The Appeal is not really marred by the few flagrant inconsistencies that appear in it (e.g., Thesis 10 holds that the revolution "will not be made." Thesis 11, equally self-assured, holds that "we must make the revolution." Radicals have faltered before in that space between fate and will). In its abrupt formulations, it evokes the gathering mood of combative anticipation and at the same time draws up a nearly definitive agenda for the forthcoming trial of Western identity; for it is clear that a form of civilization is henceforth in suspense about its survival and its right to survive, and that its survival somehow depends upon its ability to do away with itself.

THESIS 1

There are no student problems. The "student" is a limited notion. We are privileged persons because we alone have the time, the material, and physical chance to understand our state and the state of our society. Let us abolish this privilege and act so that everyone may become privileged.

Students, we must not let ourselves be taken in again.

Students, we must be conscious of what we all did in confusion and haste in the streets.

Students, we must be clear and not accept being bought back, assimilated, or understood in our small problems as privileged persons.

Student, we are adults, we are workers, we are the responsible. Let us take the time to understand what we want and to show it clearly.
THESIS 2

Let us not cut ourselves off from the professors and other classes of society. Let us not isolate ourselves as a class of students with its problems of economic and social integration. We are workers like the others. We are an investment capital for the society. We must be paid and viewed as every other worker with a social function. Let us not be treated as parasites. Let us refuse to be mama’s boys, that is, to be economically dependent.

THESIS 3

We reject the consumer society, but we are partly wrong. We do wish to consume—but to consume only what we have decided to produce.

THESIS 4

Let us not yield to “workerism.” The working class as a whole has not sold out as some are trying to sell us out now. They have not been given the means of choosing, that is, the education necessary for industry.

THESIS 5

Let us refuse to compromise with the union leaders. They have also let themselves be seduced and have thus betrayed the workers by making blind consumers of them. No one has made them grasp the importance of this banality. The worker consumes only what he produces. The forty-hour work week has been voluntarily refused by the working class because consumption has been presented to it as an ultimate goal, an end in itself.

THESIS 6

The embourgeoisement of the working class has been an enterprise of modern capitalism around the world. It has made its own privileges seem accessible to all, thus initiating the infernal cycle of needs and “pseudo-needs.” It has thus been able to divide the world in two: the secure, and all those who might be made secure, against the “provisionally excluded” of this world, the so-called “underdeveloped nations.” Thus, the soli-
darity of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is set against the lumpen proletariat of the Third World.

**THESIS 7**

We are the lumpen proletariat of the consumer society. Let us accept our historic function. Let us do away with ourselves and with all the lumpen proletarians.

**THESIS 8**

Let us not give in to the blackmail of being apolitical. Our struggle has always been political and can only be that. Let us refuse the palliatives of understanding, of paternalism— the "reasonableness" which is demanded of us.

**THESIS 9**

We must continue the struggle for a radical change of society.

**THESIS 10**

Let us refuse "revolutionism." It is not a question of making a revolution—because it will not be made. *Revolution is not a luxury nor even an art—it is a historical necessity when all other means are impossible.*

The revolution is the continuation of a dialogue when that is no longer possible.

**THESIS 11**

We must make the revolution. It will be long and hard. We must not allow ourselves to be duped. Revolution is not several more lecture halls and professors. We can change nothing about our situation in society because our social condition is only the product of the state of society in its entirety.

**THESIS 12**

If our situation leads us to violence, that is because the entire society is violent towards us, because the foundation of society is violence.

**THESIS 13**

We should refuse the violence of "happy times"—this scandalous "happy times" of supplementary hours of trading, of the
work force, and of the life force exchanged for some toys and TV's in black and white and in color which serve only to deprive us of our humanity.

**THESIS 14**

We alone can refuse because we are privileged in not yet being fully integrated into this infernal cycle of consumption. No one will help us because no one can. Before, we were only a small minority of privileged agents, necessarily and easily cooptable. We are now too big a minority. Such is the contradiction in which we are placed. Such is our revolutionary force.

**THESIS 15**

Let us count only on our youth, our "immaturity," our lack of responsibility to win everyone over to a clear view so that everyone can truly become adult, mature, responsible.

**THESIS 16**

Let us not let ourselves be fooled by those who would do our thinking for us. We must think for ourselves because we alone have the means to do it. We alone have the possibility to say no. The other responsible workers—political, syndical, governmental—have already said yes in accepting totally their respective roles. They quarrel among themselves only to make themselves feel more unified, only in order not to question the rules of the jockeying for position in which they exhaust themselves.

**THESIS 17**

It is necessary that everyone have rights, not "roles." Let us be other than characters in a tragi-comedy which is no longer even comical.

**THESIS 18**

Let us accept the means to our ends. If we want a radical change, we will not obtain it by a dialogue; that has not existed for a long time. If we wish simply an arrangement of our privileged future as part of the ruling class, let us continue our apprenticeship and let us not give the illusion of "revolution."
THESIS 19

We must liberate our comrades and resume our “professional activities.” That is our first goal in the order of priorities, but it is neither the only one nor the most important.

THESIS 20

We must refuse the unheard dialogue of words, but we must also refuse the dialogue of brutal and conventional force! To go to the butcher is to begin a dialogue in which we start out as losers.

THESIS 21

Take on our responsibilities to ourselves and to others. Categorically, let us refuse the ideology of efficiency, of progress, and of pseudo-forces of the same name! Progress will be what we want it to be. Let us refuse the integration of “luxury” and “necessity,” stereotypically imposed upon all those who consume and produce at the same time that consumers and producers are divided arbitrarily.

THESIS 22

Let us close up all these divisions, perpetrated either consciously or unconsciously, of proletarian and bourgeois, of intellectual, laborer, and manual laborer. If the intellectual laborer is not simply a laborer, that is only because it was once necessary that work be dehumanized through the concentration of the means of production and technical progress. It was therefore necessary to glamorize the only remaining thing: the brute work, the force, the violence.

THESIS 23

Refuse also the division of science and ideology, the most precious of all since we foster it ourselves. We hide it from ourselves. This division claims to be scientific to the extent to which science is the dominant ideology and the guarantee of all the abuses and setbacks of the scientific ideology.
THESIS 24

Refuse also the glibness of rhetoric, the revolutionary verbiage which is only an instrument of assimilation and a refusal to deal with the problems. Let us ask what revolution is.

THESIS 25

Refuse to answer when they ask us to say where we are going. We are not in power. We do not have to be positive to justify our excesses. If we refuse to answer, that means also and above all that we chose the means of our ends, that is, the power from which every form of violence and repression can be excluded as the foundation of its existence and the means of its survival.

THESIS 26

Let us not allow our goals to be assimilated as those of the proletariat have been. We do not wish to control only the means of production, but also those of consumption; to have a real, not a theoretical, choice.

THESIS 27

The proletariat, like the bourgeoisie in its time, has been revolutionary in knowing that it could have a dialogue only by radically transforming the society. The proletariat has lost this power everywhere in the world. A new ruling class has been born, a synthesis, in fact, of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This “association of interests” seeks to conserve the ideology of the last century in its entirety as a guarantee of its new privileges.

THESIS 28

If we are treated as privileged persons, it is to attempt to integrate us into this industrial bureaucracy—the technocracy of the foundations, of progress through the “economic-scientific” imperatives. The ambiguity of this privilege then appears in all its nakedness. For the proletariat, we can only be petits bourgeois. For the ruling class, ingrates. The points of departure differ; the reasoning is the same.
THESIS 29

The bourgeois revolution was judicial; the proletarian revolution was economic. Ours will be social and cultural so that man can become himself.

THESIS 30

Refuse the ideologies and utopias of total man which propose a goal, a stopping point, and which propose this in the name of progress only in order to refuse all the better our forward motion.

Students, we are the revolutionary class, the carriers of the dominant ideology, because our goal is to do away with ourselves insofar as we are a class. We do not wish merely to be young workers. This is a position which we can propose to the thousands of young workers, intellectual or manual, so that they can be like us and we like them.

Once again, it is necessary for us to abolish all privileges, all hidden barriers, and to struggle with all our forces and by all our means toward that victory which can be final only temporarily.