

# ANTISTUDENT



15p

# The continuing story of the ECT of everyday life on campus

The castle is proudly aesthetic  
Erect and grand.  
It spreads itself out with a complacent smile from copse to lawn.  
And eases its posterior  
emitting a gentle farting breeze  
through the murmuring trees  
to the rippling waters edge

The greenhouse guardians  
soft spoken, consciously casual,  
Tender intravenous feeders; sprinkled  
over the Basil Spence watering can  
of pure knowledge and reason.  
We sit in a row and smile  
with grateful petals upturned  
we are still, but we still don't know, won't grow  
chariman No went home to sleep it off.

Of course we are the one-percenters, we made it  
deposited at the end of the escalator, stand on the  
right, no prams and push-chairs  
tickets PLEASE  
Man, we got the ticket  
    we got the train  
But now we're on there ain't no  
place to jump off  
Always on the way to somewhere, but  
somehow never quite making it.

I got the brainfactory blues...  
This place has a god complex (white god)  
I'm wearing myself down just  
dragging round this concrete swamp-  
trying to make it on time (for what)  
The man is on the platform  
The man writes on the blackboard  
The seats are secured in rising rows  
We too have a function (could it be?)  
We absorb.  
Pink nubile sullen  
We soak up the dribbles.

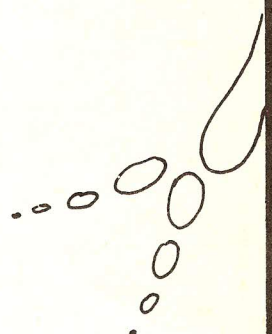
We are cradled in the hands of our Protectors Hallelujah  
A prayer for ICI Amen  
A prayer for Philips Amen  
With grateful thanks to the Council of Europe and  
the National Coal Board  
and SPRU (Science Project Research Unit)  
To you too.  
The Dalek that feeds us  
suffocates us.

Assessment is the only reality of the Filing cabinet

We compete for isolation  
Biting our teeth  
Every grade only says more about the space between us  
And our willingness to prostitute  
for the substitute.  
Alone we are trapped

The solution comes just past the thin red line between the  
I/nervous/cracking and the US/together/choosing/moving.

ECT = electro-convulsive (shock) therapy



End of the University (1)

# introduction

Six of us are writing this because we feel that, in fundamental ways, the role of student is no good. A student is what they want you to be - who do you want to be? Or do you want to be any fixed kind of person? Do you want to keep on becoming?

We are writing this not with the aim of converting you to another student role, swallowing another student line. Nor are we necessarily aiming to persuade you to leave college. We are writing this to make you aware of how student life works, so you can accept it, reform it, or subvert it (we hope you'll subvert the whole idea, but it's all up to you).

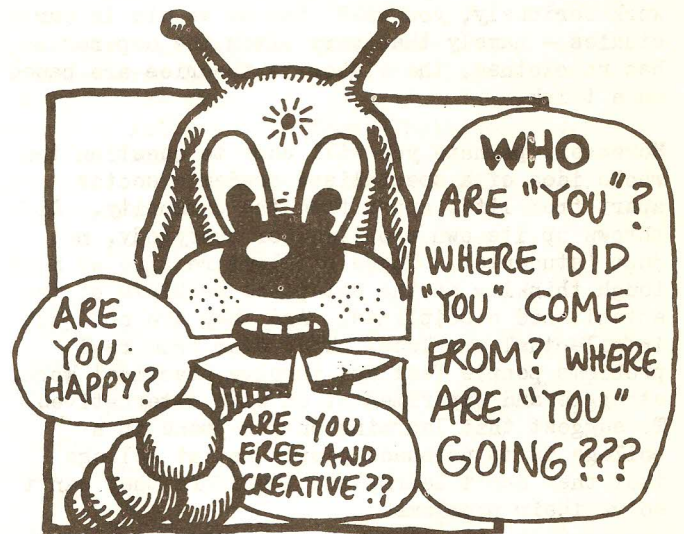
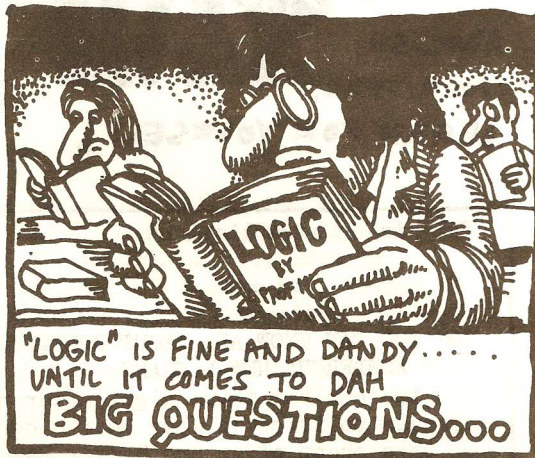
We want you to become aware of how it's possible for you to take the project of your own development very seriously, and of how you can't escape responsibility for the kind of person you become, having gone through college in the various ways open to you. Your choices are important: you are making yourself all the time

in little everyday habits as well as in big crisis point decisions.

At first you may feel insecure or a bit bewildered by the variety of cliques and clubs and activities, all asking you to join them. You may think that everyone else is so much more confident than you. But perhaps underneath it all they are just as uncertain and maybe even lonely.

Don't commit yourself totally to the first group that comes along, whether it's the Christians, the Trots, or the rugger-buggers, or just an informal group of friends you find yourself in. With each group there are certain expectations that will be exerted upon you by the other people in the group (e.g. norms about dress or rolling a joint the right way). Each group will have certain values and ideas about life which you may find yourself unconsciously accepting unless you are careful. Each group will give you people to compare yourself with, and hence you will get a certain kind of identity or picture of yourself from each group.

No-one can escape being influenced by others. The point is to choose which others to be influenced by and keep an open mind and be prepared to criticise and move on when necessary.



## Why are you here?

\*\* To get a good degree? What for? Why should you depend on the judgement of your professors only? Why shouldn't we care equally what our friends and neighbours think about it?

\*\* To get a good job? What do you want a job for? Who says it's good? For money? If so, we've nothing to say to you (or rather, we have cos you're honest about things. Read on, and we'll try to be honest to).

\*\* For security? But you can't tame life and button it up in advance. You'll find you'll lose more than you gain if you try. Our real security should be through making a community of people who care, not in dead-end ruts with a pension.

\*\* To get a training and help society? Enough scientific knowledge already exists to solve all the problems of the world like starvation. This hasn't happened because the imperialist countries and their ruling groups in the poor countries

would lose by it. Likewise, within Britain it is the ruling class which decides which techniques and technologies will be introduced. So why do you think you'll be able to help society when working for a system. If you want to help people - do it directly and forget about an official career. It's only the system which worries about qualifications.

**\*\* To have a good time?** Sooner or later you will probably find that the life of being a 'student' is rather shallow. It is not fundamentally satisfying. Underneath the carefree image, you will find isolation, boredom and fear.

**\*\* Because you are really interested in some subject?** O.K., but we think there is no such thing as 'pure' learning. All knowledge is either useful to the rulers or to those being oppressed. You will probably find that there are certain questions you are not supposed to ask in your subject. For example, if you are doing medicine, you will be discouraged from asking why the course starts with physics, moves on to corpses, and goes on to bits of bodies, never touching the whole person because of the doctor's authority role relationship with an isolated 'patient' or 'case'. Every subject has its forbidden questions. We think that if you take your intellectual work seriously, you will find as we did in our studies - namely that very often the emperor has no clothes, the elaborate theories are based on a trick.

Moreover, perhaps you will come to question the whole idea of a specialised academic sector apart from life, apart from the community. Life throws up its own problems for everybody, not just 'students'. These problems require as much tough thinking as the set-piece problems of the established disciplines. And they are not just intellectual problems. They stem from real problems people feel and involve practical work, struggle and experimentation with alternatives. To suggest that learning only happens in a college is to persuade people not at college that they can't learn, and therefore they can't solve their problems.

**\*\* Or are you here to grow and discover yourself?** We do not deny that you have the chance to do this to some extent. But it won't come from mixing only with a narrow range of people. You won't develop intellectually if you are caught in an academic wordgame. You won't develop emotionally if you are caught in a narrow series of inauthentic games with other people. Real thinking and real learning are inseparable from life and the goals you set yourself. It is precisely because we want to encourage you to find yourself, your own self, that we want you to question and go beyond the limited role of student.

## The task is to learn what learning is for

Please don't ignore or dismiss what we are saying. We ourselves all once had illusions about becoming good students; we ourselves tried out various ways of being a student. One of us (or more than one) was/were Christian student, debates society student, football club student, would-be academic student, N.U.S. official student, and uninvolved dope-head. We were also into the 'student revolutionary' role. But from our own experiences in the student movement in the last five years we found that this role too is phoney, just like the others, and that the student power movement is inadequate. We are writing this partly so that the student movement doesn't go on trying to do the impossible, repeating the same mistakes every few years. The political situation is different from 1968. Other people are challenging the basic ways they are supposed to behave - so should students.

LITTLE  
MAN!

ABOLISH  
YOUR FEAR!

LEARN FOR YOURSELF!



WHAT  
WOULD IT  
COST YOU TO  
RENOUNCE  
YOUR  
DEGREE?

This is an advertisement.

YOU TOO CAN KNOW ALL ABOUT POLITICS WITH THIS WONDERFUL NEW LIBRARY.

You too can sit there night after night and discuss politics to your hearts content. On this cheap offer are Marx's Das Capital, the complete works of Marcuse, Kropotkin, and John Stuart Mill, edited editions of Engels, Lenin, Mao-Tse-Tung, Hitler and Vance Packard.

YOU TOO CAN BE A REVOLUTIONARY!

NO EFFORT!

NO THOUGHT!

EASY INSTALLMENTS, 24-MONTH PLAN.

Cultivate friends from the ease of your very own armchair. Have the most powerful intellects and the leading figures of twenty years time sit around your feet and listen aghast whilst you expound the secrets of the Universe.

# THE COLLEGE

THE PRISON? THE CASTLE?

## functions of the college

What are the functions of the college in society? It is a class society, therefore it presumably has class functions - what are they? It provides personnel for various positions in the state and industrial hierarchies, it provides a mystique for the 'educated', it provides pseudo-justifications for the ruling class ideology, and it provides for research into subjects which can be used to bolster the power of the ruling class. Its relationship with society as a whole, in short, is worth looking into.

## elitism and opportunity

There is something essentially elitist about a higher educational establishment separate from everything else. Only certain people are allowed in. It is supposed that it is the only place where people can learn. We contend that it is a confidence trick designed to keep knowledge from the people. True there is a great opportunity to learn things while in such a place - but the myth maintains that it is possible to learn only in such a place. This is false, though everything possible is done to make it appear true. Another myth which goes with this is the myth of 'equality of opportunity', which is widely believed. It runs something like this - we don't quite have equality, that is impossible, since some are naturally cleverer than others. What we do have is Equality of Opportunity. This came in with Truth and Freedom.

Equality of Opportunity means that the son (not so much the daughter) of a dustbinman can 'rise' to be the Chairman of ICI (and exploit his less fortunate friends). The way to do this is to learn all the specialised knowledge doled out at school.

He will then eventually arrive at the college/poly/university (or whatever). By this time, however, he has become one of the top few per cent, he has had to reject his own background, and become entirely different from the person he started out as. Only a tiny percentage actually 'make it'. Some do, but this is not so revolutionary. It is allowed for. It rejuvenates the ruling classes, and causes people to think in terms of 'climbing' and 'making it'. Figures on this, for the statistics freak, are readily available - see the class breakdown of the student population. Very interesting.

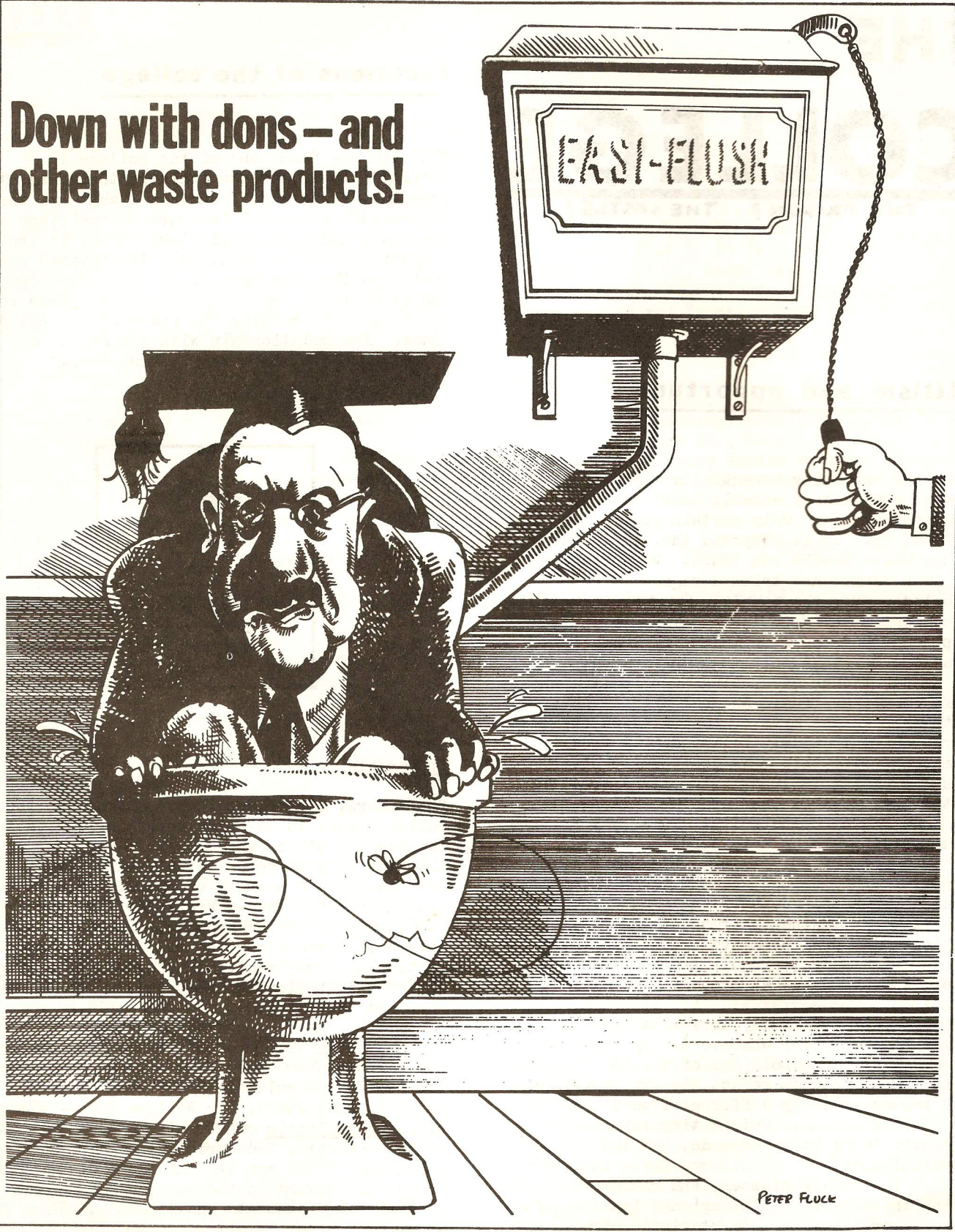


## Professors

Professors, vice-chancellors, and so on, the ruling groups in colleges intermingle with the Top Dogs in other spheres. They have an interest in getting research financed by firms, for example. A network of acquaintances can be most useful for this. Professors are highly paid, from elite backgrounds, and often have shares in firms financing research in their particular department. In short, they have an interest in tailoring the truth to fit the way they and their friends run the world.

You may think that professors are the Top Dogs, but way way above even them are the National Top Dogs - the galactic heads such as Lord Robbins, Lord James, Sir William Pyle - who hold intergalactic conversations with the chiefs of the security, industrial, and finance galaxies. These men are the elite of the elite: racist and sexist to the core, they despise academics and students and liberals. They talk about 'the Beast is stirring' and they celebrate our murder in their ritual of the hunt which still binds the aristocracy together.

**Down with dons – and  
other waste products!**



PETER FLUCK

## Research

It is worth considering the situation with regard to research. The research that goes on ranges from the outright evil - C.S. gas, napalm - to the insidiously liberal and equally nasty, such as research into 'decision making on the shop floor', which will eventually be used in management theory to manage, manipulate, and exploit the poor sods who work on the factory floor. Funds are available for things like this which are 'useful'. Things which don't fit into their definition of useful do not manage to find funds available; research of any real value into abortion and V.D. has incredible difficulty in getting finance.

Professor Paton in Oxford has been doing some research into cannabis - intended obviously for an anti-dope campaign. Bags of finance were available. This research has been widely recognised as a load of old rubbish. Paton injected mice with huge quantities of cannabinoil - the approximate equivalent of six hundred joints a day in a human. He discovered that the mice died after a while under this sort of treatment. His research staff handled the dangerous toxic stuff with forceps so as not to get contaminated. 30 or 40 lbs of sugar a day, or 5 gallons of water a day would probably do the job at least as well as 600 joints.

It is not entirely fair to adopt a simple conspiracy theory about the way higher education works. To a considerable extent they do what they do because they actually believe their own ideology. They really believe in the liberal picture of the world they paint. The old-style seeking after truth kind does not really exist to any great extent, most of them are careerists - but even the careerists actually believe what they say.

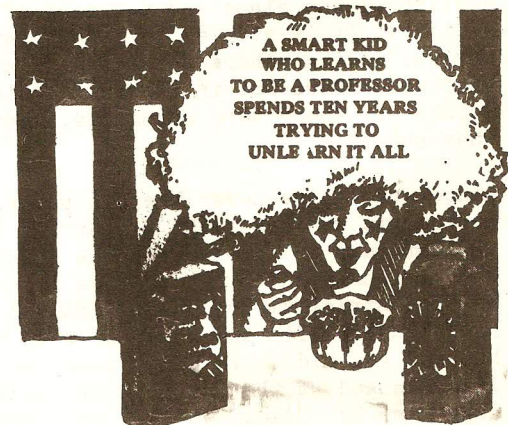
One of the most vital functions of the education establishment is the elaboration of theory about the way the system works. They take things as they are and attempt to fit them in with their liberal scheme of things. The various theories of government are a good example. We had at one time the theory of 'representative democracy': the M.P. represents his constituency and acts on its behalf. Eventually it was discovered that firms and 'pressure groups' have more influence on the way things go than the M.P.s. Not to be defeated, the academics dutifully produced the theory of 'pluralism', purporting to show that the British system of government is now even fairer than it was before because anybody can form a pressure group and influence the government.

## the college as an unequal society

A college has its own class structure, its own bureaucracy, its own subtle and not so subtle tricks to keep people in their place. Things appear to be more liberal at some colleges, but behind the velvet glove lies the iron fist. Professors are at the top. Most of them are vaguely liberal but whenever their power is threatened they react swiftly. Left-wing professors are not just tolerated, they are necessary parts of the system. So long as they confine their lefty utterances to academic conferences, learned journals, or even when just fraternising in the Union bar, and don't actually do anything then they reinforce the myth of the political neutrality of the college, the 'value freedom' of scholarship, etc. But if they started to bring knowledge close to the people, e.g. outside factory gates or school gates, they would be quickly fired. This happened to many of the staff of the Department of Political Science, Sociology, and Anthropology at the Simon Fraser University in Canada. (Not that writing and researching for the people is the last word in being radical: writing and researching with the people is one better, and breaks down the distinction between thinkers and doers.)

### Students and Academia

Students are next in the class system - tolerated on condition that they accept their position as passive and powerless. On arriving at your first lecture, you no doubt wondered at the way they, the educated ones, the lecturers, the academics, could talk, using clever words and complex ideas. This, obviously, is where it is all at. Nobody admits to being not quite as clever as they are, but everyone feels it. Sometimes a hardy soul takes a chance of actually saying something in a lecture or tutorial, trying to be intellectual too, but not quite sure that he or she is succeeding, wondering whether the others will see through the pretence



What women students inside the Brain Factory are up against is not only the alienation of the cold as ice separate brittle suspicious depression of the Uptight-Competition-between-us-all which of course is everyone's mind-fuck, male and female; but also the double-pronged attack from the bastion of the Stainless Steel Mind Castle... the MALE TUTOR. This guy attacks and puts down women in many ways, not only through academic elitism, but also through his pig male attitudes towards women students. The former stage of attack has been well documented by the left, the latter attack is more vicious because it is more subtle and because the left seldom stoop to the level of discussing their own chauvinism let alone the oppression of women. The sexism of male tutors is a wonderful thing. No-one will discuss it or accept it as a valid criticism of their behaviour. And what it means is not only do male tutors regard their female students as an easy lay, but they underestimate their ability to think and think creatively even though they themselves are usually only capable of thinking in a purely ossified dead way. Because, what happens when a woman ignores

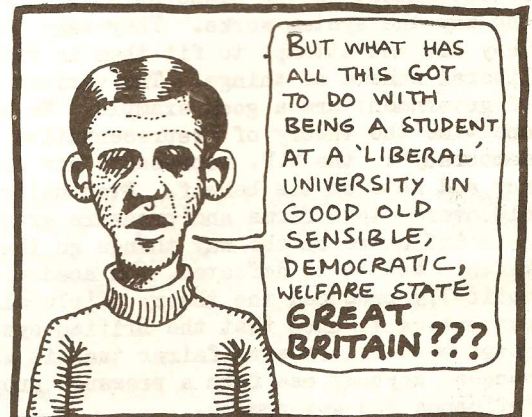
the advice of her tutor and writes what she wants to in the way she wishes to express herself (and there is a vast source of untapped creativity in all women which has been ignored by male-dominated bourgeois values for years) is that not only does the pig-tutor feel threatened academically/intellectually (which he could possibly take from a bloke on the 'we're-all-mates-together-lets-go-have-a-drink' principle): his whole role as a male supreme power fucker is also challenged, and this most of them can't take. At the end of the second term my tutor locked me out of his room and we continued corresponding by notices on his door, mine mostly in the form of quotes from Neil Young and Eldridge Cleaver, his in the form of dark mutterings about the forces of law and order in the country being threatened by chaos and disorder (oh, the day...) This guy failed my work completely and got me put on the V.C.'s list (and he was my personal tutor as well as my 'teaching' tutor). This was all because instead of writing him a dissertation at the end of term I wrote a poem, yes a poem ... and he was an english tutor.

I was trained at a very scholarly institution. When we learned history, we learned only from authorities who had done the finest research and who lectured on their findings. When they spoke of other times and cultures, they traced intricate threads through the causes of national or international conflicts which led to wars. The more enlightened told of changes that industrialism wrought in moving populations from rural areas to cities.

of the development of the 'modern' nuclear family through the eyes of women who lived through these changes. And thus we have no view of how those not in the ruling classes - the common people - saw their own struggles for survival.

Their stories were always those of the most powerful in a society; the rationalisations the powerful used to stay in power, or when power changed hands, say from land rich to merchant wealth, the reasons for the decline of one class and the rise of another. Their stories left huge gaps. Why was it that there were classes anyway? What were those not in the ruling classes doing? If there were struggles, what were they about?

Since women have never been in power, of course, it was never the history of women we learned. We rarely know how a woman's day was spent in 1600. We have little idea how industrialism profoundly changed her relationship with the world or with her husband and kids. We don't know how her life changed at the movement of industry away from her home. We have no histories



BUT WHAT HAS ALL THIS GOT TO DO WITH BEING A STUDENT AT A 'LIBERAL' UNIVERSITY IN GOOD OLD SENSIBLE, DEMOCRATIC, WELFARE STATE GREAT BRITAIN ???



and hold him or her up to ridicule. You too can have the aura of academic prestige... if you read this book, do this essay... The relationship between the academic staff and the students is inevitably one of awe, whatever the ideas expressed are, and regardless of whether you call each other by first names. It is a class style of relationship, and it's a con.

Text books have a wordy language all of their own. So do academics. To learn this special language is to become a 'good' student. Half the stuff in text books could be rewritten much more simply in half the space, but the medium is the message... People are taught to become walking text books or to consider themselves for ever after as ignorant.

Speaking of text books and articles, who writes them? By and large it is the 'geniuses' around the college. The student is a spectator, watching the great men writing their great works and marvelling, following with bated breath the latest gossip about Professor X or Lecturer Y. The idea that the student, still less anyone else, has anything serious to contribute, is not seriously considered.

'Freedom of choice'

The illusion of freedom of choice is carefully fostered. There is freedom, but it ends at the point where it would start to challenge the basic assumptions about the necessity to grade people so they can be slotted conveniently into the hierarchy. There may be a certain amount of choice, but they decide how much. You are

just a consumer choosing between different prepackaged, tasteless dishes... they even call it the 'cafeteria system'! Try choosing to work with and for people on the outside of your college, submitting your work for the criticism of your friends, and not handing it in to be graded by them... and you'll see how incredibly narrow your role is, as defined by them.

The real underclass

But don't kid yourself you're at the bottom of the heap. Students are like clerks or straight workers with skills and a 'good record' - they have a chance of promotion if they keep their noses clean. The real underclass in a college are the cleaners, catering women, typists, maintenance men and porters.

A brief story...

Before going to college, I worked for several months in its cafeteria. While wandering around the college in blue jeans, I was indistinguishable from a student - people smiled and talked to me. Put on a uniform and Bang! Invisibility! Eyes gazed vacantly through me, intimate conversations continued - pick up the President's coffee cup as he's talking with another BigWig about security against a sit-in... and he doesn't even lower his voice.

**the college as an expression of class society**

Other pamphlets on the Higher 'Education' (Schooling) System generally talk just about how the college helps the bosses, or how the students are priveleged as regards destination in the class structure and in their background. Or else they just look within the college, and ignoring cleaners, etc., they proclaim that students are an oppressed group - the 'Student as Nigger' line. However, to get to the nub of the question, we need to consider how any separate Institution (college) and ANY special role (student or academic) would reflect the split in class society \*. This would be the case even if there was real equality of opportunity to get to college and real democracy inside the college.

\* Note - by 'class society' is meant something far wider and older than just this particular economic system (capitalism).

Education = initiation = mystification

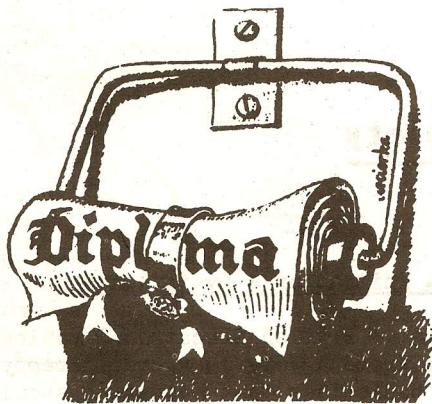
The Big Name in British Educational Philosophy, R.S.Peters, wrote a very long, very crappy book around the basic idea that Education should be like Initiation into activities that the priestly initiators with their rare insight consider to be especially worthwhile. Religion does indeed give us the best comparison for seeing the Skool (and college and apprenticeship) system. The Skool System is the new Church which passes on, as science, the myths which keep society going and which were formerly contained in creeds and religious rituals. The biggest myths are:

- 1. Schooling = Education.
- 2. Learning only comes from being taught.
- 3. The world is non-educational; the school is unworldly.

4. Knowledge has to be like a scarce commodity. It is quite different from the mundane everyday understanding of ordinary folk.

The EXAMS process tells us where things are really at. It involves a one-way judgement system. The Authorities may talk of dialogue and feedback, and verbally encourage people to be critical, but the basic structure of the Exam discourages such critical approaches. When you read a book, you read with an academic ghost looking over your shoulder: instead of thinking 'how does this fit into my ideas and experience?' you find yourself thinking 'how could this fit into the question on X? Or maybe I could wangle it into the question on Y. Perhaps it will go down well in the next tutorial and get me a good assessment - must get the reference right or it will ruin the effect!' - and etc.

The Exam/assessment system thus makes your education through official channels worthless and colonises all your thinking and experience. But never worry. Because once you get your degree... wow... you pass from darkness into light, you are initiated, you are special, you are a Somebody who deserves to be heard (even though you've nothing your own to say, only being able to parrot). If you're a good parrot, then you may even be given a research grant. (Even though you can't really think of anything you particularly want to know). And when you are a Somebody, then other people are Nobodies who have got nothing to say, who cannot learn for themselves, and who must depend on Authority.



BOGS  
HAVE  
CHAINS  
AS  
WELL...

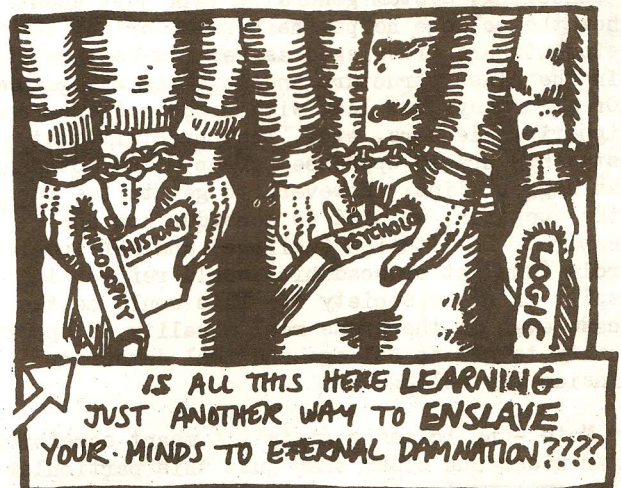
#### Knowledge and Freedom

Knowledge and Freedom are intimately connected. Without knowledge of one's situation, one is liable to be unable to achieve one's intentions. In Class Society, Mystification (Trickery, lies, magic, academic bullshit) and Power are just as closely linked. In an evenly matched war, the side with the better intelligence and counter-intelligence system will win. Counter-intelligence involves confusing the enemy and stopping

him/her from learning the true situation. Or again, supposing I want to kill someone: I can either control him/her bodily, for example throw him/her out of a top-storey window... the trouble being that he/she might be stronger and throw me out; or I can trick her/him, control her/his picture of reality, her/his 'world' - for example hypnotise him/her, then tell him/her that it's the ground floor we're on, and would she please step out onto the flower bed... By manipulating what a person thinks she knows, I can control what she does. Her power to do things would be harnessed to my wishes. She might think she was realising her intentions, but in fact she would be realising mine. She would be "alienated".

This is the situation of workers in capitalist society. Having had the means of production taken away from us, we are then forced to work for another and in so doing, we strengthen still further his control over us. The Money WE earned him gets reinvested in new plant, which He claims to 'own'. When the machines are delivered to a factory, they are delivered by workers, they were made at every stage by the combined efforts of thousands of workers and inventors stretching way back in time. But even though they have never seen a capitalist making a machine or a factory in their lives, only other workers, almost everyone believes that the boss should get some return because he is supposed to have 'provided the machinery' with 'his' profits. If we believe something against the clear evidence of our senses, then the enemy has succeeded in tricking our common sense.

Our commonsense is equally tricked in the exam situation: if a question is important, then all the candidates should be together concerned to work out some sort of collective solution, on the principle that two heads are better than one. Instead, what do we find? One hundred



students, who nearly all claim to be 'interested in their subject', sit with their arms around their papers, trying to tackle this important problem in their lives on their own! But probably it's not important anyway. Probably it's just a crossword-puzzle type of question, the kind of 'problem to keep the academics in business. And anyway, if a question is worth doing, you can't do it in forty minutes. If you can, it's not worth doing.

It would be a mistake to go completely overboard on the Knowledge as Myth line. It is also true that the knowledge is supposed to be useful to the ruling class. A major contradiction therefore exists between:

- A. the need to educate a few just enough to get a partial grasp on reality operating a partial niche in the system.
- B. educating too open-endedly so that too many of the technicians and social workers, etc., get an overall view, understand too much, and start asking awkward questions.

To be of any use to the ruling class, knowledge has to be knowledge: it has to work (e.g. advertising research). But in another sense, knowledge has to be lie: by reflecting what is as whatever must be, ideology aims to cut people off from the very possibility of imagining change.

Specialised knowledge as sham

The college is both a purveyor of mystification and a mystification in itself. The trickery takes place whenever one caste (medicine-men or shamans, priests or academics or Party Theoreticians) manages to establish their frame of reference as absolute, and to control the situation and how people define it. The one doing the mystifying stands to gain from persuading the ones being mystified to look up to him and leave chickens outside his hut/pay tithes/pay him a nice fat salary as a Professor.

ALL special knowledge is liable to be a sham. Very often the special people's special theories contain a measure of truth mixed with a measure of ideology or trickery. To make sense of our world, everyone's perceptions stemming from different vantage points and experiences need to DANCE and contradict and fuse and dance some more. At the present a few people from a similar stratum of society (and therefore with similar experiences) take it upon themselves to say what's what, with the result that much of the crazy richness of the world is screened out, and everyone is impoverished. The closed community of scholars, fed by others, needs to become an open-ended social process of creating personal and shared meanings. A process involving everyone, with everyone doing the shitwork.

Smash expertise

Learning is where it's at, learning as part of living, not Institutionalised Teaching as a Separate Activity. We give and we take, we live and we learn and teach each other all the time. One thing necessary to smash alienation and to create a good society is to create a variety of ways of knowing and living and finding out, all recognised as O.K., with the result that the Institutional Uni-versity merges into the Di-versity of life in society, with people who know more about Ancient Greece on a continuum with people who know less. In the same way, you might not yourself know much about rewiring your house, but you might have a friend down the street you could get to do it, or teach you. There should be no reason (such as crap about lacking qualification or brains) why, if you have the time and desire, you can't take the necessary steps to learn about rewiring or Ancient Greece or anything else. The Expert must be abolished as a fixed Specialised Role; instead we shall constitute each others as ad hoc tutors or people who know something about such and such, or fellow learners, etc.

**CAN YOU AFFORD TO TAKE THIS SERIOUSLY?  
PERHAPS, YOU HAVE TOO MUCH INVESTED  
ALREADY? ITS RAMIFICATIONS MIGHT  
SHAKE YOUR WORLD...**

De-institutionalisation is a very long word but a very important one

I receive and I give - such is human life. Each directs and is directed in her turn. Therefore there is no fixed and constant authority, but a continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and above all voluntary authority and subordination.  
  
BAKUNIN, God and the State.

Science as a separate realm existing outside of ordinary life and monopolised by a special caste of people called scientists, should be abolished. Simultaneously, everyone should develop a readiness to experiment with their lives, change things, and reflect critically on the process (which means they've got to have real power over their lives). The college needs to become de-institutionalised to the point of not existing, to the point of all society being becoming an educative experience, and every fellow citizen becoming a potential instructor or trainee or co-learner.

# STUDENT

## The Student's Situation

Students are conned all down the line. Most really believe they're privileged. Most are from the middle class and go to college with a vague idea of becoming "real people" or of "discovering themselves," and end up with a good job with a fat salary at the end. Most of them will refuse to see that the two goals are irreconcilable.

Having left their proud parents behind they arrive at the university or college, confused, excited or frightened - their first step into the Big World. Some of their insecurity vanishes when they settle down - make new friends, get into the routine of going to lectures, etc. But some will remain with them right through their college life, reinforced by annual exams when a portion of their fellows are sacrificed to the God of Standards.

Their degree represents their passport to a comfortable job in the future and a measure of their personal worth. Very few will risk sacrificing it ~~for~~ their political principles, in their search for intellectual enlightenment, or for self - discovery. This Big Fear looms over all student and academic action.

Most people believe that colleges contain a lot of intelligent people having well informed discussions. Students have been processed too much by thirteen years of compulsory schooling of teacher knows best, to voice opinions on broad issues, except in the form of dogmatic statements. (Think about the phrase 'well informed' - it's passive - well FORMED in... and opinions are objects that can be had, given, taken, dropped - they are the bricks of images).

Sometimes there is almost a taboo on intellectual discussions outside of tutorials where one is forced to talk. Other colleges have endless bandying about of theories which are excuses for people to show off their egos. Consequently the taboo is not on intellectual sounding words, but rather on relating these to one's personal life, to action, or to a program to research and test points of disagreement.

SAMANTHA  
AND HER  
BOYFRIEND HAD  
A REAL BALL!  
THEY FOLLOWED  
ALL THE RULES  
IN THE N.U.S.  
HANDBOOK.



## Sex

Another myth is that students are sexually enlightened. Most aren't. Some go steady with one partner, fearful of being left alone, or of letting themselves be exposed to other people. A few get as many screws as possible, without any emotional involvement. Students have as many sexual hangups as the rest of us.

## Clockwork student

Most universities and colleges are 9-5, 5 days a week, 30 weeks a year establishments. Few of them have places open late at night or all night where you can just sit and talk to people over coffee.

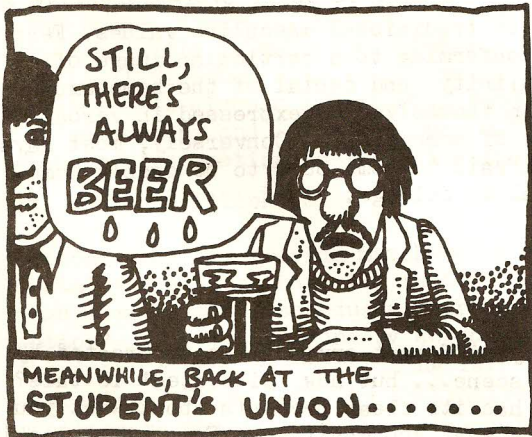
Colleges are completely lacking in community and the veneer of "sociability" often makes the underlying separation more apparent.

With about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the members leaving every year; with a large proportion spending their leisure time away from the college; and further compartmentalized by belonging to different departments - students feel they have little in common. This makes natural relationships difficult so artificial feeling has to be generated by clubs, cliques and societies.

## Cynicism

Insecurity and a corresponding cynicism, (a byproduct of the students own impotent isolation from collective action) lead together to a false subjectivism, in which all viewpoints are regarded as equally good or bad. This subjectivism often goes hand in hand with a superstitious belief in Objective Truth: students devalue each others utterances by saying its all just one person's opinion eg. that the Chinese are happier than the Indians. But if the Academics pronounce on the question - that settles it ... !

Cynicism is also an important byproduct of the liberal academics' detachment in the interests of objectivity - looking at people as if they were objects, as if you were above society, like God. Ultimately, the existence of the liberal college is based on an assumption that denies that there are irreconcilable conflicts in society (eg between the men who waste their lives assembling cars in a production line and those who live off them). It (correctly) assumes that most academics share a set of beliefs and values. Academics, including the "radical" ones, are above all interested in keeping the dialogue going with those who look like they are rejecting the whole system. When they succeed in co-opting people in this way, they maintain talk at the expense of action.



## Debates

All the worst features of the college as an intellectual "community" are revealed in the antics of the Union Debating Society. The aim is to score cheap laughs or points at the expense of your opponent. It is necessary to be able to present both sides of an argument with equal ease (and equal irrelevance). Scoring debating points out of, say, the struggles of the Vietnamese - is OBSCENE.

## Home

Most students fail to become as self-determining as they would like to appear, because they fail to sever the apron strings that tie them to their parents. Working during the vacations (often at low rates, undercutting full time workers or even scabbing, as during the recent Docks Strike) may partially reduce financial dependence, but emotional dependence remains. The student's indebtedness to her parents, together with their hopes for her to "do well", limit the courses of action she sees open to her.

## The Free Life?

Much is made of the amount of "freedom" the student has. However, those towards the bottom of the educational ladder are subject to educational speed-up from ever-increasing work loads and they are surrounded by petty rules and regulations.

At the "better" universities, this is a period where tomorrows rulers are allowed to sow their wild oats/(lay their wild eggs?). Only at the top of the profession or in retirement will the student be able to enjoy so much liesure again. (Or on the dole).

But even here the student is "free" only if she accepts what she is to be made of by the system. Students can think and read what they like, provided they do their thinking and reading in their spare time. But if they start to learn from people directly, communicate radical ideas and try to apply them in practise, they'll be stamped on. Street sellers of political papers are harassed by the police and anyone with long hair on a picket line is liable to be singled out as an 'agitator'. Students who disrupted a Greek Embassy garden house party at Cambridge were dealt with very severely. They were just putting into practise the theoretical opposition of all the academics who are on lots of committees against dictatorship (all equally impotent). Moreover far greater damage is regularly done on 'Bump supper' nights when the upper class rowing 'hearties' run amok.

Of course, we aren't arguing that students are ultra-opressed compared with working class youths who don't have smooth accents and good lawyers. If we are from idealistic middle class backgrounds, it takes a great deal before repressive tolerance is exposed and before we will admit to ourselves that we're wasting our time trying to reform the system.

In short, Academic Freedom means only Freedom to be Academic.

The student's oppression is mainly psychological - as the high suicide and nervous breakdown rates prove. The student's anguish is only a particular form of a general unhappiness and dissatisfaction in society. Others with less time to think about their situation, manage with the help of sleeping tablets, drink or tell. Most importantly the student is faced with a contradiction: the reality of her training for becoming a cog in an impersonal machine which isn't even going anywhere in particular versus the theory that she's supposed to be there to pursue Truth. The student has the choice "what is she going to do with her life?" posed not for a few short months between school and the first job, but for an extended period of three years. Many repress this question until after finals when they suddenly start scrambling for jobs.

### Cliques

The new student makes a number of choices when she arrives at college which result in living a particular style. On finding that it doesn't unravel the secrets of life at all, but hides them in various ways, (eg elaborate over-specialization) the student may accept one of the prepackaged alternatives as sold by the system or by the subculture, eg would be academic, hectic socializer, sportsman, union politician/bureaucrat (this combines social life and political concern with a bit of edge in future job applications). Luckily nobody takes the union bureaucrat too seriously - he can't even hide his irrelevance from himself).

There is another course open to our young student interested in politics (unless of course he wants to remain completely detached from the whole political process, in which case a political science course should suit him best). He can join one of the established political societies, which are much like being a student politico but without so much actual practise in manipulating people, or he can become a Person of Principle, a Left-winger.

### Leftwinger

There are several sorts of Leftwingers, varying in the degree to which they idealise (or denigrate) either the working class or counter culture. The usual student approach is schizophrenic: they both grovel before it as 'only' students, and then through the Party, claim to lead it! Their propaganda competes with the system on its own terms - more electric fridges or hospitals for the people. The straight left in particular tend to conceive of 'the problem' as out there - in Vietnam, with the Blacks, the Gays, the women, the old etc.. rather than involving THEM as these do.

## 57 VARIETIES



ALL UNFIT FOR

HUMAN CONSUMPTION

Most people can sense that the majority of students won't risk their careers, which accounts for part of the cynicism with which political students are regarded when they exhort workers to revolution. (In Newcastle Young Liberals exhorted people not to fill in their census forms and then filled their own in.)

### Rugger-buggers

One of the most important cliques is the rugger bugger set based on the 'ruggah' game and accompanying social life. This consists of heavy drinking, singing vulgar and sexist songs, and a sexist dominating approach to women. The most noticeable thing about the rugger-bugger set, apart from the fact that they always go around in a mob, is their over-aggressive assertion of traditional masculine values. Fear of not conforming to a particular image of masculinity and denial of the homosexual within themselves is expressed in verbal abuse of homosexuals. Conversely, most gays are afraid to come out, to be openly homosexual in college.

### Drugs

A very different environment is created by the dope scene... but how 'liberated' is this? It also has its clear precepts about what you can do and what you can't do. Ever since smoking dope and tripping became at all widespread in England, the argument has gone on about whether it is 'revolutionary' or it isn't. The argument for dope as a radicalising influence is simply that it's illegal, and therefore when people who smoke it get busted they get to realise just what the police are really there for, and their conceptions of 'legality' and 'illegality' are altered. Furthermore, acid has some kind of mind-bending effect anyway, which may open the eyes of the tripper to some of the realities behind the spectacular facade of our modern world. And some people trip with the



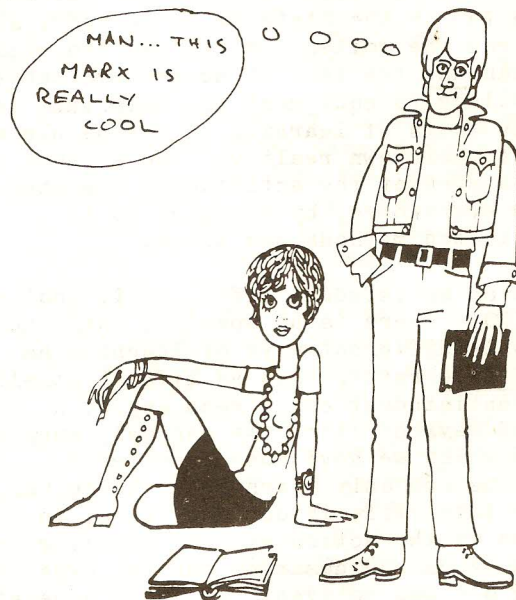
aim of discovering some kind of Nirvana, the abandonment of all roles that tie us to the divided society we live in. But others say you shouldn't try to solve problems with acid - just let it flow.

BUT... alcohol drinking during prohibition in the States didn't really have any radicalising effect, however illegal it was. As long as the drug is the mainstay of a sub-culture, it may be easy for its implications to be 'fenced in', so that they go no further than things that are immediately relevant to the dope-smoking circle. Drugs of any sort can, of course, become just another form of consumerism - knowing the attributes of different kinds of dope (Moroccan, Bush, Afghan, etc.) becomes of the greatest importance - almost more important even than smoking the stuff.

Finally, a lot of people who smoke, trip, etc., only really discriminate between drugs in their experimenting on the basis of health hazards (e.g. speed kills), and don't really question the drugs psychological effect - they just accept it. The latest (very expensive) drug to become at all widely available is cocaine, the POWER drug - Hitler took it, and it gave him a real buzz. A long way from Peace and Love.

### Cool

Some students adopt the role of being mature, worldly wise, cool. This usually involves shacking up with someone, smoking a little dope, wearing trendy clothes, buying underground LPs and perhaps dabbling in trendy left politics a bit. It includes a cynical detachment which is generally regarded in society as a sign of maturity. They are suckers for the hip capitalists and rip-off dope dealers. They buy their image in colour supplements and boutiques.



AND NOW, WHAT YOU'VE BEEN WAITING FOR...

# ANTISTUDENT

Learning belongs to the people: when people learn together, they are living antistudent. When the 'student' rejects her institution, she is in a position to use the material of the college outside its institutional structure. She can reverse the trap. Instead of being caught in an insidious fly-trap, which slowly initiates her into 'acceptable' standards of behaviour and thought (acceptable so far as the State is concerned), she can entrap the college in its own 'tolerance' - she can use the ease of access available in a college to equipment and materials to take the tools of learning to the people who learn of their own reality. The student can become a part of the antistudent learning process everywhere, by bringing to it sophisticated methods and tools.

What is an antistudent life? Is it another role? NO! There is no specific antistudent role, only different ways of learning as part of life rather than as life in itself. Living antistudent could mean any of a thousand ways of life. We can only suggest ones of which we have some experience. Each of us can only learn about ourselves and our total life in our own terms, in relation to the action we take stemming from our own needs and desires, our own experiences and our own motives. We can't separate changing ourselves from changing our world.

THE PROBLEM IS TO LEARN  
WHAT LEARNING IS FOR

## RELATING TO STAFF

Instead of chatting up the right lecturer to help you climb the ladder, talk with the caretaker and typists and canteen-workers and maintenance staff, etc. Maybe you'll

find them more interesting. You should think about sharing out the cleaning and kitchen work to give them more time. Maybe informal discussions will take place. Maybe some of them will want to get you to teach them things such as how they can look up the details of the 'agreements' on rates of pay, conditions of work, etc. Maybe you'll hear from them about last night's tenants' association meeting nearby.

Of course, if there is any question of a threat to jobs because, for example, students are organising their own room cleaning, then support action will be necessary. This needs emphasising because most students are irresponsible in their attitude to university employees. Even in a sit-in, polemics about freedom and justice too often go on while the cleaners are sweeping up the mess. This irresponsibility also shows where left-wing students try to use staff grievances as a good mobilising issue for a sit-in, or do all the organising for the staff.

### Academic lib??

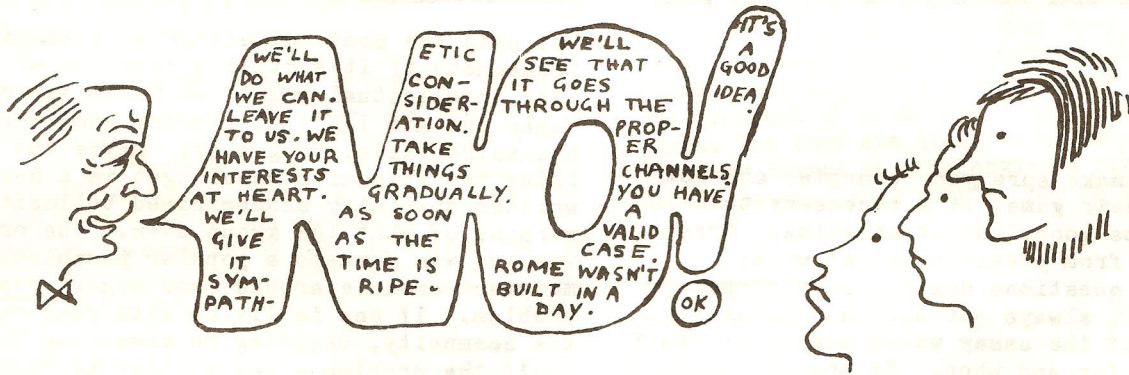
As a general principle, it's important to treat members of the academic staff on a level where possible. The only trouble is - often it's impossible! The thing to remember is that they are trapped in their role and could possibly grow to live anti their role. Only it's even more difficult for members of staff to break with their privileges than for us. Precisely for this reason it may be risky to open up. However some people find themselves feeling inauthentic if they don't 'come out front' and stand up for what they think. Certainly it's true that adopting an unstraight perspective can have its pitfalls such as drifting into illegalism for its own sake, automatic lying, etc., if it is not consciously harnessed to a strategy that emphasises open confrontation and honesty. So lying to academics will be necessary, but it can be a cop-out.



Many academics are boring to talk to, but discussion becomes alive when confrontation takes place and you both discuss how you can go beyond your roles in the situation. Very often this requires breaking an unwritten rule of the situation, for example, physical rearrangement of the chairs in the middle of a 'tutorial', or handing the tutor a reading list for the next week, or bringing along a 'low-status' mate of yours (or a whole gang) to an elite sherry reception. But don't get snared into long conversations with academics who are obviously not interested in changing the way they live. Keep making the discussion concrete - they don't like it! And always bear in mind what sort of situation you are in. Remember your interview to get to college? The interviewer expected you to put on a good (i.e. false) image. He spent the time probing your defences, trying to check whether you were 'higher education material', i.e. critical, but not too critical. Yet he revealed almost nothing about himself. This is the nature of their truth. Honesty is important with your friends, but it's no defence against people who have the power to dictate how you should live.

(including the student revolutionaries) and with the mass structure of the meetings. A better form might be well-publicised ad hoc meetings which have a flexible structure (e.g. breaking up into small groups to discuss rival proposals so everyone's ideas have a chance to emerge). Where a representative council structure exists, direct democracy assemblies are our only choice, assuming we aren't going to get involved in the old lie about 'getting into power' (or 'getting control of the Union'). Or perhaps your friends can't be bothered waiting for a bunch of upstart students to vote on whether they are acceptable or not, and they just force their way in and dance as they please.

In Uruguay the Tupamaros burnt down a dance hall the poor people couldn't afford to get into. On the pavement they painted in big letters 'everyone dances - or no-one dances'.



**FACILITIES**

Colleges have lots of equipment which is exclusively owned and often underused. For example: photocopiers, printing presses, duplicators, projectors, video, cameras, tape recorders, typewriters, postage franking machines, mechanical, electrical, electronic, and chemical laboratories. The point is to make these facilities available to all by hook or by crook.

During the miners' strike, Essex and Oxford students had miners living in college to be near their picketing and to ease the strain on the family budget. But how many students pointed out to the miners that it's not only the college which monopolises resources - often their Union does this too?

Student Union dances are normally closed to non-students. Skinheads causing bovver at the Union entrance are living antistudent. Since the Students Union controls these functions, it is important to campaign politically to get them opened to everyone. The best way to do this may or may not be 'to bring a motion to the next Union General Meeting'. This is often a stale tactic. People are correctly pissed off with U.G.M.s - both with the antics of the debaters

**Stealing**

It is better to campaign with others collectively to open closed libraries than to steal from them. But at the same time, stealing can't be ruled out. There's nothing you can steal from the college that wasn't made by the people and stolen from them in the first place. So don't build up a private collection of ripped-off gear. That's a purely selfish reaction. If you steal, steal things back for the people. And remember, other people in other places of work may have

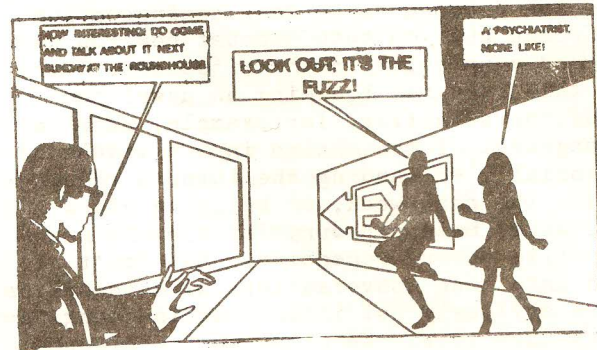


access to things you need. When you steal traceable equipment, it's a good idea to arrange an exchange with a group of people in another town. It's also important to get to know how to repair the equipment. Get to know a cool repair man for one of the duplicator companies who can get you spare parts and teach you how to repair a machine. But if someone does a job for you, then don't exploit them by bribing them with a packet of fags and a sugary smile. If possible, try to establish a proper sharing relationship with them.

## CHEATING

In order to make sure your energies are not sapped in their game, it's necessary to organise some good, honest cheating. Create essay pools from previous years' work: stereotyped questions deserve stereotyped answers. But always jot down anonymously at the bottom of the essay which member of staff it was used for and when. If the set question isn't covered in the essay pool already, leave a copy of your essay in the essay pool for future years. Many people already sign each other in for lectures and do carbon copies of the notes taken for them. Practical notes can be treated in the same way. Get the question to the exam beforehand and (carefully of course) make them widely available - don't use them to compete with. If you have go-away-and-do-them exams, work collectively on the answers. If you are officially told the questions beforehand, but have to do the answers in the exam, write them out on the appropriate paper and smuggle them in.

Cheating is not an end in itself, it just helps you to gain space in your life. Every exam is a cheat against decent learning. But don't just drift into counter-cheating. Take a conscious decision about the political value of a lone pretest action like ripping up your paper in the exam. Take a conscious decision about the political feasibility of organising collective exam refusal in some form or other. Precisely because exams are



so central, actions against them need a high general level of struggle and awareness if they are not to fizzle out. Similarly with essays and projects: at Brunel students and one or two staff ran a collective work campaign. They refused to do work individually, but insisted on handing in their joint product which could be criticised but was no use from the point of view of individual assessment.

## Collective work

But even the most collective work campaign is inadequate if it's still a question of contesting intellectual points with the authorities. Maybe the aim isn't to produce good work for the authorities, to get by. Maybe the only thing the academics should get is a hurriedly written specially academicised bullshit version of what the group does. The original version was perhaps a popular pamphlet or a movement article around some urgent real-life problem. If one is living with real roots in the community, deciding on something to study isn't the problem - the problem is deciding what not to study! How to study it, at what depth, and with whom will likewise depend on your own existential problems, the questions that puzzle you and your various friends, and the difficulties that you and they meet when trying to change things. A continuum of questions will exist from the very concrete ones such as S.S. queries and the estimation of the rate of profits of a local firm, through to more general ones like 'is our Johnny really low I.Q. like they say at school school?' or 'why does the council want to pull my house down?', 'the Labour Party keeps selling us out, why do they do it?' or 'what's all this ecology thing about anyway, how does it affect me?'. Or best of all maybe would be to unite a practical problem with a general question - 'how much would it cost to develop an underground factory for producing simple vacuum syringes for the womens' movement abortion campaign, so that they can set up their own abortion programs, and what are the political implications of doing it ourselves rather than depending on the State/male doctor system?'

But, but, but... some of this may sound a bit like we're pushing work because it's good for you or because it's your duty or some such shit. Work simply means it affects the world, energy finding application. But the energy has to flow freely, it has to come naturally; if you don't feel like it... don't do it! Sacrifice doesn't lead to anything creative or worthwhile. Energy has to come out as play before anything 'works'. 'If you make a revolution... do it for fun!'

### Neither Philistinism nor Academicism

One of the commonest student reactions is that of Philistine rejection of everything that one doesn't understand first time. (This is associated with anxiety from having been pressured to learn at school). Because it's unflattering to our ego to feel ignorant or overwhelmed, we switch off and dismiss what we are reading as 'all irrelevant' or 'not real life' or 'a load of bunkum'. It may well be all of these, but unless we go into it, we can't be sure. Moreover, even if it is, it won't be irrelevant to society. Very little that academics produce is irrelevant, and nearly all general ideas have some indirect impact on people in some way or other. Not only this, but they derive support from the basic social set-up. This means that it's important to fight class ideas in practice, not just in theory. We have to trace connections between apparently remote ivory-tower ideas and people's actual oppressions. Living antistudent means ceasing to think of oneself as acting as a specialised intellectual. It does not mean living unthinkingly or irrationally.

A spin-off from collective work round real problems is the possibility of outpacing the turgid criticisms that the academics will aim at your head. You will find that many academics are paper tigers: their work is based on subtle mistakes in their method of study stemming from their position in society. For example, Psychology produces reactionary ideas reflecting the structure of Psychology Departments and the class structure of the outside world. The link is the method of study which involves a rigid authoritarian role-relationship between the experimenter and the subjects. Instead of sharing the ideas and design of the experiment, so that it becomes a joint project of living experimentally, the subject is treated as a thing, and kept powerless and in the dark.

Research is already going on outside the university. Linking the discoveries of one sector with those of others is a vital step. Hundreds of groups of all kinds are wanting to share what they know and know what you will share.

## TIME

Bourgeois time isn't just a phrase. It's time imposed on you, time which tells you to work a 9 to 5 day, take weekends off, and 3 weeks a year holiday. Often college time has the same basic regularity and inflexibility. Time takes on a new function when it's just part of your own life and your needs, when regularity is just the rhythm that suits you personally and most conveniently fits around the things you do. Let's live around time periods defined by our lives, our bodies, our projects.

Time imposed on you is term-time, only spending a 'special' part of the year at college. Sit-ins peter out as the authorities play for time and the end of term comes by - so the revolution ends for the summer? This is accepting their definition of you. Their time is living for the college and not for yourself. If you don't have roots in a chosen neighbourhood and are not part of it, your understanding of it and your place in it is trivial; the neighbourhood you live in is there all the year round, not just in term-time. If it's to be part of your life, you must take account of its timelessness. This isn't living in a rut, but instead living the changing around you to the full.

The practicalities of this are simple. In fact, if you're on a loose enough course, you needn't even live in the same town as your college. To avoid dependency on your parents or the automatic necessity of taking a vac job, which is often a scab job, it's easy enough to get on Social Security. Join your local Claimants Union. Everyone is entitled to a living income all the time, whatever we do, or don't do. Divisions by trade, industry, rate, sex, skill, education, etc. are all wrong. Equal living incomes follow from the rejection of roles.

## SPACE

So maybe you get together with a few others and get house between you. The trouble is - your pooled income is much higher than many a working family's, and landlords have exploited this to push up their 'fair' rents. Really you're trapped in this situation unless you begin to take direct action to attack its causes. Of course, there's always the rent tribunal, but that course of action will be increasingly useless. In the end, only a rent strike or squatting challenge this situation. Why not start a planned squatting campaign in empty university or college property; when you're at a wealthy university or one that's expanding, you may find that it's holding a lot of houses empty for a long time, perhaps awaiting eventual demolition.

Squatters are going into empty houses in many places because there just isn't anywhere else to live. In quite a few cities, students may be in the same position. Here's a real question, the housing question, that dominates the lives of many people: some of them are getting together to try to answer it through their own activity. As part of their struggle they are finding out about the forces that control housing in our capitalist system - in other words they are learning through their living, they are living antistudent. In Rome and other Italian cities, hundreds of families have been squatting together, organising their own defences and supplies, creches and system of democratic meetings. In areas like Hackney in London, individual squats are increasingly linking up to share energy and things.

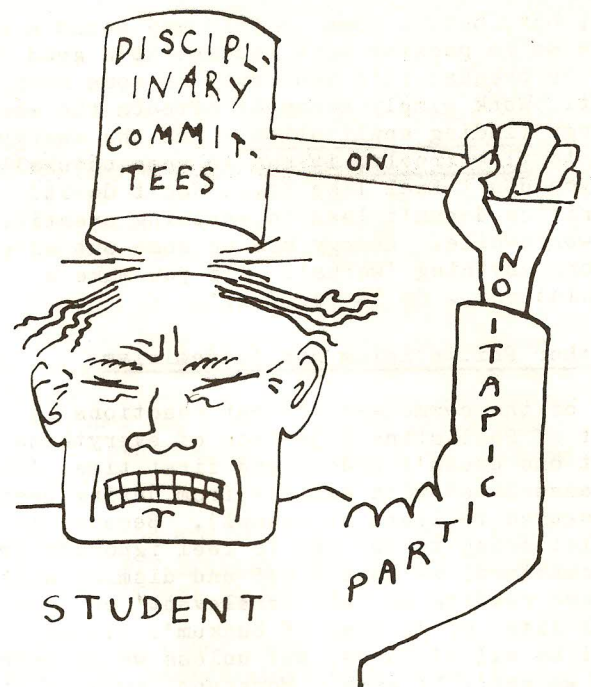
The colleges and straight society want to maintain the student housing problem as separate from the general housing problem: the rulers want to keep students away from the bad influences of 'non-student' elements and to keep non-students away from students. This way we are all more easily controlled and predicted. So let's fight the college's desire to put us into little boxes all on our own. If we do have to live on a campus or in a hall of residence, let's pull out a few walls to make decent-sized rooms for more communal and integrated living patterns. Bring food to lectures and hold teach-ins in the rooms officially for eating. Rearrange the seating, unscrew the seats! If there's a platform, everyone stands on it! In tutorials, if there's a table, everyone sits behind it! Take over a room in the department as a contestation centre and alternative library. Everyone has a common-room, or nobody! Everyone eats at the special tables, or nobody. Challenge the college's space as well as its time.

## How NOT TO LIVE ANTISTUDENT

by an ex-member of the Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation (RSSF)

Some years ago RSSF made a big thing out of intellectual 'contestation'. "Smash Bourgeois Ideology" we cried. Only - we went about it in a very Bourgeois (and male) way. We ran our intellectual contestation in a separate lane from our attempts to change the university internally and both in separate lanes from our Going to the Workers. Each angle was useless without the others.

1) Our Going to the Workers was a waste of time because workers are correctly sceptical of one-way approaches such as leaflets. Those of us who joined a Party sold the Party paper - but this still preserved a one way relationship,



just like Skool and College. Most of all we ignored the university workers. This meant that our intellectual contestation did not derive from two-way contact with those at the receiving end of the university's bourgeois / sexist ideas and elitist structure. The oppressed, precisely because of their oppression were in a position, the position, to tell us a thing or two. (Brecht: 'truth is in the eyes of the poor') Hence, apart from crappy 'low-level' leaflets, our main writing efforts were done for 'educated people'.

2) We talked of collective action at Union meetings, but our intellectual attacks were done on our own not with others in our departments, let alone those outside. This also resulted from our failure to find links between our living and our learning, the Union, Senate and the departments. Our failure to combat class ideas led to a failure to destroy the system's intellectual claims. Because colleges base themselves on their intellectual claims, this meant we had no hope of undermining its general authority. We would have had no hope of getting power over our own lives even if 'Socialism in one College' had been possible and desirable.

We were isolated even from our fellow students in the departments. Hence many of us were really arguing with the academics, and spoke a very academic language. No wonder that this form of 'contestation' against quickly degenerated into arguments within, Left-wing scholarship, with several revolutionaries getting postgrad grants and teaching positions in the system.

3) Our inability to study collectively round real life problems and with our backs to the university had consequences for our 'Democratise the

University' line. Petulance, chronic trendiness and sterility prevailed, together with manipulateness and ego-posturing at mass meetings. We were confused into all sorts of reactionary demands. We complained of 'deteriorating staff/student ratios', instead of rejoicing that there were fewer academics on our backs. We demanded compulsory courses on Marxism. We demanded 'control' of the department instead of freedom to learn and make our own connections through and beyond it. Our blueprints for departmental assemblies never involved the secretaries. The blueprints for Senate control spoke of 50/50 staff-student representation, thus accepting the rigid role structure of the university. We demanded, we did not innovate. We even demanded 'fairer' methods of assessment. No wonder we didn't even force the Vice Chancellor to bring out half the token reforms they had up their sleeves (and still have) for heading off future 'troubles'.

We hadn't read (and couldn't have understood) these words:

**NO REAL LEARNING CAN TAKE PLACE IN THIS SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT CHALLENGE ITS BASIC STRUCTURE**

(To be fair, we also failed for reasons beyond our control such as the state of the economy, the stage reached in the class struggle, and the weakness at that time of the women's movement.)

A revolutionary dilemma

Living anti-student you will be faced with a dilemma. You can try to create symbols of total refusal and creative opposition e.g. stealing the answers and handing them out before an exam. The trouble is that only a few people will see the point and fewer still participate in the action. OR you can join (or try to get going) some kind of action on some issue or other (e.g. 'protest action' for a wider variety of assessment methods). This way a lot of people participate and see the point of the action only maybe the action is pretty pointless.

This is a general problem for libertarian revolutionaries who want total changes yet who also believe in people's self-activity: the things people are moving on seem so piecemeal and reformist, e.g. 'Right to Work' demos. Decisions have to involve a concrete analysis of the social forces in the situation, their history and future. Sometimes it may be true to say that the aims of the struggle are secondary, its the method that counts: do libertarian forms emerge for waging it; do people end up feeling more capable to direct their own lives? If so people are bound to come into more total conflict in time or so the traditional argument goes. This may be true, but in

other situations the limits of the 'demands', the separation of the issues from the totality of everyday life (e.g. work from community from home) may be the very factors which prevent the struggle going forward: because people feel nothing much would change, they feel apathetic, participation is low and the bureaucrats or high status men can keep control and continue to keep the struggle limited on the grounds of political 'realism'.

Where to work

Higher education is just one area for confrontation. There is no good reason why antistudents should just get involved in struggles against the college. In fact its crucial not to be just involved in struggles against the college, or else your struggles against will remain struggles within, mere reformism by direct action. And your building alternatives will become mere mirror images (e.g. switchboards confined to students on campus).

Wherever people are moving, challenging, thinking for themselves, there is an opportunity for learning anti student and helping to push the situation further. There is no instant formula for telling you where you can learn most from people, or where you can teach most to what people. You have to work that out from scratch. But for Christ's sake, don't get trapped into being a 'student revolutionary'.

POWER RESEARCH

Is your college directly involved in helping imperialism? Is it doing secret research for the army? Or perhaps the Sociology department is receiving funds to study a 'serious social problem' like Industrial Theft or Absenteeism - serious for who? What are the links between local business and Senate? Come to that - what is the power structure outside the college? Form a group and suss things out.

But don't imagine that its easy researching up the way. Information control is a fundamental aspect of power. A good model here is the Warwick University sit-in which uncovered a lot of connections and documents whose very existence would normally have been denied. (Ever seen a chapter on direct action in a Textbook of Research Method?) However the way the situation developed demonstrated all the limitations of the student role. All the anxiety was about whether someone's CAREER might be harmed. The facts about company spying on workers meetings were little emphasised and no general attack on information monopoly was mounted.

SIT-INS

Sitins can be politically effective and when they are, they can be valuable learning experiences as

well. We found they shake up people's normal social relationships and new self-organised networks emerged in relation to various projects. For some of us they were the first time living and sleeping and eating had gone on in the same building, let alone politics and loving and learning. Unfortunately traditional left groups are too often allowed to become the new bosses. They've got the heaviest left-wing language and can out-talk people in big meetings. They create demoralisation by working out a line in advance on their own and then going around trying anxiously to 'raise people's consciousness' instead of talking and grooving with everyone and enjoying themselves more. Demands for real change get absorbed into 'realistic' demands for weak objectives, plus a plea for 'no victimisation' - expulsion from the university is as big a threat as capital punishment for most sitters-in. The sitters in become their own spectacle, adopting the outside perspective of the media (reading the newspaper reports of the sit-ins becomes the first important event of the day).

Instead of living their own struggle from their own unfolding experience and collectively developed analysis everyone wants for somebody else to act. Above all, the sit-in will become just another side-show in the student 'scene' if the territory liberated is not made into a base from which to relate in completely new ways to non-students. But this can't happen overnight.

## DEMONSTRATIONS

Demos are part of the student scene. The left-wing student just goes along not knowing really why she's there. She doesn't prepare for it, she goes like an individual tourist, and after she learns no lessons: it's an empty ritual.

Living anti-student means take a critical attitude to demos and being prepared to experiment in this as in other aspects of life. Maybe it's just token action to give people the illusion that they are doing 'something' (like the 'let's do a leaflet/paper' reaction). Maybe some demos are centralised spectacles, and you'd do better freaking out in the local market place. Or if you do decide to go on a demo, work out what the aims should be.

Official processions: Many demos are still straight-line-keep-to-the-pavement affairs with a 'rank and file' being addressed by a 'leadership' at the end: Our thanks are due to the

Chief Constable of Bore-Upon-Hart for making the march possible, and to the Lord Mayor (or Vice Chancellor) for the use of his hall. Its important to try to subvert this static authoritarian structure; to criticise the lecture format only in a college is to remain trapped in the student role and to trap workers in their role through sycophancy: "we're only 'students' and therefore we can't interrupt. It's got to come from the 'workers'". (\* see note on intervention)

During this kind of demo, try to ginger it up a bit, anything to keep people acting more spontaneously; e.g. getting new chants going and encouraging others to invent their own, bringing lots of paper and marker pens to get people to write their own placards, drumming and dancing as you move...

Student lefty demos are often a substitute for action and by their protest basis they reinforce authority (you protest to authority).

Heavy demos on the other hand are when the police treat the demonstrators as a threat and try to 'smash the event. And this happens because the demonstrators are taking themselves seriously, their own collective power to make situations and their own ability to relate to each other flexibly in the street. People are beginning to go to these demos in groups of friends rather than as individuals in a big unstable mass. They think and act for themselves they don't look around to see "where the action is". The demo could have a number of possible targets, and people move swiftly in large groups (composed of small groups), keeping together and linking arms to stop the police grabbing anyone.

Demos merge with propaganda, with happenings and be-ins, with carnivals, with revolution... The people claim their own streets, their own parks..

## Note on Intervention

The whole politics of intervention is a crucial problem to get straight. On the one hand there is the Student Community Action Crap which is often very heavily disguised by talk of "getting people to have more (sic) power over their lives" and even "direct action to make the Authorities listen". This way the system hopes to re-interest the oppressed in those very political structures and methods which their long term class experience has taught them are useless e.g. lobbying Council, "democratising their unions", etc. "Community Activists" too often function as glib middleclass middlemen

**Community action:  
do-gooders or  
revolutionaries?**



with authority. Moreover their presence in meetings invariably has a dampening effect on working class people who are not so articulate. This kind of student action is dangerous. The antistudent will fight it as hard as any Senate connection with local industry.

At the same time there are real problems to be faced and the dangers of false interventionism are severe. Moreover there's a lot of shit to come out between more "educated" people and less "educated"; saying "we are the people really" is too easy.

Let's take a concrete situation; you go to a political meeting with a lot of working class people in the audience. There's an authority relationship between the platform and floor. What do you do? Do nothing and hope that the authority problems will wither away after the revolution? No. Leap up first thing and denounce it? No. The platform will easily be able to mobilise anti student prejudice against you. That is - if you're a student in the eyes of the people there, as apposed to Jean who lives down the road, or John who's in the claimants union, etc. But even if you could succeed, you'd still emerge as a counter-authority, the one who destructured the meeting...

But why the one ? This still betrays a "student" type response, harmful individualism. Why not talk about the problem openly with your friends and sisters and contacts and try with them together to work out a strategy, and together to mount an effective challenge to the dominance of the straight middle-aged white male unionists control-

DEFEND YOURSELVES

Antistudent is antirole, and antirole is very subversive. Subversion weakens the State, so whenever we do anything which is effective, the State will try to smash us - sometimes subtly, sometimes not so subtly. So we have to be security conscious. Don't tell the college where you live. Don't keep an address book, always remember who you're talking to in relation to what you are saying. Phones may be tapped.

Read the Black Book of the Political Police in Britain, read the Agitprop bust book and the N.C.C.L. Handbook of civil liberties.

ling the meeting. Again why in the preceding paragraph did we assume some obvious action had to be done in that meeting? For the student campaigns are shortlived: he has to see some tangible results before the trendy bandwagon rolls on as the end of term comes. For antistudents, this meeting is only one in a long term evolution of consciousness: they will be sensitive to the mood of the others in the meeting. They know that they too have rights, that all participation is intervention in one sense, that they have a right to be present from the prospect of anti-role - not knowing your place. But they are also aware that even such "little" things as challenging a rigid format should be done with people, not on their behalf.

THE COMMUNE : ONE OF MANY POSSIBILITIES

IN DESCHOOLING SOCIETY

Who are you? How do you live with other people, relate to them, learn from and with them? How can we break out from the isolation of the individual student, find support elsewhere than in the hollow shell of a student clique, where the ego is invested in and protected by a standard form of outward appearance? How can we really love and support each other? Can we perhaps develop our learning in the context of living closely with others - is loving learning?

The commune is not a thing in itself, dominating the lives of its members - it was only made by people so that they could satisfy their needs and relate to each other in a loving context. So when it fails to meet a person's needs, she can mount a challenge, move out, do what she

likes, forget about the commune altogether. The people in a commune relate to each other in a web of relations, not to the commune as a whole; there is no such thing as 'The Commune', to which everyone is subordinate. Every group of people living together must know and discuss how open to the outside they are. Influxes of skins, heads, Hells Angels, dessers, etc. are all right when they are expected, prepared for - but they can internally destroy the commune that hasn't previously worked out what to do, whether it can take it. This means people learning about their own possibilities in collective work, and their limitations.

A revolutionary commune can begin to put into practice the ideal of 'from each according to her abilities, to each according to her needs', sharing income, skills, and tasks. Such a commune will be an antistudent commune, not a 'student' commune, so there will be a mix of

people who come from different situations of oppression (university/college, factory, dole, office work, social worker, teacher, house wife).

### A NOTE

## A NOTE TO MEMBERS OF "COMMUNES"

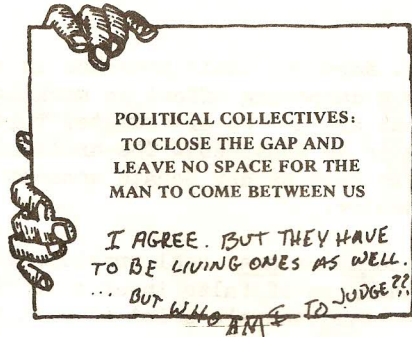
DONT DEFINE YOURSELVES AS  
A COMMUNE - a cultural mind  
entity - and then use it to force  
yourselves into being together.

Assume yourselves separate...  
Violate those who violate you..

... Then, from the fragments,  
if togetherness moments come, they  
are pieced out of the individuality,  
the strengths of each ... AND THEY  
ARE GLORIOUS MOMENTS ..

and then split again

The commune can take many forms, but to be part of a learning experience and experiment it must go beyond the form dictated by economic advantage alone, which is simply to share the things one can save money on in sharing. Efforts to break out of isolation and alienation and to meet the real needs of all the individuals in the commune must at least question such things as the



arrangement of regular person/rooms - each person always sleeping in and living in the same room - and could bring those in a commune so close together that they all live in all the rooms. And what about the age structure? We can only conquer the obsession with our generation, our total identification with people of our own age, by beginning to live and work closely with people of all ages - including old people and kids.

All these things become possible as the people in the commune begin to get together really closely in the sense of relating to each other in every way - in aims, in understanding, in loving, sexually, in working (and this isn't easy - it's a painful, uncertain process to overcome our own conditioning; we constantly make mistakes and we often hurt each other). Learning comes through understanding both what you're directly discovering and what others are learning. Positive collective action should be taken on the basis of learning - understanding the cause for action, the nature of the action, and the social dynamic of the action. This social dynamic is based on the way people relate to each other - the more in tune they are, the more effectively and intuitively they work together.

**MAKE LOVE TOGETHER  
PLAY TOGETHER  
STRUGGLE TOGETHER**

### AGAINST CHAUVINISM

Male chauvinism: the belief in the separate - and inherently superior - role of the male. People are forced into 'male' and 'female' roles right from birth - the adult attitudes that result from this (women only good for housework, having children, etc.) are profoundly sexist.

Metropolitan chauvinism: believing that everything that happens in the metropolis - London - is of special and greater importance.

'Worker' chauvinism: the belief in the separate - and inherently superior - role of the worker, over and above the housewife, the dole collector, the OAP, the student or the unsupported mother; the worker is supposed to be specially important



just because the only role allowed him is at the point of production.

**Age chauvinism:** the attachment of particular roles, of greater or lesser importance in society, to different age groups. Kids treated as non-people to be 'looked after' and otherwise ignored, adolescents as dangerous and irresponsible, the young and middle-ages as the 'backbone of the nation', the old to be looked after again. Other kinds of age chauvinism exist - the ancient tradition of the elders, or, in more recent years, the 'younger generation' as the trendsetters.

All forms of chauvinism are defined by real roles that are exclusive and unequal, and they act as a barrier to learning, to the distribution of skills to everyone, and suggest that only certain groups of people are able to organise themselves. To live antistudent is to reject this chauvinism.

**Sexism** must often be combatted in the revolutionary commune: the differentiation between the hard, political heavies - the MEN - who do all the political stuff, working out strategies, researching, propogandising, and the women who do all the shitwork, cleaning up after the men, looking after the kids. With that kind of role separation, there can be no learning, and no valuable experience.

## CRISIS

Being together and learning together is being able to support one another in crisis. The search for liberation can be a painful process, learning about oneself, other people, and one's real environment can bring out really intense conflicts - leading to a crisis situation, a crisis of identity. The solution to this crisis that is encouraged by the college is to seek 'advice' from their counselling service. In the antistudent alternative we want to substitute our own love and support for the patching up and reconditioning 'counselling' system of the college.

Universities are factories to turn out valuable social machinery - 'trained manpower'. Hells Angels or Woollies salesgirls or apprentices are ten-a-penny and the system doesn't care a shit - low-grade machinery, cheaper to replace than repair. Poly and College students are in between, and these institutions have small counselling departments.



Counsellors never ask 'Why do students crack up?' They never challenge the system. They just want students to patch themselves together, adjust, and go back into the meaningless courses and exam rooms, or lonely bedsits which generated their problems in the first place. But often students need to crack up: the old character structure and rigid beliefs need to break down before we can find ourselves. With a little help from our friends, crisis can be a positive experience - but not if you are isolated and the psychoplice get you and force you back into 'normality'.

In most institutions the Counselling Department is integrated with the Careers Advisory Board - i.e. industrialists like English Electric who doubtless cause not a few psychological troubles (like being napalmed) in Vietnam. These big firms want references to make sure we've been good boys and girls; the most progressive ones want us to have been fashionably naughty up to a point - student leeties can be good executive material. We never see these references. When counsellors encourage us to open out they are like all professionals collecting information on us for other people - double-agents, as Sza calls them. The counselling people make a big mystique out of their qualifications. But the very idea of counselling being a specialised activity would be incomprehensible to people outside such an alienated age culture as ours. The real question is whether we are going to accept our responsibility for each other, and be prepared to drop everything if a friend is cracking up. If a person wants someone from outside their group, then volunteers can make themselves available whom the person with troubles has never seen and need never see again in her life. In other words, let's create our own caring system for when people crack up. But most of all let's revolutionise the shitty structures that crack people up in the first place. That goes for outside the college, not just within. The network of people to turn to should cross and ignore the boundary of who's officially 'in' an institution. This is already happening, as for instance the People's Psychiatry Sheets, and People Not Psychiatry/People Need People.

### THE STUDENT IS SHIT

THE FUNCTION OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IS NOT TO MAKE DEMANDS ON THE UNIVERSITY, BUT TO DESTROY THE EXISTENCE OF THE STUDENT AS A SOCIAL ROLE & AS A CHARACTER STRUCTURE. YOU MUST DESTROY THE STUDENT WITHIN YOU. FOR ONLY THEN CAN THE STRUGGLE BEGIN AGAINST THE INSTITUTIONS & MASTERS WHICH HAVE TRAINED US FOR THE SUBMISSION AND SLAVERY IN WHICH WE NOW PARTICIPATE. OUR GOAL IS NOT TO WIN CONCESSIONS, BUT TO KILL OUR MASTERS & CREATE A LIFE WHICH IS WORTH LIVING.....& IN BRITAIN LIFE IS THE ONE DEMAND THAT CAN'T BE FILLED.



### ANTISTUDENT IS EVERYWHERE

The student who turns antistudent is implicitly challenging other people's non-student roles, and, of course, they may in turn challenge whatever is left of the student in him. This pamphlet is addressed to people receiving a grant from the State for 'study'; but the notion of antistudent is relevant to everybody in society, non-students and ex-students as much as students. The point about antistudent is not that one becomes an antistudent, but that one lives antistudent, or antistudently. What is required is not another role (for example the role of Research Specialist for the people). What matters is to live progressively beyond roles. But to live beyond your role is to challenge other people to live beyond their roles - the anti-researcher is more concerned with the research function as a part of achieving some common political goal, not with being the One to do it. By living antirole, the revolutionary avoids himself confirming the worker or tenant or housewife, for instance, in the role of worker or tenant or housewife.

The steelworker or local government clerical officer is already just as much, if not more, defined in his role as is the student. Unless he resists he is forced into a planned niche in the system - he becomes a cog. He learns little and he represses a lot. The work he does is often useless or dangerous - steel for warships or submarines, made by the steelworker; the local government worker checks out forms for rent rebate - the ruling class takes away huge sums of money from the tenants in the form of rent increases, and then to avoid united opposition it splits them up against one another (divide and rule) by giving some of them a rent rebate, creating a new section of means-tested claimants.

Learning is diffused over the whole of society when every role is examined, exposed, and diffused over many people, when roles and 'jobs' are abolished in work-sharing schemes and

collective learning. Steelmaking isn't a private occupation, it's a social necessity, so let's all decide who for, how, where, and whether it's to be done; and let's all decide which ones of us are going to do it for how much of our lives. If there's shitty work which can't be automated, and volunteers can't be found, then let's develop rota systems on a weekly, monthly, or yearly basis.

When the steelworker uses a library to find out whether he's using the best technique, rather than letting the managers do it for him, or uses laboratory equipment to find out whether he's being poisoned on the factory floor, or uses company researching to find out what the steel he makes is being used for, he's living antistudent - so he's a person who among other things makes steel, he's not just a steelworker.



The student who turns to live antistudent can use his student cover to help the antistudent who is everywhere to infiltrate the college, and to remove material from the college to the community, where it can be used in the process of the people learning about their own lives - after all, the material was made by the people in the first place.

The student who rejects the student roles, and starts to develop an antistudent way of life, has to go further than the most revolutionary Paris students of May '68: they worked with the factory workers in the evenings producing leaflets, talking, learning - but at the factory they accepted the CGT's (communist union's)

segregation of worker and student, the idea that the factory is no business of the student and only 'belongs' to 'the workers', which necessarily excluded them, they thought. The students and workers didn't break down the factory fences, so they didn't break down the University walls either. The students didn't accept the implication that they would have to work in the factories in a good society.

LIVE ANTISTUDENT ALL YOUR LIFE  
LIVE ANTIROLE ALL YOUR LIFE

## SWITCHBOARDS AND LIBRARIES

↓ → AND NEXT PAGE

"Let me give, as an example of what I mean, a description of how an intellectual match might work in New York City. Each man\*, at any given moment and at a minimum price, could identify himself to a computer with his address and telephone number, indicating the book, article, film, or recording on which he seeks a partner for discussion. Within days he could receive by mail a list of others who had recently taken the same initiative. This list would enable him by telephone to arrange for a meeting with persons who initially would be known exclusively by the fact that they requested a dialogue about the same subject.

Matching people according to their interest in a particular title is radically simple. It permits identification only on the basis of mutual desire to discuss a statement recorded by a third person, and it leaves the initiative of arranging the meeting to the individual..."

\* guess what sex Illich is!

"Objection: why not provide match-seekers with incidental assistance that will facilitate their meetings - with space, schedules, screening, and protection? This is now done by schools with all the inefficiency characterising large bureaucracies. If we left the initiative for the meetings to the match-seekers themselves, organisations which nobody now classifies as educational would probably do the job much better..."

"At a first meeting in a coffee shop, say, the partners might establish their identities by placing the book under discussion next to their cups. People who took the initiative to arrange for such meetings would soon learn what items to quote to meet the people they sought. The risk that the self-chosen discussion with one or disappointment, or even unpleasantness is

several strangers might lead to a loss of time, certainly smaller than the same risk taken by a college applicant. A computer-arranged meeting to discuss an article in a national magazine, held in a coffee shop off Fourth Avenue, would obligate none of the participants to stay in the company of his new acquaintances for longer than it took to drink a cup of coffee, nor would he have to meet any of them ever again. The chance that it would help to pierce the opaqueness of life in a modern city and further new friendship, self-chosen work, and critical reading is high..."

"Both the exchange of skills and the matching of partners are based on the assumption that education for all means education by all. Not the drart into a specialised institution but only the mobilisation of the whole population can lead to popular culture. The equal right of each man to exercise his competence to learn and to instruct is now pre-empted by certified teachers. The teachers' competence, in turn, is restricted to what may be done in school..."

"...A radical alternative to a schooled society requires not only new formal mechanisms for the formal acquisition of skills and their educational use. A deschooled society implies a new approach to incidental or informal education.

Incidental education cannot any longer return to the forms which learning took in the village or medieval town..."

"...Effective participation in the politics of a street, a work place, a library, a news program, or a hospital is therefore the best measuring stick to evaluate their level as educational institutions."

IVAN ILLICH, Deschooling Society.

Part of living antistudent is attacking the Knowledge Industry as a Specialised Sector. To do so effectively requires creating anti-universities. But this term is misleading: it suggests a special left-wing university. It would be truer to talk not of an anti-university but of people learning from each other directly, with no barriers or Academic Middlemen. The structural opposite of a university is thus a variety of ways and means of learning in the community, many of them informal, some formal. The means of putting in touch for more formal learning can be provided by a humble file-index, or on a large scale by a computerised Information Retrieval system. The model is that of an automatic switchboard (with no telephonists in power).

Switchboards have already been started in this country. They are practical on various levels from the largest (with millions of potential link-ups between thousands of people) to the very smallest, e.g. free notice boards. The existence of many intermediate scales helps the citizen to understand the Big Scale switchboard or library as nothing special or magic or in any way the equivalent of a university. It is simply a handy collection of tools like a big warehouse full of saws. The same applies to alternative libraries which can exist at commune and neighbourhood levels, right up to the largest ones which people from all over the country may want to use on occasion.

So no more worshipping books as private commodities. Let's lend and borrow and pool. Let's form small groups and subscribe jointly to movement magazines and newsletters. Let's start informed discussion groups and help networks and switchboards and mini-libraries. Because we are into independent self and mutual education, making political networks and personal friends... let's assume that other people are going to be into these things as well... let's assume that if we pool our books and pamphlets and experiences, they may be of interest to other people. And let it all be open... so people can plug in with no pressure, no bar, can browse in the shop front or front room with no obligation to get involved, can begin to turn on without having to leave their mates (by going off to college or joining a Party). And we can drop round on them, give them a hand with their roof, or looking after their kids while they nip into town, see them at work, go to bed with them, get drunk after closing time with them, get them to knock off some wood from work for shelves for our neighbourhood library... if they don't bring it before we ask.

## INSECURITY OF FREEDOM

So living antistudent isn't confined to their time-period imposed on you at college - it goes



on all one's life. Antistudent ways of life are alternative learning experiences for surviving after the grant money runs out - what happens then? Dole for a year, perhaps, or maybe a job. Whatever the social role that a person is under pressure to accept (or go under, or inside) the possibility of twisting back from under remains - jobs selected for their value as cover for getting information out from the institutions of the ruling class, for their 'perk' value (materials stolen, equipment that can be used).

To live this way we're rejecting all the bourgeois forms of 'security'. We're saying that marriage is no solution to personal and sexual needs, buying a house on a mortgage is no solution to having somewhere to live, and



**THIS WAS THE FUNCTION  
OF ALL HIGHER EDUCATION  
- TO INSTIL BOURGEOIS  
VALUE-SYSTEMS**

going into a career with 'prospects' (of death?) is no solution to fulfilling oneself. When we get a job, it's a temporary expedient, another attempt to screw the system and turn its own technology and information back on itself. We're living a kind of underground life, with a series of different covers. Student is just one cover, the first one.

So what security do we have? Only the one that's for real - the security of each other.

# Roots

The basis for living antistudent lies in the individual's relationship to the learning collective, and the roots of the collective lie in its relationship with other collectives and individuals. All these together make up part of a community, the part that is beginning to learn about itself. The collective acts as an example - a demonstration of self-organisation. As individuals relate to the collective and become part of its learning process, they can begin to form their own collectives with their own process of self-discovery.

Of course, the learning collective can have come together through a thousand different combinations of needs, interests, backgrounds, and chance associations. The group of people brought together by the switchboard is one source of a long-term learning collective, which may set out to work on some particular project; the living commune is another. Another again may be a group of people in any one of a number of community groups (tenants' associations, residents' associations, rank and file factory groups, squatters' unions, claimants' unions) who have got together with the intention of finding out about some part of their lives that is important particularly in terms of the organisation they belong to.

All these different kinds of learning collectives can talk to each other, and learn from each other. Because they talk to each other, they are all an integral part of the community, not external to it. When they finally all share their understanding of their lives, and support one another in their efforts in the struggle to throw off the oppression that constricts them all, they are the community.

What is needed is the integration of class struggle ideas and alternative society ideas, but this can only stem from new forms of action on new issues, and this in turn depends on social mixing of the separated social categories. Different positions in society, different routines and ways of life allow the people in the different positions to see different things about life and about their society and develop different qualities. Hence social mixing is social learning. No one type of person within the non-capitalist forces has a monopoly of understanding or ability to fight or imagination to build. Housewives and car-workers and nurses and drop-outs and OAPs and dissident professionals and schoolkids and technicians and claimants all have different strengths and weaknesses stemming from their social situations. All these people fuse directly by living increasingly antirole and not by mobilisation as separate sectors by an external agency.

# STRATEGIC THOUGHTS FOR TAKEOFF

## MODELS OF PHYSICS AND SOCIAL CONTROL

①  
Newtonian Theory conceived the universe as composed of localizable pieces of energy, called particles, moving according to a law of manipulable inertia: so long as no external forces operate on them they will travel in the same direction with the same speed forever and forever. Because this is so, one need only give them a starting position and a starting direction and a starting speed and they will follow the prescribed direction forever, as we said above, and forever.

To change their directions in midflight another law is descriptive: known as the  $f=ma$  law. What it effectively says is that an external force, applicable by various techniques, will change the direction and the speed of the moving particle in a very predeterminable way.

There is a third law of Newton's, the action-reaction law, which essentially says that a set of particles linked together cannot, by internal acting and reacting to each other, change essentially the trajectory of their "center of mass" —the determinable center of the set of particles. What this last law means is that though they may alter positions with respect to one another, within the bounds of their linkage, they will not as a group, seen from the outside, be able to change their determinable future group path by themselves.

This newtonian model of the universe supplied the nineteenth century physical scientists with the philosophical position known as "determinist" by us of the twentieth century.

To convert this to a model of social control is doable with cookbook ease.

1. Put a population inside of a closed system.

(People inside of a national region speaking different languages from their neighbors so that there is little effect caused from the outside,

People inside of a prison where the contact with the outside world is limited by censors, or walls, etc.,

Workers in a workers' community isolated from other styles of living as in Robert Owen's "workers' communities",

②  
The contemporary New Towns, Students living a student life with student passions, student goals, separate from the rest of the surrounding world, Audience in a weekend pop concert.)

2. Give each person a particular role occupation to be in for most of his or her time and where you cannot control specific movements closely, (before and after work, for example) make sure that he or she does not come across things which might disturb role playing the next role playing day. (The public path system—the trains, buses, streets, halls, restaurants—are controlled environments...occupied by advertizements to instill a continuous need for national tokens gained only by working in order to buy all the commodities advertized, ...occupied by "helpful" traffic signs to get you from your place of work and back again with as little contact as possible with others in transit,...occupied by the police and the social workers to keep the public path clean of the bad examples—the nutcases who refuse to work or cut and comb their hair in a particular way, etc.)

The model says : IF CONDITIONS 1 AND 2 ARE SATISFIED, THE SOCIAL SYSTEM WILL CONTINUE IN A PREDETERMINABLE TRAJECTORY FOREVER AND FOREVER. (role players roleplaying in addition to being born, copulating, and dying,—activities totally neutralized in their political effects.)

**OUR CHILDREN ARE BURDENS BECAUSE WE HAVE THEM IN OUR DEFFAT. IN HEROISM WE SHOULD MAKE BABIES.**

However, at certain times certain "legitimate" or "natural" external events happen which change certain mechanical workings of the system,(a fall in demand of english produce in the world market, modernization of particular industries, change in the demand for schoolteachers, blackouts caused by an electric failure or strike), which necesarrily wobbles the social role players' lives involved in the changes. It is at these moments when those in control of the system's built in external levers of power (the state social security system, police system, mass media

**WITH HEROES WE SHOULD GROW BABIES  
WITH HEROES WE SHOULD ACHIEVE OUR DEATH.**

THE COMMON LAW BASIS OF THE LAW OF EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONS IS THE MASTER - SERVANT RELATIONSHIP

system, government system, church and education system) step up their activities in order to insure the more or less orderly transition to a new nonthreatening trajectory for the population of roleplayers inside this changed new system. A couple of bad roleplayers, forced to be bad roleplayers by external events mentioned above, must be prevented from enjoying the status of a bad roleplayer, etc., etc., and from spreading bad roleplaying if they find enjoyment in their new status.

So where is this essay going? Well, along comes a new concept, "the field", in physics which isnt localizable in one point in space but exists throughout space, exists everywhere at once --though at different places with different intensities. But that's alright. Sure a factory worker can think politically and , in fact, act politically. Let's give him the vote, making sure that he believes that voting is acting politically. Let's give him entrance into The Open University making sure that he believes the act of following the one-way flow of feeling and information from an other person, so long as this other person is called a professor, is playing another role of a university student. What we are describing now is the miraculous transformation of the single roleplaying social particle to the multiroleplaying social field. You, now , in this modern world, are a social field; you can and indeed are anything: student, worker, worldtraveller (in a packaged tour), .. Yes sirreeeee. This twentieth century has really progressed over the nineteenth. Your father's father was only able to be a worker. Now you are, (in addition to being a worker), everything else. So long as you buy these new roles as a commodity or have it given to you by a respectable in the course of his good roleplaying activity, then its alright.. and the system's stability is not in danger. Playing straight with straight roleplaying persons allows the social controllers the ability to intervene very quickly and very effectively into the event world if things begin to get out of hand. So now you see that a theory of social control over a population of signle roleplayers is extendable to a more complex system wherein the population has "democratic" access to playing all roles at once-- multiroleplayers, fields...

so long as all the social roles available are pinned down in their style of enactments through formal linkages with respectables. This is called Freedom Within Limits or a Liberal Utopia or mystification or...

NEVER AGAIN FILL IN "INNOCUOUS" QUESTIONNAIRES

NATION-STATE. UNLINED COMMANDS ARE THE BASIS OF THE LAW OF EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONS. Proliferate. Pacify. We need more conflict masters.

Now we pop to the most recent stage of a modern physical model of the universe. This notion of a field mates with the newest of the physical models, Probabilistic Quantum Theory , to get us the following: though it is improbable that a son of a clerk be a member of the cabinet (this is a role that has only a finite number of places to fill generally reserved for Etonians and such special breeds), improbability does not mean impossibility. Thus everybody could be anything. Anyway let him be because he will be surrounded by Etonians and would have to become of necessity more Etonian than the Etonians.... Its getting late.

THE STRATEGIC QUESTION FOR US NOW

So how can we break this social control of us using the model of modern physical theory as a theoretical aid? How can we turn the instrument against its present use?

"Everybody could be anything" is not perfectly true. In Newtonian physics as well as in Quantum Physics, the possible locations of the physical entities--the geometry in which they exist-- are known and coordinatizable, (labelizable). A "student" is not a vague description. It is assumed total. It assumes known the passions of a student. What carrots will reward and what whips will hurt vary from role to role, from social location to social location. In all models of physics that are now and ever will be, the assumption that the geometry is known; the possible social roles are known enough to develop a manipulative force upon an entity anywhere located within. The physicists' credo is, "Just tell me where it is and I will develop a force mechanism to push it anywhere you prescribe." The social controllers' credo is identical: "Just give me enough information about a person or a system, give me its social labels, its social roles, its passions, and I will develop a social force mechanism to change its social behaviour in anyway you prescribe."

KNOWLEDGE. THEY WANT KNOWLEDGE ABOUT US. They want us to slow down enough or travel in the knowable grooves (and they dont care if it is "revolutionary" or this or that) for they have the Bureaucrats' faith that any problem, so long as it is known in time, is solvable. Join the Communist Party and we can contain you. Join the Dash Party...so long as it is knowable. Dash and we can control you in the critical times.

NEVER AGAIN FILL IN "INNOCUOUS" QUESTIONNAIRES

And now to finish with a flourish. What is an antirole?

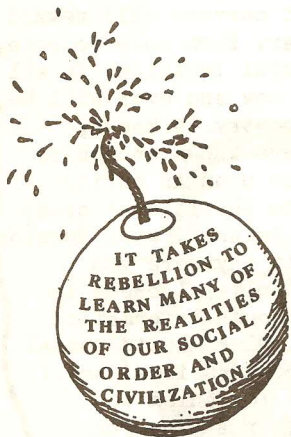
A role that is not a role. It has no theoretical encapsolability. It discovers itself. It is not describable from a predetermined framework called a coordinate system which social planners need. It is a person marrying himself to an adventure. To get fired from the work roles that are the standards of the societal offerings is probably usual for this antirole because he refuses to take as sacred his linkages with the respectable people who think they have a monopoly over all with whom they are in contact.

To do allways the unexpected. To rezzledazzle the straight role players so they lose contact with you. To not act for security knowing

**ANY "REVOLUTIONARY" WHO PUBLISHES IN THE STRAIGHT PRESS, SHOWS HIMSELF ON T.V., LECTURES ON RADIO GIVES ENERGY, EXCITEMENT TO THE HOLLOW WORLD. LET IT DIE IN ITS OWN BOREDOM!**

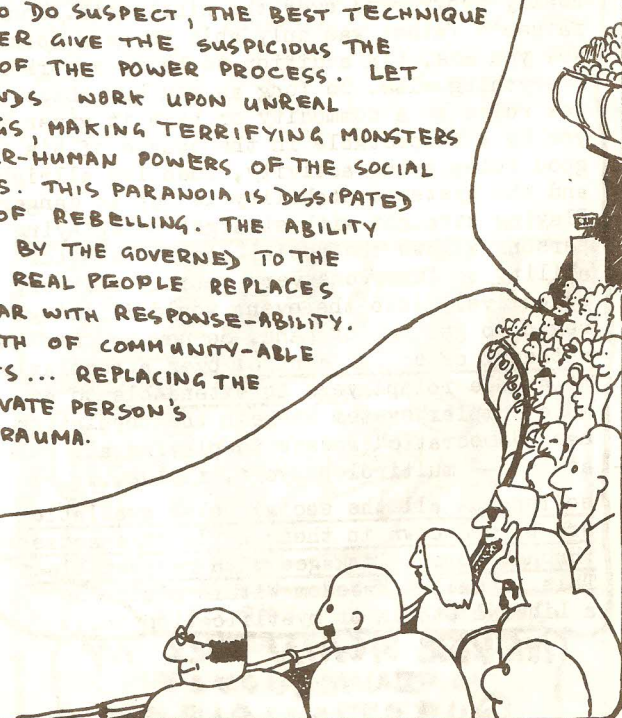
6  
that the fears are instilled by the social controllers. But most of all to decide where you want to be and being there because you dreamt of being there... and you follow your dreams.

If you play an antirole youll find there are others too... because the antirole scene is socially off the ground and begginningg to soarr... leaving the hollow and frightened playing their classic dull, manipulable roles. WE'RE ON A WAYOUT TRIP. FLY INTO US.



IT TAKES REBELLION TO LEARN MANY OF THE REALITIES OF OUR SOCIAL ORDER AND CIVILIZATION

THE ACT OF REBELLING IS THE ACT OF CREATING A REAL STAGE UPON WHICH REAL PERSONS, BEFORE HIDDEN, ARE FORCED TO TAKE REAL ROLES OF SOCIAL CONTROL BEFORE OUR EYES. THESE SOCIAL CONTROLLERS WERE ALWAYS PRESENT AND ALWAYS ACTING, BUT PLAYING THEIR ROLES INVISIBLY, THROUGH RESPECTABLE SUITS, SMILES, AND DINNER PARTIES. THE ROLE OF CONTROLLING OTHERS IS BEST DONE WHEN NO-ONE BELIEVES THAT SOCIAL CONTROLLERS EXIST! TO CONTROL THOSE WHO DO SUSPECT, THE BEST TECHNIQUE IS TO NEVER GIVE THE SUSPICIOUS THE REALITY OF THE POWER PROCESS. LET THEIR MINDS WORK UPON UNREAL IMAGININGS, MAKING TERRIFYING MONSTERS WITH SUPER-HUMAN POWERS OF THE SOCIAL CONTROLLERS. THIS PARANOIA IS DESIPATED BY THE ACT OF REBELLING. THE ABILITY TO RESPOND BY THE GOVERNE) TO THE REAL ACTS OF REAL PEOPLE REPLACES TERRIFYING FEAR WITH RESPONSE-ABILITY. ONGOING GROWTH OF COMMUNITY-ABLE PEOPLE RESULTS... REPLACING THE STIFLED, PRIVATE PERSON'S FEARS OF TRAUMA.





# A WORD IN YOUR EAR...

BEFORE YOU LOOK AT THE INFORMATION SECTION,  
READ THIS!

Take a look at our booklist! It lists 8 Penguin books... we're thinking that maybe that's a disaster. We put them in because right now there's no other way you can get to read the material. But we still have to ask ourselves - why do radical authors publish through Penguins? What exactly do Penguin Books think they're about, publishing these books in the first place, so contradictory to their whole ideology - and what do the Penguin editors think they're about? And why aren't these books published on movement presses like this pamphlet?

We know who the radical 'Penguin' authors are - but who are the Penguin editors? The senior editor responsible for many of these books is Neil Middleton, who places his politics close to those of the International Marxist Group, the Trotskyist group which spends a great deal of energy on recruiting for itself a student base. Perhaps his justification for his position in the straight publishing world is the familiar one used by many authors and editors of Penguin's left books - Penguins are cheap, mass-circulation pamphlets with attractive covers - and if there's profit in left-wing books, well isn't that a genuine 'contradiction' of the system which makes short-term private profit at the expense of cutting its own long-term throat? Some of the rulers' own reactionary wing see Penguins as subversive, just as they think the B.B.C. is run by Pinkos and queers. Encounter, house-mag for CIA intellectuals, has called Penguins "that residual legatee of the Left Book Club". Even within Penguins itself, especially at the point of take-over by Pearson/Longmans, there was a reaction which prevented publication of Rubin's Do It, jeopardised The minimanual of the Urban Guerilla, and may still be threatening Charlie Mingus' Autobiography. Doesn't this all mean that Penguin, which with its retailer Smiths dominates the market, though a monopoly firm, though a member of the same industrial group as the Financial Times (the Cowdray Group), though directed by such as Lord Boyle (ex Tory minister for education) - that this same Penguin Books, by a unique miracle is a gift to revolutionary socialism?

No. Penguins appear radical but are not: their radical appearance is the precise way in which

they play a reactionary role. Individuals who work in and for Penguins appear to themselves to be subversive, liberal-pluralist, educationalist, or simply profit-makers for the shareholders, but they are not: their various illusions are the precise ways in which they play a reactionary political role.

The letter reproduced on the opposite page may seem innocuous - maybe well-intentioned, and certainly flattering. But just look at what's implied. To start with, "local people" apparently means Big Names - left-wing MPs, a sprinkle of alternative Big Names (perhaps even Richard Neville), and now he wants someone from the women's movement, perhaps Juliet Mitchell... oh, if only Sheila Rowbotham were available. So this hopeful Penguin author thinks to create our heroes for us. This leads into his soggy ideas of "alternatives or liberation", which seems to include Labour MPs. What he actually wants to do is to 'provide a voice' for these sections of the left, allow them "adequate representation" (to use his own words), presumably as 'people who have something useful to say'. But in fact what's all this representation about? It just means that while we have the freedom to say a few things (as long as we say them through the channels determined by companies like Penguin), other people, higher up, over whom we have no control, still make the decisions... but we've 'participated', we've been 'consulted'.

But the point around which the letter really revolves is the authors immediate reference to Penguins, "who have expressed interest", as a way of getting across to a large readership. What sort of readership, how will they read it, what sort of context will they buy it in (W.H.Smiths, perhaps), what will they do when they've read it? We can do no more here than suggest some of the ways in which trying to 'use' Penguins could be a very dangerous game: a whole pamphlet should be written, with all the necessary factual matter, on the straight publishers and why the time has come for entirely independent forms of distribution in the left movement.

Penguins have merely discussed the world in various ways: the point is to change it. The revolution requires study, but cannot be

# The Institute of Race Relations

36 Jermyn Street London SW1  
 TELEPHONE: 01-734 4602/7

13 Sept 1972

Dear [REDACTED]

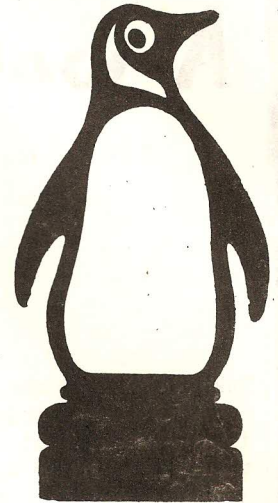
I suppose you recall meeting me at the Liberation conference last November, I believe. I am returning to the states in several weeks and as one of my last British projects I am putting together a volume of tape recorded discussions between myself and a number of local people who are pursuing or at least thinking about alternatives or liberation. I would very much like to have you do this with me.

The idea of this is to attempt to communicate some of the experience of those, like yourself, who are trying or thinking about alternatives to the establishment or to the culture sytme. I would hope for a large readership and have contacted Penguins, who have expressed interest.

The tapes are free-associational and informal general discussions in which the person talks about some of the Past (some autobiography, if desired), what is happening now and something of a projection into the future. I very much want to get an adequate representation of the women's movement. The range of people goes from left-wing MPs to the freak scene.

If you are unable to do this, could you suggest another person. How about Juliet Mitchell? Sheila Rowbotham is not available. I am leaving England for the States on 1st October and I would like to get most of this finished before then. Could you ring me and let me know how you feel about it? I'm at home most of the time. Number - 373-2071. Looking forward to hearing from you.

*Bob Inast*



reduced to it. They specialise in detaching ideas from the real conflicts which have generated them, from people's own efforts to understand what they need of the world. They package and return us stifled in footnotes and with the authority of their typography and their approval, but lacking all engagement in the struggle which was originally important. We can slip into a bookshop, and without talking to

anyone about the book, without meeting those who wrote and made it, without any comment, without any commitment, without their even giving us the address of those with whom we could continue what the book is about, we can leave with the glossy commodity, place it on our shelf where its subversive title together with the poster next to it helps us feel we are the sort of people the student sub-culture makes us feel we ought to

feel we should want to be, and there we can leave our Penguin, its smooth back uncrinkled by reading, and our minds undisturbed by the messy, risky, unfamiliar conflicts over which the book is our magical protection... and this is just as true of people within the movement. We are made to think that the thinking has been done, or at least that if we are to contribute to the 'debate' we must first buy and study these approved statements of the truth about our politics. Those the press and publishers select as our spokesmen, we accept as our representatives, our heroes and heroines too. Their big names are our passivity. They seem to know what they think, they are altogether more worked out, more learned and sophisticated, complete and articulate than ourselves. They argue cogently enough for the academic and publishing world to take notice, so who are we...? Consumers, students, the inarticulate, the represented.

Penguins are not useless to us: that's the trouble - we are at the moment dependent on them for much necessary material. But so long as it is Penguins who are bestowing this on us (not that they're any longer even cheap), we stand in a false relation to the ideas of our own movement and we are relying on their packages instead of building our own political education programmes in which knowledge is part of a practical struggle where we discover who we are by together attempting to understand and change the world. The technology for this - the cheap printing presses, etc. - exists, but so long as we grant Penguins the monopoly, we are accepting even what is useful in them at the cost of distorting our own nature as a political movement in which all participate in the creation and use of ideas.

And while we use Penguins, we are being used. We are supplying information about ourselves to the counter-insurgency, not just in the narrow sense of the political police, but also in the general weakening of our ability to surprise and challenge the culture. It does not matter for this purpose that the information is distorted in the ways we have mentioned: it does not have to be accurate

or rich in content to serve the function of restoring the confidence of the ruling culture in its time of crisis. The ruling culture is exhausted, but in supplying it with our radical texts we disguise this fact, we make it seem still original and creative, still able to comprehend the world, still entitled to rule by its intelligence, and hence we actually give it support in its hour of need. Under cover of seeking new commodities and new markets, Penguins rip off our life in this way. They are commissioning a whole series of 'radical' studies books, with their eye on rewriting the textbooks for ten years time (a project in which they fear the competition of Fontana). Insofar as they have conscious political motives, these are reformist: for example, their education man Richard Mabey has edited a book on class, class 'prejudice', and so forth, in which he suggests that the answer is like that for race - 'integration'. But the real reason why Penguin books do not take part in class conflict is that commercial textbooks and active political ideas are two different things, whatever they put on the cover. We are only just working out the differences, just as we are only just discovering the differences between educational knowledge and the knowledge which is a weapon in political liberation. And we are only just beginning to build independent and active means of political education. But one thing that we believe is now clear is that we must be in charge of our own publishing.

That means: free ourselves from the vanity which is flattered by the chance of official publication (just as we have to kick our dependence on educational success), and from intimidation by media-made gurus who are still feeding the dead culture. We will no doubt have to buy the ever-more-expensive Penguins for as long as we lack our own sources, but we must build our own presses and write for them - everyone, no matter whether they would be accepted by Penguins, for we will evaluate our own experience and judge ideas in the context of our own actions.

# info

Here's some information that you might find useful:

## MOVEMENT ORGANISATIONS

### 1. Community

Action Centre, 40 Hall Rd., Handsworth,  
Birmingham 20  
ARK (info/help), 43 Long Brook St., Exeter,  
Devon  
Aberdeen Workshop, 6b Powis Square, Aberdeen  
Community Advice, 31 Commercial Rd., Portsmouth  
Outsider, 9 Leonard St., Hull

### 2. Industry

Big Flame - a group that has a wider view of  
industry than most - 78 Clarendon Rd.,  
Wallasey, Cheshire  
Solidarity - concerned with a total critique  
of modern society - there are groups in:  
London, 27 Sandringham Rd., NW11  
Clydeside, D. Kane, 43 Valeview Terrace,  
Dumbarton  
Dundee, F. Browne, 1st Floor, 42 Baldoon  
Terrace, Dundee  
Northwest, C. Clark, 23 Tame Walk, Colshaw  
Drive, Wilmslow, Cheshire  
Oxford, 4 St. Barnabas Street  
Swansea, 16 Heatherslade Close, Oystermouth  
International Socialism, 6 Cotton Gardens,  
London E2  
International Marxist Group, 182 Pentonville  
Road, London N1

### 3. Claimants Unions

(This is just a few of the CU addresses -  
write to the nearest one)

Edinburgh, 8 Hillside St., Edinburgh 7  
Durham, 13 Silver St., Durham  
Bradford, 149 Little Horton Lane, Bradford 5  
South Manchester, Nello James Centre, Withington  
Rd., Moss Side, M/C 16  
Sheffield, 7 Bannon St.  
Birmingham, 34 Pershore Tower, Lower Beeches  
Road, Northfield.  
Rugby, 75 Freemantle Road.  
Norwich, 12 Harwood Road, Cooper Lane East  
London (north), 18 Ashbrook Rd., N19  
(east), Dame Collet House, Ben Johnson  
Road, E1  
Cardiff, 58 Charles Street  
Bristol, 10 Whatley Road, Bristol 8

### 4. Women's groups

Women's Liberation Workshop, 3 Shaver Place,  
Haymarket, London SW1 (tel. 01 839 3918).  
They can put you in touch with any of the  
London groups.

Leicester Womens Lib Groups, 10 Evington  
Valley Road, Leicester. The Leicester  
Group have an address list of all British  
groups which they will mail you for 10p.

But here's a few other addresses to be going on  
with:  
Scotland, 48 Court St., Haddington, East Lothia  
Northeast, 44 Old, Evet, Durham  
Northwest, flat 2, 95 Salisbury Rd., Liverpool  
Yorkshire, 71 St. Annes Lane, Leeds 4  
Midlands, 65 Prospect Rd., Birmingham 13  
East Anglia and Essex, 8 Anglesea Rd.,  
Wivenhoe, Colchester

### 5. Gay people

Gay Liberation Front, 5 Caledonia Rd., London N1  
Campaign for Homosexual Equality, 62 Highlands  
Court, Highlands Rd., London SE19  
Gay Womens Lib, every Monday evening, Crown and  
Woolpack, 394 St. John's Street, London EC1

### 6. Black people

Black Liberation Front, 54 Wightman Road,  
London N4  
Black Panthers, 38 Shakespeare Rd., London SE24  
Black Unity and Freedom Party, 31 Belgrade Rd.,  
London N16, or 11 Gradwell Walk, Hulme  
Manchester 14  
Black Panthers, 37 Tollington Park, London N4  
Black Workers League, 27 Charles Square,  
London W10

### 7. Kids

Libertarian Teachers' Association, 22 Royal  
Road, Ramsgate Kent, or 1 Wilne St. Leicester  
Schools Action Union, 75a Acre Lane, London SW2  
Brain Damage, Journal of School Revolt around  
Oxford, from 36 Temple St., Oxford  
Y-Front, 193 North Gower St., London NW1

## COMMUNITY/LOCAL PAPERS

Brixton's Own Boss, 138 Mayall Rd., London SE24  
Cambridge Voice, 147 Chesterton Rd., Cambridge  
Cardiff People's Paper, 18 Marion St., Splott,  
Cardiff  
Harringay Free Press, 137 Mountview Rd.,  
London N4  
Liverpool Free Press, 24 Wapping, Liverpool 1  
Manchester Free Press, 45 Aspinall St., M/C 14  
Mole Express, 7 Summer Terrace, Rusholme,  
Manchester 14  
RAP, 230 Spotland Road, Rochdale  
Hackney Gutter Press, c/o 34 Dalston Lane,  
London E8  
Islington Gutter Press, 11 Hemingford Rd.,  
London N1

GENERAL INFORMATION

BIT, 141, Westbourne Park Rd., London W11  
 Cleveland Wrecking Yard, 175 Newcastle St.,  
 Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent.  
 East, 270 Barking Rd, London E6 01-476-2276  
 Help, 20 Lawrence St., Stockton-on-Tees 0642-  
 666667  
 Leeds LIP, 153a, Woodhouse Lane, 0532-39071x57  
 LINK, 24 Hastings St, Leicester.  
 Output, c/o Bath Arts Workshop, The Organ Factory  
 Cleveland Cottages, Bath. 0225-63717  
 Ohm, 5 Beacon Terr., Camborne, Cornwall  
 RIB, 58, Charle's St, Cardiff. 0222-44441  
 Search, 93, Abingdon St, Blackpool  
 don't forget Agitprop, 248 Bethnal Green Rd.,  
 London E2 - whose amazing Directory of Organ-  
 isations (10p) supplied most of this info.

MOVEMENT PRINTING PRESSES

Crest Press, 154 Ladbrooke Grove, London W10  
 Falling Wall Press, 79 Richmond Rd.,  
 Montpellier, Bristol 8  
 Moss Side Press, Nello James Centre, 136  
 Withington Rd., Manchester 16  
 Star Communications, 54 Westow St., Crystal  
 Palace, London, SE19 (tel. 01 771 9581)  
 Rank and File Workshop, 31 Primrose Hill St.,  
 Coventry  
 Outsider, 9 Leonard Street, Hull

SELF DEFENCE

Bust Book, from Agitprop  
 Arrest, from the NCCL  
 Black Book of the Political Police in  
 Britain, a PIG publication, from Agitprop.  
 Ade (info/help), 90a London St., Reading  
 Fulham Legal Advice, 510 Fulham Rd., London SW6  
 National Council for Civil Liberties, 152 Camden  
 High Street, London NW1  
 Release, 1 Elgin Avenue, London W9 (tel 01-  
 289 1123)

BOOKSHOPS

Anarchist Bookshop, 153 Woodhouse Ln., Leeds 2  
 Bellman Books, 155 Fortess Rd., London NW5  
 Black Flag, 1 Wilne St., Leicester  
 Books, 84, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2  
 Bogus, 21, Princess Ave, Hull.  
 Books and Things, 6 Penryn St., Redruth, Cornwall  
 Centreprise, 34 Dalston Lane, London E8  
 Central Books, 37 Grays Inn Rd., London WC1  
 Compendium, 240, Camden High St., London NW1  
 Emporium, 3 New Bridge St., Exeter.  
 Freedom Bookshop, 84b, Whitechapel High St., E1

Grassroots, 271 Upper Brook St, Manchester.  
 I.S. Books, 6 Cotton Gds., London E1  
 Irish Democrat Book Centre, 283 Grays Inn Rd.,  
 London WC1  
 Key Books, 25, Essex St, Birmingham.  
 McGill's Books, 107 Goldhawk Rd., London W12  
 New Beacon Books., 2 Albert Rd, London N4  
 Paul's Books. 230 High St., Barnet  
 Public House, 21 Little Preston St., Brighton.  
 Red Books, 182 Pentonville Rd., London N1  
 Spice Island, 30 Osborne Rd., Southsea, Hants  
 Stop y Triban, Windham Arcade, Cardiff.  
 Ultima Thule, Arcadia, Percy St, Newcastle/Tyne.  
 The Other Branch, 7 Regent Pl. Leamington Spa.  
 Unicorn Bookshop, 50 Gloucester Rd., Brighton.  
 Unity Bookshop, 180 Crooksmore Rd., Sheffield 10  
 Wigan Books, 43 Darlington St., Wigan  
 Workshop Books, 30 Primrose Hill St., Coventry

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

Arse: revolutionary architects. 10 Chalet St.,  
 London NW1  
 Anarchy: 20p from Agitprop  
 Black Liberator  
 Black and Red Outlook: anarchist syndicalist.  
 10p from 116 Gilda Brook Rd., Eccles, Lancs  
 Catonsville Roadrunner: revolutionary Christians  
 65p for 6 from 28 Brundretts Rd., Manchester 21  
 Case-Con: radical social workers. 35p for 4  
 issues from Basement Flat, 110 Landsdowne  
 Way, London SW8  
 Community Action: 15p from 9 Pattison Rd.,  
 London NW2  
 Communes: 20p from Sarah Eno, 12 Mill Road,  
 Cambridge  
 Confrontation: free but send contribution if  
 you possibly can to 63a Brick Lane, London SW1  
 Freedom: 10 issues for 50p from Freedom  
 Press, 84b Whitechapel High St., Angel Alley,  
 London E1  
 Hard Cheese: a journal of education, coming  
 soon, contact Ed Bowan, 95 Shootes Hill Rd.,  
 London SE3  
 Inside Story: 25p from 3 Belmont Rd.,  
 London SW4  
 Kids - 15p from Children's Rights' Publications Ltd  
 Box 70, 5 Stewart's Grove, London SW3  
 Libertarian Teacher: 20p from 1 Wilne St.,  
 Leicester  
 Peace News: pacifist. 7 weeks for 50p from  
 5 Caledonian Rd., London N1  
 Radical Philosophy: 35p from R.J.Norman,  
 Darwin College, The University, Canterbury,  
 Kent  
 Radical Therapist  
 Radical America: 5 dollars a year from 1878  
 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass 02140 USA  
 Red Rat: 15p from Essendine Mansions, Essendine  
 Rd., London W9

Real Time: 10p from Computers for People, 9 Poland St., London W1V 3D9  
 Solidarity: 10p from Solidarity (London), c/o 27 Sandringham Rd., London NW11  
 Undercurrents: in science and technology, 25p from Undercurrents Partnership, 34 Chomley Gardens, Alfred Rd., London NW6

#### Womens Lib:

Enough: c/o 32 Royal York Crescent, Bristol  
 Shrew: 3 Shavers Place, Haymarket, London  
 Spare Rib: 9 Newburgh St., London W1A 4X6  
 Off our backs: 134C Conneticut Ave., NW, room 1013, Washington DC, 200 36, USA  
 No more fun and games: a journal of female liberation. 1 dollar from cell 16, 16 Lexington Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 62138, USA (or from Agitprop)

#### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

There follows a list of books and pamphlets that we have found useful/enjoyed reading. Most of them can be obtained either from Agitprop (248 Bethnal Green Rd., London) or Compendium (240 Camden High St., London NW1).

#### (a) General

Marx - Early writings, ed. T. Bottomore; Penguin general selection of Marx, ed. Bottomore and Rubel  
 Raoul Vaneigem - The revolution of everyday life, parts 1 and 2; The totality for kids  
 Alfred Willener - The action image of society (on culture and libertarian politics in May 1968 - contains basic intro to Situationist and anarchist ideas). Tavistock, £1.75  
 Murray Bookchin - Post-scarcity anarchism (contains superb essays on ecology and liberatory technology, and the polemic 'Listen Marxist'). Ramparts, £1.50  
 Mitchell Goodman (ed) - The movement towards a new America (attempt at summing up all aspects of the U.S. movement). £3.50  
 Shulamith Firestone - The dialectics of sex. Paladin 50p (general radical feminist work)

#### (b) Imperialism and State Capitalism

Felix Greene - The Enemy (by far the best introduction) 95p. Vintage Book 457 or else Cape £2.50.  
 Andre G. Frank - The sociology of Underdevelopment and the Underdevelopment of Sociology. Pluto Press. 20p.  
 Baran and Sweezy - Monopoly Capital Penguin 45p.  
 Michael Kidron - Western Capital Since The War. Penguin 30p.

Robin Blackburn (ed.) The Incompatibles Penguin (weak on unions though)  
 Glyn and Sutcliffe - British Capitalism, Workers and the profit Squeeze. Penguin Special.  
 Kuron and Modzelewski - Letter from a Polish Prison (Marxist Analysis of Eastern Block countries) I.S. Books 20p.  
 Paul Cardan - Modern Capitalism and Revolution. Solidarity 20p. (concentrates on bureaucratic contradictions)

#### (c) Industrial Struggle and Self-Management

##### Russia:

M. Brinton - The Bolsheviks and Workers Control (exposes double-talk) Solidarity 25p.  
 Voline - The unknown Revolution and 1917 (anarchist account of the Russian Revolution)  
 Kronstadt - Ida Mett. Solidarity, 20p. (Trotsky and the Bolsheviks murder a town)

##### Britain:

Strategy for Industrial Struggle. Solidarity 10p. (the libertarian implications for a whole series of tactics)  
 Fisher-Bendix - Solidarity 15p  
 Lessons of the Postal Workers Strike. Big Flame 10p (weak conclusion for action)  
 Jim Amison The Million Pound Strike. Laurence and Wishart 40p (good on practicalities of strike, weak on politics)  
 T. Cliffe - The Employers Offensive. Pluto Books 30p.

##### Italy:

1969/70 - Exciting new tactics, new level of struggle. Big Flame 20p

#### (d) De-Schooling

Ivan Illich - De-Schooling Society. Calder and Boyars 95p.  
 Paul Goodman - Compulsary Miseducation. Penguin Education Special.  
 Everett Reimer - School is Dead. Penguin Ed. Special (but somewhat "free market")  
 Paulo Freire - Pedagogy of the Oppressed.  
 Keith Paton - The Great Brain Robbery. 20p  
 Ten Days That Shook The University. - Situationist slam on the miserable existence of students and their illusions. 20p  
 L.S.E. - a Question of Degree. Bob dent and Maggie Wellings.  
 L.S.E. and Liberation - David Adelstein. 10p  
 Whole Earth Library and Switchboard Project - small experiment on Keele Campus - but weak because restricted to Campus 5p.  
 Whole Earth Catalog - huge compilation of tools and manuals relevant to low-cost independent education and living £2.50.

(e) Women, Gays, Sexism.

- Shulamith Firestone - Dialectics of Sex  
Paladin. 50p.
- Robin Morgan (ed.) Sisterhood is Powerful  
Vintage books £1.20
- Sheila Rowbotham - Womens Liberation and the  
New Politics. Spokesman Pamphlet  
12p from 45, Forest rd. Nottingham  
(+ postage)
- Theodore and Betty Roszak (eds.) - Masculine  
/Feminine. Harper Colophon Books.  
£1.05
- Mariarosa della Costa - Women and the  
subversion of the community (with  
intro by Selma James), in Radical  
America vol 6, no 1. Soon to be  
printed as a pamphlet by Falling Wall  
Press.
- Selma James - Women, the Unions, and Work,  
5p from Crest Press
- GLF Manifesto, 10p
- Carl Whitman - Gay manifesto, 5p
- Jean Genet - A thief's journal

(f) Black liberation

- Frantz Fanon - The wretched of the Earth  
and Black skins, white masks
- James Boggs - The American revolution,  
in Monthly Revue, 75p. And Racism and  
Class society, in Monthly Rev., £1.10
- Bobby Seale - Seize the time
- Eldridge Cleaver - Soul on ice
- George Jackson - Prison writings

(g) Lumpen

- The Right to Work or the Fight to Live?  
10p from 102 Newcastle St., Silverdale,  
Newcastle under Lyme

(h) Manuals

- Red Ladder  
Power Research Guide  
Street Research Guide  
Claimants Union Publications - Strikers'  
handbook, Unsupported mothers handbook,  
get them through your nearest CU
- Clem Gorman - Making Communes and Making Cer-  
amics, both 30p and post free from Whole  
Earth Tools, Mill Cottage, Swaffham Rd,  
Bottisham, Cambs.
- Ink in Love  
Anti-Mass: Anarchy 9  
IT Book of Drugs  
Propaganda Worksheet

(i) Counter Culture/Utopia/Personal Liberation/  
Madness

- The Making of a Counter Culture  
Counterculture; ed. Joseph Berke (but sexist)  
Barn; ed. Sransill and Macrowitz 75p Pelican
- Eros and Civilisation  
Five Lectures Marcuse
- One Dimensional Man  
Life Against Death; Norman O. Brown
- Paths in Utopia  
Between Man and Man Martin Buber
- In Pursuit of the Millenium - Norman Cohn
- The Politics of Ecstasy - Tomothy Leary
- The Politics of Experience and the Bird of  
Paradise - R D Laing
- The Dialectics of Liberation - ed. David Cooper
- The Death of the Family - Cooper
- Revolution in a Mental Hospital
- The Myth of Mental Illness - T. Szaz

Many of the papers, pamphlets, and books mentioned in the above list may be obtainable from a bookshop (one of those we have listed) near you. If they are, you should buy them from there rather than from Agitprop or Compendium - they need the bread more. In any case, they are often a good source of information about whatever's going on locally.

This pamphlet can be obtained from Agitprop at 248 Bethnal Green Road, London E2.

Single copies: 15p  
20+ copies: 10p each (£2 for 20)  
+ postage at 2½p for single copies  
15% for bulk orders

If you have any friends who might like to read this pamphlet, why not have one sent to them - just send their address and 15p to Agitprop.

ALL OUR LIVES we've read stuff other people have written. We assume they must be experts. After all, 'it's in print'. But once you have written something & seen it published, you see how the tentative beliefs you wrote down have taken on the look of assured authority. Then you suddenly think: 'the other guys in print must be like me too, mere mortals too!' **THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRINTED WORD** is smashed. You become more critical.

Academics think, and then get women to do the typing for them. They enrich the publishing industry which markets them as commodities & enriches them in return. They submit papers to journals for Editor. Authority figures to decide on - instead of themselves setting crackling with the library litho as they might if they really cared about what they had to say & making it available cheaply. Students Union bureaucrats likewise employ secretaries.

Anyone can learn to duplicate in a day; litho takes a little longer as does typing. Anyone can learn to paste up strips of type ready for platemaking. This way the sacredness can be taken out of books and publishing de-institutionalized.

Every citizen must feel they have something to say & say it directly their way to the audience they choose. At present they still feel they must route anything they want to say via authority, via the middle classes. We feel we must write different from the way we talk. Ever since we started on Janet and John readers print has been a **THEM** medium. But the litho revolution, like video

has decentralist possibilities that are libertarian. **PRINT CAN BECOME A PEOPLE'S MEDIUM**, one way we teach each other, learn from each other.

We did this pamphlet in little more than a month. One of us had the idea and talked it over with another of us thinking along the same lines. He typed & duplicated a leaflet & sent it out to 30 or more friends and contacts (everyone their own central committee!). 6 of us turned up for a long weekend. We discussed our basic ideas & lots of points & eventually evolved a format; we shared out the sections & for two days we drafted stuff individually and in pairs & collectively criticised successive drafts. We shared responsibility for borrowing money and for contacting a movement printshop that could do it in the short time available. We met again for 2 days to edit it finally, type it on decent typewriters using nice black ribbons in 4 "columns" (reduced later by photography). None of us had much experience of lay-out, some had none.

Any profits will be ploughed back into the movement.