

*The Uncollected*  
**BAUDRILLARD**



JEAN BAUDRILLARD

*Edited by*  
GARY GENOSKO

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# The Uncollected Baudrillard



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SAGE Publications  
London • Thousand Oaks • New Delhi

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First published 2001

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SAGE Publications Ltd  
6 Bonhill Street  
London EC2A 4PU

SAGE Publications Inc  
2455 Teller Road  
Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd  
32, M-Block Market  
Greater Kailash - I  
New Delhi 110 048

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication data**

A catalogue record for this book  
is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 7619 6530 0  
ISBN 0 7619 6531 9 (pbk)

**Library of Congress catalog card number available**

Typeset by SIVA Math Setters, Chennai, India  
Printed in Great Britain by Athenaeum Press, Gateshead

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# Acknowledgements

This collection would not have been possible without the strong support I received from Jean Baudrillard. Much to his credit, Monsieur Baudrillard was nonplussed by my resurrection of texts from very early in his career, from a period which may be called, to use the same term by which early works by the young Marx are informally known, the 'prehistoric Baudrillard'. Although the 'posthistorical Baudrillard' is much more well known, there is much to be said for and learned from the bridging operation.

Since many previously untranslated works are included here, I would like to thank the international team of translators without whose skills and persistence and generosity this volume would not exist. In alphabetical order, they are: Peter Flaherty, Ben Freedman, Mike Gane, Paul Hegarty, Thomas Kemple, Mark Lajoie, Nicole Matiation, Paul Patton, Sophie Thomas and Timothy Dylan Wood. Existing translations by Paul Foss, Joachim Neugroschel and John Johnstone, Hans Eberstark and Jan Avgikos, are also included. I would like to personally thank Pascal Boutroy for his assistance regarding the delicacies of French correspondence.

The assistance of Brian Singer as a translation consultant was invaluable, as was the advice offered by Chris Turner.

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The selection from *La Gauche Divine* titled 'The Divine Left' was published with the kind permission of Éditions Grasset & Fasquelle, Paris, 1985.

*L'Ange de stuc* appears as 'Stucco Angel' with the kind permission Éditions Galilée, Paris 1978.

Sylvère Lotringer kindly granted his personal permission to reprint his interview 'Dropping Out of History', originally published in *Impulse*, 1983.

'Our Theatre of Cruelty', from *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities*, was used with the kind permission of Semiotext(e), New York, 1983.



# Introduction

Gary Genosko

Have I actually wiped away all the traces, all the possible consequences of this book? Did I reach a point where nothing can be made of it; did I abolish every last desire to give it a meaning? Have I achieved that continuity of the Nothing? In that case, I have succeeded. I have done to the book what the system has done to reality; turned it into something no one knows what to do with any more. But something they don't know how to get rid of either.

*Cool Memories III* (Baudrillard 1997a: 140)

The goal of this collection is not to produce a new picture of Baudrillard; a picture that nobody – including Baudrillard himself – has ever seen but should see or, for some reason or another, could not see until the publication of this volume. I have not uncovered secrets about Baudrillard or works that are so out of character that Baudrillard will henceforth appear strange to himself and, of course, to us, his readers. This will not have been a scandal. We don't need another French *affaire*; neither are the essays in this volume old favourites that I have dressed up in a new jacket with a visible label, like all those academics who have forgotten to remove the labels on their raincoats and price tags on their shoes, in the manner of the quotations and notes in their conference papers (Baudrillard 1997a: 17).

Indeed, this is not an exercise in depth hermeneutics by means of which I may claim to have discovered more in Baudrillard's work than anyone else, even Baudrillard. Rather, this volume contains *uncollected but unforgotten* essays by Baudrillard from the 1960s forward, but with two emphases: on radical political reflection from the 1970s and urban sociology in the broadest sense from the 1960s; yet things are never quite as plain and simple as they seem.

Every reader of Baudrillard and his critics and interlocutors knows the importance of the trope of forgetting: forgetting someone's discourse in particular (Foucault) as a critical form of revealing it to perfectly mirror the object (power) it unknowingly legitimates and extends; another call to 'forget' in the form of a dismissal – of Baudrillard, no less, as a pseudo-critical imperative, a tired post-modern swipe; and the binary partitioning of the word as an expression of divided loyalties: for(get) Baudrillard; and even the reminder of *sans oublier Baudrillard* – let's not forget him, ok? – as a backhanded form of critical acknowledgement. There are undoubtedly more examples, but I have forgotten them. No, it is not a struggle between infinitive and imperative; of spacing and brackets; not even one of last-minute inclusion, no matter how knowingly it may have been used.

These are unforgotten essays; essays that have not been, on the whole, subject to forgetting in any of the aforementioned senses. They are not new, though only a few have appeared in English before this publication; some are actually fairly old and date from the late 1950s and early 1960s before Baudrillard became *Baudrillard*. Almost all of them have been at least mentioned in bibliographies of Baudrillard's writing; so my claim is not to originality, or even to wily archival work. Only one or two of the most well-known pieces have been the object of concerted critical reflection, at least in the English-language literature.

How did this collection come about? The answer is deceptively simple. It is a wish list. Whose wishes, you may be wondering? I canvassed a number of senior and junior researchers in the field and asked them to list the top ten or so articles by Baudrillard that they would either like to see translated and in print or rescued from out-of-print publications. All of the lists were remarkably similar because everybody knew in advance which articles – and versions – were at issue before I had even posed the question. These articles were, then, never really forgotten, just uncollected; they waited patiently until they would again see the light of day in another language and in some cases in another format. If there is anything new in all of this it is that these texts are freshly unforgotten after languishing for too long in the bibliographies of obsessive researchers. Still, not everyone will be satisfied, especially those who always think there is more to come or that I haven't dug deep enough, been thorough enough, or that I will probably end up publishing his shopping lists.

*Unforgotten*: between forgetting and remembering the project becomes one of recollection and the work itself involves sorting through the obvious choices. The articles in this book do not even have the charm of having been lost; lost *and* found is perhaps more accurate in its paradoxicality. They were there all along and everybody concerned knew it. There is nothing to be revealed about the identity of Baudrillard that was not already known in one way or another, if merely signalled by the bibliographers among us. Yes, we may need a biography of Baudrillard, but you won't find it here.

Every reader of Baudrillard knows his critique of residual meaning as an anti-symbolic principle (latent, hidden, repressed, remaindered, something meaningful) from the perspective of the symbolic in his particular use of it; Baudrillard (1993: 230) argues, using the poetic and comic as his examples, for that which is totally resolvable with nothing left over and nothing behind it, either. It is in this spirit that I offer this (un)collection. There is only intense enjoyment in an exterminating symbolic exchange; unforgetting is not a game of resurrection. It is a game of exchange among readers of Baudrillard in which a limited number of obscure articles (those on the aforementioned wish lists) are critically consumed in a little 'potlatch' of research. This is an offering in exchange for those wish lists, among other gifts. And our milieu, our professional symbolic order, involves the exchange of texts, sharing and contesting ideas, and developing new concepts. A book like this one will probably never have immense sign value as a result of being fetishized – like *America*, for instance – even though many books by Baudrillard have met this fate. But this merely illustrates what Mike Gane (1991a: 84) pointed out some years ago: symbolic exchange and sign consumption are interwoven

despite Baudrillard's desire to take the position of the former against the latter. The publishing economy of sign exchange and exchange value combines with the gift exchange among researchers and readers, critics and friends alike. There are still all of those offprints and author's copies to do something with, after all.

Those who would criticize my selection might do so from the vantage point of surplus value and the alleged affluence of research materials (there is always more to be discovered or I have held something back to increase the power of my position). This would threaten the delicacy of reciprocity and institute separation in the form of a hierarchical relation of power in which I held the decisive card by getting to the source first, or finding what hitherto could not be found. This is why I have insisted that these essays are *unforgotten*, lost *and* found, already (t)here. But in returning this volume as a counter-gift, I cannot fail to enter into a game of cancellation in which it is impossible for me to assume such a position of power. Baudrillardian symbolic exchange cancels authority and institutes the obligation to respond as its fundamental rule. Not only the obligation of giving, but of receiving as well, and returning in kind as its own end; no departmental dirty tricks and no long knives; no holding out against the competition or racing to the publisher.

Recollection and exchange is a matter of elimination – elimination by publication, elimination through celebration, editing as an act of liquidation; as Baudrillard put it with regard to psychoanalysis: 'the real *analytic* operation *eliminates its object* which comes to an end in it' (1993: 204). The object at issue is not, of course, Baudrillard. Rather, it is the object of knowledge (of these texts by Baudrillard that I have chosen and organized and presented in a specific way under the sign of an original editorial impulse and contribution to the literature because they were in some manner 'missing'), mastery of which it is assumed that I, editor-expert, possess and will actualize, and perhaps continually prop up by some promotional means. Mastery is relinquished in the symbolic circuit and the subject of knowledge is cancelled in his object of knowledge. This is an intensely pleasurable experience, Baudrillard suggests, and it is the kind of expenditure in which nothing remains to be accumulated; residues would be the uncanceled seeds of power in this scenario. The remainderless, as opposed to the remaindered, book: this would be the 'continuity of Nothing' about which Baudrillard wrote above with reference to the third volume of his *Cool Memories*. Collections like this one are, in this sense, like collections of fragments because perhaps they will one day amount to nothing and in so doing demonstrate the Baudrillardian reversal of meaning and nothingness. For what is lacking in overall coherence and the development of ideas, exhaustive developmental perspective and critical insight will be regained in delicacy, lightness, banality, brevity, and laziness.

The terms of this offering are both limited and severe. Limited in the first and second instances by the number of texts at issue and by the relatively small audience interested in such matters only for whom this introduction was written with the presupposition of a certain sensitivity to the symbolic in Baudrillard. But severe in the sense that the disavowal of mastery and the idea of cancellation in the symbolic circuit, making it impossible to claim that this book reveals the secret identity and desire of Baudrillard or the hidden topic of his work, also entails that it is not possible to use the work as a critical hammer or even as a tool

of a feigned indifference ('By the time it came out I'd lost interest ...'). The work enters into a social relation and thereby loses its self-centredness; its fullness emptied, its latency evacuated, its meaning no longer radiating across the literature, resolution is achieved and, with it, laughter and enjoyment.

A few issues remain. To those (Zurbrugg 1997) who would position Baudrillard as a photographer<sup>1</sup> without reference to his cut-and-paste construction of quotations for Swiss-born René Burri's collection of photographs *The Germans* (from 1963, the year after he came into contact with the post-war German avant-garde group of artists known as Gruppe '47, numbered after the year of its founding in 1947, the year of the Marshall Plan, and whose members, and enemies, included the cream of the literary crop – Böll, Grass, Weiss; the latter's plays Baudrillard translated into French, etc.), there is a selection from Baudrillard's own accompanying text on German character and culture. Burri's *The Germans* was a European version of Robert Frank's *Americans*. Baudrillard's text is almost entirely made up of quotes, with a few motifs that hint at his later preoccupations: he uses the two editions (*orientale* and *occidentale*) of the Duden dictionary to look at definitions of key words: atheism, individualism, democracy, idealism. The contrasts are extraordinary. There is a remarkable section entitled 'Inanimate Objects: Do They Have a Soul?' in which Baudrillard notes that talking cigarette machines regale you with a 'Vielen Dank! Auf Wiedersehen' after a successful purchase, and eider-down has a way of slipping off the bed during the night; these are intimations of his theory of the revenge of objects that he developed later in the decade. Nestled amongst the quotations by authors from many nations are a few by German novelist Uwe Johnson (1934–84), whose work, in French translation, he reviewed in 1962 for *Les Temps Modernes*.

One of Baudrillard's preoccupations at the time was the representation of the two Germanies, a motif that was acute in Johnson's life and work since he fled the East for the West in 1959 after the publication of his first book, which was thought to be too critical. In Baudrillard's review essay, he describes Johnson's method – the objectivity of description of functional things which are 'the perceptible form that the collectivity takes' – as an *artisan's Marxism*. We are so accustomed to the later Baudrillard's descriptions of the antiquation of history with the 'vague terrain' created by the fall of the Berlin Wall – 'I stand before this wall with astonishment, and I no longer manage to remember anything' (1989: 35–6) – that these interests, while technically unforgotten, seem not very cool at all. Previously uncollected works can be, in fact, quite hot.

There is always the temptation, of course, to read the early Baudrillard through the lens his later work and thus invest the former with all the dominant trends and interests of the latter; yet there is little to be learned by this, but bathing the uncollected in the golden light of decades of refinement and international fame is a way to raise its status. Luckily, there are few examples that suggest nothing of the sort. In the critical reviews of Calvino and Styron, Baudrillard warns against the charms of the former's style (subtle and accomplished, yes, but forced and passive, as well) and the latter's excessive baroque formality. In his book reviewing – a practice, after all, of retelling someone else's story – unlike his translation work on German literature, which points beyond itself, Baudrillard's work is limited and

provides little fuel for overinterpretation. Still, when Baudrillard mentions his work on Brecht's *Dialogues d'exilés* with Gilbert Badia, circa 1965, in a much later interview, it is to underline this point: 'I will never read them again, but their influence remains with me in other ways' (see Gane 1993: 180).

The translation, almost thirty years after the fact, of Baudrillard's important early books on consumer society, *System of Objects* (1996) and *Consumer Society* (1997), not only provides a frame for the investigations into the development of his approach to mass-mediated life, thereby situating him alongside Barthes as a key thinker of the maturation of French consumer society, but also give a renewed sense of urgency to the task. For it becomes clear that the range of work – on McLuhan, Lefebvre, Marcuse, urban sociology of *Utopie*, and more properly sociological topics such as anomie, masses, and social control – was acutely insightful and tightly structured; that Baudrillard was, in fact, *engaged* with critical theory. It is also clear that he absorbed most from those he criticized severely and thus may be said to have read most closely: McLuhan (the pitfalls of the medium theory of communication) and Lefebvre (the troubled relation between technique and mass culture). But reading Baudrillard presents one with the paradoxical fusion of perspicacious *and* disputatious claims in the same stroke, just as certain methods seem to collude with and justify the system they criticize (indeed, it may be said he learned this lesson about structuralism from Lefebvre and applied it to McLuhan's media theory through an analysis of the latter's categories such as hot and cool and his technological model of galaxies). And this is precisely what created the conditions for Baudrillard's groundbreaking analysis of the political economy of the sign: the recognition of structuralist formalism as an ideology detectable at the heart of its smallest elements at the level of the sign. Moreover, like Lefebvre, Baudrillard went deeply into structure and technique and then manufactured a way out, with Lefebvre it was a dialectical critique of structure with several variations, the efficacy of which Baudrillard was not convinced, and with Baudrillard, symbolic exchange. The semiotic analysis of repression flows from this: police and play/repression and regression (i.e. the repression of adult desire by regressive, pre-genital advertising [infantilization] whose return haunts the sexually liberated by diverting them from really transgressive sexual irruptions by providing the signs of this for their amusement); ultimately, then, a semiotized Marcuse. It was then by pushing hard on these simulations of cyberneticized consumer society that Baudrillard defined for himself what may be called a method: take drugs, for example, since they are taken as a result of pressures secreted by a fully integrational, overrational system. Drug-taking is not marginal or deviant. Rather, a highly developed society's overcapacity for order produces anomalies and, as it tries to rid itself of them, produces more. This is the 'perverse logic' of the so-called 'drugs problem'. Baudrillard's little essay written for the *UNESCO Courier* should have been held up against the hysterical 'War on Drugs' that raged through America during the 1980s like a placard: it's this so-called 'war' that ensures drug-taking will not only continue, but intensify.<sup>2</sup>

The question of Baudrillard's aesthetic production does not end with photography. His string of poems 'Stucco Angel' appears here for the first time in translation. As translator Sophie Thomas notes in her preface to the piece, the sound

shape of the original is irrecoverable in English. This is both inevitable and exemplary as far as the general Baudrillardian thesis of the remainderless message is concerned. This makes the medium the message, as it were; the fact that English cannot capture the alleged anagrammatic dispersions of phonic elements of the names of key thinkers, according to Gane's (1991b: 121ff.) demonstration, is complemented by what such a demonstration must surely admit given Baudrillard's interpretation of the anagrams of De Saussure against the grain (his insistence on the annulment of the theme-word or name rather than its recuperation; rearticulation is acceptable, but reconstitution is not). It is fitting, then, that this is lost in translation.

But there is, for the avid bestiarist, something else at play here: a veritable menagerie of animal life populated by circling buzzards, white-tailed eagles, blackbirds, swallows, and cocks, not to mention spiders, pigs, dogs, wild cats, and butterflies. As an undisciplined theorist (Genosko 1998), I have insisted on the extravagant interpretive practice of tracking the animals that are put to work in theoretical texts. They may have been hitherto unnoticed but they have certainly left their marks. Indeed, the notion of the 'bestiary' was a key word that Gane introduced into the Baudrillard literature, but which was not yet oriented toward its proper quarry. Baudrillard has done a great deal to clarify this matter in some of his fragments: 'Where they get all excited about "natural resources" and conviviality, I get excited about these pretty, translucent scorpions ...' (Baudrillard 1997a: 40). On a biographical note, these poems may be the oldest pieces of writing in this collection, dating from the 1950s (Gane 1991b: 122).

Perhaps more biographically relevant are the selections published here from the political commentary 'The Divine Left', the last major piece of Baudrillard's *oeuvre* left to be translated as a piece. Reading the sections of this political diary-like account of the rise and fall of the French Union of the Left in the late 1970s and early 1980s is like, to borrow a phrase from Thomas Kemple (1995: 241, n. 16), 'reading Marx writing' in an *uninhibited* manner because it is so obviously a sensitive satire of the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, from the periodizing right down to the inhibitions of reading political events: Marx's spectres are mediatized by Baudrillard as the monster from *Alien*; instead of the 'iron death mask of Napoleon', we find the funereal visage, the gloomy ecstasy, of Mitterrand; the emphasis on fiasco is the salient point, however. This is Baudrillard's contribution to the many faces of Marx (the Little Girl, the libidinal beard, the severe thinker, the scientist, Young Hegelian, etc.) in postwar French intellectual life. If Marx once complained of emasculating German translations of French slogans (Kemple 1995: 221, n. 7), 'interpretive castration' is not the French – Baudrillard's – interpretation of Marx, even though castration is on the cards for the French Communist Party. Even if Baudrillard mixes his sources together, borrowing a ghost or two from the *Manifesto* as well, it would be incorrect to reduce this work to a burlesque commentary on French politics and the vicissitudes of the Left in particular.

The first section is animated by events in Italy, by the 'historical compromise'. To borrow a coinage from Pier Paolo Pasolini from the early 1970s that he used to describe the anti-democratic network of power established and fortified by the

Christian Democratic Party in Italy, as well as the opposition parties which colluded with it, *Il Palazzo* ('The Palace'), it may be said that counter-hegemonic struggle requires that 'The Palace' be put under renovation! With the compromising 'historical compromise', *compromesso storico*, of 1973 (to 1978) in which Enrico Berlinguer's Communist Party entered 'The Palace' with its traditional enemies the Christian Democrats, thus becoming a *Partito di Governo* rather than a *Partito di Lotta*, little hope remained that renovations would ever get under way. The second reference to the Italian situation is to Gianfranco Sanguinetti's (aka 'Censor') *True Report on the Last Chance to Save Capitalism in Italy* (1975; partial translation, Censor 1980), in which the compromise is said to be 'solely for the communists' and the alleged perils of the 'revolutionary' Italian Communist Party (ICP) entering the sphere of power is an illusion exported by the ICP itself. This piece of Situationist agitation in which the ICP will be forced to make those who refuse to work do so appears in the guise of an enemy, a lion, like the carpenter in a *Midsummer Night's Dream* who allows part of his face to show through his costume: don't fear, it's me, I am no threat! Baudrillard's interest in the Italian situation, in the 'historical compromise', the Red Brigades, and the flowering of the Autonomy movement, is not confined to this text. A few years later in 'The Beaubourg Effect', he would remark at the end of the essay:

In Italy something of the same type is in play. In the actions of students, Metropolitan Indians, radio-pirates, something goes on which no longer partakes of the category of universality, having nothing to do either with classical solidarity (politics) or with the information diffusion of the media (curiously neither the media nor the international 'revolutionary' movement reverberated with the slightest echo of what went on in February-March of 1977). In order that mechanisms of such universality cease functioning, something must have changed; something must have taken place for the effect of subversion to move in some sense *in the inverse direction, toward the interior, in defiance of the universal*. Universality is subverted by an action within a limited, circumscribed sphere, one that is very concentrated, very dense, *one that is exhausted by its own revolution*. Here we have an absolutely new process.

Such indeed are the radio-pirates, no longer broadcasting centers, but multiple points of implosion, points in an ungraspable swarm. They are a shifting landmass, but a land-mass nonetheless, resistant to the homogeneity of political space. That is why the system must reduce them. Not for their political or militant content, but because, nonextensible, nonexplosive, nongeneralizable, they are dangerous localizations, drawing their uniqueness and their peculiar violence from their refusal to be a system of expansion. (1982: 12–13)

The description of this implosive, non-extensive, decentred turning inward of subversion and the particularization of the universal seems to be lifted right off of pages penned by Félix Guattari about the same events; yet with Baudrillard the consequences of this ironic process (the inward collapse of the idea of revolution which is more potent than revolution itself) are incalculable, while for Guattari they were valorized as molecular politics, new forms of collective belonging and expression with both anti-capitalist and anti-socialist deterritorializing potential, without a plan or distinct programme for the future. Guattari believed that the molecular revolution, the necessity of which follows from his bald statement

'There will be no more October revolutions', will not take place through traditional political organizations but, on the contrary, 'will be a generalized revolution, a conjunction of sexual, relational, esthetic, and scientific revolutions, all making cross-overs, markings and currents of deterritorialization' (Guattari 1980: 236). Baudrillard's passing reference to the events of March 1977 (of course, later in September there would be mass arrests of professors, including Antonio Negri, closing of editorial houses, etc.) – mass demonstrations by workers and students and unclassifiable urban radicals ending in riots in the streets of Bologna as the communist mayor called in the police in armoured cars, the events of which were broadcast by the pirate radio station, Radio Alice (after the events of March it was closed) – are discussed by Guattari (1977) in detail. Both Baudrillard and Guattari, however, put the emphasis on the 'originality' of these events; as Guattari once remarked, 'the inventiveness and intelligence of the Italian militants are absolutely astonishing' (1978: 184). Unlike the enthusiasms of Guattari, Baudrillard is content to connect this originality with the implosive form into which meaning disappears. Although this is not the occasion on which a complete investigation of the personal and professional relationships between Baudrillard and Guattari may be undertaken, suffice to say it was during the late 1970s that their editorial projects led them to the Parisian suburb of Fontenay-sous-Bois, home of both *Cahiers d'Utopie*, which published Baudrillard's *À l'ombre des majorités silencieuses* (1978a) and *Le P.C. ou les paradis artificiels du politique* (1978b), and Éditions Encre/Recherches, publisher of Guattari's *La Révolution moléculaire* (1977) and *L'Inconscient machinique* (1979). Both *Utopie* and *Recherches* were journals in which Baudrillard and Guattari, respectively, had a longstanding interest.<sup>3</sup>

These are, then, the sources for Baudrillard's account of the rupture of the French Left's 'Union of the Left' strategy engineered by Mitterrand, the first secretary of the Socialist Party (SP) he established in 1971. The Union between the Socialist Party and the French Communist Party (CP) secured an impressive victory in the municipal elections of March 1977 which seemed to create the conditions for success in the parliamentary elections which were scheduled for the following year. However, the CP's escalation of criticism aimed at its partner, the SP, flared after March 1977 and the CP's leader, Georges Marchais, insisted on an advanced and comprehensive programme of social expenditures and nationalization of major industries, ultimately including their subsidiaries, thereby undermining the Union's public position in an economic statement released just before Mitterrand would debate President Raymond Barre on television. In a subsequent meeting Marchais would reconfirm his commitment to the Union, while still insisting on pushing forward the CP programme; at the SP Congress at Nantes, Mitterrand called for immediate negotiations with the CP. But this was the beginning of the end as Marchais condemned the Congress. By August, the game of attack and non-reponse (Mitterrand) was well advanced and by September at the Left Summit of Mitterrand, Marchais, and Robert Fabre, leader of the Mouvement des Radicaux de Gauche (MRG), the CP leader was mouthing hard-line slogans like 'make the rich pay' to his Socialist partners whom he criticized for selling out to the Right. Mitterrand mustered a reply: the CP holds the keys to



defeat. By the end of September, the Union had broken apart and the CP had, as it was often remarked, snatched defeat from the jaws of victory.

Baudrillard presents the CP as a 'dissuasion machine' incapable of winning power and, in fact, he praises it as a party not of loss but of radical losers who throw the election. This notion of radical losers was celebrated elsewhere in his work (Baudrillard 1981: 204) with reference to the same images of Poulidor – 'the eternal runner-up whose fame is derived precisely from this chronic incapacity to wrap up victory' – and the long-distance runner in Alan Sillitoe's *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* (1959), a Borstal Boy who, as a form of revolt, throws away certain victory in a race sponsored by his reform school. I have suggested elsewhere (Genosko 1999: 60ff.) that this is nothing less than Baudrillard's theory of sports involving a fundamental symbolic ambivalence about performance and perfection in competition: to sell oneself short against every rational demand to do otherwise. Now, taken in a political context, one simply cannot claim that Baudrillard's procedures for reading the events of French politics are straightforwardly cynical or overtly anti-communist, or any of the typical criticisms directed at him by Kellner (1989) such as 'unfair' or 'ill-tempered'. Rather, they are uninhibited translations of Marx's writing in the *Brumaire* and suggest there is something radical, something symbolic, about irresistibly botching it.

The March elections of 1978 witnessed a record turnout of voters and an increase in the CP's representation, alongside the SP's, MRG's, and Left independent's losses, and a disastrous second ballot, the result of which was that the Right won the elections no matter how one counted: by percentages or seats. Giscard d'Estaing had dashed Mitterrand's personal hopes. All of a sudden, the elections of 1981 loomed large on the horizon. And, like a gigantic special effect, on 10 May 1981, Mitterrand was elected president. This analysis is conducted by Baudrillard in terms of his reading of the silent majorities as an implosive mass-form whose behaviour is unpredictable. There is, then, a fairly close identity between the Beaubourg essay and this section of 'The Divine Left' to the degree that the building and the Left are 'monuments of cultural dissuasion' and simulation into which the masses throw themselves not out of the desire to acquire something, but to participate in the collective act of mourning the death of politics and culture; this sort of participation is the last shovel of earth, as it were, on culture and politics. If there is a lesson here it is that Baudrillard's Beaubourg essay and 'The Divine Left' can be reread together in order to deepen one's understanding of his theory of the mass-form through cultural and political examples.

Baudrillard has also fulminated against the Right in France, with most of his vitriol directed at Le Pen. Political bankruptcy has occurred on the left and right. My interests here run from the French Left through terrorism in Germany – Baudrillard's interpretation of the skyjacking to Mogadishu, the murder of kidnapped industrialist Hans Martin Schleyer, and the imprisonment, trial, and ultimately the deaths of the 'gang of four' of the Baader–Meinhof Group who were in the high-security prison of Stammheim (Ulrike Meinhof, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Klaus Röhl). It is once again constructive to read Baudrillard