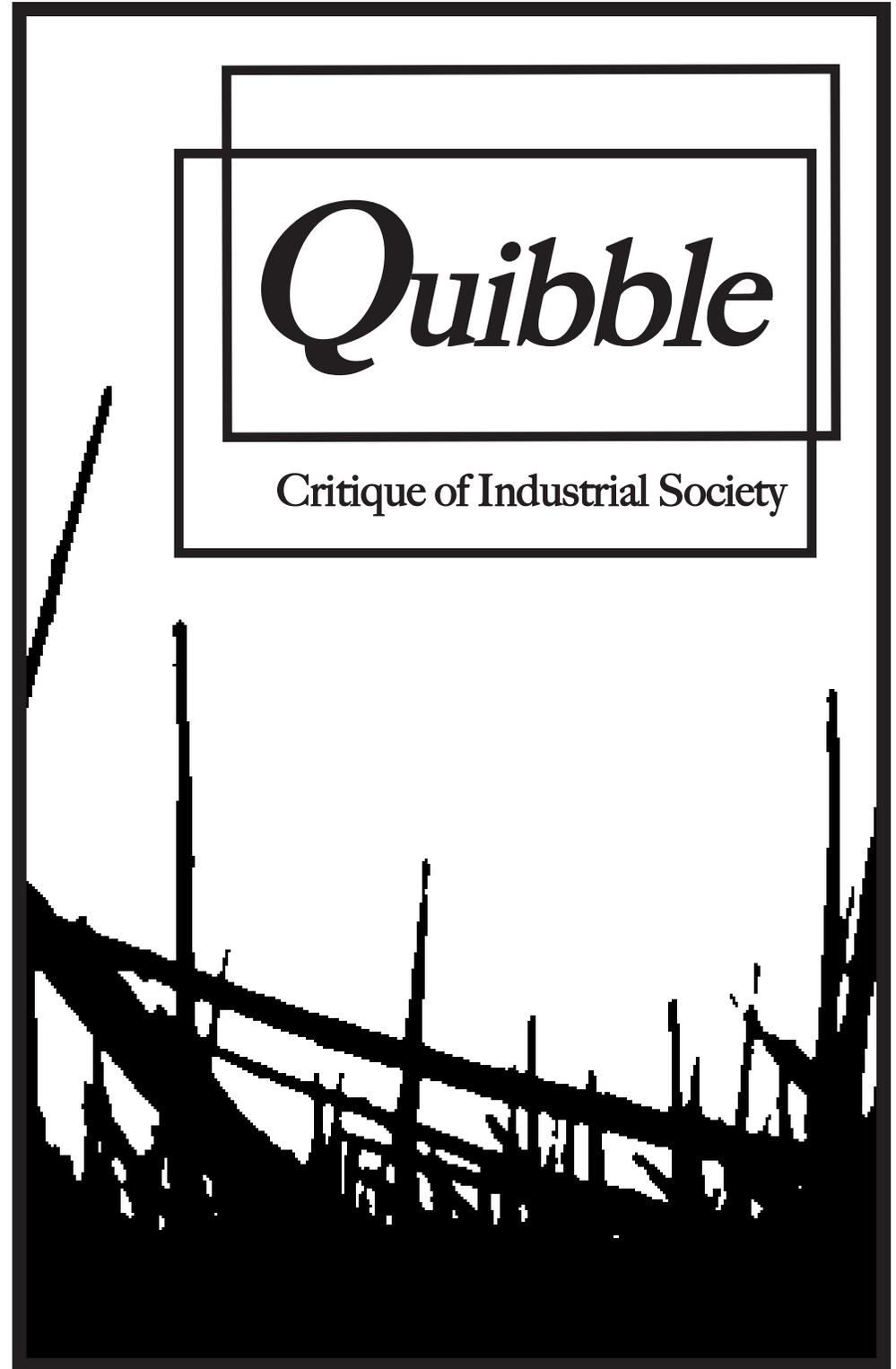




£1



Quibble

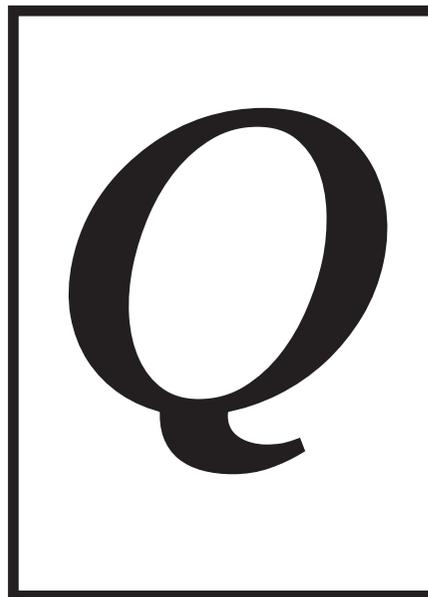
Critique of Industrial Society

The Meaning of David Cameron by David Seymour is pretty savage on this score, whilst paling into insignificance when compared to its obvious inspiration, *The Meaning of Sarkozy* by Alain Badiou, who puts the boot into the second rate politician like only a heavy weight French intellectual could.

If Bloom misses the economic analysis nowadays, then the spectacular political actions he mentions approvingly, such as the Biotic Baking Brigade pie-ing officials or the Yes Men spoofing them, merely serve to demonstrate how much little power we really have now. Or how much power we want to have. We should not ignore that most people are quite happy playing on their phones or laptops, whether they know or not that precious metals are causing a silent colonial war between France and the US in the Congo. You either laugh or cry really. In the same week I read reports about one, Chinese workers being paid a pittance to make Iphones, whilst being poisoned by a gas called N-Hexene, used in the production process and two, huge amounts of people using an Iphone app called Grinder which basically allows you to find other people to fuck. People are dying so that Westerners can have a good time. What a surprise.

Bloom's final point was that virtual protest is the way forward, in this, the age of the internet. He was roundly shouted down for saying that in the questions which followed, and rightly so. His talk at the Cowley actually took place the very day that the Tory Party HQ at Millbank was being stormed in London. As we now finally enter a period of time, the first in living memory for Thatcher's Children, when protests in the UK can actually rival those in France, or Spain, or Italy or even Greece, Bloom has been proved decisively wrong on this point. But then we always have to change to stay the same. In an age of spectacular politics, the most memorable if not the most effective actions from a long term perspective (which is really what counts) may well have been things like the Fathers4Justice campaign or the Biotic Baking Brigade. But one wonders how both of these groups would fare under current terrorism legislation and further, memorable actions are one thing, the way to accomplish change is clearly mass uprising, as shown by the Poll Tax Riots. March26 sees a march called by the trade unions. If everyone is on the streets and despite the best efforts of the Left, something might actually happen.

We live in interesting times.



Quibble

Issue One
Jan 2011

5 - 20
Authenticity, Music and
False Needs
21 - 24
On Bloom

We will publish your filthy theory, lurid speculation and insulting letters, perhaps..
myfirstnamedotmylastname@hotmail.com

means nowadays and in fact whatever it did - Bloom remembered voting for Labour when it was the 'Party of Workers', can you imagine?!) has been crushed by a sustained assault guided by right-wing, neo-liberal policy.

Baudrillard, Deleuze, Derrida (ok maybe not Derrida) are trying to make sense of this attack.

And to as Graeber and Shukaitis helpfully point out in the introduction to their book *Constituent Imagination*, we can either give in to postmodernism or not. Baudrillard would argue that in the age of the simulacra everything is lost, but this could be taken as provocation rather than gospel. Unfortunately, the Gulf War did really happen, even if it did feel like a movie to us watching the TV news.

Another golden boy of postmodernism is Foucault. His analysis of how power controls discourse is so spot on that it is hard to see any other explanation. The recuperative power of capitalism is strong enough that nowadays in the UK, strikers are roundly condemned for taking industrial action. The discourse in mainstream media is completely shaped by the market and its perceived needs. Thus when BA cabin crew strike, they are apparently depriving people of their well-deserved holidays and there doesn't seem to be much sympathy for their campaign for a living wage. When Royal Mail staff strike, newspapers bemoan the fact that grandmothers might not get their letters on time, rather than sympathising with posties who are reacting to the imposition of crippling workloads. Basically, protestors for/against virtually any cause have already been arraigned and sentenced as scum. To elaborate further they are soap-dodging, hippy, student loafers. Or as some happy fellow memorably commentated about a SmashEdo demo in Brighton on the website for Brighton's pitifully lame 'news'paper:

"all of these smash edo nobheads need to realise that mummy and daddy are unable to love them because there wedding was because his daddy played golf with her daddy and the trust fund has been drained due to the banking crisis caused by his uncle quentin and the parents are now funding his drug habit just so he stays away from there house because the neighbours will stay at his manky ginger dreadlocks wake up have a bath and stop pining for attention you minging scumbag".

Clearly power has seized control of the discourse concerning opposition. Coming back to Bloom, he also laments the division between politics and economics. I'm not sure if this has really occurred, but it is true that politics has become commodified in the sense that politicians are now managers, coping with the situation as best/badly as they can. Cameron's oh-so- sincerely smiling mug seems like a hotelier welcoming us to a shoddy room, or a butcher flogging offcuts as prime meat.

These are some scattered thoughts which resulted from attending a talk by Clive Bloom at the Cowley Club in Brighton, in November 2010. Bloom is an academic interested in the phenomenon of extra-parliamentary, possibly illegal or violent, opposition to the rule of the state. He is certainly not an anarchist and this gives him a rather unique perspective from which to view recent cultures of resistance, a sort of riot Attenborough if you will. I would hesitate to say I disagree with much of what he said, although that does not mean I entirely agree with him either.

For instance, at one point Bloom asserted there was a need for a “new Marx, a new Lenin, a new Mao”, someone with the intellectual capacity to provide a sophisticated analysis of capitalism in its current form. Yet this would be to ignore the eternally adaptive power of capitalism, facilitated as it is by human greed. And since Marxism was a doctrinaire grand narrative which was proved incorrect, it remains unclear to me why we would need a new figurehead of a white man with a beard around which to rally. Whilst happy to declare that he himself is not intelligent or brave enough to be this figurehead, Bloom observes that modern activists lack ideological coherence. I don't think that is a fair assumption to make at all. We are all confused and upset to be living through an age of such traumatic disharmony and disconnection from the natural world, yet the insights of green anarchism show the way forward. Despite not being fully recognised as yet by the academy, people such as Sepulveda, Jensen and Zerzan are developing upon strands of thought developed by (amongst others) the Frankfurt School. Yet whilst Marcuse suggested the possibilities of a 'non-repressive civilisation', it has become clearer and clearer that this would quite simply be a contradiction in terms. Civilisation is the problem. With the issue of climate change, this meme is becoming more mainstream every day. Capitalism is crisis. Then another influential notion from Marcuse, namely the Great Refusal, drifts more into focus, and with teeth.

So, when Bloom sees activism lacking a coherent ideology with which to suggest plausible positive alternatives to the status quo, this seems more to betray his sidelined observer status than anything else. After all, some people see the black bloc as privileged, macho, young white males running amok. It is of course, but with impeccable theory underneath the hoodies. Just because we are getting better at activist security as the repression becomes more sophisticated, this doesn't mean that theory is not being articulated, rather than you have to know where to look for it. To put it another way, just because there isn't a loud male voice declaiming the order of things, that doesn't mean recent actions lack theory.

Bloom says that the Left has declined in strength since it embraced postmodernist thinking. This is a view that can doubtless be backed up with some seductive reasoning, yet it seems more like barking up the wrong tree. The Left (whatever that

Authenticity, Music and False Needs: Critique of the Industrial Society from the Frankfurt School to Anarcho-Primitivism

Let us admit that we have attended parties where for one brief night a republic of gratified desires was attained. Shall we not confess that the politics of that night have more reality and force for us than those of, say, the entire U.S. Government?

- Hakim Bey

Introduction

Both Frankfurt School theorists such as Herbert Marcuse and Theodor Adorno and anarcho-primitivists such as John Zerzan, Hakim Bey and Theodore Kaczynski discuss the culture industry and how industrial society mobilises it as an effective tool to keep the general populace pacified. Here, we take 'industrial society' as a term describing the Western capitalist regime of the last fifty years and anarcho-primitivism is understood as an anarchist critique of civilisation which advocates a return to a basic, wild existence. Anarcho-primitivists, writing in the last twenty years, have expanded upon concepts developed by the Frankfurt School, such as false needs and surplus repression, in deepening an analysis of civilisation to the point that civilisation itself is seen as the problem. This fundamental point is yet to be absorbed by the academic mainstream, unfortunately.

We will use art, specifically music, as a motivating element in the discussion. The pamphlet is divided into three sections. The first is a discussion of popular music, the second engages quickly with the concept of false needs and the third is an explanation of how anarcho-primitivism can expand upon the ideas of the Frankfurt School.

Popular Music

In his 1938 essay, 'On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening', Adorno immediately makes a distinction between "serious" and "light" music [539]. The two types are never clearly defined but 'light' music can be assumed to be "banal" pop music produced for mass consumption (at the time of writing this would have been characterised by what we might nowadays call commercial jazz) and 'serious' music is stated to be a "higher" form, that of authentic music, which for Adorno appears to be solely classical [both 540].

Karl Marx talks of "the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour as soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities" [*Selected Writings*, 183]. Building upon Marx, Adorno takes the notion of commodity fetishism and applies it to the culture industry. This would mean that "relations of

On Bloom

He watched the scene and thought of life; and (as always happened when he thought of life) he became sad. A gentle melancholy took possession of him. He felt how useless it was to struggle against misfortune, this being the burden of wisdom which the ages had bequeathed to him.

- James Joyce

interaction” between people become represented as “relations of comparison between objects” to use Elster’s terminology [*Understanding*, 96]. These objects can be goods produced in a factory by workers, or on Adorno’s reading, also cultural goods such as a ticket to the opera. Thus, “the consumer is really worshipping the money that he himself has paid for the ticket to the Toscanini concert”, rather than the music itself [*Character*, 541].

Adorno is correct when he states that as regards pop music “the most familiar is the most successful and is therefore played again and again and made still more familiar” (540), yet there are also fundamental problems with his approach. The way in which he divides music into two distinct categories appears to be arbitrary. Further, his use of the term ‘authentic’ is fraught with difficulties. As Max Paddison notes, “his notion of authenticity is never directly defined or addressed, and its meaning has to be inferred from its relation to other concepts” [198]. Footnote 1

Later on in ‘On the Fetish-Character...’, with his examination of the regression of listening, it appears Adorno has a very sceptical, elitist view of those people who in his view lack the intellect, money or luck to avoid the perils of mass culture, calling them the “forcibly retarded” and remarking upon their “neurotic stupidity” [both *Character*, 543], yet at the same time he notes that if subjects try to escape their passive condition, “their revolts against fetishism only entangle them more deeply in it” [544]. Adorno’s target is the culture industry itself, not the people dominated by it. Indeed, he comments elsewhere that “the customer is not king, as the culture industry would have us believe, not its subject but its object” [*Culture*, 85]. Nevertheless, the charge of elitism remains in different form, since what is considered to be serious music appears to be nothing more than a value judgement. Whilst chart pop music is clearly (now more than ever) ‘light’ pap, we will argue later that there are many popular genres of music which are also ‘serious’ and authentic. Popular, yet not mainstream. Indeed, there probably were at the time Adorno was writing; Paul Piccone comments:

Had he spent a little more time studying Brooklyn’s and Chicago’s ethnic neighbourhoods or the Mid-West rather than inventing politically-correct F-scales and complaining about jazz, he may

have come up with a different version of the U.S. than one finds in, e.g. *Minima Moralia* or *Dialectic of Enlightenment* [99].

Adorno is clearly sceptical about the culture industry. He sees pop music as “catharsis for the masses, but catharsis which keeps them all the more firmly in line” [*Culture*, 89]. Later, with an examination of the concept of false needs, we can perceive how pop music is employed as a pacifying force by the culture industry, but first we will examine more deeply the concept of authenticity by taking another viewpoint.

Simon Frith comments that “good music is the authentic expression of something - a person, an idea, a feeling, a shared experience, a *Zeitgeist*. Bad music is inauthentic - it expresses nothing” [*Towards*, 136]. But as he admits, to define what makes music good or bad is a very subjective issue; all he can suggest is that “if good music is authentic music, then critical judgement means measuring the performer's 'truth' to the experiences or feelings they are describing” [140].

Frith is right to claim that there is something inexplicable in music criticism, since we cannot even dare to compare (for instance) Abba and Mozart: “Even to pose such a question is to invite ridicule - either I seek to reduce the 'transcendent' Mozart to Abba's commercially determined level, or else I elevate Abba's music beyond any significance it can carry” [134]. Yet, we would dare to put forward the notion that Abba's music is serious and authentic pop music. The group is boring, sonically uninteresting, politically worthless in any conventional sense and yet produced rather funky dance tracks. Footnote2

Paddison sees Adorno's use of the term 'authenticity' as depending on the “tension between consistency as truth and consistency as ideology” [215] and ultimately doomed, since it is the “failed attempt to achieve coherence, integration and consistency in a fractured world” [218]. Presumably Abba's music would not count as authentic on this assessment, whereas for Frith it could.

Rose Subotnik attests that for Adorno, “the highest achievement of music would be to define and resolve a structural problem, on a purely structural plane, uncorrupted by society” [116]. As a statement this is vaguely formulated and it still appears to be contaminated by subjectivism, now located in the problem of deciding quite what the structural problems are and how they are resolved. Simply put, it is incredibly difficult to discuss

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Footnotes

1

One might suggest an answer here which utilises Walter Benjamin's notion of a constellation of concepts to explain authenticity.

2

Perhaps the act of dancing can also be configured as a revolutionary act in the society of control, although of course it also can be seen as a way for those who are repressed to stay happy despite their oppression.

3

Speedcore - a development of gabber, has an intense, dark sound characterised by beat of over 200bpm.

Breakcore - the style known as 'drum n bass' processed using a computer to make bass-heavy breaks which no human drummer could create.

Noise - takes many forms and is often viewed as experimental art more than music.

4

This conservative estimate is taken from Simon During's *Cultural Studies: A Critical Introduction*

5

The controversial Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 effectively made illegal gatherings attended by more than 100 people where music was played which was defined in Section 63 to include "sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats" and is "is likely to cause serious distress to the inhabitants of the locality"

6

These were called teknivals, a portmanteau of the words 'tekno' (the style of music which was predominantly played) and 'festival'

7

Also Spiral Tribe recently (2005) began to repress their old vinyl records (distributed by an underground, DIY network of friends) since some copies of the original run of 500 copies were being sold on the internet for large sums of money (between £50 and £200, when the originals did cost £5 and now cost £7).

8

"The conclusion would be that the political, ethical, social philosophical problem of our days is not to try to liberate the individual from the state, and from the state's institutions, but to liberate us both from the state, and from the type of individualization which is linked to the state. we have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries" writes Michel Foucault in his 'Afterword' in Dreyfus and Rabinow [216]

9

Spiral Tribe actually did a similar move with Big Life Recordings.

10

My second-hand copy declares "In France his work has sold more copies than Mao's Little Red Book".

11

It's a really a question of how effective you are. Marilyn Manson says he is a "poster boy for hate", acknowledging clearly his position in the system. But what if he started organising free concerts and telling his fans explicitly to overthrow the state? Aye, what then?

12

With the proviso that "pursuit of an excessive amount of sex, more than one really needs, can be a surrogate activity" [Thesis 39].

what makes music good or bad, authentic or inauthentic and it remains unclear as to how one person's judgement would relate to another's. In recent times (that is to say, from when Adorno was writing up to the present day), pop music has developed into what is now a completely manufactured genre, with boy bands, lipsynching artists and tie-in merchandising. All this could be said to vindicate the culture-industry thesis, but alongside this genre there exist many others, some commercial, some resolutely non-commercial or even anti-commercial. These genres range from well-known ones such as the still popular jazz, rock, soul, blues, country and western, folk and so on to more obscure ones such as the ever-increasing sub-genres of electronic music (dubstep, breakcore, splitter, speed garage, tekno and skweee, to name some currently popular styles). Interestingly, both the increased availability of electronic music-making equipment and the ease of distribution facilitated by the internet and digital file types such as the MP3 format have led to an explosion in the general amount of music produced.

Benjamin wrote about mass reproduction ending the elitism of art, but this historical advance has had repercussions he could never have imagined. Frith opines in his book *Sound Effects* that "it was the technological and socialized basis of mass music production that made cultural struggle possible" [48]. Certainly, contemporary underground dance culture would not exist in its present form if the technology in the form of speakers, amplifiers, turntables and so on was not available to be used.

Even though Frith suggests "the reality is that rock, like all twentieth-century pop musics, is a commercial form, music produced as a commodity, for a profit, distributed through mass media as mass culture" [*Towards*, 136], when one enters the subculture around music such as speedcore, breakcore and noise, there is often a firm focus on non-profit, underground distribution for music. ^{Footnote3}

With free events in squatted venues and a sizeable proportion of the music being distributed for free over the internet or by use of self-copied compact discs, there is certainly a non-commercial element here. Whether this element can be said to escape commodification entirely or even partially is a pertinent question which is worth examination. Alexei Monroe argues that:

The ever-increasing speeds of commodification and technological innovation produce styles such as happy hardcore and gabber, and the extreme velocities of the latter are expressive of this situation. Gabber and associated variants (stormcore, nordcore, hartcore, speedcore) all represent not just aesthetic extremism but a frantic search for un-colonized sonic space that will prove resistant to commodification and appropriation [155].

Whilst in fact elements of happy hardcore and gabber have entered the charts, demonstrating neatly how pop culture will assimilate some subcultural aspects, subcultures nevertheless do exist and persist. There could be said to be authenticity here in terms of ideology and truth (in the sense of staying true to one's ideals). Commodification is a potent tool of industrial society in enforcing conformity but when one is aware of it, it can be resisted if not defeated.

To focus upon one brief case study, we will take the Spiral Tribe sound system. This was a loose collective of musicians who came together as part of the burgeoning rave movement in England in the early 1990s. Rave was an underground form of dance music which defined itself as being harder and faster than commercial club or pop music. Simon Reynolds describes the music at a party in 1992 as follows: "one Spiral-affiliated outfit plays a set of undanceably fast, stiffly regimented, metallic beats that sounds like ball bearings rattling around in a concrete pipe" [172]. Forming a subculture closely linked to New Age travellers, urban squatters and dance club culture, ravers put on free parties around the country which became increasingly well-attended and culminated in the Castlemorton Common Free Festival in 1992.

Reynolds writes "during the next five days of its existence, Castlemorton will inspire questions in Parliament, make the front page of every newspaper in England and incite nationwide panic about the whereabouts of the next destination on the crusty itinerary" [167]. The festival was completely illegal, lasted a week and had at least 40,000 visitors.^{Footnote4} Afterwards, members of Spiral Tribe were arrested and charged with public order offences (later dropped) and the rave subculture was targeted (although not completely destroyed) with specific legislation.^{Footnote5}

Special Note

Our use of the ideas of Hakim Bey in no way condones the real-life attitudes of Peter Lamborn Wilson, especially his controversial views on man-boy love. This is a contentious issue, which we encourage you to google if you are not aware of, but we strongly feel that in the history of ideas we cannot afford to ignore concepts of utility (in this case, the T.A.Z., another example might be the proven Nazi Heidegger's aesthetic theory).

Despite the insights of Adorno, Frith and others it is problematic to define precisely what authenticity is, but perhaps that is because there are an entire constellation of concepts attached to the word when used in this sense. We would take these concepts to include a coherent politics advocating radical social change, a desire to overthrow industrial society and a utopian belief that such things are possible.

In this pamphlet we have been drawing an intellectual trace between the Frankfurt School and more recent anarcho-primitivist thinking, so it seems fitting to end with a direct link, as given by John Zerzan:

Adorno, in *Minima Moralia*, wrote: 'To happiness the same applies as to truth: one does not have it, but is in it.' This could stand as an excellent description of humankind as we existed before the emergence of time and language, before the division and distancing that exhausted authenticity [31].

Spiral Tribe then moved as a group to Europe, staying in squats and social centres and organising free festivals. ^{Footnote6}

Their musical authenticity is hard to judge, for one thing the criteria are ill-defined, but the group did decide to take action to silence a French company (Techno Import) which was distributing their music commercially without permission and it is worth noting that several members still make well-respected underground dance music. ^{Footnote7}

In discussing "Foucauldian-inspired resistance theory" in relation to pop music, Carl Rhodes and Robert Westwood posit "the possibility of forms of authentic subjectivity that are forged in relation to the cultural sedimentation of capitalism, but are creatively excessive of them" [both 13].

Arguably, Spiral Tribe, a travelling sound system in the style of a traditional circus, created a new subjectivity and others were inspired to set up similar projects, so this subjectivity could be said to live on in some form despite the eventual dissolution of the group (perhaps hastened by the difficulties of a nomadic lifestyle or indeed the very strain of creating a new subjectivity). Certainly, Michel Foucault has suggested the necessary form of resistance to power must be to resist the individualities we are prescribed and to create new subjectivities. ^{Footnote8}

Yet the question might again be raised of just how possible this resistance is. It is fascinating to record that Carl Rhodes and Robert Westwood motivate their discussion using the case of the Sex Pistols who famously signed to a major label in 1976 but were generally thought to maintain their authenticity "because they refused to sell out to big business, whilst still being able to reap the financial benefits that big business had to offer" [152]. ^{Footnote9}

More recently, the Sex Pistols reformed for a widely derided reunion called the Filthy Lucre Tour and appear to have finally 'sold out'. As John Strasbaugh comments, "shouts of horror around the world were ignored" and (regarding the title of the tour) "by 1996 this kind of punk irony was old hat and embarrassingly tame - and an act of self-hagiography ostensibly at odds with the punk aesthetic" [203].

Although the criteria of success can be framed in various ways, a long term, large-scale victory of authentic music against the prevailing values of the culture industry seems difficult to imagine. Neil Nehring contends:

All expression, even the most rebellious forms, is tamed and made

completely inauthentic by its 'incorporation' (sometimes 'recuperation') into multinational corporate capitalism; and, more specifically, emotion is somehow detached from any meaning or significance in the process [xi].

False needs

Here, to delve into Nehring's scepticism (which follows on directly from Adorno), it would be useful to turn to the notion of false needs. In *One Dimensional Man*, Herbert Marcuse identifies a false need as a manipulated desire, a want produced by industrial society. ^{Footnote10} The culture industry encourages this urge to possess a new car or the latest widescreen television set, or indeed, to buy a pop song which sounds suspiciously similar to all the other recent hits. These needs are "those which are superimposed upon the individual by particular social interests in his repression: the needs which perpetuate toil, aggressiveness, misery, and injustice" [16].

Since the populace is distracted by satisfying its false needs, it will continue to consume and also not consider the option of social transformation. As Strinati comments, "people can therefore be unconsciously reconciled to the capitalist system, guaranteeing its stability and continuity" [59]. Capitalism has triumphed in that in mass culture people either have, or are able to buy, what they believe they want. 'Freedom' has then become the freedom to choose between which supermarket to enter or which identikit politician to vote for.

To clarify a possible confusion, Marcuse is not suggesting that needs are false because he himself views them as wrong or misguided, but rather because they are needs imposed by an external force, rather than 'true' needs such as (to pick two indisputables) the requirements to satisfy hunger or to find shelter. As Agger puts it, the false needs are "not freely arrived at through rational reflection" [*Domination*, 90] and true needs "involve the liberation of cultural choice, reflecting a heterogeneity of temperaments and styles" [*Cultural*, 150]. Nevertheless, a question does remain, posed by Marcuse as: "How can the people who have been the object of effective and productive domination by themselves create the conditions of freedom?" [*One*, 18].

Music (and parties) can be an antidote to the society of control. Erich Fromm comments that "young people travel long distances, often with hardships, to hear music they like, to see a place they want to see, to meet people they want to meet" [74]. He goes on: "Whether their aims are as valuable as they think they are is not the question here; even if they are without sufficient seriousness, preparation or concentration, these young people dare to be and they are not interested in what they get in return or what they can keep" [74]. The utopian belief in the revolutionary potential of young people is touching, although it must also be remarked that people also travel long distances to hear such drivel as Madonna or Lady Gaga.

Conclusion

Moving towards a conclusion, Marcuse states in *Eros and Civilisation* that a laudable aim for society would be a "non-repressive civilization, based on a fundamentally different experience of being, a fundamentally different relation between man and nature, and fundamentally different existential relations" [5]. The anarcho-primitivist would counter that whilst this is indeed a wonderful aim, a non-repressive civilisation is simply a contradiction in terms, an impossibility. The anarcho-primitivist expands upon the thinking of the Frankfurt School to suggest a future without civilisation. John Zerzan advocates a return to a simpler, hunter-gatherer lifestyle, which is in effect a refusal as great, if not greater, than Marcuse's proposition. In his book *Elements of Refusal*, Zerzan attacks symbolic thought and argues that "in the transfiguration we must enact, the symbolic will be left behind and art refused in favour of the real. Play, creativity, self-expression and authentic experience will recommence at that moment" [71].

Through examining the way in which music is commodified and resists commodification in industrial society, we have seen that false needs or surrogate activities (two terms for essentially the same phenomenon) serve to control the general populace. In resisting the society of control, there is space for a multiplicity of tactics, some of which may well clash with others, but certainly important strands include the Foucauldian idea of creating new subjectivities, the notion of the T.A.Z. as spatial resistance and the production of authentic music.

Even if the parties and social spaces are not accomplishing a huge amount in establishing a culture oppositional to industrial society, there is something being done. Indeed, Sophie Watson writes that “Spiral Tribe, with their free and inclusive parties, succeeded in constituting an alternative public space, rather than just a secret one” [*Spaces of Democracy*, 217]. Further, a link to anarcho-primitivism is made when Bey states that “the T.A.Z. involves a kind of ferality, a growth from tameness to wild(er)ness, a “return” which is also a step forward” [T.A.Z., 131].

In *Rave Culture and Religion*, Graham St. John discusses the T.A.Z., observing how it forms “outside the surveillance of the state and the incursions of the corporate world” and noting that it became poetic inspiration for cooperative, consensual, non-commodified dancescapes amplifying re-enchancement and the liberation of desire” [both 218]. However, the glaring problem with this hedonistic resistance is neatly captured by George McKay, who opines that “a certain amount of masochistic self-denial, losing one’s ego to relentless machine rhythms of a Spiral Tribe techno gig, disappearing with revolutionary ideas and all down the trance whirlpool into an empty hole of oblivion, does not seem to create a strong political force” [259].

This may well be true, and McKay is also correct to state that “the argument of confrontation (entering into the dialectic) versus losing it and living out dreams is not new” [259], but we would do well to remember Marcuse’s closing comments in *One Dimensional Man*, in which he suggests the Great Refusal despite being pessimistic about its potential for success:

In the face of its efficient denial by the established system, this negation appears in the politically impotent form of the “absolute refusal” - a refusal which seems the more unreasonable the more the established system develops its productivity and alleviates the burden of life [200].

There is a need for utopian thought, as an antidote to industrial society. Interestingly, Bey suggests we have “on the one hand, the spectrum of refusal (chronicled by the Situationists, John Zerzan, Bob Black et al.) and on the other hand, the emergence of a festal culture removed and even hidden from the would-be managers of our leisure” whereas we are positing the refusal and the party as two components of one overall tactic [T.A.Z., 132].

Just as Adorno criticises the way in which the culture industry sets up a hegemony of control in regard to musical taste, without ultimately blaming the people who are victim to it, Marcuse is sympathetic to those governed by false needs and sees industrial society as being at fault, without blaming its participants. Further, just as Adorno has extended the Marxist concept of commodity fetishism into culture, in Marcuse’s thought “one-dimensionality, in short, is the penetration of alienation into the realm of leisure existence and consumption” [Agger in *Domination*, 91]. It is hard for Marcuse to suggest a way out of this predicament, since:

The question of what are true and false needs must be answered by the individuals themselves, but only in the last analysis; that is, if and when they are free to give their own answer. As long as they are kept incapable of being autonomous, as long as they are indoctrinated and manipulated (down to their very instincts), their answer to this question cannot be taken as their own [One, 17].

In *Eros and Civilisation*, Marcuse considers basic repression in society, building upon the Freudian approach to “the ‘modifications’ of the instincts necessary for the perpetuation of the human race in civilisation” and declares that over and above this, there is surplus repression, “the restrictions necessitated by social domination” [both 35]. In terms of the culture industry, these restrictions dictate that music is tolerated since it provides a pacifying function, which Adorno saw as cathartic and could also said to be hedonistic, although there are hidden rules governing just how hedonistic or cathartic the music can be. As we have seen with Spiral Tribe and Castlemorton, when music becomes a challenge to the status quo, the state will quickly intervene. Footnote11

Thus, Spiral Tribe were persecuted, raves were legislated against, commercial dance parties blossomed and more mainstream musical styles pirated aspects of the underground musical styles. Marcuse remarks that “the absorbent power of society depletes the artistic dimension by assimilating its antagonistic contents” [One, 61]. A similarly pessimistic view of the culture industry is presented in *Industrial Society and Its Future*, in which Theodore Kaczynski expresses the view that:

The entertainment industry serves as an important psychological tool of the system, possibly even when it is dishing out large amounts of sex and violence. Entertainment provides modern man with an essential means of escape. While absorbed in television, videos, etc., he can forget stress, anxiety, frustration, dissatisfaction [Thesis 147].

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Kaczynski goes on to consider the difference between 'primitive peoples', who do not have a division between work and leisure, and seem to be able to enjoy doing "nothing at all" and 'most modern people' who seem to be unable to sit still for fear of being bored or not entertained [Thesis 147]. Of course, Marx took as a fundamental problem of capitalism this imposed separation of work and leisure. Kaczynski also considers a concept reminiscent of false needs, which he names "surrogate activities" and discusses in a section beginning with Thesis 38. He states that "we use the term 'surrogate activity' to designate an activity that is directed toward an artificial goal that people set up for themselves merely in order to have some goal to work toward, or let us say, merely for the sake of the "fulfilment" that they get from pursuing the goal" [Thesis 39].

He then argues that if a person had to expend more time and energy in satisfying his/her basic (we could also say true) needs, and if that person would not necessarily be particularly deprived in any way by having less time to do this activity, then it is a surrogate one.

Thus, Emperor Hirohito's passion for marine biology is contrasted with the need for sex and love, which is taken as fundamental. Footnote12

Although it is not possible to demonstrate that Kaczynski is aware of the Frankfurt School since he makes no explicit mention, it would seem likely. We can then consider the notion of a surrogate activity as a development upon false needs. Writing at a later stage of capitalism, in the 1990s, Kaczynski can state explicitly that "in modern industrial society only minimal effort is necessary to satisfy one's physical needs" [Thesis 40]. Hence, many people who pursue surrogate activities will say that they get far more fulfilment from these activities than they do from the "mundane" business of satisfying their biological needs, but that it is chiefly because in our society the effort needed to satisfy the biological needs has been

reduced to triviality [Thesis 41].

Another point made by Kaczynski is that "people generally have a great deal of autonomy in pursuing their surrogate activities", which would give the illusion of freedom and allows the general populace to exist in a prison of its own making [Thesis 41].

Ultimately, Kaczynski sees the only solution as a worldwide revolution resulting in the destruction of technology and a return to a more authentic lifestyle revolving around the satisfaction of basic needs. In order to come to that point, he states "it is necessary to develop and propagate an ideology that opposes technology and the industrial society if and when the system becomes sufficiently weakened" [Thesis 166]. This may appear to be building upon the foundations laid out by the Frankfurt School and in fact, Marcuse had already written in *Negations* that "not only the application of technology but technology itself is domination (of nature and men) - methodical, scientific, calculated, calculating control" [223-4]. In arguing in favour of rewilding and renouncing technology, anarcho-primitivists certainly seem to be echoing Marcuse's proposal of the Great Refusal, "the protest against that which is" [One, 63]. The need to reject the values of industrial society is clear and we shall return later to Marcuse's proposal, after quickly examining a suggestion which perhaps fleshes out the ideas of a refusal.

Written in an anarcho-mystic style and drawing on research about pirate utopias, Hakim Bey's *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone* (henceforth T.A.Z.) provides a analytical framework for what goes on at free, underground dance parties. The rave is indeed a temporary autonomous zone, a zone which is free in ways which are not usually permitted by industrial society. There is no charge to enter, the rules of a club are not enforced and there are no police to enforce the law of the land. Whether this constitutes real freedom is debatable, but it could at the very least be regarded as a step in the right direction. As 'Mark' from Spiral Tribe comments in a filmed interview: "There is no free space. Every single square centimetre is under control [...] It's very important to have these social centres where people can come and meet and network and exchange ideas, because without people doing that, [there is] no contact" [World Traveller Adventures].