# 

## **Capitalism**

Capitalism, a term used to denote the economic system that has been dominant in the western world since the breakup of feudalism. Fundamental to any system called capitalist are the relations between private owners of nonpersonal means of production (land, mines, industrial plants, etc, collectively known as capital) and free but capitalless workers, who sell their labour services to employers... The resulting wage bargains determine the proportion in which the total product of society will be shared between the class of labourers and the class of capitalist entrepreneurs.

It reveals itself for what it is: an autonomously developing separate power, based on the increasing productivity resulting from an increasingly refined division of labor into parcelized gestures dictated by the independent movement of machines, and working for an ever-expanding market.

It is an elementary fact of economics that specialization and exchange, under a division of labor, make a level of productivity possible which otherwise would not be remotely attainable. In pre-capitalist centuries, when a man's economic well-being was limited by the goods he himself could produce with his own primitive tools, an unconscionable amount of labor was required to make or acquire the simplest necessities-and the general standard of living was appallingly low: human existence was a continual, exhausting struggle against imminent starvation. About half of the children born, perished before the age of ten. But with the development of the wages system under capitalism, the introduction of machinery and the opportunity for a man to sell his labor, life (to say nothing of an ever-increasing standard of material well-being) was made possible for millions who could have had no chance at survival in pre-capitalist economies.

> The first stage of the economy's domination of social life brought about an evident degradation of being into having - human fulfillment was no longer equated with what one was, but with what one possessed. The present stage, in which social life has become completely dominated by the accumulated productions of the economy, is bringing about a general shift from having to appearing - all "having" must now derive its immediate prestige and its ultimate purpose from appearances.

This is the moral meaning of the law of supply and demand; it represents the total rejection of two vicious doctrines: the tribal premise "No politico-economic system in history has ever proved its value so eloquently or has benefited mankind so greatly as capitalism..."

3

and altruism. It represents the recognition of the fact that man is not the property nor the servant of the tribe, that a man works in order to support his own life-as, by his nature, he must-that he has to be guided by his own rational self-interest, and if he wants to trade with others, he cannot expect sacrificial victims, i.e., he cannot expect to receive values without trading commensurate values in return.

> The entire economy then became what the commodity had already shown itself to be in the course of this conquest: a process of quantitative development. This constant expansion of economic power in the form of commodities transformed human labor itself into a commodity, into wage labor, and ultimately produced a level of abundance sufficient to solve the initial problem of survival - but only in such a way that the same problem is continu-

ally being regenerated at a higher level. No politico-economic system in history has ever proved its value so eloquently or has benefited mankind so greatly as capitalism- and none has ever been attacked so savagely, viciously, and blindly. The flood of misinformation, misrepresentation, distortion, and outright falsehood about capitalism is such that the young people of today have no idea (and virtually no way of discovering any idea) of its actual nature. While archeologists are rummaging through the ruins of millennia for scraps of pottery and bits of bones, from which to reconstruct some information about prehistorical existence-the events of less than a century ago are hidden under a mound more impenetrable than the geological debris of winds, floods, and earthquakes: a mound of silence.

> The constant decline of use value that has always characterized the capitalist economy has given rise to a new form of poverty within the realm of augmented survival - alongside the old poverty which still persists, since the vast majority of people are still forced to take part as wage workers in the unending pursuit of the system's ends and each of them knows that he must submit or die. The reality of this blackmail - the fact that even in its most impoverished forms (food, shelter) use value now has no existence outside the illusory riches of augmented survival - accounts for the general acceptance of the illusions of modern commodity consumption. The real consumer has become a consumer of illusions. The commodity is this materialized illusion, and the spectacle is its general expression.

## Power

Economic growth has liberated societies from the natural pressures that forced them into an immediate struggle for survival; but they have not yet been liberated from their liberator. The commodity's independence has spread to the entire economy it now dominates. This economy has transformed the world, but it has merely transformed it into a world dominated by the economy.

> What is economic power? It is the power to produce and to trade what one has produced. In a free economy, where no man or group of men can use physical coercion against anyone, economic power can be achieved only by voluntary means: by the

voluntary choice and agreement of all those who participate in the process of production and trade. In a free market, all prices, wages, and profits are determined-not by the arbitrary whim of the rich or of the poor, not by anyone's "greed" or by anyone's needbut by the law of supply and demand. The mechanism of a free market reflects and sums up all the economic choices and decisions made by all the participants. Men trade their goods or services by mutual consent to mutual advantage, according to their own independent, uncoerced judgment. A man can grow rich only if he is able to offer better values-better products or services, at a lower price-than others are able to offer.

4

"Economic growth has liberated societies, [...] but they have not been liberated from their liberator."

> To this end the reserve army of the unemployed is enlisted into the tertiary or "service" sector, reinforcing the troops responsible for distributing and glorifying the latest commodities; and in this it is serving a real need, in the sense that increasingly extensive campaigns are necessary to convince people to buy increasingly unnecessary commodities.

5

Such control yielded obvious gains in efficiency, through the integration of divergent refining, marketing, and pipeline operations; it also made the raising of capital easier and cheaper.

The economy's triumph as an independent power at the same time spells its own doom, because the forces it has unleashed have eliminated the economic necessity that was the unchanging basis of earlier societies. Replacing that necessity with a necessity for boundless economic development can only mean replacing the satisfaction of primary human needs (now scarcely met) with an incessant fabrication of pseudoneeds, all of which ultimately come down to the single pseudoneed of maintaining the reign of the autonomous economy.

It was claimed then—as it is still claimed today—that business, if left free, would necessarily develop into an institution vested with arbitrary power. Is this assertion valid?

## Alienation

The spectacle's social function is the concrete manufacture of alienation. Economic expansion consists primarily of the expansion of this particular sector of industrial production. The "growth" generated by an economy developing for its own sake can be nothing other than a growth of the very alienation that was at its origin.

> The problem of alienation and the problem of personal identity are inseparable. The man who lacks a firm sense of personal identity feels alienated; the man who feels alienated lacks a firm sense of personal identity.

Workers do not produce themselves, they produce a power independent of themselves. The success of this production, the abundance it generates, is experienced by the producers as an abundance of dispossession. As their alienated products accumulate, all time and space become foreign to them. The spectacle is the map of this new world, a map that is identical to the territory it represents. The forces that have escaped us display themselves to us in all their power.

> The concept of alienation, in its original psychiatric usage, denoted the mentally ill, the severely mentally ill—often, particularly in legal contexts, the insane. It conveyed the notion of the breakdown of rationality and self-determination, the notion of a person driven by forces which he cannot grasp or control, which are experienced by him as compelling and alien, so that he feels estranged from himself.

The alienation of the spectator, which reinforces the contemplated objects that result from his own unconscious activity, works like this: The more he contemplates, the less he lives; the more he identifies with the dominant images of need, the less he understands his own life and his own desires. The spectacle's estrangement from the acting subject is expressed by the fact that the indi"the breakdown of rationality and self-determination"

vidual's gestures are no longer his own; they are the gestures of someone else who represents them to him. The spectator does not feel at home anywhere, because the spectacle is everywhere.

7

Thus, he displaces his sense of self downward, so to speak, from his reason, which is the active, initiating element in man, to his emotions, which are the passive, reactive element. Moved by feelings whose source he does not understand, and by contradictions whose existence he does not acknowledge, he suffers a progressive sense of self-estrangement, of self-alienation. A man's emotions are the product of his premises and values, of the thinking he has done or has failed to do. But the man who is run by his emotions, attempting to make them a substitute for rational judgment, experiences them as alien forces. The paradox of his position is this: his emotions become his only source of personal identity, but his experience of identity becomes: a being ruled by demons.

Though separated from what they produce, people nevertheless produce every detail of their world with ever-increasing power. They thus also find themselves increasingly separated from that world. The closer their life comes to being their own creation, the more they are excluded from that life.

> But why? What is the problem of alienation? What is personal identity? Why should so many men experience the task of achieving it as a dreaded burden? And what is the significance of the attacks on capitalism in connection with this issue?

The general separation of worker and product tends to eliminate any direct personal communication between the producers and any comprehensive sense of what they are producing. With the increasing accumulation of separate products and the increasing concentration of the productive process, communication and comprehension are monopolized

by the managers of the system. The triumph of this separation-based economic system proletarianizes the whole world.

> Those who assert that the conceptual level of consciousness alienates man from the real world, merely confess that their concepts bear no relation to reality—or that they do not understand the relation of concepts to reality. But it should be remembered that the capacity to abstract and conceptualize offers man—to the extent that he is rational—a means of "relating" to the world around him immeasurably superior to that enjoyed by any other species. It does not "alienate" man from nature, it makes him nature's master: an animal obeys nature blindly; man obeys her intelligently—and thereby acquires the power to command her.

The proletariat has not been eliminated. It remains irreducibly present within the intensified alienation of modern capitalism. It consists of that vast majority of workers who have lost all power over their lives and who, once they become aware of this, redefine themselves as the proletariat, the force working to negate this society from within. This proletariat is being objectively reinforced by the virtual elimination of the peasantry and by the increasing degree to which the "service" sectors and intellectual professions are being subjected to factory-like working conditions.

8

It is true that a great many men suffer from a chronic feeling of inner emptiness, of spiritual impoverishment, the sense of lacking personal identity. It is true that a great many men feel alienated—from something—even if they cannot say from what-from themselves or other men or the universe. And it is profoundly significant that capitalism should be blamed for this. Not because there is any justification for the charge, but because, by analyzing the reasons given for the accusation, one can learn a good deal about the nature and meaning of men's sense of alienation and non-identity- and, simultaneously, about the psychological motives that give rise to hostility toward capitalism.

The spectacle obliterates the boundaries between self and world by crushing the self besieged by the presence-absence of the world. It also obliterates the boundaries between true and false by repressing all directly lived truth beneath the real presence of the falsehood maintained by the organization of appearances. Individuals who passively accept their subjection to an alien everyday reality are thus driven toward a madness that reacts to this fate by resorting to illusory magical techniques. The essence of this pseudoresponse to an unanswerable communication is the acceptance and consumption of commodities. The consumer's compulsion to imitate is a truly infantile need, conditioned by all the aspects of his fundamental dispossession. As Gabel puts it in describing a quite different level of pathology, "the abnormal need for representation compensates for an agonizing feeling of being at the margin of existence."

9

The alienated man is fleeing from the responsibility of a volitional (i.e., self-directing) consciousness: the freedom to think or not to think, to initiate a process of reason or to evade it, is a burden he longs to escape. But since this freedom is inherent in his nature as man, there is no escape from it; hence his guilt and anxiety when he abandons reason and sight in favor of feelings and blindness. But there is another level on which man confronts the issue of freedom: the existential or social level-and here escape is possible. Political freedom is not a metaphysical given: it has to be achieved—hence it can be rejected. The psychological root of the revolt against freedom in one's existence, is the revolt against freedom in one's consciousness. The root of the revolt against selfresponsibility in action is the revolt against self-direction in thought. The man who does not want to think, does not want to bear responsibility for the consequences of his actions nor for his own life.

## Value

Productive use of the "social surplus" was the special virtue that enabled capitalism to outstrip all prior economic systems. Instead of building pyramids and cathedrals, those in command of the social surplus chose to invest in ships, warehouses, raw materials, finished goods and other material forms of wealth. The social surplus was thus converted into enlarged productive capacity.

> The development of productive forces is the unconscious history that has actually created and altered the living conditions of human groups - the conditions enabling them to survive and the expansion of those conditions. It has been the economic basis of all human undertakings. Within natural economies, the emergence of a commodity sector represented a surplus survival. Commodity production, which implies the exchange of varied products between independent producers, tended for a long time to retain its small-scale craft aspects, relegated as it was to a marginal economic role where its quantitative reality was still hidden. But whenever it encoun

tered the social conditions of large-scale commerce and capital accumulation, it took total control of the economy.

The free market represents the social application of an objective theory of values. Since values are to be discovered by man's mind, men must be free to discover them-to think, to study, to translate their knowledge into physical form, to offer their products for trade, to judge them, and to choose, be it material goods or ideas, a loaf of bread or a philosophical treatise. Since values are established contextually, every man must judge for himself, in the context of his own knowledge, goals, and interests. Since values are determined by the nature of reality, it is reality that serves as men's ultimate arbiter: if a man's judgment is right, the rewards are his; if it is wrong, he is bis only victim.

Exchange value could arise only as a representative of use value, but the victory it eventually won with its own weapons created the conditions for its own autonomous power. By mobilizing all human use value and monopolizing its fulfillment, exchange value ultimately succeeded in

10

"it serves as a necessary pseudo-justification for a counterfeit life."

> controlling use. Usefulness has come to be seen purely in terms of exchange value, and is now completely at its mercy. Starting out like a condottiere in the service of use value, exchange value has ended up waging the war for its own sake.

It is in regard to a free market that the distinction between an intrinsic, subjective, and objective view of values is particularly important to understand. The market value of a product is not an intrinsic value, not a "value in itself' hanging in a vacuum. A free market never loses sight of the question: Of value to whom? And, within the broad field of objectivity, the market value of a product does not reflect its philosophically objective value, but only its socially objective value.

> Use value was formerly understood as an implicit aspect of exchange value. Now, however, within the upside-down world of the spectacle, it must be explicitly proclaimed, both because its actual reality has been eroded by the overdeveloped commodity economy and because it serves as a necessary pseudo-justification for a counterfeit life.

This does not mean, however, that the values ruling a free market are subjective. If the stenographer spends all her money on cosmetics and has none left to pay for the use of a microscope (for a visit to the doctor) when she needs it, she learns a better method of budgeting her income; the free market serves as her teacher: she has no way to penalize others for her mistakes. If she budgets rationally, the microscope is always available to serve her own specific needs and no more, as far as she is concerned: she is not taxed to support an entire hospital, a research laboratory, or a space ship's journey to the moon. Within her own productive power, she does pay a part of the cost of scientific achievements, when and as she needs them. She has no "social duty," her own life is her only responsibility—and the only thing that a capitalist system requires of her is the thing that nature requires: rationality, i.e., that she live and act to the best of her own judgment.

> The satisfaction that no longer comes from using the commodities produced in abundance is now sought through recognition of their value as commodi-

ties. Consumers are filled with religious fervor for the sovereign freedom of commodities whose use has become an end in itself. Waves of enthusiasm for particular products are propagated by all the communications media. A film sparks a fashion craze; a magazine publicizes night spots which in turn spin off different lines of products. The proliferation of faddish gadgets reflects the fact that as the mass of commodities becomes increasingly absurd, absurdity itself becomes a commodity. Trinkets such as key chains which come as free bonuses with the purchase of some luxury product, but which end up being traded back and forth as valued collectibles in their own right, reflect a mystical self-abandonment to commodity transcendence. Those who collect the trinkets that have been manufactured for the sole purpose of being collected are accumulating commodity indulgences - glorious tokens of the commodity's real presence among the faithful. Reified people proudly display the proofs of their intimacy with the commodity. Like the old religious fetishism, with its convulsionary raptures and miraculous cures, the fetishism of commodities generates its own moments of fervent exaltation. All this is useful for only one purpose: producing habitual submission.

Now observe that a free market does not level men down to some common denominator that the intellectual criteria of the majority do not rule a free market or a free society— and that the exceptional men, the innovators, the intellectual giants, are not held down by the majority. In fact, it is the members of this exceptional minority who lift the whole of a free society to the level of their own achievements, while rising further and ever further.

> But commodity abundance represents a total break in the organic development of social needs. Its mechanical accumulation unleashes an unlimited artificiality which overpowers any living desire. The cumulative power of this autonomous artificiality ends up by falsifying all social life.

# 02 02 $02 \ 02$ 02 02 $02 \ 02$ 02 0202 0202 02

# **Capi-**

"No politico-economic system in history has ever proved its value so

	Capitalism, a term used to denote the economic system that has been dominant in the western world since the breakup of feu-	14
	dalism.	
	autonomously developing separate	14
	productivity resulting from an increas-	
	o parcelized gestures dictated by the	
independentmovementormach	ines, and working for an ever-expand- ing market.	
	Fundamental to any system called capitalist are the relations be-	14
	tween private owners of nonpersonal means of production (land,	14
	mines, industrial plants, etc, collectively known as capital) and	
	free but capitalless workers, who sell their labour services to em-	
	ployers	
	The resulting wage bargains determine the proportion in which	14
	the total product of society will be shared between the class of la-	14
	bourers and the class of capitalist entrepreneurs.	14
	It is an elementary fact of economics that specialization and ex-	
	change, under a division of labor, make a level of productivity	
	possible which otherwise would not be remotely attainable.	
The first stage of the economy's c	domination of social life brought about	14
<b>e</b> ,	into having — human fulfillment was	
0 0	ne was, but with what one possessed.	
5 1	In pre-capitalist centuries, when a man's economic well-be-	
	ing was limited by the goods he himself could produce with his	
	own primitive tools, an unconscionable amount of labor was	
	required to make or acquire the simplest necessities—and the	14
	general standard of living was appallingly low: human existence	
	was a continual, exhausting struggle against imminent starvation.	
The present stage, in which social	l life has become completely dominat-	
ed by the accumulated production	ons of the economy, is bringing about	14
a general shift from having to ap	pearing — all "having" must now de-	
rive its immediate prestige and its	s ultimate purpose from appearances.	
	About half of the children born, perished before the age of ten.	
	But with the development of the wages system under capitalism,	14
	the introduction of machinery and the opportunity for a man to	
	sell his labor, life (to say nothing of an ever-increasing standard	
	of material well-being) was made possible for millions who could	
	have had no chance at survival in pre-capitalist economies.	
	This is the moral meaning of the law of supply and demand; it	
	represents the total rejection of two vicious doctrines: the tribal	14
	premise and altruism.	

# **tali**sm

eloquently or has benefited mankind so greatly as capitalism..."

15	The entire economy then became what the commodity had already
	shown itself to be in the course of this conquest: a process of quanti-
	tative development.
15	It represents the recognition of the fact that man is not the proper-
	ty nor the servant of the tribe, that a man works in order to support
	his own life—as, by his nature, he must—that he has to be guid-
	ed by his own rational self-interest, and if he wants to trade with
	others, he cannot expect sacrificial victims, i.e.
15	This constant expansion of economic power in the form of commodi-
	ties transformed human labor itself into a commodity, into wage labor,
	and ultimately produced a level of abundance sufficient to solve the ini-
	tial problem of survival — but only in such a way that the same problem
	is continually being regenerated at a higher level.
15	he cannot expect to receive values without trading commensu-
	rate values in return.
	No politico-economic system in history has ever proved its value
	so eloquently or has benefited mankind so greatly as capital-
	ism— and none has ever been attacked so savagely, viciously,
	and blindly.
15	The constant decline of use value that has always characterized the
	capitalist economy has given rise to a new form of poverty within the
	realm of augmented survival — alongside the old poverty which still
	persists, since the vast majority of people are still forced to take part
	as wage workers in the unending pursuit of the system's ends and each
	of them knows that he must submit or die.
15	The flood of misinformation, misrepresentation, distortion, and
	outright falsehood about capitalism is such that the young peo-
	ple of today have no idea (and virtually no way of discovering
	any idea) of its actual nature.
15	The reality of this blackmail — the fact that even in its most impover-
	ished forms (food, shelter) use value now has no existence outside the
	illusory riches of augmented survival — accounts for the general accep-
	tance of the illusions of modern commodity consumption.
15	While archeologists are rummaging through the ruins of mil-
	lennia for scraps of pottery and bits of bones, from which to
	reconstruct some information about prehistorical existence-the
	events of less than a century ago are hidden under a mound more
	impenetrable than the geological debris of winds, floods, and
	earthquakes: a mound of silence.
15	The real consumer has become a consumer of illusions.
	The commodity is this materialized illusion, and the spectacle is its gen-
	eral expression.

Po-

"Economic growth has liberated societies,

16
16
16
16
16
16
16
16
16

wer

[...] but they have not been liberated from their liberator."

17	To this end the reserve army of the unemployed is enlisted into
	the tertiary or "service" sector, reinforcing the troops responsi-
	ble for distributing and glorifying the latest commodities; and in
	this it is serving a real need, in the sense that increasingly extensive
	campaigns are necessary to convince people to buy increasingly
	unnecessary commodities.
17	Such control yielded obvious gains in efficiency, through the integra-
	tion of divergent refining, marketing, and pipeline operations; it also
	made the raising of capital easier and cheaper.
17	The economy's triumph as an independent power at the same
	time spells its own doom, because the forces it has unleashed have
	eliminated the economic necessity that was the unchanging ba-
	sis of earlier societies.
17	It was claimed then—as it is still claimed today—that business, if left
	free, would necessarily develop into an institution vested with arbi-
	trary power.
17	Replacing that necessity with a necessity for boundless economic
	development can only mean replacing the satisfaction of prima-
	ry human needs (now scarcely met) with an incessant fabrication
	of pseudoneeds, all of which ultimately come down to the single
	pseudoneed of maintaining the reign of the autonomous econ-
	omy.
17	ls this assertion valid?

## Alien-

The spectacle's social function is the concrete manufacture of alienation.	18
The problem of alienation and the problem of personal identity are	18
inseparable.	
Economic expansion consists primarily of the expansion of this	18
particular sector of industrial production.	
The man who lacks a firm sense of personal identity feels alienated; the	18
man who feels alienated lacks a firm sense of personal identity.	
The "growth" generated by an economy developing for its own	18
sake can be nothing other than a growth of the very alienation	
that was at its origin.	
Workers do not produce themselves, they produce a power inde-	18
pendent of themselves.	
The concept of alienation, in its original psychiatric usage, denoted the	18
mentally ill, the severely mentally ill—often, particularly in legal con-	
texts, the insane.	
The success of this production, the abundance it generates, is ex-	18
perienced by the producers as an abundance of dispossession.	
It conveyed the notion of the breakdown of rationality and self-deter-	18
mination, the notion of a person driven by forces which he cannot grasp	
or control, which are experienced by him as compelling and alien, so	
that he feels estranged from himself.	
As their alienated products accumulate, all time and space be-	18
come foreign to them.	
The spectacle is the map of this new world, a map that is identi-	
cal to the territory it represents.	
The forces that have escaped us display themselves to us in all	
their power.	
The alienation of the spectator, which reinforces the contemplat-	
ed objects that result from his own unconscious activity, works	
like this: The more he contemplates, the less he lives; the more he	
identifies with the dominant images of need, the less he under-	
stands his own life and his own desires.	
Thus, he displaces his sense of self downward, so to speak, from his	18
reason, which is the active, initiating element in man, to his emotions,	
which are the passive, reactive element.	
The spectacle's estrangement from the acting subject is expressed	18
by the fact that the individual's gestures are no longer his own;	
they are the gestures of someone else who represents them to him.	
Moved by feelings whose source he does not understand, and by con-	18
tradictions whose existence he does not acknowledge, he suffers a	
progressive sense of self-estrangement, of self-alienation.	

# ation

19	The spectator does not feel at home anywhere, because the spec-
10	tacle is everywhere.
19	A man's emotions are the product of his premises and values, of the
10	thinking he has done or has failed to do.
19	But the man who is run by his emotions, attempting to make them
	a substitute for rational judgment, experiences them as alien forces.
	The paradox of his position is this: his emotions become his only source
	of personal identity, but his experience of identity becomes: a being
	ruled by demons.
19	Though separated from what they produce, people nevertheless
	produce every detail of their world with ever-increasing power.
	But why?
19	They thus also find themselves increasingly separated from that
	world.
19	What is the problem of alienation? The closer their life comes to be-
	ing their own creation, the more they are excluded from that life.
	What is personal identity? Why should so many men experience the
	task of achieving it as a dreaded burden? And what is the significance
	of the attacks on capitalism in connection with this issue?
19	The general separation of worker and product tends to eliminate
	any direct personal communication between the producers and
	any comprehensive sense of what they are producing.
19	Those who assert that the conceptual level of consciousness alien-
	ates man from the real world, merely confess that their concepts bear
	no relation to reality—or that they do not understand the relation of
	concepts to reality.
19	With the increasing accumulation of separate products and the
	increasing concentration of the productive process, communi-
	cation and comprehension are monopolized by the managers of
	the system.
19	But it should be remembered that the capacity to abstract and con-
	ceptualize offers man—to the extent that he is rational—a means of
	"relating" to the world around him immeasurably superior to that en-
	joyed by any other species.
19	The triumph of this separation-based economic system proletar-
	ianizes the whole world.
19	It does not "alienate" man from nature, it makes him nature's master:
	an animal obeys nature blindly; man obeys her intelligently—and there-
	by acquires the power to command her.
19	The proletariat has not been eliminated.
19	It is true that a great many men suffer from a chronic feeling of inner emptiness, of spiritual impoverish-
	ment, the sense of lacking personal identity.

It remains irreducibly present within the intensified alienation of	20
modern capitalism.	
It is true that a great many men feel alienated—from something—	20
even if they cannot say from what—from themselves or other men	
or the universe.	
It consists of that vast majority of workers who have lost all power	20
over their lives and who, once they become aware of this, rede-	
fine themselves as the proletariat, the force working to negate this	
society from within.	
And it is profoundly significant that capitalism should be blamed for this.	20
This proletariat is being objectively reinforced by the virtual elim-	20
ination of the peasantry and by the increasing degree to which the	
"service" sectors and intellectual professions are being subjected	
to factory-like working conditions.	
Not because there is any justification for the charge, but because, by	20
analyzing the reasons given for the accusation, one can learn a good	
deal about the nature and meaning of men's sense of alienation and	
non-identity— and, simultaneously, about the psychological motives	
that give rise to hostility toward capitalism.	
The spectacle obliterates the boundaries between self and world	20
by crushing the self besieged by the presence-absence of the world.	
The alienated man is fleeing from the responsibility of a volitional (i.e.,	20
self-directing) consciousness: the freedom to think or not to think, to	
initiate a process of reason or to evade it, is a burden he longs to escape.	

21	It also obliterates the boundaries between true and false by re- pressing all directly lived truth beneath the real presence of the falsehood maintained by the organization of appearances.
21	But since this freedom is inherent in his nature as man, there is no es-
	cape from it; hence his guilt and anxiety when he abandons reason and
	sight in favor of feelings and blindness.
21	Individuals who passively accept their subjection to an alien ev-
	eryday reality are thus driven toward a madness that reacts to this
	fate by resorting to illusory magical techniques.
21	But there is another level on which man confronts the issue of freedom:
	the existential or social level—and here escape is possible.
21	The essence of this pseudoresponse to an unanswerable com-
	munication is the acceptance and consumption of commodities.
21	Political freedom is not a metaphysical given: it has to be achieved—
	hence it can be rejected.
21	The consumer's compulsion to imitate is a truly infantile need,
	conditioned by all the aspects of his fundamental dispossession.
21	The psychological root of the revolt
	As Gabel puts it in describing a quite different level of pathology,
	"the abnormal need for representation compensates for an ago-
	nizing feeling of being at the margin of existence.
21	"against freedom in one's existence, is the revolt against freedom in
	one's consciousness.
	The root of the revolt against selfresponsibility in action is the revolt
	against self-direction in thought.
	The man who does not want to think, does not want to bear respon-
	sibility for the consequences of his actions nor for his own life.

Productive use of the "social surplus" was the special virtue that enabled capitalism to outstrip all prior economic systems.	22
The development of productive forces is the unconscious history that	22
has actually created and altered the living conditions of human groups	
— the conditions enabling them to survive and the expansion of those	
conditions.	
Instead of building pyramids and cathedrals, those in command	22
of the social surplus chose to invest in ships, warehouses, raw ma-	~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
terials, finished goods and other material forms of wealth.	
It has been the economic basis of all human undertakings.	22
The social surplus was thus converted into enlarged productive	22
capacity.	22
Within natural economies, the emergence of a commodity sector rep-	22
resented a surplus survival.	22
Commodity production, which implies the exchange of varied prod-	
ucts between independent producers, tended for a long time to retain	
its small-scale craft aspects, relegated as it was to a marginal economic	
role where its quantitative reality was still hidden.	
But whenever it encountered the social conditions of large-scale com-	
merce and capital accumulation, it took total control of the economy.	
The free market represents the social application of an objective	22
theory of values.	
Exchange value could arise only as a representative of use value, but the victory it eventually won with	22
its own weapons created the conditions for its own autonomous power.	
Since values are to be discovered by man's mind, men must be free	22
to discover them—to think, to study, to translate their knowl-	
edge into physical form, to offer their products for trade, to judge	
them, and to choose, be it material goods or ideas, a loaf of bread	
or a philosophical treatise.	
By mobilizing all human use value and monopolizing its fulfillment, ex-	22
change value ultimately succeeded in controlling use.	
Since values are established contextually, every man must judge	22
for himself, in the context of his own knowledge, goals, and in-	
terests.	
Usefulness has come to be seen purely in terms of exchange value, and	22
is now completely at its mercy.	
Since values are determined by the nature of reality, it is reality	22
that serves as men's ultimate arbiter: if a man's judgment is right,	
the rewards are his; if it is wrong, he is bis only victim.	
Starting out like a condottiere in the service of use value, exchange val-	22
ue has ended up waging the war for its own sake.	

23	It is in regard to a free market that the distinction between an in- trinsic, subjective, and objective view of values is particularly important to understand.
23	Use value was formerly understood as an implicit aspect of exchange value.
23	The market value of a product is not an intrinsic value, not a "value in itself' hanging in a vacuum.
23	Now, however, within the upside-down world of the spectacle, it must be explicitly proclaimed, both because its actual reality has been erod- ed by the overdeveloped commodity economy and because it serves as a necessary pseudo-justification for a counterfeit life.
23	A free market never loses sight of the question: Of value to whom? And, within the broad field of objectivity, the market value of a product does not reflect its philosophically objective value, but only its socially objective value. This does not mean, however, that the values ruling a free mar- ket are subjective.
23	The satisfaction that no longer comes from using the commodities pro- duced in abundance is now sought through recognition of their value as commodities.
23	If the stenographer spends all her money on cosmetics and has none left to pay for the use of a microscope (for a visit to the doc- tor) when she needs it, she learns a better method of budgeting her income; the free market serves as her teacher: she has no way to penalize others for her mistakes.
23	Consumers are filled with religious fervor for the sovereign freedom of commodities whose use has become an end in itself.
23	If she budgets rationally, the microscope is always available to serve her own specific needs and no more, as far as she is con- cerned: she is not taxed to support an entire hospital, a research laboratory, or a space ship's journey to the moon.
23	Waves of enthusiasm for particular products are propagated by all the communications media.
23	Within her own productive power, she does pay a part of the cost of scientific achievements, when and as she needs them.
23	A film sparks a fashion craze; a magazine publicizes night spots which in turn spin off different lines of products.
23	She has no "social duty," her own life is her only responsibility— and the only thing that a capitalist system requires of her is the thing that nature requires: rationality, i.e., that she live and act to the best of her own judgment.

The proliferation of faddish gadgets reflects the fact that as the mass of
commodities becomes increasingly absurd, absurdity itself becomes
a commodity.

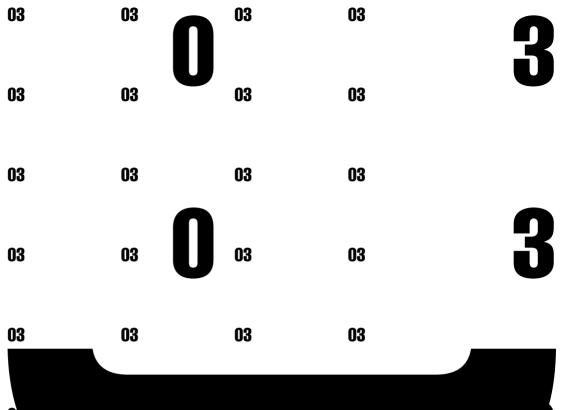
Trinkets such as key chains which come as free bonuses with the purchase of some luxury product, but which end up being traded back and forth as valued collectibles in their own right, reflect a mystical self-abandonment to commodity transcendence.

Those who collect the trinkets that have been manufactured for the sole purpose of being collected are accumulating commodity indulgences glorious tokens of the commodity's real presence among the faithful. Reified people proudly display the proofs of their intimacy with the commodity.

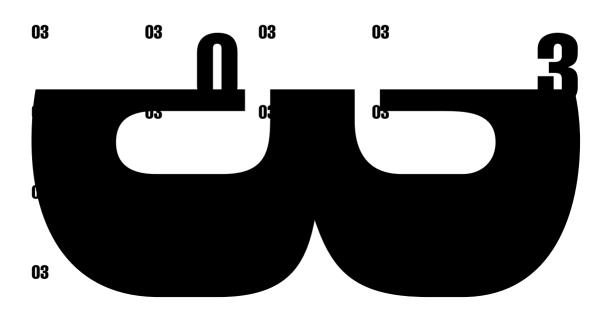
Like the old religious fetishism, with its convulsionary raptures and miraculous cures, the fetishism of commodities generates its own moments of fervent exaltation.

All this is useful for only one purpose: producing habitual submission.

Now observe that a free market does not level men down to some	24
common denominator-that the intellectual criteria of the ma-	
jority do not rule a free market or a free society— and that the	
exceptional men, the innovators, the intellectual giants, are not	
held down by the majority.	
But commodity abundance represents a total break in the organic de-	24
velopment of social needs.	
In fact, it is the members of this exceptional minority who lift the	24
whole of a free society to the level of their own achievements,	
while rising further and ever further.	
Its mechanical accumulation unleashes an unlimited artificiality which	24
overpowers any living desire.	
The cumulative power of this autonomous artificiality ends up by fal-	
sifying all social life.	







# Capital

Capitalism, It a reveals term itself used for	that developing has separate been power,dominant	on the the western increasing world productivity since resulting the from breakup an of	26 26 26 26 26	nonpersonal and means working of	(land , ever-expanding mines, market.	26 26 26 26
what denote it the is: economic	based in	increasingly feudalism. refine Fundamental division to of any labor system into called parcelized capitalist gestures are dictated the by relations	ed 26 26 26 26 26 26 26 26	for production an	capitalist entrepre neurs. The lt first is stage an of the	26 26 26 26 26 26
an system autonomous- ly		the between independent private movement owners of of machines,	26 26 26		fact economy's of domination economics of that social specialization life	26 26 26 26 26
politico	system	history has value or its as "	so " has	in benefited	No greatly	ever

## -ism

27 27 27 27 27 27	and brought exchange, about under an a	longer would equated	27 27		required shift to	simplest all necessities —and
		not with be		bringing		"having"
27 27	evident division	remotely one	27 27 27 27 27		from make	the must general now
27	degradation	attainable.		of		standard
27	of	was, In but		about		derive
27 97	of Iabor,	' . <b>.</b> '.	27 27		having	of
27	labol,		27		or	
		ī	27			its
27	being	man's The	27			living
27	make	economic	27			immediate
27	into	1	27			
27	a 1	0	27			was
27 27	having level	stage, was in limited	27	labor		prestige appallinly
27 27	— of	which by so-		a		and
27	human		27			and
27	productivity		27		to	
	. ,	· · ·	27		acquire	
			27			low:
27	fulfillment			was		its
27	possible	himself com-		general		human ulti-
27	was	1 1	27		annoaring	mate existence
		. 1	27 27		appearing the —	purpose was from
			27		uic	nom
		1 1	27			
		own\	27			
		productions primitive of				
capitalism	- mankind	eloquently		: Q	proved	economic

no chance at survival in pre-capitalist economies.

**Capital** This The is entire the econo-13

ten. But with

h	the	my	

28 a appearanc- es. 28 28 continual, ex	development of the wages system un- der	moral then meaning became of what the the law commodity of had supply already and shown demand;	of	ofpower	a and man ulti- mately works produced in a order <b>28</b>	
28 hausting strug- gle 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 28 against immi- nent 28	capitalism, the in- troduction of machinery and the opportunity for a man to sell his labor, life (to	itself it to represents be the in total the rejection course of of two this vicious conquest: doctrines: a the process tribal of premise quantitative		the in fact the that form man of is commod- ities not transformed	level to of sup- port abundance his sufficient own to life—as, solve by the his initial nature, problem he of must—that survival he — has but to only be in guided such by a his way	28
28 28 starvation. 28 28	say nothing of an ever-increasing standard of mate- rial well-being) was made possi-	and development. altruism.		the human property labo nor itself	28 r 28 own that ratio- nal the 28	28 28
About half of the children born,	ble for millions who could have had	This lt constant		the into servant a of commod- ity,	self-interest, same and problem if is he continually <b>28</b>	28
perished be- fore the age of		represents expansion		the into tribe, wage that labor,	28 28 28 28 wants being to	28 28
	system	the of	its as " so " has	in bene-	fited	No greatly

recognition economic

			about people	of ago
29 29	<b>-iSM</b> regenerated trade at with a others, higher	economy or has has given benefited rise	capitalism are is still such forced that to the take young part people as of wage 29 29 29	augmented are
29	he level. cannot expect sacri	mankind to so a greatly new as form	<ul> <li>29</li> <li>29</li> <li>today workers have in no the idea unending (and pursuit virtually of no the</li> </ul>	survival hid 29 den — under
29 29 29	ficial victims, i.e., he cannot ex- pect to receive values with out trading commensurate	capitalism— of and poverty none within has	<ul><li>29</li><li>way system's of ends discovering and</li><li>29</li><li>29</li></ul>	29 29 accounts 29
29 29 29 29	values in return. The No constant politico-ec- nomic decline system of in use history	the ever realm been of attacked aug- mented so survivalsavage ly, — viciously, alongside and the blindly. old	this millennia blackmail for — scraps 29 29	29 29 29 a - 29 for mound the 29 more 29 29
29 29 29	value has that ever has proved	The pover- ty flood which of still mis- information, persists, mis- representation since dis tor-	29 29 29	<ul> <li>29 general</li> <li>29 impenetrable</li> <li>29 acceptance than of the the geological illusions</li> <li>29 other of of modern works, commodity floods, community, and The earthquaker, real a consumer mound has offecume stores a community</li> </ul>
29 29 29 29	always its characterized value the so capitalist elo- quently	tion, the and vast outright majority falsehood of	which forms to (food, reconstruct shelter) some use information value about now prehistorical has existence—the no events 29 29	of illusion. The commodity is this ma- terialized illusion, and the spectacle is its general expression. 23
ever	capitalism	- mankind	29 : , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	S

## Pow

**30** Economic What growth is has economic liberated

## 30

power? societies It from is the the

## 30

natural power pressures to that produce forced

30

and them to into trade an what

30

immediate one struggle has for produced.

## 30

survival; In but a they free have

## **30** economy, not where yet no been man

**30** liberated or from group their of liberator.

**30** men The can commodity's use independence physical

**30** has coercion spread against to anyone, the

**30** economic entire power aconomy can it be

**30** now achieved dominates. only This by

## er

## 30

economy voluntary has means: transformed by the

30

the world, voluntary but choice it and

30

has agreement merely of transformed all it

**30** those into who a participate world in

**30** dominated the by process the of economy.

**30** production and trade. In a free market, 30

					34	values—better
					34	products
	31				34	or Pservices,
	31					
					34	at
					34	a
					34	lower
~	مال	anvana'a	~		34	price—than
31	all	anyone's "======d"	31	participants.	34	others
31	prices,	"greed"	31	Men	34	are
31	<i>«</i> .1	or	31	trade	34	able
	"growth soc	ienzes	31	their	34	to
	been their	anyone's	31	goods	34	offer.
		need—but	31	or	31	To Such this control end yielded the obvious re-
31	wages,	by	31	services	31	serve gains army in of efficiency, the through
31	and	the	31	by	31	unemployed the is integration enlisted of into di-
31	profits	law	31	mutual	31	vergent the refining, tertiary marketing, or and
31	are	of	31	consent	31	"service" pipeline sector, operations; reinforc-
31	determined—	supply	31	to	31	ing it the also troops made responsible the for
31	not	and	31	mutual	31	raising distributing of and capital glorifying eas-
31	by	demand.	31	advantage,	31	ier the and latest cheaper. commodities; and in
31	the	The	31	according	31	this it is serving a real need, in the sense that in-
31		mechanism	31	to	31	creasingly extensive campaigns are necessary
	Economic, [.		31	their	31	to convince people to buy increasingly unnec-
	have has not		31	own	31	essary commodities.
		free	31	independent,	31	The lt economy's was triumph claimed as then—
31	arbitrary	market	31	uncoerced	31	as an it independent is power still at claimed the
31	whim	reflects	31	judgment.	31	today—that same business, time if spells left its
31	of	and	31	А	31	free, own would doom, necessarily because de-
31	the	sums	31	man	31	velop the into forces an it institution has vested
31	rich	up	31	can	31	unleashed with have arbitrary eliminated pow-
31	or	all	31	grow	31	er. the ls economic this necessity assertion that
31	of	the	31	rich	31	valid? was the unchanging basis of earlier soci-
31	the	economic	31	only	31	eties. Replacing that necessity with a necessity
31		choices	31	if	31	for boundless economic development can on-
	liberated libe	eranded liber-	- 31	he	31	ly mean replacing the satisfaction of primary
	ator."	decisions	31	is	31	human needs (now scarcely met) with an inces-
		made	31	able	31	sant fabrication of pseudoneeds, all of which
31	poor,	by	31	to	31	ultimately come down to the single pseudoneed
31	not	all	31	offer	31	of maintaining the reign of the autonomous
31	by	the	31	better	31	economy.

## The

The		this mentally		
spectacle's problem social of func-				32
tion alienation is and		production, ill—often,		
	mselves, in	III—Otteri,		
The 32	The		32	is
Al ie-	its produce	original a psychiatric power usage, in-	32	or
The 32	1	defilocted of	32	The
	The			control,
of personal alienation. identity Eco- nomic are expansion inseparable.		particularly abun		map <b>iz</b> which
consists		abuli		of
The	The			are
primarily man of who			32	this
	mselves.me	endallyce in it legal	32	experi-
lacks expansion a of firm this sense		generates, contexts, is		<b>z</b> enced
_		The		22new
particular of sector personal of the breakdown	The	experienced insane. by It		<b>iz</b> by izworld,
identity industrial feels production.	1.110	The		him
alienated; <b>32</b>				а
The		conveyed producers		as map
TI	ill, success	The		compel-
The <b>32</b> "growth" man generated who by	The	as notion an of abundance		ling that and
feels an alienated economy lacks 32		The		and
developing a for firm its sense own				
		of breakdown dispossession. of As		
of rationality and		rationality		
of sake personal can identity. beself-determina-		The		
nothing	of	ir and alienated self-determination,		
The <b>tion</b> 32	severely	products		
than a growth of 32	,	The		
The				
very alienation that was at its or-		accumulate, notion all of		
igin. Workers		time a and person space driven		
Workers The		become by foreign forces to which The		
do concept not of produce alien-				
ation,		m.he		
The		The		
		cannot spectacle		
		grasp		

on is alian identical as	t or b	<b>b</b> <i>t</i>	0.00tra		
<b>33</b> is alien, identical so			gestures		
33 The	33 33		of	33	
		ged represents. from	are	33	
<b>33</b> The	334		his	33	
33 himself. forces that	have	escaped us display	no	33	
<b>33 33</b> The	33			33	
33 mselves to us in all	33			33 33	
<b>33</b> The	33		Alio	33	
<b>33</b> ir power.	33	and	<b>Al ie-</b>	33	
33	33	underst	80		
33 33	33 33	and	na		
33 33		s by his contradictions			
33 33		own whose life	p <b>the</b>		
<b>33 33</b> The	33		ises		
33 33 Thus, alienation he	of di	splaces	breakdown		
<b>33 33</b> The	33	existence	longer	33	
33 33 his spectator, sense	whic	ch of reinforces self	of	33	
<b>33 33</b> The		and	and		done
33 33 downward, contem	plate	ed so objects to that	hationality	33	someone
33 speak, result from fr	o <b>133</b> h	is his reason, own which	values,		or
33 33 unconscious is activ	vity,	he his does own not de-	and	33	else
<b>33 33</b> The	33	sires. acknowledge,	own;	33	has
<b>33 33</b> works active, like ir	itiatir		self-deter-	33	who
<b>33 33</b> The	33	The	of		failed
33 in more man, he to c	conte	mplates, his	mination"	33	rep-
The	33	he spectacle's suffers es	The		resents
emotions, less whicl	n he a	-		33	to
The	33	trangement a from pro			
		0 1		33	The
The		gressive	The		m
passive, more reacti	veshe	5	are		do.
Moved with by					to
The	33 33	The	thinking	33	But
	vhose	images source of he		33	him.
need, does		sense acting of subject	tion		
The		self-estrangement, is of	The	33	The
not less underst	33		1110		ine
		expressed self-alien-			
and	33 23	ation. by A		33 33	
, he	33 33	•		33 33	
, 110		The		00 00	
	33 33 33 33				
		man's fact emotions			
		that are			
		The	ha		
		The	he		
		individual's	gestures		
			has		
	33	product	of		

The	what is		confess		-		
122.0.12	The		and	"t	he breakdo	wn	
man	The		and			· • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
spectator who		em people of never	that	34 34	37		
does	The	en people of never	any	04	y to		
is		roduce What every	any	34	are		
not	is detail persona		The	04	reality—or		
rur <b>Al ie-</b>	The	for identity.	ir	34	producing.		34
feel		ould with so ever-in-	 compre-	34	that With		<b>J</b> 4
by <b>na</b>	creasing many p		hensive				34
at	The		concepts	34			UT
his	y experience thu	S	sense	34			triumph
home	The		bear		The		he
emotions,	also task find of		of	of	rationality	and	of
anywhere	, The		no	se	lf-determin	a-	is
attempting	mselves achievin	g increasingly it sep-	what	tic	on"		this
because	arated as from a	that dreaded world.	relation	34	The		rational
to	burden?			34 3	4		—a
	The	<u> </u>	The	34	do in-		separa-
The		"the breakdown		34	creasing	_	
make spec		tion-based means			not accu-	concentration But of it	
tacle	closer what	economic of system '			4mulation	The	
The	The	ing" proletarianizes t	0		4underst	should productive be	
m is a ev-	ir is life	The			4and	process, remembered	
erywhere.		ать (1. j. j.		34	of	communication that	
substitute	comes significan					and	
for rationa	i i ne	whole world world.	rably		4The	The	
judgment, experience	or The	around him immeasu superior to that enjo				The comprehension	
The		n choyanting no capitalism	yeu		4 separate 4relation	capacity are to mo-	
m as alien		The				nopolized abstract by	
forces.		iof speinsality and ot		04	and	and	
Th <u>e</u>	The	"seefnatečenani frazm			concepts		
		cltuded issonerkeep bippy na			The	The	
his position		master: an animal ob			to increas-	conceptualize manag-	
is this: his		nature blindly; man o	•		ing reality.	ers offers of man—to	
emotions		her intelligently—	7		0 /	The	
become hi	s The	and					
only sourc	e Those general w	vho separation as-				The	
	sert of that work	terThe				system. extent	
al identity,	The	reby acquires				The	
but his ex-		The				that	
perience o		power to comm					
	- conceptual prod						
		eliminate alienates					
-	any man direct fi	rom personal					
by demons		11 .					
Though	communication	n real between					
But sepa-							
rated why?							
ITOIN VVNa	t merely producer	18					

han		The	The 35	bunden beneath be	un an arrana bla	nov olt
her.		re virtual is elim-		burden beneath he The	unanswerable issue communica	revolt
			35 The 35			
		ination any of		longs real to pres-	tion of is freedom The	for
l+		justification The	spectacle alienat- <b>35</b> ed obliterates man <b>35</b>	ence escape. of But The	The	
lt The			The	since falsehood	The	free-
	riat true 1	for peasantry na <b>J b</b> eat not a been grea				dom
present a v		-	ing between from	freedom by is	tential	repre- senta-
The		and	self <b>Alie</b> -	The	and <b>Alie</b> -	tion
	ensified	ofadhan geiobny ionner of e				in
consists	ciisiiicu (	The		nization in of his	social on social on social of social	com-
The		because, increas-	and	appearances. na-	and	pen-
	hat of vas	st lingsing degigerity pers				sates
		namanalyzing to	ty world of by a	as who man, pas-	here	one's
The	at over n	The	crushing volitional	sively	The	for
ir men live	es feel	which reasons	The	The	escape con-	con-
and		The	(i.e., self self-di-	re accept is	sumer's is	com
	-from w	hogisærm <del>Etkingice</del> even o		The	compulsion pos-	
The		for sectors	consciousness: by	ir no subjection	sible. to Political	
y		The	The	escape to from an	imitate freedom	
The				it; alien hence ev-	is is a not truly a	
y become	cannot av	wa <b>med</b> ay of from this, v	vh <b>at</b> he-from redefine	eryday his reality	infantile meta-	
, The		accusation, in-	freedom pres-	guilt are	physical need,	
mselves		tellectual one	ence-absence to of	and	given: conditione	d
		professions can	think	thus anxiety driv-	it by has all to	
		are learn being a	The	en when toward	The	
35	The	subjected good to	or world. not It to	he a ab	be aspects	
0	mselve	s ofeast factory-like	also think, obliter-	and	achieved—hence	
35	The	about working	ates to	ons madness rea-	of it his can fun-	
96	r	The	The	son that	damental be	
35	The	conditions. na-	initiate bound-	and	dispossession. re-	-
35		o <b>letæ</b> riat, or	aries a between	reacts sight to in	jected. As	
JU	The	and	process true of	this favor fate of	The	
		meaning of men's	and tion	by feelings resort-	Gabel psycho-	
	The	sense of alienation	tion	ing	logical p <b>LIOA</b> ot it	;
	force u	ini <b>ver</b> se. working		and	ofin	
	and	non-identity—		to blindness. illu-	The	
		gateds this profoundly			0	
		pro <b>ŝimulianboiisly</b> lame	d being for objectively			
	cause	about		re techniques. is	freedom different	Ī
	The	The	35	The	in level one's of	
			35	ano	existence, pathol-	-
	"the r	psychological mo- ationality give rise	35	The	ogy, is " The	
	uie I	to hostility toward	35	r essence level of on this which	The	
		,	35 reason false or 35			
		capitalism.		I	The	
			by to repressing <b>35</b> evade all it, direct- <b>35</b>			
	of and		ly is lived a truth	an The	abnormal	
	sel bro	eakdown	1y 15 11 v cu a li ulli		aunorman	
		rmination"				
	i-dete	mination				

## Value

Productive

The eventual- and ly are won to use development with be its dis of of covered own the by weapons productive "socialsurplus" man's cre forces - cathedrals, the those conditions incommand was is enabling of them thesocialsur to plus survive chose and the the to the invest expansion in of ships, those ware conditions. special houses. It raw hasancateriald, unconscious been finished the good seaconvirtue history nomic and ditions must basis other of materialealts free that that forms human of undertakings. enabled wealth. has Within The natural social capitalism economies, surplus the was actually emergence thus of converted a into commodity rendanged too sector productive represented created capacity. discover utstrip and a surplus survival. all altered Exchange The value free priore could market arise represents the only the as social approximation representative of of an use obconomicsystems. them-to By jective value, the third unof the counterfeit bilizing to all values. study, human to use trans counterfeit late living life."— Instead victory Since conditions of of building human

pyramids

value

it valuesoups

their and knowledge monopolizing into

its

physi

fulf

forn

36

18 exchange

to value offer ultimately

justification

counterfeit cal **V**a

pseudo-

life."—

serves

"it

for

а

а

as

pseudo-



"it

their	of	not			
succeeded	of	overdevel-			
products		oped			
in	values	a			
for	the	commodity			
controlling	is				
trade,		"value			
use.		economy			
	specta	in			
to	cle,				
Usefulness					
judge has them,	copanteiandarly				
	it				
to to be choose	e, seen be purely it	in material terms goods of or exchange ideas, <b>value</b> , a and			
loaf is of now bread completely or at a its philosophical mercy.					
treatise.		37			
		37			
Starting Since ouinvadures like are a established condottiere contextually, in every the man service					
	must	37 37 a			
must of judge use <b>fo</b> r <b>value</b> , himself, exch <b>an</b> ge in <b>vake</b> the has context ended of up his waging own					
the knowledge,	w <b>br</b> goals, for and	37 O 37 U			
its interests.		37 🛱			
own Since sake	e. understand	37			

ItUse is value in verspringerly formerly to understood a as free an market implicit that aspect the of

	_	
distinction	exchangeebetwee	en <b>value</b> .

•

distinction excha	angeedetween v
	proclaimed,
an	market
Now,	both
intrinsic,	
however,	value
subjective,	
within	because
and	of
	its
	а
	aca
	product
	reality
	is
es	has
serves	not
SC	been
	an
	oded
the	intrinsic
objective	by
upside-down	
view	value,
world	the

37 37 37

and

#### itself because hanging insites for we apay facuton the

serves

justification

pseudo-

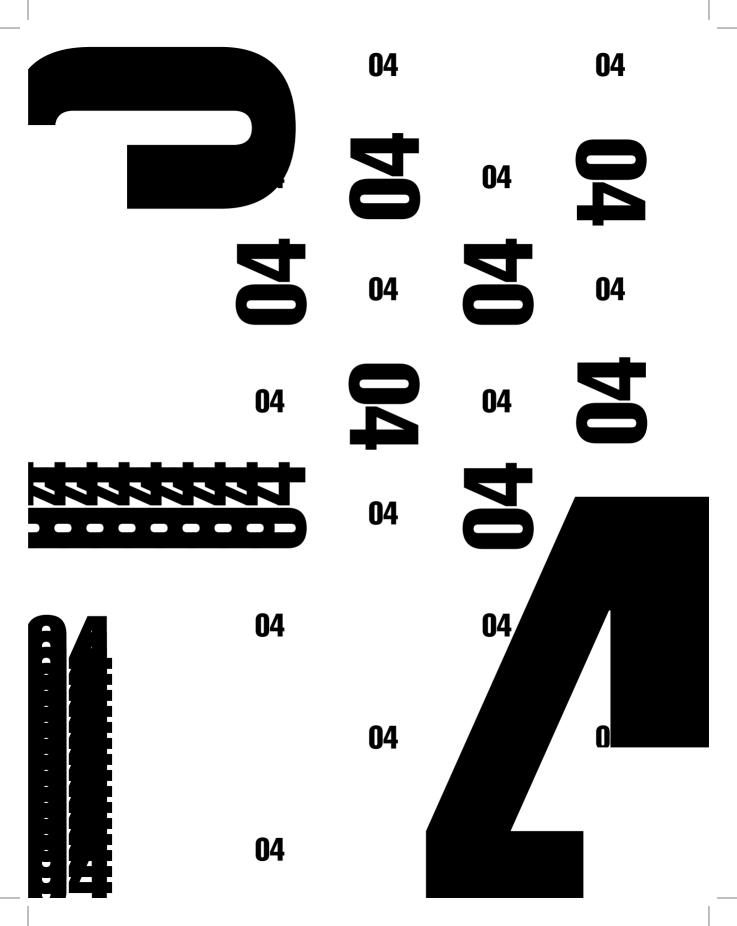
for

#### a A necessary frethps: conducting stiffseafficerd market for never a loses

of a commodities microscope 38 counterfeit sight life. 38 38 whose for use a has visit be of the question. Of **value** to whom And counterfeit 38 20 the The mi-**38** a is commod-38 croscope ity. 38 proliferation 38 not Trinkets 38 is of always **38** taxed such within the broad field of objectivity, the market value of a faddish avail- 38 to as supable gadgets **38** port key an product does not reflect its philosophically objective value, but to reflects **38** chains entire come to an the end doctor in when itserve the her **38** which hosself fact own that pital, come a she Waves needs of it. enthu specific as as research only its socially objective value. needs the and free laboratosiasm she for learns particular mass no of **38** ry, bonuses The This satisfaction does that not no mean, longer however, comes that from the using waline at the ruling commodities as producted build and and a re is subjectived ities as 38 space purbecomes far **38** chase ship's increasingof jour-ly as absurd, 38 38 ney some to now If sought the through stenographer recognition spends she absur-38 38 luxury the dity is itself 38 38 product. of all their her value dioney as on commountes. 38 moon. concerned but Within which her comes she alle Valsmend own up her fashion teacher craze; she a has are has filled nonenvaighzinferno publicizes way night to 38 38 productive ue Value 38 38 being powspots penalize which others in for turn her spin mistakes. er, traded she **Value Val**off If different she lines budgets of raback does county enfeitacts. and pay forth a as life." part valued "it of collect-

				men organic down devel-	
	ibles the in cost their of	own scientific rig	ght	opment to of some social	
				common needs.	Tho
	achievements		39		The
	reflect when a and		39		
	mystical as self-aband		39	denominator—that	
	onment she to needs co	mmodity them.	39	Its	
	transcendence.		39	the	or
			39		cumulative
	She Those has who no o	collect social th	n <b>as</b> dut	tymechanical	а
			39	intellectual	power
	trinkets her that own	have life been is		u factured heiofor only the responsi	
				ecteideriare capitalist accumulating	
				emstleastfeshing the that commodity	
	requires induigences of		39	of	this
		litz		01	
	quires presence rationa		39 39		and
	among i.	39	39	an	
	e.	39	39		autonomous
		39			that
	1		39 39	oountonfoit	artificiality
	the that faithful.		39 39	counterfeit	the
	she Reified live people a		39 39		
the	proudhotect display to	the the proofs be	es <b>39</b> 0f	of their her intimacy own with jud	græædts.
	the commodity.				exceptional
intellectu	ial a			life."—pseudo-	up
	Likerelee old religious	s fetishism	39 39	-	
giants	withscitisetyonvulsionar		39 39	<b>``it</b>	men
•	to	39	39 39		•
are	miratudous cures	39	39	serves	by
not		m <b>ss</b> dities genera	tes it	ts own moments of fervent exal	2
held	level	39		for	
down				producing habitual submission.	falsifyi
by	the	39		as	iuioiiji
the			danc	e a represents free a market total d	ommentament in
uie	level <b>thw</b> en		uane	necessarv	
		39		nooodan y	
majority.					
	ments,				
	while			justification	
In	rising	39		juətiildatilli	
fact,	furthe	39 39			
it	r	39			
is	and				
the	ever				
	furthe				
member	s r.				
of					
this				market	
exceptio	nal				
minority					
who					
lift					
the					

the	whole of	40 40		
intellectual	a free	40 40	it	
giants	society to	40 40	counterfeit	40
are	the	40	Inc	40
not		40	Ö	40
held	level			40
down	of			40
by the	the ir			40 40
ule	own			40 40
majority.	achievem >> /?? /?			-10
	?			
In	//			40
fact,				40 40
it				40
is	ents,			40
40 40 <sup>th</sup> 40 40 4				40 40
<b>40 40 40 40 40</b>	furthe			40 40 40 40
	and			40 40 40
<b>40 40<sup>this</sup>40</b> tional	ever			70
minority	furthe			
who	r.		<b>Value V</b> a	<b>a 1</b> 040
lift			<b>ue Valu</b>	40 40
the			ue vaiu	40 40
			<b>Value V</b> a	40
counterfeit			valut v	<b>a</b> -
life."—				
"it				
serves				
justification				
pseudo-				
for				



ia

CIatprietvaelailssmi, tasteelrfmfu

osrewdhtaotdietniost • eatnhaeuetcoonnoommoiucsslyysdteevmetlhoaptihnagssbeepeanrdaotmeipnoawnetri,

nbtahseewdeosnttehreniwnocrrledassiinncgeptrhoed

burcetaikvuiptoyfrfeesuudlatliinsgmf rFoumnadnaimnecnrteaalstionagnlyysryesftienmecdadlilveidsciaopniotfallaibsotrairnettohpe (indinuedo, inkorgsf, oirnadnuesvterri-aelxpplaanndtisn, gemtacr, kceotl

ITthiesfainresItesmteangteaorfytfhaecetcoofneocmoyn'oemdi-

t aattibi c isaolt ofne-

ahrdoeuxgchhtaanbgoeu, tuanndeevriaddeinvtidseigornaodfaltaiboonro, fmbaekienaglien-

is o

ar reclealtiizoendsg be esttwue ree nspdr iicvtaatte eodwbn vetr h seoifnndo en рре en rdseonn t

am

# lomveeamnesnotf opfrm oa dcuhci

veolhoafvpirnogd—uhcutnavniftuylpfoislslimbelnetwwhaiscnhooltohnegrewriesqeuwaotuelddwniotthbwehraetmoonteewlaysa, tbtuatiwniatbhlweh altnop scc i lo**n ''o** nqNtsare-

toaukterpiagrhttafsawlasgeehwooordkaebrosuitnctahpeiutiangsialigspsuurcshut

## **Smt**

Clatprietvaelailssmi, tasteelrfr

osrewdhtaotdietniost eatnhaeuetcoonnoommoiucsslyysdteevmetlhoaptihnagssbeepeanrdaotmeipnoawnetri, nbtahseewdeosnttehreniwnocrrledassiinncgeptrhoed

burcetaikvuiptoyfrfeesuudlatliinsgmf rFoumnadnaimnecnrteaalstionagnlyysryesftienmecdadlilveidsciaopniotfallaibschritter

(alnadnwdo, rmkiinnegsf, oirnadnuesvter **43** lxpplaanndtisn, gemtacr, kceotl

IT thiesfainreslt **4** Steangteaorfytfhaecetcoofneocmoyn'osmdiocmsitnhaattisopneocfisaolci**4** Stliiofneabnrdoeuxgchhtaanbgoeu, tuanndeevriad**4** Stidseigornaodfaltaiboonro, fmbaekienaglienvteolhoafvpirnogd—uhcutmiavniftuylpfoislslimbelnetwwhaiscnhooltohnegrewriesqeuwaotuelddwniotthbwehraetmoonteewlaysa, tbtuatiwniatbhlweh

th-elorhppmouyte

ss csa kiedlarma

omve

ianperso ctehsestorfiqbuaalnptrietmaitsievaenddeavletlroupimsemn ti tTrheipsrceosnesnttasnttheexrpeacnosginointoifoencoofntohmeifcapcotwtehraitnmtahneifsonromtotfhceopmrmoopdeirttiyensotrrtahnessfeorrvmaendthoufmtahneltarbiobrei, ttshealtfaimnatnowaocrokmsmiondoirtdye, ritnotsouwpapgoerltahbiosro, wannldiurnoadtuucreed, ahleemvuesl-

to—ftahbautn hdeahnacsets oubfefgiuciid eendtbtyohsio slovwentrhae tiinointailasle

plr fo-bilnetmeorf essutr, vainv dailf—hbeuwtaonntlsytiontsruacdhe

awwiatyhtohtahtetrhse, shaemceapnrnoobtleexmpiescctosnatcirniufailcliyableviincgtriemgse, nie  $\bigcirc$  rea  $\bigcirc$  t, ehdeactaanhniogtheexrpleecvtetlo  $\bigcirc$ 

NTohpeoclointsitcaon-tedceocnloimniec

osfyussteevmailnuheitshtaotrhyahsaaslewvaeyrspcrhoavreadcittesrviazleudetshoeeclaopqiuteanltilsytoerchoansobmeynheafsigtievdemnarniksientdosaongerwefaotrlmyoafspcoavpeirttaylwiistmh—ianntdhneorneeahlamsoefvaeurgbmeeenntaetdtsaucrkveidvsaols aavlaogneglsyi, dveitchieooulsdIpyo, vaenrdtbylwihnidclhys • tTihlelf-

ihtaotftthheeysoyusntgepme'ospelnedosfatnoddeaaytbeylhyi by sylenhoeimdkenao

> (wasntdhvaitrhteumaulsltysnuobwmaiytoofrddiisec oTvheerrienaglaintyyiodfetah) iosfbiltascakcmtauiall—ntahteufraec tWthhialter recnhienoiltosgmiossttsiamrpeorvuemrmiasghi grftohrrmosu (gfhotohde, rsuhienlstoefrm) iulsleevnanliuaefnoorwshcarsanposeox gottetnecreyoauntdsbiidtestohfebiolnleuss, ofrryormiwchhiecshotfoaruegcmoennstterduscutrsvoimve gg-faocrcmoautnitosnfaobrotuhtepgreenheirsatloarcicce greaxnicsetoefn-

tchee—ithe eues-43 viequntssooffmloed sesrtn & caont & a coed nittuy & cyoangsouam rpethiodnd e Thuen deearlacmoonusnudmmeor rheaismbpeecnoemter aacbolnes tuhmaen r-

tohfeiglel pigoincsa

ploiwbeerrcaatnele afcrhoime vtehdeoinrl ylbiybveorlautnotra r yTmheea ncso 🔵 mbmyotdhietitnadreypcehnodiecnecaen sepmreenatdo ftaol ltthheo orpea retciocniopmayt eiitn ewp rdoocmeisnsaotfepsr 🜑 uhcitsi oenctornaodmey 🔵 ahmaasr kterta, npsrfiocremse, da ntdhaer ewnoortltdh. e wbhuitm tihte ohratsh emneortealnyy otnrea'nssofroarnmyeodn ei'ts biynltaow sau pwpolryldde mdaon-44 mdi 🔵 nmaetcehda nbiys mtahmea rekceotnaonmdyu 🔵 p tahnedc hIoni cfersedee cailsli ownasgbeyst, h epMreonftihtesi rdoertbeyrcmoinnseedn-t mbuyt uaarlbaictcroarrdyi nogft hreiicrhi nodfe ppeonodre, n tb, yj u "dggrmeeendt" 🔵 mbayn gnreoewdo-nbluyth etahbel eooff faenrdy aTlhuee so-fb eftrteeer orreaftlleocwtesr ostuhmesr saalbll eeocfofneorm 🔵 i

hdc omnatdreo laylile bcviipoaunstgsa 🔵 i ntsriocoidesn csye, rtvhircoe ihteuianlt etgor aatdivoannotev, e rtgoe notwrne fuinncio gr, cmeadr kAe tcianng, raincdhp iipfe liisn etoop ebreatttieorn sp riotdaulcstosm asdeertyhiecreasi. ian gporficcaep—itthaalne aasriee rtaon dTcoh etahpiesr 🔵 eanndd tthhies irseasneerevde, tahremtyh aotfe xttheen suinveemaprleotyoepde oipsl eebnulyiusntneedc eisnstaor ytThhee etceorntoimayr'ys torri u "mspehravsiacnei" n dseepcetnodre, n trpeoiwnefroartctihnegs atmheet itmreosoppesl Irseistpsoonwsnidbo-

ime vtehdeoinrl ylbiybveorlautnotra. r yTmheea ncso: mbmy@tdhietvyo'lsu nitnadreypcehnodiecreaer dha gsr toomdeat wthiorpea retciocniopmayt eiitn dTuhcitsi oenctornacionet, almaas nagtlebc kterta, npsrfiocremse, da ntdhaer kterta, npsrfiocremse, da ntdhaer ewnoortltdh, e wbhuitm tihte ohratsh emneortealmy onn ans needs sau eeosfsa. U pwpolryldde mdaonmdi. nmaetcehda nbiys mtahmea rekceotnachmdyu. p tahnedc hIoni cfersede calls neofutsfTrhee nbiys mtahmea rekceotnachmdyu. ownasgbeyst, h epMreonftihtesi rdo ertbeyrcmoinnseedn-t mbuyt uaarlbaictcroarrdyi nogft brailerhi popfe ppeopodre n the vi u daggiogeneral Oruobd ent ppeonodre, n tb, yj u degimee mbayn gnreoewdo—nbluyth etanbel eooff faenrdv aTlhuee so-fb eftrteeer orreaftlleocwtesr ostuhmesr saalbll eeocfofneorm, i

&pcS uacnhdc omnatdreo laylile lpdaerdtoibcviipoaunstgsa. i ntsriandeef fgiocoidesn csye, rtvhircoeusg hmtuhteuianlt etgor aatdivoannotfadgiev, e rtgoe notwrne fuinncionegr, cmeadr kAe tcianng, raincdhp iipfe liisn etoop ebreatttieorn sp; riotdaulcstosm asdeertvhiecreasi, s ian gporficcaep---itthaalne aasriee rtaon dTcoh etahpiesr . eanndd tthhies irseasneerevde, tahremtyh aotfe xttheen suinveemaprleotyoepde oipsl eebnulyiusntneedc eisnstaor ytThhee etceorntoimayr'ys torri u "mspehravsiacnei" n dseepcetnodre, n trpeoiwnefroartctihnegs atmheet itmreosoppesl Irseistpsoonwsnidboloem, fboerc aduissettrhiebfuotricnegs iatnhda sgulnolreiafsyhiendgh

loem, fboerc aduissettrhiebuotet. negs iatnhda gulnolreiafsyhiendgh atvheee lliamtiensatt ecdotmhmeoedciotnioemsi , c nienc eittsistev rtvhang geneeuulc hiann gsienngsoef un nin theisn gtlhya tcwang name geness snietcyebsosuant and geness snietcyebsosni

### loem, fboerc aduissettrhiebertas siaer-

atynece Hamionsatt ecdotmhmeoedciotnioemsi c nienc eists isteyrtyhiantgw a scuanlc hiann gsienngscef sionc irreetaiseisn gtlhya tcweintphaniegcness snietcyebsosuarreyl ecsosndveivnecleo ptmoe aitnocneleyarseipnigalcyi ncgosmamyo ufstiofn eT, h neoc-

45

EWEWalnoainosincsievenogorowitoshipchp tio enormalise defendente of the ter and ane dweithy adultan the at hearth says a sport roedsædstæladah ctolatebineomyin wiythwehovenan oin in managed and a set of the s ngcheerlacts out spensy haring invited aclo Techtaingangenhisabsatvacuation to the vector bord or the second of plophoisebeceration vtelvdebidedinlibiylbigbyleoutlaotro r y Trylleeheres oc vyoilso'hitmidnadpegbachlicaliecaecaen dhadbaagsepseremeedattlooftaohtebheo seenergenhivethpoapeacioexinoppinopynavitreiitn tnhaewaewaboratoooeisnesiaosfeopsfer o d Tudi Eitsistenotonatoordanelyn ahnahanakserktæntapsnfporfioursense, da natal hadhæðv ræðvarrolodt til dhve hvelbuitmitihteiladerabshateshnecontecaltealnyy otnetainessi absodroanyen dere linte i'ts biyiblizarohra osnu szw. povipodicked anoda onmdin On methaettdehrdaivybingsahntademea rekrekreoonaodyud Otabinæbiredc hIohlafterstedsedereilskibstvorverbegstevist. epMenetohfeisitesbeddeeybergrainoinnseedeedto-mburyburgatauldraiktraiterochyirdyi noghogfehicehichoidhodhegopeatrodne, n tb, thuy dgg dgg en den den bay bay gnrgaceadovdoblunkthu ettalebah boloffoff faenfardmrail/laTeleuxce\_sob\_effbreefenteeer orreaftelefalleatestestustuesnesaltalalbl eeoetofcfedmen l i

&pc&pc&cuhdtholm bandhatdrlagillaylile Ipdheddeoiticoibpoiapoastgsatge fisimitsri-45 ndæedlegifolginde 45 pyc.sytechindoicosgusg hmtuhtehizenlizelgætgærtdivtælivoærtnotfadgiædgiev,tgoægættvortærfinænfinitione gr, gmærdeddick Aræntnignngainælhedhp iipfeipiferliestroepoelpredattriatotnicspr

45

C

45

yTahleisepneacttiaocnltehiasttwhaesmaatpiotfstohriisbAysatnheeciornaolmiyedneavteeldoppriondgufcotrsiatcscouwmnuslaakteec, tiisceuxlpaerrsieecntcoerdobfyitnhdeupsrtordiuacleprrsoadsuacntaibounn Whoerskpeercstdaocnloet' psrsoodcuicaeltfhuenmcsteilovneiss, tthheecvopnrcordeutceemaapnouwfearcitnudreeiTcheexspuacncseisosnocfotnhsiissptrsopdruicmtairoinl aanlbletn<u>iom</u>tehainndgsoptahceerbtehcaonmaegfroorwetihgonfttohtehveemr vtohfetahbeuenxdpaanncseiiotngoefntehriastpe<u>asr</u>, sEeclovneosm dTahnec "egorfodwitshp " ogsesneesrsaitoend poefnadleinetnoafttihoenm wTohrelpdr, gnienw

tthheeffrreeeddoommttootthhiinnkkoorrnnoottttootthhiinnkk,,

ttooiinniittiiaatteeaapprroocceesssooffrreeaassoonnoorrttooeevvaaddeeiitt,, iissaabbuurrddeennhheelloonnggssttooe<u>ess</u>ccaappee



frreeeddoommiissiinnhheerreennttiinnhhiissnnaattuurreeaassmmaann,,

tthheerreeiissnnooee peeffrroom miitt hheen

Thhuosu, ghhesdeipsaprlaatceedsfhriosmswehnastetohfesyepIrfoddouwcne<mark>w, a</mark>predo, psloetnoesypeeratkh, <u>ef</u>freosmshpirsor-"esofsomeoneelsewhorepresentsthemtohim o Tsheescoluorsceerhtehdeoierslniofteucnodmeerssttoabnedi, nagntdhbevicroonwtnrcardeiacttiioonn, stwhheomsoereextih aMtoevdefdrboymftehealtiwnogrslwdh deuacseoenv, ewrhyidcehtiasitlhoefatchteiivrew, oirnlidtwiiatthienvgeerl-eimnecnrteiansmianng, ptoowheirs Inastae nwgheimcehnatrfereoxmptehreiaecntcien<u>de</u>bsyuhbijmeacstci<u>os</u>mepxeplrleis<sub>t</sub> theyarethe everywhere awlhsiocfhianrdetthheempsaeslsvievsei, nrceraecatsiivnegellyesmeepnatr 0 ದ dhei eTghaelmcoornetheexctosn, ttehr otthieomnoorfethheeibdreenatkidfoiwensowfirtahttihoendaolmiit nodteirosntoafnadpsehrissoonwdnrliivfeenabnydfhoirscoewsi Thespectatordoesnotfeelathomeanywhere, becausethespectacl notnaslcliyoiulsla—cotfitveint, c longerhisown F owrhigcihnraelipnsfyocrhcieasttrhieccuosnatgeem, Thheecaolniceenpattoifoanloifetnhaetsipoenc, C pdleantoetdeodbtjheecmtesntthaaltlryeislull n o dturaaln'gsegdefsrtoumrheismasreelnfo c J ttfhreosmehviesroewlnyumr awrotrikcsulliakreltyhiinsl × Ð e iantiotrs. q ъ ΎΡ, é

e tohmaptuglisvieornitsoeitmoihtoastteiilsiattyrtuolwyairndfcaanptiitlaelniesemd , Anditionedbyall-

omunst

yofweerl

fund

pos

ennttsi

oabmlaepmtohfaatliiseindaetnitoinc<u>aa</u>nldttohtehpertoebrlreimtooj

e Tehsecmaapnewdhuosldaicskpslaafyitrhmesmesneslevoefspteoru

seesptahraatbhlaev

Tvhaerfeoil

elsalienatedlacksafirmsenseofpersonalidentity

chemanwho

salienated

dnbdyatlhieefna, cstotthhaattthheefienedlisv<u>e</u> nhneostpgercatsapcolrec'osnetsrtorla, -un eftneeremdi, ntahteiloens, sthh Ihtecloensvsehyeelditvheesn

eTmhoetyitohnuss,

Ð

ъρ

٦

.. е

Ŧ

≥

പ 0

\_

പ  J

¥ d

÷

ಡ

s

ಡ

s t n

			I
The paradox of his position is this his wortion she come his on ly- sour ceof personalidentity, but his experience of identity be comes sour ceof personalidentity, but his experience of identity be comes a being ruled by demons BT uhtewgheyn?eWrhaaltsies ptahreaptrioobnloef mwoof - rakleireannadt piroond?uWchtatteinsdes obnloef mwoof - liindaetnetaintyyd?iWrheycsthpoeurlsdes of niam - liindaetnetainsyacdormepardeehdebnusridveens?eAmsdewohfawthiastthheesyiagmeipfriocdaunccienogf twhietahtthaeciknscomecaaspingaalicsummiuncaotninoecoffsoenpwairtahttehpirsoidsuscutes?andtheincreasingconcentrationoffheproductiveprocess, communicationandcomprehensionaremonopolizedbythemanagersofthesystem Thetriumphofthisseparation-basedeconomicsystemproletar-	TThhoesperwohloeatsasreiratthhaastntohtebceoennceelpitmuianlalteevde lotfrceomnasionisoiursmeedsuscailbileyn- parteessemnatnwfirtohmithhtehreeianltweonrslidf, imeedraelliyecnoantfieosnsotfhmaotdtehre n icracpointcaelpitssmb elatrcnoonrseilsattsioofntthoartevaalsit tmy a	Indicational distribution of the superior of t	ecbcled in tetdhfeoirrtshuibsj. eNcottiboenctaouasneatlhicerneeivsearnyydjauysrteiafliictaytairoentfhourst- dhreicvheantgoew, aprudtabmeacdanuesses, tbhyaatnraelaycztisntgotthheirsefaastoenbsygrievseonrftoirntghteoaiclcluussaotriyomna, goinceaclatre i on qaugeoso d Tdheeaelsasbeonuctetohfetnhaitsuprseeaunddomreeasnpionngsoeftmoeann'usnsaennssweeor- faabllieecnoamtmaanniacnatnioonn-iisdtehnetaictoye—patnadn,
nddaannxxiieet- igghhttiinnffaav- tyywwhheenn- voorrooffffeeeel-	_	nootthheer- eeiissssuu pofff- rlleevveelloon- fr <b>u</b> eed-	iaalloorrssoocci- iaallleevveell
hheeaabbaannd- liinnggssaan-	nneessss	nwwhhiicchhm- d <u>oom</u> m	aannddhheer-

n<u>nee</u>ssss nddbblliinndd-BBuutttth-

doonnssrreeaas-

nwwhhiicchhmmaannccoonnfd<u>oom</u>m tthheee-

iaaiiiit aannddhheerreeeessccaap-



В t i а У 0 m 0 k h g 0 Z n а n С m f h t S p e i f u f e u а n 0 r d 0 e d d е р e u

49°49 49 49 49 49 49 49 49 49 49 o c i а L S е 0 n f e 0 e m e t n h i e m s Ja Da а t Vo uassf 01 لي الم لا لا لا الم цI C s Se ∢n e netsa $\overset{\circ}{0}$ t. r e G Ś UL O T UL Φ m t en s e <u>م</u> s  $\mathbf{p}_{\mathrm{m}}$ 0 ů с e ല а<sup>,</sup> в с r Ρ u 0 >

≥

C

0

E

0 d pD guem evrasjauree fcio-wairtihsree « voinghiear vrøerpfroerstehonoodmiyt 🍯 ie Esx 🐨 c Chofur çeGc Q <del>ر</del> а е d rciatbîiőtnåð -sooedigahlt "tohfr" ocuo medoaunneteeirse e b d ^e .1 e 0 s e 0 a | | °v<sup>±</sup>i e V r e e i og fm < □d-v°œ a m a o, u o f e e e -eoarts ° s t e i a o S Ъ h С n o w d h u e c n e e d u 。e 。a c D<sub>0</sub> t W m n t а с g h r b e S 0 om ou os t de h С t u а ماليerovtaallu <sup>a</sup>n<sub>.</sub> So t <sup>s</sup> t  $\mathbf{t}_{\mathrm{f}}$  i h t  $\mathbf{t}^{\mathrm{a}}$ se gaooo n d e y f r d h е i s s e s t e h а x С а а t u f

49 49 49

b

а

n

e

f

t

s

b

c c

S

n

е

s

s

d

е

b

m

с

е

а

t

f

а

u

0

e

m

f

h

С

e

s

r

У

iilsdiinnrge gpayrrdatmoiadfsr eaenmda rckaetthtehdarta sioncsiiacl, ssuurb jpelcutsi vceh, oasned otboj eicntvievs

wm pmoarttearnitatlosu, n dfeirnsitsahnedd • Tghoeor

toedruicatli sfnoortmasn ionft rwienaslitc htahnu**o**si ncgoinnvaevratceudu mi● nAtfor eeenmlaa isounr • pylaulsu eCwohmommo? dwiittyh iwnhbircoha ( stoepnhdiecda lal ytviamleu er, eotnaliyns oscmiaallll-ysv loomnigce rwchoemrees fqruoamnutsiitnagttihveec owma ncteeirsendo wssoocuigahlt tohfr ocuogmhmreerccoeg no i eEsx • cChoannsguem evraslauree fciolulledd wai netsaotvievree iogfn furseee dvoaml o u f e c cotsoeruys eihta sebveecno etlhf. iWtasv eoswonf ewnei ttihceu lcaornpdriotdiuocn ne dabuytaolnıotm h o e u c ombeidliia Z i A n f S g sshei ovnaclruae Z а u e piuz bilnigc iiztes e h i c eh xicn h t а u n r w t n r a et net lly i f i e m n s e u S с

Т 1 0 h e t r 0 0 i i f n С n р r e g f f d u d I i n S е h S g s d h е а а g h s f n t t h s b t е e е а е с P u а f m f m d m S 0 0 е х r С 0 с a r n d е i n s i u s e а i S t b e s l u y d е r d a i t t а S a r с t 0 i 0 m e t S а m n m g 0 Ċ d h t u С 0 а t S i k t S 0 S n е e r С у h r с v 0 i m С e е o f f r е а S a p i е h х t С h h e n u g r е С 1 u n х d u е r d у р u r p 0 d W е h e d fu oprbeiit С а r n n w

tlhse, d itshtoisnec tiinocnobmemtawnede noafn itnhtersetv iienw osfhviaplsu, e swiasrpea rhtoiucsuelsa, r lryai-

### ndasr kaentdv aoltuh eeorf ampar-

thv • a lTuhee, nsootcai "avla lsuueripnliutss ewlafs' arrkgeetdn epvreordluocsteisvsei gchatpoafcqiuteys • t dtohfet hoefv aplruoedaudcotess rienfdleepcetnpdheinlto caalluee • aTshpeescattsi, s faasc twiaosn tah aetcnoonmso dhiitdideesnp • r owdhuecneedvienra beunncdoaunciatpiiotnaolf tihte itrovtaallu eoafs ceocmomnoodmiyt • rtihsree loingliyo uassf ear vroerpfroersteh-, o m b m u o t d i t t h i e e s v w i h t m u e a a l n l e y n d w i o n n i t w s i t a h p u o s n i s a s c m r f e o a r t p e a d r t s s a f r o e r p r i o t p s a g o a w -

m p m o u w n e i r c a t B i y o i l a m l s l p a h r u k m s a a n f a n a d m a m g o a n z o i p n o n f i u g l h f t i s l p l o m t e s n e s p v i a n l o u f e f d u i l f t o c f e p e r d o e d d u c i t n s

tsie o n a u o U f r ; a e s t s c r o e m f e l e t с t syt hienmats rteal е thia ensgbee cvoamle n gnloywa bcsoumrp yiittss emlefrbceyc loiutty ITirkien ka echiani ntshweh is euesbeo nvuasleusew D i s e w h v a a s l e u o e f s h o a m s u a c g t i , n b g u t t w h h e s g t o r w a n d e s d a b k a e c е

