## Self interview No.1 (Excerpt)

**Q:** What is the problem? Is it that there remains within the occupation a space unoccupied by the occupiers?

**A:** No. That is not my main concern. But yes, there is some sort of Zeno problem: no matter the amount of space occupied, there is more space (psychological, political) produced that remains unoccupied. It is also the case though that there is something within the occupied space that is never occupied enough. ...

**Q:** Would it have been better if Occupy X had never occurred?

**A:** Not at all. My problem with it is that it is represented by those participating as a chosen action undertaken by an autonomous body that has somehow 'decided' against its conditions. I think this is a naïve representation of autonomy. It would be more useful to think of it in terms of a particular behavioral array which has been manifested in this form because it could take no other.

**Q:** You mean that the occupiers were driven into the act that they have taken, that it could not be otherwise?

A: I mean that they express the development of a particular logic to this particular point. The 'successes' and limitations of the action are realized by that which conditions them. ... I do not think, for this particular group of people constituted as it is, that there are many alternatives to this symbolic siege of symbolic landmarks of the productive relation. The move of politics into symbolism always indicates that a particular form is at the evolutionary edge of what it is and what it can be.

**Q:** Occupy London did not manage to occupy its chosen space at all. It somehow bypassed what it intended to do. What do you make of this?

**A:** It is not an 'occupation,' even on its own terms. It manifested itself by activating archaic laws of sanctuary, and thus currently relies for its continued presence upon the goodwill of the state church. An ideological escape route of religious symbolism in which the priorities of spirituality are set against those of materialism is thus established.

**Q:** This path of least resistance into moral symbolism also says something about the personae, the subject formations, that are taking part. ...

**A:** Of course, not only is a specific space defined by the project of occupation but a specific mode of being is also generated. It would be too easy to talk of a proprietary comportment, but there is a self-identifying, self-righteous element to the psychology of occupation which is inherited from what can broadly be called third estate formations. They mis-locate where the human appears, thinking it resides in the act of authoring worlds and making things happen. But this idea of human endeavor has already been the dominant mode of subjectivity for the last two hundred years. It seems they have transposed the model of bourgeois agency from 'enterprise' to social activism. ...

**A:** Decision-making as a process, and as function of society, is not the cause of social change but an outcome. The point where decision-making, and the bodies which enact decision-making, are manifested and participate in social mechanisms is not decided by those bodies themselves. It is futile to make decisions, and invoke general assemblies, where these have no purchase on reality. In all societies actual decisionmaking only applies to a very small area of life. ... The fetish for the rule of society by decision, and for its process as an end in itself, as this appears amongst the occupiers in the form of 'real democracy,' indicates an unthought-out approach to all that is not decidable in human community.



The goal is always to capture and analyze the faults within the general model. It would perhaps be more useful to record that these rigid, carried-over formations ... remain invisible to those participating. The occupiers see themselves as embodying an alternative when it would be more helpful if they attempted to map how they remain part of the same. ... Workers may occupy a factory but the extent to which they control its processes is often minimal. In reality, the factory is occupying them, and their 'occupation consciousness' is merely taking an optimal form, i.e. self-managed exploitation; where readily recognized, embodied class struggle is obscured by selfidentification with production, and with positive 'achievements.' Similarly, with the occupiers it is difficult for them to come to terms with the limits of their capabilities.

**Q:** Describe these limits in greater detail.

**Q:** [W]hat is the 'alternative' to occupation?

A: The important thing is to try and think in terms of departure ... of going somewhere else, of being something else. That is, we should think of releasing and relaxing the space from the current specifics of our presence. We should be listening out for the voices of the space that are already active in it, and listening out for the voices that are speaking through us, but which we do not recognize as our own. ...

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