The Soviet Government, attempting to appear as last-minute saviour with the mid-February Peace initiatives, is forced to recognize its own powerlessness on the global stage, while China is content to ‘repair’ its credibility post-Tianamen Square (and Tibet). In the wake of its own 1949 border policy, the authority of the Soviet Government is contested by the opposition to the Union Treaty, and support for glasnost and pluralism within the most liberal circles of the population. The foreign Right may have clamoured for a military show-down over Lithuania and Latvia (which each faced repression in January) but the U.S. recognises no existent oil reserves in the Baltic states or any oil in the complete erosion of central authority in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev may be another unworthy recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, but the recourse to para-military and KGB activities in the dissident republics (also in Moldova, Georgia and western Ukraine) demonstrates that the Nomenklatura has its ‘back to the wall’ with Perestroika abandoned and daily life reduced to survival. The most hopeful element lies in the capacity of the workers in the massive oil, coal and steel complexes to assert their own autonomy (2), although any importation of the Western model of trade unionism would imply any threat to central authority.

The re-emergence of unresolved ethnic questions through eastern Europe, and the Caucaus/Kurdistan, are a reminder of the resilient appeal of nationalism, as the erosion of oppressive systems on this Power creates a vacuum and rekindles centuries-old antagonism. While the "New World Order" on a global stage usually seems to that end, or even to a degree of success, while few of the emerging mini-states can be incorporated within the walls of the European Union (2), a Community of independent states.

The emergence of 'Democratic' unrest in Serbia in March intensified the pressure on the centralized army to accede to a confederation of sovereign republics or embark on the suppression of self-determination beyond Kosovo to the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Complex civil wars encompassing ethnic rivalry and succession from secession and authority are raging in parts of Africa such as Rwanda, Chad, Sudan, Liberia, Ethiopia, Somalia and Western Sahara. Groundswells of African nationalism (as well as revolts against injustice) have emerged in Kenya, Zaire, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Gabon, and elsewhere. The collapse of the appeal of State Capitalism has not been matched by any comprehensive 'marxist' plan for Africa, Latin America or East Asia. There appears no war, revolution, disease or famine, especially in Africa, and any hope for 'reconstruction' is defined in green capitalism programmes of encouraging energy conservation, the reduction of deforestation and soil erosion, but not as a risk to neocolonialism. Initial US/Soviet rapprochement gave rise toaccords in Namibia and soaring sanctions of strife in Angola and Mozambique and Nicaragua. However, such a sanitizing of conflict appears wrong in an era of new wars, as conflicts continue to rage in Cambodia, El Salvador, Peru, Mongolia and East Timor. Frustrated by the example of China, the Western military likes to point to power in North Korea and North Vietnam and, and democratic movements from Hong Kong to Mongolia are the antithesis of wider global politics and a limited appeal amongst the 'middle class'.

In South Africa, the 1978 war game is underway to consolidate white supremacy through the legitimation of ending formal apartheid. Meanwhile, the aspirations of the nationalist and stirrings of the ANC, raised by the release of Nelson Mandela, have been dashed amidst efforts to manipulate 'tribal' conflict in Natal and Transvaal. Western powers, as with the Israeli/Palestinian issue, regard the 'settlement' of South African isolation and some concessions on political power to the black middle class, as strategic to the vision of a 'New World Order', based on an illusion of legitimate states, with democratic rights and the role of the West not formally circumscribed on grounds of race or ethnicity. The multi-national corporations demand that the politicians manipulate events in that end. The relentless struggles against exploitation and human misery can only be expected at least controlled by political movements which offer no alternative.

Widespread understanding of global interdependence, the rights of self-determination (without pursuing nationalism) for oppressed peoples often struggling against actual or cultural genocide; the recognition of class antagonism and interests antithetical to capitalist domination; and the discarding of the remnants of Socialist productive forces ideology, offer in essence what hope exists for the contestation of the 'World Order' that bitterness barbican in the name of 'Freedom'.

(3) For instance, reports in Socialist Organiser 14.2.91, that workers struck successfully at a steel plant in Portugal against privatization. In March a strike wave erupted amongst Dockers and Kuzbass miners angry at the 'Communist' system, non-implmented reforms and the Khrushchev treaty.
D-Mark-ation

Paul Woods reports on the way in which the eastern part of Germany was absorbed into the Federal Republic.

At a period in history when so many nations are attempting to secede from larger ones, East Germany acceded of its own free will to West Germany. But if you think back only 18 months or so, you may remember that East German border guards were still shooting to kill at any East German citizen desperate enough to want out of a "communist" system that wasn't delivering the goods - in every sense. And, about the same time, the West German centre-right government was planning to increase national consumption to a period of 20 months because, no less, of "the communist threat".

Clearly, all those East Germans who risked their lives at the border or jumped the West German embassy walls in Prague, or who went on the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig were demonstrating a belief in West German social democracy which outside observers on the left of the political spectrum might well wish to shake their knowing heads at. If the laws of geology, geography and history had ordained that, say, Portugal should lie to the west of that territory arbitrarily labelled the GDR, the question must be put would the same East Germans have crossed a potentially-lethal Iron Curtain to escape into Portuguese-style social democracy and its concomitant standard of living? Would they have confronted death to reach the achievements of what passes for social democracy in Mexico? Why were those East Germans so sure that life in West Germany would be "better" than in East Germany?

One of the current images being handled about in the Western press is that communism has collapsed, as though the result of a natural decaying process. Thinkers to the right of the spectrum tend to arrogate a specific "naturalness" to capitalist forms of government or its offshoots. I will return to the theme of imagery later. Suffice it to say - using my own imagery - it wasn't East German state communism that imploded so much as West German market capitalism that exploded. West German industry is not only awash in spare cash: except for the fully booked-out car industry, it is also operating at anything down to 2/3 of its potential capacity.

The present inexorable need for expansion is obvious: more goods have to be exchanged for more money. The now-former German Democratic Republic with its 16 million or so citizens had its entire shopping and consumer sector reorganised and resupplied within the space of around 6 months leading up to D-Mark Day on 2nd July 1990 - logistics which the West German department stores, supermarkets and banks handled without batting an inflationary eyelid. East German farmers and the manufacturers of such consumer goods as shoes have been ruined in the process but who gives a damn? This was what the people wanted and the ruling West German Christian Democrats seized the opportunity to literally buy votes. What a scam though! The government here D-mark-ates the whole of East Germany with public money from West Germany and the East German public gives it back to West German private capital in return for training suits, chocolate, video recorders, second-hand cars, and edible plastic fruit. Moreover, West German business is currently taking up to 600,000 extra employees per year, most of whom come from the East, of course. This cannot be a mere coincidence.

Explosion, implosion.

Communism never had an economic chance in East Germany. Right from the birth of the West German state in 1949, the constitution itself - strengthened by subsequent legislation - was aimed at undermining any success to the East.

The West German constitution did not acknowledge the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state, merely as a temporary suspension of the Federal Republic. This meant that any "refugee" (is there a more apt word?) was automatically granted West German citizenship, pension rights and generous bridging loans. Over the years, these benefits were gradually extended to any ethnic German in other Eastern European countries who could prove his or her German ancestry to the interviewing officer more or less satisfactorily.
More or less, because not many harrowing questions were asked. A command of the German language, by way of an example, was not a prerequisite since the evil communists had probably prohibited its being spoken anyway.

It requires little imagination to see that this integral part of the constitution seduced many a qualified worker in the East into settling in West Germany and not, as already suggested, in countries such as Eire - an ongoing destabilisation practice without parallel. (Genuine political asylum seekers from places like Sri Lanka, their rights similarly anchored in the FRG constitution, are given a much rougher ride by the same officials.)

More reasons why East German communism never stood an economic chance after the Second World War:

1. The landscape to emerge under the socialist government in East Germany was more agriculturally-based than in West Germany. Most heavy industry was situated in the West.

2. West Germany had some natural resources, predominantly coal. East Germany couldn't and had to rely on ecologically-redundant peat and shaky atomic power plans for generating electricity.

3. What plant and machinery there was in East Germany, the Soviet Army dismantled as war reparations. In the West, the Allies didn't. All they did do in this respect was forbid monopolies and giant mults whilst encouraging medium-sized firms - a timely re-organisation which can be singled out as the most important factor in getting industry working again.

4. West Germany received lucrative Marshall Aid, partially as a bulwark against communism; East Germany didn't. (Nor did Britain for that matter.)

5. A second bulwark against communism was the social market democracy system set up by the Allies in West Germany to ensure that possible unemployment would not lead to fascism again: a) lead to fascism again and b) allow the susceptible workers to be subdued by the socialism just down the road.

[We are on very interesting ground here: a whole network of pro-labour laws, unprecedented elsewhere in both the capitalist and communist worlds, has rendered the West German workforce prosperous and placid. Whether this soft capitalism will survive, now that the "communist threat" has vanished, remains to be seen. Considering the ruthlessness with which West German industry is putting up to 2/3 of East German factories out of business, all in the name of "brotherly love", the signs are not too propitious. At least it was the service of East German communism that the West German workers thrived... a savage irony if there ever was one.]

6. A third bastion against communism is the presence, amongst many other troops, of the US Army which - incredibly - is the 13th largest employer in the FRG, pumping DM7 billion p.a. into the West German economy. (July 1990 bank report)

7. Also a result of the Allies precautions to prevent a return of fascism in Germany is the little-known fact that the Deutsche Bundesbank is constrained by law, whenever necessary, to take effective measures against potential inflation without reference to its political masters - a unique phenomenon on the banking globe. It was on the springboard of inflation, amongst other things, that the Nazis had taken off.

8. The capitalist overnight in West Germany allowed the D-mark to be a convertible currency; their communist counterparts in East Germany did not permit the same for the Ostmark.

9. Equally important - though not envisaged in the late 1940s - has been the disorienting effect of television beamed from West into East Germany. What was envisaged perhaps was the subversive influence of capitalist West Berlin, positioned as an island in the middle of communism.

10. Initially, socialism/communism was a response to 19th century capitalism - the capitalism of the 20th century has responded to that response and outsmarted it. One strategy was to hallucinate the Soviet economy under armament costs.

A German word encapsulates this concept perfectly: Kaputisten - as in "We've re armed them but..."

I generously offer the above analysis to any potential PhD person in search of a thesis - just mention Here & Now!

What the East Germans voluntarily gave up and what unity will dispense with:

1. Cheap rents, public transport and books
2. Automatic pension rights for everyone
3. Free medical services
4. Medical (and shopping) appointments during worktime.
5. No productivity hassles at work, no neurotic time-keeping.
6. No risk of unemployment
7. Free kindergarten and nursery provision.
8. No-nonsense abortion.
9. Street solidarity against the powers that be - benefits and a standard of living that Vietnamese boat people say, would not have wished to abandon. Indeed, Romanian Sinti trying to find a home in East Germany in the wake of the East German exodus to West Germany clearly thought so too, but they were given short shrift. Forty years of communism did nothing to reduce widespread discrimination against this openly non-bourgeois people.

What the East Germans particularly disliked about communist rule:

1. Not being able to travel abroad, the heavily guarded borders
2. Being big-brothered by the State, censorship, absence of individual freedom
3. Electoral manipulation by the State
4. Lavish privileges for Party members in
5. Non-availability of consumer goods and luxury food.
6. Lack of choice, the boring packaging in the shops.
7. Insufficient opportunity to spend the money earned, fueling the black market.
8. The grey media, insulting in its one-sidedness - up to 55 photos of Honecker per issue.
9. Being made an artificial part of East European culture.

- whereby one of the ironies in this satirical situation is the fact that some East German goods, especially textiles, are first transported to the West, wrapped in enticing packaging, returned to East Germany and only then snapped-up by the same East Germans who would originally not have looked twice at the quality of their own home-produced wares.

Another real-life joke: the underground atom bomb shelter in Berlin for the West German ruling class was stocked with provisions made in the GDR.

Turning now to the imagery in the West German press - roughly from when the Hungarian Government opened its borders to the East German disaffected - it would be fair to say that, apart from the odd "collapse" or two, the language invoked was not as drastic as that reported for the British Press in H&N 10.

Terms such as "shock therapy" or even "rescue" were conscientiously avoided (a tactical moratorium on imagery) in case the East German populace, truly shocked, chose their own revamped socialist route to "recovery" - a policy put forward by the various dissident groups such as Neues Forum, Bondnis 90 and not least the reconstructed PDS (the former ruling class). Most striking was the frequency of concepts such as "help", a sublimated version of annexation if you think about it, but still a residual Love Thy Neighbour. Now and then, supposedly objective terminology was borrowed from the world of transport implying a certain efficiency, a certain everydayness and - by extension - normalisation. The train has departed but we don't yet know its destination - that sort of stuff, or The relationship between FRG and the GDR is not a one-way street - banal everyday traffic images which attempted to promote the idea of East Germany as the steering wheel joining West Germany and not being absorbed by it.

All drivel, of course, as the sad tale of East German football demonstrates: only two of its clubs are being afforded 1st division status in the All-German Football League, the rest consigned to the 2nd division or oblivion. West German managers ruthlessly out-negotiated their East German colleagues who, for too long, were not allowed to take their own decisions or put forward their own position. All the best players in the East had signed up before the discussions with the wealthier West German clubs, anyway, so once again the possible negotiation outcomes had been effectively pre-empted. In the same way, the new Germany is called the Federal Republic of Germany without as much as a concession to the Democratic part of the German Democratic Republic.

The seemingly insignificant football anecdote also reveals just how unwilling West German private capital is to invest outside the borders. It was so anxious to dismantle. There was a lot of waffle towards the end of 1989 about West German and other European businesses investing in East Germany. In fact, this is precisely what the interim PDS government in East Berlin desperately hoped to bring about, in vain attempt to retain some vestige of respect and autonomy for the GDR.

No way. Generally speaking, Western capitalism is uninterested in investment in Eastern Europe - just in wider and bigger markets for goods manufactured here or in Taiwan. The GDR Ex-Minister of Labour, Regina Hildebrandt (not a Commie, by the way) has complained that, as of mid-August, FRG capital had not created one single new job in East Germany. It's the state's duty, western industrialists argue openly, to finance transport infrastructure, housing and telecommunications, as well as sorting out the ecological mess in the East, so that private capital can subsequently pick as much profit with as little input as possible.

In other words, we pay taxes so that capital can increase its yields. My head spins sometimes: if a sick West German claimant accompanied by her dog travels by taxi to the doctor's, the gutter press rants about scroungers; if the West German government presents industry with a taxpayer-funded increase in turnover of 250 billion (the initial cost of D-Mark Day), then nobody raises an eyebrow. What a scam! The suspicion must be voiced that West European capital managers are now waiting for more Government subsidies before moving in. Why invest if the powers-that-be will pay you to invest? And where are all those captains of industry and monetarist philosophers who used to complain so resentfully that government intervention only got in the way of free market enterprise?

**DAS DESIGN BESTIMMT DIE WÜNSCHE**

Graffiti in West Berlin.

A man on the November 9th 1989 demonstration in West Berlin.

One theme permanently present in West German media representations about the defects of communism was queues and queuing. The theme is worth dwelling on, as it shows how reality (in the shape of newsworthy events) is filtered in the West to denigrate phenomena in the East. Queues in the communist countries are always presented as a bad thing whereas queuing in the West is inherently a good thing.

We have all seen on British TV News those heroic individuals who queue for 3 days and nights during a blizzard to be the first in at a Harrods winter sale; who queue in the rain to see the premiere of a James Bond film; or
who queue from 4am to get tickets for a Wimbledon match 12 hours later. In West Germany too queuing is an increasingly everyday occurrence as supermarkets, since the corner-shops were successfully driven out of business, restyle themselves as The Market Experience or whatever. This means that on your weekly trip to the supermarket, you now have to queue for cheese, bread, vegetables, etc. Nobody ever complains; concerned camera crews do not film us.

Similarly, it is impossible to buy a new Daimler-Benz without being put on a waiting list for 2 years - part of a successful sales strategy aimed at increasing desire. Nevertheless, cars made in the GDR are sneezed at by ear owners in the FRG, partly because the waiting period was anything up to 15 years. Divide the 15 Trabi years by the much-vaunted East German productivity and the 2 Mercedes years by the much-vaulted West German productivity and a real comparison is inadmissable because expectations on workers are (were) different from East to West - and you would almost certainly end up with an equivalent factor, but the mind-warping puzzle remains: why in the West is queueing sold as a feature enhancing our daily lives whilst queueing under a communist "regime" is indisputable evidence of socialism's failure? Post-DM-Day footage of East Germans queueing for West German goods was, needless to say, presented in taken-for-granted tones of understating.

Another illustration of prejudice in the Western press being filtered and transformed into ostensible "truth" is the howl of protest which greeted the case of Egon Schröder. Former employees of the hated Ministry for State Security in East Germany were to have enjoyed fat pensions as one consequence of the 1.1 DM:1 East German exchange rate. Ernaged by this, Western journalists in East Germany soon put a stop to that, without questioning an analogous practise whereby former SS officers and Nazi judges still draw pensions from the FRG state for their activities during the Third Reich. In much the same way, Honecker, Ceausescu & Co. were unfailingly referred to as communist dictators. Have despots such as Pinochet, Zia and Saddam Hussein been described as capitalist dictators by the Western press?

Lesley Chamberlain - in her book "In the Communist Mirror: Journeys in Eastern Europe" (faber & faber, 1990) - looks at the type of queuing in some depth, noting that the phenomenon of queues is possibly more of a legacy from East Europe's peasant past than a direct consequence of communist rule. Readers stuck in the conurbations of Britain and elsewhere are probably not too aware that the whole of Eastern Europe and much of Western Europe shares a village life and peasant culture that disappeared from Britain centuries ago. From the South Tyrol to the east of Moscow it is a ubiquitous farming way of life symbolised by farmer women in sleeveless smocks with knotted kerchiefs protecting their hair and by farmer men wearing blue denim overalls plus a

workman's peaked cap. Chamberlain records how people living in a remote village in Eastern Europe (look at a map of East Germany: it's little but a kaleidoscope of remote villages) had to queue early to get the best goods from the travelling stores.

Could the reason why communism succumbed to capitalism (in terms of food as a commodity) partly be its adherence to an agricultural calendar? The East European states never subscribed to the large capitalist agri-business scale to enormous cold storage plants, unnatural harvest times, factory farming, eight-month-lifetime pigs, and designer fruit which looks better than it tastes. Chamberlain is not the first traveller in East Europe to remark how much tastier the milk and fruit products are, precisely because they haven't been processed out of any sort of pleasurable taste sensation. I once visited East Germany in summer when the markets were full of delicious home-grown cherries and apples, produce which the East Germans are now recklessly rejecting in favour of the more attractively packaged but blander tasting West German or Dutch agri-cultural versions.

Incidentally, despite the occasional preciousness (which she herself readily admits to), Chamberlain's account of everyday life under communist governments and the subtle ways that political repression enters into everyday social relationships is preferable to that of the name-dropping superstar sociopath Timothy Garton Ash ("Telephoned Jack Kevorkian" begins his article in the New York Review of Books, 16/8/90) who tends to see all historical developments emanating from either the White House or the Kremlin. Chamberlain rightly points out that any change must come from below.

Well, in East Germany and elsewhere, change did come from below. In Autumn 1989 East Germans in their thousands were voting with their feet for unimpeded access to West German supermarkets and department stores. Obviously, the prospect of spending money and pensions from the West German government was an extra spur. Without such incentives, would they have stayed in East Germany and helped build a better society, the solution which Newes Forum groups were pleading for?

I would answer the question in the affirmative. We seem to be living at a time when people voluntarily exchange their political conscience for the right to buy as many different types of jeans as possible. We seem to be heading for that future envisaged in Frederik Pohl's startlingly accurate science fiction short story "The Medusa Plague" (1954) - a world where their citizens are obliged by law to consume and where freedom is seen as the official go-ahead not to have to buy. Try explaining that to the majority of today's East Europeans or, for that matter, to the majority of today's West Europeans.

P. Wood
August 1990

Postscript - see P.35
As a policeman later agreed, the police do feel they had "lost" and in their attempts to prevent damage to property and themselves, there had been many occasions on which they had clearly been terrified, out of control, and conscious of their vulnerability in the face of a crowd who didn't run away at the first show of force but had continually come back to fight. And the viciousness of the violence was horrific on both sides. The police were using anything to hand and taking every opportunity to batter and charge. But they were clearly taken aback by the anger of the crowd, and were not prepared for people to start smashing up masonry, digging up pavements, and looking for all the world like a mob out to kill. There was a real sense of danger: people were streaming with blood and riot police were lying in the street. People were desperately hunting for weapons; it was an atmosphere in which both great and terrible things could be done.

Many people had left before the violence escalated, most of them going home on coaches. But for those who were there, there was no sense of being able to leave, and it was absolute mayhem in which one could choose a level of involvement. The determination of the crowd was astounding, and everyone who happened to be on the demonstrators and confront the police. It was as though every brick magically met its target, barricades and fences were ripped up as though they were feathers, and people were stronger and braver than ever before.

Sensing this assurance amongst a mass of people not even united by membership of a particular community, police confidence decreased and they appeared ever more disorganised and unprepared. It seemed that after ten years of Thatcherism and unsatisfactory skirmishes with the police, it was at last time for something back and on the winning side. The fact that this was the last day before the Implementation of the poll tax added to the urgency: the legacy of the Finchley Revolt, resonances with Eastern Europe, and the feeling that a wider sense of dissatisfaction was being expressed, encouraged the demonstrators' actions.

Moreover, the crowd felt empowered by what it had done: with the smell of burning and smoke in the air, barricades and debris in the streets, and an acute sense of the significance of what had happened, the knowledge that something had really happened, and a feeling of "we've really done it now" spread, half in pride, half in trepidation. It all fell down and thoughts turned to public and media reaction, there was a feeling that the rioting would be understood, if not vindicated, and as it turned out, the condemnations were less prevalent than might have been ordinarily expected. The events seemed to have challenged enough taboos, upset too many certainties, and inspired sufficient confidence to mark a point of no return, a sense that things would never be the same. In the immediate aftermath, it seems inevitable that both police and demonstrators will be more prepared, physically and psychologically, on future occasions. There is also talk of wider police powers, and the banning of groups, material, and demonstrations. Arrests and harassment will undoubtedly continue for some time. But the events did not seem to have damaged the anti-poll tax campaign, streets collapsed, and the government grew more defensive, finding itself embroiled in the press riots as well. And no matter how great or slight, the importance of the rioting on March 31st becomes in hindsight, it seems at the time that violence and its attendant concerns have been reintroduced onto the political agenda.

by Maile Dribble
create a climate whereby forthright defiance (and occasionally solidarity action) is tantamount to silence & avoidance. The defeated must stay defeated & not have the audacity to be defiant.

Tory designs to cut Local Government expenditure - with many of the axe- or threatened community projects or services only initiated in the early/mid 1980s - are being combined with the objective of conventional politics of all persuasions, to divide & rule the mass of individualised, indifferent quasi-citizens. The Scottish National Party felt the force of such an ideological onslaught during the double Plessey By-elections in November, typically in opportunistic fashion, backtracking from verbal commitment to 'defend' non-payers against warrant sales to grasping at the 'straw' of the Review. Labour continues to manage the discontent, & the radical challenge ensures that only a tiny minority of non-payers among them: non-registered, off voters' rolls etc. identify solidarity with a co-ordinated mass force to 'disorganise the working class' (1). Militants pivotal role as the 'representatives' of the anti poll tax movement (except in the case of solidarity action - see (2)) results in half-hearted criticism of Labour at best, & their cry during the Tory election contest of "General Election Now!"

CROSS-CLASS?

In the few areas, such as parts of Strathclyde, where expulsions & mass recruitment amongst youth have given rise to Militant as a force more detached from Labour, they engage in direct action led by the charismatic Tommy Sheridan but disciplined by a hierarchical command system. Elsewhere they are more open to challenges by the independent network, which has recognised Militants control of the Anti Poll Tax Federation structure is an expression of their machiavellian view of 'politics'. Bogus Groups, Labour & Trade Union delegates, "Youth Rights" affiliates amount to an array of votes based on stalling the unpredictable independent network & restricting the appeal of 'the movement' by its misrepresentation as a front for a monolithic, authoritarian party with an unattractive alternative to capitalism.

The vitality of the independent network isn't directly related to the levels of non-payment. Cities such as Edinburgh, Norwich, Swindon, Reading, Brighton & Nottingham do not immediately spring to mind as centres of resistance, however, the strength of independent groups & local networks in these areas points to the strengths & weaknesses of a challenge which ultimately strives to break-out of single issue politics. The course of enforcement & resistance in such cities is affected by the class demography, with many inner city neighbourhoods being populated by a transient, cross-class milieu of people operating on the margins in urban areas not typified by past preponderance of heavy industry. Arguably local groups in these areas have been more successful at encouraging a more active sense of defiance, having the sheriff/bailiff threat as an earlier stage, often in the form of such diverse responses to payment with Tory councillors etc. Each of the course has its own trajectory, & in developing the example of Edinburgh, we have an area where a small core of unemployed activists have been greatly expanded by a network of local groups which is not parochial but which continually offers support & mobilisation for outlying areas in their region. They have developed expert & tactical awareness in taking on the Poll Tax enforcers, & have also retained a capacity to engage in fun-actions which are in stark contrast to the politics & politics they oppose. This said, the temporary mobilisation in local areas faced with Sheriff action understandably recedes as the routine of domesticity reasserts itself.

THE SINGLE ISSUE

Within these local networks, briefly intermixed with the anti-war campaigns, there exists the hard core of class struggle anarchists & obscure Marxist/proletarian (4) groupings which seek to influence their pluralist milieu without usually dominating it. The residents of the town halls led up to the Trafalgar Sq. riot in March 1980 & the strategy of the State to detach the poll tax & castle voters from the independent activists either drawn into physical confrontation or in response, solidarity campaign for those arrested in the aftermath of the 'iron fist' policy. While Major & Heseltine wear the 'velvet glove' more easily than Thatcher did, the deployment of the Police & the Court sentencing have revealed that the key element in the strategy was to criminalise the 'hard elements', erode the covering support in the less Political by posing the question of revolutionary violence & detach any lingering appeal for civil disobedience as had temporarily emerged in the Shire Counties, marginal seats etc. The "people' expose on Class War 2 weeks before Trafalgar Sq. & the attention given to Andy Murphy's celebration of riot, reveals the need of the State to 'scare off' liberal/left opinion, the difficulties of a leaderless network having spokespersons selected by the media, & the manipulated coincidence of promoting a 'notorious' role, & covert plans of the state to manufacture accounts of actions.

This said, the dedicated & imaginative defence of these charged or imprisoned & the right to demonstrate by the Trafalgar Sq. Defence Committee has ensured the likelihood of linkage between similar campaigns against repression & disinformation. The direction of attempts to broaden the struggle is in the process of definition. Linkage with anti- cuts, anti-privatisation agitation is strong possibility, although as the experience of the health service illustrates (5) the complexity of simple defence where an anti-bureaucratization strand is also a necessity, in the example of the striking, the process of mobilisation is likely to go beyond the single issue of the poll tax real problems emerge. The 'legal' protest relies on recognition that paying for services & goods is justified, providing the method is enabled with a "fairness" principle. The individualised intention of the poll tax, based on economic self-interest as crudely conceived has not become firmly established. On the other hand, the lack of collective re-course with consumer, debts, fuel charges, mortgages & some forms of rental etc. tends to suggest that any re-discovery of the 'impossible case' resolved to pay-for-nothing will be slight, restricted to a handful of ghettoised zones or amongst a sub-strata of transient city or metropolitan refugees whose lack of allegiance to anything would include a more organised independent unofficial movement. Nevertheless, in many areas, including cultural contestation in Glasgow (6) a pluralist milieu may emerge strengthened by the experience of the success of anti poll tax opposition, while not able to decisively escape the single issue mentality in Britain & suspect commitment to creating a movement from below underlined by the failures of socialism.

(1) [Footnote text]
(2) See Ref 
(3) See Ref & Ref: No. "What will the Tories do?" Don't. Donation for each issue, independent patchwork quarterly from PO Box 239, Glasgow G3 8RA.
(4) Such as Red Action, Workers Power, Socialist Outlook etc, rather than more parastic SWP line of usual semi-detachment from local mobilisation.
(5) See article in HSN 11.
(6) See articles on Workers City this issue & copies of "Glasgow Weekly", donation from address in (4) above.

Jim McFarlane
CULTURE AS CIRCUS

Glasgow's year as European cultural capital brought unexpected challenges to the administrative remoulding of the city, its past and future. Alex Richards comments on the emerging contradictions.

Radical politics saw revolution as festival, a break with the existing state of things in which all would recognise and act on their desires. The notion of festival returned in the 1980s politics of social containment. The decade was punctuated by a series of administratively-organised events, such as the Garden Festivals. These purported to offer a community the chance to “find itself” by re-orienting around the promise of a new enterprising self-image.

The prime example of this strategy as a remedy for social unrest was the Liverpool Garden Festival. The promise that the developed festival site would be a base for the city's regeneration was unfulfilled, but that became clear only after attention shifted elsewhere.

Glasgow's administration was eager to attract that attention. The city had long been controlled by the Labour Party, who modernised the city by decanting people to peripheral public housing schemes and driving motorways through the city central area (see "The Material Community" in H&N no.2). This has visibly failed, the administration then embraced such 1980s innovations as the new-loco-type, mission-statement programme by which bureaucracies simulate enterprise service to "their" local client communities. Whereas market theorists see enterprise in the transactions of sovereign producers and consumers, this programme sees it in the actions of charismatic administrative bureaucrats.

Such groups seek to maximise the resources under their control, and therefore grasped an opportunity to operate the Garden Festival franchise for a year. Limited publicity about the failings of the Liverpool event had little effect; the Glasgow Garden Festival in 1988. Not did revelations of the public/private land deals which accompanied the development of the Glasgow site have any real impact. The significant encounters in such a festival do not involve the public but are between the private and public institutions (District Council and Scottish Development Agency). The Garden Festival's containment within a particular arena meant that it would be approached on its own terms or not at all. Without ground for an opposition to develop, the event was left to the public relations boosters.

The Garden Festival idea proposes that an urban post-industrial wasteland can be restored to usefulness by a programme of land clearance, building and strategic placing of transplanted shrubbery. Before the Glasgow Garden Festival had taken place, plans were already underway for a more audacious transplantation exercise: the 1990 European City of Culture designation.

The "City of Culture" concept offers a near blank sheet, allowing the administrators to make their dreams a reality. A blow on the trumpet and the walls can be brought tumbling down: A city-wide, year-long festival! The brightest flowers money can buy (Sic, Arva, Paravati, Boldini)! A true Culture City: at its core, an exhibition re-presenting (and hence sanitising) the city's history to its citizens; around the centre, a events programme to gladden listings magazine readers; and spreading out to the periphery, a programme of "community events". And right in the middle of the year, Glasgow's Big Day: typical of those sentimental, big gesture extravaganzas loved by the Liberal-Left since Live Aid. All in all, the organisers excelled themselves.

An opposition began to coalesce early. Some artists and writers implicitly boycotted the Year of Culture, recognising that participation involved accepting the administrators as mediators of taste. More publicly the "Workers City" book (published in 1988) defended Glasgow as "the working class city par excellence" whose "true voice and experience" was being ignored. Under normal circumstances, that would have been that. But the Year of Culture package began to come apart.

Management of any modern public space demands discreet policing of behavioral norms specified for each group of users. For example, a shopping mall designates delivery areas, staff areas, and "public" meeting places which are really private space patrolled by security men. Infringement of the norms, whether by swearing, scuffling unemployed youth or by shop workers in dispute, immediately brings expulsion to the outside.
take material form - either as hard copy (an image on paper) or as a simulation of a three-dimensional space. Also, as both written text or as visual simulation. But the only "hands-on" manipulation on the computer keyboard, which plays a mediating role between human beings and electronic impulses.

While on the subject of simulation of concrete objects, architects using Computer-Aided-Design, where you can rotate your building through 360 degrees, have perhaps been in hyper-reality. The Bandarillarian sense of a universe composed entirely of surfaces, signs and images circulating with no reference to any "real world" outside themselves, when they have found that it is perfect in simulation, on the screen, reassembled prisoners when inserted into their real (and social) context.

These systems, the intangible technologies which surround us, are features of the neo-objective world have been called "soft"[4]... The coming of free objects, a new presence in the world[5]. Perhaps their development is making us rethink our philosophical materialism concerning matter and what it consists of.

I would suggest that a name be given to express some insight about both the existence of new systems and technologies and the implications of the "softening" of the economy in general and possibilities offered by automation: "soft"[6]... (because it sounds like a plausibly related symptom). It is both philosophical and sociological, and I have it, and I have caught it along with others who have worked in the Information Field[7]. It is not an anti-technology stance: it isn't just an insight about an intangible, non-material phenomenon but concerns the implications of these new systems within a global capitalist economy.

Robotics and the "Softening of the Economy"
Both phenomena are related and inter-related to the changes in the economy on a global scale, affecting work practices and future destitute as the nature of capitalism is shifting (or mutating) into another phase.

The microprocessor, a "forgotten" representation of the real, a space "in which things are stored and performed, from which it is beginning to determine the real, to be the real"[7], has enabled the development of Flexible Manufacturing Systems (FMS) within Computer-Aided Manufacturing (CAM), assisted by CAD (Computer-Aided Design). Flexible Manufacturing Systems are controlled by software written in specialized programming languages.

The significance of the application of software to manufacturing is that, firstly, the movements of a single machine can be varied without alteration to its mechanical structure. Robots, the first machines on the path to FMS, are particularly applicable to the production of small batches of varied products. The earliest robots' movements were controlled by altering electrical connections on a plugboard. Later versions (the continuous path playback

robot) are programmed by a playback system or by a "teach box" which uses buttons or a joystick to define the machine's movements[8].

This means that, mainly in the areas of aeronautics, car manufacture, shipbuilding and architecture, the repertory of forms needs no longer be limited to keep within the machine's range. Flexibility is thus greatly increased: "Objects and transformations to which they are subject can now be varied by allowing just and variable, their values can be represented as vectors in 3-dimensional spaces, different instructions for their fabrication can be automatically programmed."[9]

This in turn increases ability and potential for "niche marketing" (as opposed to global marketing) - post-modern consumers "expressing" their different and perhaps ever-fragmenting class, gender and ethnic identities through consumption, or even perhaps through active participation in the design process?

The second implication (as Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out) of the application of software to manufacturing is that the "work of the machine" may be separated from the physical body of the worker and may itself become a commodity[10]. Robots are an early form of expert system, endlessly able to replicate the precise and complex motions of (for example) a highly-skilled car spray-painter. How much control will the person whose skills are being learnt have over this commodity? Will it be even as much as that of other prime commodity - labour power?

Morris-Suzuki sees the separation of knowledge from labour and machinery and its emergence as an independent commodity and element in production as the gradual process dating back to the very beginning of capitalism. The special properties of knowledge (its lack of material substance, the ease with which it can be copied and transmitted) have meant that it can only acquire exchange value when institutional arrangements confer a degree of monopoly power on its owner. (i.e. copyright)

"Software represents a special form of the commodification of knowledge... in essence it consists of instructions for performing a particular task, and a major technological key to the growth of computing was the creation of means by which these instructions could be read and fed into a machine."[11] (i.e. the microchip)

This poses problems about the labour theory of value. For Marx, surplus value is the difference between the selling price of the product and labour costs (variable capital) and initial capital outlay for machinery, etc. (fixed capital). With the use of software in automation: "Surplus value is extracted from the labour of workers who prepare software for an automated production system, but this surplus value only acquires meaning and substance when the software is brought together with machinery and the production of goods begins. Once this happens, however, the value of labour embodied in the software becomes subdivided between a potentially infinite number of products (some software as such can never wear out). Unless the manufacturer can maintain total monopoly over the technique, spreading automation will rapidly reduce the value of the product, and profits will decline to nothing."[12]
Pavarotti, the Bolshoi and Sinatra to the city was enough. And the mass self-celebration of the Big Day of the candle procession (organised by specialists from the one-time alternative society) reinforce belief in a democracy of opportunity enabled by the experts. Perplexity and frustration result when others don’t share those sentimental values.

The King affair was a catalyst. Its overspill into Donnelly’s sacking for speaking to the press (something not entirely unknown to the Festival administrators), reversed the polarity of the workforce issue. A temporary workforce of carpetbaggers was supported against permanent workers; appeals against unfair dismissal were dismissed by tribunals of Labour councillors sitting in the bosses’ chairs.

The proposed long-term lease of the Fleshers Haugh public land on Glasgow Green was an associated issue. Its proximity to the People’s Palace itself and the historic associations of the public land on the Green meant that the heritage issue now transcended the tawdry representations of the Glasgow’s Glasgow exhibition and the relabelling of streets bearing plantation owners’ names as the Merchant City. Reacting to a surge of opposition (in contrast to the disregard of the Garden Festival/land deals), the administration conjured up the democratic ghost. They organised public meetings to simulate a consultation to legitimise their dealings. That failed, so they turned to surveys and local newspaper referenda — still hoping to impose their will. Deployment of these devices delegitimised the administration to an extent that their plans had to be shelved.

The closing months of the Year of Culture were no better for the administration. The solid and lasting achievement of the Year was to be the new Concert Hall. Again, Lally was on the defensive, overreacting even to criticism of the hall’s acoustics. But his greater achievement was to demonstrate the fallacy of all theories of democratic accountability by rejecting Ian MacCollough’s foyer painting (commissioned by the overlapping Strathclyde Regional Council bureaucracy) at the Hall’s opening ceremony. This again gave rise to set-piece protest concerning the artist’s right to self-expression” while omitting debate on the whole commission / patronage system. But gusts of the usual modern art philistinism came from the Press, which, as usual, was incapable of perceiving real issues. In another time and place, the Sunday Times plumspeakers could be expected to have congratulated Stalin on his attack on Shostakovich.

Most of Scotland’s Press shares the administration’s mix of distaste and sentimentality. The media sought “balance” on the issues by turning to academics who could discuss the extent of the benefit of economic “trickle-down” from increased tourism, etc.

The opposition was neither a mass campaign nor a campaign by elite experts, but something in between. So the Press increasingly mentioned dissenters (usually named as Workers City) but it almost had a samitean presence. As indicated by some contributions to the second Workers’ City book, “The Reckoning”, there was a reluctance to delegate speech to spokespeople to “represent” general grievance. Some prominent opponents refused to speak to the press, but others misjudged and allowed themselves to be situated around a habitual pub corner table.

After years of cribbing press releases, journalists were no doubt resentful that a few former colleagues were writing “true grapes” articles which began to be borne out as the year ended, and were even semi-legitimised (in their eyes) by a TV documentary. The Press confusion was evident in the Sunday Times publishing a weak pastiche of a Workers’ City meeting, which merely demonstrated the perpetrator’s ignorance of those he would parody.

Even the Press’s snide sniping was forced onto the defensive: “... the high profile enjoyed by Workers City was more than a matter of influential friends; it was also a reflection of the way the group gave expression to an unforeseen sense of unease in a much wider section of the city.” (Scotland on Sunday, 23/12/90)

Overall, the Year of Culture was remarkable for the extent in which opposition almost accidentally formed around a core campaign which probably expected to be peripheral to the whole affair, and the way in which this opposition was forced onto the agenda. But the issues were not straightforward, and their momentum was provided as much by the interplay of interests within the restructuring bureaucracy.

Alex Richards

Further Reading:

“WORKERS CITY: The real Glasgow Stands Up” (1988) and “The Reckoning: Public Loss, Private Gain” (1990) both edited by Farquhar McIlay (published by Clydebank Press, 37 High St, Glasgow)

“Glasgow Keelie” nowhebo (PO Box 239, Glasgow G3 6RA)

“GLASGOW 1990: The TRUE Story Behind the Hype” by David Kemp (Farmed & Furious Publishers, Gartochnoch, Dumfries)
THE NHS REFORMS
AN INTERNAL EXAMINATION

The NHS reforms place further powers in managers’ hands. Steve Bushell reports on the administrative programme.

Despite its much-publicised opposition, in reality it seems as if the Labour Party will not be too drastic in its attempts to reverse the NHS reforms. Perhaps this explains the reluctance of Shadow Health Spokesman Robin Cook to face questioning about future health policy from health workers in Leeds. The hysteria with which his ministerial left-wing MF John Battle sought to protect him belies an anxiety not to be pinned down on anything more than vague sentiment and rehearsed outrage.

For the changes are not ones that threaten Labour’s current constituency. Whereas a few personnel changes might be in order, not least to reflect the eighties tendency towards the placing of political friends in apparently “neutral” posts, the changes themselves bolster up the professional class Labour seeks to represent - and in fact provide room for its extension. The rhetoric of empowerment, “consumer sovereignty” and “quality” camouflage re-arrangement of authority relations. As Alex Richards in H&N no. 6 (“The Eclipse and Re-Emergence of the Economic Movement”) put it:

“Power is re-fragmented in ways which would have seemed unthinkable to the Left of a previous generation, who saw only the prospect of a steady growth in monolithic power. And this fragmentation proclaims a new freedom for all, confident that, in each of its moments, with each transaction, Capital, as the principal social relation, is being renewed.”

With the ideology of “post-Fordism”, this necessity is being recycled as a virtue, intensification is recast as deliverance, escalating interference translated as a release of creativity. For the public will be no more free to change their hospital, question their doctor, or contest treatment from the basis of informed consent than before. Nor will workers in the health service be relieved from the constraints of bureaucracy. The reforms constitute a “re-commodification” - a penetration of Capital’s necessity deeper into the conduct of social relations.

The Invasion of Exchange

In H&N no.4, the article “The Invasion of Exchange” attempted to show how de-regulation and the “Enterprise Culture” were essentially new forms of labour discipline emerging from the failure of the corporatist / job enrichment schemes of the 70s. “Working for Patients”, the White Paper on which the NHS reforms are based, is essentially a blueprint for introducing these techniques into the health service. What is envisaged is an internal market. Instead of having resources allocated to District Health Authorities responsible for the provision, nature and supply of health services, the DHAs are separated from their provider role and instead become purchasers of health care from a variety of sources: Self-Governing Trust hospitals (opened-out hospitals), directly-managed units (still under nominal DHA control but providing service on the basis of a contract with the DHA) and private hospitals. Nor is the DHA the only purchasing authority. Family Practitioner Committees and budget-holding General Practices are also empowered to buy the health services they require for their patients.

Despite claims to the contrary from Regional Authority members who seem to be trying to carve out a new role for themselves as arbitrators within the new market, some element of competition between hospitals has been introduced into the system. The hospital which cannot attract the attention of the purchasing authority either by its cheapness, its speed of delivery or, possible, its quality, will not receive the patients and therefore the money which it needs to survive. At the same time, political appointees on the DHAs have been removed, and “self-governing” hospitals will be able to set wages and conditions independent of national agreements. In fact, Eric Cainess, the NHS Personnel Officer, has said that he expects the national agreement system (the Whitley Councils) to unravel for all health staff soon after the reforms start to bite.

Instead of the bureaucratic regulation of both staff wages and the provision of care, re-commodification is to be instituted as an unavoidable incentive. Demand, mediated by panels of businessmen and experts on the various purchasing authorities, will determine not only the level of provision (albeit still cash-limited by central government) but in the end the wages and conditions of staff. As a management discussion document on Trust status for the Leeds General Infirmary frankly puts it, in the event of financial difficulties, viability "will be achieved by increases in efficiency, reductions in service levels or the availability of additional funds." Unhindered by national agreements on wages, etc., local managers have been hounded the capacity to pass on
problems of finance, demand or crumbling plant directly to the health service worker. In fact, the Act of Parliament which institutionalised the reform is only part of an overall process of strengthening management's hand in the cost-conscious nineties. Re-commodification simply underlines the necessity of efficiency and of maximising labour output. It highlights and enhances the development of managerialism in the NHS.

Managerialism

It’s been a useful myth that commodification and the existence of bureaucracies are somehow incommensurate. In fact the two have a symbiotic relationship, as the development of Western Capitalism has revealed. One of the key boom areas this century has been in the management of measurement, and developments in the NHS give an insight into the connections between the commodity and the bureauocrat.

The Management of Measurement

One central problem in setting up the internal market will be the pricing of health care. Previously, the system worked without a lot of attention to the price of resources. Rationing took place through the use of waiting lists and assessing the urgency of the need for treatment. Regular over-spending occurred, as doctors and nurses got on with the job without excessive attention to resources. Balancing the books took place at a general level, with pricing based on last year’s expenditure plus inflation, without too much breakdown of the cost of particular resources, still less cost per patient.

This is in marked contrast to working in the private sector, where each item used has a detachable label for sticking onto a patient’s chart, so that everything can be accounted for in his or her bill. It is this which explains why the bill for administration in health care is 5.3% on the overall US health budget while it is only 2.6% on the overall UK health budget.

However, for the internal market to function, pricing systems will have to be established. Behind the jargon of Resource Management Initiative and Diagostic Related Groupings is the establishment of information technology systems designed to provide “accurate” pricing for different kinds of patients. Again, unlike what theorists of “post-Fordism” allege, this means an intensification of Taylorism, a closer scrutiny of what is being done as work in order to measure it. Although still in its infancy, the kind of practices occurring give some idea of what measurement in health care will mean. For example, time-and-motion experts have been on the wards timing how much of a qualified nurse’s jobs is taken up doing tasks that only a qualified nurse can do, compared with those any nurse could do. Other measures include setting-up databases to catalogue all resources used on a patient. Such measurement, however, impells the manager to take a closer look at what his or her workers do, and how what they do can conform to managerial goals.

The Management of Human Resources

Anyone thinking that these changes simply confirm that techniques of management are repressive, authoritarian and de-humanising has missed the point. Perhaps absorbing Carlan better than the working class ever did, today’s management are all too aware of the need to involve the worker in the process of work organisation.

Modern managerialism involves the devolution of managerial goals throughout the organisation. In a Science as Culture article on Post-Fordism, a description of the various techniques of labour control reveal a move towards team work in General Motors factories. Here all grades of employees come together in teams to discuss improving quality and maximising efficiency. The team leaders are elected by the workers themselves and an ethos of loyalty is inserted, so that such autonomous activities as knowing the job so well that a worker can secure a bit of time for him/herself becomes the property of the company itself, and a key piece of knowledge is gained in order to speed-up particular tasks and gain efficiency.

Similarly, the NHS has introduced Quality Circles (often using ex-Trade Unionists as organisers) so that the problems of service delivery are aired in a convivial atmosphere where a nursing assistant can enlighten a general manager of the problems of work. At the same time, there has been an attempt to change the nomenclature of the organisation – in particular, to change the title of Ward Sister or Charge Nurse to that of Ward Manager, thereby not only devolving managerial goals to a non-managerial level, but also enhancing the legitimacy of management by extending that description down to those who work. This process is enhanced by actually devolving tasks with the name, so that each ward is given a budget to work within, so that staff hours are balanced against ward supplies.

The aim is to ensure widespread understanding and enforcement of managerial goals. Further loyalty to management aims is gained in team briefings, counselling by management (as distinct from disciplinary) Individual Performance Reviews in which the employee confesses various weaknesses and ambitions to their superior) and the use of in-house staff training to impact the organisation’s aims and principles. Knowing what their employees do not only improves the process of measurement, it enables management to locate both weaknesses and strengths in the system, exposes areas of autonomy where workers have managed both to do their jobs and not drive themselves to an early grave.

The Management of Marketing

Marketing is seen both as an external and internal need. Internally, morale is managed by a proliferation of house magazines, all using the advice of the American management theorist Tom Peters of including the names
and faces of employees - although in fact their ceaseless enthusiasm and absolute unwillingness to countenance any unpleasant reality in their pages marks them for comparison with Stalinist newspapers of the "Record Beetroot Harvest in the Ukraine" variety. Such Stalinism-Capitalism extends to the fascination with symbols and logos. The Leeds General Infirmary was recently kitted out with a whole new corporate image, down to new uniforms for all staff, LGI colours and LGI logos.

Again to achieve both internal and external marketing (and external marketing has barely begun), new posts are created: Quality Assurance Manager, Commercial Manager, etc. The sheer meekness of managerial "positivism" ensures their hold on defining the institution's character. Nobody provides, or expects to see revealed, the unpalatable truths that need airing. The corporate image demands a corporate mentality which sanitizes potential criticism and conflict by demanding their referral through the interminable machinery of procedural participation policed by staffs of loyal cadres.

Quality Control

The growth of dissatisfaction within the NHS in the 70s and 80s was reflected in both Left and Right critiques of the welfare state. The NHS reforms attempt to head off this dissatisfaction through the ideology of consumer sovereignty. By attaching the health of the hospital to the number of patients it attracts, the government believes that "bad" practices will be worked out of the system. As a result, a veritable industry of quality control mechanisms has developed.

Including the appointment of Quality Assurance Managers and the development of quality consciousness, perhaps the most significant product of the new "awareness" is Monitor: An Index of the Quality of Nursing Care. Not only is this the most sophisticated managerial device for study work that I have ever come across, it has the added value of being a method of comparison between wards (and, who knows, perhaps in the future between staff?) It's worth quoting some of the propaganda used to sell it to the staff. Conceived in Newcastle Polytechnic, it is described as a "systematic indicator": it is "not as accurate or as simple as a ruler, but can be compared to a barometer because it distinguishes nursing care of a high quality from care of an average or lower quality". Pains are taken to reassure staff that it will not judge them individually but as a team, and lip-service is paid to the problem of staff shortages, although it is unclear how this will be taken into account.

Monitor consists of some 450-500 questions answerable on a YES/NO basis. Some of the questions are put to nurses, some to patients and some are gathered from nursing records. An outside assessor is appointed to undertake the questionnaires and a score is arrived at by the number of YES answers. It is reckoned to take 1-3 hours to do a Monitor on an individual patient. This gives management a crucial measurement with which to make comparisons. The tortured syntax of this piece of management publicity exposes their anxiety to obtain staff compliance:

"MONITOR also includes questions which relate to the second list (i.e. caring, rapport, attitudes) - because they, too, are important for quality care; but they are not assessed comprehensively - mainly because they are so subjective. It is believed through that "TO MEASURE SOMETHING WELL IS BETTER THAN NOT MEASURING ANYTHING AT ALL."

Wouldn't you agree?"

The results of Monitor will be made known only to Ward Sisters/Charge Nurses and Senior Nurse Managers, for whom, no doubt, perusal of the ward league tables will be incentive enough to crack the whip over their subordinates. However, it is unlikely that, once knowledge of such a measurement becomes even more widespread, it will remain the property of such select company.

A Discomforting Episode

To explain and expose the development of modern managerial techniques should not, although it often does, imply adherence to a universalist project of proletarian revolution. The usual form, if this were the case, would be to start winding up now with rhetorical salutations to the indomitable spirit of rebellion, etc., which will surely break the wily tricks of the managerial class. The trouble with these projects is that they either solve all problems by an eschatological leap into an era peopled by different beings from what exists now, or contrive to bring into being a system so thoroughly politicized, so totally committed to its goals as to render the manipulations and seductions described above the epitome of free practice. Unsupported by any such faith, my objections to the infiltration of managerialism begin and end with what they do to the idea of a self-governing humanity and the capacity of human society to remain substantially democratic as opposed to merely procedurally so.

Perhaps after ecology, no other subject is more vulnerable to political exploitation in the late twentieth century than health. If you wish to change behaviour you are guaranteed more success if you associate a particular practice with ill-health than if you declared that God didn't like it. The proclaimed attachment of the advent of the new managerialism in the NHS with improved health services (as an LGI Management Briefing brazenly puts it "High quality management leads to high quality care") makes any full-frontal opposition particularly difficult. Coupled to that the years when management was only a place you kicked incompetent staff upstairs to, the vigorous, "hands-on", New Agers who are taking over look like an improvement. But their techniques seem to demand premature participation, are constitutionally opposed to conflict, and seek to run the
DEBATE

DISCOURSE, PRACTISE & POWER

If & N°7/8 contained a long article by Frank Dexter, which led to further debate in No. 19.

Frank Dexter should be congratulated for such a thorough debunking of many of the characteristic illusions of the "trendy left" (in "Language, Truth & Violence" in IFN°7/8). He is also absolutely right to highlight the extent to which the posturing of those middle-class intellectuals muddy the water for the rest of us. It drives people away, practically overwhelming them with the dead weight of three-dimensioned bourgeois self-deception, self-righteous, self-deceiving, guilt-tripping and self-justification; making it difficult to retrieve from the morass any useful guides to or reflections upon political action.

The article is undoubtedly effective as polemic. But in the zeal to deconstruct (i.e. attack) as many prominent discourses (i.e. visible targets) as possible, important points are glossed over or even trivialised for ammunition. The social psychology of power and that presented (p918-27) uses a completely different level of analysis than the critique it follows, offering little hope of transcending the latter. Finally, the conclusions (pp22-23) are very insightful and largely sound, but on a different level again from the previous analyses.

So after an extended commentary on LTV, I'll propose the kind of analysis which can engage with the argumentative article raised without having to shift around so much. The spirit of this is integrative in the sense of wishing to see what has been constructed from recent Left rhetoric and political practice as well as the kind of serious critique it can never do without. The aim is to provide support for and understanding of political activity already proceeding, rather than seeking to establish the "cause" of a new discourse.

First, I must admit that the question of violence as an isolated "issue" detached from all context is irrelevant to me, and I am not at all interested in pacifism. So many social and religious philosophies misconduct as politics and goals with one another in the ideological marketplace. It seems important to make the distinction. Being (morally) right is right - as opposed to striving to change things in the world in ways that can be justified in terms of collective values.

The discussion of non-violence (pp9-10) accurately answers a network of related points that run throughout the article. The distinction and linkage between the personal and the political is clearest. LTV noting that there has been a decisive skew towards the personal. The political has virtually disappeared from any Left discourse - except as moral....
are produced which, although doubtless fascinating to those concerned, sidestep completely the prospects of change and the ideologies which anchor the participants in their current positions.

The managerial metaphor extends even further. The moral superiority of the Left leads them to a self-image of being in the wrong direction, of being misguided-where the masses are supposed to carry out the strategies. But the masses don't play ball, having their own agendas, hence the decline and decay of the Left. Enter the marketing strategies of the single-issue movements, the Labour Party, Lib-Lab, etc., competing for the attention of professionals, bureaucrats, students, etc., apparently not realizing that they have lost all touch with ordinary working class people.

The weakest part of the diatribe is the section on Sex and Power (p.16 -17) and the discussion on language and gender that precedes it (p.13). "Male aggression" (particularly against women) had entirely different meanings and effects from women's aggression, and there is no hint of an acknowledge
de
tion of this in LTV. Women's responses to the assertion of the "male ego" range from dismissal to taking offence. The offence may lie in the knowledge (and emotional response to it) that men's patronising session is a discursive expression of, and a form of, the reproduction of a quite huge social structure constraining women's lives to an overwhelming degree, purely on the basis of their gender.

Of course, taking offence and formulating it up with moralising is not a politically effective response. Just because malevolent men and middle class femininists can't see that is no reason to trivialise the whole question (and LTV does appear to do this), or to imply that taking offence is in itself reprehensible.

Male defensiveness is also treated too glibly. Defensiveness can follow a perceived attack; it needn't be intended as attacking. Women trying to articulate their experience is often felt as an attack by men (even when it is nothing of the sort). Not only are men defensive, we go so far over the top that the only available conclusion is that we are protecting something deep and crucial to ourselves. But in LTV, forgetting to mention the fact that women may wish to express themselves (especially in pronouncing literature) is clearly an example of the notion that women "oppressing" men somehow brings into question men's role in oppression women. Now, by analogy, I sometimes hear the idea that class oppression no longer exists, or is now irrelevant - after all, working class people can "express" the rich (smashing up the old Porsche, etc.). I know exactly what it means when someone comes out with tared old crap like that, and I'm sure women get equally sick of hearing about "husband beating", etc., and it's nothing to do with "bad faith". To scratch around for individual counter-examples and to pretend that they say anything about historical social forces is, to say the least, a very dodgy enterprise.

Men's fear of women's sexuality, and women's defensiveness about this fear is too obvious to require substantiation. That isn't to say that the historical development of culture and social power hasn't combined to lead to a link between men's sexuality, violence and domination. The extreme positions of misogyny, masculine supranationalism and male rule may, in pure form, represent only a minority of real individual men's bodies. Nevertheless the rise of women (as women) as a coherent social phenomenon may have resulted from these extreme discourses being used and enforced together into social practices, for particular historical reasons. This question deserves analysis and discussion. Also, the sources of women's power inflicting itself on other women (not necessarily associated with male domination needs closer examination. None of class or social hierarchy will be pertinent in analysing the practice of class ideology and an analysis of the discipline of British women will reveal how middle class women in women's agencies classified, monitored, policed and pathologised the sexual experiences of working class women.

What LTV doesn't get to grips with is the need to first acknowledge that LTV's experiences of suffering may need explaining in terms not available with existing discourses. When criticism (in this case by men) is used to deny that anything needs explained and (very many men constantly and continually dismiss) then it is very important that such criticism is ignored. If men feel threatened by their positions are thus not welcomed - tough. Just as I don't expect any kind of working class rejection of middle class values or ideas to yield the answers, so I don't see why anyone should expect the women's movement to come up with hot shit every time, and when the abiding impression left by a piece of writing is distaste and resentment (rather than the anger resulting from the discussion of other topics in LTV), then I conclude that men are going on than appears on the surface.

An example, perhaps, of the unreasonableness in this section of LTV, it is asserted that "sexuality occupies only a small part of the power relations between men and women" (p.16). Well, the links between sexuality and power are certainly complex, whatever else they are. Direct bodily sex may occupy only a small part of the power relations between men and women. But language (especially in the form of ideology, discourse and social practice) occupies a significant part of those relations. And, as said in LTV (farther on p.16): "Language... is directly implicated in sexuality at a very deep level." You can't have it both ways.

Part III of the article offers an fairly straightforward social psycholinguistic analysis of several "types" of people with varying responses to the exercise of power. This is a worthwhile and enlightening discussion, because it forces us to consider the way power seems embodied in individuals at certain times. But we are nearer an analysis on power that are the Left tendentious which the first two parts of LTV ridicule so well.

What is missing is an appreciation of the fragmented nature of individuals (not a negative attribute); it attests to our complexity and flexibility compared to the pathetic automatons of orthodox psychologies), and the sophisticated way individuals are woven together into collectivities. This happens through forms of emotional resonance, described so accurately by Cagetti, though he had no way of analysing them, and with historically developing discourses which shape and enable individuals and collectivities to group and use particular sides of themselves in practice. To that extent, the focus on "types" distracts us from approaching a realistic view of power - which will involve both mobilising and combating fragments of our identities through the application of discourses (whether or not force or violence is used). It also prevents us from tackling the problem of change, by fixing individuals once they fit a type - whereas it may be more true that some kinds of people fit some positions of power better than other people, even if it's only the case when the context has existed and strengthened the appropriate aspect of that person. But it completely misses the point that different sides to people can emerge, given sufficient emotional responses and altered discourses to reflect them. When this happens collectively, the possibilities for large scale impact arise; and when it happens collectively, the possibilities for large scale impact arise; and when it happens collectively, the status quo things begin to look really interesting. For example, we can look at how socialist feminism, despite its hopelessness, has been able to express itself through the collective and united voices of women's liberation. Whereas radical feminism has produced more of the impetus for equally vital specific initiatives such as women's refuges.

What working class women make of any possibilities thus raised is important politically - rather than the progress of the domino rhetoric of careerists and academics bedevilling the theoretical wings of the women's movement.

Liberal feminists have proved irrelevant to furthering the interests of women as a whole; just as the middle class and business interests of multi-cultural education and "community relations" rhetoric have failed to deliver any tangible advances for black people. But the growing confidence, success and organizational capacity of working class black people in defending themselves coincides with the "new" (in Britain) discourses of black separatism and Muslim religious anger. Aspects of
In his article "Liberation Sexology" (in HCN & N), Alex Richards suggested that "an occult international of child abusers may yet appear." This prophecy has been fulfilled, if only in that world of living phantoms known as the Media. Satanic AbuseDaily came to pass last year as a virtual reality - one of those phenomena whose truth can be confirmed only by those with special qualifications and the correct attitude.

The first stories about satanic cults involving child abuse appeared in Britain at the beginning of 1981, in the aftermath of the Cleveland Affair. Like many such horror stories, there was an American prototype: between 1984 and 1987 a wave of increasingly lurid tales spread out from California: teachers took children to graveyards to dig up bodies; they flew the sky at night, babies were eaten, a horse was killed with a baseball bat, blood was drunk, dogs were maimed - all this was testified in courtrooms across the USA. After the longest criminal trial in US history, the teacher at the centre of the original allegations was acquitted on all charges. Meanwhile, the episode had spawned its squads of experts in the art of de-mystifying the signs of satanic abuse in the bodies and the language of children. These experts soon made their way to Britain, offering their services.

What does satanic abuse mean? Is it just a name for all sorts of appallingly perverted and elaborately sadistic cruelties that its discoverers have been led to designate its perpetrators as "evil"? Evil isn't an appropriate word for the things some people have done. No, the central concern is the satanic child abuse saga. In the contrary, the claim that acts of sexual and other forms of abuse of children have been performed as part of a liturgy by cults explicitly devoted to evil and their perverted interests: Satanism. The issue is no less than whether or not a clandestine underworld of devil-worshiping exists. The controversy that has raged has been about the origins of these reports and their veracity. What concerns here & now are the social consequences of this belief and the alarming circumstance that these stories have been accepted by those who themselves have no evidence but the statements of self-professedly-occult experts who say they have seen the signs. Our interest in this business is not to find villains to denounce, heroes to applaud, or victims to plead for, but simply to discover the social forces at work which produced the issue in the first place, and to take the question which nobody seems prepared to ask about these affairs: Who is doing what to whom? In other words, it is the politics of satanic child abuse as a topic which interests us.

The fact that a few perverse individuals may well have seen fit to embellish their grotesque practices with costumes gleaned from Dennis Wheatley novels, has provided the occasion for this hitherto marginalised Christian Fundamentalist movement to insert a toe-hold into the edifice of the care and control agencies of the British State.

Inspired no doubt by their American comrades, the Dookhout Trust (an evangelical group from the satanic fringe of sectarian Christianity) was launched in 1983 as a counter-movement against occultism and the 'New Age' in all its forms. As well as holding conferences for social workers on alleged links between paganism and child-abuse, these watchful-eyed beseechers have not been adverse to raking the hedges of occultists and calling the police to the homes of New Agers with children. Through a battery of pamphlets and videos, these Christian fanatics have seized an opportunity to parade their particular brand of paranoiac dogmatism in a largely indifferent populace, notably in their campaign against the festival of Hallowe'en.

More revealing has been the fertile audience they have found in social work and its related professions. Rarely has the strategy of entry been practised with greater success than in the self-incitement by an extremist minority of an already demoralised profession already beyond the reach of common sense. The work of Noel Clark has received the uncritical backing of several social workers: in advice as been sought and its services advertised to the bereaved and isolated, the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Mormons.

In recent months, it seems, the hand of the devil has been in evidence on a wide front. During the Stringer/government-managed prison-demolition, the erstwhile governor, Brendan Grieve, was reported to have blamed the riot on satanic forces, citing the original disturbance in the prison chapel.

Meanwhile, such is the complacency at large about the supposed rationality of
In this corner, the self-proclaimed patriots are making a fool of themselves. They claim to be defending traditional values, but their actions speak otherwise. The recent protests have been nothing but a show of force, aimed at intimidating those who oppose their agenda. It's a clear violation of the law, and if left unchecked, it will only lead to more conflict.

Meanwhile, in the other corner, the so-called radicals are being labeled as troublemakers by the authorities. They are fighting for their rights, but their methods are often violent and destructive. The government seems to be more concerned about maintaining its power than about protecting the rights of its citizens.

The situation is escalating, and it's clear that something has to give. The question is, who will stand up for the truth and justice? Will the government continue to suppress dissent, or will the people rise up and demand change?

In the end, it's up to us to decide. We must stand together and fight for what is right, regardless of the cost.

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As for the financial crisis, it seems to be spreading to other countries. This is a global problem that requires a global solution. We need to work together to find a way to overcome this crisis, but it won't be easy.

The world is facing a major test of leadership, and we need leaders who are willing to make tough decisions. It's up to us to hold them accountable and demand action.

In the meantime, we must continue to support each other and help those who are most affected by this crisis. It's a time of need, and we must rise to the occasion.
organisations if they were a body, a self-contained organism with “feedback loops” and “equilibrium” (always good) with no contradictions or dilemmas. The result could be a kind of paralysis, an organisation so hyped-up on its own “positivism”, so ready to channel dissent into its own pre-patterned lines of communication, that it will progressively dampen down critical thought and reduce negativity to a non-actional underworld.

Opportunities

If managerialism requires oblique and perhaps “homeopathic” critique (see “Fused on St James Noticeboard” in H&N no13) it doesn’t mean that no opportunities for self-organisation are emerging from the results of the reforms. The release of management from national wages and conditions bargaining has led to a corresponding release for the workers themselves. It opens a possibility for the existence of trade unions with an active membership based around the reality of local negotiations. This is a somewhat fragile possibility given the reluctance of national union negotiators to give up their power and status, and the equal reluctance of local management to create the conditions for mass meetings and genuinely accountable union negotiations. Such a response could also offset the pseudo-democracy of diffuse managerialism. Unfortunately, some unions seem to be taking a very narrow line about the potential of local negotiations. For example the London Region of COHSE seems to be arguing for a strictly “industrial” involvement on union activity i.e. leave the managers to manage and the union goes hell for leather to improve wages and conditions regardless of cost of consequences for the health service.

It remains to be seen whether these changes will breathe new life into union structures shrivelled by the corporatist yearly round of Whitley Council negotiations in London. Or perhaps such decentralisation will turn out to be phoney, as cartels are created among hospitals and regional negotiations based on the state of the regional labour market (backed by a regional database on employee availability, as envisaged by L&G management) render bargaining a technical exercise based on the scientific assessment of the price of labour in the area.

In Place of a Conclusion

It’s instructive to speculate about how these reforms will affect the nature of health care. A Marxism Today article saw it as a chance for health promotion to take over from cold as a priority. The argument went that a puritanizing authority could decide to “invest” in health education programmes as opposed to expensive cardio-thoracic operations. Such long-term thinking, the article suggests, will in the end reduce the need for expensive high-tech, acute procedures. The trouble with this argument (leaving aside its misplaced optimism on the power of education to solve such problems) is that it takes a few more steps along the road of blaming the victim for their disease. With alternative medicine already attempting to resurrect the 19th century view of the sick personality (from the ideas of the tubercular character to trendy notions of cancer being the body’s response to psychic discomfort) the idea that some illnesses are less “innocent” than others already has a toe-hold in the medical establishment.

Backed up by the kind of market disincentives mentioned above, a coronary patient who smoked despite his exposure to a health education programme might find it very hard to get life-saving surgery. The power that such a development could give the health promotion lobby to change “lifestyle” should give cause for concern. In theory it amounts to treating all people who are well as if they were ill. Dependency, once confined to the period of illness, could be extended indefinitely.

Left outside the scope of the reforms but lurking unseen in the background is the question of the appropriateness of medical intervention. Surgical cripples, stroke patients condemned to spend their last years bedbound on a general medical ward, life prolonged past the point of dignity, haunt the subjects of an age committed to the beneficence of medicine.

Already it is those least qualified to judge, the health economists, who are “facing up” to the problem. With the formula of Quality Adjusted Life Years (a measurement based on surveys of healthy individuals’ opinions about the acceptability of one post-operative prognosis compared with another) the vision of a computer democracy, complete with value formation and legitimation, shifts into focus.

Here, finally, could responsibility for the nature of health care be shifted from the shoulders of government to the abstract community, a representation of personal preferences carrying the weight of objective necessity.

Steve Bushell
Dear Here & Now,

On shortening and broadening 'Ted Toreb: Case Study: Golding & Slade Ltd, HAN & New York has responded to our original argument and raised many interesting points which could prompt some consideration.

1. Higher Education

HAN introduces the report as if it concerns the problem of student numbers in academic institutions. However, the argument correctly posits that the problem is not with student numbers, but rather the quality and effectiveness of higher education.

2. Educational Institution

The argument is not presented as a defense of the status quo. It is to be seen as a call for reform and improvement in the educational system.

3. Employers

The argument is not presented as a defense of the status quo. It is to be seen as a call for reform and improvement in the educational system.

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The argument is not presented as a defense of the status quo. It is to be seen as a call for reform and improvement in the educational system.

5. Mistakes

Certain mistakes have been avoided and lessons learned in the process. However, some areas for improvement remain.

Marine Christie

Dear Here & Now,

The review of my book 'Foot in a Glass Slipper' by Meredith Brown was intriguing and made me reconsider the kind of journalism I do. He appears to be about one, he is a non-author's place to dip in a reader's judgement. He did not do it, the book is very good. It is a straightforward piece of journalism and is not easy to read. I am not a professional reviewer, but I would like to offer a few comments on the book.

1. Qualification

The review piece is not an appeal for self-effacement, for a more polemical outlook. I did like Prideaux's Law - on page 156, the kind of barrister book不可或缺性 for busy lawyers. Many of the issues raised in the book are relevant to the current media landscape.

2. Bar

It is a irony that HAN has chosen to delete the most obvious immoral passages in the extract given, viz-

a) When the Accomplished Full-Time student does part of his training, facing the stress, hunger, and other aspects of living, he is less likely to be aware of any difficulties he may encounter in his studies.

b) The time of doing full-time jobs for the boys and perhaps for the girls when permitted.

c) The double exploitation of secretaries.

d) The incomplete jobs given to graduates.

The Full-Time Part-Time argument is an attempt to evade the need of perceiving a full-time student as a form of part-time education.

HAN has not only misused my experts about the jobs for the boys, but has also misrepresented them. The full-time student is not necessarily better off, as the part-time student has more opportunities.

Regarding the qualifications and part-time appearances of the full-time student, it is obvious that he is often better trained in the (formally) much more qualified part of his work. That most part-time students are also working and are often in difficult situations, which is supposed to make them a better student. The qualification of appointments is made without mentioning other variables.

A salary breakdown of an inner city Open Learning Centre (on July 1989) may provide a model for the working conditions in the public sector.

- Full-time students: (A) 10 hours, (B) 20 hours, (C) 40 hours
- Part-time students: (A) 10 hours, (B) 20 hours, (C) 40 hours

It is obvious that the part-time workers are better off in terms of wages and benefits.

M. R. Smith

Note: HAN & High is not the newsletter of 'a British Imperial firm' but the Hambro and Hambro's Express.
DEBATE
Artistic Disarmament

One year into the Art Strike, Mr. Jones follows up the discussion in II & N No. 10.

"Cluster round the jakebars for some songs you've probably heard before. It's nothing if it isn't pure."

Yeah Yeah Nah Singing in the Name of the Lord

The Art Strike is a good thing only insofar as it produces more radical art, of which its own propaganda is a perfect example.

Sadie Plant in Here & Now 10

The success or failure of Kate Roope's "art strike" propaganda can clearly not be judged in terms of how many artists do in fact down tools from now until 1993 - that would be too cruel. However, I cannot accept Plant's alternative evaluation: a political failure is not necessarily an aesthetic triumph. I would argue, on the contrary, that Roope's enterprise is a bad thing all round, reactionary both in what it says (politics) and in how it says it (art). The Art Strike is a good thing only insofar as it is ignored completely [1]: any success will be a bad thing. Its importance lies in the weaknesses with which it success has highlighted. This is most obvious in areas of concept or art, where the Art Strike has succeeded in popularising a peculiarly banal and ill-thought-out version of what art is and what good art is or might be. It is time we got our own ideas on the subject sorted out.

As Mike Peters still in N & N's article to begin to suggest, it is not enough simply to advocate "more radical art". We must first identify what art actually is and does; then we can consider how it might be capable of being radical.

My position, briefly, is as follows: Jean-Pierre Voyer wrote "The subject sinks into madness, practices art or participates in an uprising, the two poles of daily life - contact with a narrow and separate reality on one hand and spectacular contact with the totality on the other - are simultaneously abolished, opening the way for the unity of individual life." (Reich - How to Use) Well no, he didn't - for "art read theory", but the description holds good. Finding the language for real communication, as opposed to both an spectacular understanding of the totality and the meaningfulness of everyday life [2]; going beyond individual isolation and spectacular collectivity into a genuine communality: this is the process of making theory, but also of making art. Voyer's emphasis on the subjective experience of making theory, its effects on the theorist's characters as well as in her view of the world, apply here also. Art, just as much as theory, is a process of making common meanings: to the extent that those meanings are "radical" this will be a taxing activity, for the artist as much as the theorist.

Contented artists, as much as contented theorists, should be avoided: they are clearly engaged in reiterating meanings which are already common. Tortured artists, on the other hand, should be sought out and encouraged.

Now, it has long been assumed that art and theory are in fact not comparable, and that anyone involved in the former owes it to the global proletarian struggle to jack it in and concentrate on the latter. (Ironically, much of the suspicion with which Kate Roope is now regarded arose for precisely this reason.) Like so much else that affects us today, this goes back to the 5th conference of the Situationist International (in Göteborg in 1961). On that occasion, Attila Kotanyi stated that "situationist art was impossible under the dominant conditions of artistic insubstantiality"; any art produced by situationists would promptly be recuperated. By way of solution, Kotanyi proposed that members of the SI continue to produce art but that all such work be referred to as "anti-situationist." While various confused artists nostalgic for a positive art call themselves situationist, anti-situationist art will be the mark of the best artists.

Whether this could have been, or was intended as a serious solution is unclear: its actual effect was the exclusion of several members, the redirection of the SI's activities onto the plane of theory, and the longstanding bias against art which was eventually to enable Kate Roope to impress the hell out of a lot of people by dropping names like Gustav Metzger (OK, OK, I'd never heard of him either). Whether it was justified in its own terms is equally unclear. While one sympathises with Raoul Vaneigem's call for the SI to cease its involvement in the "spectacle of refusal", it's hard to share Vaneigem's confidence that the (predictable) alternative - "the refusal of the spectacle" [3] - can be embarked on by the simple expedient of producing theory to the exclusion of art. Indeed, the Situationists could only maintain their own faith in theory as a spectacle-free zone by continually contrasting theory (boring!) with ideology (not, I hope), a distinction which does little to illuminate the actual relations of production of theory, and which is, in any case, difficult to make with any consistency. However we describe the process of recuperation (and Kotanyi's statement that situationist art will be recuperated by society and used against us) contains too much paranoia and too little politics to be really useful) we need to be clear that it can be applied to everything. Kotanyi's fear, a school of art called "situationism" never came true [4]; but the political ideology of "situationism" appeared in
1968 and has never gone away.

My contention, then, is that the situationists were mistaken in labelling art as 'spectacular' and theory as authentic. The reason why no art exists which can be guaranteed free of the taint of the spectacle (or of 'bourgeois culture') is that there are no such guarantees for art or anything else; there is no 'this side' of the spectacle. Theory is not the situationists' utopian pure negative, nor is art a tool of the commodity economy. Rather, both art and theory are means of communication - languages of common meanings. Both come in new, old, subversive and spectacular varieties; both, if found threatening, will swiftly be recuperated: both can be plagiarised (or détourne, as we pro-Situs used to say) - and the plagiarists themselves may be useful or useless, radical or reactionary.

The more attentive reader will by now have realised that I am not in sympathy with the Art Strike. I can best explain my reasons by referring the reader once again to that historic meeting in Göteborg more specifically, to Karen Home's view of the matter, as given in her The Assault on Culture: Utopian Currents from Lettetsö to Class War. (Is there any justification for that 'c' on the end of 'Lettetsö'? I think we should be told.) Home rejects the ST's verdict in favour of art as a tool for revolution, opposing art, as with the Scandinavian and German situationists, who were excluded following the 'anti-situationist art' proposal and who later formed a second Situationist International. Home speaks approvingly of these artists who shared 'a belief in the collective and non-competitive production of art'. However, we're not actually living in the context of collective practices to make "cultural artefacts" do not really fit the description "art" - at least if one is using the term to describe the high culture of the ruling class, in capitalist societies." Not, indeed, if one is using the term to describe pig-farming. The ST's valuation of theory rested on two oppositions: between theory and art, and between theory and ideology. Having reversed the terms of the first opposition, Home echoes the second with an equally mythical dichotomy; all art is either "high culture" (boo! or collective cultural artefact production (yay!). Like its counterpart, this is not an easy position to maintain empirically.

The significance of all this for the Art Strike is twofold. Firstly, the terms become blurred: should all "art" cease, or only identifiable "spectacle" forms? Or should art be allowed to continue only if it passes the Home Test ("obscure and conscious use of collective practices")? This last interpretation might explain why issue 8 of Anti-Clock-Wise contains both anti-culture material and an article in praise of Mall Art by Mark Pawson. But material from the Mall Art networks has appeared in galleries before now, which presumably means that too is now an ornament of the ruling class; and in any case, Home is currently advocating a complete refusal of creativity. Problems, problems! More importantly, if one rejects the picture of art as a sea of ruling class culture with a few islands of subversive practice dotted about in it, the whole thing collapses. The entire struggle against the received culture of the "reigning society" which Home has been fighting since 1968 (5) is built on the idea that "received culture" disseminates the values of the "reigning society" with art in particular representing the high culture of the ruling class in capitalist societies. This image of culture as a conveyor belt, carrying the values of the ruling class into everyday consciousness, is necessitated only by Home's a priori division to divide art into sheep and goats. It's certainly not necessitated by the facts. True, art is a material process within society; true, art is never innocent of the existing social order, and is always under pressure to promote it - within the artist's mind as much as anywhere. But this only adds up to saying that art - and "culture" is a means of communication and therefore a region of contestation, or a battleground as we say in English. The task is not to combat received culture but to get to work on it: embracing parts of it, emphatically rejecting others, but above all diverting (6) it to our own purpose.

In fairness, it must be said that there is more to the Art Strike than that. There is also an argument about artists as people, alleging that their status as pseudo-radical high-culture merchants gives them elitist delusions about "the superiority of their creativity" over the "leisure and work pursuits of the social majority". Without the prop of the anti-"culture" argument, though, this looks less like radicalism and more like guilt-tripping. Elitism is a disfigurement of the character; it's almost as bad as sports. If artists are worried about it, though, the answer is simple: go away and get it cleared up. We don't want them moaning to the rest of us about how ugly they are and all the parties they're missing ("I couldn't go out looking like this - what would all those beautiful workers say?) In any case, elitism is a sign of incoherent co-option and co-option means that your work is being misappropriated. Don't give it up - take it back! Just say no!

So much for the overt - political - meanings of the Art Strike. There is, however, more to it than that: there is a sense, as Sadie Plant implied, in which the Art Strike is an art work. This can best be appreciated by looking again at the question of success or failure, our assessment of which depends entirely on how we interpret the Art Strike itself. Taken straight, it's clearly a miserable failure. It is unimaginable that an actual Art Strike will materialise, even if the idea has made very little headway outside the pages of Smile and none at all outside the anarchist milieu. Talking about "the Art Strike" at all is doing it a fairly large favour: what exists is a campaign for an art strike, or more precisely propaganda in favour of a campaign for an art strike. That propaganda has no more popular support than
the calls for a general strike that issue from time to time from the organs of the corpse of Leninism, and as such deserves the same oblivion. Alternatively, we can take the whole thing as a rather deadpan joke at the expense of "political artists" (If you’re so radical let’s see you on the picket line) but this doesn’t improve matters much: hardly anyone has either got the joke or fallen for it.

However, these are not the only possibilities. In between lies the whole terrain of irony, of saying one thing and meaning two or three others: the terrain where meanings split and proliferate, where the distinction between "theory" and "art" ceases to make sense. This, clearly, is the area where Home’s promotion of the Art Strike [7] operates; this too is one of the areas where really new meanings get made [8] and an area where Here & Now [9] has squatted its rights. In other words, despite Home’s post-Situationist attachment to a rigid division between art and theory, the disjunction between the Art Strike’s apparent meaning and its real impact mean that it works, if it works at all, as a combination of art and theory; or rather, as a demonstration of the impossibility of separating the two.

In makes sense, then, to refer to the Art Strike’s propaganda as "radical art," at least in the sense of "unprecedented art". But this is not the only consideration: not all new meanings are good ones. So what is the Art Strike really saying? Two main themes are apparent: a complete abandonment of politics, associated with an expression of a kind of ultimate and unanswerable feminism. The first can best be approached by considering the theoretical political impetus of a realized art strike. Industrial action works to counteract the isolation and passivity endemic in this society; strikes are a collective rejection of the strikers’ role as workforce and an affirmation of the fact that it’s worth more than that. A strike by artists, though, would actually promote both passivity and isomorphism: the strikers would not be a group refusing work but a scattering of individuals doing nothing. This picture we must add the facts that an art strike will not happen, and that very few people either know or care what artists do with their time anyway. A call for action, which is bound to be ignored, and which is addressed to people whose actions nobody notices: what is this but an elaborate demonstration of the futility of politics? The Marxists aspired to change the world; the point, it appears, is to withdraw from it.

This relates closely to the second point. Home has made an easy reputation out of radicals’ tendency to confuse the concepts of "qualitative supercession" and "reduction ad absurdum": that is, to assume that all previous radical practices can be superseded simply by "taking it further". This generally takes fairly sophisticated forms: talking about ‘situationist ideology’, for example, or alleging that radical art is part of ruling class culture. Latterly, thought, Karen Home has specialized in the most radical-looking strategy of all: negating everything. The tendency of the Art Strike is to argue that outside there is no authentic opposition: that all oppositional activity, radical art included, is a form of social integration. The empirical difficulties here are obvious and major: it is hard to see how anyone other than Karen Home could ever prove that they were actually opposing existing society and not merely indulging in oppositionism — except perhaps by supporting the Art Strike, reading Richard Allen and slagging off the SL. The strategy which Home has "taken further" here is the division between the Seventh Day Adventists and all other "Christians". Even more important is the end result. So complete a negation results in a politics not of negation but of abstinence: if nothing is authentic nothing can be done.

This is the true message of the Art Strike. Ultimately Home, like Baudrillard, is advocating silence and inaction [10]: it is, as promoting, the ultimate negation, alienation from one’s own capacity to act. This has its own interest for theory-collectors and the terminally disillusioned [11]; its main interest for the rest of us is that it makes Home out as a practitioner of theory for theory’s sake, political activity taken up in the belief that it is pointless. To describe this as radical would do violence to the meaning of the word: the word "reactionary" fits much better. "Boring" does quite nicely too [12]. As with the theory of Baudrillard, as with the "art for art’s sake" espoused by aesthetes from Walter Pater to the Neosia [13], the Art Strike’s only real achievement will be the entertainment it gives its audience — and, of course, the careers it makes.

Mr. Jones

[2] By the destruction of the Art Strike, the "praxis" group is in essence, appropriately, to argue that the strike is not real in the first place, whereas Home and Home associate it with the destruction of society. Essentially a non-starter as art in the second place, "good" art is not an essential part of society, it is the destruction of society. (I think) of course, the contingent role of means of production is the same thing as an art gallery / which simply passes on and creates what it creates and creates.
[3] Not simple incompatibility, of course Home’s moves have been shared with the Praxis group — but it is the move from the equally nominal and nominal protection from without the world’s capital rules. In other words, Home is no monolith with fixed ends of that famous general-purpose machine on "multiple identity", "George Elms"

(Coended on p. 33)
The word **softechina** has recently come into being to designate the presence of these new intangible information technologies which surround us [1], which are related to the expansion and development of the role of software in national economies. This article raises some issues arising from it, firstly by looking at some of the myths associated with computers, and then by considering the implications of the "softening of the economy".

**Myths About Computers**

"In technology it has been quite a quiet decade. The main innovations have been the personal computer, which is simply a convenient mental tool, and a change in the way people live. But I think its significance will be seen in retrospect as the beginning of something immensely important: the rise of artificial intelligence. The creation of machines as intelligent as human beings is not far off reproducible machines that can design themselves. This is the way to wealth: to replace men with machines, Machines can work as doctors, dentists, teachers, and every old person could be looked after. It's frightening in some ways, because it raises a lot of difficult religious questions about the nature of existence. But these are questions that we have to confront." [2] This quote from Sir Clive Sinclair contains a number of strands I wish to examine.

The first concerns some myths about the possibility of artificial intelligence. Can machines design (and therefore create themselves)? Computers can only add, subtract and compare, human beings, as well as being able to make intuitive leaps, can recognize patterns, even when they are varied. Although current artificial intelligence research is seeking to remedy this, they have not solved this basic difference.

Expert Systems (which the AI research departments in universities get so much money for developing) are designed to be able to appropriate someone's expert knowledge and to use this for problem solving. The most current application is for self-maintenance and repair and trouble-shooting in automation projects. (So Star Trek scenarios where the S.S Enterprise can self-repair could become possible). So is Sinclair not being too "over-optimistic" about "reproductive machines that can design themselves"? Although the nearest to this at present is software which can activate a pre-programmed self-repair facility.

**Some Questions to Think About**

As "artificial intelligence" progresses, models of the functioning of the human mind are suggested, usually based on the instrumental logic which post-modernist critics like Lyotard have identified with the "Reason" of the Enlightenment project. The ultimate goal of AI research is to close the remaining gap between what the human mind can do and what computers can do, based on the premise that this is possible. Emerging explanations of the processes of the human mind are then constructed through comparative difference.

So the 'big questions' seem to be: Are computers conscious? Can they be so? Can they be capable of being "self-conscious" (aware of self) or self-reflexive?

The second myth Sinclair seems to be pushing is that the advent of information technology hasn't changed our lives. It has affected work practices (management theory covers the "human" introduction of information technology into office administration); computers have become part of our culture and "have brought their own terminology into our vocabulary; and the application of the new software technologies are and will have other far-reaching social and political consequences.

New words which have come into our vocabulary often render a reality: user-friendly means the fact that with menu-driven systems all the decisions have been taken in advance and the parameters already defined. An example in the field of architecture is a software package known as "HARNESS", devised on the concept that "the design of buildings can be systematised to such an extent that each building is regarded as a communication route. The computer system stores a number of predetermined architectural elements which can be disposed around the communication route on a Visual Display Unit to produce different building configurations. Only these predetermined elements may be used and are reduced to operating a sophisticated 'lego' set." [3]

Philipe Lemonne, vice chairman of the French National Committee on Technology, Employment and Work has pointed out that "There is a whole range of standard software to help the individual user but, as a rule, these packages are simply tools designed to compress the range of possible objectives sufficiently for the user to feel that his (her) freedom of expression is coming up against logical constraints and thus to establish the autonomy of his own requirements." [4] Interactive information technology - interactive with the user's particular needs in approach to secrets are now being developed to remedy this.

"Hands-on" implies some tactile relationship with the object, when in fact on a visual display screen you are in contact via the keyboard (except for systems with touch screens) in a cerebral manner, possibly with hyper-reality (which you might have access to by means of hyper-reality). Hyper-reality is a hypothetical or possible reality which could
This seems to rehearse an old argument about the tendency of the rate of profit to fall and neglects the role of the State in propelling capitalist economies. This is effected either by fostering examples of tampering with the 'free market' (e.g. post-U.S. Government backing part of the wheat harvest to maintain world prices or the maintenance of EEC food mountains) or by shifting to the State sector the costs of unprofitable economic activities, or by the impact of financial State subsidies (e.g. loans and credits with advantageous conditions or tying public funds to economic ventures under the direction of the giant corporations). [13]

Profits could however be maintained simply by keeping prices high compared to production costs, or it could finally be a way of producing enough goods for everyone on a world scale, very cheaply, under a different type of social organisation. Under the present conditions, Morris-Suzuki says the managers' solution to the decreasing value of products and profits is to pour increasing amounts of capital and labour into the development of better software, new techniques, better products. The fiction of labour inherent in the nature of robots, in other words, creates a situation where it is only in the design of new productive information and the initial bringing together of information and machinery that surplus value can be extracted. Unrest this process is continually repeated, surplus value cannot be continually created, and the total mass of profit must ultimately fall. But over a fairly extended period of time it is possible that high levels of automation may be sustained by the incessant generation of new products and new methods of production. [14]

She concludes that the spread of automated manufacturing, by surrendering the labour process and squeezing out surplus value from the production of material objects, will force capitalist enterprises to become perpetually innovators.

The role of labour in the production of surplus values is increasingly minimised and replaced by the role of innovation. Innovation which contributes to the productive processes becomes a commodity produced by corporate enterprises as routinely as cars flowing from an assembly line. The so-called information society is one in which production and sale of new productive information (rather than goods) becomes increasingly central to economic life. Production of technological knowledge will become the main source of profit, and there is starting a shift in emphasis from goods production to knowledge production.

The declining share of Japan's corporate capital expended on material inputs (such as machinery / raw materials) and a growing share spent on non-material inputs (e.g. software, data services, planning and research and development) has been described as the "softening of the economy". And it has been seen as a forewarning of a global trend. In 1970 more than half of Japan's industries could be classified as "very hard industries", those where material goods made up 80% or more of the total value of outputs. In 1980 only 27.3% fell into that category. [15]

Structure of the Workforce

One illusion fostered by the ideologies of the "information society" is that work which does not involve direct manual production is necessarily intellectual and creative. This phenomenon can only be called the "Socialism of Designers". According to this ideology, we can attain the status of "technocratic nomads, endowed with quasi-divine powers, whose attributes approximate ever more closely to the ancient gods of mythology" [18]

The reality is quite different, however, under the conditions of the commodity production of knowledge which leads to an increasingly fine division of labour and growing routinisation and fragmentation of tasks. Complex information network and database systems can be compared to the conveyor belt in factory production facilitating the breaking-down of tasks into small, isolated components which can be performed by less skilled workers. What Morris-Suzuki sees emerging is a hierarchy of knowledge-producing occupations, ranging from the highly-trained scientific researcher / long-term planner (a deskilled scientist who retains some independence of action and identifies in part with management goals) to the data compiler / computer programmer whose work is at once alienating and poorly-paid as most manual workers. The actual tasks performed by most people operating computer terminals continue to be data capture and manipulation, not decision-making. A small minority at the top continue to make all the important decisions and new technology merely makes sure that they are better informed.

A perpetual innovation economy requires a workforce which is "highly flexible", i.e. easy to take-up and discard, and this economy is likely, according to Morris-Suzuki, to be characterised by growing insecurity of employment and companies' increased reliance on a pool of part-time, temporary and contract labour.

This fragmentation of tasks, which has turned many areas of highly technical work into relatively simple routine operations, has created a situation where engineers in a design team using CAD do not have to talk to one another, because all the information they need about a project is in the computer. [17] The magazine Processed World, based in Silicon Valley, California, outlines the situation where this structured division of work enables programmers to write "slave" modules of code performing simple tasks, and an entire computer program design can be assigned by project leaders without it being mentioned that the Pentagon will use the software to refine an experimental missile: "Management benefits directly: many people may not enjoy creating office automation technology and weapons systems that destroy life but if the work seems at harmless as a game of chess, so much the better." [18]

(Continued on p. 32)
If the media are to be believed, 'hackers' and 'viruses' are making everyday use of computers increasingly difficult. This article analyses the reaction to these problems, drawing largely on press reports. These often describe the same incidents, but claim that this is due not to a low number of incidents but rather to the sensitivity of the issue. Those experiencing problems are reputedly too embarrassed to report that they have been 'hacked'. So the statistics cannot form the basis for an analysis, but is the reaction which is more revealing: what lies behind the 'hacked' 'destruction' and 'threat to security' of computer misuse?

The Political Campaign.

Emma Nicholson MP led the campaign for legislation against 'computer misuse', supported by other MPs, the CBI, Scotland Yard Fraud Squad, and the Computer Threat Research Association, which was formed by 140 concerned organizations. Nicholson claimed her campaign was representative of public and business concerns over computer misuse, concerns centering on the vulnerability of personal information such as medical records which is increasingly held on computers. Unauthorized access to this information could lead to its misuse. An example is given from France, where hackers gained access to blood donations records. AIDS sufferers are identified on these records, and some were blackmailed.

However, concerns expressed by businesses appear to be the strongest motivation for legislating against computer misuse. Nicholson surveyed these concerns, which fall into four main categories: [1]

1. 66% of respondents reported 'problems' with misuse of computer system resources, ranging from equipment theft to computer games playing on the employer's systems.
2. The next most common response (25%) related to 'break-ins' by disgruntled employees, although damage was generally slight.
3. Equally common was the gathering of access data by hackers, '...most respondents believed that damage was generally slight'.
4. 'Improper disclosure of information held on their computers' was considered a problem by only 14% of respondents.

The Press Campaign.

Press reports have also concentrated on corporate problems. A Sunday Times article gave the example of a director who hacked into his company's files. Many were then wiped and antisocial messages sent to some customers. The company is now in liquidation. Later, the story disappeared. Is this perhaps just poor journalism? Or deliberately misleading journalism, or hacking hysteria? The article claims that the director 'hacked' into his own company's files. This initial act is unlikely to represent unauthorized access, so the concept of misuse couldn't apply until the files were erased and the messages sent. The article is also vague about the nature of the company's financial problems, although it implies the liquidation follows the director's actions.

The report is misleading in a vaguer sense. It quotes a Fraud Squad officer referring to a dossier of hacking cases: 'It is very frustrating for us because these are crimes but there is nothing we can do. If we wait for the Code of Practice now we will be several years before we get any new legislation. During all that time people may go on hacking into systems, copying files, diverting funds, changing them, and stealing them'. [2] Readers are told that hacking, copying files, etc., are crimes, a statement contradicted by the need to make these 'crimes' illegal. We can only assume that the listed actions are illegal but the legislation which criminalizes them cannot be realistically applied - an argument advanced by other members of the anti-hacking lobby when useful to further their cause. Hackers and virus planters as 'criminals' despite the obvious grounds for doing so.

'Evocative of the need for anti-hacking legislation are 45 instances of traditional offenses committed using computers. Thus, in the same Sunday Times article, under the heading 'Evasive Hackers On-Line to be Outlawed', the London Business School claims that hacking costs British industry £40bn a year. Without a breakdown of this figure it is difficult to compare its reliability, but the corresponding US figure ($55bn) refers to embezzlement, credit card fraud, and theft of services among other things. In Britain, these activities are outlawed by the Theft Acts of 1968 and 1978, although the Law Commission argued that the concept of 'deception' should be altered within these statutes so that 'deception' of a computer would be more adequately covered.

'Hacking' is thus used to cover traditional offenses, which serves to 'criminalise' the activity. This process also aids campaigns for formal legislation by, for example, surveying public opinion. The reference to crimes the police can do nothing about also refers to those activities covered by the broad term 'hacking' but not yet illegal, including unauthorized access to computer information, which is an offence only if theft or criminal damage occurs. For anti-hacking lobbyists, this is a priority in their calls for legislation. The repercussions would reach far beyond computers, as "no general right of privacy exists in English law, even in the law of Tort" [3].

The conceptual problems in 'computer crime' thus disguise a programme concerned with the "control" of information. Here the debate surrounding 'The Information Society' relates to hacking issues. Viruses destroy the public's confidence in the security of information while hackers gain unauthorized access to something supposedly available to all. But if this information is too sensitive, access is surprisingly easy. Indeed
"Hackers" themselves require information (e.g. passwords) which, Hugo Cornwell [4] suggests, can often be obtained simply by eavesdropping. This threatens the computer hacker mystique, showing that their activities require no superhuman powers. Cornwell believes that any solutions must begin with changes in computer management - a common view from those in the computer security business.

Putting Fears in Perspective

Also hidden by the "computer crime" statistics is the perspective on the financial costs of damage not caused by hackers or viruses. For example, the threat to US Air Force systems from sappers - planned for sabotaging power cables resulting in a fire causing £500,000 damage to the Davis Hill base. Also, a multinational estimate of losses after an office move moved furniture into an office, causing the floor to collapse onto the computer below.

Tupper has suggested why hackers and viruses dominate discussion on computer security: Such stories help to create an atmosphere of terror which is then seized upon by those astute enough to exploit it commercially with offerings of security services and counselling to avert these dangers. It is not uncommon for these ingredients to coalesce into a critical mass, generating pressure for action, and then erupting into the production of such egregious legislation as the Data Protection Act 1984. The impact of hacking and computer virus stories is illustrated by a survey in Ontario, where 98% of organizations were asked if they had experienced lost through unauthorized manipulation or abuse of the computer system. Despite getting no chance to answer "No", only 5% replied that they had experienced a loss, but the real impact of the stories is illustrated by the 84% believing computer crime a serious problem. Similar results are found in Emma Nicholson's research.

"Corporate fraud" was respondents' perceived most serious threat to their businesses, yet only 3% of reported "computer crimes" were corporate frauds. 99% reported hacking, and 99% wanted hacking to be made illegal.

Beneath the Hype

The real significance of hacking and viruses could be the "hysteria" generated, prompting anti-hacking lobbyists to embark upon resource-wasting campaigns. There are suggestions that this has been deliberately hyped by those in computer security services, who have seen a potential money-spinner. These companies are increasingly bringing forward methods for preventing hacking and viruses. This appears to be the second stage taken as anti-hacking legislation in the USA has fallen short of its aims, with viruses in particular still on the increase. Nevertheless, the successful leveraging of the computer security problem is important, as those in the security trade have attempted to touch the same nerve as the anti-hacking lobby. The origins of some of the images indicate how computer security issues have been romanticized.

Some came from science fiction [6]; In "When Harry was One" (1972), "David Gruenewald invented a weapon called "Nix" which charts telephone numbers randomly until it finds another computer. It would then spread into that system". John Gruenewald's "Shockwave Rider" (1975) "created a face-spotted protagonist in an authoritarian society who maintained liberty by creating numerous programs that disrupted their way through the computers that exercised social control, selecting records and processes". Similarly, 70's Urban Guerrilla groups equated computer with social control.

In the USA, Robert Morris reached folkhero status in the hacking subculture after causing "the most expensive piece of electronic vandalism to date". Of course, anti-hacking campaigns present a different picture, portraying hackers as "malevolent, nasty, evil-doers" [7]. Another American hacker, accused of causing $400,000 damage, received a suspended sentence: "He's a dangerous man, if he does it, he's going to make his credit reference. He needs to be watched so he can't do more damage". He had been accused of unauthorized authorities by supposedly altering his criminal record and changing a judge's book balance.

If some reports are believed, hacking is "a terrorist tool of tomorrow" [8]. Those who argue this point also believe the European Green Movement to be a terrorist threat. On the other hand, Hugo Cornwell simply views hacking as an everyday pastime. Evidence for each approach can be found. For example, after an American security network was accessed, the hackers were traced, and armed police officers went to apprehend them, and found that these threats to national security were two teenage boys. This contrasts with the image portrayed by Baden and Mike, the American system's security consultancy, who focus on hackers' intellectual capabilities, to perpetuate the mystique to justify the employment of reformed hackers as security experts.
some time may experience withdrawal symptoms, and they exhibit anti-social preference for the company of inanimate objects. In short, "crackers" appear to represent a greater threat to their own wellbeing than that of the nor computers.

"New Era of Increasingly Viral Threats"

Whether human or mechanical, viruses are now becoming a serious threat. "The Black Death" is coming, there's nothing you can do about it." [12] Infection of computer systems by viruses has probably overtaken the hacker in terms of security fears. The first virus, designed by Fred Cohen, was presented at a security conference in 1988. The presentation was hailed when administrators and attendees at the conference perceived it as a security threat; some went away to implement relatively simple procedures to protect their systems, whereas others ignored the threat.

In 1991, the first "unauthorized" virus (known as "Brain") began to spread in Britain and America. In less than three years, imaginations have inflated more in relation to viruses than to viruses themselves. Some organizations are reported to have paid blackmailers large sums under threat of viral attack, while legitimate money has been earned by security experts. Alan Solomon, a "virus doctor," is one of many who market anti-virus products - although unfortunately for their reputation and balance, one such product was itself infected. He is also one who believes that viruses have reached epidemic proportions. Attempts to control viruses increasingly draw on the human immune system. Newsletters and newspapers have been developed by computer security experts such as Charles Wood [13], who describes how military metaphors have fallen into disuse. For example, access control by passwords is the analog of a fence to keep out protecting a physical area. The use of the immune system over disputes, stimulating security thinking. "Computers are like military metaphors, but "all the hypotheses are now in the immune system." In this case, the simulated problems have provided a case for both Morris Jr. and Smit. However, following Baudrillard, those controlling and protecting computer systems would have much to gain. "The specific character of cybernetic forces is to assimilate all as such and to make all the forces only because it is so dissimulated.

Wood explicitly uses the same techniques. The application of human metaphors was also an attempt to change the image of computers. His proposed reference model was intended to illustrate a relationship between humans and computers, somehow proving their Compatibility by exposing common weaknesses. Unfortunately for that intention, this appears to have gone too far. "Many users are under the illusion that a model can be "infecting" simply by naming a data file, albeit as likely as catching a disease by watching a TV programme with pictures of bacteria." [17]

A final point about hackers and "operational security": It is always a question of proving the truth by the imaginary, proving truth by supposing, proving the law by transgression. [18] Or proving the value of companies by highlighting the disadvantages of hackers. The hacking hype is supposed to die out and the same is expected of virus concerns, once techniques for their control are more widespread. The future looks healthier for computer security consultant firms than for existing politicians.

Alan Currie
(Continued from p.28)

Is it the technology itself which is suspect or its use in a specific organisation of society?

Some (like Mike Cooley) argue that the premises on which Western science are based, derived from Plato’s rule-based system, are to be questioned and not be rethought. Others argue that the lack of a materialist base is the source of the problem, that this is knowledge separate from the body, “separate thought.”

An example of how technology can be used to change our perception of things can be seen in the EC’s ESPRIT programme to fund jointly a project to build the world’s first Human Centred Integrated Manufacturing System, a ten partner project with teams in Denmark, Germany and the UK, initiated by the Greater London Enterprise Board (M. Cooley, director). At each level, from design through to production planning to manufacturing, the system builds on human skills rather than marginalising them. Thus the human being handles the qualitative subjective judgements and the machine merely the quantitative elements, with the idea that humans dominate the machine and not vice-versa. [19]

In that project, some dissenters in the information world are rejecting the cybernetic conception of creativity, whose reductionistic logic merely rearranges elements in experience, all knowledge being coded in symbolic form by “knowledge engineers”, rather than acknowledging qualitative leaps, problem-solving in a human manner, and elements of common sense.

To conclude, these new technology systems are not just the reflections of those who design them, and the conditions under which they are devised. And I suggest that, until we have a society where we all have some control of decision-making in the general social, political and economic apparatus, we cultivate elements of softtechnics—angst before we all such softtechnics—symptoms extend from being taken over by total computer-speak to excessive paranoia about electronic surveillance.

Lucy Forstal

(Based on a talk given to the West Yorkshire Discussion Group in November 1989.)

Notes:
[2] Sunday Correspondent, 1/10/89
[5] “From Brunelleschi to CAD-CAM” by Mike Cooley in “Design After Modernism”.
[10] “Robots and Capitalism”.
[12] “Robots and Capitalism”.
[14] “Robots and Capitalism”.
[18] “Robots and Capitalism”.
[19] “Robots and Capitalism”.
[21] Explained by Mike Cooley in “From Brunelleschi to CAD-CAM”.

(Continued from p.25)

As the kind that look out of the end of the medium process. You can't hold a good work of art, that's what I say.

A regime of visual arts.

Articles in *Time* have advocated “technical innovation” for the duration of the Art Strike. Will happen?

At the 84 exhibition a couple of copies of *Time* were shown, enjoyed under glass so that we could appreciate the text and avoid the art. Those required are therefore classed as both categories at once.

R. C. Montagu, a problem of visual arts.

How can one describe the following as a “scientific result”? To judge from the usual accounting of their activities, one is presenting the results as artistic work in the nature of a calculated compliment.
The Scottish establishment has been criticized for its role in the failure of the Nationalist Party to secure an outright majority in the recent Scottish Parliament election. The establishment's power and influence have been questioned, with some arguing that it has prevented the development of a truly representative system in Scotland.

In this context, Alex Richards suggests in the article "Politics of Wales: A Critique of the Situationist Version of Marxian" by Chris R. Tame, published in the Liberty Alliance's "R逐s Lothian (London: WCE, SAA).

It is a pity that such a page is lost, as it might have provided a valuable critique of the establishment. It is all too easy to see how such a critique could be based on a misreading of "Leonardo da Vinci's Twenty Century Covenants and a Strange and inexcusable Selection."
D.K.'s WEEKLY
No. 1
BEHIND ENEMY LINES.
From our War Correspondent.
"D.K.'s Weekly" is considered to be a
national, bearded, and warm-as-it-was-in-the
field. While it does that it contains the genuine
specimen can be dismissed by all sides, as weak, stupid,
ugly, or extremely, as agreement with the other side. But
D.K.'s Weekly isn't the paper of the non-combatant
separatist, because it's the only paper that isn't
taking sides. Because none of the sides are worth having.

For a start the anti-imperialist movement has been established
and supported by the professional peace movement.
Just as the body of the political classes who are fighting for, they think, the very world peace
requires much the same corporate loyalty as 'freedom'
when one is on the right.

The pre-eminent identification of the taboos with a
true-left version of today's fighting man is portrayed
by the peace professionals as the middle-minded set
in the country today.

Just as the taboos wage their war by vicious
licentiousness of the modern military actually do on the
peace professionals their features onto the non-combatant separatist. They must be the leaders of the
media, 'psychologically damaged', 'wrenched and
edged taken', 'sickened', 'sickened', 'sickening'.
If there's one thing which, besides the
legitimacy of those who get into this war, it's that the insurance
that the public plays the game of various statecraft. Each
democratic individual it invites into the sphere of
international diplomacy. "Should sanctions have been
given more time to work?" - What are our
war aims?

Just remembering that questions ensure that the game
will go on, and the public takes responsibility for that
either which has no power. If every democratic
individual really had such power there would be
reason states left to wage war in the first place. One
should simply refuse to be drawn on these questions.

When the military says it is attempting to avoid
civilian targets, no one can know whether they are
telling the truth. The management of information has been perfected
over the ages. What the accusation of 'cover-up' of
military is the novelty of this strategy. While it's not
expected that may, many people have died in this way that
every, least of all Holocaust, is left on, it is a mistake to
take this as simply a case of good-old
-fashioned lies.

In fact these lines are new. Whereas in the past
victories were talked up, defeats talked down, about
opportunities to work with. This is a slightly shame faced
captive war, praised as such, in our times. More
time and care is spent on managing these situations,
feats etc. than trying to engage jingoist emotions.

The managers of this war are most concerned that the
public is aware of how much they care, both for the
military and the military dead, and wounded.

When was once a capital offense in WW2, and was
to be known later as 'shell shock', now will be treated as
Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. And beds have been
put aside in psychiatric hospitals for the soldiers.

This war will be a good war - the managers are seeking to
exercise the democracy that gave war such a bad name.

At the heart of all this is a self-conscious strategy to
engage the public in a civil war throughout the period of the war.

Now more is more than they ever have, and the idea of leading to very appalling conduct like
the mass shooting of first by harmless families after
WW2. That is why this war has been fought in such
apparent simplicity - a different kind of 'new world order'.

But if the war is not the thing to determine policy, there is
no policy, no one, who by the pursuit of happiness
whether or not it affects the state or not, and relying
on the good conduct which is demanded of subjects in
summer, the spontaneous consent of which the state
wars on our behalf will be directly solicited.

For a war for which the people who don't want to

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Le Young. RP 155, 94/4, Very good copy, France, Temps Critiques Issue No. 1 on Germany. Issue No. 2 'Against the Nation State, Anti-Semitism. The Democratic individual, and re-thinking the individual. Louisiana a la guerre et la beauté post-fasciste'. From Editions de La Cépaille, RP 331 Grenoble centro 1, 94011 (in France).

Anarchy A Journal of Desire Armed No. 21, Dept Wm & Co CAL. PO 1474
(C) 1985 M.D. 200, 1985 Joinery, The Country BostINGTON 59.89, £0.99 + post from BM Box 191, London WC1X 2AX.

"O-Markets" Postscript

This article does not seem to have been heard of in any immediacy over the past six months. True, a handful of last German companies, especially automobile manufacturers, are beginning to invest in the former GDR but the essential shift of the article - that, despite much rhetoric to the contrary, East Germany has been deindustrialized for decades made elsewhere - still stands. One East German company said to be viable, the airline industry, has been permitted to continue business. It may be overhauled, I think, that other air carriers did not relish the idea of competition.

If anything, the picture today is more depressing than suggested in the article. An employment rate of fifty percent is being predicted for the ex-GDR. The German government has just announced hefty rises in tax to pay for the mess. The German populace had been persuaded to believe, during the election campaign, that a market led revival of low productivity factories in the East would solve everything. Leading politicians seem to be the only way of visiting their alleged in the East and possibly worried about the encroaching citizen rage at promises broken and wishes not fulfilled.

PFW - March '91

SADDAM SAYS

Organisers Issues 20 and 21, 799 + post from P.O. Box 97, West PDG, Nottingham 67 SSU. Best national magazine in UK within which an offer to millions at moment. 20 includes assessment of Romania's Newers and State manipulation; a critique of tail-ending (or failing) in the Park Tax, 21 includes Shaving Path (Lemons) and, in London 216.

Bulletin of Anarchist Research 21 and 22, 18 sub from CGC Services, Cwm Owen Hall, Pencader, Dyfed SA14 9TA, the address of Black Sheep. Stapled photocopied journal, featuring in 21, Slimer, Spiritual Anarchism, AUXilliary commune in India and Karen Gossen's analysis on the 'cultural current', a self-publishing eclectic range of publications at a tangent to contemporary anarchism. 22 has more on Chomsky's anarchism; review by Comen of Class and Myths and Culture by Stefan Szelechowski and Piers Press; Herschel's publication on the Park Tax riot in Ireland, John Cramp on the libertarian and the usual assorted research on Blake, Morris and Nature.

Green Perspectives - no. 21, December 1989 (PA Left Green Publications) "Waves of the German Left", 56 pages. On the German Greens' showing in December elections, calling for boycotting 8th general election, their transformation into a conventional party, having become overwhelming parliamentary and electoral and electoral in its orientation, with "much of its program co-opted by the SPD, etc., considerable interviews with Ande LeBattos. Also excerpts from speeches at the congress of the "National Left" in June and July 1990 (8th sitting split from the Greens last year after acceptance of Red-green coalition)." Ando, Lecce, ananda, and "Anarchi. Perspectives: Peter Kitten (Schweizer Institut), talk of a "beg" outside and the appeal of "gangsterism" and the following of the "entire body of alternative political life", interesting. (The eternal reconversion of the German Left, No. 29 "The meaning of Confederation" by Murray Bookchin, address: Green Program Project, P.O. Box 121, Huntington, Vermont.)
Private home ownership as proportion of total housing market

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