not really fair to assume all this from a god-damned photo". Never saw the performance though, it was sold out.

Speaking of sold out, the American Charlotte Hildebrand was on the next program with *Le Group de la etc.* Charlotte is the typical case of the American with insufficient talent to make it back home who comes to Canada where the derivations in her work aren't immediately recognizable by most.

(I know you're going to get pissed off at me for what I'm saying about you, Charlotte. But, fuck it, it's true.)

Charlotte's piece was basically the New York stereotype with mostly Meredith Monk variations. Cliche props: chair, television, hanging light bulbs (I wondered if she'd borrowed one of the light bulbs from Elizabeth Chitty who'd used a similar set-up a couple of years ago). A few leaps were thrown in to impress the audience. Badly done; ah, well. A few lines were recited with southern American accents: "When I was a young girl, I thought that love", sorry, it was more like, "When ah wuz ay...". (Basic Yvonne Rainer variation.) The most entertaining aspect of the piece was that a couple of the dancers with bigger tits than your standard dance model (refer to *Standard Female Dance Physique*, 1977 by George Balanchine) tended to bounce quite a bit when they got moving—but, we're not supposed to notice this. The other part I liked was the flash of a car's headlights through a crack in the curtains. I think Charlotte could have improved the piece dramatically by turning the TV set around so the audience could watch it while she and the girls played around.

Some audience members applauded mildly at the end though they didn't know what the fuck was going on, but figured that there must have been something in it because it was programmed by the AGO, and in a place as big as the AGO they must know what they're doing.

I'd predicted earlier that strategically it was a bad move for Charlotte to be billed with *Le Groupe de la etc.* because they would outclass her technically, and audiences generally recognize and love technique. What distracted from the pleasurable element in *Le Groupe's* physical display was the fact that the piece was obviously choreographed and performed by morons. They played around and made funny noises like happy, carefree natives on an island somewhere in the South Pacific. It was sickening. Most of my acquaintances left, they COULD NOT TAKE IT. I forced myself to stay, thinking, "I can't believe how bad this is, but if I force myself to sit through it (and it went on, and on, and on), the more justified I can feel in wreaking vengeance. And these assholes deserve it."

By the way, *Le Groupe de la etc.* recently moved to Ottawa where the Canada Council is, and away from Montreal where the Quebecois are.

Anyway, back to the piece (I can't describe it in detail, I can't). Apparently it had cosmic implications, because as the performers exited, the choreographer kept saying things like, "Alpha Centauri is x zillion light years away, Andromeda is..." I wanted to say, "Jean Pierre Perrault is a jerkoff, and he's only several meters away." But, I didn't. I really regret that.

Some of those that remained applauded enthusiastically-

ly because they felt the rest of us couldn't appreciate "avant-garde" concepts. What a laugh.

BUT WITHOUT THESE CHANGES, QUEBEC—AS ALL THE REST OF CANADA—CANNOT AVOID BUT WITHOUT THESE CHANGES, QUEBEC—AS ALL THE REST OF CANADA—CANNOT AVOID HEADING TOWARD ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES. ECONOMICALLY THIS ANNEXATION IS FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES ACCOMPLISHED. CULTURALLY THE PROCESS IS WELL UNDER WAY. POLITICALLY, IT IS ONLY A QUESTION OF TIME.

NO, THE CANADIAN UNITY CRISIS IS NOT CAUSED BY THE LEVESQUE GOVERNMENT, NOR BY QUEBECOIS NATIONALISM. IT IS THE RESULT OF THE COLONIZATION OF CANADA BY THE UNITED STATES.

Pierre Vallieres  
U.S. 'colonialism' is more a threat to Canada than the PQ

Toronto Star, Nov 16/77

(To be continued)

PETER DUDAR



photo: Gerard Pas

# ***LANDING IN ENEMY TERRITORY***



photo: Len Hum

**IL DOSSIER DELLA NUOVA  
CONTESTAZIONE, 1977**  
edited by Felice Froio  
published by Mursia, editore  
via Tadino 29  
Milano, Italy

The 'Dossier' presents in a chronological order the texts, statements, posters and leaflets with a radical tendency during the student revolt of '77 in Italy. The radical activity took place in Bologna, Milan, Rome, Florence, where the greatest confrontation with the police force and the reactionary institutions occurred. The student revolt of '77 was different from the one in '68. It dealt with the disastrous unemployment situation, class differentiation, the misuse/underuse of public buildings and housing. The new situation among the political files of the Italian government is also different now than it was in the '60's. The disaffection of the students towards the governing left created the ultra-leftism first, then denounced the 'left' as the collaborationist body to the right wing. The experience with the historical compromise to have to proceed along moderation and the support of a fundamentally capitalist system, in favor of the industrialists and the new bourgeoisie. The Italian youth are not concerned with delayed strategies, but they seek the immediate, day to day concreteness of reality, their needs and their survival, and not the ideological promise of an improved future. At this point there is no referent political ideology that can satisfy the pressure of reality, but the action that can modify social relationships. It is the urban guerrilla that has questioned the political effectiveness of traditional governmental structures. As Felice Froio briefly describes in his introduction to the documentation, the language used in these texts is more disturbing than the one of ordinary mass communication. As a social document of a politically evolved nation, the 'Dossier' is extremely important and we are glad that it exists.

**MONTAGE: JOHN HEARTFIELD**  
vom Club Dada zur Arbeiter-illustrierten  
Zeitung by Eckhard Siepmann, 1977  
Elefanten Press Galerie  
Berlin/Hamburg

The frenzy of German acculturation by the western countries goes hand in hand with the historical digging of the vanguard subcultures as operating in the first half of the 20th century. John Heartfield's Montages, the object of this book, belong to the heroic period of German avantgardism: from Dada to the pre-war social realism. On a formal level Heartfield's collages, photomontages and illustrations, usually for radical and underground magazines, have represented some of the strongest political illustrations to-date, some of which 'celebre' European tyrants. His illustrations were banned during Nazi Germany because they attacked directly the Nazi regime, the Fascism in Spain and Italy, and ideologically allied with Russian revolutionaries. The combination of slogans, photography and assemblage are manipulated by Heartfield in a genial manner to make a critical point powerfully clear, sometimes depicting the humour and the violence of fascist regimes. As a member of the Berlin/German Dada group he represents the most extreme committed artistic position of the quasi anarchic 'art' (sic) group that was Dadaism. Recommended for beginners and a must for school teachers.

#### UNFAIR TO YOUNG PEOPLE

A youth liberation pamphlet or how the public schools got the way they are.  
by Robert Peterson  
published by Youth Liberation Press  
2007 Washtenaw Avenue  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104

In this booklet, 'Bob Peterson steps back into history to uncover the origins of our present day problems. His findings are illuminating. Mass public education emerged at about the same time as the giant corporations did—and it wasn't by coincidence. The corporations encouraged and molded the schools, as much as they could, to meet their own needs. Guidance counseling, the tracking system, junior high schools, and even recess were invented or manipulated to serve corporations, which needed a disciplined, obedient labor force. Today the corporations, aided by principals and school boards, are still at it.'

As few books have done so far, this booklet take the question 'Why are we socialized in a specific way? How are we socialized? What effect does it have on us as people and our society as a whole? And furthermore, what else does the school system do?'

Behavioural training starts at an early age.



**FIFTH ESTATE**  
4403 Second Avenue  
Detroit, MI 48201

Radical/anarchic tabloid mastering language, information on terrorism, with a humorous vein and cynicism. It declares in its December, 1977, editorial, the ideological stance has shifted from New Left to Maoism, from Anarchism to 'its current perspectives'. We hope that their influence can be felt in schools among younger readers. Its pages are filled with criticism as a fine art about repression and exploitative methods, whether through a 'Lottery system' that robs poorer people under the expectation of chance rewards, or prisons. Attempts to resolve such a system are reported in 'news' about teenagers trying to poison school principals or essays on 'punk rock'.

#### SCUM MANIFESTO

The Correct Edition, 1977  
by Valerie Solanas

The Scum Manifesto is the 'Presentation of the rationale and program of action of SCUM (Society for Cutting Up Men), which will eliminate through sabotage all aspects of society not relevant to women (everything), bring about a complete female take-over, completely automate, eliminate the male sex and begin to create a far-out, funky female world.'

The thesis exposed is extremely powerful and controversial in the context of contemporary reality. Here are some of the statements from the text: 'To be male's to be deficient; emotionally limited; maleness is a deficiency disease and males are emotional cripples'. 'After the elimination of money, there'll be no further need to kill men; they'll be stripped of the only power they have over psychologically independent females'.

Strategically SCUM proposes the disruption of the economy, by withdrawing from the labor force, and withdrawing from the consumer force which is replaced by looting. 'SCUM won't picket, demonstrate, march or strike to attempt to achieve its ends', 'if SCUM ever marches, it'll be over the President's face; if SCUM ever strikes, it'll be in the dark with six inch blades.'

If Marinetti's 'Futurist manifesto' in 1909 was the revolutionary text for the first half of the twentieth century, Valerie Solanas' SCUM is the polemical document for the second half of the twentieth century.

#### WIE ALLES ANFING

(How it all began) or the personal account of a West German Urban Guerrilla  
by Bommi Baumann, 1977  
Pulp Press  
Box 48806 Station Bentall  
Vancouver, Canada

'Others should understand why people take the road of armed struggle, how they come to it, how the seeds are planted, and what the emotions behind it are, what kind of considerations and psychic preconditions are needed to overcome the fear involved.'

The terrorist trend, sophisticated and 'effective' in its overcoming the fear of repressive social systems, is at our doorstep, ready to explode in all its rage. As a method, it lends itself to popular use, easy to improvise when required or needed. Barricades, squatting, disruptions and the refusal to cooperate with the bourgeois economic system are the traditional methods that the new generation adopts in the re-organization of self-designed societies. In WIE ALLES ANFING, we read the development from a conditioned Bommi Baumann to one that challenges an established political domination. Although the book lacks any manifestation of a clear 'programme' of intentions and even though Baumann uses a chauvinist late '60's male language that is a reflection of his own personal development, we still think that the gut response to reactionary power structures is made clear in the book.

The original German book was published by Trikont Verlag, Munich, in 1975 and confiscated by the German police. The repression exercised by the police happened, however, at a time when Germany had emerged as an economically powerful nation.



# I DON'T KNOW IF YOU BELIEVE THIS COULD ACTUALLY HAPPEN IN THE ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO



Lily Eng and I had been scheduled to perform at 9:00pm on Thur Nov 17/77 at the AGO. We arrived—the programs read 9:30pm. But, actually, we didn't get started until 9:45 because I had some film in the program, and the lights couldn't be turned off in the surrounding hallways of Walker Court until 10:00pm closing time.

As Lily entered to do her solo number, I reminded her to make it at least 15 minutes. A security guard approached the 2 martial artists in one of my pieces and asked what was wrong. Derek and Henry said, "Nothing." The guard then asked what THAT WOMAN (Lily) was doing. "Performing," they answered. "No she's not!" he responded, and stormed into Lily's performing area. She was lying on her back at the time. He said something and tried to grab her arm. She pulled away, her lips moving. All I could make out was "Get the fuck out of my performing space!" He drew back (he seemed to be contemplating charging in), noticed the 150 or so people staring at him, then exited, so to speak.

Lily went on a bit, then laughed maniacally a couple of times. Again she continued, throwing in a few flashy moves to demonstrate that she can do anything she wants. Then she addressed the audience:

Every time I come into this fucking place the fucking security guards harass me. Well if you want to get me out you'll have to fucking come and drag me out!

This was soon followed by an announcement over the loudspeaker system that the gallery was closing immediately.

A small girl began imitating Lily by rolling around in the carpeted hallway. A security guard told her to cut it out.

With the lights at last off, I showed *Crash Points 2*, at the Berlin Wall, the details of which I don't want to into because I'm tired of it.

Lily went into Graham's Surgical Supplies in the Medical Building at Bloor and St. George on Monday morning to be measured for a spinal brace. It was ready Thursday morning. We whipped together some ideas on the afternoon of the performance, and called the piece, *Labor and Management* (in the developing stages).

When she was set I roundhoused Lily quite loudly in both ribcages, moving her a couple of feet to each side in each instance, then sidekicked her in the small of the back where normally it really hurts. The steel pieces in the brace took most of the shock, and the leather binding helped emphasize the sound.

I noticed that Grant Strate who's presently teaching at York University left after this piece. I was embarrassed last time I met him because I couldn't remember who he was.

A friend of mine, Margaret, said something that triggered off an idea for another piece:

Lily looked quite uncomfortable, as if she were in a strait-jacket.

Then it went on to the sparring match with Henry and Derek. In contrast to the vicious intent of their actions, I mentioned afterward that I really liked the part in the film segment of the piece where they put their arms around each other. It was a simultaneous projection, 2 screen film with a left and right soundtrack. The performers' actions had been filmed from opposite sides with 2 cameras (actually a third camera was involved in the shooting, but this footage is

being reserved for version 2 of this piece which is called **PENETRATED**). The 2 images and soundtracks are supposed to begin in sync, and then separate increasingly further with each edit in the film. The last part of the film has 2 completely different sequences juxtaposed. The movement is so fast and furious that as the images separate you have to resort to listening to screaming on the left speaker, followed by the same scream on the right to piece movements together. It's a simultaneous flash forward, instant replay situation.

Derek's cocoa skin tones and dreadlocks, contrasted with Henry's Aryan features are really nice; part 3 will have Lily Eng taking on another female.

The conversation took place at the end. It's interesting to note that we were the first performers ever at the Art Gallery of Ontario to draw in working class persons (including Chinese from the surrounding community) along with the usual AGO audience; and yet we're the most advanced choreographers in this country. We're also the only Toronto choreographers to come from working class families.

I initiated the whole thing by asking if there were any immediate questions about the preceding pieces, which there weren't because there usually aren't many immediately. So, I mentioned something about second class treatment of independent Canadian choreographers in their own country to give people time to think. The bureaucrats took off immediately; and not just AGO bureaucrats.

Amerigo started screaming with someone about the people looking down on us from the members lounge with drinks in hand, and being middle class; but left soon afterwards because he found it hard to resist the urge to punch her. John Faichney said he felt a fight would have made everything perfect.

Somebody asked if the last film should have been in sync at the beginning. I said yes it should, that it was equipment failure, but that I edited with non-sync projectors in mind because usually they were all I could get. We just weren't given time to test anything.

It's ironic that I ended up using these projectors because they were initially built for Michael Snow's **Two Sides to Every Story**, in which I'd performed, and they would never have built them just for me. (Wyn and somebody else mentioned afterward that they thought **Crash Points 2** was the best 2 screen projection film they'd seen since Andy Warhol's **Chelsea Girls**. Admittedly, it's true.)

I think I also mentioned something about the inability of Canadian choreographers to deal with social reality. And of how it was generally assumed that dancers should be inarticulate. And of how dancers were usually presented as mythological beings aloof (and in their own minds, disdainful) from an audience.

As soon as it was obvious that we'd finished, Kate McCabe, superintendent of the live events, approached me from the outer lobby and said with her eyes askance:

I heard from someone that you said that we didn't give you as much publicity as the others.

I replied:

That wasn't what I said. I said that I assumed the gallery had given us all the same sort of publicity, but

that certain major media such as the Star had chosen to pass on information about everyone on the program but us. It was an example of how Canadian independent choreographers, as opposed to American, get second class treatment in the media.

I couldn't believe it. Not 5 minutes after the discussion, I was getting misquotes from the person who was officially supposed to have overseen the whole thing. (I seriously hope they don't fire her. She's uncertain a lot, but her intentions are basically good, and that's the most important thing.)

I forgot to add to my reply that though we may have had equal publicity, we (and Charlotte Hildebrand, who's presently residing in Toronto) were paid less than the imported choreographers on the program. This has to be corrected in future.

Afterwards I sat in the members' lounge briefly with one of the persons who had fled:

I enjoyed your show, but I had to leave at the conversation part because it got into money, and I'm tired of people talking about money. As a matter of fact, I was talking about money, but it was video money, all day today.

I don't remember if I said anything immediately, but I do remember thinking, when it was too late, that I should have said right then:

Oh, Lily thought it was because you were afraid of her.

Just to see what sort of reaction it would get.

There was something else I said in reply to an earlier question. I said that individuals and public institutions should at least be willing to listen and reply to criticism. That criticism, even when apparently mean and nasty, can be a revitalizing force.

And that the practices of anyone unwilling to face that interchange were highly questionable.

And that we need artists with attitudes of strength.

PETER DUDAR

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Bruce made a joke the other day: he suggested kidnapping a couple of AGO administrators for ransom, collecting the money, and then killing them anyway.

I said they'd probably just put extortion money on their next request from the Canada Council.

# THE FANTASY OF A CONTINUOUS ERECTION IS THE STONE THAT PHALLOCRATIC BEHAVIOUR TRIPS OVER

This work began from a consideration and observation of phallic behaviour on both the individual and collective levels.

After putting together the basic elements of the piece (a scale model of the Hindenburg disaster and a vaginal-shaped area formed by the title), I began the two consecutive parts that would bring it to completion. The first part consisted of sitting within the vaginal-shaped area (the only verbal part of the piece). Once there, I began vigorously boring a hole between my legs in the center of this space, with mallet and chisel, until I could no longer lift the mallet. Then I went over to the scale model of the Hindenburg and proceeded to

burn it for 37 seconds (the actual time it took for the real blimp to vanish from the face of the earth). The boring of the hole was an allusion to compulsive phallic behaviour for extra-sexual reasons as a means for individual assertion. Also the objectification of others as a medium of this assertion implies an objectification of one's self and in the long run, a dissolution of identity, a flight from one's capacity to communicate, an increase in aggression toward one's self and toward others

This view offers more than similarities to phallocratic and repressive social structures, especially when they get totally out of hand, i.e. Nazi Germany. In the context of national-

istic and political aggression the sexual aspects are, of course, sublimated and the mechanisms of self-assertion are apparently different although I can't think of any racist or even chauvinistic attitude stripped of sexual implications.

The Hindenburg was Hitler's soft sell propaganda item in the years that preceded World War II. It was burned to ashes in 1937 in New Jersey from unknown causes, although it is that the disaster was produced by anti-Nazi sabotage. The Nazi regime survived one of its phallic symbols eight years before total and self-inflicted annihilation.

Francisco Torres 1977.



photo: Francisco Torres



# IX INTERNATIONAL OPEN VIDEO ENCOUNTER OR CLOSED ENCOUNTER OF THE THIRD WORLD



photo: Saul Goldman

The opening of the 1st Mexican and the IXth International Open Video Encounter, co-ordinated by the CAYC, Argentina, and the Colegio Nacional de la Comunicacion at the Museum Alvar Y Carmen Carrillo Gil in Mexico City was presented in the midst of contradictions: oligarchy and the extreme poverty of contemporary Mexico. The Encounter happened simultaneously with the discovery of enormous oil reserves in the state of Chiapas, Southern Mexico. The U.S. will obviously assume direct control of these resources and continue its training of 'professionals' in Latin America.

The white population maintains total control of the economy and the politics of Mexico. The indigenous 'indio' population amounts to 72% of the total Mexican population, and does not interfere with the white population's politics. Feudal servitilism, low wages, class division are a prevalent sight in Mexico. Certainly the Acapulco hotel environment is not the mean average for the Mexican Indian.

Mexico City, 13 million inhabitants, is a city of modernist museums: the Bellas Artes, the Arte Moderno, the University of Mexico, the Carrillo Gil. The Carrillo Gil, recently built and a replica of Le Corbusier's Villa at Garches, allowed the following American artists to install video environments: Shigeo Kubota, Nam June Paik, Les Levine, Roger Welch, Allan Kaprow, Dennis Oppenheim, as well as Latin American artists Leopoldo Maler and Felipe Ehrenberg. Others present at the Encounter were John Baldessari, Robert Walker

(U.S.), and the CEAC contingent of artists Saul Goldman, Liza Burroughs, Keith Machattie, and critic Sandra Shaul. Few were the students. Numerous were the bureaucrats and museum agents. Shigeo Kubota, during the first day of the conference, explained how she became involved in video, moving from Japan to New York. She finally decided to work with Jonas Mekas of the Anthology Film Archives, willingly so because he (Mekas) was not an American. She went on to say that she did work with Navajo women and she professed anti-American feelings (sic). Nam June Paik, less wordy and more hermetic, told the public of some ancient Chinese tale and then relapsed into silence. The CEAC group raised some questions, concerning the following points: 'Is there evidence of the perpetuation of economical interests through technological domination from one culture into another? What is the meaning of cultural imperialism and how do we recognise when one compromises oneself in the collaboration with a dominant class? And how do we understand the mechanics of exploitation between classes? When are artists and artists' works used in strengthening the power of the elites for a furthering of a class division? How does the artist participate to the culture of repression? Having come to a video event to engage in a discussion of ideological practice and to share experience about offsetting the domination of any established culture, we found a great deal of institutional paranoia and collaborationism with the U.S.' The introduction of a new medium such as video would widen the gap between the cultural elites and the depressed poor.

THE CEAC PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING TAPES TO THE IXTH INTERNATIONAL VIDEO ENCOUNTER:

HARVEY CHAO "Kuwait 1977"  
colour, sound, 1/2"

FERI CIMILAR "Sunglasses"  
B&W, sound, 3/4"

BILL JACKSON "A Visualization of Music"  
colour, sound, 3/4"

HILEN HAND "My Voice"  
B&W, sound, 1/2"

HARRI PALM "Bellwoods Park"  
colour, sound, 1/2"

SAUL GOLDMAN "Waves"  
colour, sound, 3/4"

SAUL GOLDMAN "Modulation"  
colour, sound, 3/4"

TOM SIHERMAN "Television's human nature"  
colour, sound, 1/2"

LIZA BURROUGHS "Flicker"  
colour, sound, 1/2"

KEITH MACHATTIE "Other Flight Trainees"  
B&W, sound, 3/4"

## STARBABIES

Michael and Arlene Levine are the producers of STARBABIES and were the producers of the BEARDED LADY SHOW from the previous year. Starbabies and the Bearded Lady Show are directly interconnected. While the 'bearded lady' was a live performance by Bob Star of Chicago, alias the Bearded Lady, and Oh Those Pants as they were in 1976. The original show included a huge crowd of people that had come to see what the Bearded Lady would have done and perhaps were disappointed about the performance itself. But the great point of allowing participation to the large gathering was the greatest merit of the live show. The bizarre response by the diversified audience became the focus of the evening of music and drag show. Starbabies takes all the footage, the videotaped and the visual material from the live show and creates a multi-media complex collage packaged for a one hour long media spectacle.

The intention of the re-creation of the event was very ambitious in terms of putting together a tight show from the endless amounts of material at the Levine's disposal. They wanted to present a media image of a media product: the bearded lady. First we should

wonder why the bearded lady is a media product and a 'monster', 'Frankenstein myth in drag'. Bob Star is indeed a very common man that enjoys performing, that enjoys the outrageous and the out of the normal as expressed in the fancy costumed posturing that is the outcome of a rich fantasy. The playfulness of the acts, the self-indulgent attitude of the performer were less disturbing than other drag shows, possibly not even disturbing at all. Another celebre transvestite, Divine, acts far more aggressively and for an effect.

Surely transvestism is less effective today than it was a year or five years ago, when the glitter drag shows were more in vogue sweeping from the east to the west coast, as enacted by people like the Coquettes. We are now more detached from those images, and while admitting that sexual and gay liberation have made an impact on assaulting our sexist view of the world, we are bored by the image of a man that performs a fantasy of a transformed sexual identity. There exists a lot of repression that does not allow for fully exploring the subconscious desires. The detachment is a rational judgement. We are detached because we do not want to play that contradiction of

identities. There exist negative connotations by selecting hyperfemale attitudes. On the positive scale, we know that the condition of the 'woman' as exemplified in sexist and feudal societies is the outcome of a cultural binding, of an exploitative relationship between sexes and age groups. The dominated have to play a submissive role with the whole set of rules and customs.

But indirectly the bearded lady is not really posturing that attitude. For some reason I could equate the b.l.'s with the highly narcissistic poses of the aborigines (whose adults are also bearded and make up their faces and bodies with bright colours). The acts of incantation of the aborigines must have been very to the mystification of roles that the b.l. performs as a survival mechanism.

The media overload of the show is not bothersome, however, and having seen all the executions, I would say that at times, the media presentation was fully an obvious piece of information. It would have and still does tend to be a broadcastable video piece. Its pace moves along quickly and smoothly, unlike a great deal of conceptual video.



# ARTISTIC SQUARE METER

## COMMUNIQUE

**WHEN NEWSWEEK CENSORS ADVERTISING:** an illustration of the role played by hidden forces in our advanced liberal society.

This past September, French artist Fred FOREST pursuing his critical artistic work, launched a new action using three international newspapers, "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE", "LE MONDE" and NEWSWEEK. He intended to publish a large ad in each, mocking speculative practices in art and real estate through the "Artistic Square Meter": a piece of land one meter by one meter whose artistic quality is determined by FOREST himself.

On September 19th, "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE" in Germany and "LE MONDE" in France published the ad, as scheduled.

But not the U.S. Executive Edition of NEWSWEEK (Part of the Washington Post group) which finally refused, after first having accepted and recorded the order through London offices as no. 48. To make matters worse, the artist and his lawyer, Mr. Paul LOMBARD were only officially notified of the refusal on September 21st, two days after the advertisement should normally have appeared.

Here is the sequence of events:

1—August 18th: NEWSWEEK accepts FOREST's advertisement.

2—August 22nd: NEWSWEEK issues an exceptional demand for deposit of a check equivalent to the price of publishing the ad—duly met by FOREST.

3—August 29th: Paris receives by teletype an order to reject the ad: "Advertisement not in conformity with NEWSWEEK standards." Paris, surprised, requests that New York explain its refusal; New York advances two arguments:

- a) American law does not allow direct appeals to readers for funds. (This is in no way the ad's objective.)
- b) The ad's title, "Buy France Piece by Piece"

considered as deceptive advertising.

In order to clear up any ambiguities in the interpretation of his text, and obtain the authorization to publish, FOREST proposes to change the copy, making clear that he is not asking readers to send money. He also accepts to modify the accroche which becomes: "Buy A Piece of France".

New York offices immediately wire their approval of the new version for publication on September 19th.

4—September 5th: New cable from New York arrives in Paris offices demanding details of the financial status of the Artistic Square Meter Real Estate Company. FOREST furnishes all required information, including legal references, and requests NEWSWEEK to get directly in touch with his lawyer if necessary.

5—On September 21st NEWSWEEK sends a registered letter containing the check deposited by Fred FOREST and the following statement: "We deeply regret to inform you that your ad which was scheduled to appear on September 19th was not published. In spite of the numerous exchanges of memos and teletypes between Paris and New York, and the turns, which you know too well, that this affair has taken (changes in the accroche and the copy), we have run up against the inadequate information concerning the financial structure of your company. As a result, the editor, applying the "acceptancy clause" has decided not to publish your advertisement in our forthcoming issue. Time and distance worked against an agreement, and you may be certain that we deplore this."

Is there any need for further comment? All year long, NEWSWEEK publishes pages full of ads from numerous firms, particularly from I.T.T., without ever "running up against the inadequate information concerning the financial structure" of these companies.



## POSITIONING AT THE ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO.

Re: Looking at Dance—Live—Missing Associates.

Peter and I went to the AGO on November 14th to check out the lighting and equipment situation. Kate McCabe and Peter were on the steps of Walker Court discussing some detail, while I was walking around the steps checking out the spatial possibilities. All of a sudden, one of the guards yells at me in a most curt fashion to "STAY WITH THE GROUP". I informed him I was "checking out the space".

Another guard approached the first one who said to this one, "someone should tell her that she can set off the alarms". Now instead of just plain telling me all this, he has to be rude and indirect about it.

November 17th was performance day. It turns out that Peter can't get larger boards for projection of his two films, "CRASH POINTS 2" and "PENETRATED". He couldn't do a run through for the films as another presentation was happening in the space. Supposedly, the two projectors were synced up for both films (they were used for Michael Snow's "TWO SIDES TO EVERY STORY" recently shown at the National Gallery in Ottawa, and in which Peter and I both performed. Missing Associates were slated for a 9:00 performance. The programme said 9:30. But we didn't actually start until just before 10:00, as the lights couldn't be turned off until after that time.

Okay, Derek, Henry, and I were sitting on the steps as were the audience members. I rolled down the steps to start my performance. As I'm lying on the floor (I had my eyes closed) I heard this voice saying "Do you mind getting back on the steps?" I bolted straight up and said, "I'm performing". The security guard replied, "No, you're not", I really couldn't believe this was happening. Within a second, I exploded and swore at him, "If you want to get me out of here, you're going to have to carry me out. Either that, or get the fuck out of my performance space". It was really incredible. This has never happened to me before. I've performed all over Canada, twice in Europe (and at Documenta 6) as well. And it takes a performance on home turf for this kind of treatment. Not only that, but my performance psyche was rather jolted, to say the least. I remember doing some rather dancey moves after the man left. Maybe it was in anger or maybe I was thinking, "What does he want?" "Can't he tell that I'm doing something?" or "Do I have to have on a tutu and pointes or some elaborate lighting?" Maybe I should have had several women dressed in casual post-modern dancewear to establish some sort of credibility as a performer/choreographer.

Anyhow, I finished that piece to allow Peter to show "CRASH POINTS 2 (at the Berlin Wall)", a film made last year based on earlier choreographic ideas presented in another movement medium, the camera.

It was my turn again. The piece was called **LABOUR AND MANAGEMENT** and was based on an idea by Peter and choreographed by Peter and myself. I got myself fitted into a Harris spinal brace earlier in the week and only got it that Thursday morning. I wore it for a couple of hours to get used to it. Peter and I worked out some possibilities for this contraption. Anyhow, I put it on in front of the audience and stretched both arms to shoulder level. Peter came on and side kicked the small of my back sending me travelling a short distance. He then proceeded to round house my sides, to "send me on my way". The rest was improvised movements. The brace restricted some of my movements and made others somewhat grotesque. I found it challenging to restrict myself and work out of a definite structure. It was hard to do leaps and turns at the spine. It was easier doing movements on the floor. I found that rolling movements (from shoulder to tailbone) were quite nice as the bottom of the brace stuck out so that it made a nice thump when I landed on my buttocks.

If you've ever worked in Labour and Management situations you can appreciate it. Management always tries to keep you in line because efficiency and production are key factors. But they need the workers to provide this. Yet, they try to keep you down as much as possible so that only in numbers do you have any strength. In our piece, the brace was doing all the "managing" while I was doing the "labour" and it was in my interest to explore as many possibilities while maintaining the brace.

Our friends, Derek Marshall and Henry Kronowetter then went on to do a short sparring match. This was the live version of Peter's double projection film "PENETRATED", in which Derek and Henry also worked. Derek, a black Rastafarian squared off with Henry, a caucasian. The contrast was very nice. I'm sure it was the first time the AGO has seen a multi-cultural performance, let alone so-called violent movement.

Anyhow, Peter's double projection film was shown next. The projectors were not in sync at the beginning of the film. The two cameras were placed on a particular performer. I must say that Keith Lock and Jim Anderson did an excellent job considering that the movements in sparring are quite difficult to maintain within the frame. But they moved right with it. (Both Keith and Jim also shot Michael Snow's "TWO SIDES TO EVERY STORY".)

Next, Peter and I had a discussion with the audience members. I remember saying something about how things are rather screwed-up. The money granting system; trying to get performances etc. I still believe that this country is rather conservative, in politics and art. But that should make a lot of sense. Everybody is so tied into different Council fundings that it breeds creeps trying to get most or at least some of the monetary gains. Maybe it's the way that funding agencies can keep a tight rein on you. And if you are all fighting all the time amongst yourselves, you won't expend any energy in trying to change things which aren't just. I got a Canada Council grant this year. But I'm not satisfied. I feel that it was a long time a-coming, and if I hadn't kept in there and fought it all the way, I probably wouldn't have gotten it. What about all you out there? Do you think you can do anything? There's only so much money to be distributed amongst artists, but if you check the lists to see who gets grants, it's probably the same names, every time, or every other time. Most of the people who get into galleries or get grants aren't usually exceptionally talented guys or gals. They probably did a really good snow job on somebody or some place. I remember the exact wording for this situation, "mediocrity breeds mediocrity" and it's in the interest of those so-called 'artists' to keep others down.

So next time you see who got into a particular show or presentation and you weren't included, you'll understand why. It's a real art mafia you're contending with.

Excuse my tangent. Now getting back to the AGO situation: I'm really happy at how things turned out for Missing Associates. I'm sure they aren't that happy with us, though. Funny, when we first started to have a talk with the audience members, all the AGO bureaucrats and others took off. I wonder what they were afraid of, considering that somebody misquoted Peter's comment about us being ignored by the Toronto media, meaning that they didn't include an announcement about the performance in the newspaper's Thursday edition, they had him saying that the AGO didn't give us the same publicity as everyone else. Anyhow, I felt that some AGO officer (if not all the ones present) should have been present so that a mix-up like this could not have occurred. One really shouldn't listen to hearsay, it just isn't professional.

All in all, I found that space was the most difficult to perform in. It's just too much of a bureaucracy for me, and that undermines my performance efficiency. Everything is made so hard for me, let alone somebody mistaking me for an audience member. I'm sure (although I don't have concrete proof) that Peter and I weren't paid as much as the Americans in the series. Boy, do I ever feel like a token in more ways than one.

LILY ENG

## MODERN TIME

Even in Canada, we hear of the 'experimental' use of video for the behavioural recording of patients in mental institutions. The taping tests have involved a number of patients, each with a different diagnosis. The patients were first interviewed by the 'experimenter' around general topics; often the instant replay was followed by a re-recording of their impressions of their video image. The questions are usually mundane and dealt with in general terms by the patients. The patients whose tapes have been made were always in normalized conditions. The intention of the taping was to show the real-time 'reflection' through video, minimizing any distortions. The condition for putting a patient under psychiatric 'care' was usually one that was generated by 'generally' dangerous (unpredictable (sic)) behaviour, patients that had manifested manic-depressive symptoms with tendencies to commit suicide or homicide. In many 'cases', the patients found the hospital the place where survival could be guaranteed, together with some behavioural attention to them. The questions during the taping followed the patterns of 'who are you?', 'where are you?', 'what is your conflict?' The answers were as general as

the questions, but lucid. Common sensical remarks such as 'I am looking for reality, truth, hope and love' makes us wonder about the distorted vision that hospitals, institutions, professionals and social organizations have helped to create, capitalizing upon the alienation of a fragmented labor force. We can appreciate the efforts made towards the realization of one's own personal responsibility for the mental patients. We also think that institutional changes do not eliminate the effect of institutionalization, and we still wonder whether a different social base would not be preferable to a modernized detention, that is, like worrying about the stylistic quality of an electric chair, period or moderne, while the issue of electrocution is left unsettled.

**VIDEOSCOPE**  
(Incorporating Radical Software)  
published by Gordon and Breach Science  
One Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10016

Videoscope is the offspring of an 'underground' publication specializing in video and

the slick, well designed quarterly that resolves contradictions. Such a 'resolution' can be ascribed to the wider acceptance of broadcasting/cablecasting as the sole significant direction of videomaking, that is the acceptance of the principle of having 'new information and experience...extended to a wide audience in a thoughtful manner, the video medium can be strengthened in its social, cultural, and artistic applications', as outlined in its editorial. This socially oriented attitude makes a great deal of sense, in the light of the interconnectiveness between the mechanisms that make a society run. Videoscope takes a very serious informational stance, one that widens its readability, that does not 'scare' but normalizes its audience. No analysis of hegemonic effect of the superstructure (economical or political) is ever attempted in a direct form, but the selection of the articles is a careful one in so far as it covers the whole gamut of innovations (the Museum of Broadcasting or nonfiction TV, for example) and neutralizes them with a discursive language, getting the hint from the very source they also believe we are heading toward: the context of television.





stills from the film 'Penetrated' by Peter Dudar

**OPEN SCREAMING SCREENING**  
October 25, 1977

**SCOTT DIDLAKE** "Take Out Food"  
The good eats of the Huron Grocery brings Hollywood to Toronto. 7 min.

**JOHN PORTER** "Time Lapse Documentaries"  
"Tattoo"—Queen's Jubilee military tattoo at the C.N.E.

"Eatons"—continuous rotating shot of Yonge & Dundas after opening of new Eaton's store.

"Queen Street"—the south side from window of street car travelling east to west.

**GERALD ROBINSON** "Lords of Creation"—about God creating the world, etc.

"Distances and Hidden Rooms", 15 min., colour. Romantic early love poetry of Ted Plantos set into an electronic by John Mills Cockel.  
"Flowers in cellars—moons are the doors of hidden rooms"

**STEPHEN NIBLOCK** "Untitled"  
Some celluloid which looks like its about things. Its amazing that its only celluloid.

**MANUEL CHI**  
A total eyeball response-flick, light etching, motion, & experiment.

**SHALHEVETH HILLEL**  
"3 Years Apart" Two films on similar people 3 years apart.  
"First version America on the moon" A quick cut of old movies.\*  
\*films are subject to change.

**GLEN JAMES & WARREN QUIGLEY**  
"Homage to the Sasquatch"

**TERI CHMILAR** "Dojits" 1975  
Experiment with light and sound.

**R. JOHNSTON**  
"Some added footage to jerking at the hydrant." 1969-1977. About 15-20 min.

**JOANNE DEANE** "Expectation"

**THOMAS ROBE** "Timestream"  
5 min. working print...sound to follow. Its water.

**CHRIS TERRY & OWEN BURGESS** "Live Footage" 16mm B&W

**ROSS MCLAREN** "Three boys, two dogs, one girl, and a battery cap." 3 min. 14 sec. Lip-sync-colour-sound.

**VILLEM TEDER**  
"Zoom Flowers"—starting at slowest speed possible, and as gradually approaches normal speed, that it is a loop becomes quite clear. Once normal speed is reached, illusion of pictorial representation is destroyed by disrupting normal projection. Loop is then destroyed by pulling splice apart in projector gate, leaving light of bulb and shutter flicker. Sound of projector amplified while loop being destroyed.

"Flares"—light flares, when S-8 cartridge is removed from camera part way thru, spliced together and projected in slow-motion.

"Cut"—dedicated to all those great films that never quite got finished.

"Action" by "the Great Yellow Father"—found footage—looks like a 5-7 year-old promo film for home movie stuff. A revealing glimpse at the mentality that controls the production of the medium.

**OPEN SCREENING**  
November 29, 1977

**VILLEM TEDER** Opening loop "Do you ever get the feeling that you're running around in circles?"

**ROSS MCLAREN** "Crash 'n' Burn" (1977) B&W 16mm 27 min.  
Remember the summer of '77? "New Wave" on film featuring Teenage Head, the Diodes, the Boyfriends, the Deadboys.

**GERRY MIGLIARISI** "Oh Shoot!"

**IGOR T.** "Flight"

**ED RADFORD & PETER CHAPMAN**  
"Various Experiments, May - Oct., '77" Some animation experiments, a film about shadows and forms on Queen St., lots of fooling around with shutters, colour interplay etc. etc. Oh yes, some cute loops photographed off an editing table, a mobious (?) loop, shots of a favourite cat etc. etc. P.C.

**VILLEM TEDER** "This Way out"  
Three exciting things happen in this film:  
1. grain pattern, 2. dirt, 3. the end  
"No Exit"—Peter Chapman  
"Analogous to birth"—Jeff Paul

**JOSEPH RANIERI** "Orlando"

**PITAGORAS** "Untitled"

**ROSS MCLAREN** "Nite Lite"  
One minute silent black frame lightning silhouettes.

**MANUEL CHI** "Burning Leaves, Etc."  
A frame by frame film about the light in the fall, textures & literally pushing the emulsion as far as I can go with some kind of image."

**GERRY MIGLIARISI** "Dissensus"

**VILLEM TEDER** "Untitled"  
Walking around the perimeter of an abandoned sewage treatment/water purification tank.

"Great!", Ken Stacey.

"My brain hurts", typical film student.

**KIMO & EDDIE RETROSPECTIVE**  
December 13, 1977

"Eddie as a young man" 16mm, silent, B&W

"Spitfilm" S8, colour, silent

"Eddie Housewife" S8, colour, sound

"Oh Those Pants" S8, colour, sound

"The Idiot Meets Joan of Arc" S8, colour sound

"ONE Egg Each" 16mm, B&W, sound

"Lets Get Out of Here" 16mm, colour, sound

**FOUND FOOTAGE**  
January 10, 1978

**BETTY FERGUSON** "Kisses" (1976) 55 min.  
"Kisses" is a collage of found footage from feature films, newsreels, and old T.V. serials; a humorous dadaistic study of the kiss in film.

**ROSS MCLAREN** "Summer Camp" (1977) B&W, 62 min.  
The drama auditions of nine young would-be stars originally shot in 1964 for a television network. Our hopefuls find a cancer cure, recall summer camp and shed real tears while vying for the big break. Nine stars.

**STEVE DILKUS** "From the Dilkus Collection"  
King Edwards Coronation & Funeral etc. Circa 1910.



**PAGE 28**

# POLEMICS

For too long we have been under the oxygen mask just because the gold diggers can still hope for the re-inaction of older days . . . yet . . . And yet critics, art magazines, biennales, triennales, tenanniales, fairs and art events, which should be standing with their noses up to sniff the brutal and healthy smell of some fertile heap of manure, are instead still circulating stinky cheques from the international art club. Tired of itself, the neutral speech of internationalism goes on, even if the same yankees that have invented it would not even support. Polemical art is yet to come.

Nazareno Noja.

The intention to bridge the present impasse for a critical identification that is projected towards autonomy and criticism, a series of Monday night discussions on the overall topic of counter - information has been initiated at the CEAC (in the library). During the last couple of months the discussions have been

centered around the meaning of counter - information, counter - productivity, terrorism,

the possible actions that create effective change, to a practice of scrutinizing texts and pinning down its obscurantist ideological incorrectness. Polemical points were found. The group, diversified in its positions, invites further contribution on the counter - information strategy.

The long road to action is preceded by the 'spark' that will accustom people to talk to one another first, as suggested by Loraine Leson and Peter Dunn of London, England. (1)

These discussions are the basis of two projects the one with a didactic end, the implementation of a 'skill exchange' (2) school wherein artists are sharing information and realizing a diversity of an average month long seminars, and the other is the exploration of issues within a programme of discussions and presentations of HUMAN RIGHTS, IDEOLOGY, BEHAVIOUR, WORK, COMMUNITY. The overall theme is '5 POLEMICS TO THE NOTION

OF ANTHROPOLOGY' - intended as a follow up on the discussions of Self-design, as proposed by Yona Friedman; the Contextual Art seminars, based on Jan Swidzinski's theoretical position (CEAC, Toronto 1976; Ecole Sociologique Interrogative, Paris 1977; and Remont Gallery, Warsaw 1977); and the Behaviour School as presented in North America and at the Free International University, Documenta 6 with the collaboration of Joseph Beuys and Caroline Tisdall.

(1) Their article 'Present Day Creates History' appeared in Art Communication Edition 6, Toronto. Subsequent work along critical practice-Toronto. Subsequent work along critical practice has been and presently implemented in England.

(2) There is now in Toronto a 'Skill Exchange' programme and newspaper disseminating the information about this programme. The direction is not too dissimilar from what Ivan Illich has proposed in his critique for a 'de-institutionalizing' of society.

## ceac

BASIC FILMMAKING Ross McLaren

The workshop will cover:

1. format, camera, lens, film.
2. shooting, lighting, exposure.
3. splicing, editing, sound.
4. prints, projection, labs, distribution.

4 week session. beginning Jan 17-18, 8:00 p.m.  
\$25

MOVEMENT WORKSHOP Lily Eng

As an independent choreographer/dancer and martial artist, I am interested in exploring new and different methods of movement. I have been actively engaged in movement/choreography since 1971.

The classes will include warm-up exercises, toning up exercises etc. and spatial explorations.

4 week session. beginning Feb 28, 1:00 p.m.  
\$25

INTRODUCTORY SEMINAR ON EVOLUTION Ron Gillespie and Veronica Lorange

The aim of the seminars will be to explore the nature of Evolution and its meanings for each individual. The only criteria we expect is a vital sense of humour and sensibility due to the magnitude of this study.

8 week session. beginning Jan 17, 8:00 p.m.  
(limited to 10 participants only)  
\$50

ART AND COMMUNICATION CEAC Collective

On-going seminars on counter-information, group practice, and related topics.  
Monday evenings, 8:00 p.m. No charge.

THE PORTAPAK Lisa Burroughs

Hands on workshop and basic video theory.

4 week session. beginning Jan 22, 2:00 p.m.  
\$25

A "COURSE" IN/ON LETTER/WORD/IDEA LANGUAGE ART Hermann Neutics

1. Introduction: Looking at/listening to some words of modern visual artists.
2. The study of FORMAT/inFORMATION: Or why sometimes words wear it.
3. Backtracking - Looking at words and letters as they appear in the landscape.
4. Crossover: Narrative Visual Art & Non-Narrative Writing.
5. The Wordiness of Things & The Thinginess of Words.

5 week session. beginning Feb 3, 8:00 p.m.  
\$25

WORDS John Faichney

Making one's vocabulary a tool for expression: using words to say something precisely, and having something to say by using words precisely: taking possession of language.

4 week session. beginning Feb 1, 7:30 p.m.  
\$25

THOUGHT AND THINKING Ron Gillespie

The explanation and methods of approach will be practical and useful for uncovering the fecundity of thought. The practice of the seminar will be a study of some recent ideas and their meanings to the different sectors of society. The exploration and investigation will cover physical as well as social and political thought systems with particular needs of the individual.

4 week session. beginning Jan 19, 8:00 p.m.  
(limited to 6 participants only)  
\$25

VIDEO CASSETTE EDITING Saul Goldman

A basic knowledge of video recording techniques is a pre-requisite. ie Portapak workshop or equivalent.  
The workshop will cover: cassette editing techniques, time logging tapes, insert and assemble editing, production editing.

Successful candidates will have access to the CEAC editing system.

4 week session. beginning Feb 1, 7:30 p.m.  
\$25

KINDERGARTEN AND INFLATO-ART Harry Pasternak

The de-mythification of learning. A chance to begin to learn all over again. If you can't learn all about something in two hours - it probably isn't worth learning.

Inflato-art, or the simple technology of inflatable objects or how to build a theatre for \$1000.00 or how to walk on water or how to build an entire set to fit in a shoe box or or or

20 week session. beginning Jan 19, 8:00 p.m.  
\$3.50 per session

BUDDHA MAITREYAME WEARS A PURPLE TAFFETA DRESS Lily Chiro

A humorous glance from a 'radiant omnisciently exponentially accelerating super-celestial spherical energy bubble', expressing that no art has ever risen out of human intention intellectually conceived and also that neither can the principles of imitating nature ever produce an art.

7½ week session. beginning Jan 18,  
afternoons and evenings  
fee: kiwi fruit, oysters, baked beans

ART AND REVOLUTION Amerigo Marras

The course discusses the potential and the limitations of recently formed cultural contexts. The overall assumption is of a socially different base. Marginal and punk cultures, post-Marxism, and self management are topics to be discussed.

4 week session. beginning Jan 25, 8:00 p.m.  
\$25

COLOUR THEORY AND PRACTICE Saul Goldman

A basic knowledge of video recording techniques is a prerequisite. ie Portapak workshop or equivalent.  
The workshop will cover: waveform analysis of video signals, colour camera - set-up and operation, alignment and colour balance.

Successful candidates will have access to the CEAC colour video studio.

4 week session. beginning Jan 17, 7:30 p.m.  
\$25

CEAC SCHOOL, 15 DUNCAN STREET, TORONTO 368-4933

All dates are only tentative, please phone for further information.

# RECORDINGS BY ARTISTS

The intention of the Recordings by Artists project, Toronto, October 17 - 30, 1977, was to survey a relatively unexplored artform that deals with the manipulation of sound. The media accepted for this project included not just audiotapes and discs but also videotapes when sound was a major concern. In a few cases, the recording was 'propositional' in that it required an environmental set-up. Some live situations were also implemented to present first hand the implications of recordings.

As a survey, it was desirable to explore the diversity and extent of previously unknown material. The response was good with material received from Europe and North America. The diversity of the work is an indication of the openness of the project, itself. Works from the project that were made available to the public included situations using language, new music, poetry, street sounds and formalist compositions.

There have been a number of recent investigations of recorded materials through exhibitions in other centres. The 'Art by Telephone' exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago (1969) was organized by Jan van der Marck. In the introduction of the long playing record that contains the contributions by 37 artists involved, he states that "Conceptual art as documented, recorded, manufactured or performed in 'Art by Telephone' is a further step toward the syncretism of the literary, plastic and performing arts

which characterizes the 1960's". The mammoth exhibition 'Contemporanea', organized in 1974 by the Incontri Internazionali d'Arte in Rome, included a section on 'records' which was curated by Yvon Lambert and Michel Claura. That section was not extensive because it limited itself to only relatively recently pressed artists' records. In 1975, the Kensington Arts Association, Toronto, with the collaboration of Richard Kostelanetz produced an exhibition by artists involved with language experimentation that included sound tapes. 'Text Sound Image', organized by Guy Schrenen in 1976 as a festival, included primarily language tapes. An important historical survey of language art and concrete poetry, from futurism to present day patterns was organized at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in May, 1977.

The contents of the exhibition and the performers were listed in Michael Gibbs' Kontext-Sound (of Kontexts Magazine, Amsterdam) in June, 1977. In addition to the catalogues for these exhibitions, a useful compilation of recordings has been included in the book "Off Media", by Germano Celant, published by Dedalo Libri, Bari 1977.

The works for the Toronto Recordings event included rarities such as B. Heidsieck's 'Exorcisme' (Paris, 1962) and recent 'punk' records by the Poles, the Viletones and 'Raw/War'.

For the dissemination of spoken and other

audio information, recordings are a technically and economically viable means of reproduction. As a radical tool, recordings surpass the limits of other forms through the possibility of wide dissemination and the wide availability of cassette and record playing equipment among all social classes.

Though there has been an increasing production of recordings by Canadians (in particular in Toronto), this project tended to rely upon sources from outside the Canadian context. Much of the success of the show is due to the collaboration of friends at Shandar in Paris, Guy Schrenen in Antwerp, and La Mamelie in San Francisco, all of whom were involved in the recordings format through the production of editions (Shandar's excellent and very valuable collection of new music, Schrenen's cassettes and Axe magazine, and La Mamelie's audiotapes and videotapes of various performance pieces). We are also grateful for the assistance of Editions Hansjorg Mayer, Zweitschrift magazine, the Stedelijk Museum and all the artists and other individuals that helped to re-locate the works included in this survey. And finally, we would like to thank Lawrence Weiner for his patience and enthusiasm during the recording of his sound piece 'Strike While the Iron is Hot', which was commissioned by the CEAC for this exhibition. Collaborators to 'Strike While the Iron is Hot' were Paul Bartlett (English/French reader), Sophie Desoudres and Marie-Josée Marti (French readers), Honey Novick (vocalist), and Ross McLaren (engineer).

## RECORDINGS BY ARTISTS

ADER, Mary Sue  
"Missouri Breaks"  
soundcassette  
AB on press.

ALLELUJA, Dominic  
"Untitled"  
soundcassette

"Sound Poetry", 1977  
soundcassette  
La Mamelie edition.

AMBROSINI, Claudio  
"Aula 104", 1976  
soundcassette  
courtesy, Shandar, Paris

ART BY TELEPHONE, 1969  
12 inch disc recording produced by the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, as a catalogue which includes work by telephone of 37 artists.  
Participants in the exhibition were:  
Siah Arman, Arman, Richard Artschwager, John Baldessari, Iain Baxter, Mel Bochner, George Brecht, Jack Burnham, James Lee Byars, Robert H. Cumming, Francois Dallegret, Jan Dibbets, John Giorno, Robert Grayson, Hans Haacke, Richard Hamilton, Dick Higgins, David H. Thompson, Robert Huot, Alain Jaquet, Ed Kienholz, Joseph Kosuth, Luis Levine, Sol Lewitt, Robert Morris, Bruce Nauman, Claes Oldenberg, Dennis Oppenheim, Richard Serra, Robert Smithson, Gunter Rambow, Stan Van der Beek, Bernard Venet, Frank Lincoln Viner, Wolf Vostell, William Wegman, William T. Wiley.

AZRIE, Abed  
"Epic of Gilgamesh", 1977  
two 12 inch disc recordings with texts in French, English, and Arabic.  
produced by Shandar, Paris.

BEUYS, Joseph and CHRISTIANSEN, Henning  
"Schottische Symphonie" and "Requiem of Art", 1973  
two 12 inch mono disc recordings  
produced by Schellmann, Munich.  
edition of 500

BOARDWAY, Diane  
"Magazine", 1977  
soundcassette

BOSSEUR, Jean Yves  
"Anne's live's awake", 1975  
open reel  
produced by G.E.R.M.

BRUS, NITSCH, ROTH, RUHM, and WEINER  
"Munchner Konzert Mai 1974", 1975  
three 12 inch stereo disc recordings  
produced by Hansjorg Mayer, Stuttgart, London.  
edition of 1000

BRUYNEL, Ton  
see GELUID = KIJKEN

BUKOWSKI, Charles  
"90 Minutes in Hell", 1976  
two 12 inch disc recordings  
produced by Earth Books, Santa Monica

CEAC  
"Contextual Evenings in New York", 1977  
soundcassette  
CEAC edition, Toronto.

"Discussion on Behaviour with the Reiveler Werk and Ron Gillespie", 1977  
soundcassette  
CEAC edition, Toronto.

CHARLIER, Jacques  
"Musica Boumba"  
soundcassette, realized in Belgium  
courtesy, Shandar, Paris.

CHRISTIANSEN, Henning  
see BEUYS, Joseph

CHOPIN, Henri  
"Air vibrations for Jean", 1973  
7 inch disc recording with issue one of Axe magazine  
Guy Schraenen edition, Antwerp.

CONCATO, Augusto  
"Without/Senza", 1977  
7 inch disc recording

CURRAN, Alvin  
"Canti e vedute del giardino magnetico", 1976  
12 inch disc recording  
Amanda edition, Rome.

DADALAND  
"Sound Poem" performance, 1976  
1/2 inch b & w videotape,  
20 min.

DE FILIPPI, Fernando  
"Narciso", 1976

film video performance

book included

ETOILE DU NORD  
"Selection from a Star", 1975  
b & w videocassette,  
22 min.

"A Man and a Tree", 1975  
b & w videocassette (European standard)  
8 min.  
music by Ingram Marshall

"Goal", 1975  
colour videocassette  
8 min.

DIAS, Antonio  
"The Space Between", 1972  
12 inch disc recording  
Milan/New York.

EVES, Bruce and MARRAS, Amerigo  
"Raw/War", 1977  
7 inch disc recording with liner notes.  
Crash 'n' Burn Records, Toronto  
edition of 1000

FO, Dario  
"Mistero Buffo"  
Internationale Nieuwe Scene.  
12 inch disc recording.  
produced by Fonopres, Belgium.

FOREST, Fred  
"Marche d'Alligre, dimanche 12/6, 1977", 1977  
soundcassette  
Art Sociologique editions.  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

FOUR HORSEMEN, the  
"Canada"  
12 inch stereo disc recording  
Griffin House, Toronto.

GABOR, Toth  
"Two Projects for Audiotape"  
soundcassette  
Budapest

GAGLIONE, Bill and LOEFFLER, Carl  
"Homage to Endre Tot", 1977  
soundcassette  
Audiotape 6  
La Mamelie edition  
(also see DADALAND)

GELUID = KIJKEN  
drie audio-visuele projecten catalogue 498, 1971  
Sound = Sight with three 7 inch disc recordings  
Ton Bruynel  
Side 1 & 2: "Sound Block", 1971



Dick Raaijmakers  
Side 1 & 2, "Ideofon", 1971  
Peter Struycken  
Side 1 & 2, "Image and Sound programme,  
Structures 121 - 180", 1970/71  
produced by the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam

GIBSON, Jon  
"Two Solo Pieces", 1977  
12 inch disc recording  
produced by Chatham Square, New York

GILLILAND, M.  
"Aspects of Temporality", 1976  
b & w videocassette  
21 min.

GHERBAN, Alexandre  
"Prelevement de duree variable sur l'environnement  
sonore de l'Avenue J. Jaures a la hauteur du n. 7,  
a Montrouge, France."  
open reel

GRIPPE, Ragnar  
"Sand", 1977  
12 inch disc recording,  
50 min.  
new release by Shandar, Paris

HAMILTON, Richard and ROTH, Dieter  
"Canciones de Cadaques", 1976  
side 1 "Barks from Cadaques"  
side 2 "Hunderlieder"  
7 inch stereo disc recording  
produced by Hansjorg Mayer  
edition of 500  
(also see ART BY TELEPHONE)

HEIDSIECK, Bernard  
"Trois Biopsies + un Passe-partout", 1962  
7 inch disc recording

"B2B3 (Exorcisme)", 1962  
7 inch disc recording  
3 min. 53 sec.

HERMAN, Jan  
"Election Day Tape", 1969  
7 inch disc recording  
produced by Nova Broadcast Press,  
San Francisco.

HUGUNIN, James  
"Phenomenological Artworks"  
1. very little. 2. hysterectomy. 3. art.  
4. salt and pepper, found language art.  
videotape  
10 min.

JANICOT, Francoise and HEIDSIECK, Bernard  
"Encoreage", 1974  
7 inch disc recording signed by the authors  
produced by Guy Schraenen, Antwerp  
edition of 480

JEANNET, Jacques  
"Poker d'art passe au ramis"  
soundcassette from the semaine internationale  
sonore  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

JONES, Joe  
"Musicmachine"  
soundcassette  
produced by edition Hundermark, Berlin  
edition of 20  
(image of musicmachine supplied)

KAHN, Kathy and McMAHAN, Danny  
"Ogors Brewery Strike Songs", 1977  
7 inch disc recording  
Dare To Struggle Records, Denver.

KOSTELANETZ, Richard  
"Experimental Prose", 1967  
side 1. 1' dialogue one :35. 2. plateaux :2:50.  
3. dialogue two :30. 4. recyclings one 8:30.  
5. self-interview on recycling 4:30  
side 2. (engineered in stereo by David Dial)  
1. recycling two 3:58. 2. milestones 3:07.  
3. dialogue three :35. 4. declaration of independence  
10:07. 5. excelsior 1:20.  
(supplement to sixth assembling)  
soundcassette

KUBISCH, Christina, and PLESSI, Fabrizio  
"Two and Two"  
12 inch disc recording  
side 1. "Earth", "Fire"  
side 2. "Air", "Water"  
edizioni multipla, Milan.

KUCHARZ, Lawrence  
"Winter Street Scenes 11"  
(sound text-environment)  
open reel  
(with supplementary text)

LADIK, Katalin  
"Phonetic Interpretation of Visual Poetry", 1976  
side 1. G.J. De Rook, K. Ladik, G. Toth, G. Sandri.  
side 2. B. Szombathy, F. Zagorcnik, G. Sandri.  
7 inch disc recording  
produced by Novi Sad, Yugoslavia.

LIZENE, Jacques  
"Petite Musique + Texte", 1971  
soundcassette  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

"Art Banlieu", 1974  
soundcassette, 15 min.  
courtesy Shandar, Paris

LOEFFLER, Carl  
see GAGLIONE, Bill

LURIE, Toby  
"Mirror Images", 1975  
12 inch disc recording  
Accent Records, Hollywood.  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

MAIREY, Francoise  
"Untitled"  
soundcassette  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

MARRAS, Amerigo  
see EVES, Bruce

MARROUIN, Raoul  
"Superb Man's Last Adventure", 1977  
soundcassette  
(illustration provided)

MARSHALL, Ingram D.  
"a boy and a bird"  
text and voice by Emmett Williams  
"cortes"  
text and voice by Don McCraig  
"gambuh"  
"rop: Pa fjeller"  
soundcassette.

MAYR, Albert  
"Signal + Noise", 1977  
open reel  
realized at the Conservatorio Cherubini,  
Florence.

McMAHAN, Danny  
see KAHN, Kathy

NANNUCCI, Maurizio  
"Untitled", 1977  
soundcassette  
realized for broadcasting at the RAI, Italy  
and for the Netherlands.

NIELSEN, Mogens Otto  
side 1. "Den Dynamiske Violin"  
side 2. "Musik for Fluor", "EXIT: Stykke for Hund  
og Middagskoncert", "Een Dags Pilefløjte".  
soundcassette  
produced by Edition After Hand, 1977

NEW MISS ALICE STONE LADIES SOCIETY ORCHESTRA  
1. the overture. 2. magnetic rag. 3. mother. 4. white girls.  
7 inch disc recording  
produced by Sherry Rayn Barnett

NIMMER, L.  
"Community Art Radio", 1977  
soundcassette  
Audiozine 5  
La Mamelie edition.

NITSCH, Herman  
see BRUS . . . .

OSWALD, John  
"Animal voices Human", 1977  
soundcassette

PAKSA, Margarita  
"Comunicaciones"  
12 inch disc recording  
self produced

PALESTINE, Charlemagne  
"Strumming Music", 1977  
piano piece of 52 min.  
12 inch disc recording  
new release by Shandar, Paris.

PATELLA, Luca  
"Gazzetta Ufficiale di Luca Patella", 1975  
action and recording with book produced  
by label di Luca Patella and studio palazzoli,  
Rome.  
soundcassette

"Didactique telefonique", 1977  
soundcassette  
(realized between Rome and Falconara, Italy)

PEDERSEN, Gunner Møller  
"Stoned", 1974  
12 inch disc recording  
NCB production, Denmark

POLES, the  
"C.N. Tower", 2:52  
"Prime Time", 2:34, 1977  
7 inch disc recording  
produced by Nimbus, Toronto

PUNK  
San Francisco poetry festival  
soundcassette  
Audiozine 7  
La Mamelie edition

RADOVANOVIC, Vlado  
"Voice from the Loudspeaker"  
7 inch disc recording  
Serbo-Croatian version read by Vlado  
Radovanovic, and the English version  
translated and read by Paul Pigmon.  
Student Cultural Centre edition,  
Beograd, Yugoslavia.

REMUS, Jacques  
"Untitled", 1977  
soundcassette  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

RESIDENTS, the  
"Meet the Residents", 1973  
12 inch disc recording

"The Third Reich 'n' Roll", 1974  
12 inch disc recording  
(nazi cover)

"Fingerprince", 1976  
12 inch disc recording also  
available on soundcassette

"Duck Stab", 1977  
side 1. "Laughing Song", 2:14  
"Blue Rosebuds", 3:11  
side 2. "Constantinople", 2:23  
side 2. "The Booker Tease", 1:09  
"Sinister Exaggerator", 3:27  
"Bach is Dead", 1:12  
"Elvis and His Boss", 2:30  
7 inch disc recording with poster and tee shirt.  
produced by the Cryptic Corp. on Ralph records.

ROELANDT, Hugo  
"Steels"  
7 inch disc recording  
Throw Away Edition.

ROTAPRINT  
"R 70 n.203339", 1977  
soundcassette, 8 min.  
Guy Schraenen edition  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

ROTH, Dieter  
see BRUS . . . .  
see HAMILTON, Richard

ROTH, RUHM, WEINER  
"Selten gehorte Music von den 3 Berliner  
Dichterworkshop", 1973  
12 inch stereo disc recording  
produced by Hansjorg Mayer, Reykjavik,  
Stuttgart.  
edition of 1000.

RUHM, G.  
see ROTH . . . .  
see BRUS . . . .

RUPPENTHAL, S and WENDT, L  
"Variety Theatre"  
an anthology of sound poetry, 1977  
soundcassette  
Audiozine 4  
La Mamelie edition.

SAMBIN, Michaele  
"Autoritratto per 4 voci", 1977.  
soundcassette  
courtesy Shandar, Paris



STRUYCKEN, Peter  
see GELUID = KIJKEN

SUMMERS, Rod  
1. "Growing Circles"  
Water, Ford, Wind, Carter.  
2. "Scratch Symphony" (extract)  
Darling (details as for one, one and one)  
Sound Poem (Song of the Silent Majority)  
3. Gold Mine, dramatized poem "Friday  
Balck"  
soundcassette  
V.E.C. production, Maastricht NL

THENOT, Jean Paul  
"Libre discourse sur l'Oedipe", 1977  
soundcassette  
realized in Manvilliers by the group  
in institutional setting,  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

VIDEOZINE  
a magazine of contemporary West Coast  
art on videotape.  
issue n. 1  
La Mamelie edition.

VILETONES, the  
side 1. "Screaming Fist"  
side 2. "Possibilities", "Rebel", 1977  
7 inch disc recording  
Vile records, Toronto.

VIOLA, Luigi  
"Abschied (ah si?) von Haschisch"  
soundcassette  
realized in Venice  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

VOYAGE DE GINSBERG  
"Le Bateau Mouche"  
soundcassette  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

"Le metro - ligne 9"  
soundcassette  
courtesy Shandar, Paris.

"Le bus 72 - 74"  
soundcassette

WEINER, Lawrence

"Having been done at/  
Having been done to/  
essendo stato fatto a", 1973  
12 inch disc recording  
Sperone and Fischer edition, Rome.

"7"  
12 inch disc recording  
produced by Yvon Lambert, Paris.

"Nothing To Lose", 1976  
12 inch disc recording  
produced by Van Abbemuseum,  
Eindhoven NL

WEINER, O  
see BRUS...

WEISSER, Stephan  
"The sound of Wind/Jimb", 1977  
soundcassette  
Audiozine 2  
La Mamelie edition.

WENDT, Larry  
"Annabelle's song", 1975  
"Lost Among Dead Giants", 1975  
from Mythologies, a collection of six  
sound poems published on vol. 4 of  
Ocean Composers Cassettes.

"Adaba", 1976 for Stephen Ruppenthal  
"How to Cook Duck", 1976 for Tom Wendt  
unpublished collection of seven sound poems  
from the Shadow of Ideas

"In the Beginning was the Whale", 1976

"The Secret Life and Death", 1976 for Charlie Amirkhanian

"I'm Back", 1977 for Allen Strange

"Spiral", 1977 after the paintings of Edith Kallman

"The Spring", 1977  
voices: Karen Jacobson and Larry Wendt

"There", 1977

soundcassettes

WILLIAMSON, Chris  
"The Changer and the Changed", 1975

12 inch disc recording  
Olivia Records, Los Angeles.

WISHART, Trevor  
"Untitled", 1977

ZWEITSCHRIFT  
magazine n. 2  
Neue Musik

APPENDIX:  
WORKS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE  
CEAC ARCHIVE.

ART & LANGUAGE  
"Corrected Slogans", 1976  
12 inch disc recording  
Art Language production.

HALL, Joe  
"Impulse" vol. 5 n. 2, 1976  
12 inch disc recording  
songs written and composed by Joe Hall  
produced by Impulse Magazine, Toronto.

SACCHI, Franca  
"concerto p. 2 / concerto p. 3", 1973  
12 inch disc recording  
edizioni teselli, milan

"essere", 1975  
12 inch disc recording  
edizioni musicali, milan

S.E.M. ENSEMBLE  
"The Entire Musical Work of Marcel  
Duchamp", 1976  
12 inch disc recording  
edizioni multipla, milan

SMITH, Patti  
"Canine Teardrop", 1976 -  
spools of blood, embers, and the thousand  
murders (une saison en enfer)  
12 inch disc recording  
edited by Deek/Takri

VELVET UNDERGROUND WITH NICO  
soundtrack from the Plastic Exploding Inevitables  
show by Andy Warhol, 1969  
12 inch disc recording  
produced by Andy Warhol for Verve Records,  
New York.



# INTENDING BOOKNESS

A story is told of an anthropologist visiting an island in the South Seas. On one occasion, she brought a book, an object of great curiosity and fascination to the natives, who had never before seen such a thing. But: another time she had with her a copy of the same book—the first book had seemed, that there might exist two identical books was inconceivable.

But matters should seem no less strange to us, we who celebrate a print explosion; as much as we have surrounded ourselves with multiples and interchangeable parts, unique books remain a part of our reality, our disregard for their integrity notwithstanding.

What is the quality of "book-ness"—i.e., what are the conditions that will satisfy our implicit understanding of what constitutes a book?

What credentials or authorization do we demand of it? What must a book be to be a book? This is the question raised by the range of work presented within *Bookness*: an exhibition of unique books.

Not necessarily in answer to this question does the Dutch artist *Ulises Carrion* say:

"A book is a sequence of spaces.  
Each of these spaces is perceived at a different moment—  
a book is also a sequence of moments."<sup>3</sup>

Here, the order of those spaces has been frozen—in one way or another, each page is bound to its place in the sequence, each page is bound to a space and time. Within this bondage, however, the deviation is immense.

That these books manifest such diverse attitudes and approaches is seen as a good thing; moreover, it is uniqueness that allows their diversity. Many of these objects were produced via techniques that would make their reproduction in multiple difficult, if not impossible. Uniqueness is adopted as a means to encourage breadth of sensibility; I hope, this breadth will in turn, engender within us an understanding of our own assumptions, and a recognition of the uniqueness of each participant's vision.

Vision in the sense of a legitimacy of imagery—this body of work makes apparent the essential subjectivity and coherence of each person's approach, that any image is liable to be appropriated for "expressive" purposes.

So to reinforce an awareness of our expectations, I have sought to juxtapose these books to the context of books as consumables are conventionally seen. As such, I have included only such work as could be displayed upright on a shelf, spines facing outward, accessible to examination.<sup>4</sup> These conditions were not suitable for a number of very interesting examples, some of which will be the subject of future shows.<sup>5</sup>

One can distinguish two ways in which to relate to "book":

1) as a cultural artifact, juxtaposed to the behaviour of its users. It is itself an image, portending a consciousness of its past significance. Its meaning is dominated by its formal appearance, which we as consumers cannot repudiate.

2) as a pragmatic eventuality, its significance diminished and diluted to the point where antithetical positions reside, quite comfortable, on facing pages. The nature of our expectations of it are so vague as to be of no consequence.

From the first position, we speak of the "true nature" of books: not only as a sequence of spaces/moments, but also as something intimate. Each person will read a textbook at a different pace—the way in which a page is "read" reinforces the uniqueness of that book to its reader during the time it is being read. To share the reading of a book would be an imposition; to look over someone's shoulder impolite—what we would commit to no one else's eyes but our own do we commit to a diary. Reading-time (now!) is private property.

A book is a little bit like a box—distinct, floating slightly off the surface on which it rests.

We lift the lid and climb in. We enter a book as if we were tunneling through a mountain, finally breaking through to the other side.

However, that we may choose to recreate these conditions at will is no more than a convenient projection upon behaviour, certainly no abstraction from it. If we want to know whether we will "like" a book, we willingly flip through its pages, stopping randomly, or at those places where others have lingered. Even texts—sentences no longer pass by like trains at the railway crossing; its every word for itself, the trained eye skimming the page like a tongue tasting soup.

By which I mean this: that a "book" as a form would be an impoverished form—polymorphous, adapting to immediately perceived needs, enduring outside the confines of its mystified historical context, as unique as the moment of turning a page.

On the other hand, that these books are called "unique" does give grounds for a distinction.

Unlike the South Seas natives, we have seen books before—we see them in stores, in libraries, under friends' arms—we are comfortable letting them go, not clinging to them, trusting on their retrievability.

Not so these books—you, looking, take a good look; for perhaps you will never see any of them again.

No cause for remorse—simply, what is proposed is a choice: as consumables, these books must be consumed now—there is no second chance.

There will be other book shows, perhaps to the point of redundancy; some who find this exhibition unsatisfactory may be moved to originate their own. To choose here is to rec-

ognize the directedness of one's creativity, to see elsewhere the germs of one's own ideas, and to act accordingly

JOHN FAICHNEY

## Footnotes:

1. One could even suppose, pedantically, that all books (like all objects) are literally unique; the ramifications of this proposition are self-evident.

2. *KONTEXTS*, no. 6/7, 1975.

3. Two tendencies have been amplified in the way in which this exhibition is presented: use of a book's capacity for integrating and juxtaposing imagery versus the use of the book itself as an integrated image. Though an attempt has been made to segregate one from the other, this is not to imply that such tendencies are necessarily mutually exclusive. The internal arrangement brings into proximity manifestations and elaborations of other tendencies; however, this will be of little use or concern to the casual browser.

4. Initial research yielded a number of books impossible to include herein, of which I might mention a few: noteworthy is a manuscript in the possession of L. Wallich of Toronto, consisting of an account by a ship's captain of the period (WWII) of his command. More than a diary: here had someone put their story to paper, then painstakingly copied it into a plain college examination booklet, numbering the pages, and heading each new page with the last word from the page before—extremely intentional. While we cannot know for whose eyes this account was written, that the author had created a BOOK is clear.

The Coach House Press includes in its collection of books and memorabilia a number of unique examples, some of which were produced for or are still in production at Coach House, and also some "found" books: among the latter is a ration coupon book (again, from wartime). As many of these books as were produced, it is nevertheless interesting that each one of these was "signed and numbered", a practice considered normal in "limited edition" publishing; which in that context is, ironically, a means to augment the exchange value of the book by intimating scarcity (by making each book "unique").

Coach House could at one time claim the distinction of having a book that was, literally, alive. Victor Coleman told me of a book that was claimed from the shelves off the Toronto Board of Education Library, Allen Suddon at Metropolitan Toronto Library, Av Isaacs at the Isaac Gallery, John Scott and Nancy Johnson at Gallery 76, and most of all, the artists, upon whose work the success of this exhibition has depended.

Others could be cited: artists Michael Snow and Vera Frenkel have in different ways used the book format as a process notation and as a complex visual object; by Nichol and Eldon Garnet have made unique editions of text work.

Raymond Souster created an unusual marriage of published and unique texts by inscribing his poetry on the blank pages of defective copies of his own prose work, *ION TARGET*, written under the pseudonym John Holmes. A set of four such books are in the Canadiana collection of the North York Public Library.

I would like to thank those who assisted my inquiries, a number of whom have been previously cited: David Kotin at NYPL, Stan Bevington and Rick Simon (and staff) at Coach House Press, and Victor Coleman at A Space; I would also like to thank booksellers Larry Wallich, Nelson Ball, Martin Attenius, and Hugh Anson-Cartwright; Robert MacDonald of Dreadnaught Press, Marilyn Rueter at the Toronto Board of Education Library, Allen Suddon at Metropolitan Toronto Library, Av Isaacs at the Isaac Gallery, John Scott and Nancy Johnson at Gallery 76, and most of all, the artists, upon whose work the success of this exhibition has depended.

## Key:

Dimensions in centimeters.

Abbreviations: fbr = fabricated  
fnd = found  
sc = softcover  
hc = hardcover  
bndg = binding  
unpag = unpaginated  
inc. = including  
b/w = black & white  
image 1s = image on one side of page  
image 2s = image on both sides of page  
w/ = with

## GROUP 1

Tom Sherman WRITING, 1975.  
22.2 x 28.7 x 1  
fbr: sc (transparent, front & back)  
cello bndg  
unpag: 30 leaves, inc. title page  
b/w xerox; image 1s; narrative: 8  
texts.

Today: the structure of narrative writing must be profoundly renovated if the writer hopes to produce a literature accessible to the contemporary reader. This new reader is an individual who considers "natural" his environment of sound recordings, photography, film and video.....or restated for the current street, his mind is right at home inside a world of tapes and records, snap-shots, magazines, movies and TV. A reader from this world cannot be expected to save a special channel of himself for the libraries of books that continue to deny his way of seeing, hearing and feeling. The writer can tell that her readers are on a different channel when they have trouble following her cuts and dissolves, her compression of time, her use of voice-over. The timing is hard for them to sync up with. They have no idea where the writer goes when she fades to black.

## WHAT CHANNEL ARE YOUR READERS ON TONIGHT?

Gary Shilling POOR, POOR, POOSY, 1973.  
13.7 x 35.7 x 1.8  
fbr: hc (boarded); handbound: glue & tape bndg  
unpag: 19 leaves, inc. endpapers  
transfer lettering and pen-and-ink drawing; image 1s; narrative.

David Anderson DUTCH MOTHER, 1977.  
21.3 x 31.4 x .5  
fbr: sc (title rubber-stamped on cover)  
handbound; sewn bndg  
unpag: 36 leaves  
image 2s; b/w xerox, rubber stamp, pastel, watercolour.

OTTAWA BY BUS, 1974-77.  
28.3 x 22.3 x 1  
fbr: hc; handbound: sewn bndg  
unpag: 28 leaves  
image 2s (plus inside cover); b/w xerox, watercolour, acrylic, & oil-bone paints, pen-and-ink drawing, rubber stamp

Dutch Mother: A visit to a home and a recording of that visit is the content of the book. This time not only pencil is used but cassette recorder as well. So the woman is being interviewed in her house. Questions and answers stamped on paper, colours added—green bathroom, yellow walls. Everyone is introduced, four children and a husband. The question that is asked most often is "Do you like this house." Ottawa by Bus: The actual journey was recorded in pencil on paper in the fall of 1974. Later with a Xerox machine came the freedom to alter the original records of the trip. The lady next to me turned pink. Outside turned bright enamel blue. Then words, heard words, rubberstamped here and there. Then painted over at new old letter words were found. The whole thing became an image word poem and was completed in the spring of 1977.

Brian Harley THE STORY OF A BOY AND HIS HORSE, 1977.

32 x 21.8 x .5  
fbr: sc; handbound: saddlestitch sewn bndg  
unpag: 13 leaves (2 leaves taped together), inc. cover  
image 2s; collage and montage of found images, transparent overlay, pen-and-ink drawing

I'm interested in books because of my involvement in design and printing (posters, books, brochures). These two books reflect those processes: The Story of a Boy and his Horse uses multiple overlays of images and paper, while John Lennon uses overlays of printed images.

Robin Wall untitle, 1977.  
29.5 x 25.4 x 1.4  
fnd: photo album: hc; covered spiral-wire bndg  
(stiff pages covered w/ transparent overlay); unpag: 8 leaves  
image 2s; montage of found images, slides, contact sheets, film, pen inscriptions

## Incompetence:

Michael Bidner JOURNAL, 1973.  
35.4 x 21.8 x 5.6  
fnd: cashbook: hc; sewn bndg  
300 pages, plus endpapers, plus  
inserts  
image 2s; found images, various  
inscriptions

I work in multi-media with a special interest in the preparation and presentation of images. The seductive appeal of graphics within this area of work is strong and I take much opportunity to exploit its potential where it will enhance the realization of my work. Journals were used for a period of seven years to keep track of areas of investigation until I became just too busy to be duplicating everything I was thinking about or came across while observing my milieu. RUDE will appear on news-stands in the future of 1978 and if this copy puzzles you now ..... check out a copy when you are next in a bookstore. It is inevitable that the amount of paper an artist must fill with content to pursue his activities in contemporary twentieth century society should yield bulk enough to be bound between covers. If this bulk is more than twenty five sheets ..... you have a book. If it becomes the artwork of an artist the inevitable results yield artist's books. Book-making is just a natural extension of my activities and interest but not necessarily my art.

David Thayer INTO A NUCLEAR FALL-OUT SHELTER, 1974.  
20.2 x 16.8 x .5  
fnd: child's story book; hc; glue bndg  
unpag: 12 leaves  
image 2s; collage and montage of found images, pen-and-ink drawing

Blastbloom BLASTBLOOM'S FACULTY OF ARCHITORTURE, 1976.  
fnd: graph-paper booklet: sc; saddle-stitch staple bndg  
unpag: 10 leaves  
image 1s; montage of found images, pen-and-ink drawing, transfer lettering

Kim Snyder four notebooks: October 1975.  
20.6 x 14.1 x 3.1  
fnd: blank bk: hc; sewn bndg  
unpag: 140 leaves  
image 2s; found images, drawings, inscriptions

March 1976.  
21.5 x 14 x 3.5  
fnd: blank bk: hc; sewn bndg  
unpag: 140 leaves  
image 2s; found images, drawings, inscriptions

October 1976.  
20.8 x 14.3 x 3.8  
fnd: blank bk: hc; sewn bndg  
unpag: 140 leaves  
image 2s; found images, drawings, inscriptions

April 1977.  
21.8 x 14.2 x 3.5  
fnd: blank bk: hc; sewn bndg  
unpag: 120 leaves  
image 2s; found images, drawings, inscriptions

RICH IMAGES, 1977.  
29.2 x 23.1 x 3.8  
fnd: photo album: hc; accopress bndg  
(black pages w/transparent overlay)  
unpag: 40 leaves  
image 2s; found images

These books are about Kim Snyder, what I do, think, feel, like (love), dislike (.....), an extension of my visualizing facility and my memory. They are subjectively eclectic. For two years I always had one with me; it became the seat of a dynamic intercourse with myself. The subjectivity was tempered by my sense of aesthetics and my wish to make people laugh. I tried to give them more than bookness than a journal, with evocative juxtapositions, foils, and other tricks, without sacrificing its intimacy. In this exhibition, the idea of intimacy with strangers doesn't bother me; I want people to know me. I also want to know people.

Paul Harnett THE HARDBOUND COLLECTION, vol. 1, 1974.  
39.1 x 27.9 x 3.7  
fbr: hc (imitation woodgrain boarded)  
handbound: sewn bndg  
unpag: 103 leaves, plus endpapers  
image 2s; found images

THE HARDBOUND COLLECTION, vol. 2, 1974.  
39.1 x 28 x 3  
fbr: hc (ditto); handbound: sewn bndg  
unpag: 83 leaves, plus endpapers  
image 2s; found images

THE HARDBOUND COLLECTION, vol. 5, 1974.  
38.6 x 27.9 x 3.4  
fbr: hc (ditto); handbound: sewn bndg  
unpag: 96 leaves, plus endpapers  
image 2s; found images

THE HARDBOUND COLLECTION, vol. 6, 1974.  
38.5 x 27.4 x 3.3  
fbr: hc (ditto); handbound: sewn bndg  
unpag: 94 leaves, plus endpapers  
image 2s; found images

Brain Kipping GARBAGE PHOTOGRAPHS, 1977.  
19.4 x 24.7 x 2.7  
fbr: hc (title embossed on cover);  
handbound: sewn bndg  
unpag: 24 leaves  
image 2s; found photographs (title page in transfer lettering)

untitled, 1977.  
28.9 x 21.6 x 1  
fbr: hc; handbound: fold-back binder clip bndg  
found pages and endpapers (envelope of colour plates); unpag: 17 leaves, plus endpapers  
ink deletions on plate titles, ink inscriptions

COLOUR CHART, 1977.  
19.9 x 24.3 x .8  
fbr: hc (title embossed on Cover);  
handbound: sewn bndg  
28 pages (irregularly paginated)  
transfer lettering, typewriting, montage of colour chips and b/w xerox

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE ON THE PLANET EARTH, 1977.  
21.4 x 25.3 x .5  
fbr: sc; handbound: sewn bndg  
dyeprint etchings on paper; unpag: 13 leaves  
image 1s, etchings and typewriter inscriptions

PICTURES, MOSTLY AT NIGHT, 1977.  
12.7 x 21.4 x .5  
fbr: sc (title embossed on cover);  
handbound: Buildersup 2-prong fasteners  
unpag: 11 leaves, plus endpaper at front  
image 1s; colour xerox

The greatest exposure of art to the general public is through book technology - colour separations, photographic reproductions, art magazines and historical works - essentially untrue information, quite different from the real thing. Reproduction loses certain qualities and gains others, making commercial printing a viable extension to more outmoded forms of printmaking. Books I have made are either unique or limited to ten copies or less - so far, out of necessity, but mass production is always in mind: the books are like master copies. I prefer not to think of my work as art, my books don't have a category to fit into - it's more like a hobby. I enjoy synchronizing information to page/time: for instance, Colour Chart was an exercise for a more elaborate book, in which house paint colour charts with descriptive titles ("tropical sunset", "gun metal", etc.) would be printed in black and white, then arranged in a book-novel form (climate, denouement, etc.) according to the emotional impact of the name.

Donna Tkachuk THE INVESTIGATION OF THE EXPERIMENT WITH: "ER" & "ING", 1976-7.  
29.1 x 23.2 x .8  
sc: Duo-lang cover (transparent front), 2-prong fasteners  
colour pages in photomount covers; unpag: 5 leaves text, 6 colour illustrations  
image 1s; b/w & colour xerox

I was put in a crib. The crib had a railing that surrounded me; I could not get out. In my boredom, I chewed the wood and I saw that it left two teeth marks that were from my mouth. Gradually I bit all around my crib, trying not to overlay the teeth marks. Each bite was slightly different. Books are like that.

George Whiteside LOST TIME ACCIDENTS, 1977.  
21.6 x 28.7 x 1.4  
fbr: sc; Cerlox bndg  
unpag: 33 leaves, inc. front cover/  
title page  
colour xerox, silver ink inscriptions

UNIQUE SNAPSHOTS, 1977.  
28 x 23 x 1.8  
fbr: sc; Cerlox bndg  
unpag: 52 leaves, inc. front cover/  
title page  
image 2s; b/w colour xerox

FISH TAILS, vols. 1-5, 1977.  
each volume 28 x 21.7 x .8  
fbr: sc; Cerlox bndg  
unpag: 9 leaves (vol. 1)/10 leaves (vols. 2-5)  
image 2s; b/w xerox, silver ink inscriptions

Unique Snapshots: originally intended as a limited edition - as yet only one copy has been made) is from my collection of snapshots taken by various members of my family when I was 8 or 9. Lost Time Accidents uses collage of found photographs, templates, blueprints, and other objects from a small steel fabricating plant where I worked as a truck driver. Silver lines and excerpts from the accident journal were added after the printing. There are five copies of each page, only one set of which is a book. Patterns running through the design are obvious when the piece is wall mounted. Fish Tails was accomplished by moving images while they were going through a roller-type xerox machine. All monographs: five volumes.

Kim Kozolanka UNIVERSAL COLOUR SYSTEM, 1977.  
21.9 x 28 x .2  
fbr: sc; crimped fasteners  
unpag: 10 leaves  
image 1s; colour xerox, transfer lettering

untitled, 1977.  
21.9 x 28 x .2  
fbr: sc; crimped fasteners  
unpag: 9 leaves  
image 1s; colour xerox, transfer lettering

Barbara Astman UNTITLED...PRESENTS & THINGS... 1977.  
19.3 x 26.4 x .2  
fnd: Chinese character-writing practice-book: sc; staple and glue binding  
xerox 1s; colour xerox iron-ons, pencil inscriptions

For me the notion of making a book is to compile my visual information and set it down in some order or sequence that will be both visually stimulating and hopefully intellectually provocative. It's also a basic love of unusual papers combined with unusual visuals. Dealing with a human scale - a book someone can hold - dealing with one page at a time - yet in the context of the page before and the page after - the feel of each page and the intimacy of scale ...

Matt Harley SOPHY WONG FACSIMILE, 1976.  
28.6 x 22.3 x .8  
fbr: sc (transparent, front & back, w/ inscriptions); E-Z slide bndg  
unpag: 40 leaves  
image 1s, alternating: b/w xerox

SOPHY WONG, 1976.  
24.5 x 19.6 x 1  
fnd: child's inscribed practice book:  
sc (loose transparent dust jacket,

Sophy Wong and I "met" in the snow in March 1976. In August 1976 I found a small book of German battleships - my immediate thought was of Sophy. In January 1977, sitting in a hospital emergency ward, I glued it. Upstairs someone had just won a million dollars and was dying. This work is about how ridiculous it is to be alive. In February 1977 I made the facsimile. This work is about camouflage.

GROUP 2

Bev Biram BOOK N. 1, 1977.  
34.1 x 26.2 x 1.4  
fbr: hc; handbound: sewn bndg  
single page, 65.8 x 50.6; sewn to spine and folded in four  
image 2s; acrylic on paper

BOOK N. 2, 1977.  
34.2 x 26.5 x 1.7  
(Otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 3, 1977.  
34.3 x 26.2 x 1.5  
(otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 4, 1977.  
34 x 26.2 x 1.5  
(otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 5, 1977.  
34.1 x 26.2 x 1.3  
(otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 6, 1977.  
34.2 x 26.2 x 1.4  
(otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 7, 1977.  
34.1 x 26.2 x 1.5  
(otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 8, 1977.  
33.9 x 26.2 x 1.5  
(otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 10, 1977.  
33.7 x 26.3 x 1.3  
(otherwise: ditto)

BOOK N. 12, 1977  
34.1 x 26.4 x 1  
fbr: hc (w/ translucent marked dust-jacket); handbound: sewn bndg  
unpag: 2 leaves  
image 2s; acrylic on paper, thread

The books are concerned with examining our conceptions of object and viewer. We are accustomed to a particular visual experience when we confront paintings. They stand before us, the viewer, as vertical planes. The book format is different because books demand a certain amount of physical manipulation by the viewer to be experienced. The books are essentially containers of visual information or paintings. They attempt to communicate their information in a personal and intimate way. By using the book format I have tried to decrease the distance both visually and physically between the object and the viewer.

Michael Bidner RUDE magazine publisher's dummy, 1977.  
35.1 x 25 x .8  
fbr/fnd: sc (title logo on cover);  
saddlestitch staple bndg

JOHN LENNEN, 1977.

15.5 x 11.2 x 1.4  
fbr: sc (w/transparent dust-jacket);  
handbound: sewn and glued bndg  
printer's waste card stock; unpag:  
83 leaves, plus endpapers  
image 2s; add'l sheet of same stock  
mounted on first & last page

Flavio Belli

THE ISLAND, 1977.

29.5 x 27.1 x 6 (binder size)  
fbr: hc (3-ring binder, xerox logo on  
cover)  
coloured paper pages encased in clear  
plastic lamination (page size, flat,  
33.2 x 22.2); unpag: 17 leaves  
colour xerox

found book, 1977.

31.2 x 22.8 x .8  
fnd: pad of drawing paper: sc; glue  
bndg  
25 pages  
image 1s; coloured construction paper  
on paper

found book, 1977.

25.2 x 20.1 x .2  
fnd: essay: sc (coverless); stapled in  
one corner  
typescript of essay, with commentary  
(pen, pencil inscriptions): ii plus 9  
pages  
text: "Individuality", by Paul Haddy

John Falchney

found book, 1977.

18 x 27.5 x 1.5  
fnd: inscribed photo album: sewn  
bndg  
cyanotype photo print w/ caption  
in ink; unpag: 25 leaves  
image 2s, last two pages blank;  
"History of Sculpture", by Ora Belle  
Stoddard

found book, 1977.

23.5 x 14.7 x .4  
fnd: inscribed school exercise book:  
sc; saddlestitch staple bndg  
"Words are Important", in introductory  
book: 52 pages, inc. cover  
various fill-in-the-blank type  
exercises, with responses

Much of my work has sought an awareness of contradiction  
and irony . . . It is of little or no consequence that others  
have made the books which I have included here under my  
own name. The pattern of their choice is the subject of my  
inquiry: that and the juxtaposition of this work in the ex-  
hibition context.

Elsie Jade Greene Autograph book, 1964-71.

12.2 x 15.5 x 1.5  
fnd: hc; sewn bndg  
unpag: 51 leaves, 2 inserts  
inscriptions of texts, drawings

Books are part of all our lives, for the most part we received  
our education from them. In the near future they will be-  
come obsolete as we move into electronic information ex-  
change. I think most people secretly dream of writing a book.  
Books are the most subjective medium.  
Even though I have a collection of six years of personal diaries  
that is not what I intended to show in the context of this  
book show. I have endeavoured to show a very mundane and  
common to all nostalgic experience of word exchange in per-  
sonal terms through this autograph book. It was a spontane-  
ous response for a book request from me. Something written  
to me but not by me, and sums up a whole other area  
than other artists have contributed here.

Jonas Goldstein book from street performance, 1977.

19.1 x 23.2 x .9  
fnd: school practice book: sc; saddle-  
stitch staple bndg  
mirrors affixed to first 5 leaves;  
unpag: 28 pages  
image 1s; pencil inscriptions (ques-  
tions & answers) on first 6 leaves

The book being an artifact of a performance, Monday, Sept.  
12, Bay and Adelaide streets (NE corner), 1:15 - 2:00 p.m.:  
I surround myself in a small circle of earth, I write questions  
of a mathematical basis followed by the first question that  
comes to mind. I offer the book, open to all who pass, giving  
them a chance to be a parent and help with a math problem  
or be anything they wish, as they look in the mirrors or ig-  
nore them.

James Anderson two flip-books from the film,  
GRAVITY IS NOT SAD BUT GLAD,  
1976.

"Breaking Cloud and Airplane"

22.8 x 30.4 x 3.5  
fnd: pad of construction paper: sc;  
glued bndg  
holes cut, toy airplanes affixed to  
pages; unpag: 24 leaves  
book's pages to be flipped to create  
illusion of illusion of motion

"The Sinking of the Bluenose"

22.8 x 30.4 x 6.8  
fnd: pad of construction paper: sc;  
handbound: glued and wire ring bndg  
holes cut in, toy boats affixed to pages;  
unpag: 23 leaves  
(ditto)

These flip-books are actually props from a movie entitled,  
Gravity is Not Sad but Glad. The flip-books in themselves  
about the nature of the film experience or perception (i.e.,  
still images rapidly following one another). In this way, it is  
a demonstration or an enactment of film perception. By film-  
ing the flip-book, it becomes film theatre.  
The content of the flip-books provide some comments on as-  
pects of our culture and history. The flip-books become a  
movie about a book and/or a book about a movie. The flip-  
book is anyone's one movie (or book).

David Type

untitled, 1977.

28 x 23.4 x 1.6  
fnd: sketch book: hc; spiral wire bndg  
elaboration of pattern by ink bleed-  
ing through to successive pages;  
unpag: 64 leaves

untitled, 1977.

30.5 x 22.9 x 3.5 (size of pad)  
fnd: pad of construction paper: sc;  
fixed bndg  
manipulation of pagination by juxta-  
position w/paper tape, through &  
around pages; unpag: 46 leaves

80 FT., 1977

21 x 13.9 x .8  
fnd: blank book: hc; sewn bndg  
adhesive cellophane tape, with found  
objects (from floor) applied to &  
around pages; unpag: 192 leaves,  
plus endpapers

DIE BOOK, 1977

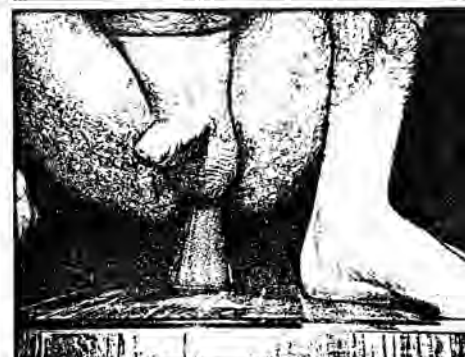
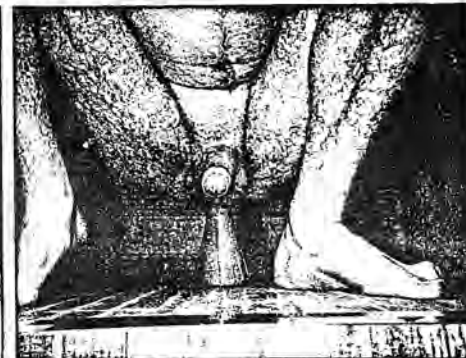
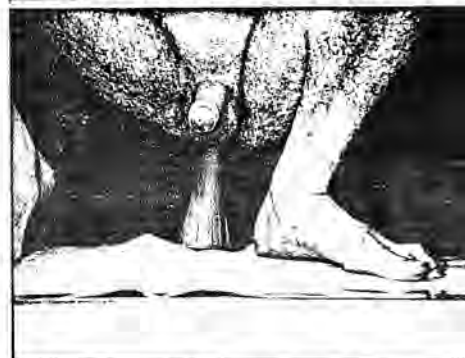
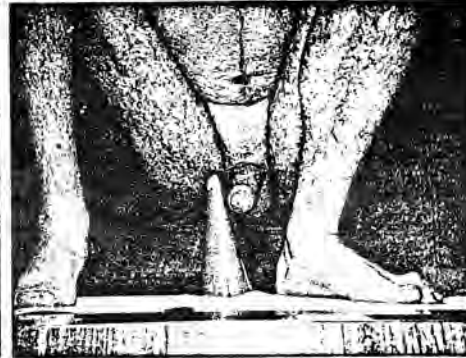
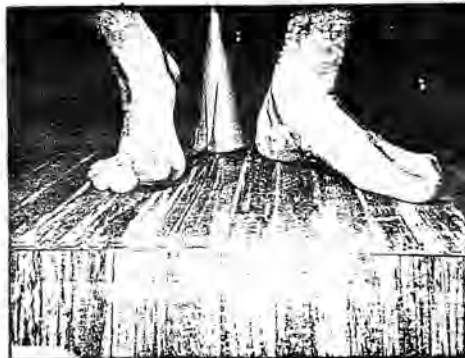
22.7 x 15.4 x 2.4  
fnd: sc (coverless); sewn, taped bndg  
book dipped into dye solution; unpag:  
94 leaves

John Oswald

UNTITLED, UNPAGINATED, 1977.

21.6 x 14.1 x 2.2  
fnd: blank book & contact cement:  
hc

Why it's just a book with the pages pasted together.  
It's a volume.



from the book "Wessen Schamst du Duchi" by Gerard Pas



## **5 POLEMICS TO THE NOTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY.**

From April 3 to May 6, 1978, the CEAC is organizing a 5 week discussion **SERIES**

series to examine the theory and to surface the polemics of communal living. The sessions are intended as interdisciplinary research focussing on five basic issues: Human rights, ideology, work, behaviour and community. The polemics offer alternatives to social organization in search of a new pragmatic base.

The tentative programme of discussions is as follows:

**April 3-9: HUMAN RIGHTS.**

Sessions on prejudice and the demonstrations of struggle by women, gays, children and deprived minorities.

**April 10-16: IDEOLOGY.**

Sessions on cultural institutions and self-defined alternatives.

**April 17-23: BEHAVIOUR.**

Nature of oppression and liberation. The socio-biology of genetics.

**April 24- May 1: WORK.**

Polemics of the dominant technology of production and alternative work bases.

**May 2-6: COMMUNITY.**

Polemics on autonomy and social organization. Case studies and practical models.

The April workshops are a follow-up on the regular weekly discussions at the CEAC. Prior theoretical work to these discussions have been the Self-Design proposition by Yona Friedman; the Contextual Art seminars (CEAC, Toronto - 1976; Ecole Sociologique Interrogative, Paris - 1977; and Remont Gallery, Warsaw - 1977); and the Behaviour School as presented in North America and at the Free International University, Documenta 6 with the collaboration of Joseph Beuys and Caroline Tisdall.

**CEAC 15 DUNCAN ST  
TORONTO 368-4933**





# STRIKE

ART COMMUNICATION EDITION, VOL. 2, No. 2, MAY, 1978



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TORTURE  
POST-MARXISM  
RED BRIGADES



# POST-PERFORMANCE PRECEDENTS

("Art performance" is becoming very big now because it's passé — very Canadian.)

This is suicide in several languages:

*Se suicider?*  
*Selbstmörder?*  
*Suicidarsi?*

I came across *Hara-Kiri? eine groteske publication* at a Dada exhibit in Berlin last October.

By 1894 most sympathizers realized that the defiance of the anarchists exceeded defensible bounds, and the outrages died out quickly. But their effects remained. Anarchism served not only to unsettle the political smugness of the Third Republic, but also to challenge any formulated aesthetic. The dynamism of prewar artistic activity ran a close parallel to anarchism: postwar Dada and Surrealism look like its artistic parodies. By acting on their ideas, the anarchist "martyrs" inspired artists to demonstrate as boldly.

Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*

This is sort of a quicky explanation of anarchism:

Anarchists come from the most varied backgrounds. But a specific mentality links them — the spirit of revolt and its derivatives, the spirit of examination and criticism, of opposition and innovation, which leads to scorn and hate of every commitment and hierarchy in society, and ends up in the exaggeration of individualism. Decadent literature furnished the party with a strong contingent; in recent years there has been, especially among young writers, an upsurge of anarchism.

Maurice Boisson, *Les attentats anarchistes*

But the Dadaists were by no means the first bad boys of twentieth century art. Dada may have "exploded like a well-timed bomb" in Zurich, 1916-17, but the militant art of the Futurists came up snarling in the pages of *Le Figaro* (Paris) on Feb. 20, 1909.

## MANIFESTO OF FUTURISM

1. We intend to sing the love of danger, the habit of energy and fearlessness.
2. Courage, audacity, and revolt will be essential elements of our poetry.
3. ... We intend to exalt aggressive action, a feverish insomnia, the racer's stride, the mortal leap, the punch and slap.
4. We affirm that the World's magnificence has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed...
- ...
7. Except in struggle, there is no more beauty. No work without an aggressive character can be a masterpiece...
- ...
9. We will glorify war — the world's only hygiene — militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of freedom-bringers, beautiful ideas worth dying for, and scorn for women.
10. We will destroy the museums, libraries, academies

of every kind, will fight moralism, feminism, every opportunistic or utilitarian cowardice...

... So let them come, the gay incendiaries with charred fingers! Here they are! Here they are!

F. T. Marinetti



Araldo Ginna  
Ginna and Marinetti engaged in  
interventionist Futurism,  
frame from the film  
*Vita futurista* 1916

7. Semi-equality of man and woman and a lessening of the disproportion in their social rights.

F. T. Marinetti, *Destruction of Syntax —  
Imagination Without Strings —  
Words-in-Freedom* 1913

(photo/caption)

There is another type of hero in the complex Japanese tradition, a man whose career usually belongs to a period of unrest and warfare and represents the antithesis of an ethos of accomplishment. He is the man whose single-minded sincerity will not allow him to make the manoeuvres and compromises that are so often needed for *mundane success*. During the early years his courage and verve may propel him rapidly upwards, but he is wedded to the losing side and will ineluctable be cast down. Flung himself after his painful destiny, he defies the dictates of convention and common sense, until eventually he is worsted by his enemy, the "successful survivor," who by his ruthlessly realistic politics manages to impose a new, more stable order on the world.

Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure*

You know that we are creating surrounded by the cowardice and despicable apathy of Italian (so called Canadian) artists

Umberto Boccioni, *Futurist Dynamism and French Painting* 1913



photo: still from "Two Deadly Women" by Peter Dudar, 1978.

américa  
latina,  
"PARLA!!!"

ARTES VISUALES  
revista trimestral bilingüe  
museo de arte moderno  
chapultepec - méxico 5DF

# Playing Idiots, Plain Hideous

We are opposed to the dominant tendency of playing idiots, as in the case of 'punks' or the sustainers of the commodity system. The questioning through polemics of the cultural, economical and political hegemony should be fought on all fronts.

To still maintain tolerance towards the servants of the State is to

preserve the status quo of Liberalism. In the manner of the Brigades, we support leg shooting/knee capping to accelerate the demise of the old system. Despite what the 'new philosophers' tell us about the end of ideology, the war is before and beneath us. Waged and unwaged sector of the population is increasing its demands for 'less work'. On the way to surpass Liberalism we should prepare the barricades.

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual is harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take things calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along — "So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered a great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type.

They are all manifestations of liberalism.

We could name more. But these eleven are the principle types.

They are all manifestations of liberalism.

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency.

Liberalism stems from petty bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second, and this gives rise to ideological, political, and organizational liberalism.

People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to practice it in full; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism by Marxism. These people have their Marxism, but they have their liberalism as well — they talk Marxism but practice liberalism; they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.

Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and objectively has the effect of helping the enemy; that is why the enemy welcomes its preservation in our midst. Such being its nature, there should be no place for it in the ranks of the revolution.

We must use Marxism, which is positive in spirit, to overcome liberalism, which is negative. A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.

All loyal, honest, active, and upright Communists must unite to oppose the liberal tendencies shown by certain people among us, and set them on the right path. This is one of the tasks on our ideological front.

Mao Tse Tung, 1937



# Publications

## Gay Left

A Socialist Journal by Gay People  
27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1, England

The relevance of journals like *Gay Left* lies in the fact that the Marxist ideology is explored outside the outworn entrenchment of the official communist/socialist parties, which generally at this stage, have not taken any steps to update their struggle in light of the major social changes in the twentieth century. What should be criticized is the orthodox parties' conservatism of values and principles maintained by the party lines, whether that is in the Soviet Union or Euro-communism. Often counter-revolutionary attitudes, such as in relation to the 'preservation' of the bourgeois family or the bourgeois culture and state control, nor worker-controlled means of production, are typical and damaging to the cause of social change. *Gay Left* takes a clear revolutionary stand on the reformation of the family and the necessity for a social base that would allow for a new society to form. Official parties are not in favour of questioning the bourgeois phallogocentric family. Ironically, a major work by Engels on the origin of the family, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, condemns the bourgeois individualized family structure that the Soviets now so dearly defend. Even Engels, however, never departs from the Darwinian determinism and the supremacy of the male ideological framework, typical of pre-sexual liberation times. Orthodox parties denounce activities such as the gay left as irrelevant to the class struggle. Meanwhile, no analysis is made between sexual repression and the work ethic; even Gramsci was able to perceive this in his study of the spying techniques employed by Ford over its employees' conduct in private! Sexism is indeed the first step toward the division of labour, and not until this problem is solved can we speak of overcoming capitalism. *Gay Left* is one of the few attempts being made to converge the oppression of a patriarchal society and capitalism into a single class struggle. In its quasi-heroic approach, it reminds one of the earlier efforts of other gay papers, and we realize that after all, not much social change has been achieved.

## Red Bologna

Max Jaggi, Roger Muller, and Sil Schmid  
23a Kentish Town Rd., London NW5, England

As a reference book on the past work of the commun-

ist run administration in the city of Bologna, written a couple of years ago, before the students' riot of 1977, *Red Bologna* is a remarkable document. The impressions of three foreigners over a relatively well-run city, and the interviews with some of the major political and cultural administrators of Bologna are the main characteristics of the book. The left government of Bologna has been in power for thirty years, planning the development of co-operatives and greater social benefits for the city inhabitants, some of the social improvements are worth considering as examples of an enlightened government: such as the free fares on public transportation for working people, their attempt to reorganize the culture and economy of the city under the hostile central government of the Christian Democrats, for which a great deal of conflict and unresolved problems can be accounted for, as the question of academic education or the housing problem. The conflict between Bologna's left government and the right central government in Rome are some of the causes of the recent struggle and terrorist uprising. The book states: 'The communists in Bologna have not solved the crisis of capitalism in one area; nor have they developed a conception of socialism in one city. Rather they have offered a perspective on what is possible to achieve within a determinate social system. They have provided the basis for introducing norms of conduct and public management different from those which have prevailed in Italy over the last thirty years. Most significantly, they have harnessed public energies through an extensive system of democratic participation.'

## Breton/Trotsky

Arturo Schwarz  
union general d'etions  
8, rue Garanciere, 75006, Paris

No incongruity is found in this little book by Schwarz which is one of the few texts to juxtapose a 'poet and an artist' with a political figure of the stature of Breton and Trotsky. At first sight one might get annoyed by the personality-cult built around the myth of Trotsky and Breton, but the book is enlightening in relation to the notion of revolutionary culture and political theory. Schwarz's interest in Trotsky is sparked by the latter's pronouncement of the necessity to maintain the complete freedom for the artist in content and independence from any political theory. Schwarz's analysis focuses on Trotsky's statements on art as a separate entity to be kept 'independent', and hence to be a condition of 'anarchism'. The thesis is supported by a side attack on Stalinism and the revisionism installed in the Soviet Union with Stalin. Proof of this is taken with the suicide of Mayakovsky, interpreted by Schwarz, following Trotsky, as an act of rebellion

against the reinforcement of an art dictated by the party. The brief analysis of Mayakovsky's death is important in relation to the historical revolutionary upheaval of the Russian revolution and the subsequent bureaucratization of the Soviet life.

The overall thesis stands on the anarchic belief in cultural independence. It is rather a manifestation of bourgeois reaction to understand history and culture in such a heroified framework, as Schwarz does. Trotsky's statement: 'toute licence en art, sauf contre la révolution prolétarienne' should be carefully weighed against the pressure to justify a grand theory of anarchism that would allow for an unspecified independence of art. It should not be forgotten that the relationship between work processes results with culture as its outcome rather than as an independent enterprise.

## Gundrisse

Karl Marx  
Vintage Books

A lesser known book by Marx, and yet his major unfinished work. The English translation is quite recent and will prove useful for the Marxist student. It is sad to know how much hostility and preconception exist in the West against works such as *Gundrisse*, which instead should be a mandatory analytical work for students to understand the mechanics of Capital and Labour. The reading of such a mammoth work is relatively easy and instructive on a historical point of view. Marx considered this work to be the scientific elaboration of his theoretical foundation and it is an endless resource for understanding his method of enquiry to throw off the capitalist preconceptions on the social structure. In particular, his analysis of the relationship between production and consumption and the manipulation exercised by capitalism to curtail the buying power of one's own workers and to expand instead the consumerism of other workers. 'Production (thus) produces not only the object but also the manner of consumption, not only objectively but also subjectively. Production thus creates the consumer. Production thus not only creates an object for the subject, but also for a subject for the object.'

Another quote will suffice to illustrate the timely re-discovery of Marx's perception. *The Times* of November 1857 contains an utterly delightful cry of outrage on the part of a West Indian plantation owner. This advocate analyses with great moral indignation — as a plea for the reintroduction of Negro slavery — how the Quashees (the free blacks of Jamaica) content themselves with producing what is only strictly necessary for their own consumption, and, alongside this 'use value', regard loafing (indolence and idleness) as the real luxury good; how they do not care a damn for the sugar and the fixed capital invested in the plantations, but rather observe the planters' impending bankruptcy with an ironic grin of malicious pleasure...They have ceased to be slaves, but not in order to become wage labourers, but instead, self-sustaining peasants working for their own consumption. (Notebook III)

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Editorial Board:  
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Contributors:  
Amnesty International  
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STRIKE DISSEMINATES A CRITICAL  
PRACTICE BASED UPON THE NEW  
IDEOLOGY. THE DIRECTING GROUP  
IS ALLIED TO THE REVOLUTIO-  
NARY CAUSE THAT INTENDS TO  
CREATE CULTURAL POLEMICS, DE-  
BATES, CONFRONTATIONS AND THE  
PURSUIT OF COLLECTIVE EDUCA-  
TION FOR A NEW COMMUNITY ELI-  
MINATING LABOUR.





# Red Brigades On Trial

*extracts from the trial of the Red Brigade in Turin:*

**Semeria:** I'm speaking for myself. We have to thank first of all the imperialist bourgeoisie which on these occasions have shown us with extreme clarity what jails and courtrooms are. Lying about Moro's treatment in the people's jail, they told us what they never told us before. For instance, what is solitary confinement? Your complaint about jail isolation is referred to Moro and no ours...media has been telling us that solitary confinement worsens the body condition of the ones in jail. Again speaking about Moro's condition, they tell us there has been some physical pressures. Now the kinds of physical pressures exercised on Moro are exactly the same as the ones exercised on thousands of proletarian people jailed for years. A large number of them cannot be here in the trial room. But in our collective memory we know of many. We are not going to forget even one political prisoner. Nothing will remain unpunished. Now we are going to explain what this trial is for us. This trial is only one instance between classes and it is the expression of the power relationship that exists between classes in a particular moment. At this moment the trial is the method and the form with which we are confronting one another in a political sense with your own class. It is not an act of vindictiveness, it is not an act of justice, as you say instead. It is war action against a class. Therefore, both the trial as well as the imprisonment need not eliminate individuality: you are apprehended for Moro because of your practice carried out for centuries.

**Ferrari:** We are fighting for the political imprisonment.

**Basone:** For us detention and the trial are war actions. The accused is not us, but you.

**Judge:** All of this has nothing to do with anything.

**Franceschini:** The most repulsive hypocrites are revisionists. They are the last ones to come in and put their hands on the cake. The revisionists are the most power hungry. Look also at the pathetic lawyers here.

**Judge:** No one is using these adjectives against you, so please maintain a reciprocal respect.

**Circio:** You should accuse a Trotskyist.

**Judge:** How are these declarations relative to the trial?

**Bonavita:** They are related to it through our recognition of the political identity of the prisoners. Aldo Moro is not repressed as an individual, but as the leader of the DC (Christian Democrats) and as being the one responsible for the last thirty years of what is now happening in Italy. Keep well in mind that your instruments do not bend us. Because even in the special jails or in confinement we will organize ourselves. And we will also organize all of those that you call common criminals.

**Circio:** The media says that some prisoners from the IRA have been treated chemically by the system. You are the ones who know about the chemical manipulation of prisoners. You are the ones who know about all the violence perpetrated on prisoners in the special jails. "L'Astrada" is a monument to political torture. You are the ones to have used violence, the chemical treatment, the solitary confinement. And now you complain that one of your class is in a people's jail. We can assure you that this representative from your class, for which we cannot recognize individual dignity, is not treated with your methods. There is similarity between the violence that the State uses in countries like the Netherlands, Switzerland...

**Judge:** They are all red herrings.

**Circio:** It is not true. These are appropriate arguments because they refer to imprisonment under which we find ourselves. We should tell everyone that people's prisoners, from Amerio to the fascist Labate to Moro, have never received any form of

violence from the proletariat. They have simply been questioned on their political responsibilities. If they have given wider declarations, we are not concerned. These declarations are not, however, the outcome of any violence.

**Defense:** Your honour, can they answer the questions of the trial.

**Circio:** I have nothing to answer.

**Defense:** You are the accused.

**Circio:** No, you are the accused.

**Defense:** It is not possible to carry out a trial like this. I am not afraid. I am saying that you are the accused one and that you have to answer in this role. I am protesting about the legality of this debate. I do not want to hear political speeches. I am requesting the expulsion of the accused.

**Judge:** If you wish to stay in the court room, you cannot start a polemic with anyone.

**Paroli:** This is a political process. When the socialist party decides to send a representative from the government, when the media has made a defamatory campaign in their reports...

**Judge:** We have to judge the facts.

**Paroli:** The regime that you represent is also pertaining to this process.

**Judge:** We do not represent anyone. We are not the secular reinforcement for anyone. You should be made aware of this.

**Paroli:** This is a class confrontation and the ones who are disagreeing with us are the ones that depict us as the enemies of the working class: the Unions and the PCI (Italian Communist Party). Here in this court room there is everybody except the syndicalists: anti-terrorists, lawyers, popular judges... Agnelli (the industrialist from FIAT) is here represented through the lawyer Chiusano. Agnelli who steals to increase his power...

**Defense:** Agnelli has nothing to do with this. I am not defending Agnelli, and he is not our master.

**Franceschini:** What is Chiusano doing here then?

**Defense:** Chiusano is a respectable lawyer and you cannot insult him.

**Franceschini:** Chiusano is a servant of FIAT and you are a servant too.

**Judge:** Overruled.

**Circio:** Since you accused us of being an armed gang, is this a political process or not?

**Bertolazzi:** You keep saying that whenever we speak, what we say is not pertaining to the trial. You have instead commemorated a dead lawyer. We did not say a word about it. But to us this commemoration means absolutely nothing. We want to speak instead of Ulrike Meinhof and of all other political fellows murdered by you and your pigs.

**Defense:** There are no pigs in here.

**Bertolazzi:** You are one.

**Judge:** Order to have Bertolazzi taken out of the court room.

**Bassi:** At this moment I have no questions to make, but I will reserve the right to interrogate the jury made by servants of the State and the radical Aglietta who together with all those from the Radical party are Cossiga's lackeys.

**Paroli:** The media and the newspapers does not go to interview the mothers of the workers killed on the job. Workers are laid off by the thousands. You belong to a criminal organization.

**Defense:** The accused is attempting to overturn the situation. I cannot remain in my place both as an accused and being intimidated.

**Judge:** Paroli should be taken away from the court room, having a contemptuous attitude towards the court.

**Circio:** You have imposed four or five defense lawyers on us, who are connected with several parties, and who have to consult with them...

**Franceschini:** Even the syndicalists were supposed to have been sent here. How can this not be political? Why is everyone behaving this way? Because the PCI wants to become more State than the State, more police than the police.

**Judge:** All these considerations are yours and we will let you make them...

**Franceschini:** This is a political issue and I do not believe that you are of so little intelligence not to understand that the whole thing is part of a mechanism of which you yourself are also a little gear. Because at this point it would mean that you are frighteningly naive. Otherwise you do not have any brains. You are saying to us: I have absolutely nothing against you personally. But you take part in a fiction. We cannot understand how there can be such schizophrenia between your brains and your balls. If you accept certain laws, if you behave in a particular way, it is a sign that you agree with this. The law is a particular regulating device in the class confrontation. What is happening today? The world is divided into two classes: one is ours the other is your class. If such truth would be admitted things would be much clearer. What happens instead is that you are hiding the truth and because of this you are forced to invent abstract categories. In the end you will even believe your own abstractions. Even you end up believing you are above the political dispute. Lawyers and their swords on the defensive think they are the heroes. The truth is that you are afraid of us as a class. This is a political process. Why don't you admit it?

**Judge:** But have you asked yourself why we are listening to you?

**Franceschini:** We want to see that you are not even listening. We have enough support for our position in the country that demonstrates that this is a political trial. Following your logic the most special trial you can offer is a democratic one. We cry over our dead ones. We have never attempted to pick on people's minds with insidious hypocrisies. We commemorate our dead with a front. Among your dead there are five special policemen. They died not because it was "them" but because they had chosen that role. If five workers would have died you would not have cried for them. If yours would have been our dead, do you know what would have happened? We would have seen that little shrimp Leone (Italy's President) on television distributing medals...

**Defense:** It is intolerable.

**Franceschini:** What can I do if he is a little shrimp?

**Ferrari:** He is also a big opportunist.

**Defense:** I demand his expulsion. (Ferrari is expelled.)

**Franceschini:** This is an orgy of hypocrisies. These jails have not been inherited from fascism, they have been invented by your democracy. None of us have any haste for this trial...We could not give a damn about them. But the fact is they play a role in a very precise function. They may pretend not to notice their role, but they are playing a role. If tomorrow we are going to question them, they cannot act surprised. I am saying to you, the defense lawyer, I have nothing against you personally, but I am referring to your lawyer's gown. If I shoot your gown, and inside there is a man, I am sorry, but there is nothing that I can do. The conclusion is that here no one is innocent. Even Aglietta (the defense lawyer) is not here by chance, but has been consciously selected for this function. Tomorrow do not come and cry over your dead. Don't just stand there crying and complaining. Pick up your guns and accept the confrontation.



**“CARRY OUT THE STRIKE  
AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST STATE OF  
THE TRANS—NATIONALS”  
“BUILD THE UNITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
MOVEMENT”  
(Red Brigades)**



# Les Maitres Penseurs

Amerigo Marras

Among the prominent exponents of the French 'New Philosophy', Andre Glucksmann emerges as one of the 'authorities' of the movement with his book 'Les Maitres Penseurs'. The book is an outright attack on ideology and its effects. He questions, as a point of departure, the reason for revolt. Both revolt and ideology require large audiences obeying the dictum of the Modern Prince, who hypothetically defines for others the notion of freedom. The argument against ideology is a carefully woven reasoning, endlessly shifting between levels of thoughts, from meta-physics to philosophy. Considering the process of radicalization of the masses, Glucksmann believes revolution to be following one of the alternatives between: a) radical form, intimated in the present for a government of the future, eradicating all past history; b) an all permitting revolution eradicating all evils; c) a collectivization found in togetherness, which amounts to the subjugation of the majority by the few (if one says 'drink', everyone else drinks), as imperative intolerance.

We read the pretextual 'spirit of serving the people', as explicated by China, as the individual leader's notion of 'serving the people'. The '800 million Chinese people' are, in effect 'Mao's 800 million Chinese people'. What is accredited to a revolutionary structure, is nothing but a dictatorship, where differences exist between the individuals giving orders and the ones receiving them through the institution of **government**. Conventional Marxist atheism condemns theology, the orthodoxy of such a belief makes atheism into another theology. Here is a paradox. Typically in radicalization, freedom is set as the ultimate achievement for the revolution, meanwhile **freedom** is achieved always through **work**. Here is another paradox of ideology. Glucksmann questions the price that has to be paid in bloodshed in order to achieve freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Working to the root of the ideological evil, he maintains that revolutions are only the tip of an iceberg. Beneath the iceberg is the presence of **the text**, which supports the dictatorship which, in turn, uses **the text** to dominate people.

To prove this point he refers to the well known Nazi phenomenon, which used **the text** (Mein Kampf) as a marriage between the national and revolutionary ideologies. The results are known. Indeed typical of all dictatorships (equated with all revolutions) is the construction of an historical frame of reference. For example, Hitler, aware of the German desire to realize

socialism and a revolutionary change, distorted Wagnerian nationalism and Nietzsche's ideology for the realization of a national revolutionary ideology: Nazism. **The text** is supposed to be a seminal device for the identification of territorial unity, necessary in the actualization of the ideology first, and then of the revolution. Germany, France, and England are territories in so far as each of them represents an ideological entity, a territory marked by **the text**. When one speaks of some national characteristics, in fact, one is actually speaking of the ethical boundaries limiting people within a particular territory. Buttressed by the military, areas limiting people within a particular people within a particular territory. Buttressed by the military, Glucksmann says, ideology (**the text**) roots itself first and later becomes (theologically) metaphysical. Within the boundaries of a territory, **the text** makes the law and subsequently through its own reinforcement it becomes power itself. 'The French law is the wish of the French people' is nothing but the law of the few against the rest of the population. The question raised here by Glucksmann is more important than he himself meant in the context of the logical construct of his argument (against ideologies). The question refers to the discrepancy between the conceptualized notion of a 'social group' and the actual interrelationship and existing hierarchy of a 'social group'.

The question raised is the discrepancy between the two levels of logic with the problem of the fluctuating definition/meaning of 'society'. He partially fills the gap by considering, for example, the Jewish identity to be a real social group, as opposed to the political territory sustained by revolutionary ideologies. The Jewish identity is here used as an example of a social group victimized by ideology. However we have no counterbalance of accounts on the victimization of (the same or other) groups by the pure theological hegemony of Judeo-Christianity, for example. The Bible, **the text** par excellence, is nowhere mentioned in this philosophical treatise, as being a major contributing force to the victimization and colonization of entire populations. The figures of human lives lost in religious bloodshed is in any case far greater than any other victimizations Glucksmann takes into his analysis. The Jewish identity is taken at face value, its beliefs left unquestioned. Glucksmann consistently fixes his analysis within the classical historical frame of revolution, as exemplified and dictated by **the French** revolution. It demonstrates the connection between revolution and

text, between text and language, between text and printed medium. He accuses the text of freezing itself historically and not being able to receive further transformations. Innis and McLuhan have spoken of some of the characteristics of the Gutenberg medium; these however are not being re-investigated by Glucksmann. The rules of the law have a tendency to justify themselves, rather than serve the processes of government. They only serve the BUREAUCRATIC MACHINE. No polemics can be drawn by this verification, too much common sense to be disputed. Let's go on.

The major accused in this trial against ideology is Marxism, as equated to Stalinism. That Stalinism has been an iron fist of terror needs not to be excused; however Glucksmann extends this negative judgement to Marx and to all applications of Marxism, as an absolute and not as a self-contradictory statement. Glucksmann finds Marxism to have produced crimes, only. No other 'achievements' are acknowledged as long as a single 'crime' can be accounted for. The argument is preposterous, since no situation could ever guarantee the lack of abuse of power by members of a society. It is also a very unfair exclusion of obvious 'achievements', (a noun that Glucksmann uses with sarcasm) like the fights against illiteracy and economical stagnation in China, Cuba, or Albania. Marxism cannot be held responsible for the crimes of Stalinism; any analogy other than self reference is misleading manipulation. In the same token, we would contradict ourselves, the consideration of the Chinese, Soviet, or Cuban examples are particular circumstances and not general ones out of Marxism. The comparison of Stalinist crimes to the overall Marxist base would be, again analogically speaking, like trying to eliminate childhood because the process of learning how to walk is a painful experience for toddlers. This analogy is drawn in particular reference to ideological education, from which Glucksmann presupposes that a Marxist state equates people with children.

The attack against ideology is attacking the master thinkers par excellence: Fichte, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche. All of whom are male, German, and giants of the nineteenth century philosophy. No sufficient ideological distinction between these philosophers is ever made in the book. They are lumped into a single current of romantic revolutionary tradition. The separate chapters with headings for each philosopher are only formal separations of the same attack against ideology. Another commonality is drawn among the master





thinkers: their persistent anti-semitism, showing them as villains that would have supported concentration camps for 'social reasons'. The stronger polarity built into this anti-ideological theory, as the arguments rolls, raises the question on whether Glucksmann wishes to acknowledge the interests his arguments is actually serving. The innocent lamb is the typical Soviet dissident. A sweeping generalization or overly romanticized scenario is represented through the dreaded Goulag. Some comparative comments are reported about the American Youth revolting at home against the Vietnam War, for example, but not nearly as 'dramatic' as the Soviet counterpart. Glucksmann constructs a logic allowing an outside and an inside to the 'ideological' villain. It is puzzling that he does not verify at this point the principle of hegemony on a world scale. If this is not clear, I mean the dependence on the International Economic Market, certainly dominated by capitalist economy through all its brutality. Is Glucksmann simply glossing over the economical balances between advanced capitalist countries (which he seems to ignore the existence of) and the capitalist controlled fascist regimes in South America, Africa, and Asia? No. The only connection between these dictatorships is said to be the occasional existence of an ideology of a text. The investigation however, unfortunately does not go any deeper. Dictatorships rooted in world economy are totally misinterpreted. The only interesting point in this regard is the verification of the principle of contradiction, this not being a virtue, but a condition we are caught in. He says that (after Gödel) even mathematics does not recognize a static viewpoint, compatible with the principle of paradoxes, similar to the Cretan Liar: 'if it is not, it is; if it is, it is not'.

Glucksmann condemned ideology as coming from the intellectual elite, and therefore being bourgeois in origin. Implicitly Glucksmann realizes that the conditions of inequality are set by differences in education, which in turn creates a self-perpetuating orthodoxy rather than a self-awareness among the 'masses'. The criticism of Marxism, as formulated by the new philosophers is also bourgeois in origin and makes full reference to the Olympus of philosopher-giants and to the giants of Soviet dissidence. The contradiction of Marxism and of the new philosophy shows, however, the seminal importance of education in the process of self-organization of the people. The elitist education, Mr. Glucksmann does not mention, allows for the persistence of a wage labour, saleable as commodity within liberal economy. He rather questions the revolutionary theory as external to the revolutionary class, and that his class is external to the society that it is trying to revolutionize. The obscure point in this closed circle of theory-class-society-theory is the actual definition of society. Glucksmann does not outline the socio-economic interdependence within a precise historical condition. He only locates the effect from the theory, namely from a written text that by its own nature is a bourgeois static law enforcer, later coinciding with power itself. Secondly, the process of theorization-radicalization-actualization by class differences of a 'revolution' is not as clear cut as Glucksmann wants us to believe. Glucksmann forgets to analyze the different structural organizational conditions within capitalist and non-capitalist economies. Nazism and Marxism, exemplified by Soviet dictatorship, are freely unified by the author without differentiation of mechanics, effects, and of the social reasons that created them in the first place. The Soviet and the German models are the models of his attack. The Soviet model may or may not represent a truly Marxist economy, and in any case it is only an incomplete socialist regime that is by no means the dialectical communist state controlled by the workers. The disdain of ideology is spelled out more clearly when he states that liberal economy is reinforced by its disruptions, such as strikes, riots, protests, and polemics. **"POLITIQUE S'EST DONT ILS ONT LE ST"**. He supports his argument by using the examples of the workers' strikes at the turn of the century, which were followed by the scientific organization of work; and anarcho-syndicalism was followed by the assembly line. In the same token we could also affirm that the assembly line brought the violent struggle of the thirties, and so on. "Destruction makes room for construction". Why polarize these two meanings?

Another caustic remark by Glucksmann about the condition of professional Marxist-Leninists is that they are found among the academic intelligentsia in France. The same cannot be said however for the United States and Canada. Liberal thinking prevails here instead. This point should not even be discussed, remaining only speculation on both sides.

On the level of logic, the major contribution he makes is found in the formulation of concepts about limits

and the principle of paradoxes. The concept of limit entails Socratic doubt of knowledge (I know that I do not know). His metaphysical construct questions whether 'to find a limit is actually going over the limit itself'.

The principle of paradox, although not fully explored or articulated, shows the irony in revolutions often realizing a State opposite to what they were supposed to set up: from liberty to all to a state of detente in a dictatorial fashion. Glucksmann makes clear that he does not wish to offer solutions. The only solutions, he says, are what the State enforces: wars. Glucksmann's own war is hurled against ideology, and in particular against the German master thinkers: Fichte, Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche — all of them in the same category. The four philosophers are painted to profess anti-semitism, to such an extent that they and their ideologies would not resist Nazism. Why such a presumed anti-semitism, taken out of context as the analogical connector in this analysis? Simply because ideology, of the kind related to the nineteenth century German philosophy, condemns Jews' anti-state stance. Glucksmann's ambiguity on the definition of the State cannot go unnoticed. One should wonder how a religiously based human association, such as Judaism, does not constitute a State. Going deeper into this argument, one should question Glucksmann's lack of analysis of religion as of the long history of religious domination in the Western world. Using the same analogy that Glucksmann adopts, how can we not consider the historical premise, the theological construct of religion is the root of the problem, which persecutes non-orthodoxy.

The overall human condition or the overall economic hegemony is totally overlooked by his analysis. At its best we have a pre-occupation with ontological issues, at the loss of political, economic, and social considerations. He takes Lenin's statement: "Les Marxistes ne préconisent en aucun cas le principe fédératif, ni la décentralisation. Un grand Etat centralisé constitue un énorme progrès historique du monde entier..." (Marxists are not in favour in any circumstances of that federal principle, neither of a decentralization. A large centralized State constitutes a great historical process that goes from mediaeval fragmentation to that future socialist unity of the entire world...) and accuses the State of being the sole owner of power. If the State and the people are not the same entity, then is it possible to have a self-government where the people represent themselves in an organizational body? Would this be considered a non-State? Or what is actually a non-State condition? Deducing the answer in the negative from Glucksmann, the State is defined by its mechanics: it creates surveillance, it persuades its citizens to control one another, and it constructs a concrete image of its surveillance. Further he says that the history of civilization is the history of States. In other words, the history of civilization is the history of master thinkers. Now we ask, is Mr. Glucksmann placing himself into this heaven of philosophical giants? Similar to the German giants' ideological-roof-construction, leaving aside the reality of their times, Glucksmann is a master builder of metaphysical puzzles. He adopts a reductivist analysis of reality, narrowing his attack to ideology as the sole and major element responsible to genocide and other evils. The reductivist viewpoint is also dangerous because he uses an emotionally loaded metaphysics, brushing aside all socio-economic inferences. As a consequence we can forecast the increasing support his position will receive from right wing and liberal hegemonies to help him disseminate his ambiguous non-ideology.

No difference is ever made between an anti-ideological stance and a non-ideological opportunism, as the liberals would love to support. In the extreme, Glucksmann would probably support the following statement: "We don't want politics. The Government has non-partisan politics because if we were to have parties fight away, we would again fall into contamination. The only condition is that men do not mix their work with politics". (General Pinochet, appeared in TIME, October 1, 1973.)

More details are given in the book on 'how' ideologies operate: a first ideologically prepares people to revert to a political power, then it goes into extremist activities and terrorism, and finally it normalizes the situation while concluding the revolution. Revolutionary ideology, he says, does not preserve utopian, totalitarian, and traditionalism. Are perhaps these 'backward' conditions eternal and 'natural'? It is presumed so all along, indeed 'people' are imagined as being 'comme-tout-le-monde'. On which level is this typological configuration imagined? It is forgivable only because of the nature of language, this analysis being limited and often inappropriate in describing an everchanging condition. Then how can we believe the

argument on the fiction of the State, and not believe that the common-people are also a fiction?

We are told that the dissuasion strategy is superceding the persuasion strategy. Is he referring to his own strategy or do we have an effect of present conditions that are affecting us all equally? He sympathizes with the Soviet dissidents. He cultivates a compatibility between dissuasion strategy and dissidence.

When we consider dissidence as a form of behaviour, and the dissuasion strategy as a language we have in the end what he considers cultural revolution (i.e. ideology) to be: the alphabetisation of the people, who learn how to speak and how to behave (in a perjorative sense).

Glucksmann cultivates, by attacking his German giants, an aspiration to enter the same club of grand philosophy. He states that ideologies are adopted only a century later; that is, we are adopting in this century the ideas and theses from the nineteenth century, proof being given by Marxian. Reading the implication a bit further, we understand Glucksmann's anti-ideology fitting perfectly well within the history of texts that will be adopted in the future. Indeed he prophesizes that "Le siècle suivant sera celui des pédagogues". The master thinker leaves the role of revolutionary ideologue and becomes the counter-revolutionary pedagog, leaving and yet staying in the realm of ideology and playing the game with the principle of contradiction. He understands the McLuhanesque media thesis and states that (the future?) philosophy is now a marriage between 'electricity and the power of literacy'.

In his further attack against the Capital, as being non-existent and being just a book, he should not be taken seriously. He is playing the game of paradoxes in present electric culture (to paraphrase the media experts). He also annihilates with the stroke of semantics the validity to speak of the 'work', thus being for him an abstraction as well. To explain the dissuasion of the existence of the Capital, he states that one cannot think of a singular lump or Capital since in reality we have monopolies fighting one another. How can we not consider lump or Capital another. How can we not consider the monopolies as a single class with the same class interest?

We do not know the interests that are buttressing Glucksmann's position, we can only conjure it by implication. Is he riding the wave of the avant-garde thinkers who purposely attempts to be a step ahead of everybody else and returns to an anti-position in order to beat the position (ideology) itself, like the proto-typical twentieth century anti-art, anti-past (neo-futurism) syndromes? Or is he playing a strategy that fits with Einstein's principle of relativism, that Glucksmann calls the principle of contradiction? The book flirts with the concept of paradoxes, asking the question whether 'reality contains everything'. If it does contain its own evaluation it cannot be evaluated. If it does not contain its own evaluation, it still cannot be evaluated. To suggest a way out of the dilemma, we would not adopt only a reductive logic to analyze 'totalities'. The work of approximative compound of analyses of a multiple nature is a more appropriate method to criticize ideology and Nazism.

The error of philosophy is for Glucksmann its limitation in giving meanings to 'what' rather than 'how'. In turn, he also never gives direction on 'how' to proceed. The difference being the gap between general and particular ontologies. In relation to Marxism, the twentieth century has shown the distance from both the actualization and the total elimination of Marxism. In frustration, Glucksmann places himself along an ambiguous liberalism, that he implies is anarchic. Capitalism, being the dominant ideology today, will appropriate the 'new philosophy' spread more smoothly worldwide. The non-ideology surfaces as an alignment with liberal economic interests, recovering from the mistakes of physical violence. Under the pretext of an anti-ideology, the new domination by an elite (with economic and power interests) over the majority of uneducated and the labour enslaved is now normalized. The new fascism, more cautious and yet blatant, is stepping in, backed up by non-ideological positions of the new philosophers, eager to enter the commodity heaven of 'utopic fatalistic traditionalism' (to paraphrase the new master thinker's philosophy). Normalized 'comme-tout-le-monde', in captivity of electronic illiteracy, is the new alignment of the new philosophy, as old as the human exploitation of the world.





# El Infierno (Hell) Life Inside A Uruguayan Torture Centre

— a Testimony

## Author's Note

Dozens of my compatriots could write a more authentic, vivid report than I, but they are in no position to do so. Some are in prison; others lie buried in some dank orchard; so it is left to me to write this, rather than the people better qualified to do so. I myself have endured a mere *iota* of totalitarian brutality in our country.

ALL NAMES IN THIS REPORT ARE FALSE. THE REST OF THE REPORT IS PAINFULLY TRUE.

Montevideo, November 1976.

During 1975 and 1976, hundreds of Uruguayans, including myself, were in *El Infierno* (Hell). Someone — we don't know when — called it that. The place lives up to its name.

What is *El Infierno*? A place not yet located. By comparing notes and talking to other comrades, we have come to the conclusion that there must be at least **three or four** Hells. Torture is carried out in private houses, as well as jails and offices, but *El Infierno* is a place set up exclusively as a torture center. After several days, I decided there were about 500 people there. My number was one hundred and something. I was horrified when, one day, I heard them call out for Number 345.

How do you reach the place? On the floor of a private car or van, blindfolded and handcuffed, with your hands behind your back. At first, you are in a totally silent place. I tried to smell something — it was all I was capable of. I couldn't smell the sea or the countryside, only trees in spring. Then came the first interrogation — quite mild. Name? "You've already got my identity card," I argued. The reply — my first kick. Your address? Profession? Political affiliation? Parents' name? — even if they are dead and buried. End of first interrogation. Deduction: I don't know why I am here.

I stumbled into *El Infierno*. My first impression — music: loud music (too loud); loudspeakers playing Negro or Cuban dance music out of tune. I was given a seat and a number on a piece of cardboard was hung round my neck on a length of string. I discovered this another day, when they called out my number and I didn't respond. It was a crude apprenticeship. They dragged me by the pice of cord round my neck over a lot of tins, wooden planks and crates. Consequently, I fell three times and each time they punched me in the ribs, saying, "That's to make you walk properly, you communist shit." I had to learn to be blind.

Life never varied in *El Infierno*. You were always sitting down, and sitting down in the correct fashion, not moving your feet or dropping your head.

I had arrived on the afternoon of 7 November. I tried very hard to distinguish between night and day — why, I don't know; still, I did. It always seemed to be the same time of day — an eternal night for people without eyes. But we had ears and I could hear everything: the coughs of men and women, uncontrolled lamenting and groans of great pain. I immediately recognized the cries of a friend. That was when my torture began — my personal torture. Afterwards, they brought me some food. I was not at all hungry at the time, but I recalled a friend's advice, never refuse a scrap of food from the enemy, as you never knew when you would get any more. He was right. It was a liquid, more like

excrement than food; but I ate it up. Friend, you were right: there was no more excrement until the following night.

We were all seated in rows according to number, although the numbers were not in sequence. I was among the thirties and forties. There was constant screaming and that music which was driving me insane. I don't think it bothered the rest so much. I asked others elsewhere what they felt about it and no one seemed to mind that torture as much as I did. There was an indescribable noise from the loudspeakers, which were installed on both sides of the room and tuned into different stations. What with this and the sheer volume, you couldn't blot it out. It went on all through the night, as I learned on my first day. We pulled our chairs towards the other end of the room, apparently nearer to what could be called the right-hand speaker, but neither speaker ever stopped.

The night passed slowly and was just like the daytime, except that there were evidently fewer guards around — unless some of them were simply asleep.

At dawn, they began to call out certain numbers. The first day, I recall, it was numbers 39, 43, and 117. Fifteen to thirty minutes later, I realised where they had gone. Number 39 was a woman, as I was later to find out, and I heard her screaming that morning. The "torture machine" (torture room) was right there, close by. The other two were men. They screamed and cursed. The woman screamed increasingly weakly and intermittently. Presently, I heard them dragging chairs and things and some movement beside me. The first comrade, whom I recognized, continued crying. She always cried during every torture session. They seated someone beside me. I wanted to see something — a face — anything. Then I began to attack my blindfold; the blindfold consisted of a piece of wide plastic tape, stuck directly over my eyes, with a bandage tied very tightly over that. This produces a splitting headache. My hands were handcuffed in front of me in such a way that I could slide my fingers under the blindfold at the top of the bridge of my nose. I could see the floor and my hands — nothing else. It was a concrete floor and the very hard seats were wooden. These discoveries distracted me. Nobody saw me, but it was only by chance, because later I saw soldiers armed with machineguns facing us in a row. Probably my shortness was an advantage; very likely I was concealed by the person in front of me. I continued to explore my surroundings. On my right, there was a puddle, caused by Number 39, who had just been in the "machine". She was seated on her chair, unconscious and soaked to the skin, bound to the chair beneath her armpits. For a moment, I did not move. I remained quite still and became afraid that someone would call out my number. Presently, I leaned my head back and could clearly see the guards facing us. There were some sort of mattresses behind them, and I saw a very old (he looked 100) grey-haired man stretched out on one; I realised he was the person who had been continually groaning. The woman next to me coughed. She asked for some water and was told they would give her some once she had told them what she was supposed to tell them. She did not reply. By now, I could tell that there were chairs in front of me, behind me and beside me. I could touch the one in front with my feet, but not the ones behind and beside me. Then I kicked the one in front and received a hoarse cough by way of reply. I had made contact with somebody.

The next day passed as slowly as the night. It was my second day there. A voice (which I recognized) asked if we might stand up for a while. Silence. The atmosphere was tense. Someone else said, "May we stand

up for a bit?" That would be marvellous. They were obviously discussing it. Then one of the pigs shouted, "All right!" We rose to our feet with sighs of relief, also cries of pain. This was the greatest pleasure you could have in the place! They were changing guard that that was why they were so nice. The next lot of guards came on duty immediately afterwards: "Sit down everybody! Keep upright! Attention! Don't move! Keep your heads and feet still! Busters!" There were punches and thumps; chairs and people were knocked down, groaning. That was how they made their triumphant entry. That was how they said good morning. The woman next to me fell down. Someone made a move to help her. "Sit down, you shit!" She remained unconscious on the floor for goodness knows how long. Then she asked for water and someone, who sounded very young, threw a bucket of water over. Unlike what happens in films, she lapsed into unconsciousness again.

They announced that we could go to the toilet, but broke their promise. We spent the afternoon listening to black dance music and pop. I couldn't stand those loudspeakers any more. I was going mad.

I was sure I would be insane by the end of the second day. I must try to keep detached to stop myself from going mad. The best thing, probably, would be to concentrate on the rhythm — I didn't know the words of any of the songs. If I didn't do something, I would go mad. I raised my handcuffed hands. "What do you want?" "I want to go home." What a blunder! It could have cost my life. But I managed to divert my attention from the loudspeakers and started to study the jailers' feet. They were wearing jeans and "Oxford bags." You could tell from their voices that they were very young. They used gym shoes in order to move about silently. I sensed them standing motionless beside or behind me. Occasionally, they called out to each other, using nicknames ("Pocho," "Caiman"), and some who answered were right beside me. You couldn't be sure of anything; there may have been three or four of them for each one of us.

My second day was ending. Oh! To go to the toilet — I certainly needed to by now! I raised my hands and they led me away. The toilets were at the end of the barracks. There were no basins and only three lavatories. There were no doors. I had to relieve myself in public. The guard who had led me there started to whisper to someone. I became wary — I had heard of men as well as women being raped. Now that I was alone with them, I regretted having asked to go to the toilet. I responded to their pawing with obscenities, trying to undermine their sense of masculinity. I couldn't tell what kind of creature they were. Laughing, they shoved me back to my chair. I had come out of it alright that time. I learnt it was not wise to go to the toilet. I responded so I only raised my hands when others did so too. Some months later, a comrade told me how he had been raped in those very toilets by three of them. No doubt they were drugged, for he said they didn't smell of alcohol. Beforehand, they had gagged him to stop him shouting. They certainly didn't take this precaution because of us; possibly it was for their superiors benefit, or to prevent their colleagues finding out about their perversions or infidelities. After they had raped him, they stuck some copies of our clandestine political manifesto (written to inform the public) up his anus. He lost consciousness and came round in a sort of hospital, how long afterwards, he did not know.

## The "Torture Machine"

On my third day there, they dragged me from my chair and, without calling out my number, made me



dumb a staircase beside the wall. The yellow tiled steps were very worn away. I was about to have my first interrogation in the torture room; they were interrogating a man that morning and I was going to witness the process in order to know what was in store for me.

"Can you hear?" a man said. "Good! If you don't talk, you'll get the same treatment." I knew who he was and what they wanted to get out of him. I also knew that he would not tell them anything. From what they said, it was evident that he had been there a long while. They way their voices echoed suggested it was a small room. It might contain a table. They sat me down in a chair and brought over something like an upright ashtray which they placed on my right, level with my shoulders. I found out later that it was a tape recorder. The same friend who was being tortured in the room told me. He lay groaning on the floor. The previous night, he had been suspended by his arms and "softened up." "Softening up" could be anything. It might be electrical shocks to the genitals or other sensitive parts of the body, or being punched. When you fainted, you got "underwater treatment," which meant having your head submerged in a big tin bucket full of excrement, urine and water. The smell is intolerable. He told me this, and other things, some months later, when he was allowed to sit on the floor and talk from time to time. He never actually told us everything they did to him, nor did we tell him everything they did to us. We did not disclose the most extreme, painful and humiliating things. Day after day, and night after night, for 63 days, they tortured him like this. Such was his physical and moral strength that, months later, after he had left **El Infierno** and was in the barracks, they would use him for torture experiments. An officer, accompanied by pupils who were to be given a "practical demonstration," was in charge of these experiments. **El Paco** (a nickname meaning "the thin man") was the guinea pig. The officer would start by indicating the most sensitive parts of the body for electric shock torture and thus learn their lesson thoroughly, despite the risk of **El Flaco** dying at any moment.

Eventually, everybody in **El Infierno** could recognize **El Flaco's** screams. He never stopped swearing at them. That was all they got out of him — curses; not a single bit of information. Neither torture nor humiliation could break him. Even when they were not torturing him, **El Flaco** continued to curse them.

I know of many who acted in the same heroic way. In **El Infierno**, you lose touch with day and night

very easily; just one visit to the "machine" is enough. It happened to me one day, but I re-oriented myself the next day when the radio announced the news at 3:00 p.m. That was a slip by the guards and they immediately changed the station. They never let us hear the news.

#### Numbers increase

Fresh prisoners kept arriving. They came at any time of day, especially early on. The smell was obnoxious. Some women had menstruated but were not allowed to wash. One of them said, in the toilet, that she had menstruated three times without being able to wash. And, while being tortured, you involuntarily urinated and wetted yourself. Our clothes were smothered with what was presumably food. As we had nothing to put our plates on, and were handcuffed, we couldn't help spilling our food. We stank.

It was a cold spring, and we were freezing as we had to sit still. Sometimes, they actually gave us blankets, but the next guard to come on duty would remove them. On the fourth night, they threw most of us on to the dirty blankets from the soldier's barracks. This was to help us sleep. We all lay piled up there, men and women together, for four or five hours, suffering from our own smell. Worst of all, they kept watching us, and when someone nodded off, they threw water on him, or pulled his hair or kicked him. The women would shield their breasts. Then, all of a sudden, someone they called **Chico** would run at top speed right over our outstretched bodies. Lack of space prevented you moving. I began to have difficulty breathing. Presumably one of them told one of his superiors (he might have known that I suffer from asthma). He came over and removed me from the pile. This was worse — awful. I was lying at someone's feet who was talking incoherently. I listened and recognized the voice of someone I loved, but everything he said was horrible. Just hearing it made me suffer. And the night seemed endless. When I got out of **El Infierno**, I discovered that the comrade whom I had thought I heard had never been detained. How we can fool our-elves! I could have sworn it was he! Everything is confused there and you can believe you are listening to your father or your children.

They tortured us all day. They kept taking people off in groups of three or four. They would drag them back and throw them on the floor, or, occasionally, if there were in a very bad state, onto the mattresses. Many were no longer groaning; they were unconscious. Those of us who had not yet gone (including me) were tense with apprehension. From time to

time, someone would give a faint cry and the comrade who was forever weeping wept the entire day. They took her away at nightfall. I could hear her crying in the distance. Her cries grew louder and louder. She screamed, was terrified, in agony. She was a wife and mother. I knew her well. She is now in Punta de Rieles prison. Suddenly, unexpectedly, everything stopped. A grim silence set in. Someone was running. There was whispering. The torture stopped; so did the screams. A few moments passed. A car abruptly started up, set off and was driven away into the distance. **SOME-BODY HAD DIED**. It didn't matter whether the person was young or old, male or female. Someone had died.

An hour later, they got their breath back. The radios are turned on again and some loud cracks a joke. Only he, not even his friends, laugh at the joke.

That night, the guards on duty started to "soften" our joints; they inflicted electric shocks on us as we sat there on our chairs. They spared nobody. To make matters worse, they had poured disinfectant all over the concrete floor to camouflage our smell, and this increased the effects of the shock.

#### The Betrayal

Another day, it was my turn for the **planton** (forced standing) treatment, along with two others: one man, who, judging from his voice, was over 60; and a young woman, not much more than a girl. The **planton** involves standing with your legs apart. It is unwise to fall, but standing like that for hours is very difficult. At dusk, the old man fell and three of them began to interrogate him. They practically drove him out of his mind. They said shocking things about his wife and daughter-in-law and about what they were going to do to him next. I gathered, from overhearing the interrogation, that the old man had two sons, both fine men and fine workers.

At nightfall, the old man "betrayed" them. The young woman wept slowly.

A year later, I learnt that all three had been together in the same jail and I was able to round off the story. The old man really did go mad in the end. He prayed all day and asked his sons to do the same. They never spoke to him again, but they gave him their blankets on cold nights so that he would not freeze to death. For the soldiers treated him very badly and, on top of everything else, mocked him — this was his reward for collaborating with them.

The second week was more tolerable; my spine



photos courtesy of Amnesty International

gradually adjusted to the endless sitting. But the music still drove me mad. One day, we sang a tango tune and I recognized X's voice. She was a wonderful woman. Her spirit was never broken and she addressed the guards condescendingly, as though they were children or simpletons. I never discovered what she had to endure, but I can imagine.

Towards the end of the week, I noticed they were becoming more organized and getting everything they needed. To begin with, they had only one doctor. He supervised the torture and, during interrogation, I heard him advising the torturers on which parts of the body to hit a person who had got some illness. The doctor dealt with such details. It was not presumed convenient for anybody else to die, but, occasionally, as a result of over-enthusiasm and drugs, the torturers' hands would "slip." Some people died because of these "slips."

At the end of the week, a male nurse joined the team. After a while, we managed to recognize him. He was a young homosexual policeman whose name began with A. He distributed some medicine to women and the oldest of us.

Nuber 69 was pregnant. I saw her three times: once on the *planton*, once on the floor, and once early in the morning, on the day she aborted. We heard sounds of movement and groans and guessed what was happening. They treated her on a filthy mattress on the floor. This was where a life was prematurely ended. By now, the baby boy would have been learning to walk on some warm sandy beach. Later, I learnt that, as they had decided it would be risky to beat her up, they had stuck hot needles under her nails to make her tell them where her husband was, as they couldn't find him. It should have been very easy to find him: he had been detained for a long time by another authority, and they didn't even know! And so they wasted a life! They killed a child!

Another day, they checked the bandages. Obviously, many people had done the same as me. They were terrified that we might recognize them. They changed everybody's plastic tape and tightened the cloth bandages. At this moment, I am holding one of these bandages, made of good quality coarse cotton. Prominently displayed on the edge is "Made in USA." Mine was not of such good quality; in fact, it wasn't much more than a rag, torn during some raid.

#### An Exploit

The morning they checked the bandages, they found that one of the lads had made holes for his eyes in his bandage and had been watching everything that went on for several days. They had forgotten to put the tape under the bandage. What spirit! I found out later that the man was a countryman from Minas. But he paid a heavy price for what he had done. They stuck the plastic tape on and pushed their fingers into his eyes. "That's so you'll never be able to see again, bastard!" they said. He jumped with pain. When he got out of *El Infierno*, they took him to the military hospital, and I know this was because of his eyes, although I don't know what happened to him in the end. But I ran into his sons in the park

one day and asked them if their father needed anything. "Spectacles," they replied.

It was hell for them as well as us, although they were obviously better off. How much better? This is illustrated by the following story. One morning, they took a large group of us to the toilet (we were now allowed to go to the toilet, but only to defecate) and they kept control of this. Because of our diet and sitting still so much, we were getting more and more constipated. We all stayed a long time in the toilet that morning and there was only one guard. He summoned one of his colleagues, but he did not come, so he gave vent to his fury on us. He began to strike out indiscriminately with his fists and feet. Nobody moved. We waited to be hit, not knowing from where the blow might come. We didn't even shout out. The guard grew more violent. Some women fell and banged their heads on the lavatory walls and bowls. His colleagues heard what was going on and dragged him forcibly away. He had gone mad. Like Dante's *Inferno*, this one had its own rules.

#### The Night of the Dogs

The night of the dogs was one of the worst nights. We had already heard dogs barking and had imagined they were like those fine, faithful animals which we keep as pets and love like children. But these dogs were quite different, as I was to discover. They suspended three people, a woman and two men, in a corner. They hung the woman by her hair and the men under the arms. Their feet were four or five centimeters above the ground. The dogs stood underneath them, barking. I could visualize the three of them trembling with fear. The woman (fortunately for her) fainted. The dogs never stopped barking. At dawn, they asked them if they had anything to say to the commanding officer. No one replied. They brought the woman round by throwing water on her, and asked her the same question. She did not reply either. They took her down and threw her on the floor. The dogs attacked her. "Be quiet, Fox!" one of them said. The dog grunted affectionately at its masters. Then they all went, dogs and men, the latter leading, slowly and purposefully, the dogs following, faithful and murderous.

Soon after, someone else cut the ropes and the men fell to the ground. I can imagine the pain they were in. After being suspended like this for hours on end, all your blood runs to your arms and legs, and dropping suddenly is agonizing. After falling, they were motionless. Yie, the man from Cerro died. This had been his final torture. His wife saw him in the barracks after the incommunicado order was repealed. In front of the guards and other detainees, he shouted out to everyone about how he had suffered and been tortured. Afterwards, he was taken back to *El Infierno*, where he died, suspended above dogs. That was his last torture. He entered *El Infierno* and left the same way, SILENT. Despite the prohibition to open the coffin, those who did saw his darkened legs and torn body.

#### Milk

One evening, about a month later, a guard walked

up and down the rows asking if anyone wanted some milk. It was the first such offer I had heard. Naturally, I wanted some. Many people declined the offer. Those who accepted had some from the same jug. It was cold, tempting and incredibly pure-looking in the middle of such filth — the jug too. I don't know how long it was after drinking the milk that I regained consciousness. I'm not sure to this day whether it was the milk that made me faint, but I found myself abruptly falling into an abyss full of colours and strange shapes. My Aunt Adela was there with an enormous bunch of roses; each rose the size of a three- or four-year-old child. They were bright beautiful colours. My aunt was there, yet I knew she wasn't. I knew where I was perfectly well, and I knew she would never be there; all the same I stretched out to touch her. I was suspicious of the milk and didn't want any more. Yet I didn't associate what had happened with the milk. A few days later, I saw my aunt. I could never be sure whether my suspicions were justified, but I invariably advised people not to drink the milk, even though I may have been wrong about it.

In all the detention centers in our country, it is usual to administer hallucinatory drugs. Everyone reacts to them in different ways, but comparing notes, we discovered that nobody became completely divorced from reality. The drugs made us partially unconscious, but they did not make us ecstatic, as people in American films about drug addicts. Everyone experienced an intensification of the imagination, seeing all sorts of things — nature, the sea, fields and so on. One comrad told us how he had seen the sea and felt the waves lapping at his feet while, simultaneously, a guard was standing beside him singing.

Throughout the month, there was a constant turnover of prisoners. Some people's numbers would no longer be called and new ones were. I don't think they continued to use the number of anyone who had gone. By now they had got as calling out Number 500 and higher. I never again heard Number 69.

Throughout this period, practically every day, they reiterated that nobody was under arrest, no one had been arrested, but kidnapped.

#### Purgatory

The prisoner turnover continued, more people came, others left — but where did they go? They were obviously not calling out their numbers after they had been removed.

Someone took hold of my arm and pulled me up. I was let to a beautiful, elegant armchair — no doubt stolen on some raid. They seated me in it and handed me a piece of paper, which I read under my bandage.

I HEREBY DECLARE THAT, WHILE I HAVE BEEN HERE, I HAVE NOT BEEN TORTURED AND WAS PROPERLY FED:

..... (signature)

"Sign!" they said, and I signed.









# The Myth of the Artist As Rebel and Hero

Kenneth Coutts-Smith

A Paper delivered to the Caucus For Marxism and Art, at the Conference of the College Art Association, New York — January, 1978.

I do not propose to present for your consideration a paper in conventional form exploring a defined and specific problem in the broad area of our professional interest. This is not to imply that I personally have any general objection to a focused art-historical scholarship; though I do have a specific one. The latter, of course, is towards that form of "research" which depends upon an idealisation of culture, upon severing the art-event from its social context (or, at best, admitting merely a simplistic and vulgar determinism) — ostensibly in order to provide an objective historical detachment, but, effectively, to justify a particular class view of culture.

Also, my own preoccupations have always been those of an art-critic rather than of an art-historian; though, perhaps inevitably, given our present social reality, criticism (being structurally less institutionalised than academic art-history) both demands and achieves a more complex sense of historic relations. My personal attempts at analysis, frequently confused though they may be, have been for some time now of a dialectical nature. By this, I do not mean that I simply attempt to observe events in a dialectical relationship of influence and progression, but that I also struggle to develop not merely my thought, but the form of my analysis in dialectical terms.

Marxism is not simply a way of explaining the human social experience, it is also a way of thinking about it, and ultimately, of living it. The dialectical position, seeking as it does, to develop new and unexpected relationships of thought, is obviously in conflict with the traditional art-historical impetus towards the accumulation and stockpiling of inert information. The difference is analogous to that between the development of a body of lived human experience on the one hand and the accumulation of property on the other.

The method of my discourse will consist, then, of an interim report (for dialectical thought is never finalised, always provisional) of some of my thinking concerning what appears to be a central task now facing a social criticism of art: namely, the dismantling of a structure of myth and assumption concerning the nature of art (and the self-view of the artist) that tends to obscure our present understanding. And inevitable drawback, however, in such a context as the present one, is that the attempt to develop what Fredrick Jameson has called "thought to the second power" lies, as he says, in its "holistic totalizing character: as though you could not say one thing until you had first said everything; as though with each new idea you were bound to recapitulate the entire system."<sup>1</sup>

Inevitably, therefore, I shall raise points that you may well consider in isolation as self-evident, even simplistic. This risk is taken, however, not merely in the hopes of achieving a dialectical exposition, but also in terms of the fundamental teleology of the dialectical method. It is taken for a "tactical" reason, if you will; since, as I understand it, a Marxist perspective on either the criticism or the history of art (as on any other area of human activity) implies a praxis, a transcendence of passive scholarship into the active and on-going process of inventing the world.

I do not imagine that anyone would now question the fact that for some time there has been a widespread and developing attitude of refusal on the part of a significant number of contemporary artists towards the basic institutions of the capitalist art-

market. What is debatable, however, is the extent to which this tendency represents a social (indeed a socialist) analysis of the institutions and cultural ideology of capitalism despite a vociferous quasi-Marxist rhetoric. What is also debatable, though less obviously so for reasons that I trust will shortly become apparent, is the extent that this tendency springs from a collective rather than an individual motivation, from a shift in the consciousness of the art-community rather than from the re-affirmation (though no doubt an unconscious and last-ditch one) of the old bohemian imperatives of personal creative voluntarism.

Though largely an inchoate phenomenon (mingling, at its extremes, social utopianism and a sort of disillusionment engendered by the recognition of failed promises — idealist anarchism and sour grapes) this current has, over the last decade, peaked in various ways across a spectrum that stretches from organized demonstration and confrontation to various sequential attempts at formulating fora for debates and introspective analysis.<sup>2</sup> I have said: "over the last decade..." and it would not seem to be insignificant that we are now at a point almost exactly ten years after the confused events that ran like a cultural brush-fire through the capitalist world and climaxed in Paris, in May, 1968.

It has taken that long for the unformulated and reflexive refusal towards a certain structure of ideological assumptions to begin to develop effectively into an analysis of the nature of culture and the role of art at this present stage of the evolution of capitalism. This Spring will doubtless provide a focal point for both the re-assessment of the "meaning" of 1968 and for the consolidation of strategies that are applicable to the realities of late capitalism.

The world realities is here emphasized, since it seems in retrospect that 1968 may have indicated only the apparent rejection of a socio-cultural system that concretized and justified the commodification of culture. One reason for this suspicion, in the broad arena, lies in the remarkably rapid breakdown of "The Movement," in the apparent *volte-face*, the withdrawal, in many cases into quasi-mystical subjectivism and ecological mystification. One would rightly expect any serious critique of capitalist cultural ideology to have demonstrated more stamina in failure, and to have demanded in the first place a more solid reward than that of an "instant" political gratification.

Another reason for this suspicion may be observed in the field of our own professional interest. It has often been claimed that the phenomenon of the "de-materialization" of art springs essentially from a political response on the part of the artist who, in rejecting the traditional and capitalist structures of the art-market, opposes a "cabal" of dealers, critics and speculators, and, consequently, attempts to produce purely conceptual and non-material works of art that cannot be bought or sold. In this case, one would rightly expect to note the wide emergence of a political (or at least a social) content in the growing complex of concept-orientated work.

As is well known, with very few, though highly visible, exceptions (Beuys, Vostell, Metzger, Haacke — all Europeans, incidentally) this did not happen. Even the claim to have accepted the challenge of non-material art to provide, as Lucy Lippard would have it, "a drastic solution to the problems of artists being bought and sold so easily along with their art..."<sup>3</sup> erodes quickly in the face of subsequent events. Rather than providing a defensive "block" of purely creative integrity, the de-materialized work of art was easily and quickly assimilated into the capitalist structure of economic relations.

This happened largely because, although the artist may have attempted genuinely for various reasons to withdraw the work itself, the physical art-object, from the sphere and domination of the capitalist art-market, he did not, at the same time, withdraw himself; that is to say, he did not withdraw his praxis, the process of conceiving, making and manifesting the art-object.<sup>4</sup> By trying to transform the object of art and not the process or art, the individual artist found himself trapped in essentially the same relationship as before, isolated in the face of the whole complicated capitalist mechanism of exposure and communication, of audience-recognition, fame and identity. What had not been anticipated (in an attitude that was at best a naïve stance, at worst a justification) was the fact that *prestige was also property*. Even the most transparent and rigorously de-materialized works remained stubbornly subservient to the special exigencies of the art-market.

It would seem reasonable to observe in both the broad "cultural revolution" of the late 1960s and the specific phenomenon of the de-materialization of art a common re-affirmation of individual subjective imperatives which, in terms of the historical fine-art community, has traditionally manifested itself in a particular structure of attitudes that define the fundamental self-view of the artist. This self-view has, of course, throughout the modern period, been essentially structured upon the basic notion of the artist as an individual axiomatically in *opposition* to established social and cultural norms, as representing, in fact, and in his person, the ideal of rebel and hero.

Recognising this fact, it may well be that an analysis of the myth of the artist as rebel and hero, and a further understanding of the dialectical relationship of this myth to what we must call the "ideology" of the avant-garde (for clearly such a myth dictates historical events as much as it illuminates them) can help clarify the specific problems that presently confront us; and do this not merely, may I add, in critical or socio-historical terms, but also in respect to the more central question of current studio praxis.

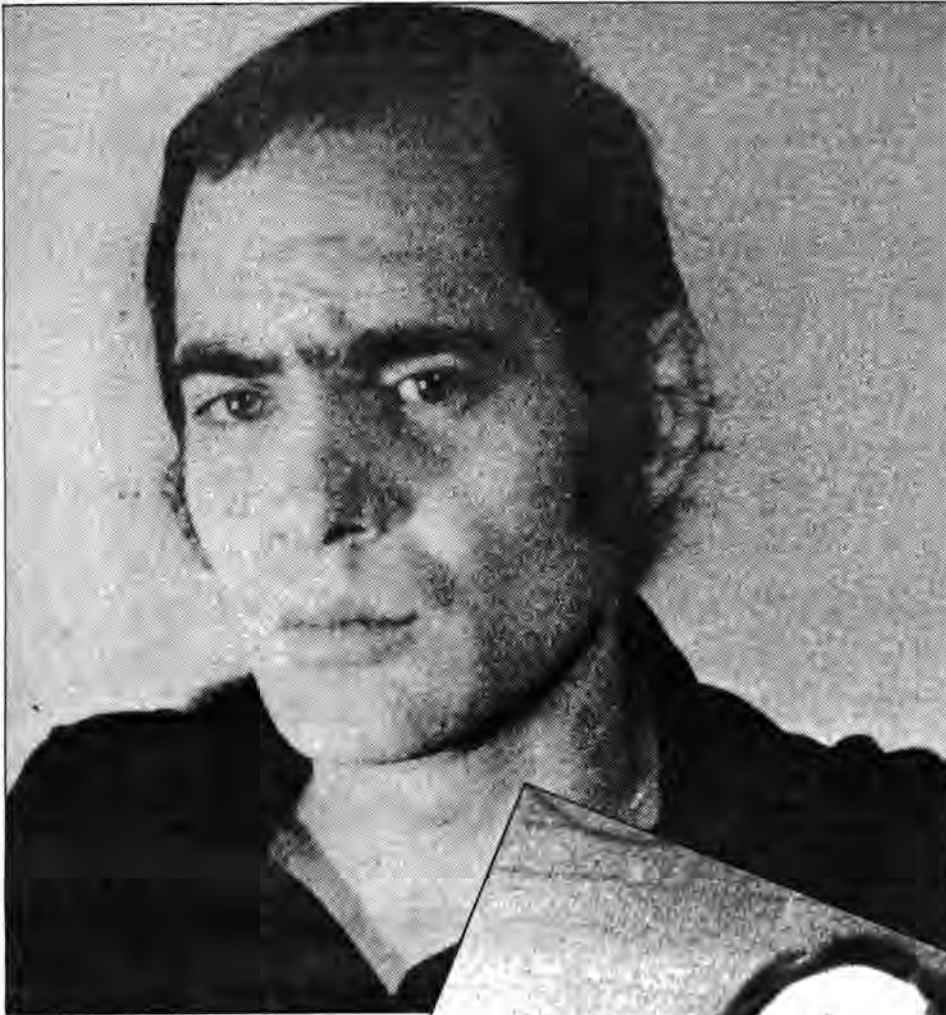
Obviously, a necessarily short and diverse paper such as this cannot possibly indicate even the flimsiest structural framework to draw your attention to the potential that may lie in this direction, as well as to indicate (in the context of a rapidly changing social and political climate) that, though there appears to be a new understanding of the nature of the art-work that is presently emerging, there would not yet seem to be a clear concomitant reassessment of the artists' individual self-view.

I assume that we may (here, at least) accept the fundamental notion that art is a social activity, and that the manifestations of art are relative — mutating in form and essential nature as the broad cultural superstructure resonates to the shifts and developments of the economic base. This perspective inevitably concludes that the function of art assumes different forms under different historical conditions, and that it operates (both in regard to the collective consciousness of society and the individual consciousness of man) at any one moment in a manner appropriate to the historical moment.<sup>5</sup>

This, obviously, is a direct contradiction to the generally-held view of the nature of art in our society. It is a negation, not merely of what might be described as an academic, conventional, popular or middle-class understanding of the function and nature of visual culture, but also, it would seem, of certain assumptions central to the most progressive and advanced elements of that culture.

It has become clear in recent years that there is now  
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## DISSIDENCE IN THE WEST



*Lily Eng, dissident artist in Canada*

# 5 POLEM

## IDEOLOGY

'NEW PHILOSOPHY' Bernard-Henri Levy

'Open Road', J. Skovorecky

## HUMAN RIGHTS

'Heresies'

Body Politic

## WORK

Bruno Ramirez (ZEROWORK)

Peter Dunn & Lorraine Leeson

## BEHAVIOUR

Marina Abramovic

Socio-Biology

## COMMUNITY

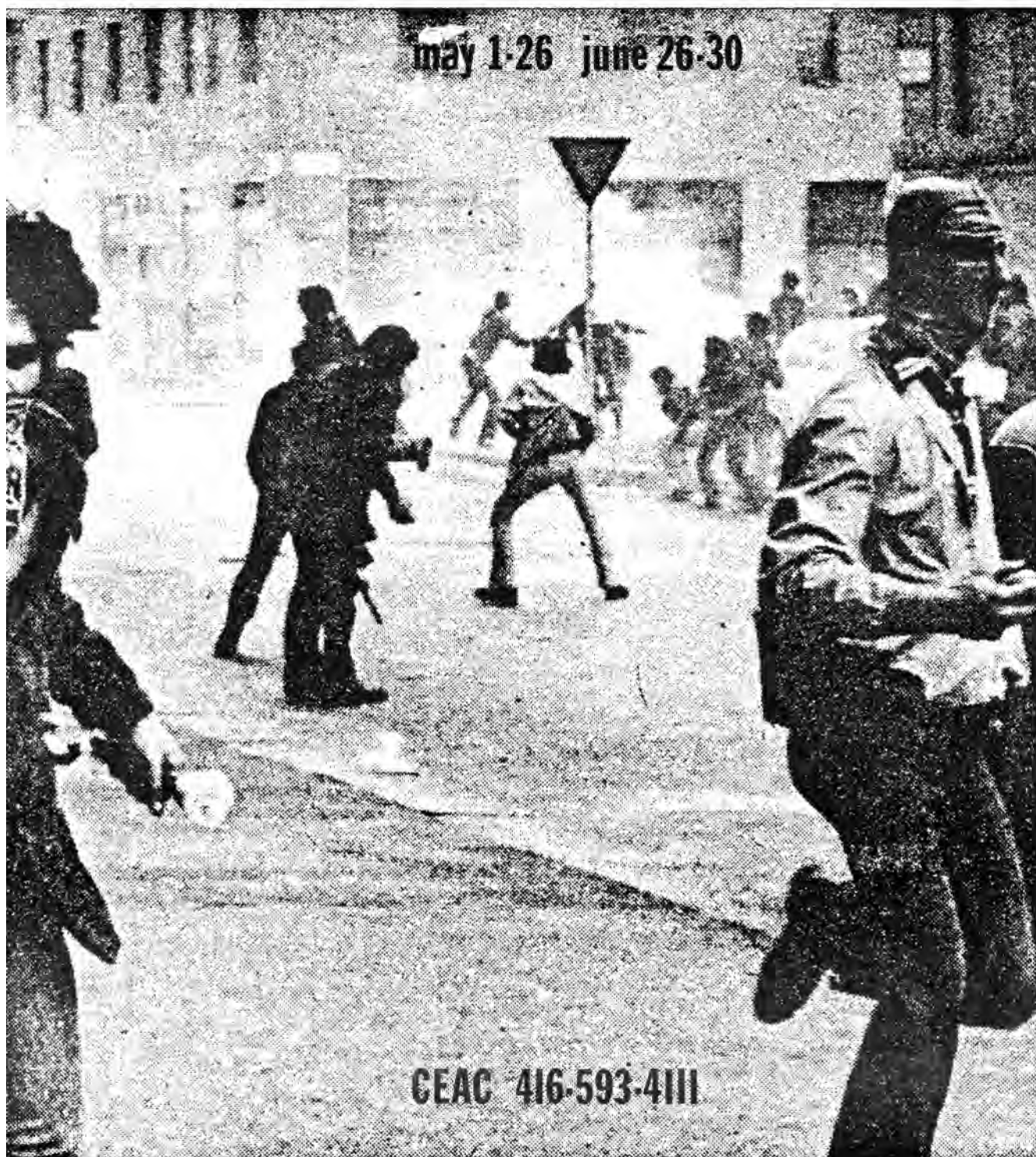
Joseph Beuys' FREE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Maria Gloria Biccocchi ART TAPES





# ICS to the notion of anthropology



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no longer any essential difference between a "bourgeois" view of art (using the word in its general and classic sense of "middle-class") and an "avant-garde" one. Indeed, the congruence now appears to obviate any effective contemporary use of the latter term other than in a strictly historical sense. We may state that, in a real way, the avant-garde came to an end at the point of this very congruence; and that the term may now only be effectively used in regard to a defined historical period.

The melding of the avant-garde and the middle-class viewpoints has arrived at a consensus concerning the nature of art and of artistic activity. In one sense it is possible to state that the previous minority view central to the advanced art community (which constituted the ideology of the avant-garde) has now been absorbed into the larger ideology of contemporary capitalism. As an aside I must remark upon the ambiguity of the term "bourgeois" in this context; as John Berger has recently pointed out, the cultural identity of the bourgeoisie is presently in erosion not before the forces of an emergent proletariat, but in the face of a rising corporate state.<sup>6</sup>

It is an obvious error, therefore, to regard the current demise of the avant-garde as being in any way the result of an **appropriation** in a manner analogous to the recent commercial appropriation of sub-culture value in the areas of popular music, style and fashion. The expansion and acceptance of modern art in the capitalist world is clearly not simply the result of a speculative process, of the cultural and financial penetration of the art-market and the museo-critical complex. It is, rather, the result of a convergence of opposing value, and it would seem clearly to indicate the cessation of the previous mutual struggle between the bourgeois cultural world-view and that proposed by the avant-garde.

This, however, does not necessarily mean that the struggle has been resolved by an absorption, by the victory or ascension of one structure or value system. It does not even mean (as is suggested by the greater part of contemporary conventional and academic criticism) that a body of advanced ideas long misunderstood, have now become accepted. What, in fact, has occurred is that one structure, the determinate one, has now ceased to exist, has finally eroded in the face of historical change, and has, consequently, negated the justification for the opposition.<sup>7</sup>

This process has been obscured by the fact that we consistently confuse two separate notions — the idea of **modernism** in the creative arts and the idea of the **avant-garde**. Art history demonstrates a sequential process of cultural development that may be regarded as being analogous to that of increasing technological complexity; there would seem to be little doubt that artistic events, since the point of the Renaissance, anyway, have formed, in effect, a cumulative structure.

In one sense of the idea, we can observe "the modern" existing at any arbitrary point during the last five hundred years or so; we can observe an ongoing consciousness of fresh standards continually superseding even those of the immediate past. If we regard Durer, for instance, as being representative of certain aspects of the Northern Renaissance, we cannot help but also see him as a spokesman for a body of vanguard concepts, despite the fact that he seems to have largely misunderstood the ideas emanating from Italian sources.

The process of change in the visual arts, though obviously cross-linked dialectically to all the other domains of both mental and material culture, nevertheless demands and defines its own logic; the logic of a self-conscious and deliberate attempt at innovation. Yet, until comparatively recently, never was this activity at any time conceived in terms of an **opposition** to the cultural conventions of the period; though they were, of course, frequently thought of in **contrast** to the retardataire conventions that were in the process of being superseded.

Even Romanticism (perhaps, especially Romanticism) was an expression of the dominant currents of the period. The very emergence of the idea of the artist as hero — the Byronic ideal — is consistent with the developing exaltation of individuality resultant upon the social and political consolidation of bourgeois society. The Romantic artists were not at odds with the dominant value system, and, neither, essentially, were any of the other artists until comparatively late in the nine-

teenth century.

There have been many studies of the development of both bohemia and of artistic and social non-conformism, but, to my knowledge, no-one has adequately dealt with the fact that, though this phenomenon took place to a large extent in an artistic milieu, there was a remarkable lack of consistency between social rebellion and artistic innovation.

Indeed, bohemianism, in its earlier stages, remained a purely social response, one dependent, no doubt upon the alienation experienced by artisans and decorative artists in the emerging industrial and mercantile society. There would seem to have been no co-relation whatsoever between a self-view of the artist-as-outsider and stylistic "modernism"; any understanding to the contrary is dependent upon our contemporary habit of projecting back onto the past a self-view of the artist that did not, in fact, appear until the advent of Symbolism, for it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the concept **rebel** was to be added to that of **hero**.

Only with the full consolidation of the idea of art-for-art's-sake (and how late that finally was may be emphasised by reminding ourselves that Manet disavowed the Impressionists since he still, at that late date, entertained hopes of academic salon acceptance) did "modernism" in art discover itself in total opposition to an established social and cultural value system.

The most striking transference that took place at this point was not so much one between style and content, between formalism and narrative, but one between pictorial culture (that is to say, in effect, as it was de-socialized) so the artist institutionalized his stance of rebellious opposition. From the very beginning, from say, as a convenient date, Rimbaud's *lettre de voyant* of 1871, the new consciousness of the "avant-garde" was to be defined by the merging of two ideas: the commitment to a stylistic modernism increasingly dependent upon internal justification and the commitment to an intransigent opposition to the bourgeois cultural and moral value system.

This was, despite the fact that we are presently conditioned to regard it as a normal, even desirable, combination, a remarkable development, since at no time before has art ever sought values outside of the historically dominant ones of the period in question. The story of the avant-garde is as much the story of the search for these values as it is the story of mutating stylistic elements. With the rejection of historic reality, this search had obviously to be focused upon the various domains of the ideal, upon mysticism, hermeticism and the primitive.

We must now, as I have intimated, regard the avant-garde as a closed historical period. The apostolic succession which we have observed opening with Rimbaud, draws to a close with the generation of Pollock and Dylan Thomas. It is perhaps only in retrospect that we now notice a punctuation mark that divides us today from heroism, the rebellion and the confidence of the Abstract Expressionists. We have certainly taken note of the changed role of art in contemporary society; our very presence here testifies to our disquiet with the concept of art as a simple commodity.

Yet, it is necessary to ask, are we not still looking, to a large extent at the world with eyes and minds conditioned by a self-view that no longer applies? For, quite simply, what application can there be in an ideology that remains based, in any form, in the idea of *épater les bourgeois*, when the bourgeoisie, as a distinct class, no longer exists?

Avant-garde culture, throughout its history, was balanced and opposed by what we can only describe as bourgeois culture. It is notable that this polarization vanished as the avant-garde drew to a close. What remained, for example, of bourgeois visual culture (I think here of an artist like Andrew Wyeth) was inexorably drawn by the new corporate institutions of art, the museo-critical complex, into the post-bourgeois mainstream. The rapid assimilation of avant-garde visual culture is a consequence of the emergence of a post-bourgeois society, of the emergence of the corporate state.

The paradox of the bourgeois world was that it required the artist to assume the role of rebel and hero in order to ritually justify the ideology of competitive individualism while it was necessarily scandalised by the artist as the antithesis of the social conformism required by mercantile society.

It is certain that a specific role was demanded of the artist during his co-existence with bourgeois culture, and the best of our predecessors handled that role with exemplary moral commitment. It is equally certain that this role has been for some time now a clumsy anachronism, devoid of moral scale. Finally it is certain we must clarify our individual and collective self-view if we wish to avoid being drawn, as passive agents, into the cultural institutions of the capitalist corporate state. In historically losing the role of the artist as rebel and hero, we stand at risk of being embarked upon the role of the artist as bureaucrat.

#### Footnotes:

1. Frederick Jameson, *Marxism and Form*, Princeton New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1971, pp 306-307.
2. I am thinking here of a sequence, in New York for instance, that spans the period from the Art Worker's Coalition of 1969, *The Fox* and similar polemical journals, up to the formation of the Caucus for Marxism and Art and the present meeting. Similar developments may easily be observed in any developed capitalist country with differing degrees of intensity. The most advanced formulations of this critique (much more advanced than in the United States) have taken place in France and Germany.
3. "I think the art world is probably going to be able to absorb conceptual art as another 'movement' and not pay much attention to it. The art establishment depends so greatly on objects which can be bought and sold that I don't expect it to do much about an art that is opposed to the prevailing systems.... The artists who are trying to do non-object art are introducing a drastic solution to the problems of artists being bought and sold so easily along with their art..." Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object*, Praeger, New York, 1973, pp 7-8.
4. By and large (as an examination of the majority of the artist's statements contained in Lippard's book) the motivation would seem to have been a subjectivist and personal one.
5. Care should be taken here to understand this in a dialectical context, not as a form of determinism, not (most certainly not) as the type of reflective theory common to so many art-history text books which maintain a direct and vulgar relationship between events in art and the spheres of politics and material culture. I am thinking here of the banality (indeed the essential falsity) of the synoptic tables in Janson.
6. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, B.B.C. and Penguin Books, London 1972, p 32.
7. The erosion of the struggle between bourgeois culture and the avant-garde raises an interesting and crucial problem. The determinate factor of that struggle was the imperative towards constant innovation. This process, traditionally, has always operated within the domain of style. The fact that there has been no significant stylistic "jump" for some years would appear to bear out the central contention. Nevertheless, the impetus towards innovation itself (just as the basic self-view of the artist as rebel and hero) does not yet seem to have been cancelled out. Following upon the erosion of style (or the transgression of it, if you will) we note the imperatives of the new penetrating into conceptual and process areas. This "innovation" would, in turn, currently appear to be giving way to a social dimension, a latter-day Polli-art. It would seem that there is a very real risk that aspects of the new socio-political consciousness in the fine-arts may be nothing more than a substitute for stylistic innovation. As an aside to this, we may also consider the following: if bourgeois culture has now been subsumed into the new culture of the corporate state, the old hostility of the avant-garde becomes irrelevant. Indeed, should this hostility even move from the social to the political plane, there would seem to be no real threat offered to the capitalist status-quo. As long as vanguard culture focuses its hostility upon the target of an effectively defunct bourgeois culture then it will be tolerated. Therefore may not aspects of the present development in Marxism be a permitted, even encouraged, safety-valve? The fact that his phenomenon is operating so strongly within the structured academic institutions would suggest that this might be so.





montage: Paul McLellan

In addition to the issues of social democracy and urban terrorism, continued support of trade unionism is one of the most urgent and controversial questions facing the left of today. Although acknowledging the ideological myopia of unionism - its proclivity to accept limited economic gains, rather than realize a complete re-distribution of wealth - Leftists have traditionally held labour organizations to be a positive step towards the development of class consciousness. They have also recognized that Labour organizers, given suitable objective conditions, have often stood at the vanguard of revolutionary activities.

Conditions which once fostered class antagonism have been altered essentially in the modern Liberal West. The Wobblies calls for the emancipation of Labour are but muffled echoes from the past.

The media, however, in its barrage of indite-ments, accuses the Trade Unions of independently disrupting and undermining democracy. "But a common characteristic of the holders of such opinions, which are pronounced so freely, is an alarming ignorance of the real nature of the contemporary organization, activity and goals". It is the reality of these activities and goals which are analysed in **TRADE UNIONISM UNDER CAPITALISM**, edited by Tom Clarke and Laurie Clement.

From the classics of Marx to the radical analysis of several renowned sociologists, Clarke and Clement have collected twenty important articles which evaluate the complete spectrum of labour's relations to capital. The tone of the following contributors is set by Lenin in his famous article "What is to be done". He argued that unions, due to the limitations of their sectional economic goals, have never effectively opposed capital but are able to develop only worker's consciousness. Lenin rejects the syndicalist tenet and maintains that unions are too sociologically restricted to be the chosen instrument for achieving Socialism. The effective revolutionary—a party—is not merely dependent upon the strength of the working masses, but also on the theoretical strategies of the 'Socialist intelligentsia'.

Despite the optimism in the clashes following the October revolution, and the eventual outcome, W.M. Gallagher and J.R. Campbell

(Direct Action), basically echoed Lenin's apprehension. As we now know, the faces of the workers did not turn 'towards the goal of industrial freedom'. Labour unions were, and still remain, totally unsuited for the inevitable struggle.

Through the remainder of the book runs repeated attacks against union bureaucracy and its ineffectual reformism. It is suggested that they have essentially legitimized wage-slavery through the guise of collective bargaining. By committing themselves to the liberal mercantile view of society and ethics, labour organizations have become intrinsic components of Capitalism. They have become the pacifiers of dissent.

**TRADE UNIONS UNDER CAPITALISM**  
Edited by Tom Clarke and Laurie Clements  
Fontana/Collins Publishers 1977

# Transcriptions + Annotations

Alan Sondheim

Engels to F. Mehring, July 14, 1893: Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him: otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or seeming motive forces. Because it is a process of thought he derives its form as well as its content from pure thought, either his own or that of his predecessors. He works with mere thought material, which he accepts without examination as the product of thought, and does not investigate further for a more remote source independent of thought; indeed this is a matter of course to him, because, as all action is mediated by thought, it appears to him to be ultimately based upon thought.

Stefan Morawski, Introduction to Marx Engels on literature and art: "ideology, i.e. systems of thought which are delimited by human interests, and accordingly in attitudes toward the givens. Ideologies, which are always highly complex, are conditioned in the last instance by the pervasive contradictions and general evolution of the class-divided societies of history." "Ideology will here be considered as the statement or symptomatic expression of a pattern of social-class attitudes, interests, or habits of thought," "an author's world view — the ideology —."

I identify contemporary Marxism (for which K. Marx is in no way responsible, re. Engels August 5, 1890, quoting Marx: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist") as an ideology, possessing its own modes of discourse, reifications, based at least in part on a corpus (desiring boyd) of texts and trajectories through this body.

(I begin with a fear of ideology, ideological argument) An ideology by definition implies an absence: an absence of alternative trajectories through the complex semantics of our society. An ideology of optimism ignores the absent: those 138,000,000 dead — the minimum — through war or revolution in our century.

This figure, it must be noted, ignores the estimated 1.2 million Cambodian dead since the Communist takeover, plus casualties of the Cambodia-Vietnam war. The figure climbs.

If anything, these absent, whose bones we tread upon, point to several things: The danger of embracing any belief system that postulates itself as definitive, "at one with reality." The close alliance of the notion of "ideology" with "appropriation" — the embellishment of possession through ideological strategy.

The poverty of notions such as "lessons from history" (whose lessons), "Marxism," "capitalism," "any-ism" as legitimized steering mechanisms in a society "tending-towards" a particular state or evolution. Ideologies imply absences; ideologies create them. Consider for a moment the long lines of refugees across the earth, people on the move, people elsewhere, people who do not fit in. These contradictions (predictions, analyses, versus existing conditions) do not admit of dialectical solution: they exist as contradictions.

Recognition of this, the world of the dead, is recognition of a certain responsibility in our art, our life-world activity, our beliefs. Can one conceive of both a set of beliefs and their neutralization? Only through the presence of both — belief and disbelief, function and dysfunctionality, can one respond, freely, to the world.

I continue with a sketch of the difficulties I have with the Marxist viewpoint (in response to this panel), and end with some prescriptions concerning the manufacture of works of art.

The three major sources used in the following discussion are Engels' *Dialectics of Nature*, Graham Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union, and

Kirschenmann, *Information and Reflection*. Marxist epistemology, centered in Engel's *Dialectics of Nature* (also his Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of the Classical German Philosophy and Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*), stresses a system which is best interpretable in terms of binary or many valued logics, a system grounded in the "objectivity" of the material world. It is, however, becoming increasingly evident today that these logics must be replaced by threshold logics (which do involve a transition from quantity to quality) and fuzzy set theory (in which membership may be an indeterminate function). Furthermore, through the advent of cybernetics, artificial intelligence and the like, knowledge itself is seen as procedural, an a priori interpenetration of theory and practice. All of these new areas of discourse (which are illigently pursued in the Soviet Union, as well as the late-capitalist countries) operate on a level of dynamic abstraction which is hard (but not impossible) to reconcile with materialism. Arguments from both quantum mechanics and cosmology enter the picture: what is the "objectivity" of black-hole matter? what is one to make of consciousness as an irreducible construct influential on the behaviour of fundamental particles, such as appears in the theories of de Beauregard and Wigner? All of these areas, it seems, shake the epistemological foundations of Marxism (considered as dialectical materialism), the doctrine

of reflection ("irritability of matter") notwithstanding.

One may replace Marxism with a truncated version, leaving "the hard sciences to the hard sciences," operating only on the level of the social, cultural, political, and economic life-world. But without foundations, Marxism becomes heuristics only. (Consider for example, a transformation within Marxism from a textually-grounded ideology based on the corpus to an ideology of procedures — the programmatic basis would be lost, and it would be — not a matter for a conference such as this one — but one tool among others for social and political equality on an individual and societal level.)

This consideration, however, overlooks the messianic tendency of Marxism, which — strangely enough for a materialist science — leads to the acceptance of a theoretically non-falsifiable teleology, based on the interpretation of historical "evidence." For the life-sciences, Heisenberg's principle of indeterminism must be rewritten: "the subjectivity of the observer interferes with the reception of the thing observed" — in fact, "the ideology of the observer appropriates the observed." Marxism as an "ideology of procedures" would still be Marxism, even in truncated form, since its organization could then proceed (as it often does in practice) from a



"These contradictions ... do not admit a dialectical solution; they exist as contradictions"



transcendental mechanism steering from above and equated with messianic practices. In fact, these practices are almost always **more productive of alienation** than the bourgeois society they counteract, since they "permit" the employment of terrorism and violence on a large scale without the activation of an internalized ("psychological") retribution. Consider activities under Stalin or Pol Pot. It must be noted that such practices are not endemic to a messianic Marxism in particular; they are found whenever ideology is equivalent to steerage, i.e. whenever ideology assumes the function of the superego from above, and libido from below.

The practice and world-views (if I may be permitted the term) of both communist and late-capitalist regimes are based on appropriation, and a tokenization (the self as quantity for the self). The numbering of prisoners within the Soviet Gulag has its parallels in the return to a tokenized "naturalism" in the West (i.e. "the newer, more natural, you" — i.e. "The Face is Yours, The Felling is Camay") — a different kind of slavery, a different kind of discourse. Appropriation, tokenization, reification, and so forth, are all based on **functionality**, usage: instead of an idealism, preservation of the thing-in-itself i.e. necessity of independence, etc. we have the thing-for-one — concept of "the language of things," or "back to the things themselves" is forgotten.

Or, in a sense, replaced, by the concept of the *liber naturae*, the book of nature — whose author, displaced from death, becomes an internal and necessary structuration centered on automorphisms and more generalized principles of symmetry. The *liber* implies a text; the texts of Marxism are placed in a parallelism with the texts of nature; man and woman are at one with the world.

Aesthetically, this is paralleled by attacks on "art for art's sake."

A major text here is Gyorgii Plekhanov's *On Art for Art's Sake*, which has been widely reprinted. Some quotes: "The tendency toward art for art's sake arises and develops where an insoluble contradiction exists between the artist and his social environment." "Why should any man having no interest in society and the struggle raging within it, assume the role of chronicler of that social struggle? Everything about it would bore him to distraction. If he happens to be an artist he will not even mention it in his work: he will give himself over to the 'sole reality,' his own ego. And since his ego may weary of its own company, he will invent for it a world of fantasy, high above the earth and all mundane matters. This is exactly what many artists do today." In this quote, and in many of the earlier texts of Marxism, struggle is binary. As opposed to this, I develop the notion of a situation, defined as a locale in which truth functions may not be defined; struggle, today, is no longer a series or even **matrix** of events — it is a situation bounded by fuzzy set membership functions, governed by fuzzy threshold logics, etc. This analysis grants art for art's sake a positive function outside the socio-cultural micro-arena of its creation; see below.

It is possible, however, to develop a **Phenomenology of approach** which takes for granted the autonomy of the natural world, while stressing its interconnectedness. This phenomenology utilizes concepts such as "domains of discourse" — which may or may not be closed, "the recession of the world in the face of analysis," and so forth. Simultaneously, it deals with appropriation and autonomy; with aesthetics, it stresses both functionality and dysfunctionality.



"The abandonment of prescriptive measures....may result in a more positive role for the artist."

Diamat and late capitalism, through their stress on functionality, consider all things, all relations (such as art, the Dead Sea, the population of Georgia) as utilities. **They serve.** Function becomes problematic only in art and art-related areas. Far from "art for art's sake" being, necessarily, a retreat — it may also posit an opposition to appropriation of any kind, a most positive **function**, given the anonymous/oppressive conditions of industrialized societies in general. All this is ideal, however; in reality, artists more often than not succumb to the prescriptive measures of these micro-worlds. "Art for art's sake" within a Soho context is meaningless (as is the context itself). The problem is one of audience.

Or, rather, Soho in its entirety serves as a convenience for culture: the regime of the outrage, prescribed within an economically subverting perimeter. In other words, a token.

The abandonment of prescriptive measures (the abandonment of the procedures of traditional art-school education to some extent) may result in a more positive role for the artist than that of either an opposition to appropriation or creator of the unique object in a mechanized world.

At one point, I worked on a theory of the latter, involving the notion of crafted presence — the existence of a thing which was worked-on, to the micro-level (i.e. within a dense semiotics, to borrow from Eco), within a continuous branching matrix of choice. These **things would subvert** (i.e. tendency to heal) procedures of alienation, quantification, etc. were it not, paradoxically, for their limited distribution! If art is to function fully in terms of social purpose, it seems to me, it **must** involve available information-media in one form or another.

This role is based on the theoretical ability of art of being **non-methodological** (meta-methodological, if you will), **transcendent, integrative and investigative**: non-methodological: The core of art in the so-called "popular" mind is still personal freedom, the ability to choose (Marxist determinism notwithstanding). Freedom, through an existential twist, demands responsibility: an engaged art, opening-up the domains.

**Transcendent:** Not in any metaphysical sense. The transcendence of art is based on the dysfunctionality of the proposition "art for art's sake," as well as on the non-methodological approach. Transcendent may be just another word for "interdisciplinary," given a de-structuration of the disciplines themselves.

**Integrative:** The destructive/absurdist tendency of much of Western avant-garde work is to be deplored: a confirmation of social anomie or pornography (conditions felt implicitly and explicitly by large portions of the population) does nothing — in the long run becomes part of the problem. A call to social, psychological, political, philosophical, etc. activism is more useful. Perhaps the "representation of fragmentation" should be replaced by the "representation of representation" — a level in which some degree of coherence might still be possible.

**Investigative:** I place art on the perimeter of culture, delineating the edge-phenomena of society. Circumscription, the circumscription of circumscription, and so forth — eventually, through extrapolation, the hermeneutic circle of interpretations of interpretations must be broken. This does not require a philosophical exegesis, but simply a withdrawal in practice.

Art, and any other life-world activities today, continues under an unimaginable threat of annihilation. The shadows of the death camps, from whatever war, whatever country, are long indeed; they threaten to overtake us at every step of the way. Behind every corner the dead lie — ourselves, or others, our children, if not our parents.

The reasons for this are so obvious that they become painfully transparent. Art and our other activities, including the raising of children, become hopelessly meaningless in the face of the death camps. But the ideologies (Marxist and Capitalist) that have created the possibilities of autonomous technologies and destructions are based on materiality and quantification, appropriation and function. Art alone possesses the ability to operate out of a tautology (art = art) that corresponds to a **mule symbol, a null set**, a point, if you will, in opposition. Or, if not in opposition, at least adjacent to. The only **useless** regime



womankind and mankind have left. And therein lies its function...

Thank you.

Upon rereading, re-analysis of the above, two points, it seems, are omitted: a. The use of art in terms of large-scale modelling, i.e. providing coherence within the life-world; b. The relation or lack of it between Marxist analysis and certain traditional world-views — I am thinking of the Pima/Papago concept of him'dag, "way," which is a key term in the theory of shamanism (see the writings of Donald Bahr). Him'dag is based on the idea of autonomous non-material life-worlds — for example, there is the "way of the eagle," "way of the mountain," and so forth. Transgression against one of these may result in a "staying sickness," which can only be cured by specific rites. The interior of the him'dag may well be "unknowable" — its symptomatology of a human is based solely on contingencies. Transgression is rarely wilful and one behaves with propriety. There is obviously a close alliance between him'dag and independence, which is paralleled by contemporary anthropological theory. The Marxist viewpoint, on the other hand, creates an initial analysis (which knows no limits) based on socio-economic, quantifiable considerations. This viewpoint — like the viewpoint of capitalist mercantilism (which resulted, perhaps, in the cargo cults) — is damaging to traditional societies in the extreme. In all of these instances, if it were not for the presence of considerable technological apparatus, the confinements of power, the violence of the procedures of the acquisition of information...

The following are a series of notes which contributed to the statement; they may be of value.

(In relation to the Theses of Feuerbach) "Thinking is practice; an internal reorganization of the world is necessary in order to avoid the inactivity of neurosis." Neurosis is located at the interstice between framework and distinction, this merging into that.

Thought is process: accumulation, assimilation: Thought is procedure: recession of structure. (Re: some of the current work in artificial intelligence; see for example Terry Winograd, *Understanding Natural Language*.) The recession of structure: The reflective quality of matter (i.e. Lenin, Plekhanov) leads to a recession of organization, postulations of duality, the discrete.

"Contextualized existence before essence: The resolution of the non-fixity of objects within shifting frameworks. Revolutionary practice becomes the ability to shift frameworks against frameworks, affecting the transformations of consciousness. The labor of knowledge. Interpretation is implicit in change; change must be implicit in interpretation." "The abstract, in its embodied structuralities (religion, cybernetics, locales as phenomenological horizons) is neither theory nor practice, but process dislocated ontologically from both consciousness and materiality."

The problematic of a textual, textual ideology is the problem of independence, polarization; this against that, this grounding that. A Hope Marxist is a contradiction in things.

The dialectic reduces to difference; listen to Engels: "The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa; The law of the interpenetration of opposites; The law of the negation of the negation." Again, as with the text, this against that. Consider the notion of distinction, its appearance in the Sheffer stroke of the propositional calculus — appearance within the vocabulary of the grammar of our language, an object does this, does that, noun postulated against verb; implications of the divisibility of time and space; distinction: the de-contextualized object.

The analysis of capitalism itself is a decontextualization: embedded within the problem of alienation.

The artwork disappears in the absence of a framework; the result is a singularity in the topology of culture, a black hole collapse which draws the context against itself. The work hastens to this end through its developments as self-referential sphere of discourse.

A work of art, therefore, as a machine, barren of discourse, which presents a discourse not its own, which lays bare (barren) its own structure, which permits appetite of an external world: ...a neutral

window, which functions as a global pattern recognizer, interpreter, theorizer, a machine proffering an activated mirror, an extension, differentiation, of disjunctures, a machine embedded in the interstices of the landscape, periscopal, in which ideologies are generated and reproduced, in which the natural re-fabricates itself — a machine in which anomalies appear as singularities within the exhausted topography of the world, in which the flesh of the earth heals itself through the fluids of innumerable orifices...

The machine which bars, frames and bars: a gesture pointing towards a wall, the collapse of the wave-equation into a singular, reducible, token; the perimeter of culture, increasingly illegible...

One carries this machine against that one, this desire against that: flesh against flesh, as if possession (pattern of thrusting an ownership, demarcation into the world of shared markers) defined not an horizon — the horizon, an autonomous structure whose dyads encompass the Poles, exemplify both universal and null sets coextensive with "reality."

...the disjuncture of art leading to transcendence, the edge-phenomena of culture leading to investigation, and the resulting social disjuncture leading to (re)integration...

...thus there are two arts, two histories: that which encompasses, contains its relations, and that which separates through an insistence on intended meanings in the world...

Given a text X which bifurcates, divides at each conceivable instant, which structures, deconstructs, locates, gives way to: a text which clarifies, denies: it becomes an organism of discourse, a moment of cognition, it becomes the thing itself. The exfoliation of the ideological text ensures its survival within any possible life-world: One can, after all, hold onto a particular theory: only economy is sacrificed.

A Marxist econometrics allies itself with distinction, the opposite of a phenomenological Marxism which stands as the delineation of the life-worlds of late-capitalism, quantifications, reification... It demands its presence (that of stratifications, alienations) in terms of an autonomous economic body which results in a fourth psychoanalytical entity, "the economic" contingent upon ego, libido, superego. Guattari and Deleuze extend this horizon, socio-economic and sexual flow are allied in the manner of bloods flowing from a single wound.

**This horizon, which is here and which is there.**

(In terms of independence vis-a-vis him'dag etc.) It may well be a fundamental rule of reality that (within the limits of the quantum or cosmological formalisms) independent transformations exist. These are not only based on nearly-decomposable hierarchies, or physical considerations, but also on the retention of independent phenomenological horizons of individuals: Does the left hand know what the right hand is doing? This is not an argument for radical individuation; independence cannot be equated with complete unknowability. But it is an argument for the existence of the individual upher, the mute symbol, the territoriality of the ego after all.

An inverse (one among many) of independence is appropriation, value in terms of possession, a reterritorialization of land and resources. In this respect a geometrized Marxism might prove valuable. In an article, "The Territory of the Object," I argued for the presence of parabolations within culture — the example pertaining to economics was based on a hand-axe passing through three stages: its formal function as body extension (tacit knowledge, and so forth); its tokenization as a result of trade; and its re-entrance as body extension in terms of tokenization. This last also results in a tokenization of the body, the body as quantified unit for both selves and others. (One must remember that traditional societies — more than our own — place what are seen externally as severe limitations upon the structuration of the self in terms of the life-world.) The tokenized body as commodity becomes a thing-for-selves, and returns to "the self" (which has been effectively deterritorialized and fragmented in the process) as "natural" — witness the advertisements for the natural you which involve the placement of transparent symmetrizing skin upon the body — body as synthetic skin — or the concepts embodied in the lessons of Lamaze, "natural" childbirth. Consider then a Marxism which analyzes simply the geometry of culture — the topography of

the perimeter of the body in terms of commodity fetishisms, a topography which takes into account scripts (role, action, and state assignments) and frameworks ("global" semantic units) — a Marxism whose concept of the economic extends even to the level of particle physics or psychoanalysis (see Brillouin, Freud)...

The limits of Marxism: the invasion of the machine, image as machine. (Consider in opposition, the analysis of the machine in Capital I.) Consider the cargo cults, Navajo pictorial weaving, the cases of the Pueblo potters Maria Martinez and Nampeyo, whose early histories were related to Anglo processes of Pueblo cultural reconstitution. These are instances interpretable in terms of the machine, literal movement of lever against lever: or an object lying there, in the sand, in the sun: a system of irreducible cultural washes. "We tend to identify object with function, which assumes that the object is equated with its properties — and its properties are revealed through technological intervention: exploitation and development." The natural extension of the ultimate alienation, tokenization of the body, is not a particular work ethos, but a stage in technological development which is dependent upon labor as steerage — an extension culminating in the great Soviet prison camp system. The movement of the machine, cargo, into the jungle, is the movement of the potential employment of manual labor: extraction and appropriation of materials in a materialist environment. Manipulation and an employed Marxism may be identical.

Consider the possibility of a contraction in terms, a natural hermeneutics whose goal is to interpret the world as text, while recognizing the author as projection... This hermeneutics is related to an "outlaw intellectualism," a rather transcendent category resulting in samizdat and the absence of methodologies — back, somehow, into the world or art, but an art with an extended distribution system... The outlaw intellectual retains and interprets... a consciousness of alinity which is postulated in every framework — "the implication of the existence of a culture with specific and active techniques of transmission and deflection — techniques that depend upon the function of the Signal and Signal resonances." Of course, such a hermeneutics, similarly with a geometrized Marxism, must take into account the destructuring tendencies of semiotics and structuralist analysis, as well as the symmetry and categorical principles of the resulting locale-schema. The question becomes one of appropriation in a peculiarly intellectual fashion: the denudation of the environment in terms of observer-scripts, based upon splittance. Is the steerage that results a body co-extensive with the locale?

Analysis of the Image: "The Image is placed; operatest; is perceived. It possesses the form of orthogonality; it contains. The content appears to refer; the content is circumscribed by history. The Image does not 'have' interior; it is interior. The Image disappears into its own Mirror; No longer formulations of the Ego, its result is the dissolution of the Self — the social Self which extends back into what appears to the Individual as the coherent Text of his consciousness. The Mirror (of the mirror image stage) is a Wash which carries content as Projection from the dissolved world. The Word lies like a cloth upon cloth: enfilades are stratifications, layers and weavings. The things and their appearance shine; the things Function. One cannot, after all, utilize the Projection of a camera for the reproduction of the locale; the Expulsion, object itself, is necessary."

One begins with the stance of reification: the gallery, the museum, all modes, networks of local distribution, profits, statements of a meagre capitalism. Soho and other centers result from image proliferation to the extent of prescription of anomalies and their immediate tokenization; in the words of Baretta, "You're dead, man, You don't see nothing anymore." This becomes that, and through that, becomes this. Cannot it become, once again, for and within a kind of refusal, an instance of the placement of an object in a locale — an engaged object, an engaging object? A thing which possesses its own disappearance: as if: in the midst of an outraged crowd; as if: where was its origin; and what was its message; as if: structure: this one or that one; or at least: coherence, a thing itself and everything else, at one, one and the same time: an abstraction of prose, particles, a location or a floating model: exhaustion like the placement of this sentence, words against words, transforming into letters and the token of the page.

"There is no body, the body is an object."



# SCHOOL FOR MARXIST EDUCATION: APRIL-MAY-JUNE LECTURES 8pm

186 West 4th Street (4th Floor), New York, New York 10014. tel. 212-989-6493.

## TUESDAY

### REVOLUTION & GRADUALISM IN EARTH HISTORY & HUMAN HISTORY

Shane Mage April 18

This author of a book on Marx's law of the declining rate of profit upholds the views of Velikovsky which emphasize catastrophes in explaining geological and historical occurrences and challenge the uniformitarian orthodoxy of most modern geologists.

### THE ISRAELI LEFT

David Mandel April 25

A close observer goes behind the headlines to a society rent with class and ethnic contradictions, where the traditional labor movement is disintegrating and a few small left groups are organizing a new opposition.

### THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT CRISIS

Harry Magdoff May 2

### DOES PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST MEAN WAR IN BLACK AFRICA?

Charlotte Dennett May 9

A look by an eyewitness journalist at U.S. attempts to forge new alliances and crush radicalism in this strategic part of the world.

### SOCIALIST PUBLICATIONS: A Panel Organized by Jim Paul

May 16

Bobbie Ortiz, editor of *Monthly Review* and representatives of *7 Days*, *Science and Society*, and *MERIP Reports* will discuss: the historical origins and conception of their publication -- nuts and bolts of Left publishing -- organization, finance, distribution -- how the publication relates to the Left and workers' movement.

### THE SOVIET ECONOMY TODAY

Alexander Erlich May 23

Breakdown or crisis? Recent information, including the CIA *Report on Soviet Economy*, will be analyzed by this noted scholar.

### THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION: A Panel Speakers to be announced

May 30

### ON THE NATURE OF THE PERIOD

Arthur Felberbaum June 6

We will discuss: (1) the Communist International's assessments of the period (1919-22); (2) the question of long waves; (3) errors in Marxist analysis of the Post-World War II period; (4) toward a realistic understanding of the present conjuncture.

### LESSONS OF CURRENT WOMEN'S STRUGGLES

June 13

A Panel Discussion with Meridith Tax of CARASA and a member of the *Marxist Education Collective*.

### NEO-COLONIALISM AND THE CARIBBEAN

June 20

A panel moderated by Luis Prado.

### ROSA LUXEMBURG & MARX

Mary Boger June 27

## WEDNESDAY

### LABOR & THE CITY CRISIS

This series will show how all of our futures--whether public or private employees, union or non-union, blue collar or white collar--are in some respects tied to the fortunes of NYC workers in the current period.

### AFTER TRANSIT, WHAT NEXT FOR NYC UNIONS?

Marty Rosenblatt May 3

### PERSPECTIVES ON THE FIGHT BACK - A PANEL

May 17

A Co-op City rent strike leader, an activist in the struggle to keep Hostos Community College open and a fighter for the People's Firehouse in Northside, Brooklyn, will discuss their relative success in staving off attacks on their respective communities.

### HOUSING & THE WORK FORCE

Bill Price May 24

This United Tenants Association activist connects lack of employment and lack of housing, as well as capitalist plans for housing the "new work force" and discarding old housing for "obsolescent workers."

### THE BUREAUCRACY & THE BANKS

David Beaseley May 31

The former president of Local 1930, the Library Guild of DC 37, will relate his experiences in fighting the banks and Victor Gortbaum during the first austerity days in 1975.

### SOCIOBIOLOGY: MYTH & REALITY

Eleanor Leacock May 10

A Marxist anthropologist debunks the "immutable human nature" apology of the bourgeoisie for racism & oppression which masquerades as science.

### REVOLUTIONISTS I HAVE KNOWN

Carl Cowl June 7

This co-founder of the Communist Party and other organizations discusses significant individuals who have affected the development of the movement in the U.S., 1919 to date.

## THURSDAY

### THE BAKKE DECISION: TOWARD A UNITED FIGHTBACK

Hubert Hammond April 20

The movement against the Bakke decision is the first sustained national fightback by Blacks, women, gays and labor to defend the working class' gains of two decades. What are its consequences for socialist politics in the U.S.?

### WORLD REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS: 1945-49

David Slavin April 27

Focusing on China, France & Italy, we will discuss why Asian Communists succeeded in seizing state power while the Western European revolution arrived stillborn.

### MARXISM & POLITICAL ECONOMY

#### THE MAKING OF MARX'S CAPITAL May 4

Anwar Shaikh discusses this newly translated key work on the development of Marx's analysis by Polish theorist Roman Rosdolsky.

#### MARXIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY May 11

James Becker discusses his new book (Cambridge University Press, 1977).

### THE RESURGENCE OF MARXIST THEORY IN JAPAN - THE UNO SCHOOL

Makoto Itoh May 18

The Uno School's elaboration and application of Marx's theory of value & crisis to contemporary Japanese capitalism & left politics will be discussed.

### WHAT'S WRONG WITH RADICAL ECONOMICS?

May 25

Robert Fitch, author of *Planning New York* and former editor of *Ramparts*.

## WOMEN READING

### May 24 (Wednesday)

Grace Paley, Sybil Claibourne & Joan Durant read from their short stories.

### June 1 Thursday

Martha Schlamme, Weill/Brecht singer and actress - POETRY BY, FOR AND ABOUT WOMEN.

### June 8

Annette Rubinstein - AMERICAN WOMEN POETS

[Dr. Rubinstein, Marxist literary critic, says the first and the best American poets were women]

### June 15

Martha Kearns, poet & biographer of *Katherine Kollwitz - HER OWN AND SUSAN SAXE'S POEMS*

### June 22

Alix Kates Shulman - BURNING QUESTIONS

In one of the finest novels of the Women's movement in our era, Ms. Shulman raises the questions we all face as women revolutionaries

### June 29

Helen Sobell - POEMS OF PASSION AND POLITICS.

stemming from her long life of struggle & activity on behalf of justice.

## FRI - SAT - SUN

### A GET TOGETHER FOR SCHOOL

PARTICIPANTS - Music & Refreshments  
Saturday April 22 8PM

### MAY DAY MOVIE - EUGENE DEBS & THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Friday & Saturday, April 28 & 29 - 7:30PM

Sunday, April 30 - 4PM

Founding the American Railway Union in 1893, leading Pullman workers & supporters to the verge of a nationwide general strike, reading *Capital* in jail and moving from Democrat to Populist to Socialist, jailed again for sedition in opposing World War I...the life of Eugene Debs epitomizes a period of the American working class movement. Will be followed by discussions with labor historians.

### WHAT IS SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY? - A Panel with Bertell Ollman & others

May 12 Friday

This panel is part of the SME series on "Educating the Educators: Lessons of Socialist Education," and celebrates the publication of Bertell Ollman's anthology on this subject by *Monthly Review Press*.

### SALT OF THE EARTH - Special Film Showing For Children

May 13 2PM Saturday

Recreating a strike by Chicano miners, with its real-life participants as well as actors, this movie shows the essentiality of the fight against sexism amidst a struggle against the bosses. Organized by the Youth Committee of the SME.

### CONFERENCE ON U.S. WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Friday Night, May 19

Saturday, May 20

Saturday morning and afternoon panel topics include: "Working Class Consciousness and Capitalist Culture;" "The Making of the American Working Class in the Historical Process of U.S. Capital Accumulation;" "The Status of the Labor Movement Today." Keynote speaker Friday night to be announced.

### MOVIE - BLOW FOR BLOW (1972)

Friday & Saturday, June 2 & 3, 7:30PM

A dramatized reconstruction of the strike and occupation by women workers of a French textile factory in the late '60's

### THE AMERICAN NEW LEFT & THE WORKING CLASS

Philip Foner June 16 Friday

### WOMEN, LABOR & FAMILY LIFE

Joan B. Landes To Be Announced

Joan B. Landes is a teacher of social science & a writer.



# Towards A Traditional Practice

Peter Dunn and Loraine Leeson

POWER IS NECESSARY TO BRING ABOUT SOCIAL CHANGE and since power is ultimately a material question, it is crucial to situate the role that cultural production can play in this respect. Whilst in the final analysis it is a material question it is not exclusively so, since it requires a re-evaluation and reorganization of the values, norms, and goals constituted in the existing structure of social relations — in short it requires an ideological shift. As an expression of ideology, either structurally or through the perceptions it offers, cultural production either reinforces the social structure or questions it — in this sense it can be active on the cutting edge of change. Cultural production can be confused but it cannot be neutral.

Here the problem of context becomes crucial. The theoretical questioning and politicised practices which expose the ideological underpinning of art's social function are both necessary and valuable. The question is, should they remain as an internal dialogue within the contained social territory of the art-network, anti-capitalist or "political" content is easily subsumed under the old bohemian myth — the bourgeoisie love to be teased by their artists, especially if such artists comply with the role/concept/context of art formed by bourgeois society. Further, the projection of "radical identity" upon such artists adds more fuel to the personality cultism (*enfant terrible* image) necessary to the fetish of the "new model" which is essential to the regeneration cycle of the art market. If utopian idealism is to be avoided, however, the artist must begin the struggle from the pragmatic of present conditions — start from "one's own position". But what does this mean? The activity of "putting one's own house in order" may go on indefinitely without contact with one's neighbours — it only has limited credibility in terms of its duration and future intent. "Gallery Socialism" is not enough and it cannot be justified as the "sad contradiction of the bourgeois

intellectual". As we said earlier, one of the means through which dissent is contained is that any real questioning of society in the mass-media is "neutralized" and that public questioning by "dissenting intellectuals" is safely confined within bourgeois ranks through 'high culture' forms of communication, contexts etc. Other steps must be taken, and fear of mis-appropriation or indirect complicity must be accepted as a hazard; otherwise a cautious timidity or impotent isolationism will result. The assumption that the 'dissenting intellectual' can only struggle within a 'high culture' context serves no one but the ruling class.

The need for some change of direction in art is clearly evident in its internal rumblings — dissatisfaction in art schools, the numerous debates, seminars, and the like which centre around such issues, and the recent wranglings in the art press. Art, like religion in similar crisis it seems, is desperately casting around trying to restore the faith. On the one hand, the establishment have been jolted from their self-satisfied slumbers and are tenaciously attempting to re-assert the initiate privilege of 'Art for Art's Sake'. On the other hand there are moves to 'take art to the people'. The latter, however, is in many respects more dangerous. After all the noises of the establishment are little more than a death rattle, though not to be underestimated at this stage. But the artist confused and seeking a new audience 'in the community' can be a positive hazard. 'Out there' among the working class is a whole new territory ripe for colonialization — industrialization has subjugated the natives, populist consumerism and mass-media have opened up the trade routes, and now the missionaries will civilize them, give them culture.

Since the kind of society and the kind of art we seek does not yet exist, are we then discussing 'pure' ideological speculation unrelated to material conditions — utopian idealism? Not necessarily,

there is much to be learned from others striving for similar aims particularly by the experience of wanderings, vacillations, mistakes and disappointments, as well as steps forward. From the pragmatic of our own position, however, this remains a 'received ideology' unless such experience is tested and anchored in engaged practice. The development of a practical ideology must grow through practical means, since it is only by perceiving how ideas are transformed through action that we are able to perceive the manner of thinking. A practice which aims to develop a different set of cultural relations will ultimately no longer be 'Art' as presently understood, since this is bounded by a set of concepts/contexts framed by bourgeois society. However, we cannot step 'outside' our culture as it forms both our physical environment and our mental make-up. It seems likely, therefore that a transitional practice would be somewhere between 'Art' and something else: i.e. many of the tools and techniques would be carried over, together with some of their structural and ideological conditioning, but their function will be changed — almost an inversion of Duchamps approach.

Whilst it is necessary that the 'Art network' be engaged in order to contribute to the internal questioning and shifting of the parameters which constitute the proposition 'Art' and its function, exclusive operation within this framework is not only in contradiction to the aims, but on a practical level inhibits the development of such a practice. It must be developed outside this network. Further, since we are faced with such powerful and monopolistic forces, anti-capitalist cultural production which is (structurally) consumer orientated is forced to compete with bourgeois culture on its terms. With the odds stacked against it, it joins the many 'alternative' products offered for consumption. It is necessary, therefore, to side step such direct competition — to shift the mode of struggle. The





aim is not to seek a wider range of consumers for 'radical culture' but to generate radical producers.

This requires that the barrier between producer and consumer is broken down and this cannot be achieved by the actions of the individual artist or even a group of artists. It requires a difference in attitude by society as a whole to its culture. Given present conditions, the extent to which such a concept can be extended in practice is severely limited. It requires involvement, and certainly to ask people to 'participate' in investigating an artist's individual 'art concerns' is the most superficial of such approaches. If the work involves both artist and public in a joint endeavour focused upon immediate (even localised) social and cultural experience of common importance to them both, then it may at least provide a reciprocal learning process with the possibility of transforming the situation. It may also act as a springboard for situating this experience within a wider context. This, at least, is a beginning.

Struggle is inevitable if society is to be transformed, and there are many ways and many levels upon which this can take place, many forms it may take. The struggle on a cultural level may differ from that which takes place on a material level but there are occasions when the two become dynamically fused. The more urgent the struggle becomes the more radically it will transform the social relations of those engaged. 'People united in a common cause will quickly break down old barriers, many skills will be drawn toward a common aim and new ones will be developed. The urgency of the moment will strip away all superfluous preconceptions of 'taste' and open up new possibilities unperceived by mere intellectual speculation.

Work in support the Bethnal Green Hospital Campaign

We make no claims of having resolved all of the problems raised in the above text. Rather, these have been formulated as a result of contradictions arising from work we have been engaged in over the last few years, and from issues raised in the theory and practice of others striving for largely similar aims.

The work presented in this show was not instigated with any view to it being exhibited in an art gallery. It represents work we are currently engaged in at Bethnal Green for the campaign to save its hospital



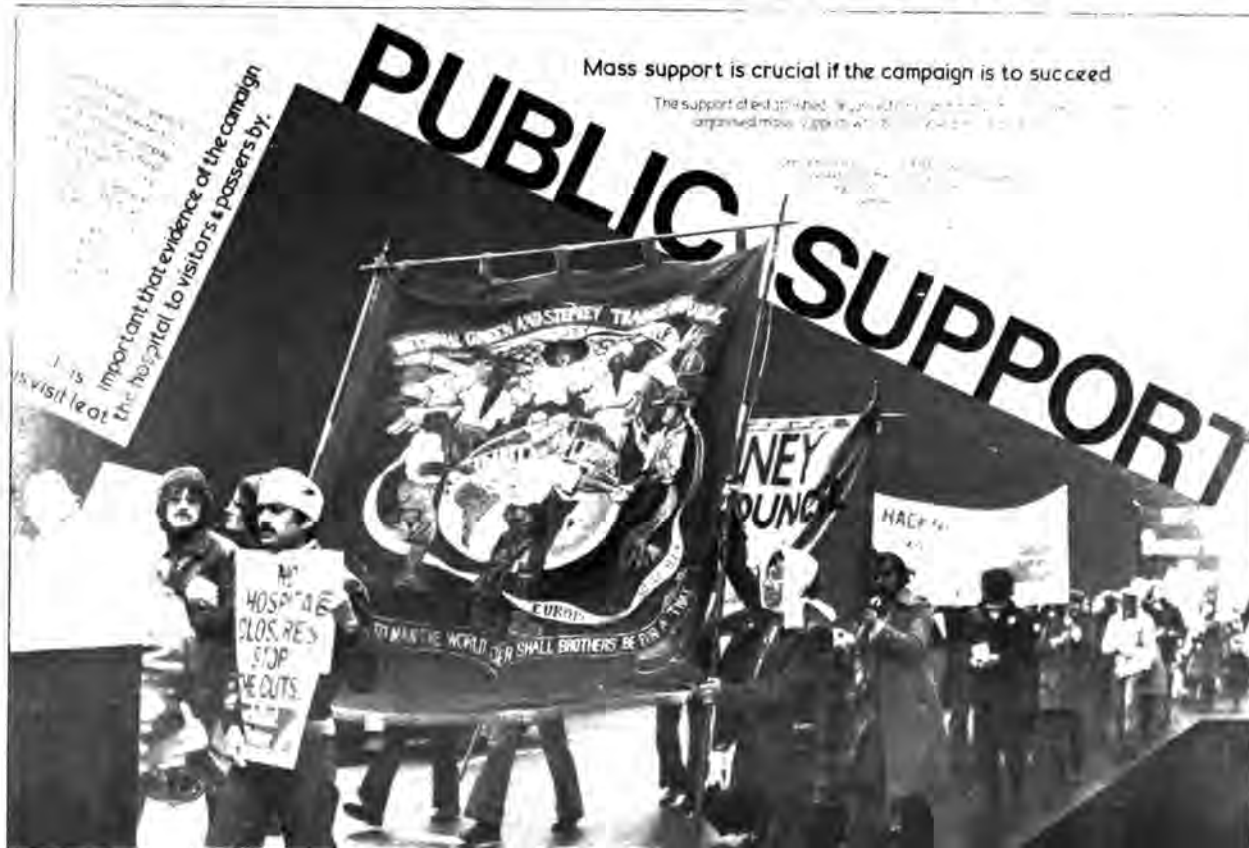
and it is within this context where we regard it as engaging its primary function. Some of the material has already been used in this context, some of it is work in progress which is being developed for more long term use as a resource. It falls basically into two categories: that produced for use directly as tools to enlist support for the campaign — the active outgoing element; and that being produced to document the continuing experience of the struggle as it progresses — the reflective element. These two elements, however, are not to be seen as operating independently but as dialectically linked and acting upon each other within the context of the campaign.

'Emergency' is a video work made with the help of the campaign committee and others closely involved in the campaign as a means of enlisting support. It is being shown in the area mainly to tenants groups, trades unions, in community halls, factories etc. Its use, as video, is for showing at gatherings and groups already formed into organised or coherent units, usually in conjunction with a speaker from the campaign committee.

The posters are aimed at a more general audience to continue the impetus at street level and in this sense they are a back-up to the marches and demonstrations organised by the campaign.

The selections from the resource material show aspects of a work engaged on a fairly detailed documentation and analysis of the campaign: following its strategies, tactics, the successes and pitfalls, the reaction of the authorities, their ploys of opposition, dirty tricks etc. Some of this material, cannot be made public whilst the campaign is still in progress since it might pre-empt situations still in state of uncertainty. It will include contributions from other campaigns and will be situated within a social and political analysis wider than those concerned with the immediate action necessary to one campaign. Though it must be stated that no campaign of this sort can, or indeed does, work in isolation. It is hoped that this resource can be used as a reflective agent within the campaign at Bethnal Green and be of use to others faced with similar circumstances. However, we are not alone in thinking along these lines — many of those already involved in fights against the health cuts, and more particularly the health workers engaged in the forefront of this struggle, are joining forces and sharing useful information. We see this work as being a part of that process rather than initiating it or pioneering it in any way. Certain information at the right moment can be vital and the monopoly of information by the authorities is in their favour in the first instance. But the more they attack, the more those who are defending learn about their strategies — then defence turns into offensive. Once the authorities begin openly to transgress their own codes of 'acceptable' conduct, once the media in their 'impartiality' have ignored or played down these transgressions until they can do so no longer without losing credibility — then the turning point has been reached.

It is the work of many which achieves such results. The means of organisation and communication need to be developed on numerous different levels — the visual is one of the many.





# The Group

Tony Rickaby

Those who express confidence in the basic honesty and goodness of the working class tend to belong to the creative bourgeoisie, whose social conscience is less oriented to the achievement of material rewards than to a concern with moral or humanitarian issues. Such concerns are intrinsically different from those of other social classes or groups in that the benefits are felt to accrue to others, or to society as a whole, rather than specifically to oneself. The main reward lies in the emotional satisfaction gained from the expression of personal values in protesting against moral injustice.

I feel cut off from reality: the lives of other people. One remedy for this unattachedness, or alienation, is affiliation with the working class. The conflict between my requirement of meaningfulness and the empirical realities of the world and its institutions in which I must conduct my life is responsible for my flight from the world and to the working class — supposedly a people untouched by social conventions. My individuality is hard to bear, and my fear of freedom and selfhood underlies my wish for submergence in the mass.

I am unable to attach myself to a class to which I do not belong because of members of my social grouping are in a unique position to choose their affiliations and to adapt themselves to any viewpoint; whilst those who are immediately bound by class membership are rarely able to transcend the restrictions of their class outlook. There is tension in my position in that my sympathies do not

lie with my own class; but my enthusiasm for the working class does not free me from the distrust of the members of that class, for my assimilability into an outside class is limited by the psychic and social characteristics of my own. My desire to share the mental and emotional experience of others is thwarted by a sense of being different, whether by reason of occupation, education or the possession of attitudes and beliefs contrary to theirs. Whilst believing that everyone can be made as eminent as myself, I maintain the standard bourgeois attitude towards the working class, which is one of superiority, no matter how qualified. I do not regard the working class contribution to society highly.

I have a strong propensity to shed and oppose my former beliefs and way of life. A number and variety of symbolic mechanisms are available to me to do this. By exhibiting the appropriate symbolic attitudes I aim to convince others, as well as myself, that despite my occupation, education, manner, etc., I am not to be thought of as 'bourgeois'. Such mechanisms enable me to derive gratification and preservation of my self-respect by signalling to my peer group that 'this is not the real me'. At the same time I can fulfil my class obligations by not taking the drastic step of abandoning my middle-class status for one lower in the social order. A common mechanism is identification with a group which, in conventional bourgeois terms, is 'pariah' — for instance the working class — and which can be seen as noble and uncorrupted to the calculating and artificial bourgeoisie.

## The Proletariat

Capitalism instills in the bourgeoisie the yearning for competitive success, and so I strive for excellence and prestige. But whilst I need others to appreciate my creative performance, I exclude the public in my recognition of only the 'ideal' admirer or critic. My first supporters form a narrow circle which commands attention and attracts new members. Within this relatively autonomous intellectual field — which, by debarring the public, intensifies into an esoteric sect of mutual admiration — I can estimate my success and find social status and the approval of others.

The middle class tend to exercise greater discrimination in the choice of friends than the working class, the main criteria being equality of rank, compatibility of interests and shared standards of opinion and moral outlook. The selection of like-minded friends is one way of countering the social constraints towards conservatism in bourgeois society, and whilst my group is in conflict with the majority culture it develops its own peculiar norms, standards and traditions which distinguish its members from those outside.

Intellectual interchange encourages the evolution of certain shared assumptions amongst the creative bourgeoisie, which, although a recognisable and essentially middle-class group, is united more by culture and manners than by social and political attitudes, constituting a fraternity that holds together, especially when its self-esteem is endangered. This group affords me companionship, private satisfaction in its activities and in my uniqueness as an independent personality within it and, through the group's reputation, prestige. Members develop a strong *esprit de corps* and sense

of common social mission; friendships, shared ideals and success are likely to produce deep attachments. I am greatly influenced by how others in the group behave and by my relationship to them, resulting in my being more similar to them.

A key concern of the bourgeoisie is the defence of inequality, and a key concern of the creative bourgeoisie is the defence of an unequal, elitist culture. An elite is a minority group which has status within society and control over aspects of that society, although rather than directly controlling behaviour it may simply influence, or be imitated by, the non-elite. Its power adds to its attractiveness, and strong motivations towards belonging to the group enables it to exert a potent influence over its members and exacting pressures to conformity, which may result in the ostracism and exclusion of those who deviate from group norms. When a sufficient number of people possess the same opinion, the 'reality' of that opinion is established, a different opinion can be regarded as incorrect and it will be rejected, since its acceptance would mean rejecting 'social reality'. Members develop common attitudes and exhibit relative uniformity to specified opinions and modes of behaviour. Enforcement of these standards depends on subtle influences and indirect pressures, although these are often very powerful. Ethnocentrism — the attitude whereby one's own group is central and everything else is scaled and rated with reference to it — leads me to exaggerate and intensify all those things in my own group which differentiates it from others, consequently strengthening those differences.



# Political Radicalism

A group whose class position is fixed has its political view point already decided for it. Where this is not so, as with the social grouping to which I belong, there is a wider choice and a corresponding need for total orientation and synthesis.

Whilst the worker turns to radicalism in reaction to his social position, I turn to it in reaction to distress involving my intellectual life. My enthusiasm for radicalism compensates my lack of integration into a class and my dissatisfaction with a system which fails to reward creative talent. I benefit emotionally and psychologically rather than materially.

The inconsistencies in having a high education but a low social ranking cause my lack of a satisfactory social function and my having few or no psychological and/or cultural links with the wider community. I am thus highly vulnerable to the appeals of political radicalism, particularly when it has a messianic flavour or a strong moralistic appeal or when it favours direct action. The feeling that I am involved in some major activity (helping to change the course of history or the fate of the world) provides a sense of purpose and significance to my life. In joining with the enemies of the establishment I can find a place of honour and an ideal of social organization which has some of the characteristics (rationality, impartiality, zealotry and even other-worldliness of intellectual life itself. My tendency towards extremism/impossibilism is also due to the nature of mental work (which can be easily dissociated from reality), to the rootlessness of my values and to the vehemence of my emotions now that I am fighting my former class.

One course of action for me is to become a theorist or propagandist for a proletariat which I feel lacks the intellectual attributes necessary for political conflict. But unlike those I aspire to liberate, I have a position of privilege. I am a deviant, supporting attitudes contrary to my own class interest; and because I am thus regarded by my own class as apostate or fanatic, I set up rigid principles which justify my conduct.

Because my profession allows me less susceptibility to bureaucratic restraints, I am unable to translate my personal views into public stances, however unorthodox. Certain professions serve as 'sanctuaries' for the bourgeois radical in that they allow him to achieve a high degree of identification with his work without causing serious strain between his personal and occupational values. Such radicals tend towards creative professions and are rarely found in those occupations which appeal to their class as a whole and which have a high status within that class.

I would be expected to be attracted to radicalism. As a bourgeois individual, I find my economic position particularly marginal and precarious, forced as I generally am to offer my cultural products under market conditions and exposed to the frequent incompatibility between my aesthetic considerations and the often commercial or non-aesthetic considerations of the buyer or the audience. And also, under conditions where notoriety or 'having a name' increases the marketability of cultural products, public radicalism may offer me positive advantages.



SEGNO: Via Modesta della Porta 35,  
65100 Pescara, Italy.

# Ice Cream With Fidel OR Will They Love Me In Havana If I Wear Cuban Heels

an interview with Michael Perfecto-Garcia

*What did you go down for?*

I went to Cuba because I had never been there, I had never been to the Caribbean, I had never been to Latin America. And I wanted to see what it was like. Cuba has a kind of mystery and fascination because not many people have gone there, and not many people have any insight as to what goes on there. I had some friends who were down there, who invited me to come down and who work for a Canadian company. So I went to visit them.

I got to spend time with tourists and with Cubans as well, and saw both aspects of that, because for most of us, the only way we can see Cuba, right now, is as a tourist, unless because of what we do we get invited down by the government — which doesn't happen very often.

Cubans are interested in tourism more than they are interested in foreigners...it's a way of getting hard currency; and that's their major interest in having foreigners come to Cuba right now.

*How did you feel you were being treated?*

I didn't like being processed as a tourist. That had never happened to me before. And I didn't like having my time organized in the frivolous way tourism is meant to organize people.

I spent three days at a beach resort, about two hours east of Havana, where most Canadians go, a place called Baradaro. Just twenty-six miles of the most beautiful beach you can ever imagine. With little hotels and villas dotting the small strip of beach. Very quiet, very serene, but it's not very Cuban. People who work in the hotels are Cuban.

*O.K. Why don't you start by telling us about your meeting with Cuban people in Havana or non-resort places.*

The Cuban people that I met were very friendly, very helpful, were very proud about what they were doing in Cuba. It was as if everyone worked for the Ministry of Tourism and wanted people who were identified as being foreigners, to understand what they were doing in Cuba.

*Did you approach these people just by chance or...*

...Very often just by chance. A number of people I travelled with had a great deal of success in just walking into various Buros, and agencies, hospitals, clinics and day care centres; and just presenting themselves as interested foreigners — and would be taken on tours around — and let to see everything, let to photograph whatever they wanted to.

I was walking past a construction site, where they are building a large fountain to commemorate the world international anti-imperialist youth festival which is taking place in Cuba — and is really a point of pride with the Cuban people.

The only billboards you see, or almost the only ones you see, urge you to be an activist in the festival.

I was photographing this construction site, the fountain or youth it's called, and one of the workers came over to me, asking me what I was doing and where I was from.

I told them I was interested in taking photographs and so he invited me into the construction shed and unveiled a cardboard mock-up of what the fountain

would look like when it was finished, and invited me to take photographs — showed me architectural drawings — and wanted to know if I wanted to photograph them.

He was incredibly friendly and he was really proud of the fact that they were doing all the work there on the site. They have all the cement to mix with the gravel, all the forming equipment to make their own tubing for the conduits for the water and things like that. He seemed proud of what he was doing.

*Was he a middle-aged man or a young man?*

No, he must have been a guy of around 25 or so. There are a lot of young people in Cuba.

*Can you say anything about the comparison between the youth. I mean the kind of age group people in Cuba and the people that are the same age, say in Toronto. What kind of differences did you see between them?*

Cuba is obviously a much more unitary society, and a much less fragmented society than ours — in terms of a kind of popular culture and taste. There aren't people who stand out, as being outsiders from society the way they are here in Toronto.

You don't see freaks, you don't see hippies, you don't see disco queens, you don't see rubbies. You don't see poor people hanging around on the street. Everyone who wants to work has a job. That's their input to the system.

*Did you see any poverty, or signs of poverty?*

People live in a much lower level of materialism and consumerism than we do and a lot of the tourists who go down there interpret that as poverty. But the fact of people who have travelled in parts of Latin America told me that it's very different, that you don't see any kind of poverty that you see in Mexico, for example, or in South America.

*You were also saying that you don't seek freaks or disco queens. What do you mean by that? Because I'm not quite sure that I understand.*

O.K. For example, walking down the streets of Toronto, obviously you are walking in a number of different types of societies. People who take their information about ideas, styles, media, from different media. And Cubans are much more unitary in their goals as a society — and in their ideas, and in the kind of education that they have had. And the kind of orientation to the society than we are.

They are committed very much to unitary goals — maintaining, preserving and extending the Cuban Revolution and developing Cuban culture.

*So they still, or do believe in sacred/cultural revolution?*

...and they see themselves in the midst of a revolution that is happening all the time.

*Do they see any danger coming from the outside?*

Yes. And you are reminded all the time that the United States is only 90 miles away. The Cubans are very wary of the United States.

*But do they have flights from say Florida to Cuba?*

There aren't direct flights to Cuba. No. You still

have to go via Canada, although Americans can go to Cuba, they can get travel visas, but they have to come through Canada still. There are no commercial contacts in that sense.

*O.K. Now going back to the stereotypes, freaks and disco queens. It makes me wonder how they deal with the artist, because it seems that freaks sometimes might be the stereotype image of an artist from North America. And a disco queen might be a stereotype of a gay person. So how do they deal with these two aspects of art? Or the aspect of homosexuality?*

The art is part of the unitary culture. People take as a kind of bottom line, as the basic supposition for all the things that they are working on, that it advances the revolution. So there is not that combatist stance that art has in our culture. Because for their purposes, in keeping with their ideal and ideas that you can't make art outside the revolution. The state won't support you, and the people themselves won't be interested, that it's a self-defeating process.

Even if people were to try and do it the people would not be interested because the system is based on the idea that art comes from the people. That if you have a well educated people, and that is one of the prime goals of the revolution, to educate all the Cuban people to that level, so that literally anyone who has the inclination and the talent can become an artist. And that it couldn't possibly be a threat to the society because it comes out of a really deep understanding of that society.

*So it becomes a sort of full time job?*

It does become a full time job. I met some people who were musicians there, who were in effect employed by the government for the conservatory. In return for their salary, they were expected to spend 20 hours a week at the conservatory practicing music and using the facilities. They were expected to perform.

*What about the style of their art? How do they acquire new styles?*

That is something I don't understand. I think it's evolving. I didn't get to see a lot of what people were doing. The most interesting and exciting things for me visually were the things we have always been told are the best things the Cubans are doing anyway, which is poster work. And the stuff that I saw was really fine and they use it really fine — a lot of it out of doors. The only advertising you see is political advertising, and it is done very well. Bold colours, simple and effective designs, which sometimes cover entire buildings. They use a lot of colour in their architecture as well; so there is a nice graphic sense about Havana, that made it seem continuously interesting for me.

*Do you know if the decisions for the posters, or whatever, are made collectively or individually?*

I don't know. I would assume they are made collectively but with a certain political orientation. It seems to me that when you are in a society where you are trying to get very complex ideas across to them in a simple and most effective means, the use of poster art is one of the best things you can get into, for a kind of visual education of the public, as well as political education. So I would imagine that some of the people involved in poster art are some of the most politically committed people and that they would tend to make their decisions collectively, as





they interpret the needs of the revolution.

*Do you hear any sense of dissatisfaction with things in general?*

No, the only people I talked to in Cuba who were dissatisfied were the people still cured of the kinds of left-overs of materialism and consumerism that comes from the States. The only things that they would complain about are the lack of consumer goods. But they weren't serious complaints. They were more of a recognition of the kind of deprivation, which they see as essentially a good thing.

*Did you meet people who had the desire to go out of Cuba?*

I met a lot of people who had gone out of Cuba, who travelled especially to Eastern European Countries, with sports groups, youth groups or with education groups. There is a great deal of exchange between Eastern European cultures and Cuba — much more than there is in Western European and North American cultures.

The various socialist countries in Europe have friendship and culture houses, where they have exhibitions and displays to promote their cultures, and the airlines that service Havana are the Eastern European Airlines. So there is a constant communication...much more so than there is with North America.

*They would probably have a different monetary system. For instance, when we were in Poland there were two prices, one for foreigners and one for locals.*

It was the same in Cuba. You get a discount on all kinds of luxury goods, on drinks especially. The same bottle of rum that cost a tourist 3 pesos 90 in the hotel shop (about \$5 or so) cost the Cubans 20 pesos and that's about \$30 for a bottle of rum. You get an exchange slip, and everywhere you go as a foreigner you show them your exchange slip, and you get foreigner prices for everything.

*O.K. can we go back to the disco queen image and the difference of how they deal with that in Cuba.*

When I used the example of the disco queens and freaks, what I was trying to say is that people don't stand out on the street as obviously different. They don't use costume to manifest their differences from the masses. That is not a positive value to them, it's a negative value. Consequently there is not a lot of eye contact on the street either, which was different. The only Latin countries I had been in were in Europe, where there is a lot of eye contact on the street. And so, in Cuba as a foreigner, I felt almost invisible. People didn't go out of their way to notice me. If I wanted to talk to someone, they were quite amiable; and I would stop and ask directions and get involved in conversations. But no one stared at me, no one thought me unusual, even though my dress was dif-

ferent and I was obviously not a Cuban. That was a good feeling, as if the society could accommodate me, that I wasn't a threat to them.

*So are you saying that the costume of a person didn't say anything about the background of their work?*

You could tell who were manual labourers and who tended to be office workers and bureaucrats, because of the kinds of clothes they were wearing. But there didn't seem to be that great of a difference between the people there. You would occasionally see what my friend would call left-overs, old well-dressed people, driving a beautiful old car. He explained to me that they were usually people whose families have left Cuba. When the government took over, they were allowed to keep one house and one car. So a lot of them stayed and they live without servants in one big old house. They might have one silver Jaguar from the 50's which they drive around.

*Did you notice any patterns in their work? Did they work a lot or did they work little?*

The normal work day is from 8:30 in the morning until 12:30, when there is an hour's break for lunch. There isn't a siesta — very American in that sense. Then they work from 1:30 to 4:30 or 5:30 depending on the kind of business. Shops don't open until 12:30. There is such a thing as going shopping, but not in the morning because everyone is working.





# The New Bosses

The new dominant class, the technocracy, is defined in those activities in the area of intellectual work corresponding to the decisional function in the hierarchical division of social labour. The 'new bosses' perform this function from which they derive the relative privileges and power not from direct ownership of the means of production, but from the kind of intellectual ownership of the means of production, that is, the ownership of the knowledge related to the large economical and political systems. In its present most complete form of domination, as in the alleged socialist countries, the techno-bureaucrats manage as a monopoly the political and economical power and exercise their exploitation not as an individual task but as a dominant class collective possessing the means of production. They appropriate privileges, of material goods and services, not directly as in the capitalist economy, but indirectly through the government that include this privileged elite and re-distributes among its executives, following the hierarchical social pyramid in which they are places as executives.

In the late capitalistic modes of the western countries, the new bosses' hierarchical position is less noticeable and their relationship to exploitation is entwined with the relationship to capitalist exploitation.

Bureaucrats (of governmental agencies) and technocrats (private monopoly managers) constitute two aspects of the new class. Technobureaucrats appropriate class privileges through high salaries, (such salaries in the private monopolies are possibly viewed economically as managerial profits). Salaries of government officers can be viewed as privileges over the produced wealth of the nation.

## THE LATE CAPITALIST STATE

The state performs a fundamental role in the late capitalist economy. The state directly or indirectly supervises a dense network of services of key importance. The state regulates, controls plans, co-ordinates in a growing manner of activities of enterprises through instruments of legislative, fiscal, and banking intervention. The state is also a major client of the private sector. The state intervention in the economy is not new for a capitalist economy, the state has assisted and supported capitalism throughout its development. However, the state support of the economical infrastructure and its wide development of services have changed the meaning of such intervention. The state, from a supporter of the capitalist structure, has become a privileged 'zone' for the formation of a dominant class, concentrating into itself the economical power that is merged into the political power as well. The political power loses its own role. In the recent formation of state controlled industry, the technocratic and bureaucratic class has been serving

the old system less and less and self-serving its own interests.

The majority of western countries have parliamentary governments, but in all of them there is no real-people government that governs the state. The state power is a permanent power. Such a power is exercised by a small number of semi-autonomous agencies. The governments come and go, but the state machine keeps on going. The state consists primarily of permanent and autonomous institutions: the army, the police, the ministries, the welfare offices, the magistracy, and so on; that is, institutions that are influenced by the polls, little influenced by the government and almost none by the parliament. Their executive power is continually strengthened. Each of these institutions are a miniaturization of the state hierarchy: from the top, the pyramid is exercising the decision making that the parliament 'represents' on the institutional/political stage. Such an evolution of political power is connected to the growing complexity of the late capitalist economy, from its tendency toward totalitarianism in its necessity to control completely all the newly born institutions within a vicious circle that develops specialization and a vast number of technocratic and bureaucratic power.

## THE POST CAPITALIST SOCIETY

In self-proclaimed socialist countries, there has been fully realized a post capitalist techno-bureaucracy. The evolution of a socialist state does not necessarily follow the socio-economical development of a capitalist system, indeed 'post capitalist' systems have often been structured in countries where the capitalist system was not completely realized with strong pre-capitalist economies, with some kind of affinity between the feudal social system and the technobureaucratic system. Among the post capitalist countries, we can distinguish three major models: the Russian one, the Chinese and Yugoslavian ones, differing among themselves and yet having a similar economical and social base. Yugoslavia retained self-governing elements, although compressed by state controls and entrepreneurial managements. China seems to follow a more decentralized development than Russia, with some kind of popular participation at the lower decisional levels with a greater balance between sectors and in the territory (country and cities), preserving less brutal and less violently repressed demarcation lines among the people, in a part attributed to the quasi-religious gregarious nature of their mass involvement. The precise data from China is still very scarce: insufficient to analyse with precision a system still 'young' and still in evolution, but sufficient for clarification and judgement. However we can indicate the class nature, its rigid hierarchy as structured by thirty well defined bureaucratic levels (of which the

first six are of a managerial kind), with an economical inequality that operates a salary 'fan' that includes a minimum and a maximum salary and a differentiation that is also hierarchical. The Russian model is the most capable of representing the post-capitalist model, not only because it is a prototype of all state socialist countries (to which model even Cuba is tending towards, after having explored original aspects of management in its first years of government), but also because it is sufficiently known and consolidated over half a century of existence. The economical and the political fusion identifies the social hierarchy in a state hierarchy. The abolition of privately owned means of production identifies the collective appropriation by the technocratic bureaucracy, which directs production for its own interests and it appropriates the surplus of social labour under a peculiar privileged form: not just as a highly retributed salary, but also as a set of privileged services, such as country homes, exclusive shopping, travel abroad, use of cars, differentiated higher income for their children, etc. Below the level of middle income of technicians and bureaucrats, there are the exploited working class of the cities and the country, the slaves of the modern State, deprived from even selling their labour force to the best offers as allowed in the capitalist economy, deprived of the right to strike for an improvement for their salaries and of their life condition. The major element of a post capitalist structure is planning which substitutes the demand-offer mechanism of the labour market.

In such a structure the political power (of the State) decides the effects to be pursued, depending upon the internal and external demands as required by the interests of the dominant class. Planning is what decides capital investment, production quality and quantity, prices and salaries. The money system has a different connotation than the one in the capitalist system of values. The enormous planning structure of the Soviet Union is now creating a kind of partial decentralization of the plan. A greater autonomy of the decentralized 'centres' is increasing the political power of such centres. *Nomenklatura* is the new class of managers and state officers. One million Russians are 'more equal than others', depending on their position in the hierarchy that screens the technocrats in power through education and promotion.

The political party does not manage (directly) production and distribution, but it exercises a control function and regulates all aspects of communal life, using the State ideology to formally legitimize the 'New Bosses' powers and privileges.

(translated by CEAC from 'Un programma Anarchico', by G.A.F. group, C.D.A. Editors, Turin, 1977).



Photo: Marina Abramovic & Ulay



G. LANZI

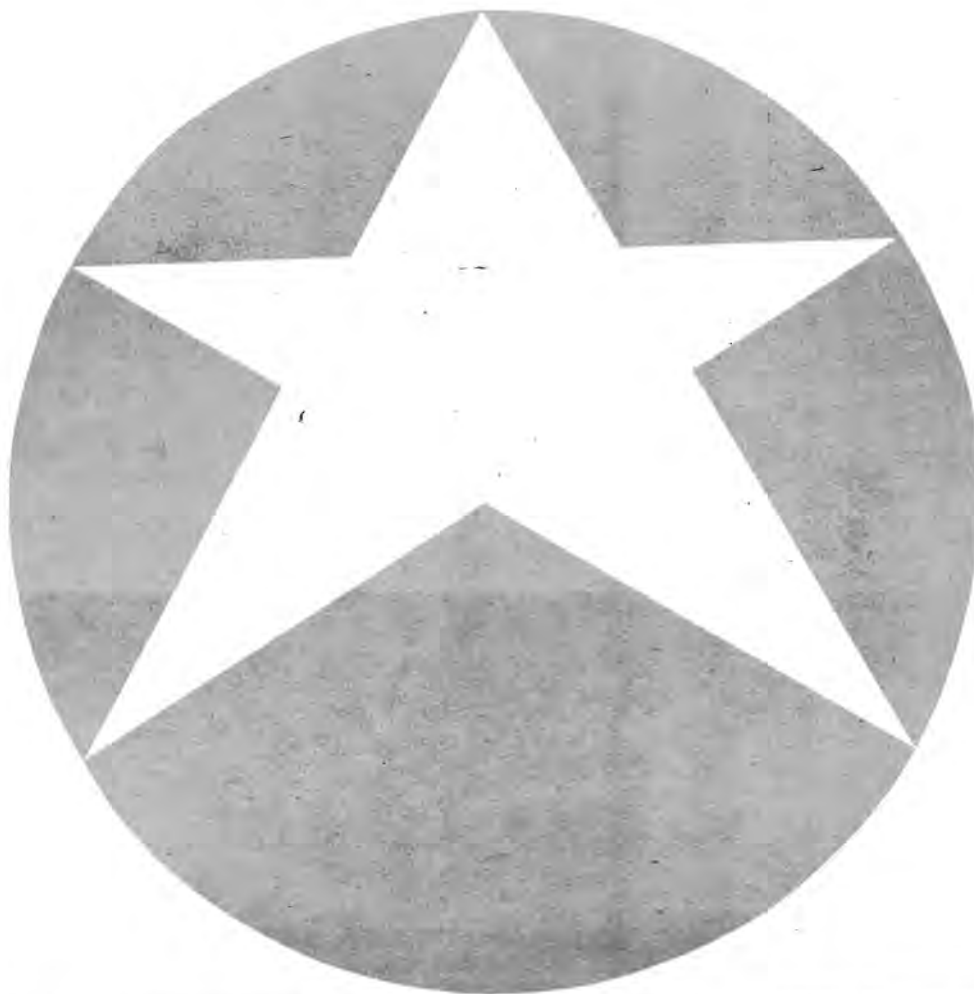
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***Strike: Dissidence in the 1978 Venice Biennale***  
**Supplement to Volume 2, Issue 2 (May 1978)**

# DISSIDENCE IN THE 1978 VENICE BIENNALE

(Joint Statement by the Central Strike Committee: Amerigo Marras, Roy Pelletier, Bob Reid, Bruce Eves, Lily Chiro, and Paul McLellan)

## Intentions

### Dissent

As artists working in Canada we protest the National Art Gallery selection of Ron Martin and Henry Saxe for the Canadian participation in the '78 Venice Biennale. It must be understood that this selection does not represent unanimous approval in Canada but has been made in the face of dissent, and is both irrelevant and an embarrassment to artists working here. We reject the NAG's choice as yet more official art foisted upon people.

### Specific Issue/ Heirs of the Guillotine

The NAG selection of wotw our formalist trivia is completely inappropriate to the VB which has had an ongoing concern with art in relation to politics, however superficially the VB has interpreted this theme. The NAG's choice indicates either its deliberate avoidance of controversy or its ineptitude as the supposed leading art institution in Canada unaware of the socio-political context as the contemporary issues of advanced art, and even of some art institutions in less apathetic parts of the world. (Despite the fact that this year's formal theme at the VB is the wholly ambiguous "Art to Nature; Nature to Art", the NAG should know better.)

On the other hand the VB on closer inspection proves itself to be little better, if more pertinent, than the NAG. As a tool of the Italian Socialist Party it seeks to discredit a radical critique of capitalism by the liberal strategy of assimilation, and manoeuvres like its unbalanced show of "dissent" art which, despite assurances of being constructive criticism within the ranks of Marxism, show the VB for what it really is - capitalist propaganda.

## General Issue/ On the Road to Versailles

But our purpose goes beyond a simple criticism of Martin and Saxe, the NAG, the VB, and Eastern dissident art. When we take into account the social and political context of this specific issue, we find that our criticism must be extended to more generally include the socio-political function of art and art institutions of which our four principles are only examples. We discover that art has both a legitimating and an ameliorating function manifested as two accordingly distinct forms of art and sometimes as two elements within the same art.

Under the two presently dominant systems in the world, these legitimating and ameliorating functions take on the following respective forms: established and avant-garde art in advanced capitalism of the West, official and dissident art in authoritarian communism of the East. In both the East and the West the legitimating function of art serves the interests of power, and although the ameliorating function of art is often characterized as refractory, because it operates under the same dominant ideology it too usually ends up serving those same interests, which is why it is reformist rather than radical. Under authoritarian communism official art clearly serves the state and dissident art appears quite distinct from it. It is evidence of the greater hegemonic control of advanced capitalism that the legitimating function of art is not acknowledged - established art is not so easily recognized as a tool of the dominant ideology. Neither is the ameliorating function of art often recognized, or if it is it is restricted to formal innovation within the bounds of art and so easily co-exists with the legitimating function of art as two elements of the same art, e.g. formalist avant-garde - the avant-garde eventually becomes established art. More obviously recalcitrant art still under the weight of the dominant ideology directs its protests against universal order instead of real powers, or if politically directed remains a token rebellion within the confines of the art context and serves as a guide to the survival of capitalism. Finally, capitalism uses the ameliorating function of art expressed in the East as dissident art to justify itself against not just authoritarian communism but socialism as a

general cause and all its possible forms.

In short, both the East and the West art serves the dominant ideology even when non-conforming; legitimating and ameliorating functions of art are just two sides of the same coin. We do not rule out the possibility of a truly radical function for art, but in the present socio-political contexts it seems that a radical function for art can only exist as a negative one. Only criticism is possible and not a positive practice, or at least criticism must be an integral part of any model of practice.

## Approach/ Knee Capping and Other Games

We and others have made similar statements in the past but because we do not wish to work from the self-serving interests of the avant-garde, we take up these issues because of what we believe and not as yet another innovation or style. We are committed to what we say and will repeat as well as develop these ideas as long as circumstances deem it necessary to no matter how many times it has been done before. Our general purpose is to communicate not posture; avant-garde mystification must be countered by de-mystification. Therefore we wish to be as clear as possible so that response is to our ideas and not to their appearance; not as recent modernists who now use politics as yet another art gambit. Also, similar statements made in the past have not been comprehensive, but this is required if we are going to appeal to more people than just the few who are already part of the dialogue. This statement is just the beginning of a comprehensive work toward which the general principles that come out of this critique can go. There is not the time or the space for a thorough enumeration of all possible ways that art and art institutions function as ideological tools of capitalism or authoritarian communism, so we limit ourselves to those aspects that apply to our particular purposes here. Only with such a comprehensive work can we clear the ground for action beyond the confines of art. But so long as we remain even vaguely connected to an art context, a thorough critique of art practice is necessary, in fact, it may be argued

that a finally comprehensive work is never possible and that a transition from art to activism is not a simple and immediate thing because we carry the baggage of our ideological background - all the more reason for statements such as this one.

Our concern as artists working in the West is with art under advanced capitalism. Therefore we limit our discussion to legitimating and ameliorating functions of art as they exist under the social and political context here and only consider their forms in the East in so far as they are involved with our situation, i.e. dissident art used by capitalism for its self-justification.

## Polemics

### "Old Tactics"

The questions raised by the NAG selection of Martin and Saxe concern, in regards to Martin and Saxe, not only their appropriateness for the VB, but also the validity of their work at all and of most Canadian art as well as the international formalism they represent. Looking at the NAG, doubts are raised not only about its poor choice in this particular case, but also the NAG's performance in general and its function as a Canadian art institution and all art institutions in the international art support system. Most important, however, is the more general concern raised, by their example, of the socio-political function of art and art institutions to be dealt with at the level of theory.

## Martin and Saxe/ Be-labouring Trivia

For the last several years the VB has been concerned with art and general issues of both a controversial and political nature in their socio-economic setting. The way the VB has handled these concerns and its ultimate purpose is

questioned below, but we can say now that Martin and Saxe represent none of these interests. They are far removed from any possibility of experiment but use over-worked formulas of established art. Least of all their work is socially conscious, in fact, it is an example of modernism which is the very form of art responsible for the exclusion of any meaning social or otherwise from art in the first place.

By modernism we include all "progressive" art from the establishment of the avant-garde in the nineteenth century to the latest "trends" today. Modernism is synonymous with and defined by formalism as a reductionism that has led to self-reference (a more inclusive meaning than classical formalism). In formalism form rules whether there is content or not and negates the possibility of real meaning apart from weak metaphor. With no direct meaning that relates to the viewer's reality and to engage him, he becomes a passive consumer of a contemplative work. Ambiguous gestures pretend to be profundities or remain satisfied as styles. Everything is reduced to a posture, indifference is the highest achievement sometimes masquerading as objectivity. Morphological or at best a very restricted kind of conceptual innovation achieved by the anti-position is its only goal.

But primarily formalism presents itself as a tautology and thereby autonomous from all but itself. Any meaning it may have becomes subsumed to this internalization, aestheticized. Therefore such art alienates as a specialisation that none except those who play in the game bother to relate to; a non-meaning that no one but a desensitized initiate falls for.

This is a description of the image game Martin and Saxe play in, that is readily apparent to anyone: not attempting to procure a career from it, not blinded by a specialized interest in it, not intimidated by labels like "art". But Martin and Saxe do not even play this game well. Taken on their own terms they can do no more than offer a personalized admixture of dated clichés from the debris of the history of modernism. Martin presents us with new dead (though they always were false) concerns as: "paint smears as a record of process and the true sign of the artist's personal expressive activity", "the importance of paint as a substance in itself", "the body having an equal role to play with the mind in the painting process", "a work restricted by a given quantity and brand of paint", and Saxe persists in reiterating: "the logic of materials", "models of procedure that become their own evidence when materialized by the work - process as the work", "the effect of environment on the work's installation", "choice of aesthetic view by shifting one's position in relation to the free-standing parts of the work thereby revealing different formal conditions".

The formal visual permutations of a number of different materials gathered on a gallery floor - SO WHAT! More satisfaction comes from rearranging furniture at home: it demands our real participation and judgement, it is there everyday to enjoy and use, it can be changed again and again by creating "whole new experiences", and it is "a lived syntagmatic-transformational concatenation of antipropositional spatio-temporal convergence determined by the dialectic of the quotidian knowledge of its elements and the exigencies of temporal existence producing the higher synthesis of an aesthetic experience". Something can always be made of nothing especially when there is a career to be made from it, and the critics symbiotic relationship with art produces either reams of meaningless mystification or simple exercises in description in which the only questions raised go no further than to consider the effect of the position of a steel plate or the reason for a fixed quantity of paint.

Martin and Saxe typify most Canadian artists who simply follow international styles (i.e. American styles) and incorporate some personal or "Canadian" flavour but are all formalist like the tired old versions of Modern Formalism and Minimalism or more contemporary variations like Conceptualism - Martin's combination of Abstract Expressionist body movements in paint slightly updated with a Minimalist de-personalization and mock objectivity accomplished by seriality and standardized procedures, or Saxe's borrowings from Process Art and Modern Formalism.

## Nag/ Marie Antoinette as the Lovely Milkmaid

Why then did the NAG choose these artists? The VB has an ostensible theme for this year called "Art To Nature; Nature To Art" which the NAG claims is what they responded to when they made their selection. But this does not alter the fact that Martin and Saxe's work has no value in itself and is not pertinent to the VB because it has a different orientation than modernism. Supposedly the NAG should know

what the VB is all about and not just respond to official titles proposed so long in advance that they have become irrelevant (if they ever were relevant). Yet this is not surprising because the NAG hardly seems to know what is happening with advanced art that is being produced here in Canada. On the other hand, it is equally difficult to imagine how Martin and Saxe's work is any more related to this official theme than the actual focus of interest of the VB that the NAG seems to be so ignorant of (unless this ambiguous theme, "Art To Nature; Nature To Art" is interpreted in a very general way, but then literally anything would apply).

The NAG by consistently selecting work that follows the modernist international style, ignores the pressing and real issues in Canada which as a cultural institution it should not. This is not to say that the solution is to be found by remaining within the accepted confines of art, emphasizing another aspect of it as the even more traditional forms of nationalistic art or social-realist type depictions. Neither is taking up such broader but relatively safe issues as nationalism or unemployment the point because these are red-berrings that divert from the real problems like an oppressed native population or the structure of wage labour, etc., and it is these problems which lead to the proper focus of attention - the questioning of the system itself: economically, politically, socially, culturally. Anything less than this is not simply not enough but nothing at all, in fact a diversionary tactic.

Such proper pre-occupations, despite their importance even in a restricted cultural sense, are regarded by the NAG as beyond their rightful concern. The NAG as an art institution considers its decisions as unpolitical because its business is art which it sees as autonomous from politics, and because it is a bureaucracy which it also sees as separate from political interests as such. But this general belief in the neutrality of art and bureaucracies is itself a political belief, an ideology. The fact that it supports art like modernism, the international style that denies its socio-political embeddedness, and as an art institution denies political interests, allows the NAG to trivialize art, cover up contentious social issues, conceal the everyday political decisions it actually does make, and at another level allows it to make a very political move by perpetuating bourgeois ideology. Therefore apart from the unsuitability of its choice for the VB and its conservatism and unawareness of developments in art, the NAG by selecting such orthodox and conventional art fulfills the ideological function of an art institution, in this case a legitimating one, as does Martin and Saxe's work fulfill the same legitimating function of art. But these functions will be discussed in general later.

## VB History/ Past the 'Ponte Dei Sospiri'

In order to get an idea of the VB we examine it in relation to the subject of its most recent theme of dissent in art. We recognize that it is no coincidence that the VB has put on a show of Eastern dissident art at such a politically crucial time in Italy. Carlo Ripa di Meana the president of the VB is strongly affiliated with the Italian Socialist Party which along with the Christian Democrats shared the government for seven years. But in recent years the Italian Socialists have lost their position with the ruling Christian Democrats to the Communist Party in Italy. Now it is the Christian Democrats and the Communists who are courting each other to the altar of power. Since Ripa di Meana has become its president, he has attempted to use the VB to some political effect that would augment the image of his party. His most recent show on Eastern dissident art has been the most successful in this respect because it not only received a great deal of publicity but also managed to discredit communism. His calculated manoeuvre elicited an angry reaction from the Soviets whose official protests created a scandal. At the same time by showing art, films and having seminars restricted to dissonance against systems of the USSR and Eastern Europe not balanced by similar criticisms of Western regimes, he maligned communism as a general cause. Claims have been made that the show was not anti-communist but nevertheless its effect was to vindicate capitalism.

However, our concern is not with the rivalries between party socialists and communists and certainly not with the defense of one against the other, because we consider all such groups to have revisionary interests and who like the Soviet model have long ago sold out to capitalism. Our interest here is with the VB as an art institution, the Eastern dissident art it has presented, and the critique of Marxism that doing so is supposed to provide.

## VB Function/ 'Piombi'

As a liberal institution the VB represents a "progressive" element of society but this simply means that it has an ameliorating function by reforming rather than radically questioning and changing basic structures. Its strategy is to assimilate opposition in order to defeat it and strengthen itself. It does this by playing with controversy only to bolster its image as a progressive institution meanwhile debilitating the very cause it receives. This too will be discussed in general later.

## Eastern Dissident Art/ No Regime has a Monopoly on Repression

We cannot assume to know all the circumstances of artists working in the East or make any final judgement on all art that is produced there, but the art presented at the VB is like so much of the art that finds its way West from the USSR and Eastern Europe and this we can say something about. At the VB this art has been categorized under labels such as: "Expressionist", "Action", "Kineticism", "Post-Constructivist Abstraction", "Conceptual", "Behavioural", etc. In short, movements that correspond very closely to the development of art in the West. Those who call this work "cultural dissent" suggest scenarios of brutal repression of artists who attempt to do work instead of an officially prescribed Social Realism and who must smuggle it West at the risk of their lives. But these beliefs in the heavy hand of communism repressing artistic expression have attained mythical proportions. Social Realism has not been the official art of the East for decades, instead forms of art aping contemporary art in the West have long been accepted and government supported to a far greater extent than here. Such myths are perpetuated by capitalism not only because they once more show the East as not "free" and therefore that communism itself is tyrannical while capitalism is the best possible system, but also because an art characterized as a champion of freedom in its alleged battle against repression in the East being similar to Western art reflects on Western art as the embodiment of freedom itself, and as the product of capitalism reflects the freedom and natural universal quality of that system. If such "repressed" art in the East were not in any way similar to art in the West it would be of little use to the Western world and its repression would not be the issue that it is, especially if it were a critical art that provided a radical critique of all oppression whether authoritarian communist or capitalist. Why is art under one system so similar to art under the other? It would seem that the East is not more repressed than the West and that the West is not more free than the East, therefore the art produced by both is the sham that is the product of two corrupt systems, an art that either legitimates or ameliorates the system it functions under but never adequately questions it.

No regime has a monopoly on repression, rather repression takes different forms. In the East the state has its say on the art that is produced, because it alone supports all art. In the West artists whose work is not approved of simply starve or give up art, and they do not even have the satisfaction of confronting a concrete opponent but are either deluded into believing that it is fate, or if they realize that it is the restriction of the system they live under, they do not just have a government to fight but a mode of social organization raised to the level of an absolute, universal given. Effective people and options are as easily and more insidiously eliminated in our system than under authoritarian communism. Today there are thousands of artists who never get shown and art that is left unrecorded because it does not fulfill the modernist ideology, while dissident art which does, although it is from an opposing socio-political context, is received with open arms. At any rate it says a great deal about the nature of Eastern dissident art when it is so readily accepted in the West. In fact, it is in such demand here now and so far from being actually repressed in the East, that there are official distributors there who are set up to sell this work to the West. It is to their own advantage that Eastern dissident artists, who have one eye on their careers, perpetuate the myths of their own suppression. Many of those who actually defect are dissatisfied with a system that treats artists as an equal to workers and does not make them into the cult figures nor instantly wealthy, and come West to establish their fortune. The vested political interest the West has in accepting these artists makes their success that much more assured.

## Marxist Critique/If The

## Price is Right

The VB presented this show of Eastern dissident art claiming that it was intended to spur constructive criticism on Marxism. We recognize the need for an on-going critique of Marxism, but we also see that one which is not thorough enough can be easily used by capitalism as propaganda. We especially believe that in our situation in the West the foremost need is for a critique of capitalism and that to date the best tools have been provided by Marx. A critique of capitalism must always precede any critique of Marxism. However, Marxism must not be limited to simply being a heuristic, for the means of production must be in the hands of people themselves and no change is made unless this is accomplished. Even a critique of capitalism is of no value unless it is to this real end. An on-going self-criticism in Marxism is a necessary development in keeping with its own prescription as a dialectic process. But we must distinguish from critiques which are intended to forestall the radical goal of ownership of the means of production - critiques from the right rather than from the left, which modify Marxism in order to ultimately reject it and in its place substitute vague hopes in liberal laissez-faire concepts leading to "natural reforms". We believe in the need to broaden the scope of the battle from the shop floor to everyday life and to reject authoritarian Marxism as the milky lake of the communist bureaucracies, but this must not be done at the expense of real revolution. Many critiques of Marxism and new directions arrived at by them are only deviations once they can be judged in so far as they loose sight of radical goals. Some supposedly come from the left, but end up being no better than reaction from the right.

It seems that the VB and its participants criticize authoritarian communism not from the left by saying that the communists did not go far enough, but from the right by saying that they went too far. Instead of showing how withholding power from people through centralized bureaucracies goes against the principles of communism and is far more in keeping with capitalism, they suggest that communism inevitably leads to this kind of totalitarianism. Their critique of communism not balanced by one of capitalism only reinforces capitalism, which is perhaps more clear to us in North America living under its most rigid form. We cannot ignore the facts that: Eastern dissident art is regularly used for this purpose, that the VB is part of an established art system in the West, and that in its past it has only received support from art specialists but opposition from the public. For these reasons even if the VB is better characterized as a "reformist socialist" institution rather than a "liberal capitalist" one, its function is still at best ameliorating.

## "La Nouvelle Philosophie"/ Master Thinking

In "Les Maîtres Penseurs" Glucksmann, one of the leading "new philosophers" who participated in the VB, accredits nothing but dictatorship to the revolutionary structure. Marxism is equated to Stalinism and Glucksmann extends this negative judgement to Marx and all applications of Marxism as an absolute and not as the self-contradictory statement which it is. Marxism is not responsible for Stalinism, and the Soviet model at its best does not represent a Marxist economy but is only an incomplete Socialist regime that is by no means the dialectic communist state controlled by the workers. Nazism and Marxism exemplified by Soviet dictatorship are freely unified by the author without differentiation of mechanics, effects, and of the social reasons that created them in the first place. The innocent lamb is the typical Soviet dissident. A sweeping generalization or overly romanticized scenario is represented through the dreaded Gulag. Some comparative comments are reported, for example the American Youth revolting at home against the Vietnam War, but none as dramatically as the Soviet counter-part. Glucksmann glosses over the economic balances between advanced capitalist countries, which he seems to ignore the existence of, and the capitalist controlled fascist regimes in South America, Africa, and Asia. His argument is an anti-ideological one in which he does not acknowledge the interests his theories actually serve. Overall economic hegemony is totally overlooked. At best we have a preoccupation with ontological issues at the loss of political, economic and social considerations. By the fact that he brushes aside all socio-economic inferences, we can forecast the increasing support his position will receive from right wing and liberal hegemonies to help him disseminate his ambiguous non-ideology. Glucksmann says that



the history of civilization is the history of master thinkers. Now we ask, is Mr. Glucksmann placing himself into this heaven of philosophical giants? Similar to the German giants' ideological-roof-construction leaving aside the reality of their times, he too is a master builder of metaphysical puzzles. He adopts a reductionist analysis of reality, narrowing the attack to ideology as the sole element responsible for genocide and other evils. Glucksmann is riding the wave of avant-garde thinkers who contrive to be a step ahead of everyone else and return to an anti-position in order to beat the position itself, like the proto-typical twentieth century anti-art, anti-past syndrome. Frustrated in his search for solutions, he places himself along an ambiguous liberalism that he implies is anarchic. Capitalism being the dominant ideology today will appropriate the "new philosophy" spread more smoothly world-wide. This non-ideology surfaces as an alignment with liberal economic interests, recovering from the mistakes of physical violence. Under the pretext of anti-ideology, the new domination by the elite, with economic and power interests, over the majority of uneducated and labour enslaved is now normalized. The new fascism more cautious and yet blatant, is stepping in backed by the "non-ideological" position of the new philosophers eager to enter the commodity heaven of "utopia fatalistic traditionalism", to paraphrase the new master thinker's philosophy.

Ever since the failure of the Soviet model became apparent to the rest of the world, criticisms from within the left have attempted to develop and advance the theories of Marxism in correspondence to the changes in history, and counter tendencies within Marxism which move to the right. Often it is not so easily clear at first whether these changes have actually countered or helped such revisionism, but there seems to be little question that recent critiques like those made by the VB and the "new philosophers" stand to the right.

## Theory "New Tactics"

At this point we must go beyond the specific case of Martin and Saxe, the NAG and the VB considered in themselves, in the context of art and art institutions, or in simple relation to the socio-political context, and enter into a more general examination of art at the level of theory, in order to get a complete picture of the socio-political function of art and make our critique thorough by implication. It is only after going to this length that we can return to our specific case and our position on it should be clearer especially in regard to the VB. Unlike the orthodoxy of Martin and Saxe and the NAG, the VB is more like "alternative" galleries, and recent avant-garde art which have been flirting with "social purpose" or new media paraphernalia. They are somewhat more sophisticated in that they claim to offer alternatives and sometimes are critical of established art, art institutions and even the socio-political context.

That we enter the realm of theory does not deny the assurance of our general position, which politically is unquestionable being based on the facts around us: capitalism is bankrupt and cannot adequately deal with the problems that confront it, its contradictions can no longer be ignored and increase daily, the gap between what it promises and what it provides widens. Reforms that patch up and leave the basic structure intact are no final solution, although they prolong its demise, because capitalism itself is inadequate. Its economic system is incapable of realizing its political claims of democracy (real equality and direct participation by all), and in order to survive it will have to accommodate its economic system with a more appropriate political one - fascism. Analogously modernism, the dominant mode of art under advanced capitalism, is completely incapable of establishing a practice that is meaningful to anyone but the few involved in it (once careerism is put aside even those few have to face the fact that it is). Yet we must turn to theory in order to develop the concept of ideology and its special application to art to provide for a more comprehensive basis of our position.

A developed theory of ideology is important for our discussion of art because art is super-structural and not materially based, therefore art exists within the domain of ideology and an understanding of ideology becomes central to our critique of art. Also, ideology is the link that binds art to its socio-political context much more strongly than we are usually aware of, beyond obvious connections of content or use which when they are not present makes art seem neutral. It is an exposition of this important link which is often missing from radical criticisms of art creating an incomprehension, to those who are not aware of it, of how seemingly neutral art is firmly political. To some extent it is the hold of ideology itself which binds us to the real meaning of one of its moments such as art, because it is the

nature of ideology to conceal its presence. Finally when ideology is not accounted for in social transformation, it is then that old models, though perhaps under new powers, are re-accepted. However, we do not pretend to give a "theory of ideology" itself, but only use bits and pieces that we have gleaned from some of the recent developments in this field of study that can help to explain our position on art.

## Overt and Pervasive/ Courtesans are Not Ideologically inclined

The common usage of the term ideology is as a chosen set of political beliefs adhered to and enforced usually as dogma inevitably leading to totalitarianism. Examples are given of the McCarthy days in America or the Soviet Union generally with its worst phase during Stalin's regime. But this is exactly what ideology is not. On the contrary, ideology is the designation for ideas determined by material conditions not visa versa. Furthermore, ideology is far more comprehensive than a definable set of beliefs limited to political ideals that one can make a choice about either to follow, enforce, or drop. By not consciously following a set of political ideas that is labelled as one or another political system, we are not then avoiding ideology, because ideology is a sociological problematic. America's laissez-faire is not a balance of conflicting non-ideological interests; once we view the whole we see that it is as ideological as the most dogmatic totalitarian regime.

In specialized fields such as sociology and political science ideology has also been given a limited meaning that denies the very character of ideology as pervasive and dominant. Ideology is seen as specific beliefs which constitute opinions and the framework that they are from formulated in are taken for granted as unproblematic and natural. Treating ideology in this restricted way by regarding frameworks as neutral led to pronouncements of "the end of ideologies". But in actual fact, because these were made from within definite ideological but unaccounted for frameworks, the end-of-ideologies was itself an ideology - notably a bourgeois one. Ideologies did not disappear but crept even more insidiously into our self-reflections. Ideology is synonymous with super-structure so that it effects not only political beliefs but social and cultural ones as well, in other words, all the dominant ideas that make up our social reality.

A classical derivation of contemporary art as an ideological practice, particularly of contemporary capitalism, might go like this: Material conditions determine consciousness. Ideology is such consciousness determined by material conditions. Art is an element of consciousness in the sense that the term is meant here. Therefore art is determined by material conditions and is an element of ideology. Material conditions are created by a mode of production. Therefore the dominant ideology is a product of the operating mode of production. The present mode of production is monopolistic capitalism and the prevailing art is an element of the dominant ideology is modernism. Therefore modernism is a product of advanced capitalism.

However, such a derivation leaves a great deal unexplained which may be made clearer with a distinction between overt and pervasive ideology. A study of ideology is an analysis of the representations of individuals. At the level of pervasive ideology representations are produced as our real relations. These imaginary relations combined with our real relations appear as natural or given and constitute our spontaneous perceptions or common-sense. When what is taken as common-sense is formalized as discourse we create conscious representations or overt ideology.

Though overt ideology is usually believed to be the conscious representation of men's relation to their real conditions of existence, it is not. Actually it has been formed from pervasive ideology which is the "unconscious" representation of men's imaginary relations united with their real relations. Overt ideology is therefore, as Althusser asserts, not a simple relation but a relation between relations, not the relation between men and their conditions of existence, but the representation of the way they live the relations between them and their conditions of existence.

Therefore pervasive ideology is hidden, distorting our conscious perceptions that we take for granted. It can only be perceived through structure rather than consciousness, in the general forms of our representations rather than in what is contained by those representations.

It follows that the distortions of ideology are not simply a "conspiracy" of the dominant class, a "bad faith", but are instead the inherent obfuscation of social relations. But, we are not doomed to a Kantian-like dilemma in which we can never see the world as it is but only as it is seen, because we do not make idealist formulations. The problems of ideology can only finally be resolved through material struggle. As a part of that process, theory can reveal the hidden aspects of ideology by penetrating to the real relations. Once ideology is understood as more complex than the conscious representation of men's relations to material reality but are seen as the representation of the relations to these relations, the way these relations are lived, then we no longer speak of a dominant ideology in the sense of one dominating others but only as the ideology of the dominant class. All other ideologies are only partial and formed from the dominant ideology which effects them at the pervasive level. Our purpose must be to expose the real relations by cutting through the imaginary relations because there are no truly opposing ideologies.

However, having said this much we emphasize that we must not let general epistemological principles divert us from our problematic of establishing a political perspective. Ideology must be treated as an issue in itself separated from the material struggle. It is only a useful concept as an elucidation of real issues, a tool that can deal with reification, but not when it becomes reified itself. Such fashionable discussions as ideological analysis through semiology avoid concrete concerns and lapse into concrete fetishism. We need more than theory alone dealt with in an abstract non-specific way. Our opposition must be made clear against concrete examples and lead towards active transformation.

## Pervasive Ideology in Art/ Marie's Political Cake

What does this distinction between an overt and pervasive ideology mean to our critique of art? If pervasive ideology is only appropriated through the structures of our representations rather than our consciousness, then putting art into a socio-political context is not simply a matter of pointing out the features of art that have an obvious and conscious link to socio-political concerns of an overt ideology. This only reveals superficial relation such as the form and content of particular works of Social Realism that illustrate party dogma, or the use of paintings, whether a Boucher or a Rauschenberg, as status symbols for a ruling class, or artworks as investments producing the greatest possible returns, etc. It is also a matter of showing the relation of aspects of the general structure of art to pervasive ideology. It then becomes obvious that work which seems neutral, like most modernism, is not. What seems non-ideological because it contains no overt ideology is still ideological at the structural level; it is enmeshed in pervasive ideology as much as everything else. It is a notable fact about bourgeois ideology that in the West there are few links that exist at the superficial level between overt ideology and the content and form of particular works. Finally art which seems recalcitrant, even politically critical opposing overt ideologies, reveals itself to still be an important element of the dominant ideology whether it is a Hans Haacke expose of big business interests or the Russian art of Komar/Melamid modelling itself on capitalist conceptual art.

## Legitimizing and Ameliorating/ The Gloved Hand is Also Faster Than The Eye

Having established by the use of a pervasive description of ideology that all art has a socio-political function, and that this service goes beyond simple relations, we can now develop the two major forms, sketched out earlier, that this function takes, namely as legitimizing and ameliorating. These terms do not define kinds of art but the socio-political functions of art has which are then manifested as kinds of art under different socio-political systems, i.e. established and avant-garde art under advanced

capitalism and official and dissident art under authoritarian communism; their forms change but their function remains the same. By legitimizing we mean supportive of dominant structures, and by ameliorative we mean improving for the sake of preserving the same dominant structures, a gradualist slight of hand in which by changing the parts the whole still remains. Neither are radical in the original sense of questioning the roots, and it is questionable that a radical function for art exists at all because even non-conforming art simply serves an ameliorating function so long as it operates within the dominant structure.

## The Legitimizing Function of Art Under Capitalism/ The Great Hall of Mirrors

How do the legitimizing and ameliorating functions of art operate at the level of pervasive ideology? Under capitalism the legitimizing function of art basically operates through idealism, an essential element of bourgeois ideology. More specifically this means that art embodies the immaterial (also called "invisible", "transcendent", "spiritual", "higher order", etc.). "High Art" represents bourgeois ideology raised to the level of a universal, absolute, natural, given and represents itself in the same way. In other words, just as ideology is invisible, so art is made to appear autonomous, but this invisibility and autonomy are themselves ideological, not real. The main mechanism of this representation is reification in its most general sense of turning a convention into an absolute. This process of idealism makes a social process into an eternal principle, and confuses a man-made thing with a natural thing. What occurs is an abstracting from human relations, a forgetfulness of the material base of historical actions. Art is a practice which is historically established but then claimed to be autonomous, universal and finally referred to as evidence of autonomy and universality as existing qualities. Capitalism is making a continual effort to hide its material base and the fact that it is only one of other possible modes of production, in order to appear as the natural state of affairs. Therefore it refers to art as the embodiment of such universal principles that deny history.

It is no coincidence that modernism is the dominant mode of art under capitalism because it so well fulfills this ideological need for universalizing and materializing. Not only are references continually made by people as different as Malevich, Greenberg, Levitt, Kosuth, to its ultimate purpose as achieving "higher orders" but its modus operandi is formalism, i.e. reductionism and self-reference, in order to become a tautologous, autonomous entity. Even formalists who eschew transcendent purposes are formalists and their "accomplishment" is yet more gratifying to capitalism leaving art as nothing but a bare economic unit. On the whole it has not changed since earlier days when holy madonnas or baroque nymphs and shepherds embodied universal qualities such as Godliness, Beauty, Virtue, Truth, etc.

## The Great Canadian Landscape Reflected in the Hall of Mirrors

An analogy to the functioning of the state, which as art is another aspect of bourgeois ideology, may make this clearer and is a particularly appropriate analogy to us in Canada where art is primarily state supported. It also reveals some other myths related to the specialization of artists as an elite group of talented people.

Art functions like the state in that just as the state separates ideals from reality by making itself the embodiment of universal interests which are above the special interests of civil (non-political) society, so art separates ideals from reality by claiming itself the representative of eternal principles (Beauty, Expression, Creativity, Genius, etc.) making it autonomous from worldly interests. When art places itself above the material as a representative of idealized creativity, it wrests that creativity from the material, the everyday. Representative government places itself above special interests and has elected representatives to speak for civil society, and art places itself above the



material and must have "gifted" specialists who, like priests as much as bureaucrats, represent "creativity on earth" for everyone else. Because art has separated itself as an ideal from reality, it seems its art is its arbitrary conventions as eternal principles and therefore other possibilities as simply "not art" (even the most avant-garde is only an extension of existing art conventions). The abilities required to fulfill these arbitrary conventions are then also considered universal and special and those who have them are heralded as Talented, Genius, etc. no matter how many their activities.

In Canada the state supports art almost exclusively, e.g. by grants, and arbitrates its "quality", e.g. by selection for festivals such as the VB. By this method the state reflects its own position and reinforces the state's position as a universal abstraction above the material, special interests, the ideological. Art then functions as the ideological tool of the dominant class through the state in the same way that the state itself is an ideological tool of the dominant class.

It is by falsely raising a practice above the material and everyday where all activity is properly rooted, and thereby justifying the requirement of an intermediary, that accounts for religion, government, art, and all other forms of alienation that ensue. What other than such a deep-rooted and imperious process could justify state supported art in which the public's money is used to keep a small section of society called artists as specialists who produce work that is not only meaningless to people but, as authorized art, maintains the ideology that separates art as an activity outside of everyday life. How else could art which in its internal operation is so different than any other aspect of capitalism, degenerate as functioning as a sham of manipulation where success depends only on the ability to operate within the given system, be believed to require anything more. It is through the hegemony of capitalism that people continue to elect bureaucrats to make decisions for them and pay artists to "grace" their lives with worthless "culture".

## The Ameliorating Function of Art Under Capitalism/Change is Money in the Pocket

Under advanced capitalism the ameliorating function of art through it includes all self-acclaimed refractory forms of art is nevertheless nothing more than ameliorative. The degree of "opposition" varies: Formalist gestures of defiance against past art forms or the proffering of "alternatives", which because they remain internalized, pose no threat whatsoever to the socio-political structure they operate in. Yet many of these avant-gardes pathetically insist on considering themselves "radicals" - an artistic tradition by now. This kind of art is even hard to classify as fulfilling an ameliorating function, in fact, the same work has a definite legitimizing function as well. Others howl more blatantly at something out there beyond the narrow confines of art but their criticisms are apolitical, hurled against "society", interpreting all through the subject as universal rather than political. Even in their rebellion they have fallen into the same trap that all do who are inculcated by the prevailing ideology, by opposing from a humanist position. They see the artist as subversive, pitted against society, striving for alternatives within heroic categories. They do not see their real relations to their material reality because ideology interpellates creating the illusion that individuals are being called upon to consciously and freely participate. So they fall for the imaginary relations in which ethical dilemmas are conceived of in metaphysical absolutes and such idealist conceptions as Alternative Perceptions, Deviant Behaviour, Punks, etc. They believe they have the freedom to refuse interpellation, to not be subjects, but art including its subversive character is completely a part of dominant ideology. Finally there are those artists who make a more clearly political statement but only as new content for the same forms, their art practice is assumed neutral and goes unquestioned, art itself is believed unproblematic. However, the concept of pervasive ideology makes it clear that art fulfills the dominant ideology at its structural level as well in its content. These artists simply put socio-political contexts into art; not art into its socio-political context, and use "social concerns" in order to forward their bourgeois careers.

The ameliorating function of art basically operates through contention which, like idealism, is

an essential element of bourgeois ideology, especially of liberalism with its main mechanism of assimilation and reform in contrast to opposition and reaction, the strategy of conservatism, but which has the same end - the preservation of the status quo. "Competition" within the structure is, of course, entirely accepted by it, e.g. the "official opposition", for in such cases the structure itself is never questioned. Therefore it hardly figures in our discussion of contention. But more anti-establishment contention is also tolerated as a sign of a healthy and free society. Its acceptance is essential to serve three interwoven purposes: its own abrogation, to act as a justifying tokenism, and to be used as an indicator. When non-conforming elements are not directly opposed but assimilated they are weakened; their token presence masks the fact that ultimately power rules and only inveterate orders continue; finally they provide guidelines for the minor adjustments required to ensure the prolongation of dominant structures. A pluralist situation is created in which all becomes relative; the contradictory necessarily co-exist creating a sense of indifference and denying the possibility of objective knowledge. And without objective knowledge only power, economic, coercive, hegemonic, etc., is the final deciding factor. When the logic of liberalism is taken to its end we discover fascism. The mask of tolerance molds itself to the face of tyranny and so reveals what it hides when scrutinized.

The liberal ploy of being willing to entertain contrapositions is far more effective in defeating them than the reactionary strategy of squelching them from the start. Potentially threatening beliefs are reduced from strong convictions to mere "opinions", "alternate points of view", etc. to which "we all have a right to after all". In the end they are not accepted but in the process have lost their oppositional force and reinforce the liberal position as open and fair. The liberal may even incorporate some aspects of such contrapositions to further weaken them and strengthen himself but essentially nothing changes.

Let us be more specific by saying that forms of opposition such as trade unionism, and bourgeois revolutions like women's rights, Nader's consumer protests, or "radical" gestulations in art, etc. only serve as indicators for the progressive mutations of capitalism. Art also serves the purposes of abrogation of contention and tokenism especially well. We should first note that in art individualistic contention is no more non-conforming than the form of competition mentioned earlier. It is the symbol of the individualist against society protecting his own interests, justifying the absence of social responsibility in everyday dealings that place individual and short-sighted needs first; interpreting freedom as the self-centered freedom to restrict others, competition as the win of one rather than the loss of many, because "winners" as the potential of any single individual rather than the "loser" as the resultant fact for all other individuals.

Formalist art aestheticizes contention by lifting an image or concept from reality and putting it into an art context thereby giving it another meaning that denies its original one. It becomes neutralized as attention is directed to its formal aspects alone. By removing it from its concrete and specific history it also becomes universalized and then fulfills a legitimizing function. But not only modernism serves this abrogating purpose. Even the glorification of the worker leads to an aestheticization in which real people and situations are transformed into objects and myths. "Socially concerned" art as it is now developing as an extension of modernism, takes contentious issues out of the context of real confrontation and renders them innocuous by placing them into the harmless confines of art.

By now it should be clear that any recalcitrant art is only a token form of rebellion that serves a definite ideological role. Those artists who see themselves as conscious misfits and oppose society believing that they can be apart from it, and who do not question the socio-political function of art in the broadest sense, fail to confront the real issues and so contribute in perpetuating them as they exist. As long as this kind of artist sees himself outside of society and takes the "radicality" of his art for granted, he will not recognize his class embeddedness as an artist and art's role in the dominant ideology; he and his art remain socially and politically ineffectual and fulfill a very traditional role. Only when he rejects this token, part of isolated rebel and participates with the radical elements of society in a social context will he work towards real change rather than experiments out off from reality and confined by gallery walls. Art must question its own sociology, its place in the relations of production.

Art which simply changes content within or beyond art takes form as neutral. Even if it changes form it does so only within art to which formal changes are restricted. The general content and form of art must be considered not within the confines of art as an analytic art did, but in the broader socio-political contexts. There then is no easy transition assumed from formalism to social concerns in an art that does not question itself, but a reflexive and critical practice. Finally this practice must be directed at a real transformation and not simply general abstract concerns, but also related to concrete specific and local/personal situations.

Artists like those represented by CAR in Canada, who use worker's strategies by forming unions or similar organizations to make collective demands, appropriate labour-type actions

towards capitalist ends. Such manoeuvres hide their own bourgeois nature and obscure real relations. They are made by artists who do not recognize or even being to question the ideological role they fulfill as artists or the real class position they have, and they see art itself at every level (form, content, general practice, use, etc.) as unproblematic. By adopting trade union guises it is clear that they see the worker's struggle as no more than reformism demanding an equal slice of the rotten pie.

## The Function of Art Under Authoritarian Communism/October Follows July or Gulag Guillotine

In the East under authoritarian communism art also takes on a legitimating and an ameliorating function, but they are manifested in different forms as official and dissident art rather than established and avant-garde art. As we said earlier, forms vary but functions remain constant so it would seem that the same functions under different socio-political systems manifest different forms. However, there is really little essential difference between authoritarian communism and advanced capitalism, and this is reflected by the fact that official and dissident art are also respectively little different in nature from established and avant-garde art - the same functions under similar socio-political systems manifest the same forms.

Since Lenin and Trotsky both opted for a capitalist model of industry we cannot seriously consider the Soviet socio-political system as being based on a new mode of production; centralized bureaucrats simply replaced private businessmen - state capitalism in which the application of capitalist ideas were used towards management and industrial relations. Industry is bourgeois not just because it serves the bourgeoisie but because of its structure: hierarchy, specialization, incentives through bonuses or piece work, etc. Marx saw this in his critique of wage labour and work. Yet the USSR which claims Marx as its inspiration ignores this most obvious feature of Marxism. This explains why political factions in the West such as labour parties, communist parties, trade unions etc. who base themselves on the Soviet model function as well as they do within capitalism and serve it as reforming forces; social democrats and socialists are only fronts for the bourgeoisie. If basic structures are not questioned, but only their content, then no real changes are made. Returning to our distinctions in levels of ideology: while the East has a different overt ideology from the West, at the pervasive level their ideologies are the same. The USSR still has a bourgeois ideology, in fact, the degree that it remained capitalist is in direct relation to the extent that it was and is repressive, for had it become a dialectic communist state controlled by the worker freedom and participation would have been far more extensive than it ever could be under capitalism. That the USSR seems less repressive in the West's eyes now, is only because it is adopting overt ideologies and means of repression that are more like those used here.

However, there are some differences in the manifestation of legitimating and ameliorating functions of art under authoritarian communism and advanced capitalism. What is different is that while official art overtly serves a legitimating function in the East but the legitimating function of established art is not so obvious in the West, the ameliorating function of dissident art is less obvious in the East than the avant-garde's ameliorating function in the West. At least in the West, Eastern dissident art is made to seem radical in relation to its socio-political context and not just ameliorative. But this is to the advantage of capitalism. It seems though that everything is more overt in the East. There is a greater distinction between official and dissident art there while here the avant-garde becomes established art. Under authoritarian communism official art clearly serves the state illustrating party dogmas, while under capitalism established art serves the state in a less obvious way resorting to metaphysical illusions that seem universal and neutral. Conversely dissident art overtly attacks the state while here the avant-garde settles for formal innovations and art protests. That in the West things are not so clear-cut is evidence of the far greater hegemonic control of capitalism.

But these differences are only superficial and occur at the level of overt ideology. It is at the pervasive level that the inversions occur: established art which seems neutral is really supportive and reforming, complicit, avant-garde art which seems refractory is really supportive and reforming, and dissident art which opposes the state but does not thoroughly question ideology and art, is also complicit and art is easily used by capitalism to justify itself. Only official art seems to be

simply what it is but even then it is false propaganda. That dissident art really serves the dominant ideology of authoritarian communism at the pervasive level and does not oppose it as it seems at the overt level, and that the ideology of that system is the same as that of advanced capitalism at the pervasive level though again it seems to oppose it at the overt level, explain how Eastern dissident art can be so easily used in the West for the justification of its own system. If Eastern dissident art truly opposed and provided a thorough critique of the dominant ideology of authoritarian communism, then it must also oppose the ideology of advanced capitalism and it would be as unacceptable in the West as it is in the East. As it is the dissidents of the East that are presented in the West as those who want to go back to capitalism rather than go forward beyond the mistakes of Soviet socialism. When they send their work West or defect they have been cheered not just once by the false revolution but also a second time by capitalism.

## Resolution

### Emptying the Baskets

In light of the theory developed above, we can now see how the art of Martin and Saxe and art institutions like the NAG are firmly political in having a legitimating function serving the capitalist socio-political system they operate in. On the other hand the VB despite its seemingly more "radical" approach is nevertheless an art institution which also serves capitalism by fulfilling an ameliorating function. Finally it should now be clear how Eastern dissident art is far more dissident and so especially useful to capitalism. These four elements which are our principles in this discussion, illustrate: the legitimating function of art and art institutions in the West, the ameliorating function of art institutions in the West and of art in the East. Enough has been said above and especially in our general theory on: the ameliorating function of art in the West and art institutions in the East, the legitimating function of art and art institutions in the East, to leave application up to the reader as specific examples of these do not figure in the is so described here.

Ironically the VB showing Eastern dissident art is part of the repressive forces in the West and uses dissident art to repress with. The very convulsion of such a sophisticated strategy is indicative of the greater subtlety and complexity of capitalist repression compared to, at least what used to be, the fairly simple forms of overt coercion of Soviet repression. The NAG is not quite capable of this sophisticated form of repression but bludgeons us with Martin and Saxe's work - the Western equivalent of Eastern official art.

No one can deny the overt capitalist coercion away from home in places like Vietnam and Chile; capitalist repression at home is more difficult to expose because it acts through the non-coercive means of ideology which is so pervasive that those who like it are not easily made aware of it; only other ideologies seem unnatural. Our repression only becomes apparent when we question beyond the existing ideology while questioning within the structure is allowed in order to give the appearance of freedom. Our ideology separates all functions so that the decision of a bureaucrat is never subjected to the decision of an artist or a politician. The NAG believes that it can make unpolitical decisions and that artists make unpolitical art. What this really means is that there is only one kind of politics that is acceptable and so seems natural and unpolitical while all the rest are political.

## "How Far is Versailles From the Revolution?"

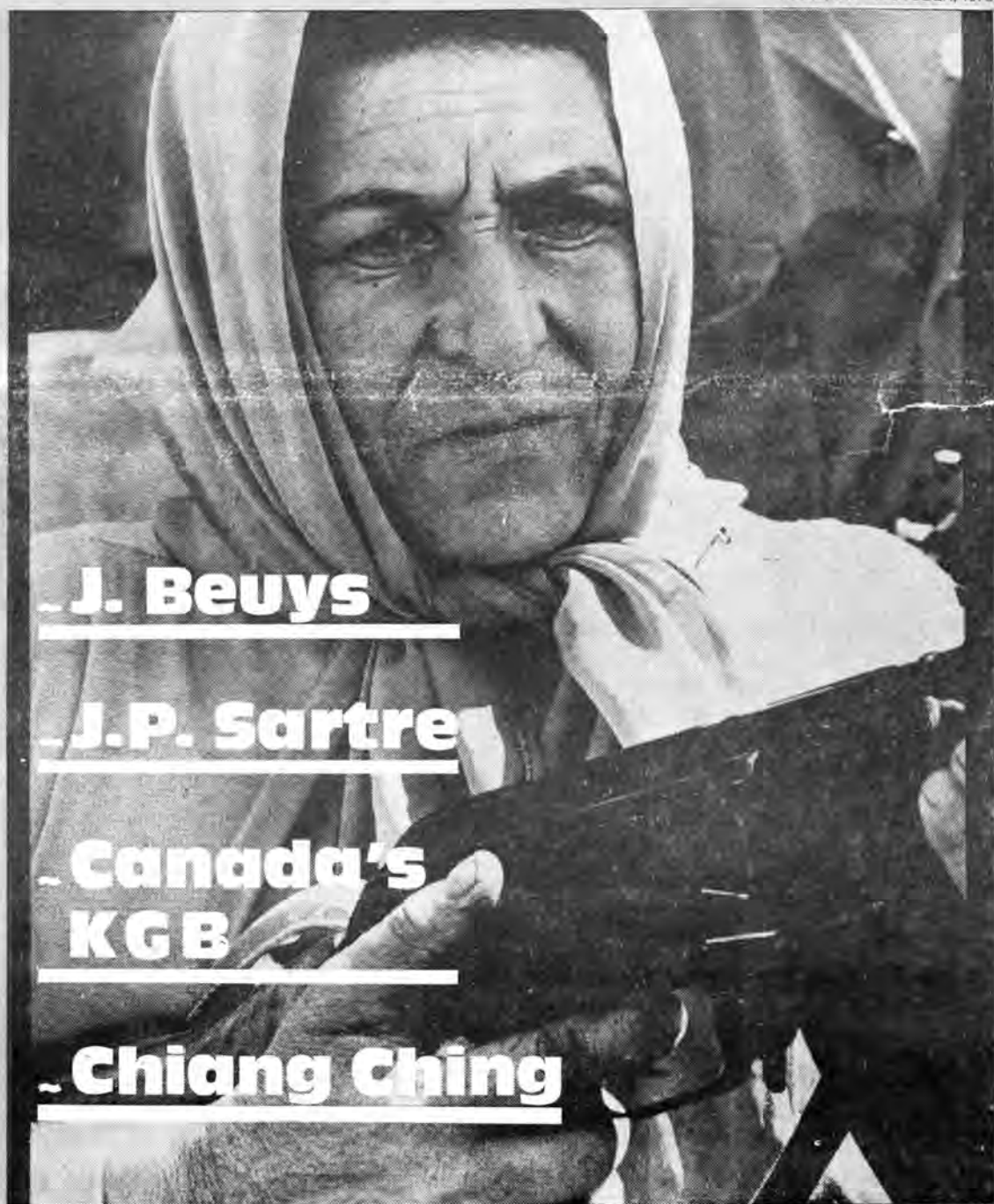
We reject notions of art like sociological art, which only become extension of the dominant art, or the possibility of creating a pure socialist art within capitalism, because everything that exists in capitalism is subsumed by it. On the other hand the complete rejection of art not the point and transition to activism is not automatic. Both strategies are effected by the need to account for pervasive ideology. When this is done we see that art may serve as one of its battle grounds and that it reveals the ideological function of all art and the class embeddedness of all artists which must be dealt with. Our only valid purpose can be the transformation to real democracy and conscious participation in the overthrow of capitalism. There is no way in which the greater responsiveness to human needs and an end to society's sense of powerlessness can be accomplished. Our specific strategies may still be subsumed in themselves but the general goal cannot without actually destroying capitalism. Towards this goal de-mythification is an important action for art - the dispersal of imaginary relations which have intervened and disarmed the material struggle.





# STRIKE

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**J. Beuys**

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# BOOKS

## WHEN WORKERS FIGHT

The Politics of Industrial Relations in the Progressive Era, 1898-1916 by Bruno Ramirez, Greenwood Press, 1978.

Bruno Ramirez is also known as one of the collective members of the radical review **ZEROWORK**. In his recent book **When Workers Fight**, Ramirez extends his thesis already outlined in a previous book on the formation of the mass worker in the United States, between 1898 and 1922, published by Feltrinelli in 1976.

The victory of the workers at the turn of the century is seen as the seminal force to build the basis for the workers' power in America, the reform ideology, and the immediate counterattack by capital to recompose the working class. The economic power in America, at the turn of the century, pushed its expansion until it resulted in the great depression. Concentration of capital, better exploitation of the labor force, and the extension of international markets were demanding a change in the industrial re-composition.

"One does not have to read Marx to realize the important role crisis played in the strengthening of capital's control over the working class, thus setting the stage for a new cycle of development". Apparent economic recession is an excellent situation for capital to reinforce itself at the expenses of the labor force, in fact accumulating the availability of cheap labor. It is described how the managerial class, in order to combat collective bargaining, opposed welfarism and the much more known Taylorism in order to subjugate and rationally exploit labor. Welfarism was then not used in a business fashion, but rather it was publicized as an humanitarian device to improve the work conditions of the labor class and not shown as a defensive device in the class struggle. From a managerial viewpoint, welfarism was directed towards a greater efficiency of labor. Welfarism concentrated in the areas of work conditions, and in the betterment of the workers' free time. "A General Electric officer explained at an NTC Welfare Department meeting: — The General Electric Company does not believe in spending anything in a purely sentimental way; it is a cold business behind it every time."

Ramirez shows the evidence of the revolutionary role played by the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies). The Wobblies concentrated not only on the waged but also on the unwaged workers and on the immigrant labor. Their struggle included the use of sabotage as a positive strategy to curb the power of capital. A noted Wobbly was reported saying that "Sabotage is to social war what guerrillas are to national wars. If it does no more than awaken a portion of the workers from their lethargy it will have been justified. But it will do more than that; it will keep the workers awake and will incite them to do battle with masters. It will give added hope to the militant minority, the few who always bear the brunt of the struggle".

## NEW WAVE: PARENTS JOIN IN

On Oct. 18, 1977 the bodies of Gudrun Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe and Andreas Baader were found in their cells at Stammheim prison. Ingrid Moller was found stabbed four times with a butter knife not still alive. The cause of the three deaths was reported as suicide, yet all the evidence that has arisen to date points to the state's guilt of a bungled crime.

Eight days later the three prisoners were buried in a cemetery in Stuttgart. 1200 people came to their funeral, while some 1000 police were there to watch over, photograph, video, question and finally provoke those attending.

At the time of these events Pastor Ensslin, father

of Gudrun Ensslin, made the following statement to the Italian newspaper *Lotta Continua*:

"Gudrun has always shocked us, for many years. Through every step which she took. But she had never broken off the contact with us, even when we were of totally different opinions about some problems. I myself was once very naive. But now I believe that I must fight: I am convinced that she was murdered. She was always afraid that she would be murdered, even in the case of being liberated and going out of the country.

"After the death of Ulrike Meinhof, she told me that it might end that way. And, for her, a suicide was absolutely out of the question. Gudrun had never lied, just as the others from the **RAF Red Army Faction** have never lied; they always took responsibility for their deeds. The others, who are making short work of her, they tell lies, big ones in fact. At the present moment, it is important to remember what Ingrid Moller says, and she is also no liar. Perhaps the killer had done a bad job on her. But they all say nothing about that. And they advise us to give up and to keep silent. Everything is so perfect, that it really reminds me of National Socialism in some parts. Many don't know anything about it. Others don't want to hear about it; they don't want to be disturbed in their comfort, they have

## CRUEL AND UNUSUAL

by Gerrard McNeil and Sharon Vance, Deneau and Greenberg Publishers Ltd., 1978.

In spite of the scandalous reports of police brutality, recent R.C.M.P. crimes and political corruption in all levels of government, most Canadians have remained contently oblivious to the horrors of state imposed terror. The majority of this country still maintains a naive, uncritical faith in the police and Canadian laws. However, an ever increasing number of Canadians have found themselves beyond the protection of these laws. Statistics recently indicate that "roughly one Canadian in every thousand is doing time in a federal penitentiary, a provincial prison, a municipal jail or police lock-up on any given day."

And now, Gerrard McNeil and Sharon Vance have presented in their recent book, **Cruel and Unusual**, one of the most tragic and harrowing reports on the conditions within the Canadian penal system, conditions which will undoubtedly elude the conscience of most Canadians. Through the testimony of guards and prisoners, they have revealed a state of violence and suffering, "a kind of lawless society", which



Gudrun Ensslin's Parents at the Funeral

their *Bild* newspaper, the sport of hunting the special offers in the department stores, their holidays and the lottery. The fronts have hardened on both sides.

"Many parents of **RAF** members are as isolated today as their children, but only a few — mostly high public figures — have disowned their children. I receive letters and telephone calls from people who want to show their solidarity with me and that not only out of pity. But an acquaintance of ours, who worked as a sewer at a tailors, lost her job, after she contradicted the suicide version on Tuesday as the others mentioned the deaths of Baader and the others. Within a few days, the atmosphere in the shop became unbearable and then she was fired.

"In this difficult situation, which we are presently in, the parents and the relatives of the **RAF** members are trying to support one another. Many of us will go to the funeral tomorrow.

"Gudrun didn't think I meant bad, but she thought I was unaware. We often wrote to each other. After ten years, I have begun to study, to learn again. If one really wants to find out the cause of terrorism, as the government claims, then one has to go back a long way in the history of Germany. I have tried to grasp this, to open my eyes to this fact and I think I have been at least partly successful."

For this statement, the public prosecutor and the Church administration have begun prosecution against Pastor Ensslin for "defaming the state" and "injurious slander."

(Statement by Pastor Ensslin taken from *Campaign Against the Model West Germany*, No. 4)

exist in the worst totalitarian regimes. They have exposed the stories of hundreds of people who are regularly attacked in their cells by German sheppards, tear-gassed and beaten for the smallest infraction of prison rules, and occasionally chained out of reach of the toilet and water tap in their cells. Even after having served their sentences, hundreds of prisoners remain incarcerated for months, sometimes years.

Why are these conditions maintained? Perhaps for no other reason than social control, or as one American psychologist put it: "It is designed, I believe, not so much for security purposes but to reduce the individual to that condition where there is no conceivable resistance, where they represent essentially nothing. To come to have no meaning, to come to be nothing, is essentially the greatest human suffering. That is to say it leads ultimately to insanity and suicide."

In the struggle to retain their individuality, identity and self-worth, inmates do in fact resist. However, without the familiar social conventions of the outside community, prisoners are forced to utilize whatever means are available, and the only means in most prisons is to fight back. "The more guards it takes to overcome a prisoner, the higher the status. With no normal outlets, these men find stature by subverting the system, smuggling drugs, attempting suicide, or harassing sex offenders..."

Recently, inmates have begun to realize the inefficiency of such isolated acts of dissent. Isolated acts must be coupled with collective efforts and united demands. And when these demands are denied by the system, the solution is to tear that system down.

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## EDITORIAL

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 19) proclaims that: "Everyone has the right of freedom of opinion; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information through any media and regardless of frontiers."

On the other hand, there is a political crisis in the Canadian state and the radical forces within Canada are being purged. The KGB-like 'thought police' continue to extend their influence to all areas of public and private affairs. In yet another example of the intimidation used against Canadian labour, political, native, intellectual dissidents, the RCMP has launched an investigation into the activities and the personalities involved in the publication of STRIKE. The RCMP has determined that those activities and personalities represent a potential threat to the security of the Canadian state and that they will feel obliged to make recommendations (to whom?) to alleviate that threat.

The guarantees of the U.N.'s declaration on human rights are our resource to confront that intimidation. Therefore, in the manner of STRIKE NO. 2 we continue to advance our support of all activities, whether legal or illegal, that are an expression of people in their battle against power structures.

Strikes against private or public power sectors, armed struggle by individual attacks or mass movements, boycotts and lobby pressures, individual shoplifting or mass looting, demonstrations of protest, absenteeism and workplace sabotage, etc., are actions taken by people themselves daily across the world which together constitute their struggle to make their own history. Repressive structures such as capitalism or authoritarian communism can be overthrown when all actions by people whether spontaneous or organized, moderate or extreme, local or international, self-interested or directed against the socio-political formation, etc., proliferate at the same time.

# MY POLITICAL WILL

Jean-Paul Sartre

Dedicated to my anarchist friends whom I have unjustly ignored and to the memory of Camus.

from *Mon testament politique* (Edition "Gare L'explosion", 1977), courtesy of Edizioni della Rivista "Anarchismo".

Jean Paul Sartre is accepting donations towards the support of terrorist Joachim Klein. Make cheques payable to J.P. Sartre, 32 Rue de Lorraine, 75019 Paris, or directly to Jean Paul Sartre, account N. 9517 Z 3561, Banque Hervet, 26 Boulevard Magenta, 75010 Paris.



Any government that does not include the whole of the population is an illusory government. The right — if rights and government did not swear to remain forever in opposition — would be that people make laws for themselves, without representation, without mediation.

Until today we have had only illusory governments. But, contrary to what the old and new usurpers of the sovereignty of people would insist, whether those be Stalinists of any kind, formalist republicans or Montanards, should we consider Giscard to be an outlaw?

If it were a political law — and for these gentlemen that's all it would be — it would not with all of its power, constitutional or absolute, outlaw Giscard. Indeed, he is God and pontiff.

It is in the law that the representational assemblies, constituent or legislative, grant papers or laws to the people. Like the provisional government of the revolution, it hurls its edicts from Mount Sinai. In this point there is no dispute, Giscard is not an outlaw. Of course he is not outside the political law.

But, the law is one thing, and social, human and natural law is something else. From this other point of view, is Giscard within the law? Clearly no. No more a self-serving provisional government after the victory of February. No more a legislative assembly that imprisons, extradites, shoots, and guillotines the forces of the future. No more votes and acts that create misery for subjugated minds. But Mr. Giscard is not the only outlaw. The government is also outlaw; all governments that have come before. The whole bourgeoisie, all owners, the bankers, the shopkeepers, the industrialists. Each master that exploits labour, production, and the misery and hunger of the proletariat is an outlaw.

**WITH A KNIFE, ALONE, AT THE CORNER OF A DESERTED STREET OR UNDER THE VEIL OF DARKNESS. TO KILL AND DISPOSSESS A PRINCE OF HIS CROWN, TO KILL OR DISPOSSESS A BOURGEOIS OF HIS GOLD, DOES NOT MEAN TO KILL AND DISPOSSESS A MAN.**

Yes, outlaw! And we have the right to protest against the bourgeois oppression. With guns in a mass uprising, with flags in the wind, in the day-

light at the barricades, and also, individually, with a knife, alone, at the corner of a deserted street or under the veil of darkness. To kill and dispossess a prince of his crown, to kill or dispossess a bourgeois of his gold, does not mean to kill and dispossess a man; it means to kill a wild beast and to dispossess it of its fur. For the proletariat, each minute of the day, it is a matter of self-defence.

Who would dare criticize the servants of the Middle Ages who burned down their lord's castles; dipping their hands into the intestines to pull out his guts and then dance among the smoking ruins of the castle? Who would dare criticize those servants for creating with iron and fire their own freedom? Which one of you would dare to criticize the slaves of ancient time who struck the patrician, catching him in the midst of an orgy, snatching from him the golden cup, and after having emptied it, escaping, taking along the pillage and murdering the robbed one?

Which one of you would dare to criticize the republicans of ancient Rome, who, wanting to free the Republic from a tyrant, dipped a knife into Caesar's ribs, washing, with blood, the shame of his yoke?

Then! Times have changed, Caesar still exists. Yesterday he was called a provisional government, government of liberation, constituent, legislative assembly, presidency; today his name is Giscard; tomorrow he will be called Marchais or Mitterand.

Are then Brutus and all other regicides dead? The patrician, the feudal lord, are they not today's bourgeois? The slave, the servant, are they not today's proletariat? Present day slaves, servants and revolutionaries, the logic is relentless. It drives our behaviour. Then, stand up! Let's resurrect the tradition of Brutus, Spartacus, and the rebellious peasants of past history! Stand up! Action! Insurrection! Revolution!

Action, insurrection, yes, but why? To let us be imprisoned, to be shot down without reason, to leave our companions and children in mourning and misery? All of this is a miserable thing. Revolution, yes. But which one? The one that will substitute one power for another power, one man for another man? An even sadder thing! We all have the right and (when the appropriate time comes) the duty to act, to utilize the muscles that nature has given us, to break through insurrec-

tion the chains of slavery that are tied around our throats and wrists. Individually we can do very little; collectively, everything. We have strength. What we lack for success, is unfortunately very little! It is the idea, the faith, the passion, the fanaticism for the idea. Without faith, passion, fanaticism, we cannot lift mountains or make miracles. Without an idea, the strength is infertile and does not produce anything but a crop of catastrophes. The strength without the idea is like a locomotive moving at the highest speed in a direction where there are no rails, a ship without a pilot and without a compass, that in a short time will be swallowed by the waves.

Therefore, no action, no insurrection, no revolution without a social scope, if we do not want to "replace one crime with another crime". However, inaction is not permissible. We have to act, to rise up, to revolt. Each person should question himself and others' thoughts and instill ideas. All of these individual convictions, without loosing anything of their own individuality, should gather together into a unity of principles like the leaves of a tree branch. They should face one or more issues: the government, religion, private ownership, the family. All of these that have resolved one issue positively should gather on one side, and all of those that have not resolved any issue should gather on another side. So we seek to create the unity of the revolutionary party, without having agreed on everything within the four large heads of the beast, which under the name of civilization forces us into modern barbarism. Without having to make detailed definitions. At this point, the ship will have a pilot, a compass. The locomotive will have rails. The strength will be at the service of an idea and the revolution will be powerful.

(Conclusion)

So, as a solution, freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Freedom of thought. Freedom of love. Freedom of work. Freedom of action. Freedom of everything and for everybody. Equality of rights, equality of duties: social equality. Brotherhood, that is the social character impressed on the simultaneous act of freedom and of equality on the plane of humanity; a scenario that can be imagined. The last word on the form: to stress solidarity and unity. And, as an operational means, as transitional means: self-government and direct legislation. (a)

And to never repeat that people remain ignorant. That if one places in their hands a tool which they do not know how to use, that they will not



article, and I have to confess that in the moment of starting it I was a bit more enthusiastic about the idea of direct legislation than I am now; however I did not want to censor this part of my work without having something better to replace it with. The sincere man's criticism will emerge demand the assistance of those that know. No, I will answer to those smart-asses of the revolution, to those sustainers of dictatorship. It is only by hammering iron on an anvil that one learns to become a blacksmith; it is through making one's own laws that people will learn to self-govern and do it well. I know very well that the blacksmith's assistant will break his fingernails many times before he learns enough to do his job well. This will teach him to be more careful with what he is working on, and, as they say: "this will stick his job to his hands". People making their own laws, will break their fingernails in the beginning, attempting to self-govern: this will teach them to examine more carefully their own projects, to better realize them. And, if sometimes they make decisions, the following day they will be ready to modify those arrangements, hammering out the new ones on the anvil.

But, before they reach that point, there is a material obstacle that must be breached: imperialism, and another means of operation that must be employed: insurrection. No matter how large the suffrage is that sustains a power, it is always sitting on a volcano. Lava is fermenting at the bottom of the pit. Storms and past attempts have, it is true, turned off a little of the fire that was smoldering underneath, but the new generation will grow with the social idea very clear in their minds, and hence we will achieve a noticeable growth in strength. If power does not open large slits to let socialism in, sooner or later, it will be torn down by the eruption of the volcano. The land quakes under the poison of reaction, and the old society, like another Pompeii, will not have to wait too long until it is swallowed in the incandescent wave of the revolution.

**EACH DAY, WOMEN AND WORKERS, IN THE MEASURE OF THEIR STRENGTH AND CONVICTIONS, IN THE FAMILY AS IN THE FACTORY, OR THE DESERTED STREET CORNER. IT IS TODAY, IT IS ALWAYS THE TIME, IT IS ALWAYS THE INSTANT TO ACT, TO REBEL, TO REVOLUTIONIZE.**

To work, then! It is not a matter of going to sleep while waiting for the day of judgement. We have to prepare it. Each day, women and workers, in the measure of our own strength and convictions, in the family as in the factory, or the deserted street corner. It is today, it is always the time, it is always the instant to act, to rebel, to revolutionize.

Everyone, arise! With your arms and your hearts, with the pen and the word, with the knife and the gun, with the curse and the irony, with adultery and pillage (b), with poisoning and fire (c). Let's make (on the great path of principles or at the crossroads of individual rights, with insurrection or with murder, with war against society) the war against civilization (d). Stand up! And if by luck, one of us falls into the hands of the authorities, (under the whip, in jail or before the firing squad) that each of us will confess before humanity and before nature as a witness that we have been acting within our own rights and obeying our own conscience (e).

(Notes).

(a) It should be understood that when I speak of direct legislation (self-government), I do not as yet have a completely clear idea in my mind, since I do not see a complete plan of society's organization that destroys totally the law system as it exists. The day in which this kind of organization will be known, not only will I abandon this idea of legislation, but I will be the first one to fight it.

It has been over a year since I have written this

and produce a system entirely detached from the past.

Although, it is clear that this is what I mean, that it is each person's right — man or woman, 'human being' — to always dissent and to disobey the law; whatever this is, whenever one has the energy, any time this authority oppresses him. It is up to him to decide when an insurrection is a necessity, or if it is more useful and more productive for a future result, to fight with active propaganda.

(b) That adultery would cause as much disorganization as possible in the family routine. That no husband can claim: "I am the father of this child". And that, finding only disgust and stress in marriage, an unbearable existence he will be forced to escape, to demand for himself the freedom of love and to abandon his own position of authority. That in all things joy will be born out of the excesses of evil, because, this is what the big human exploiters are forcing to happen by their resistance to progress.

(c) That each revolutionary select, among those he can truly trust, one or two other workers like himself. And that — in little groups of three or four without any connection among them and functioning independently, in such a way that the discovery of one of the groups does not drive all the other groups to jail — they act with a common scope: the destruction of the old society. And they will arrange in such a manner to destroy completely for a long time the privileged, which in order to escape death and destruction, will make a common cause with the proletariat in reclaiming equality. There would not exist any salvation for the privileged and that no hope would be possible outside of their own annihilation.

**AT NIGHT, KNIFING OR STRANGLING HIM OR THE MASTERS, FORCING, BREAKING IN OR OPENING WITH FALSE KEYS THE FURNITURE WHERE THEY COULD FIND JEWELLERY, SILVERWARE OR CASH: THAT THEY WILL TAKE AWAY EVERYTHING THAT IS POSSIBLE TO TAKE AWAY, AND AS THEY LEAVE SET THE HOUSE ON FIRE.**

That for example, each group will proceed as follows: among the three or four members of the group, one of them would be a mason or a carpenter, and this one would take the cast of the lock of the wealthy's apartments where he has been called to work, that he would check well all of the exits, that he will question very shrewdly the house maids with the scope of having all of the indispensable information. And that once having taken all precautions, he will warn the other members of the group — his accomplices if you wish — and at a given time, entering the apartment of the rich man at night, knifing or strangling him or the masters, forcing, breaking in or opening with false keys the furniture where they could find jewellery, silverware or cash; that they will take away everything that is possible to take away, and as they leave set the house on fire. But above all that they would not use what they recover from the theft to improve their own condition, because this act will be their damnation: a change in their own condition will betray them, pointing them out to the police.

That they would kill and pillage to destroy. Later they would bury all of the gold they have gathered, with the scope that if any of them would be suspected or discovered, this gold will be used for escape.

The group, with what they will get from the expropriation of the wealthy, will be able to clandestinely purchase a printing press, and that the leaflets will make public the scope and the means of action of this horrible society, daily they should say to the people about all murders, all the pillages, all the poisonings, the fires that are

executed in the city and in the country by the hands of the revolutionaries, of the rebel peasants, and that in this manner they will go on until the authorities are completely destroyed.

In another group, where there is a pastry chef/worker, that this one would try at any cost to be hired in one of the large pastry factories that cater to the rich, and for New Year's eve, or the festivities thereafter, poison one or ten or twenty trays of sweets, as many as possible, and the day after one hundred or one thousand wealthy people will cease to exist.

That this secret society, with their clandestine printing presses, would then claim the responsibility and the stoic poisoner would disappear, hence avoiding arrest.

**THAT HE WOULD POISON THE CHAMPAGNE, IF THIS IS POSSIBLE, THE RARE WINES, THE GLOVES, THE CAKES, THE ICES, AND THE CREAMS.**

That in a gift shop the same would also happen. That he would poison the champagne, if this is possible, the rare wines, the gloves, the cakes, the ices, and the creams. That in the country they would burn down the rich man's crops, the rich man's houses, the churches; that in the cities the same would happen to the houses, the churches, the governmental buildings, the city halls, all of the bureaucratic offices and commercial buildings. That the sword of Damocles is constantly held over the heads of the privileged; that the snakes of terror, like those of Nemesis, hiss night and day into their ears frightening them out of their luxury and lives; that their position would become unbearable and that tired of such anguish, they would see themselves forced to fall on their knees to demand forgiveness, begging the proletariat to grant them life in exchange for their privilege and the common joy in exchange for the general disgrace.

(d) The civilization, today synonymous with barbarity, has to be destroyed that way it was when barbarity opened another era of civilization. Humanity, which has become quite large, today rejects it like a too-tight dress in order to enter a new phase of progress called harmony.

**TOMORROW, IF YOU DO NOT RELEASE ME, YOU WILL ALL DIE.**

(e) An individual or a group that is brought to trial has to go with no shame, and that he will not place himself in the role of the accused, but in the role of the enemy, and always a dangerous enemy whatever he is, prisoner or free, dead or alive, because a man of principles defeated in a struggle never dies totally and that is his satisfaction and his strength, his comrades will survive — he should say to the ones who want to convict him: me, you will die. I curse you to die knifed by the secret societies of which I am a member, and this curse, you should learn it well, for them it is an order. And now, hit me, if you can!" And the day after, if the revolutionary is condemned, the secret societies will kill, whatever the price and without backstepping from any danger, from the judges to the jurymen who have been compromised in the sentence.

Gentlemen of family and ownership, of religion and the government, you want privilege, and so therefore receive the consequences. Do you believe that your life, your world, your venomous society, could last a long time against such a revolutionary means as this? Answer, son of Malthus!

But, unfortunately, the energies are weak today, and only the day after another revolution has been squashed will this idea generate its fruit. While waiting, I am throwing this seed into the heart of all those who suffer, and let's begin! You will not escape this insurrection, I hope it would start right away.



# TOWARDS A NEW PARTY

Joseph Beuys

In the current discussion on a "new party for the future", we share the opinion of those for whom the main task lies in the concentration of many forces for the preparation of a solution to the enormous problems in the global, ecological and futurological perspective. If one were to arrive at the decision to establish this new party, then it would certainly attract all those who want to engage themselves in a long political term for humanity. It would never place itself in favour of short term specific material interest of a class or a rank (not even for factory workers alone or intellectual classes as an interest group) at the centre of its efforts. On the contrary, general interests and broad ideas would constitute its particular interest. In a dialectical formulation, it could be said that it would articulate and organize the universality as a special specificity.

THE THIRD WAY ACTION believes that time has come to consider such a new party, a party in which there is no space for those who want to represent only the immediate and petty interests of the electorate or those who for personal and material reasons long to gain positions and power; a party then, that from the beginning refuses to compete with today's parties for positions of power and patronage, yet naturally does not fear the rational confrontation with them, which will be carried out always in a non-violent manner. The efforts for rationalization, democratization, and the humanization of the party's conflicts in each single country and in the world, would constitute the party's own unique contribution to politics. It must never cease to emphasize the necessity to face our ever new and complex problems on the basis of a wide collaboration of the constructive forces for all countries and continents.

But before such a new party of the future can be formed, which will embody the new and flourish as a free association of politically motivated people, groups, ecological associations, human rights organizations, popular initiatives, magazines, newspapers, clubs enterprises (economical and cultural organizations), small parties, etc.; we must clarify which are the fundamental objectives of our political activity. In other words, the political standpoint of the party must be clearly identified, in the sense of what we have called an alternative to the existing systems of capitalism and authoritarian communism. Starting from this alternative, which we characterize as the THIRD WAY, all particular questions of the organization will be quickly answered, by the process of an organizational pattern which is intended to evolve and to endure metamorphosis in the course of the practical development of our work. This candor considers the proposed concept here, even if it would lead to an institutionalization of a party at the national and international levels.

Let's consider the current debate that has been carried out over the past few months in the circles of the non-conformist and democratic left, to further discuss the problematic connected to the foundation of a party that would truly consider the great challenges of our time.

One of our founders of the idea of the THIRD WAY has declared his support in favour of such a party in an essay (recently published). He raises the question of the placement of the new party within the present spectrum of parties:

"Of course this party could be characterized as a radical and left party. Insofar as it would adopt the objectives of a global, human and liberal or libertarian socialism, it would step aside from both the pseudo-reformist opportunists and pseudo-dogmatic revolutionaries. This party

would offer room for a pluralist viewpoint and the diverging methods forces could extend itself from critical marxist, realist syndicalists, and humanist anarchists to non-marxists, radical democrats, catholic and left protestants, and also pacifists of various tendencies. The defence of active tolerance, of world wide humanity and long term global politics, should qualify the party as something more than a sect and to prove that, in the end, it could truly become a new party of the future . . . It should reconsider endlessly the great struggles and the essential questions of our era — whether these are the arms race, population explosion, Third World starvation, environmental pollution, power concentration in the hands of the bureaucracy of obsolete states or obtuse tycoons, or the insecurity, frustration and aggressiveness of individuals — just to list some of the main problems. Because these struggles essentially concern issues that go beyond the frame of single nations and each country, even the new party should be international and transnational. This can be expressed by the importance that it would give to contacts with other similar groupings. We think not only in this regard — but also not ultimately — about the so-called eurocommunists as conversant. The traditional barriers of a party should be consciously relativized."

Ossip K. Flechtheim, the author of these thoughts about a new party for the future, concludes his essay with the question "This utopian idea could one day become a fruitful reality".

Of course, right after the publication of Flechtheim's suggestions, there were voices of consensus but also of criticism and opposition. The ACTION assumes, for this reason, a very sober viewpoint, starting from many divergencies of opinion which could become meaningless. Our viewpoint can be characterized in the following manner:

1. Not one of the existing organized parties follow a politic in which its content considers needs that can be disregarded and which could open a solution to the current crisis of civilization.

2. We have to examine (a) how many people today have already recognized what is the crucial point of the problem, and have therefore understood that the economical, sociological and moral crisis, the military threat, the East-West conflict, the North-South antagonism, etc., simply constitute diverse manifestations, aspects and symptoms of the general crisis of civilization, the crisis of modern industrial society in general, the crisis that has been caused by the social systems that have consolidated themselves in the modern era, between capitalism on the one hand and totalitarian communism on the other; (b) how many people are actually inclined to a common action to allow for the emergence of a new project for civilization. This examination can only be realized as a consciously driven practical experiment. We have to determine its content and give it an organizational form. A party, as an instrument of change, can play in this experiment a positive, if not indispensable role. But such a party is, *a priori*, only a part of the entire experiment.

3. An essential condition of the experiment is that we would radically give up all clichés of political positioning in the 'new party'. Without the capacity to strictly eliminate all of the 'isms' and all the traditional classifications — even being able to use them consciously when needed — one would risk ignoring or humiliating *a priori* a good segment of the effective potential of real innovative forces. But can we not eliminate such

terms as 'left', 'socialist', etc? Why should we predetermine as a start the ones whom we will accept as allies or not? Of what concern is it to us if someone calls himself a Marxist or not, Christian or Atheist, Anarchist or Liberal, Philosopher or Communist? All of these terms are only problematic, often constituting an immense obstacle to get precisely to the point, to speak properly. If we would finally give up the whole generalization of traditional terminology — determine our precise location concretely in relation to the contents, if we would briefly describe the same phenomena and manner in which we want to re-structure them; if we would concentrate ourselves on the re-organization, transformation, and construction of the new relationship among members or elements of the complete social system, in a document not only about the survival of mankind, but also as a guarantee of an existence worthy of man in freedom, equality and brotherhood; if we would explain concretely what all this means in the design of a new econ-



"...if it is possible

omic, monetary, political and cultural system, etc.; if we would finally and concretely indicate how under the condition of such a new direction of social evolution (to which reality is of course pushing) we could actually put aside the problems of inflation, destruction, the foolish arms race, Third World starvation, the availability of raw materials, etc., only then would human beings be found who today (over and above ideologies, parties and associations) are longing for the new.

We know, of course, from personal experience, how difficult it is to free ourselves from the weight of tradition, even with respect to terminology. However, we must make an effort, for only in this way, will all our contemporaries who are seriously interested in a solution to the problems, be won over to the active struggle for a new social world order — even if they opt for this alternative in some election or ballot.

4. Since as we have noticed, that many people already have given their consent and support for what the THIRD WAY ACTION has set forth, and that they are even intending to support other similar initiatives, it seems to us a step coherent with the logic of reality to unite these people in an associational organization. This organization will be able to evolve toward the earlier mentioned party of the future, or to associate itself

with others in the formation of a party that could spring up from certain tendencies that are presently discussed in the circles of the independent left, and that go in the direction of the scope and the methods of the ACTION.

In our opinion, any limitation to the planning of such a party — for instance on ecological issues — is incorrect. All the manifestations of the crisis are consequences of the basic characteristics of the dominant systems. The New Social Movement, which is composed out of a profusion of single movements, will be able to fulfill its historic mission only if it finds a way of integrating itself. A party initiative could very well function as an integrating movement, as long as it will respect the norms mentioned earlier.

The next step, in our view, must consist of forming a committee that belongs to all those who want to further consult the aforementioned thoughts and the contextual and organizational questions, so that practical steps can be taken as soon as possible.

In view of the fact that this work requires a great deal of time, travel, conferences and publications, as well as collaborators who must devote themselves entirely towards these tasks, it is extremely important that all those who see something valid and necessary in our ACTION, sup-

port our work through their membership. It is an elementary truth that our radius of incisiveness will be directly proportional to the economic means which we will have available to us.

We very seriously ask all those who recognize the weight of the project from our perspective, to mobilize and to do everything that is possible — even financially — so that the beneficial effect of this historical impulse for humanity's dilemma will not be lost. Whoever finds some interest in the project THIRD WAY ACTION, should realize clearly what the significance of the failure of such an impulse would be, especially if it comes from a failure to gather sufficient finances to overthrow the power of capital and the power of bureaucracy. Already in the next two or three years it will be decided if this initiative will have a chance to throw the existing system off its hinges; if it is possible to start a radical inversion of the main direction before the ecological, economic, or military catastrophes will fall on mankind.

translated from the German edition of *Aktion Dritter Weg-Aufbauinitiative* (Achberger Verlaganstalt, 1978).

**Support THIRD WAY ACTION**  
Send donations directly to  
**THIRD WAY ACTION, Volksbank Wangen**  
i. Allg. N. 39530000, Sparkasse  
Lindau N. 162040, West Germany



"start a radical inversion of the main direction before the ecological, economic or military catastrophes fall on mankind."



# NEW WAVE: KILL YOUR PARENTS

"There is no morality outside human society. Morality is determined by the interests of the waged and unwaged sectors of society in their struggles against 'capital'. Morality is everything that destroys the old exploitative society."

Any perception of morality 'outside human society', as is typical of metaphysical speculations, makes the mistake of defining an unchangeable reality, a divine reality that not only exists outside human society but without it. These speculations are not very interesting, as they are unfounded, and do not provide useful tools for examining reality. Another perception is the idea of the immutable nature of classes in that once a position within society is acquired, that position becomes absolute and undisputed. This is typified by the capitalist ethics of 'opportunity' and 'merit' that define the human relationships and dependencies necessary for the powerful and rich to maintain their positions over the workers. The capitalist system can only exist, of course, through the labours of a large unemancipated working class that is supervised by a wealthy class which occupies its position through virtue of its 'greater efforts and risk'. As a corollary, the working class is defined to be fundamentally reactionary and without the desire for self-emancipation. These two contradictory philosophies have been amalgamated into modern bourgeois capitalism, especially that present in North America. Rather than conflict, however, these two concepts are used to promote class advantage and subjugation. While theological precepts are used to console the workers with promises of immortality for their virtue (serving the masters, not rebelling, working hard) they are spurred on to even greater cooption through promises of material gain for those that through their 'talents, hard work and determination' succeed in crossing the line into the ruling class. Obviously with the weight of the establishment (religion, education and the ruling economic class) serving its own end against the interests of the working class, the working class finds itself enmeshed in a society which provides it with no apparent alternatives, no objective counter-proposals and which the working class (to end its own injury) provides the strongest (through numbers) defense. Self-emancipation is not a natural condition. It exists only within certain social relations and a particular material reality. However, just because the majority of the working class is not emancipated, does not preclude the process of emancipation as a goal that the working class demands from 'capital'.

## PUBLIC OPINION DEFENDS THE INTEREST OF THE RULING CLASS

Morality and ethics are at the discretion of the ruling class for the protection of ruling class interests against working class aggression. Wallace Clement has carefully described in his book *An Analysis of Economic Power*, the function of the mass media in creating the perception of reality, and in particular, the creation of 'public opinion'. Through this means, public opinion defends the interests of the ruling class. Public opinion is used to express moral outrage against certain crimes perpetrated against the ruling class by the working class and is carefully manipulated to prevent moral outrage when crimes (though ruling class morality does not even define them as criminal) are committed against the working class by the ruling class. For example, the death of the head of any capitalist state is made the subject of all the available media when the death comes at the hands of members of the working class, but the mass executions of workers in the third world is relegated to the back pages of the popular newspapers and not even covered by most of the electronic media. Kidnapping a member of the ruling class results in prison sentences for the working class, but when members of the working class die because a capitalist has not secured safe working conditions, the punishment is kept to a fine or a warning or less. Stealing food for survival is punished severely (conveniently justice is blind and all crimes against the ruling class are equally to be abhorred), while keeping an entire nation in ignorance of its political responsibilities and rights is even promoted.

Obviously morality is something that is invented to serve class interests and nothing else. Class interests exist within social relations and within materialist reality and not in a vacuum.

The morality of the ruling class is classic in its nuances, it is humanist in the worst sense of the word. It is hypocritical, a lie within the reality advanced by the ruling class, itself. To establish this hypocrisy, it is necessary only to examine the various meanings and concepts of 'crime'. Morality defines as criminal such activities of the working class as self-reduction of prices, appropriation of food and other goods, or refusing to cooperate with the power sector. These definitions and the whole structure of jail — bail, money — law enforcement reveal the ultimate nature of morality and its relationship to the rulers and the exploited. Self-reduction is a crime that is opposed by the power of the police, but the state stands behind self-increase in profits, even guaranteeing a certain level of profit through state intervention, and though it recognizes the reality, the state ignores the false creation of economic crises (oil, food supply, etc.) that are purposefully manipulated to drastically increase profit margins. Appropriation during times of civil unrest is seen as indicator of the moral decay of society, but the whole system that forces people into demeaning, de-humanizing jobs where there is not economic security, no protection for life and health, where the ignorant, the immigrant, women, and non-whites are most exploited is lauded as the height of free-enterprise capitalism. The double standards of 'morality' that are applied by the ruling class have been made very clear in the official attitudes toward worker health and safety and environmental issues. The dangers of lung cancer from cotton industries in the U.S. and Britain, asbestos mining in Quebec, coal mining in Appalachia, acid rain from nickel smelting industries in Canada, mercury pollution of streams and lakes throughout North America are all being dismissed as 'glamour issues' by the authorities.<sup>2</sup>

## CORPORATE OBLIGATIONS EXIST WITHIN THE PARADIGM OF GREATER PROFITS

Corporate obligations exist within the paradigm of greater profits. They are not motivated by any sense of responsibility to their workers or to society at large. Nor is it a chance operation that during the western economic crises that has placed a severe burden on the working class (both waged and unwaged), especially those at the lower economic levels, the unemployed and those on fixed incomes, that there has been a steady and remarkable gain in the profit picture of the large transnational corporations and banks. Hudson's Bay recently announced a two-fold increase in profit for the past financial year and other companies have had equally rosy stories to tell at their annual meetings.

Obviously, what is a gain for one class, is a loss for another. Every penny less to the workers, is a penny more for 'capital'. But, these gains and losses must be carefully balanced (through redistribution mechanisms like taxes and social welfare schemes) so that the working class maintains a considerable degree of purchasing power, since the working class is also the largest consumer class. This process, of course, only confuses the working class perception of 'ruling class morality' all the more. This payoff of benefits versus liabilities is manipulated by the ruling class into a global situation. The working class is presented with the argument that 'working conditions are better here than in the Third World', while the consumer class is convinced that 'laissez-faire' capitalism without the interference of militant unions has created a utopia of goods and happy, willing workers in the developing countries. Only a global analysis of conditions in the industrialized West and the undeveloped Third World can reveal the effect and power of 'capital' and its careful production of a 'catch-22' situation for the working class.

## THE ADVANTAGES ENJOYED IN THE WEST ARE OBVIOUSLY

## TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE EXPLOITED COUNTRIES

The advantages enjoyed in the West are obviously to the disadvantage of the exploited countries that are producing raw materials for western consumption, just as the traditional working class within confined national boundaries was exploited by the ruling class within the same boundaries. In addition to control of raw materials, capital is also involved in the direct manipulation of labour across political boundaries. Immigrants from the most economically backward countries are regularly but temporarily allowed into the highly industrialized and unionized countries (Mexicans into the U.S., West Indians into Canada, Italians and Turks into Germany) to weaken the demands and bargaining position of the local working class and also to form a large reservoir of cheap, unskilled labour on demand. The German immigration law allows the workers, but not their families, as dependents not involved in the workforce would increase demands for health and welfare services and education which would eventually offset the economic gains. These immigrants have few rights, but at the same time are obliged to feel grateful for the opportunity to work in such a rich country. This type of situation is exaggerated even further in the Southwestern and Pacific U.S. where severe labour shortages can result in the authorities turning a blind eye to illegal immigration. However, as soon as the condition has been satisfied, the law strikes hardest on the illegal immigrants who are completely without rights.

The highest development of this cross-national manipulation of workers by capital in the name of 'morality' is in the aid to developing nations programmes that are a part of contemporary economic and political patterns within both the Eastern and Western Blocs. The importance of this benevolence to the continued supremacy of the ruling 'classes' has recently been very cynically recognized in the media.<sup>3</sup> If the developed world is to maintain its position or even its integrity, it must pass along certain benefits in the form of aid in order to keep the peasant/worker nations at bay. There is a growing concern that the underdeveloped world will rise up in anger storming the Winter Palace and revolution against inequities on a global scale would take place. To prevent that, the workers are given just enough to keep them content. This, of course, leads to a position of dependence of the poor countries on the richer. The situation between China and Albania, which has been recently manifested, is a good example of the climate of such a relationship. Economical dependence of course implies that there is no political criticism, and as the Albanians became more critical, the economic ties were severed.

Political and economic systems legitimate the morality of the ruling class. Although politics and economics do make a morality of their own (outside of human relations), they do control and manipulate the ethics that bind human relations. The Morality of economics (of the factory) is the morality of the law of profit. The morality of politics is the morality of ruling class interests.

## POLITICAL RULE HAS NO MORALITY

What then is the morality of the working class? Though by no means sufficient, the class interest of workers is directed toward higher wages. Thus the sentimental morality of the wealthy philanthropist, of the charitable institution and of cultural organizations serves only the interests of the ruling class. In the past, the ruling class used the church and secular law which was based in the church to maintain its position and interests. Today the complicated ethics of work and the contradictions that exist in modern high-profit capitalism, necessitate the invention of other devices to maintain control over workers and their labour. Mass media has been added to the arsenal of the ruling class. A manipulation, global in scale, is being exercised to fragment the waged and unwaged working classes. The worst examples of this are in the Third World,

where the most horrendous methods are used to force people to accept the one way exchange that benefits only the super-powers and the interests of the trans-nationals. All of the organizations and associations that have been established in the West to investigate and lobby for the rights of workers in the Third World are shocked at the atrocities committed by local authorities (servants of greater interests located elsewhere, with the U.S., Germany and Canada sharing major responsibilities for the human degradation and slaughter in South Africa, Chile, Iran and Indonesia). No shock should be felt, however, because political rule has no morality other than the interests of the ruling class. A black South African, clearly, has less worth for the world-wide ruling class than does the whites who rule there. This concern has been made ridiculously obvious in the media treatment of certain crises recently. A ditch in Rhodesia with the bodies of 600 black people killed by white mercenaries rated a photograph and almost no text deep inside Western newspapers and not even a mention in the electronic media. But when a dozen whites were killed by blacks, a huge protest came forth from the western capitalist press which carried the item with all its goriest details on the front pages in inch-high headlines. There are interests at stake that prevent the media from being loudly or effectively critical of the ruling class.

It is easy to feel repelled by bloody actions of one kind or another. One can, however, make a value judgement only when weighing the effects that human actions have and what interests they defend. Class interests in a class society are the key to under-

standing the revolutionary work that is being carried out. Only through understanding the difference in interests of the classes, through the effects of those interests can we take a stance in the global class conflicts that are becoming apparent. Decreasing the surplus value of 'capital' is the primary interest of the oppressed class. This is actualized through a multiple strategy for the appropriation of power. Bargaining for increased wages, armed struggle against the ruling class, expropriation of goods and refusing to work are all coherent acts within a context that uses sabotage of the capitalist modes of production and of the ruling class, itself, as the definition of a 'working class' morality. An excellent example of this multi-faceted strategy was the storming of the Parliamentary Building in Nicaragua by the Sandistas, an action that was supported by the entire working class of that country and was followed by a general strike involving the middle class as well as the workers. Other acts of this scale are those of the 'diffused guerrillas' that re-interpret the morality of killing the rulers as a reinforcement of the interests of the working class. Using these means a great leap into a future of the appropriation of power by the exploited classes has begun.

#### Notes:

1. Statement by the Red Brigades during the Turin Trial, 1978, paraphrasing Lenin. The Red Brigades considered their trial to be a political trial of the morality of the ruling class. The consolidation of

'waged and unwaged' is the latest development of class warfare. The demands of the 'unwaged' are today even more explosive than those of the traditional 'working class'. Sectors of society that are not waged, such as women, children, students, minority groups, and so on, are the new revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries. For some illustration of this phenomenon and demands, see **All work and no pay, women, housework and the wage due**, published by the Power of Women Collective and the Falling Wall Press, London, 1975.

2. The Ontario Minister of Environment, 1978.

3. And article by Jack Cahill, "Foreign aid is security for our survival", *Toronto Star*, August 19, 1978. A view of foreign aid-politics from a capitalist viewpoint explained to the masses.

4. The 'diffused guerrilla' encounters the conservative terminology of the 'diffused terrorism', which is the way the entire phenomenon of the Italian 'Autonomous Left' is viewed by conservative-liberal, socio-political experts. However, a much wider survey of the formation, evolution, and situation of the Ultra-Left, the Workers' Power, the Movement of Autonomy in Europe should be explained for understanding the recent historical development, including the kidnappings of Aldo Moro and others.

From a paper for the seminar "THE USES OF TERRORISM", Law Union of Ontario's 5th Annual Conference, September 23, 1978.





# EIGHT MONTHS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

## January 3: POLICE TOLD TO YIELD PAPERS TAKEN IN RAID

Toronto Police were ordered to hand over documents which were seized during their raid on *The Body Politic*, (Canada's national gay liberation newspaper) to a justice of the peace. The raid was made in connection with charges against the paper's article on child/adult relations.

## January 4: METRO POLICEMAN MUST STAND TRIAL

Staff Sgt. Bruce French of the Toronto police was ordered to stand trial on charges of assault which were laid in connection to an alleged police beating of a Hamilton man. The victim testified his ribs were broken by two Toronto police officers during their investigation into stolen goods.

## January 9: SOLICITOR GENERAL WITHHOLDS EVIDENCE

Solicitor General Francis Fox refused to turn over documents to the Quebec Keable Commission into illegalities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

## January 10: RCMP FORGED LETTER CALLING FOR UPRISING IN QUEBEC

In an "attempt to clear the slate", Solicitor General Francis Fox admitted that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had forged a fake communiqué by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) in 1971. This letter, calling for the Quebecers to "liberate themselves" by armed force from the "Anglo Saxon bourgeoisie", was the latest revelation about RCMP illegalities.

## January 12: RCMP ILLEGAL ACTS ARE COMMONPLACE

Former RCMP intelligence chief Donald Cobb testified to the MacDonald Commission on illegal practices of the RCMP that activities such as opening mail, theft, breaking and entering are "commonplace" for members of the Canadian Mounted Police security service. He added that the acts were no longer seen "as illegal but as fundamental" for the security of the country.

## January 18: RCMP USED OUTSIDE HELP TO SPY ON UNIONS

The Canadian Labour Congress claimed that the RCMP used a Toronto management firm to spy on the labour movement during the 1960s. Police had apparently provided details of bargaining and negotiations to multinational corporations in an effort to undermine union activities.

## January 19: 7 POLICE GUILTY IN THEFT

Four former police of Moncton, New Brunswick, pleaded guilty to charges of breaking and entering and theft, while three others admitted to the theft at a warehouse last November.

## January 21: RCMP IMPLICATED IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

For the second time in three days, two British Columbia civil liberties groups called for the disbandment of the MacDonald Commission for "apparent bias". They also claim that 300 B.C. Mountie intelligence agents have been implicated in gun-running, mail surveillance and trade union harassment in Vancouver.

## January 27: 2 TORONTO COPS ACCUSED OF THEFT

Two Toronto police were arrested on charges of theft and breaking and entering. They were charged with the theft of a \$75 power saw from a Scarborough warehouse.

## January 31: "DON'T SHOOT" BEATEN MAN CRIED

Former Toronto police constable John Beckingham was sentenced to five months in jail for the beating of Robert Malloy last March 24. Malloy was subjected to multiple beatings with the constables wooden billy, received numerous kicks to the head, stomach and legs and later shot at during a police interrogation.

## February 7: MOUNTIES BLACKMAILED DISSIDENTS

A 1971 RCMP directive was released by the MacDonald Commission which recommended intelligence agents take advantage of love affairs, drug habits and power struggles to neutralize dissident political groups.

## February 7: POLICEMAN CHARGED WITH \$200 THEFT

A Toronto police officer was charged with the theft of \$200 that vanished during a raid on a Toronto apartment.

## February 11: SMASHING RAID BY POLICE

Toronto police and RCMP officers tore their way through a ceiling of an after-hours disco after having tried unsuccessfully for an hour to open a massive steel front door. Once inside the club the police began to smash furniture, records and steam heating fixtures, leaving \$6,000 in damages.



Photo: Police Gazette

## February 17: COPS CHARGED IN SCHEME TO ROB SUPERMARKET

Two Toronto policemen were arrested and charged in connection with a plan to steal \$50,000 worth of equipment and merchandise from a Toronto supermarket. An investigation revealed a scheme in which the store's employees would be led into compromising situations with a hired prostitute and later blackmailed into assisting in the theft.

## February 23: U.S. INFORMER SAYS HE BUGGED SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR RCMP

An American FBI informer claimed that he had been hired by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to secretly record conversations between Solicitor General Warren Almond and another member of the Canadian Parliament. He claimed that Solicitor General was chosen because the RCMP believed Almond to be a communist.

## February 24: RCMP SAW OHIP FILES

The Ontario Minister of Health, Dennis Timbrell, admitted that the RCMP had access to confidential medical and psychiatric information contained in the files of the Ontario Health Insurance Plan.

## March 8: POLICE ESCORT SCABS

20 Ontario Provincial Policemen guarded a bus load of scab workers past 40 striking women at an automobile component plant at Centralia, Ontario. The factory is 50% owned by the family of James

Fleck, Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Tourism.

## March 15: BIKERS CLAIM BEATING A POLICE 'GAUNTLET'

Members of a Kitchener motorcycle club accused the local police of brutality during a raid on their club house last weekend. The bikers claimed that the police destroyed the interior of the house during a search. They added that once at the police headquarters they were handcuffed, forced to kneel against a basement wall while police walked on their legs and later they were beaten while running a police gauntlet.

## March 20: POLICE SEIZE PHOTOS OF VIOLENCE AT STRIKE

Police seized newspaper photographer's negatives of a violent clash between police and striking women workers at the Fleck Manufacturing plant in Centralia, Ontario. The police were escorting scabs across picket lines.

## March 22: EDITOR CHARGED WITH 'OFFICIAL SECRET' VIOLATION

Peter Worthington, editor of the *Toronto Sun*, was charged with receiving, possessing and making public 'top secret' information relating to Soviet intelligence officers operating in Canada. Substantial parts of the so-called 'secret' material was made public five weeks earlier on national television.

## March 23: 15 METRO POLICE QUERIED OVER AXE-BEATING

Philip McGee, 40, who was sentenced to four years in jail for possession of stolen groceries, claimed that police beat him with axe handles and poured battery acid over his penis. Dr. Norman Goodwin, who had examined McGee after he was taken to jail, testified that McGee had bruises on his back consistent with the claim of being beaten with axe handles. The doctor also admitted that McGee had an infection on his penis which he doubted was caused by poor hygiene or venereal disease.

## March 23: AUTOWORKERS CHARGED AFTER SCUFFLE WITH POLICE

Three autoworkers were charged with mischief and obstructing police as the result of a clash between police and strikers at the Fleck Manufacturing plant in Centralia. 77 police were attempting to guide vehicles of scab workers through the strike line.

## March 30: RIOT POLICE BATTLE PICKETS

More than 200 police in riot gear battled strikers at the Fleck Manufacturing company and arrested three work

## March 30: POLICEMAN REPRIMANDED FOR MAN'S DEATH

A Vancouver police constable was given a written reprimand for his part in the death of a prisoner in the police drunk tank on December 16. The constable testified he had pressed his thumb against a pressure point behind the victim's ear in an attempt to arouse him so he could move him to another cell. The officer said he knew this could cause excruciating pain, but did not know it could cause death. The 29 year old victim, Peter Herney, died from a cardiac arrest.

## April 1: POLICE ROUGH UP CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYER

Toronto civil rights lawyer, Charles Roach, was forcibly detained by police for refusing to be questioned when stopped on his way home. Roach received sprained muscles and bruises to his legs while being forced into the patrol car.

## April 11: POLICE TORTURED MAN TO CONFESS

A Toronto man testified that on October 20, 1972, he was subjected to electrical shocks while naked and blindfolded inside a Toronto police station. Manuel Da Silva testified the shocks were administered three different times before he "confessed" to a dozen breakins he hadn't committed. Da Silva was eventually cleared of the breakin charges.

# MONTHS OF CRATIC ORDER

## April 16: POLICE SHOOT 16 YEAR OLD

A 16 year old boy was shot in the chest by a Toronto police officer. The police claim they were in pursuit of three suspects breaking into parked automobiles.

## April 19: 3 COPS FORCIBLY HOLD PRINTER A REPEAT

Three police officers working for the Quebec police commission into organized crime have been charged with forcibly detaining a Montreal printer.

## April 19: EIGHTY-FIVE JAILED IN FACTORY MELEE

Eighty-five people were arrested following a violent clash between police and demonstrators at the Commonwealth Plywood plant in Ste. Therèse, Quebec. The plant has been the scene of a bitter labour dispute for over eight months when 100 employees walked off the job to support 180 co-workers who had been laid off for what the company termed economic reasons.

## April 19: rcmp admit to break-INS

A statement by the RCMP was made at the MacDonald Commission which admitted to 400 illegal break-ins since 1970. A top RCMP official stated that raids without warrants are a necessary tool in criminal investigation.



## May 15: ENGINEER GETS 2 YEARS OVER OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT VIOLATION

Dr. Peter Treu, a 56 year old Quebec engineer, was sentenced to two years in penitentiary for violating the Official Secrets Act. The case started when Treu began working as an independent communication consultant on a NATO surveillance system project. In December, 1973, the engineer's security clearance was removed without warning. Three months later, the RCMP raided his office and carted off 500 pounds of files and documents. Despite the raid, he continued to receive and work on NATO contracts — many of which were top secret. Yet, in March, 1976, Dr. Trau was charged with two violations of the Official Secrets Act for his possession of the seized material. The ensuing trial was held entirely in secret.

## May 25: SECRET TAX DATA GIVEN TO RCMP

The MacDonald Commission was told that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police used confidential income tax information to investigate everything from suspicious lifestyles to unemployment insurance cheats.

## May 26: UNION LEADERS SENTENCED TO 90 DAYS

A former president of the Montreal transit maintenance union was sentenced to 90 days in jail for defying injunctions during an illegal strike in 1974. Three other union officials were sentenced to

60 days and the union and its members were fined more than \$120,000 in connection with the strike.

## May 29: COPS TRADE PUNCHES WITH INJURED WORKERS

Seven people were charged with assaulting police during a battle between 300 injured workers who were demonstrating for higher compensation. The demonstrators came on canes, crutches and a few in leg or neck braces to voice their complaints at the office of the Ontario Ministry of Labour.

## June 1: POLICE CONFISCATE NEWS FILM

Toronto police seized negatives and news film from a newspaper and television station of Monday's clash between police and injured workers. A police spokesman said they would need the film for the preparation of court cases against workers charged with assault.

## June 7: RIOT POLICE ATTACK UNION DEMONSTRATORS

400 members of the Confederation of National Trade Unions were attacked by 30 to 40 riot police brandishing batons and tear gas in Ste. Therèse, Quebec. Eight union members were charged with assault following the clash.

## June 22: THREE POLICEMEN GET YEAR'S TERM

Three Toronto policemen were sentenced to 12 months each for obstructing justice by helping a bookmaker avoid criminal conviction. They were released minutes later on \$10,000 bail to await an appeal.

## July 6: RCMP GIVEN DATA FROM SOCIAL INSURANCE FILES

A royal commission looking into illegal activities of the RCMP revealed that the Mounties had been given access to more than 1,600 social insurance files in the last 4 years, often for unspecified reasons.

## July 10: TRIAL TOLD OF TORTURE BY POLICE

Thomas Henderson, 23, a major witness at a royal commission hearing into Toronto police brutality, testified that on the morning of Feb. 9, 1974, he was taken to a Toronto police station and tortured. He claimed that after having been arrested in a drug raid on his apartment, two police officers beat him, applied a mechanic's claw to his face and penis, and later forced him to sign a statement. Henderson was eventually convicted of trafficking in LSD last year and was given a 60-day jail term and three years probation.

## July 25: YOUTH DENIED PROBATION OFFICER — JUDGE SAYS THEY'RE TOO BUSY

Ted Bak, an 18 year old youth from Toronto, was sentenced to 12 months in a reformatory for attempting to steal wooden carvings. The youth's lawyer requested that he be placed on probation, but the judge rejected the suggestion, claiming they were too busy and it would be a waste of tax payers' money. The sentence was suspended for two years.

## July 19: POLICE FORCED FAMILY TO KNEEL IN RAIN

A Kitchener man testified that he and his family were forced by the local police to kneel in the pouring rain while their house was searched. The police, who were responding to a neighbour's report of a gun shot coming from the house, forced the family from their house at gun point and made them kneel against the wall with their hands over their heads. The gun shot report later proved to be false.

## August 7: POLICE SHOOT LONE DRUNK

Hans Nattinen, a 66 year old Finnish immigrant, was shot by two Toronto policemen. The officers were responding to a call by the penniless alcoholic, who claimed to be holding hostages and wanted to kill a 'pig'. Armed with .223-calibre rifles, the two policemen forced open the door of the man's \$75-a-month room and shot him twice in the chest. The gun, which Nattinen was apparently pointing at the time of the shooting, was later found to be unloaded.

## August 9: BLACK YOUTH SHOT DEAD

Nova Scotia born, Andrew Wesley Evans residing in Ontario was shot dead by a policeman outside a Toronto discotheque. The shooting occurred after an altercation with police, at which time Evans and his brother resisted police arrest and returned to the disco. The police report claimed that "Evans was able to wrest the baton from Police Constable Clark's hand and struck him in the forehead. Constable Clark was stunned by the blow but saw Evans coming at him again with the baton raised. He then drew his revolver and fired." Patrons to the club rejected the police story, claiming that Clark was in a state of rage when he entered the disco and that Evans no longer had possession of the baton.

## August 9: POLICEMAN LIED BUT JUDGE FINDS HIM NOT GUILTY

A former York regional police constable was found not guilty to charges of perjury, after having admitted lying to a judicial inquiry into police brutality. The inquiry was held in December, 1975, to determine whether two York constables had used excessive force on two juveniles they arrested the previous July. One of the boys claimed that while he was in the back seat of the officer's patrol car he was struck in the head. The officer denied the charge, claiming he had installed a screen between the front and the back seat before the alleged assault. It was discovered later that the screen had been installed after the beating.

## August 14: EX-COP ALLEGES THEFT, BRUTALITY IN FORCE

An ex-member of the York regional police force claimed that York police beat prisoners, stole merchandise from factories, accepted free food and golfing privileges and fixed traffic tickets. The police commission has promised to investigate the allegations.

## August 22: POLICE BLAST 16 YEAR OLD BOY

A seven-hour hostage incident ended in death when a 16 year old boy was shot and killed by a police negotiator. The dead boy, Paul Reid, had been holding a knife to a 13 year old girl after he was trapped in a house by police. Reid, a veteran of Canadian penitentiaries and the product of a broken working class home, was shot through a window after being distracted by a telephone ring. The girl later admitted that Reid wasn't threatening her at the time of the shooting.

# Recent Coercive Means of Pacification

Immediately after the events of the **Strike** controversy, a full-blown unpublicized investigation by the **RCMP** began and is still being carried out against **CEAC** and **Strike**.

In all advanced capitalist countries today we witness an increasing extension of the bureaucratically run, large-scale, repressive apparatus. In a time of economic crisis capitalism can no longer depend solely on ideological hegemony, however pervasively it permeates all aspects of everyday life, to keep the people at bay. Therefore, it has stepped up its authoritarian measures. However, in order to maintain its democratic guise it establishes the new-police-state under the fiction of national security, e.g. with the excuse of stopping "terrorism" the government under capital designs legislation which is then applied to all forms of opposition.

By creating hysterical reaction to "terrorism" the German government today has been able to introduce the "Berufsverbot" in which civil servants whose loyalty to the state is in question can be dismissed. Some 5000 teachers, lawyers, health workers, and other civil servants have lost their jobs or did not qualify because of their political beliefs, the vast majority of which leaned to the left. The German government also introduced "Paragraph 88a" which states that anyone who produces, distributes or subscribes to (e.g.) printed matter that openly displays or recommends unlawful acts such as those against the state, is punishable with a sentence of up to 3 years. Again the target has been the left with bookshops and publications being repressed. In Canada, we already have the example of the countless exposed illegal activities of the **RCMP**, which the government then promptly attempts to make legal with new legislation, and the press dubs as "wrong-doings" instead of "crimes".

Neither **Strike** nor **CEAC** have committed any illegal acts, yet an investigation is taking place. Information from such an investigation can be used to provide the guidelines for the formulation of new laws which, like those in Germany, are designed to give greater power to the instruments of authority against radical groups and to an ever-increasing extent against all forms of opposition. Therefore we publish some of the questions and statements made by the authorities in carrying out their investigation on us, so that the reader can decide for him or herself.

"When the issue came out and all the controversy arose, I was concerned as to what kind of a representation **CEAC** was doing as a result of the publicity. We went to meetings with those of the group and the art councils. I would like to take a look at their organization."

"Are you connected with **CEAC**? Do you know the people in the organization? Good, then that's all I'm interested in."

"I want to talk to as many people who whether directly involved or on the periphery or have any connection whatsoever. I'm really naive. All I can do is to talk to as many people as I can to get as objective an idea as possible. Doesn't that make sense to you?"

"What do you do? Are you presently employed in a standard occupation working for a particular firm or an organization?"

"How long have you been connected or had dealings with **CEAC**? What did you want from **CEAC**? Why did you seek them out? What type of work did you do for them? Did you ever get involved in their own internal politics as to the decision making that went on in producing things like **ACE** or **Strike**?"

"Who was connected to **CEAC**? Who was part of **CEAC**? Who wrote the editorial? What are your opinions of the individuals that you mentioned?"

"Do you see yourself as an activist? What kind of work do you do? Would you consider yourself as a liberal or a conservative? Do you have any writings of your own that I could read? We're

not being nosy."

"What's your impression of the **RCMP** doing this investigation? Do you feel that we should be doing this kind of investigation?"

"When **Strike** published the issue that caused the controversy did you know about the editorial? What was your reaction when it came out?"

"What about the reactions of those who were outside?"

"I've read some articles that come out saying that the art councils should provide grants to art councils as distinct from political organizations. That the artist should not take a political stand. Do you see a distinct difference? How would you interpret what they said? How would you describe the avant-garde in Canada?"

"The editorial came out with a lot of publicity and lost a lot of grants. What about similar organizations in the city? Are they suddenly now fearful of their own positions?"

"Have numerous editorials similar to that one by other organizations just gone unnoticed? What about other artists? Have you noticed any change? How popular was **CEAC** amongst the community? Was it something that many artists looked towards? Did they appreciate the resistance of **CEAC**?"

"I'm learning something also about art councils. I would assume that they would have been very knowledgeable about the area and would have done investigations into the particular organizations requesting the grants. Maybe the people of the art councils are really not as aware or as knowledgeable as they should be. I don't know whose fault it is. Maybe there is something wrong with the whole system that sets up councils to look at other artists."

"I believe art to be art period. I didn't realize there was as much politics involved in art as this."

"This came out, the editorial reads such and such, it's my job to follow up this type of investigation. How would you as an artist convince me that there is no threat involved?"

"Terrorism being the big thing today in the world, we have to investigate all and everything that concerns it. I was assigned to do it. It's very simple."

"Even if that article had not been turned by the **Sun**, we would have investigated it anyway. It would have been irrelevant whether or not any of this publicity had come. In fact, probably our job would have been that much easier. We would have just done our job and wouldn't bother anybody. My position is that of collecting information and being able to assess that intelligence and then make a recommendation."

"Now I am in a position of having to investigate that organization and I have to look at the people and determine whether or not there is something more behind. If I get conflicting opinions then there is more to it. Then we end up with a very interesting situation. Maybe they do in their own way believe in and support many of the things that are going on. If I talk to the **Sun** they say that they're going to be a national threat."

"What about political backgrounds? What are the political beliefs? Are they in support of this system that we operate here or are they in support of some other system? Which there is nothing wrong in. But if you know somebody's background it helps you to assess some of their writings. If you look at the political ideologies of some groups a lot of them want change through violence. You can't condone violence in certain circumstances in some countries."

"Politically I don't know these people. I don't know what their leanings are. Eventually I'm going to find out. Maybe others, individuals who have spoken at **CEAC**, who have come in or just lectured there, some of them have, say, communist backgrounds, some of them have Marxist backgrounds. Whatever background, these are things we're interested in. There is a whole lot more in the picture than that one editorial. So only through talking to yourself and others are we going to try to gather as much information as we possibly can."

When the **RCMP** officers were asked if their report would be available they answered: "No, it probably will be stamped **SECRET**."





# SNUFF

## INTRODUCTION

Our intentions are to provide a description of recent events surrounding the controversy over our issue of *Strike* vol. 2 no. 2, then an analysis of the meaning of these events, and finally the steps that we see as necessary in our future actions in light of these events. Foremost, what we wish to make clear is that what has happened to *Strike* and CEAC (Center for Experimental Art and Communication) is a definite case of censorship, in fact, political repression. Throughout this article, we also wish to emphasize that our project was conceived of as a social experiment, designed to expose the illusions of freedom within the arts and the greater context of liberal democracies. We analyzed liberal democracies as the hypocrisy of capitalism, and thought provocation expected a response that would give an indication of their true nature — and this they did provide. But however correct our experiment proved our analysis of liberal democracies to be, we did not anticipate the extremity of their reaction. Therefore, we finally conclude as only we can: though we made some strong statements, it was with a critical attitude open to all alternatives and even conflicting viewpoints, but now pushed as we are to this brink at which all our alternatives have been deliberately cut off, we can no longer afford the luxury of divergent views and toying with "possibilities", but must coalesce toward a more unified goal and clearer intentions. If only words and images caused the reaction that they did, then little is required as a lever of provocation to force liberal democracies to show their true face. Then, by their reaction, they may bring about a situation that must lead to their own downfall and the establishment of a more consciously democratic and humanely responsive system. As we prove with this present issue of *Strike*, we have not been stopped. Instead, our theory has been substantiated by the events of the practice that ensued. This in turn informs our present theory and the further practice that must be manifested from it.

### O.P.P. weapons practice



## Little Red Riding Hood

**DESCRIPTION OF CEAC  
(CEAC'S RELATION TO STRIKE)**

The KAA (Kensington Art Association) was the parent body to several independent organizations. These organizations, which have come and gone or survived and succeeded, were only responsible to themselves, had varying concerns and purposes, and were made up of different groups of people with divergent interests. Its major and central effort was the CEAC, but it also spawned and encouraged other independent groups such as: the **Funnel**, which housed screening facilities and other related needs as a gathering place for experimental filmmakers in Toronto; **Crash and Burn**, which provided performance space for punk rock groups at a time when none other was available to them in Toronto; **Supervision** publications, which published records, artist's books and the magazine **Art Communication Edition** which later became **Strike**.

The CEAC had over the years gained a considerable international reputation as the promoter of international tours of Canadian performance art. It played a unique role in directing major theoretical investigations of art issues and new art through the introduction to Canada of Contextual Art, Behaviour Art, Body Art, Language Art, Dissident Art. Its education programs stretched to all culturally related areas such as sociology, philosophy, education, and from which some of the world's most prominent people in their respective fields participated. The CEAC has provided facilities for hundreds of artists, and had one of the finest art archives in Canada, and certainly the most sophisticated video production set up in the "parallel" network in Canada. All this development has not been matched by any other organization of similar size in Canada, and in many instances has surpassed that of much larger institutions such as the public galleries, universities, etc.

## Her Panties were also red

### PAST GENERAL POLICIES OF STRIKE

What *Strike* represented was made quite clear in our editorial policy of the issue of *Strike* vol. 2 no. 2: "Strike disseminates a critical practice based upon the new ideology. The directing group is allied to the revolutionary cause that intends to create cultural polemics, debates, confrontations and the pursuit of collective education for a new community eliminating labour."

We consider that there were other times and places for the consolidation of our ideas and actions, but the magazine was the place for learning, change and open presentation of all ideas, unbiased by the radicality of their perspective. Therefore, it presented a variety of views, sometimes even contradictory and did not espouse any one single view. Our magazine opposed all dogma, but in the eyes of the government and the media the crime it committed was to criticize and oppose the dogma of capitalism as much as any other system's. Our tools were not guns but: radical analysis at the level of general theory; criticism at the level of specific polemics; and the use of a strong visual and verbal imagery drawn from reality, as a means of bringing about a confrontation with a factuality many ignore, and as an aid in provoking debate.

## Fingers in the right place

INTENTIONS OF STRIKE VOL. 2 NO. 2

In the issue of **Strike** in question, our main thrust at the level of radical analysis, was our conclusion that liberal democracies are essentially repressive systems—liberal democracies are no less repressive than authoritarian communist systems. In fact, it

we take the continual historical necessity of social change as an index, it would appear that liberal democracies are more successfully repressive. The repression is there, but not so easily recognized because it is of a different sort. It is more covert: by the use of a pervasive ideology that seems natural and so is hidden, by supporting coercive regimes for its own benefit instead of directly practicing coercion on its own people, by allowing a token freedom in order to hide the fact that it does not allow the questioning of the system itself, by the fact that it defines bourgeois freedom as a universal freedom, etc. The logic of liberalism is relativism and leads to the rule of power; the economics of liberalism is laissez-faire, the political counterpart of which is imperialism. Conscious social responsibility, i.e. direct equality and participation by all, is anathema to capitalism which labels it as "insidious communism."

Our conclusions on liberal democracies were coupled with an analysis of art, being our particular context at the time, as reflective of and contributing to the repression of liberal democracies. Coming under the domain of ideology, art serves either a legitimating or an ameliorating function in capitalism: as an important ideological tool to perpetuate the myth of the universal quality of bourgeois values, or as a symbol of the token freedom of liberal democracies. As artists, we presented our radical critique of art in an effort to go beyond the confines of art's internal formalist concerns and token freedom as analyzed within that critique. As individuals, we presented our radical critique of liberal democracies to contribute to the world struggle against oppression which in our context is capitalism.

Our intention, working from the insular art context, was to provoke debate and elicit reaction from outside of the art world, and even beyond the broader sphere of nevertheless specialized interests. As well as work at the level of radical analysis, we therefore also incorporated specific polemics that rooted our general analysis in familiar and local situations, and a powerful imagery whose impact depended on the urgency of the reality it was derived from. Radical analysis coupled with provocation proved to be very successful as a means of creating debate on the issues of our analysis within a wider audience, and as a social experiment to prod liberal democracies to reveal their true nature as concluded in our analysis.

## Liberal Grannie needs repair

#### ACCOUNT OF MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT REACTION

How exactly did some of the integral elements of the structure of our "free system" react? A Toronto tabloid called the **Sun** had obtained, without our knowledge, copies of **Strike** vol. 2 no. 2 before it had been released. The **Sun** saw a good chance for a scandal story by claiming that government grants went out to would-be terrorists. This manufactured story was valuable to the **Sun** because it hit three sensitive items that were major news concerns at the time: (1) terrorism at a time when, because of Moro's kidnapping, feelings on the subject were strong, (2) criticism of the liberals at the federal level and Conservatives at the provincial level who, as the governments in power at a time of recession, were favourably targets as bunglers and mismanagers, (3) the questioning of taxpayers dollars for marginal projects at a time when little money was available. Therefore, on Friday, May 5, 1978 the Toronto **Sun** headlines read: "Ont. Grant Supports Red Brigades Ideology — Our Taxes Aid Blood-Thirsty Radicals". Then the other newspapers, television stations and radio stations picked up the story, and for the next three weeks there appeared at least one or more reports or editorials on **Strike**.

Inevitably the government got involved. In the provincial parliament the opposition harangued the government on its ineptitude at doling out cultural grants; the press swamped the bewildered minister responsible for cultural affairs with questions.



though he had never heard of *Strike*. At the federal level the prime minister was questioned on the issue, and finally, at the municipal level city council began its debates on funding for CEAC.

In very few cases did we experience a rational response from the media or the government, which both took extremely reactionary stands, based partially on blind panic and partially on deliberate incitement of hysteria. Instead of taking an open and critical response to our work, they created a climate of fear, in which any attempt at discussion of such issues as we raised in our magazine were considered treasonous. No attempt was made by the media or the government to actually find out what we stood for and were saying in our magazine, besides what they could use as sensationalism. It became apparent that neither of these powers would listen to what we had to say, but only distort it to use to their own ends. Their distortion was a compound of: misinformation based on second hand sources (e.g. CBC's report that *Strike* magazine was an Italian language newspaper), outright lies (e.g. the *Sun* reporting that *Strike* received \$70,000 in grants last year), and finally manipulated distortion, the basic mechanism of which was to focus on a small part of our work while ignoring the greater bulk of it and the context it arose from.

## And she knew that the wolf was a fascist

### ANALYSIS OF MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT REACTION

Apart from the normally reactionary nature of Canada's media and government, why did they act the way they did over the particular issue of *Strike*? The media is made up of enterprises which, like all functions in capitalism, are a slave to its principle — the accumulation of capital. Therefore, under the suitable ideological cover of "the search for truth and factuality," the media's single aim is profit. It can only make this by selling, and so the need to sell dictates the content of its product. Only stories which are sensational in themselves, or aspects of which can be distorted into sensational stories, are of interest to the media. The real social and political issues, that we raised in our magazine and at press conferences, and that are far more important than anything that may happen to *Strike*, were simply ignored by the media, as they are daily unless they break out into some dramatic event.

In the government of a liberal democracy the illusion of conflicting interests must be continually maintained, so that it is never apparent that really only one class with one interest rules. Therefore, parliament has an "Official opposition," and with the party in power they play the game of representing the people and keeping power in check. The *Strike* scandal, started by the press, was just more political bait to be used in this game, especially since the government was already an element in this issue.

But these are only minor purposes of the media and the government when compared to their common function as repressive forces, in fact, their actions regarding *Strike* stand as a good example of the covert form of repression in liberal democracies. The media and the government have an incredible power, not only in the number of people they can reach, but also in the authority that they have over many, who see them not as forces with vested interests, but as neutral functions stating "objective truth" or "working for the good of all." They then are opponents so formidable that they can suppress individuals or small groups with nobody noticing how they did so.

As outlined earlier, our magazine presented radical analysis of art and liberal democracies coupled with a provocative visual and verbal imagery. Yet despite the fact that our analysis was by far the greater bulk of our work, the media and the government both focussed only on our imagery. The imagery that we used was not as extreme as is often found in the arts or entertainment (e.g. many of the Vienna School images in art, punk rock's often vivid postures of violence, or the pornographic violence that is relentlessly presented everyday in people's homes on television). Yet such cases rarely raise eyebrows, while action against us was quick and decisive. Why? Partly because our imagery was drawn from reality, but primarily

because it was coupled with a radical analysis of liberal democracies, and it was this analysis that the media and the government, the pillars of liberal democracies, feared. We were no longer artists provoking safely within the confines of art. We dared to go beyond art, to reject art's token freedom and enter into a critical practice that questioned the system itself. However, their means to suppress us was to ignore our analysis and focus on the imagery taking it as reality. In this way they completely distorted what we stood for, and armed with this distortion, they took up, and in some cases incited, hysterical reaction.

In so attempting to create hysteria, the media and the government practiced an indirect form of censorship hoping to close all views to our actual position. In this same manner, they prepared the way for direct censorship, as was later carried out by the appropriate division of the state bureaucracy, which was the art councils. As far as the government was concerned, it was very easy for them to put an end to our activities, for they had only to cut off our funding. But in order to maintain the illusion of freedom in a liberal democracy and

*Strike*? At that meeting it became clear that, in a unilateral action, the executive overrode the decision of the council to give CEAC its grant.<sup>1</sup>

A month later the inevitable news came that the OAC had decided to cut off any further funds for CEAC. Unofficially they were told that all people involved with *Strike* would be blacklisted for all future time.<sup>2</sup> After the OAC decision, the other funding bodies quickly followed suit. The Toronto city council decided not to provide a small grant to CEAC. The CC (Canada Council) had also before the *Strike* controversy sent CEAC a letter saying that it would receive its grant, but then held back when the controversy broke out, and waited in the wings for the result of the OAC's performance. As soon as the OAC's decision was known, the CC contrived to deny CEAC its grant by demanding in a letter that CEAC fulfill a number of stipulations first before it could receive any further funding.

## Obscenity, it seems, is better than left wing politics

### ANALYSIS OF ART COUNCILS REACTION

The art council's cutting off of funds to CEAC and *Strike* shows an inconsistent logic when we consider its support of certain other particular groups and individuals. For example, the sculptor Mark Prent was actually judged as having contravened the law for obscenity and was fined, yet he continued to receive grants. On the other hand, both CEAC and *Strike*, neither of which broke any obscenity law or any other law, were cut off from grants and blacklisted from ever receiving any again. Le Devoir published the same article on Uruguayan torture as *Strike* did, but as a much larger institution than either CEAC or *Strike*, it received none of the pressure that *Strike* did for having printed the story. Many of the CC's criticisms of CEAC in its letter to CEAC were similar to its criticisms of *A Space*, another "alternative gallery" in Toronto. Yet the CC used these criticisms as an excuse to cut off all further funding. It becomes clear that the art councils were intent on, or a tool for, suppression of a cultural organization for its political beliefs. Even obscenity, it seems, is better than left-wing politics.

When we examine the internal logic of the art councils' decision, still little sense can be found. A government body that only has the power to make cultural decisions in regards to funding, cut off an acknowledged art institution for a particular activity that the government body claims is not art but politics, and which it therefore should have no rightful say over.

That action was taken against *Strike* for its political views, and that it should be cut off because of a distorted version of what it stood for, is repressive, but that CEAC should be punished for the same reasons is further injustice. CEAC was quite independent of *Strike*, and a much larger and well-established cultural institution with many more concerns, many different from *Strike*'s. Although some of the members of CEAC were involved with *Strike*, CEAC included many more people who were not, but suffered as innocent parties because of the councils' decision.

The judgement that the art councils made on CEAC and *Strike* shows that such councils in a capitalist society, as a superstructure of a capitalist dominated economy, have to act in such a way as to ensure an uncritical and overtly uninvolved political practice in the arts. The OAC executive admitted to CEAC their inability to accept the political nature of art, overt or not. Actually, no art escapes the class struggle; it may not even have overtly political content, but it still serves a political purpose as a tool of pervasive ideology, conveying bourgeois values. But to the art councils only a seemingly neutral art form is acceptable. This is because only such an art fits in with the ideology necessary to the superstructure of the capitalist social formation, and seems neutral in the bourgeois context because it is committed to bourgeois ideology.

On the other hand, the government through manipulation of the art councils, suppressed cultural expression. Apart from the devious manner in which the government acted by pressuring the art councils rather than acting themselves, their repression is no different than that so often pointed to in the East.



the illusion of the independence of the state bureaucracy from political power, they could not suppress us so directly. Instead, by distorting what we were, they sought to justify their suppression by making us appear as "enemies of freedom and democracy who must be stopped at all costs." Otherwise, the government action would be seen for what it really was: an undemocratic move to silence criticism. Finally, their strategy in creating hysteria was meant to serve the purpose of deflecting from the greater context of repression in liberal democracies that we pointed to, and instead rally people around their cause disguised in illusions of bourgeois ideology of justice, freedom, etc., and thereby generally discouraging any effective criticism.

## And she said "My, what big teeth you have"

### ACCOUNT OF ART COUNCILS REACTION

At this point, a third force of liberal democracies enters into the picture: the state bureaucracy in the form of one of its countless parts: the art councils, designated to bestow favours on artists as representative of art's modern patron: state capitalism. Despite the fact that the OAC (Ontario Arts Council) had promised CEAC on five different occasions before the controversy concerning *Strike* broke out that CEAC would receive its grant, once the first headline about *Strike* was printed the OAC executive deferred and called a meeting with CEAC, which was also attended by some members of

## Buggery and battery in Grannie's bed

### RESULTS OF STRIKE'S SOCIAL EXPERIMENT

Through Strike's social experiment of radical analysis and provocation, the powers of liberal democracies were forced to contradict their own principles, revealing them to be the illusions of a false ideology. Through direct censorship our liberal democracy contradicted itself when it acted against individuals for their political beliefs through an economic sanction that intended their effective immobilization. It contradicted itself when a cultural body suppressed individuals for their political beliefs, while the political establishment suppressed their cultural expression. It contradicted itself when a cultural body which is supposed to be autonomous from political interests, is dictated to by the political establishment. It contradicted itself when it based such repressive actions on distortion, or used such distortion as a form of indirect censorship.

Yet none of this is surprising for the principles of liberal democracies are illusions which are dispensed with when their pretense is no longer as important as the survival of capitalism itself. Canada is particularly casual about maintaining these illusions: it has one of the largest police forces per capita in the world, in the past it has declared martial law, it was the first to recognize Chile's junta, its secrecy acts hold back more information from its public than any other Western country, etc.

If the principles of liberal democracies were not illusions but real, then they would not be forced to take such measures and so contradict those principles. Media, government and the state bureaucracy have acted in a manner ironically predicted in the very issue of *Strike* that became the center of such actions.

## The day the Woodsman split open the Wolf's guts

### NEW GENERAL POLICIES OF STRIKE

Strike has provoked state capitalism to reveal its true nature, as tolerating questioning within the system but suppressing any questioning of itself, and providing token means of reform but no legitimate mechanism for change to other systems when the present one loses its functionality as capitalism has. But in this process Strike, by being suppressed itself, has been shoved into a corner. Now not only is it clear that there are no legitimate means to effect change, but Strike has been denied any means of legitimate change if such a possibility has ever existed. No alternatives are left when what is allowed to be expressed and the means to expressing it are censored and suppressed. We rejected the false alternatives of a token freedom in art, and tried to begin a practice that would search out real alternatives in reality, but we only met with repression. Another theory was substantiated by practice: in our society there can be no alternatives; only anti-theism.

Art councils will fund activities that present harmless art, or any other innocuous and perhaps even pseudo-controversial material, but not what is a critical practice, especially if opposed to the system itself. Yet is not this critical practice, and the social change it would lead to, the most urgent need in our world? And is not this critical practice a principle of democracy that should be supported, even if it leads to other systems, if they alone are capable of what the old system is not? And if this principle is the lie of systems that claim to be democratic, as has now been made obvious, then are we not justified to make it and the new social change it demands, a reality, if even by means that the present social system opposes?

In the present social structure we have no choice. There are only a limited number of possibilities provided — each essentially the same. In capitalism all possibilities for survival can be reduced to two: sell or beg. Some accept this choice as the only natural

possibilities. We, however, see it as relations of a system that is only one of many possible modes of production, and therefore limits which can be overcome. Because we did not choose the few options provided and because we see that they are not natural limits, we consider the choices forced upon us. Because we are not responsible for the choice, we are not responsible to it, and refuse to settle for any of the few options that it provides. Yet if one does not like this situation, one cannot leave it. The only possibility is to change it.

The cutting off of government funds has had two positive effects: It has forced us to operate on our own resources, and we are no longer answerable to government or art councils.

In relation to the internal concerns of formalist art, we understood that, just like changing content alone, so changing form, or even analyzing art generally from within art, is insufficient. Art had to be questioned in its socio-political context. This we saw as the "negative function" or critical practice, that is all that art in a pre-revolutionary situation could be. As a result we recognized that art is an ideological moment. Because of the pervasiveness of ideology, the transformation of the artist to activist was understood as problematic. But general theorizing was not enough, at least it could be directed to local/specific situations. In dealing with pervasive ideology, it was hoped that art could be a battle ground for the dispersal of imaginary relations that had disarmed the material struggle.

The problems that were first revealed by putting art into its socio-political context, are real and still far from resolved. But they are not simply the problems of art, and to continue to frame them so narrowly is useless. Therefore, we reject art as a central activity, but only to continue to deal with these problems, and others, formulated in the more important general framework of social and political categories. For example, the need for a critical-reflexive practice in art and the self-transformation of the artist, is now seen as the general problem of dealing with ideological and class embeddedness. Ideology is no longer seen as separate from material conditions, and therefore the problem of the artist's transition, is framed as the problem of the individual's transition through the transformation of pervasive ideology coupled with material struggle. The problem of the token freedom of art, is now defined in terms of the token freedom of liberal democracies, etc.

It is said that if art is corrupted by capitalism, then so is everything else, so why should art be rejected. However, in that case, let us admit then that art is only a means of material survival within capitalism, and not pretend that it can be anything else. In a pre-revolutionary situation there is no hope in any art practice itself, even as a critical practice, because all art is ideologically bound. It cannot be an extra-philosophical of scientific enterprise that has the special qualities for revealing ideologies, nor can certain forms be found that are free from the dominant ideology, nor can art be magically liberating force (cf. Rosellini's: "Art can free men from their conditions"). This is where we part company even with Marxist artists or philosophers of art, who give a special status to art, seeing it generally as neutral and only certain practices within it as ideologically bound. This is a major step: the final break from idealism that the "bourgeois Marxists" do not achieve. Therefore, the only valid purposes for art in a pre-revolutionary situation are: as a front which, by its potential for ambiguity, is an easy means of obtaining government and corporate funds to put towards the revolutionary cause; or as a direct tool for explicit communication and provocation in the class struggle. Any artists, no matter how "revolutionary", who claim more for art, are simply justifying the continuance of their bourgeois careers, and would place art first when the crunch comes.

We have actually achieved eliciting a response from outside of art and from the most powerful sectors of society — the very groups that we must effect reaction from in order to begin to achieve change. We have now entered the arena of real-life confrontations out of the fantasy world of art. We have provoked and faced real opponents, not just the cardboard adversaries of the art world. We now know that we need not be limited to an ineffectual critical practice foolishly shouting at the feet of the giants of power who do not even see us. We must continue in a practice that directs itself to revealing the hypocrisies of our social order and force the powers to show their true face.

The suppression of what were only pictures and words was quick and severe. Even in a discursive context, the issues that we raised were not allowed. By its own basis in illusions, the system is weak and can easily be prodded to undermine itself. What will serve as our lever of provocation? It is the depth and strength of our critical practice which must make real blows. With such a lever of provocation there can be no doubts about the correctness of our position, and whatever action the power sectors take, their hypocrisy will be made that much more blatant.

Our critical work aims towards Brecht's "dialectical transformation of the totality of subjects into a permanent crisis, and hence the conception of our age as a critical period in both meanings of the term." But this is no "critical theory" in isolation, but "provocation through disorder, insult. New provocation. New insult. Until their downfall!"

### NOTES

1. "New ideology" is explained at length in that issue, but in short, it meant to account for and reject the pervasive ideology that is the same for capitalism and authoritarian communism, and participate in the struggle to establish a new ideology outside of the old alternatives. What we meant by "eliminating labour" is best explained by these quotes from Marx: "The realm of freedom begins indeed only when labour that is determined by external need and expediency ceases to be." (*The German Ideology*) "The mode of activity always remained unchallenged and it was only a question of a different distribution of labour to other persons. But the revolution would have to be directed against the preceding mode of activity itself, do away with labour and abolish the rule of all classes together with the classes themselves." (*Capital*) "Work is essentially the unfree, inhuman, unsocial activity, determined by private property. The abolition of private property becomes a reality only when it is understood as the abolition of work." (*Ueber Friedrich List's Buch Das nationale System der politischen Oekonomie*). *Archive-Drucke* 1, Berlin 1972, S. 25, quoted in *Zerowork*

2. According to the OAC executive, the meeting had been called to "find out what CEAC was all about and what its relation was to statements in *Strike*". It thereby proved to be more of an inquisition than a meeting (though we were interrogated for political beliefs rather than religious ones), but neither CEAC or *Strike* allowed themselves to be bullied by bureaucrats. The executive blatantly lied, saying the OAC had never promised CEAC anything, but only requested this meeting. As if to say that there was no deferment brought on by the executive's ignorant dependence on slander from a tabloid like the *Sun*, or pressure from political interests, but because they had not yet assessed CEAC's qualification on the standard criteria for an art grant. However, they could not long deny that they were taking extraordinary measures, because CEAC had provided the OAC with all the information necessary in their application to normally meet the OAC's needs for appraisal. The OAC executive went so far as to admit their own incompetence at evaluating the work of CEAC, but could not see their then present action as prejudiced action against CEAC, founded on the distortions of the press rather than their own knowledge that they as an art council should have.

3. After a zealous display of antagonism against CEAC by the OAC executive, we were told by the end of the meeting that the meeting's purpose was to find out more about CEAC in order to represent it to the council, which would make (another) decision on CEAC's application for a grant! CEAC protested. Why could it not represent itself? Why, in fact, could not that very meeting have been before the council? Despite the clearly undemocratic move by the executive, it refused to let CEAC speak for itself. CEAC then demanded to at least know how they would be represented, but the executive denied them even this. The executive at this point called the meeting to a close. It could say no more — like all good liberals they acknowledged the injustice, but saw no contradiction in following procedures that they "were not responsible for". The OAC's representation of CEAC was only a reflection of the same farce that the Canadian system of government representation is.

4. To date several people connected not just to *Strike* but also to CEAC, have been denied grants or jobs expressly because of their association with these organizations.



# ON THE REVOLUTION OF PEKING OPERA

Chiang Ching

Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes has now been staged. But do we all look at it the same way? I don't think we can say so just yet.

We must have unshakable confidence in the staging of Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes. It is inconceivable that, in our socialist country led by the Communist Party, the dominant position on the stage is not occupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, who are the real creators of history and the true masters of our country. **We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base.** When we are not clear about our orientation, we should try our best to become so. Here I would like to give two groups of figures for your reference. These figures strike me as shocking.

Here is the first group: according to a rough estimate, there are 3,000 theatrical companies in the country (not including amateur troupes and unlicensed companies). Of these, around 90 are professional modern drama companies, 80 odd are cultural troupes, and the rest, over 2,800, are companies staging various kinds of operas and balladry. Our operatic stage is occupied by emperors, princes, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, and, on top of these, ghosts and monsters. As for those 90 modern drama companies, they don't necessarily all depict the workers, peasants and soldiers either. They, too, lay stress on staging full-length plays, foreign plays and plays on ancient themes. So we can say that the modern drama stage is also occupied by ancient Chinese and foreign figures. **Theatres are places in which to educate the people, but at present the stage is dominated by emperors, princes, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties — by feudal and bourgeois stuff. This state of affairs cannot serve to protect but will undermine our economic base.**

And here is the second group of figures: there are well over 600 million workers, peasants and soldiers in our country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements. Shall we serve this handful, or the 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by Communists but also by all those literary and art workers who love their country. The grain we eat is grown by the peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are all made by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them on the stage. **May I ask which class stand you artists do take? And where is the artists' "conscience" you always talk about?**

For Peking opera to present revolutionary contemporary themes will not be all plain sailing. There will be reverses, but if you consider carefully the two groups of figures I have mentioned above, there may be no reverses, or at least fewer of them. Even if there are reverses, it won't matter. History always goes forward on a zigzag course but its wheels can never be turned backwards. We stress operas on revolutionary contemporary themes which reflect real life in the fifteen years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic and which create images of contemporary revolutionary heroes on our operatic stage. This is our foremost task. Not that we don't want historical operas. Revolutionary historical operas have formed no small proportion of the programme of the present festival. Historical operas portraying the life and struggles of the people before our Party came into being are also needed. Moreover, we need to foster some pace-setters, to produce some historical operas which are really written from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the past serve the present. Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (that of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded. Except for those about

ghosts and those extolling capitulation and betrayal, all good traditional operas can be staged. But these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are carefully re-edited and revised. I have made systematic visits to theatres for more than two years and my observation of both actors and audiences led me to this conclusion. In future, the re-editing and revising of traditional operas is necessary, but this work must not replace our foremost task.

I will next discuss the question of where to make a start.

I think the key question is that you must have the plays. If you have only directors and actors and no plays there is nothing to be directed or acted. People say that plays form the basis of theatrical productions. I think that is quite true. Therefore attention must be devoted to creative writing.

In the last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the case of Peking opera. Playwrights are few



and they lack experience of life, so it is only natural that no good plays are being created. The key to tackling the problem of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination of the leadership, the playwrights and the masses. Recently, I studied the way in which the play *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea* was created and I found that they did it exactly like this. First the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience of life, even taking part in a military operation to round up enemy spies. When the play was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow military command took part in discussions on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in turning out in a fairly short time a good topical play reflecting a real life struggle.

In the case of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee it was Comrade Ko Ching-shih himself who came to grips with the problem of creative writing.

All localities must appoint competent cadres to handle this problem.

It will be difficult for some time yet to write plays specially for Peking opera. Nevertheless, people have to be appointed right now to do the job. They must first be given some special training and then go out to attain experience of life. They can begin by writing short plays and gradually work out full-length operas. It is also good to have short works, if well written.

**In creative writing, new forces must be cultivated. Send them to work at the grass roots level and in three to five years they will blossom and bear fruit.**

Another good way to get plays is by adaptation.

Theatrical items for adaptation must be carefully chosen. First, we must see whether or not they are good politically and secondly, whether or not they suit the conditions of the company concerned. Serious analysis of the original must be made when adapting it, its good points must be affirmed and kept intact, while its weak points must be remedied. In adapting for Peking opera attention must be paid to two aspects: on the one hand, the adaptations must be in keeping with the characteristics of Peking opera, having singing and acrobatics, and words must fit the melodies in Peking opera singing. The language used must be that of Peking opera. Otherwise the performers will not be able to sing. On the other hand, excessive compromises should not be made with the performers. An opera must have a clear-cut theme with a tightly knit structure and striking characters. In no case should the whole opera be allowed to become diffuse and flat in order to provide a few principal performers with star parts.

Peking opera uses artistic exaggeration. At the same time, it has always depicted ancient times and people belonging to those times. Therefore, it is comparatively easy for Peking opera to portray negative characters and this is what some people like about it so much. On the other hand, it is very difficult to create positive characters, and yet we must build up characters of advanced revolutionary heroes. In the original version of the opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* produced by Shanghai the negative characters appeared to be overpowering, while the positive characters looked quite wizened. Since the leadership gave direct guidance, this opera has been positively improved. Now, the scene about the Taoist Ting Ho has been cut, whereas the part of Eagle — nickname of the bandit leader — has been only slightly altered (the actor who plays the part acts very well). But since the roles of the People's Liberation Army men Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po have been made more prominent, the images of those negative characters have paled by comparison. It has been said that there are different views on this opera. **Debates can be held on this subject. You must consider which side you stand on.** Should you stand on the side of the positive characters or on the side of the negative characters? It has been said that there are still people who oppose writing about positive characters. This is wrong. Good people are always the great majority. This is true not only in our socialist countries, but even in imperialist countries, where the overwhelming majority are labouring people. In revisionist countries, the revisionists are only a minority. We should place the emphasis on creating artistic images of advanced revolutionaries so as to educate and inspire the people and lead them forward. Our purpose in producing operas on revolutionary contemporary themes is mainly to exalt the positive characters.

In my opinion, we should treasure the fruits of our labour, and should not scrap them lightly. Some comrades are unwilling to revise works they have done, but this prevents them from making bigger achievements.





# AT LAST, YOU HAVE A CHOICE!

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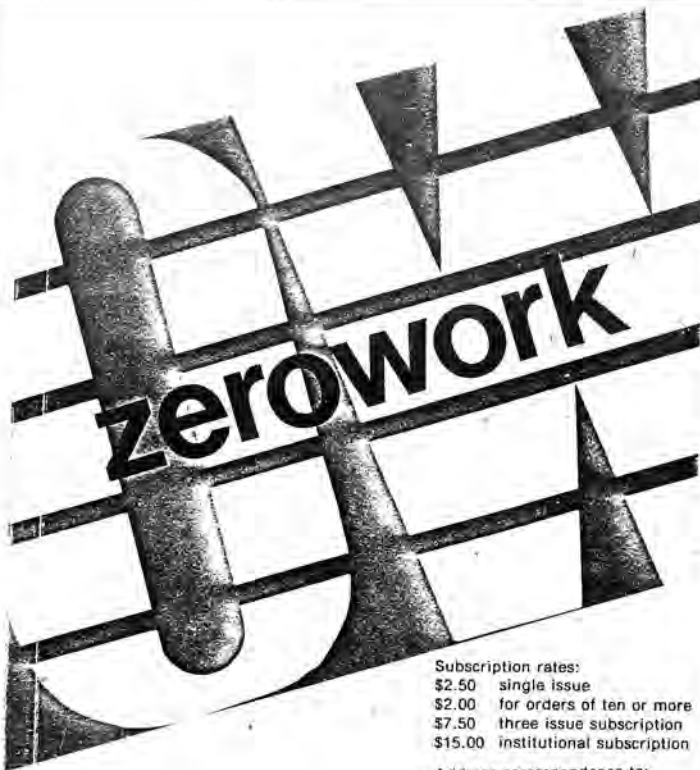
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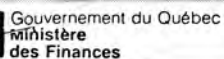
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