

Cinema against the Permanent Curfew of Geometry: Guy Debord's *Sur le passage de quelques personnes à travers une assez courte unité de temps* (1959)

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1. "All space is occupied by the enemy. We are living under the permanent curfew. Not just the cops—the geometry."¹

In the second issue of *International situationniste* (December 1958), Guy Debord's "Theory of the Dérive" is immediately preceded by Abdelhafid Khatib's psychogeographical case study of the Les Halles quarter, based on his practices of *dérive*. A form of urban drifting, which the Situationist International (SI) distinguished from the journey or the stroll, the *dérive* was defined in 1958 as "a technique of swift passage through varied environments."² A mode of knowledge and play, it would be claimed by the SI as one of their key actions on affective comportment. Through his *dérives*, Khatib focuses on the contours of the Les Halles quarter, the old market halls at the center of Paris, its four sharply distinct zones of ambiance, and "the turntable [*le plaque tournante*]" of the Place des Deux Ecus and Bourse de Commerce complex, where all the zones converge and people are pulled in and out. Emphasis is placed on the animation of the space, the variability of patterns of circulation, not only the change in socioeconomic activity from day to night but the temporary constructions, which, hour by hour, change the contour of the streets: "the logjam of lorries, the barricades of panniers, the movement of workers with their mechanical- or hand-barrows."³ These movements resist the horizontal alignment of an east-west axis: the petering out of the activity of Les Halles, along with its ambiance, as we move from east to west, toward what Khatib characterizes as the reign of extreme order of the bourgeois quarters. Against plans to displace the markets to the Paris suburbs, part of a concerted centrifugal effort at sociospatial segregation, Khatib argues for the necessity to preserve the space at the center of the city. He begins

NOTE DE LA REDACTION

Cette étude est inachevée sur plusieurs points fondamentaux, et principalement en ce qui concerne la caractérisation des ambiances dans les zones sommairement définies. C'est que notre collaborateur a été victime des règlements de police qui, depuis le mois de septembre, interdisent la rue aux nord-africains après 21 h. 30. L'essentiel du travail d'A. Khatib concernait évidemment l'ambiance des Halles la nuit. Après deux arrestations et deux séjours dans des "Centres de Triage", il a dû renoncer à le poursuivre. Ainsi le présent, pas plus que l'avenir politique, ne peuvent être abstraits des considérations portant sur la psychogéographie même.

but to control the entire Algerian immigrant community, to enforce through physical and psychological intimidation their sociospatial segregation in slums and shantytowns on the city's outskirts.

Historians Jim House and Neil MacMaster draw attention to the attempt to engineer a climate of insecurity and fear, of powerlessness and resignation, by techniques such as the *Osmose* operation, first developed in Algeria and then administered in Paris beginning in 1959. In these nighttime raids, police seized men from their beds and dumped them among strangers in distant locations. The police then arrested those who sought to return to their original location, claiming the very act of return was evidence of "attachment" to a clandestine organization.⁶ If the SI described the technique of the *dérive* as "a passionate uprooting [*dépaysement passionnel*]," the *Osmose* operation was its violent and intolerable reversal.⁷ The aim of the former was to construct new situations for a liberated collective life. The latter sought to shatter ensembles of social relations.⁸ To isolate, to individuate, to terrorize: a most violent "osmosis."

"*Dérive's* difficulties are those of freedom," Debord declared in 1958.⁹ He calls for a radical transformation of society's comportment, its habits, behaviors, passions, and desires, a future where cities will be built for the *dérive*. The cutting short of Khatib's *dérives* underscores a certain lack of freedom that is critical for the SI's theorization of the spectacle and its critique of the "colonization" of everyday life. The scene in which Khatib is brought to a halt is not a ritualized instance of interpellation and subjectivation, as theorized in Louis Althusser's model of "the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing," the "hey, you there!" that recruits *all* individuals as much as the one hailed automatically (unconsciously) recognizes him- or herself in the call.¹⁰ Rather, the cutting short here is a violent scene of selection, separation, and hierarchization, of a subject "over-determined"—a scene that brings to the fore the lived experience of alienation in the capitalist organization of society, particularly in the policing of time and space, the curfew, the curtailing of action from the police to urban planning.¹¹

In this essay I foreground the politics of the *dérive*, especially as the technique is redefined with the founding of the SI in the late 1950s. I also address the temporality of the *derive* and how it affects Debord's filmmaking, in particular, his first situationist film, *Sur le passage de quelques personnes à travers une assez courte unité de temps* (On the passage of few persons through a rather brief unity of time, 1959)—a film about a *dérive* that is also structured by the technique of the *dérive*.

2. “Our camera has captured for you a few aspects of a provisional micro-society.”¹²

At one level, Debord’s *Sur le passage* functions as an attempt at a documentary about the Lettrist International (LI), an accounting of the LI from the perspective of the SI, newly founded in July 1957. The film reflects a step back, a change of tactic, as Debord would say, from the LI’s intransigency, its members’ uncompromising commitment to a radical refusal of the existent social order by committing themselves to exist outside, in the margins, of Left Bank bohemia—a radical but precarious position of opposition.¹³ Voice 1 of the film’s voice-over reports on the LI’s aims, aspirations, actions, and limitations—especially the significance of the group’s radical refusal to work, its refusal of the discipline of the timetable for “the free consumption of its own time.”¹⁴ However, this refusal also limited the influence of the LI’s critique, as Voice 1 states, to the problem of a freedom practiced within “a closed circle.”¹⁵

As the film cuts to pans of the Les Halles quarter, by night and at dawn, the narration relates this socioeconomic restriction of the group to a temporal-spatial delimitation, “the same times brought them back to the same places,” following the temporality of neither work *nor* rest from work but that of the *dérive*.¹⁶ The *dérive* offers a different timetable of sorts, according to which the old market halls are claimed as one of the centers of situationist Paris. In 1873, Émile Zola described Les Halles as the belly of Paris, a quintessential site of Haussmanization and the figure of the Second Empire’s rapacious consumer society:

They seemed like some satiated beast, embodying Paris itself, grown enormously fat, and silently supporting the Empire . . . Les Halles were the shopkeeper’s belly, the belly of respectable petit-bourgeois people, bursting with contentment and well-being, shining in the sun, and declaring that everything was for the best, since respectable people had never before grown so wonderfully fat.¹⁷

“Respectable people . . . What bastards!” is the last line of Zola’s novel.¹⁸ As Zola’s protagonist passes from the start to the end of the novel, the markets metamorphose into “a huge ossuary, a place of death, littered with the remains of things that had once been alive, a charnel house reeking with foul smells and putrefaction.”¹⁹ In Debord’s film of 1959, with its own denunciation of the price of petit-bourgeois respectability, the landscape of Les Halles also speaks of the relentlessness of capital’s reach, hinting at its metamorphosis, another Haussmanization. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the old market halls were threatened with gentrification and were at last torn down in 1971. Part and parcel of “the fall of Paris,” the destruction of Les Halles would be one of the themes of

Right: Guy Debord. *Sur le passage de quelques personnes à travers une assez courte unité de temps*, 1959. Frame enlargements.



Debord's more elegiac retrospection, his 1978 film *In girum imus nocte et consumimur igni*.

Tom McDonough points out how the period of the late 1950s and early 1960s is characterized by a fundamental shift in situationist approaches to the city, both a shift and a breaking away from the influence of surrealism (“an oedipal struggle to at once honor and annihilate its Bretonian father-figure”) toward a more “objective,” larger context of sociology or social geography; in particular, under the influence of Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe’s *Paris et l’agglomération parisienne* (Paris and the Parisian region, 1952).²⁰ The previous techniques of the *dérive* and psychogeography continued to be central to this “new theater of operations in culture,” but now they were resituated and redefined under the term *unitary urbanism*.²¹ A recording of a discussion about the new platform from the third conference of the SI in Munich in April 1959 serves as a background to the opening credits of *Sur le passage*. Alongside the republication of essays written during the Lettrist period in the initial issues of *International situationniste*—notably, Ivan Chtcheglov’s “Formulary for a New Urbanism” (1953) and Debord’s “Theory of the Dérive” (1956)—

the film also attempts to account for the SI's past, its origin, from the perspective of the group's new platform.

The republication in 1958 of Debord's theory of the *dérive* followed Khatib's theory-in-practice—a practice that in its very curtailing explicates the political stakes of the redefined *dérive*. Through recent access to the archive of the Prefecture of the Police for the Algerian War Period (1954–1962), House and MacMaster have delineated the intimate ties between techniques of urban warfare in Algeria and the policing in metropolitan France. The events they detail provide further historical context for the SI's critique of the colonization of everyday life. The use of the term *colonization* in this oft-cited phrase marks a direct relation between the metropolis and the colonies, not only through the importation of techniques but also a division of labor that is disavowed through naturalizing the exploitation of the colonies, racisms deployed and exacerbated “to invest vulgar rankings in the hierarchies of consumption with a magical ontological superiority.”²² The phrase also stains the supposed freedoms of everyday life, the passivity, the enforced docility of the day-to-day, with the persistence of a domination that is disavowed.

The September 1958 curfew fell into abeyance, but in October 1961 the Parisian police would again implement the practice of discriminatory curfew for all Algerians, in addition to accelerated arrests, detentions, and deportations.²³ The curfew would be a trigger for the demonstration on October 17, 1961, by tens of thousands within the Parisian Algerian immigrant community, a protest against the escalating violence in the policing of their time and space, a protest that would end in massacre when the unarmed demonstrators were confronted by the armed police. The violence of the policing that enforced the sociospatial segregation of the Algerian immigrant community in the Paris region during the height of the Algerian War points to an extreme pole of what the SI would argue as the problem of urbanism or “the capitalist training of space”: a post-war transformation of the city for the flow of commodities, cars, and isolated, individuated, documented bodies.²⁴ The mobility and speed of bodies became new insignias of class, and “at the summit of this hierarchy, the ranks may be calculated by the degree of circulation.”²⁵ “Urbanism,” Raoul Vaneigem declared in 1961, “is all that will be needed to preserve the established order without recourse to the indelicacy of machine guns.”²⁶

Michel Foucault would later characterize the political technology of disciplinary power with the figure of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon. This different mode of enclosure possesses not the darkness of the dungeon but acts as a “trap” of visibility in which the prisoner is seen, numbered, supervised, but does not see: one is but “the object of information, never

a subject of communication.”²⁷ For the SI, the figure of the city itself, the postwar transformations of the city, sought to repress what Foucault would describe as “the haunting memory of ‘contagions,’ of the plague, of rebellions, crimes, vagabondage, desertions, people who appear and disappear, live and die in disorder.”²⁸ The city had become a trap of visibility. Urbanism represented an image of social cohesion, an ideal of order that normalized and naturalized the existent hierarchy; it was a spectacularization that enforced a strategy of sociospatial segregation, a new Haussmanization: “One does not reside in a quarter of the city but in power. One resides somewhere in the hierarchy.”²⁹ In contrast to the mainstream Left at this moment, the prescience of the SI was to recognize the full implications of the importance of urbanism as a political problem, shifting the site of political and social conflict from the factory to the city or the metropolis, which was understood by the situationists as an ever-more-embattled terrain for the reproduction of capitalist social relations. In particular, the SI argued for a redistribution of the experience of alienation from “bestial suffering” to “the blind suffering of things,” from hunger to a certain blindness, “to feel by groping.”³⁰ There was the barren time-space of isolation, the solitude of abortive, futile noncommunication, which were compensated for in the form of participation by consumption: buying a house or car or sitting in the self-enclosed glow of one’s television as the new ideals of happiness, the invisible threads, the new chains.³¹

For the SI, the question of circulation, of communication, was particularly problematic. “Circulation is the organization of the isolation of all,” Attila Kotányi and Vaneigem state. “It is the opposite of the encounter, the incorporation of energies available for encounters or for any sort of participation.” The practices of *dérive* and psychogeography would be precisely an action within and against “the permanent curfew of geometry.”³²

All space is already occupied by the enemy, who has domesticated it for its own use down to the elementary rules of this space (beyond legal authority to geometry itself). The moment of authentic urbanism’s appearance will be the creation, in certain areas, of the absence of this occupation. What we call construction starts there. It can be understood with the help of the concept of the “positive hole” [*trou positif*] invented by modern physics. Materializing liberty means first shielding from a domesticated planet a few small fragments of its surface.³³

The destruction of the current organization of time-space is also the *construction* of a new situation—an emptying out with a positive force, a “positive hole.” Kotányi and Vaneigem’s statement would be repeated a year later, incorporated by Debord, Kotányi, and Vaneigem into their

theses on the Paris Commune of 1871.³⁴ Within the context of what the SI perceived as the failure of the classical workers' movement, especially its dependency upon the political representation of the party and the state, the "festival" of the commune would be claimed as "the one realization of a revolutionary urbanism" (that is, "until us," the SI added with characteristic flair). From this perspective, the destructive side of the commune demonstrated a radical recognition of the political aspects of social space, a refusal to believe "that a monument could be innocent."³⁵ Rather than a nihilistic acting out of *ressentiment*, it was an act of freedom. Precisely when the Communards abstained from destruction, they proved themselves still beholden to the "old world," its "ideology, language, customs, and tastes." The *nondestruction* of the Bank of France or the Notre Dame cathedral was a symptom of the continued grip of "the myth of property and theft": "The Paris Commune was defeated less by force of arms than by force of habit."³⁶

The destruction of alienated forms of circulation, of communication, would also entail a project for the destruction of cinema as such, its dominant mode of organization, its ordering of time and space. Indeed, in Debord's 1952 Lettrist film *Hurlements en faveur de Sade* (Howls for Sade), the screen is emptied out: seventy-five minutes devoid of visual representation, the film has a mere twenty minutes of dialogue, shifting back and forth from white screen to black screen, until the final twenty-four minutes of total darkness and silence. If at first blush this description of alternating black-and-white screens suggests the American avant-garde's purging of the cinema, *Hurlements* is *not* an experience of what Annette Michelson describes as the American avant-garde's iconoclastic cinephilia, a desire for cinema in "the guise of metacinema."³⁷ *Hurlements* is an anticinema, one that forcefully refracts attention from the film to the institutionalized space of cinema in order to, as Keith Sanborn writes, "utterly annihilate the cinema as we know it," especially in its use of magnetic tape in place of black leader, the former totally dark and silent as it passes through the projector, thereby creating "a palpable, eerie void." Compared to Debord's antifilm, Sanborn observes, Peter Kubelka's *Arnulf Rainer* (1958–1960) and Tony Conrad's *The Flicker* (1966) are "orgiastic feast[s] for the senses."³⁸

However, according to Debord in 1957, *Hurlements* was a transitional film.³⁹ Of the various possibilities of film, a temporal medium particularly privy to discontinuities and rupture in its representation of reality, the SI would speak especially of its capacity for dereifying the experience of the present, for studying the present as "a historical problem."⁴⁰ Arguing for the necessity of adopting technologies of reproduction, Debord proposed "a new documentary school": "The systematic con-

Guy Debord. *Sur le passage de quelques personnes à travers une assez courte unité de temps*, 1959. Frame enlargement.



struction of situations having to generate previously nonexistent feelings, the cinema will discover its greatest pedagogical role in the diffusion of these new passions.”⁴¹ Thus, in his first situationist film, Debord returns to visual representation after its radical annihilation—a step back, a change of tactic,

from anticinema to countercinema, in sum, a different modality of negation.⁴² The question was how to make negation register and resonate.

3. “We can never really challenge any form of social organization without challenging all of that organization’s forms of language.”⁴³

Debord’s film *Sur le passage* is a detoured documentary about the LI. Not merely an accounting for the SI’s past, its origin, it is also an accounting for the language of documentary, its form, as part of a critique of the current state of communication. The film begins as one might expect: an establishing shot of the neighborhood of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, a photograph of the subjects of the film. However, as Debord points out in a letter to André Frankin, the film becomes increasingly unclear, disappointing.⁴⁴ The narration of the three voices seems ever more excessive and inadequate in relation to the images. The use of detoured phrases is predominant in the first half of the film’s narration, as is the commentary of Voice 1 and its dry, monotonous sociological analyses about the group, about “them” (rather than “we,” as in the case of Voice 2 and Voice 3). As the spectator struggles through the narration, we also sense the distance between text and image, between what we are told and what we see, which gives the image a blunt, obtuse silence. “Our camera has captured for you a few aspects of a provisional micro-society,” we are told, but the visual representations of the group throughout the film remain mute. The film presents no recordings of interviews or dialogues; persons pass by unnamed and unheard. For instance, in the case of the oft-reproduced still photograph that introduces the subjects of the film (Michèle Bernstein, Asger Jorn, Colette Gaillard, and Debord), the camera attempts to animate the static image with close-ups and pans from one detail to another, framing and reframing: from the wine spilled on the table to the faces of the individuals to their hands to a still-held cigarette stub to their eyes and back to the glass of wine. The movement of the camera effects an awkward, anxious study of the surface of the still photograph. But the static image of the group retains its relative indifference to such attempts at animation, its distance toward voices that



attempt to speak about them. The initial scene of the group photograph is itself one of slight disturbance, as if the photographer had happened on the group by chance. The camera movements then speak *not* of the erotics of filmic framing, of seeing and not-seeing, which

Christian Metz compares to that of the striptease, “wandering framings (wandering like the look, like the caress).”⁴⁵ Rather, the affect is one of confusion, a blind fumbling about on the surface, or, as Voice 2 intones, “groping in the dark”: “Human beings are not fully conscious of their real lives.”⁴⁶

The imbalance of text and image increases until the first break to a blank white screen at the midpoint of the film, as if the image has finally fallen apart underneath the unwieldy weight of a text that attempts to speak for it. Indeed, the narration is but an attempt: it is broken up into the incoherence of “somewhat apathetic and tired-sounding voices.”⁴⁷ The narration splits into three modalities, shifting back and forth from “they” to “we”: the monotone of sociological analysis; the more subdued tone of retrospection; and the clear, stern, but fragile tone of negation. Voice 1 is that of the announcer (Jean Harnoi), Voice 2 of Debord, and Voice 3 of the “*fille très jeune*” or very young girl (Claude Brabant).⁴⁸ This exhaustion of narration is characteristic of Debord’s films. For example, in *Hurléments*, five voices speak in fits and starts in a loosely structured discussion, randomly careening from one theme to another, disrupted by ever-more-extended periods of silence. *Critique de la séparation* (Critique of Separation, 1961) includes a “drunken monologue,” “with its incomprehensible allusions and tiresome delivery. With its vain phrases that do not await response and its overbearing explanations. And its silences.”

The interruption of the first break to a blank white screen coincides with Debord’s claim that if we are to challenge a social order, its form of organization, we must also challenge all of its forms of language. In particular, the problem of documentaries is “the arbitrary limitation of their subject,” how they frame and circumscribe their subject, how they isolate it from the complexity of its moment.⁴⁹ They thereby reify the “passage” of the group into the “past,” the “memory” of a subject; this detachment from the passage of time allows one to render it past, to recall it as if it is dead and done, to substitute for it a spectacle—the spectacle as a “paralysis” of history, of memory.⁵⁰

Take, for instance, the spectacle of official history, that of “the men of order,” “embellishing their system with funereal ceremonies of the past.”⁵¹ *Sur le passage* cuts to a stream of detoured footage of the settler

Opposite and right:
Guy Debord. *Sur le passage de
quelques personnes à travers
une assez courte unité de temps*,
1959. Frame enlargements.



demonstrations in Algiers, May 1958, the generals of the coup d'état (Jacques Massu, Raoul Salan), white-gloved paratroopers, then de Gaulle speaking at a podium emblazoned with the emblem of the republic, pounding it with his fist. In addition to such “stars of decision,” the film also shows the “stars of consumption.”⁵² A Monsavon soap advertisement features the actress Anna Karina as the new *jeune fille*, her hands turning over each other in white foam. The advertisement returns repeatedly in the final part of the film, hampering and weighing down the film’s montage, dominating it.⁵³ “The advertisements during intermission,” Voice 2 states, “are the truest reflection of an intermission from life.”⁵⁴ Or, there is also the spectacle of the city. Through a succession of jump cuts, the film presents the pedestrian traffic on Boulevard Saint Michel as the resignation of the people on the streets, those heedless to the policing of their time and space, for whom “duty had already become a habit, and habit a duty,” following the selfsame paths to work, to home, “to their predictable future.”⁵⁵ Cut, cut, cut: the suggestion is of being stuck in time, incapable of moving forward or backward, forced to walk the same, short path, over and over again, as in some Sisyphian torture.



The jump cuts are juxtaposed to the length and scale—the sweep—of the detoured footage of protestors in Japan struggling with the police in the streets, and footage of such struggles from elsewhere become more numer-

ous in the second half of the film. As Debord states in his subsequent film, *Critique de la séparation*,

This dominant equilibrium [of the spectacle] is brought back into question each time unknown people try to live differently. But it was always far away. We learn of it through the papers and newscasts. We remain outside it, relating to it as just another spectacle. We are separated from it by our own nonintervention. And end up being rather disappointed in ourselves. At what moment was choice postponed? When did we miss our chance?⁵⁶

For the SI, the problem of circulation was linked to a decomposition of communication, a collapse in the back and forth of exchange, a division of labor in the form of a unidirectional imposition, “which in the end confirms the more general division in industrial society . . . between those who organize time and those who consume it.”⁵⁷ As a significant example of such noncommunication, the SI points to the inability of the French mainstream Left to see or hear the relation between the workers of France and of Algeria, between *potential* revolt in the metropolis and *current* revolt in the colony. As violence escalated in the Algerian war, Roland Barthes also underscored the axiomatic character of French discourse regarding its “African affairs,” emphasizing a decomposition, an exhaustion of language, a discourse that no longer functioned as communication but as intimidation. He cites, for example, the excessive use of the word *destiny* to relate France to Algeria, to sanctify the relation as both necessary and self-evident, “a conjunction performed by Providence”—precisely at the moment when that relation is being radically contested.⁵⁸ This exhaustion of language, Barthes points out, has peculiar characteristics: “It destroys the verb and inflates the noun. Here moral inflation bears on neither objects nor actions, but always on ideas, ‘notions,’ whose assemblage obeys less a communication purpose than the necessity of a petrified code.”⁵⁹ For the SI, noncommunication is specifically aligned with the absence of action, with the destruction of verbs and inflation of nouns: “Communication is only ever found in action taken in common. And the most striking cases of massive misunderstanding are thus linked to massive nonintervention.”⁶⁰ The

Opposite and right:
Guy Debord. *Sur le passage de
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1959. Frame enlargements.



SI's privileged example of such massive noncommunication is the French mainstream Left's general lack of engagement with Algeria, any limited engagement itself being circumscribed by myths of past political struggle (for instance, the Popular Front) and the displacement of the *specificity* of Algerian independence with the morality, the generality of antifascism, humanitarianism, "peace." In particular, the SI points to the significant difference in the Left's responses to the massacre of the Algerian demonstrators on October 17, 1961, and the deaths of the nine French antifascist protestors on February 8, 1962, in Charonne: the former were erased, the latter mythologized.⁶¹ Absence of action, inflation of nouns, destruction of verbs—these are reflected in the paratactic structure of Debord's film, its seeming lack or looseness of relations between the detourned images, sounds, and texts.

4. "The cinema, too, must be destroyed."⁶²

Voice 2: Once again, morning in the same streets. Once again the fatigue of so many similarly passed nights. It is a walk that has lasted a long time.

Voice 1: Really hard to drink more.

THE SCREEN BECOMES BLANK WHITE.⁶³

As part of "the withering away of all the alienated forms of communication," Voice 3 declares, "the cinema, too, must be destroyed."⁶⁴ After the break to the first blank white screen, *Sur le passage* dissolves into ever-increasing complexity, with eight more breaks, intertitles, and references to the activities of the LI dispersed amid a variety of detourned footage. In the letter to Frankin, Debord explains, "The question is, then: so what's the subject? Which is, I think, a break in the routine of the spectacle, an irritating and disconcerting break."⁶⁵ The break dissociates our habituated modes of perception and experience, action and reaction, of relating to the world and to oneself—especially those modes through which one constitutes and recognizes oneself as a subject. Such dissociations have an affective force through which one is confronted by a scene that one cannot recognize, that cannot be acculturated into one's order of things, that is seemingly not meaningful—and thereby brings forth the question, What does it mean? What is it trying to tell me? What is it asking of me? Instead of a documentary centered on the subject of the LI, with the LI as subject, *Sur le passage* presents a "confused totality":

“imagine the full complexity of a moment that is not resolved into a work, a moment whose development contains interrelated facts and values and whose meaning is not yet apparent.”⁶⁶ The movement of the film, then, is not toward the resolution of a work but is a decentering that moves the spectator beyond itself. As Debord explains, “It is this rather slow movement of unveiling, of negation that I attempted as a plan for *On the Passage*.”⁶⁷ However, he adds, the shortness of the film is a limitation—the inadequacy of the one-reeler and its predilection for “a perfectly measured expression”—when the aim of the film is to withstand such measurement and endure, discharge, then expire. The film ends or rather expires with yet another break to a blank white screen that persists for twenty seconds after the last word.

To discharge then to expire: we could claim that this film *about* a *dérive* of the LI, “the passage of a few persons through a rather brief unity of time,” also refers to the *temporality* of the *dérive*. Here the *dérive* is understood also as a method by which to systematize a different temporality, not that of mobility and speed of circulation but that of the encounter. The *dérive* is here also a different mode of remembering, neither represented by an image of collective memory nor even by the ideal of a common time.⁶⁸ As in Khatib’s case study of the Les Halles quarter, if the SI’s techniques of *dérive* and psychogeography are in part influenced by the vocabulary of Chombart de Lauwe’s social geography, they diverge from the sociologist’s emphasis on the importance that monuments, representations of collective memory, hold for social cohesion. For the SI, the aim would not have been for social cohesion as such. In technical notes to *Sur le passage*, Debord claims his refusal to shoot a monument, thus the necessity to shoot from the monument’s point of view in order to avoid its appearance in the frame. He also speaks approvingly of his Belgian colleague Marcel Mariën’s plans to mislay or multiply statues with a bid to their irrelevance and disappearance, particularly of the proposal to disarray all statues of emperors, kings, and princes in the middle of a desert and there compose “a rather amusing cavalry of ghosts.” Mariën declares, “To hell with history and dates, with their useless lessons! No need, then, to arrange them chronologically or even in alphabetical order, as in dictionaries. Helter-skelter, any which way would be all the better—like on the battlefield—and let the wolves finally devour each other.”⁶⁹ Debord adds that this cavalry could even serve a pedagogical purpose as a “monument” to “the greatest slaughterers of history.”⁷⁰ Monuments will be avoided, detoured, or devoured.

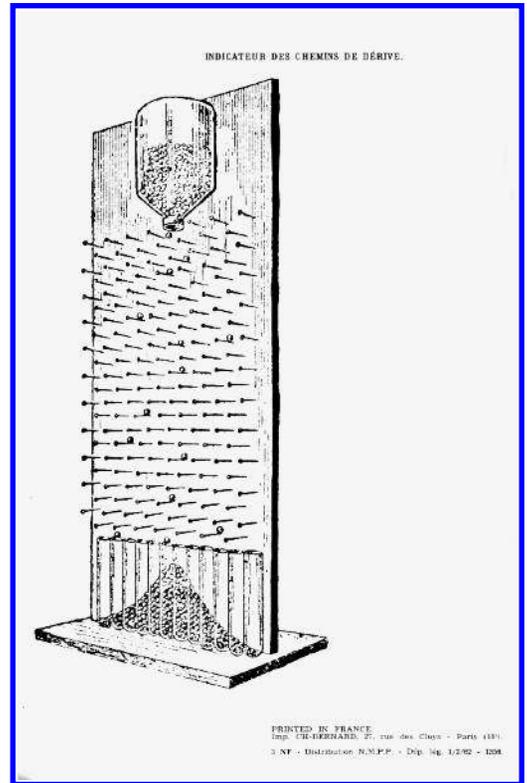
In place of monuments or any other spectacles of history, memory, or time, the SI underscores the churning force of the turntable (*la plaque tournante*), its force of attraction, its effects of seduction and diversion,

Detoured illustration. From *International situationniste 7* (1962).

as well as its collective effect, drawing in the crowd, a locus of multiple and diverse exchanges. Pointing to the various connotations of the term *la plaque tournante*—the circular revolving platform of a railway turntable, but also a pivot, a place of exchange—Simon Sadler describes how the psychogeographical maps present zones such as Les Halles and the neighboring Plateau Beaubourg as a literal turntable for the *dérive*, “arrows fanning out in seven directions,” while arrows recoil from the Pantheon or the Val de Grâce. “If some unities were turntables, the others were termini.”⁷¹ The *dérive* is not simply an experience of release; it is also shaped by psychogeographical variations, “with constant currents, fixed points,

and vortexes that make approaching or exiting certain zones very difficult.”⁷² Chance, Debord insists, has but a minor role, a heuristic function that will disappear with the advance of the technique of *dérive* and psychogeography. What will be outlined is an “objective field of passion” with its breaks, microclimates, quarters, and centers of attraction. One of the metaphors of the *dérive*—reprinted twice in the SI’s journal, *International situationniste 1* (1958) and *International situationniste 7* (1962)—is the Galton apparatus, or pinball machine, a device developed by Francis Galton in the early 1870s for the demonstration of the formation of Gaussian distribution or the bell curve. However, for the SI, its significance was not the figure of the final distribution of the balls but the field of passage within the grid of the apparatus. As Jorn writes, “What is the longest path between two specific points? What is the maximum amount of play or deviation in a movement?”⁷³ What is important is the time-space between positions, the in-between, no longer simply a *ground* to be traversed from one position to another but a *field*, a “force-field” activated by bodies in *dérive*, the turntable less as destination than as inducer of movement, of attraction or repulsion.⁷⁴

The *dérive* focuses on the variation and duration of movement, on forms of play, particularly the process in which play emerges within and against the rules of the grid, adding, accumulating contingencies of play until the rules buckle. That is, *before* the *dérive* is cut short by a discriminatory curfew that prohibits movement from nine o’clock in the evening until six in the morning, as in the case of Khatib’s *dérives*, or by the jump cuts of the Parisian streets, the “permanent curfew of geometry.” If the temporal-spatial continuum of the *dérive* is stopped short by a cut, it also *provokes* the cut, brings forth the force-field, the time-space of the body



that is fitfully captured and contained by the grid. The *dérive* and its arrest, to paraphrase Frantz Fanon, *bodies forth* the muscular dreams of the colonial subject, of “the man penned in.”⁷⁵ Referring to the colonial situation in Algeria, Fanon describes the colonial world as compartmentalized, a world divided in two—not two halves of complementary coexistence but of “mutual exclusion.” In the colonies, the dividing line is immediate, rendered palpably, viscerally apparent through violence, “the proximity and frequent, direct intervention of the police and the military.”⁷⁶ In the metropolis, the line is mediated, displaced, and dispersed; it is, as the SI would argue, the colonization of everyday life. The division is not only spatial but also temporal. According to Fanon, if the colonist’s sector is characterized by solidity, “all stone and steel,” it is also dynamic, full of narrative agency: “the colonist makes history.” However, the temporality of the colonized, “the man penned in,” is that of an eternal present, of “nature.” The colonized is condemned to immobility:

Hence the dreams of the colonial subject are muscular dreams. . . . I dream I am jumping, swimming, running, and climbing. I dream I burst out laughing, I am leaping across a river and chased by a pack of cars that never catches up with me. During colonization the colonized subject frees himself night after night between nine in the evening and six in the morning.⁷⁷

In “Theory of the *Dérive*,” Debord dwells on the duration of the *dérive*, drawing attention to how its average duration is one day, “the interval of time contained between two periods of sleep.”⁷⁸ This day does not conform to the time of the clock, however, but to that of the body, its vitality, the capacity of bodies to persist together, the persistence of the body until the hoped-for encounter—or the body’s collapse. The *dérive* ends with the fatigue of the body, when the need for sleep or bad weather—say, a prolonged rainfall—leaves one incapable of being attuned to the affective responses of one’s body to the variations of psychogeography.

This temporality of the *dérive* is specifically resistant to the abstractions of capital and bodies forth what such abstraction represses. In Karl Marx’s lengthy chapter on the working day in *Capital*, volume one, class struggle is not only a struggle over the limits of the working day but over the limits of the body as such; it is a struggle in which the boundaries of the body are rendered “extremely elastic,” flexible, adaptable yet resilient: the boundary of the body as a problem of force. As Fredric Jameson notes, “‘The Working Day’ (Chapter 10) is not about work at all: it is about the impossibility of work at the extremes, and about the body at the brink of exhaustion.”⁷⁹ Thus, in this chapter, we see the sheer

weight of that system, the force of capital's voracious appetite for surplus value, which must be borne by people, by bodies—a collage of testimonies from factory inspectors about bodies at the limit. Capital's consumption of labor-power is literalized as the consumption, the wearing away of the body through the shortening and suffocation of breath. We witness, for instance, the wasting away of the milliners—their long hours, an uninterrupted stretch at an average of sixteen and a half hours to thirty hours, the stifling conditions of their place of work and sleep, “only one third of the necessary quantity of air.” There is also the blacksmith who is able “to strike so many blows per day, walk so many more steps, breathe so many breaths, produce so much work” but is compelled “to strike so many more blows, to walk so many more steps, to breathe so many more breaths per day,” and thereby dies a premature death. Marx's staggering point is that capital is seemingly capable of overcoming even this limit with the development of automation that renders the labor “abstract”: “Every boundary set by morality and nature, age and sex, day and night, was broken down. . . . Capital was celebrating its orgies.”⁸⁰

The *dérive*, then, is part and parcel of the SI's prescient recognition of “a battle over leisure,” a new battle over the length of the working day, *not* in the reduction of time of work but in the resistance to the extension of the disciplinary power of work into the realm of leisure. The SI sought a time of play that resists the discipline of the timetable; that is, a time attuned to the body, its affectivity—as opposed to the abstractions of capital. Thus, the average duration of a *dérive* is but a matter of statistics. What defines the *dérive* is its intensity: “above all *dérive* often unfolds in a few, deliberately fixed, hours, or even fortuitously during fairly brief moments, or on the contrary over several days without interruption.”⁸¹ The point is its action on comportment, the transformation of norms of behavior, its bid for a new ethics of living, for new passions: “The passions have been interpreted enough: the point is now to discover others.”⁸²

Voice 2: The point is to understand what has been done and all that remains to be done, not to add more ruins to the old world of spectacles and memories.

THE SCREEN BECOMES BLANK WHITE AND REMAINS SO UNTIL TWENTY SECONDS AFTER THE LAST WORD.⁸³

Notes

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1. Attila Kotányi and Raoul Vaneigem, "Unitary Urbanism," in *Leaving the 20th Century: The Incomplete Work of the Situationist International*, ed. and trans. Christopher Gray (London: Rebel Press, 1998), 26.

2. Guy Debord, "Theory of the Dérive" (1956/1958), in *The Situationists and the City*, ed. and trans. Tom McDonough (London: Verso, 2009), 78.

3. Abdelhafid Khatib, "Attempt at a Psychogeographical Description of Les Halles" (1958), trans. Paul Hammond, Situationist International Online, <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/leshalles.html>. For the original French, see Abdelhafid Khatib, "Essai de description psychogéographique des Halles," *International situationniste* 2 (December 1958), 13–18.

4. "Hemmed in by mutilated streets, decked out in the worst panoply of postmodernism, these 'spaces' transform the old itineraries into assault courses, by their complex arrangement of metal barriers, ventilation columns, walkways overlooking ditches of wretched plantations, the orifices of underground roads, and fountains clogged up with empty drink cans." Eric Hazan, *The Invention of Paris: A History in Footsteps*, trans. David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2010), 47.

5. Khatib, "Attempt at a Psychogeographical Description of Les Halles," 18.

6. Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 72–73.

7. Guy Debord, "Report on the Construction of Situations and on the Terms of Organization and Action of the International Situationist Tendency" (1957), in *Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents*, ed. Tom McDonough (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 46.

8. From the first issue of the *International situationniste* in 1958, the SI underscored the vertiginous proximity between their actions on affective comportment and that of the police. "It is the humanistic, artistic, juridical conception of the unalterable, inviolable personality that is utterly condemned here, and we watch its departure with pleasure. But it should be understood that we plan to dive headlong into the race *between free artists and the police to experiment with and develop the use of the new techniques of conditioning.*" "Editorial Notes: The Struggle for the Control of the New Techniques of Conditioning" (1958), trans. Reuben Keehan, Situationist International Online, <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/struggle.html>. For the original French, see "Notes editoriales: La lutte pour la contrôle des nouvelles techniques de conditionnement," *International situationniste* 2 (June 1958), 8.

9. Debord, "Theory of the Dérive," 85.

10. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes toward an Investigation" (1970), trans. Ben Brewster, in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 118. See also Judith Butler, "Conscience Doth Make Subjects of Us All: Althusser's Subjection," in *The Psychic Life of Power* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 106–131. Butler, in particular, addresses the

significance of the automatic character between the call and the individual/subject's response.

11. See Pierre Macherey, "Figures of Interpellation in Althusser and Fanon," *Radical Philosophy* 173 (May/June 2012): 9–20. My essay draws on Macherey's incisive analysis of the dynamics of Althusser's model of interpellation via its contrast to the model described in Frantz Fanon's *Peau noires, masques blancs* (*Black Skin, White Masks*, 1952). Macherey underscores the importance of the Sartrean concept of situation for Fanon, and opposes Fanon's subject in a situation to Althusser's subject in general. "The question that must be asked, and which Althusser does not ask, is whether or not this analysis [of the overdetermination of a subject in a colonial situation] is applicable to all cases; that is, whether to be a subject is not always to be a specified subject, a normed subject, a subject for and under norms, identified from the outset according to criteria imposed by the situation . . . , criteria that simultaneously draw both their (apparent) legitimacy and their (real) efficacy from the situation" (18–19). For the SI, if the situation functions as an overdetermined scene, the aim would be to change a situation, to construct new ones. Referring to the eleventh thesis of Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845)—oft appropriated in SI literature—the SI criticized Jean-Paul Sartre and "existential passivity" for keeping the concept of situation within the bounds of philosophy. "Up till now philosophers and artists have only interpreted situations, the point now is to transform them." "Questionnaire" (1964), in *Situationist International Anthology*, rev. and exp. ed., ed. and trans. Ken Knabb (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006), 178.

12. Guy Debord, *On the Passage of a Few Persons through a Rather Brief Unity of Time* [film script], trans. Ken Knabb, in *Complete Cinematic Works: Scripts, Stills, Documents*, ed. Ken Knabb (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2003), 15; translation modified.

13. "The broadening of our forces and the possibility (and necessity) of genuinely international action must lead us to profoundly change our tactics. We must no longer lead an external opposition based only on the future development of issues close to us, but seize hold of modern culture in order to use it for our own ends." Guy Debord, "One Step Back" (1957), in *Guy Debord and the Situationist International*, 25–27.

14. Debord, *On the Passage*, 15.

15. Debord, *On the Passage*, 17.

16. Debord, *On the Passage*, 15.

17. Émile Zola, *The Belly of Paris*, trans. Brian Nelson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 124–125. The SI's privileging of Les Halles has a more immediate precedent in surrealism than in Zola.

18. Zola, *The Belly of Paris*, 275.

19. Zola, *The Belly of Paris*, 189.

20. Tom McDonough, introduction to *The Situationists and the City*, 14–16.

21. Debord, "Report on the Construction of Situations," 44.

22. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967), trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1995), 40.

23. House and MacMaster, *Paris 1961*, 99–101. The curfew was in effect each night from half past eight to half past five.

24. Attila Kotányi and Raoul Vaneigem, "Elementary Program of the Unitary Urbanism Office" (1961), in *The Situationists and the City*, 147.

25. Kotányi and Vaneigem, "Elementary Program of the Unitary Urbanism Office," 147.

26. Raoul Vaneigem, "Comments against Urbanism" (1961), in *The Situationists and*

the City, 156.

27. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995), 200.

28. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 198.

29. Kotányi and Vaneigem, “Elementary Program of the Unitary Urbanism Office,” 147.

30. Vaneigem, “Comments against Urbanism,” 158.

31. “The Roman slave was held by chains; the wage-laborer is bound to his owner by invisible threads.” Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 1*, trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin, 1990), 719.

32. “All space is occupied by the enemy. We are living under the permanent curfew. Not just the cops—the geometry.” Kotányi and Vaneigem, “Unitary Urbanism,” 26. This translation of “Elementary Program of the Unitary Urbanism Office” speaks to the spirit of the original text.

33. Kotányi and Vaneigem, “Elementary Program of the Unitary Urbanism Office,” 148. Translation of “*trou positif*” modified from “positive void” to “positive hole.” My thanks to Jason Smith for his editorial guidance.

34. Guy Debord, Attila Kotányi, and Raoul Vaneigem, “On the Commune” (1962), in *The Situationists and the City*, 170.

35. Debord, Kotányi, and Vaneigem, “On the Commune,” 170.

36. Debord, Kotányi, and Vaneigem, “On the Commune,” 170.

37. Annette Michelson, “Gnosis and Iconoclasm: A Case Study of Cinephilia,” *October* 83 (Winter 1998): 15.

38. Keith Sanborn, “Return of the Suppressed,” *Artforum* 44, no. 6 (February 2006): 188–189.

39. See Guy Debord, “One More Try if You Want to Be Situationists (The SI *in and against* Decomposition)” (1957), in *Guy Debord and the Situationist International*, 51–59. A year later, in an editorial note titled “L’absence et ses habilleurs” (Absence and Its Costumers) in *International Situationniste 2, Hurlements* is positioned alongside John Cage’s 4’33” and Yves Klein’s blue monochromes (particularly their recent iteration as revolving disks in *Excavatrice de l’espace*). They are examples of the “exhaustion” of the postwar avant-garde, the SI argued, the radicalism of the historical avant-garde trivialized into a repeatable template, “a hoax”: the reduction of the readymade into a simple signing of a blank, a further fortification of the myth of the artist. “Editorial Notes: Absence and Its Costumers” (1958), in *Guy Debord and the Situationist International*, 79.

40. René Viénet, “The Situationists and the New Forms of Action against Politics and Art,” in *Guy Debord and the Situationist International*, 184.

41. Debord, “Report on the Construction of Situations,” 48.

42. See Peter Wollen, “Godard and Counter-Cinema: Vent d’Est” (1972) in *Readings and Writings: Semiotic Counter-Strategies* (London: Verso, 1982), 79–91. According to this highly influential polemic for a counter-cinema, if the “seven deadly sins” of the dominant mode of cinema (“Hollywood-Mosfilm”) are “narrative transitivity-identification-transparency-single diegesis-closure-pleasure-fiction,” then their revolutionary, materialist counterpoints are the “seven cardinal virtues” of “narrative intransitivity-estrangement-foregrounding-multiple diegesis-aperture-unpleasure-reality.” See also Thomas Y. Levin, “Dismantling the Spectacle: The Cinema of Guy Debord,” in *Guy Debord and the Situationist International*, 358.

43. Debord, *On the Passage*, 17.

44. Guy Debord to André Frankin, 26 January 1960, in *Correspondence: The Foundation of the Situationist International (June 1957–August 1960)*, trans. Stuart Kendall and John McHale (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007), 319–323.

45. Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and Cinema*, trans. Celia Britton et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 77.

46. Debord, *On the Passage*, 14.

47. Guy Debord, “Technical Notes to the First Three Films,” trans. Ken Knabb, in *Complete Cinematic Works*, 212.

48. Guy Debord, “Fiche technique, Contre le cinéma, août 1964,” in *Oeuvres*, ed. Jean-Louis Rancón and Alice Debord (Paris: Quarto Gallimard, 2006), 486. For a perceptive reading of the recurring figure of the new *jeune fille* in SI literature, especially as detoured images in the *Internationale situationniste*, see Jen Kennedy, “Charming Monsters: The Spectacle of Femininity in Postwar France,” *Grey Room* 49 (Fall 2012): 56–79. Kennedy contextualizes the detoured images within a widespread discourse where the predominant appearance of the new young girl in the public sphere embodies various anxieties about postwar French identity.

49. Debord, *On the Passage*, 18.

50. “The spectacle, being the reigning social organization of a paralyzed history, of a paralyzed memory, of an abandonment of any history in historical time, in effect a false consciousness of time.” Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 114. If the theory of the spectacle can be understood as an attempt to displace the traditional concept of ideology and materialize it—“ideology in material form”—it is important to temper a common interpretation of the spectacle as the saturation of mass media (or the de-realization of reality by its simulacra). For an analysis that underscores the centrality of particularly French Hegelian ideas of time, subjectivity, and history in Debord’s theory of the spectacle, see Tom Bunyard, “A Genealogy and Critique of Guy Debord’s Theory of Spectacle” (Ph.D. diss., Goldsmiths, University of London, 2011).

51. Debord, *On the Passage*, 12.

52. Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 39.

53. The representation of Anna Karina’s *jeune fille* as a star of consumption is arguably to be placed side by side, say, Claude Brabant’s *jeune fille* as Voice 3—the idealization of the latter qualified by an awareness of the former as fetish. Following Jaleh Mansoor’s astute analysis of Piero Manzoni’s work of 1959–63, we could compare the SI’s ambivalent portrayal of postwar femininity with Manzoni’s *Live Sculpture* series of 1961: “[A]s she is articulated in accordance with the formal logic of classicism and bares an artist’s signature on her skin, she is a *nude*, a cultural template of sorts. Her body, in all of its potential specificity, recedes into the hardened *mold* . That language mapped onto the body, which it then internalizes as it organizes its muscles to hold the configuration, operates as an armature equivalent to this woman’s native skeletal system.” Jaleh Mansoor, “Piero Manzoni: ‘We Want to Organize Disintegration,’” *October* 95 (Winter 2001): 51. Mansoor argues that Manzoni’s *Live Sculpture* could be seen as the reversal of Yves Klein’s *Anthropometrie*, a theatrical freeing of the body that is erased (again) through its spectacularization.

54. Debord, *On the Passage*, 24.

55. Debord, *On the Passage*, 19–20.

56. Debord, *Critique of Separation*, 34.

57. “Editorial Notes: Priority Communication,” in *Guy Debord and the Situationist*

International, 129.

58. Roland Barthes, "African Grammar," in *Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard and Annette Levers (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 153.

59. Barthes, "African Grammar," 157–158.

60. "Editorial Notes: Priority Communication," 130.

61. See House and McMaster, *Paris 1961*, for a genealogy of the repression of the memory of October 1961 within the postwar fragmentation of the French Left.

62. Debord, *On the Passage*, 23.

63. Debord, *On the Passage*, 22.

64. Debord, *On the Passage*, 23.

65. Debord to Frankin, 321.

66. Debord, *On the Passage*, 18. In *Critique de la séparation* Debord contends, "To demystify documentary cinema it is necessary to dissolve what is called its subject [*il faut dissoudre ce que l'on appelle son sujet*]." Debord, *Critique of Separation*, 30. McDonough points out that "Debord played on the double meaning of the term 'subject,' suggesting the need to break up both the carefully circumscribed subject matter of the typical documentary film as well as its existential guarantor, the coherent ego of its author." Tom McDonough, "Calling from the Inside: Filmic Topologies of the Everyday," *Grey Room* 26 (Winter 2007): 19.

67. Debord to Frankin, 321.

68. "The revolutionary project of a classless society, of a generalized historical life, is also the project of a withering away of the social measurement of time in favor of an individual and collective irreversible time which is playful in character and which encompasses, simultaneously present within it, a variety of autonomous yet effectively federated times—the complete realization, in short, within the medium of time, of that communism which 'abolishes everything that exists independently of individuals.'" Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 116–117.

69. Marcel Mariën, "The Commander's Gait" (1955), in *The Situationists and the City*, 58.

70. Guy Debord, "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography" (1955), in *The Situationists and the City*, 63.

71. Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 88–89.

72. Debord, "Theory of the Dérive," 78.

73. See Jennifer Fisher Stob, "'With and against Cinema': The Situationist International and the Cinematic Image" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2010), 123. Stob's dissertation presents an analysis of the implications of the differences in the respective driving metaphors of surrealist and situationist practice: the metaphor of "the communicating vessels" for the surrealist and that of the Galton apparatus for the situationists. For more on the Galton apparatus in relation to the *dérive*, see also McKenzie Wark, *The Beach beneath the Street: The Everyday Life and the Glorious Times of the Situationist International* (London: Verso, 2011), 78–79. In discussing how Bernstein's novel *The Night*, a *détournement* of the spectacle of the novel "in its literary form" (à la Alain Robbe-Grillet), is structured around the *dérive* itself, Wark underscores how the novel subordinates the narrative of the story to the description of the situation, "bouncing from one trajectory to the next."

74. Debord, "Report on the Construction of Situations," 44.

75. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), trans. Richard Philcox (New York:

Grove Press, 2004), 15.

76. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 4–5. “Looking at the immediacies of the colonial context, it is clear that what divides this world is first and foremost what species, what race one belongs to. In the colonies the economic infrastructure is also a superstructure. The cause is effect. You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich.”

77. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 15.

78. Debord, “Theory of the Dérive,” 82.

79. Fredric Jameson, *Representing Capital: A Reading of Volume One* (London: Verso, 2011), 113. If the existential quality of labor lies outside the realm of capital (and thus outside of Marx’s structural, systemic analysis in *Capital*), “How then will the worker’s side of the story be told?” Via a phenomenological principle, “that what allows an act to come to consciousness is not its success (for then its traces and achievements have simply become part of the world of being as such), as rather its failure, the gesture broken in mid-air, the tool shattered, the stumble and the body’s exhaustion.” Jameson, *Representing Capital*, 112–113.

80. Marx, *Capital*, 390.

81. Debord, “Theory of the Dérive,” 82.

82. Debord, “Report on the Construction of Situations,” 50.

83. Debord, *On the Passage*, 24.