

HERE AND NOW

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Issue 13.



Exposing the Health Factory
The irrelevance of Statecraft
The 'new face' of Rebellion

Heresay

first column of controversy

Saturday morning (early).

Boom Boom, screeching flutes tunes for stale ears. Slumber awoken by ascendant orangepersons. Another march. More inconvenience/resignation for the mass of citizen consumers. Spring onwards these loyalist intrusions in different zones of Glasgow instill and reinforce a pessimism of apparently unchanging tradition.

Despite appearances to the contrary we do not thrive on this pessimism, but studiously avoid projections of optimism that overreach expectations beyond the course of events. We aspire to discover social hope, but cannot suspend our critical faculties in order to get a buzz, a transient injection of movement without foundation. At the same time such realism shouldn't be confused with a "new realism" which uses lack of hope in order to propel accommodation, dilution and "unity" with forces that are intrinsically our foes.

My long term involvement, simultaneously, with **Counter Information** and **Heresay** is one of tension, political rather than personal. **CI**, as it is affectionally referred to by insiders, aspires to document struggles and resistance (a keyword), preferably first hand reports of events that have been ignored or distorted by the media. It has a built-in tendency to enthuse & inspire, even although it is a highly selective collection of reports, often subject to collective editing (due mostly to limitations of space). The collective who publish **CI**, approximately 10 people in Central Scotland and 3 in West Yorkshire (another coincidence?), with one notable exception aren't "born optimists" but are generally closer than people in **Heresay** to the activist revolutionary milieu, although many are preoccupied by child-rearing.

Years ago, in one of the early 'Free University' (discussion forum) meetings in Glasgow, Jenny Turner (now encamped in Paris) suggested that the straddling of such projects (**CI** & **H&N**) was fraught with contradiction, one requiring a certain suspension of disbelief, the other rooted in skepticism. This is true in a sense, and the elimination of contradiction in our personal approach to seeking and describing change is one of these 'holy grails', rarely approached. To diverge for a moment, another meeting in Glasgow, earlier this year witnessed a visit by a member of the **News & Letters** group in the U.S. During his encounter with activists from **Workers City** etc, the approach of the Chicago based group was explained as producing a paper which sought to integrate ideas, reports and education within the framework of a single journal. Echoes of this approach have been found at many times in the revolutionary milieu, such as the various papers associated with Guy Aldred in the early part of this century such as **The Spur** and **The Word**. The objection I posed to this ideal is also the reason why a **CI** needs to exist separate from a **H&N**. Ideas have to be accessible, they are often understood in relation to descriptions of activity, they need to be produced in a format which can allow 12,000 copies to be produced (rather than 1,200) and they are best presented in a journalistic form. There is a dialectic here, a tension, which 'gets lost' in a unified paper, since it is a magazine masquerading as a paper, without the urgency and compact vitality of the newsheet or the theoretical direction and eloquence of a magazine.

Why you might enquire doesn't **H&N** branch out into newsheets, and keep its politics elevated and less accessible in terms of expression and format? Such a criticism has some validity, although the favoured approach particularly by our more interventionist colleagues in West Yorkshire, has been to produce one off leaflets in response to issues rather than commit themselves to a demanding cycle of news editing and compilation practised by **CI**. Before leaving this topic, which I hope has some resonance apart from my own alleged 'schizophrenia', it is worthwhile to note that projects evolve and attract contributors whose reports don't always follow the dictates of expected style and content. Hence we have reports in **CI** by **Heresay** and **Red Menace** writers etc striking offbeat notes. There is the instigation of the 'editorial' and long articles 'allowed the luxury' of critical comments, although there is a constant battle in the editing process to retain these. In **H&N** there have been reports and other styles of writing which break-up a uniformity of semi-scholastic articles.

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**HERE &
NOW**

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National Fever

The "Scottish Question" was promoted as a central issue during the Spring 1992 UK election campaign. Nothing came of it. However, that failure may actually increase its wider significance as a failure of politics.

During the months prior to the election, the entire liberal-left anticipated change to the government of Scotland. This would be a break expressed through the normal channels. It would restore a continuity by throwing off a foreign yoke. It would express a popular will discontented with the available means of expression. How could such a consensus hold together?

Previous articles in *Here & Now* have discussed the Scottish Constitutional Convention, a conglomerate of clerics, lawyers, local government bureaucrats and political bosses. This modernised Estates General brought together those whose pivot is the State, but who hid behind loose statements about the Scots being more community-oriented than the English (a certain entry for a 1992 Dictionary of Received Ideas). By reducing the developments in international capitalism through the 1980s to the imposition of "Thatcherism" on a people who didn't want it, those sectors who prospered in the corporatism of the discarded postwar settlement hoped to carve a niche for the 1990s. There was a conservative defence of sectional interests against Tory neo-liberal radicalism.

But the Convention's legitimacy within Scotland was precarious. It represented a "party for moderate progress within the bounds of the law", which needed forceful presence from both the independence position of the **Scottish National Party** and the campaign against the Community Charge, but representing neither. This was despite the wild projections of its popularity to audiences outside Scotland, boosted by those who hoped that Scottish people might push forward their own programme. Convention architect Jim Ross now criticises it for



putting "little more than token endeavour" into trying to establish legitimacy. (*Scotland on Sunday*, 16/8/92). The Conventioneers had failed to organise their own planned referendum, but carried on choosing the wallpaper, confident that the 1992 election would install them in office. Repeating past mistakes, David Steel once more went home to "prepare for government".

Virus Transmission

In the event, they were first hit by a virus unleashed by media groups, not least for their own ends. The launch of the redesigned Scotsman newspaper coincided with its publication of an opinion poll showing apparent 50% support for Scottish independence. The conversion of The Sun to nationalism was more controversial, whether the motivation was populist or was calculated to enhance Conservative electoral chances by splitting the opposition. These media actions laid out the body politic for inspection and speculation. The Scotsman followed this up with a series of excruciatingly worthy probes into the working of Scottish autonomy. Meanwhile, the Convention fell into disarray faced with the swelling inflammation. Prominent members conceded that they had lost the initiative in the months of procedural discussion.

Supine Simulation

The Scotsman group also organised

a showpiece public debate between the Scottish party leaders, a supine simulation of debate: eyes forward and silence for the four stars on stage with a few questions after the set-piece speeches. Unpromising base material transformed by the apprentice sourcerers of the press: "The Scotsman's Great Debate" - four Scottish party leaders hammering out the political options in Edinburgh's Usher Hall - was heard by hundreds of thousands live on radio and watched by even more on BBC Scotland's edited highlights..." (Pat Kane in *The Guardian*, 6/2/92) "Hammering out the political options" has a tone of the craftsmanlike, a feeling of something tangible being beaten into shape.

History was assumed to be on the side of the constitutionalists. The Disruption in the former Soviet bloc has encouraged intellectuals' beliefs that they express a general interest. Positioned around local media centres, they began to see regional tv opt-out programming as providing something other than lip-service to public interest provisions.

For Kane, the media "have been practising this kind of tele-democracy north of the border for years, arguably laying a ground of self-understanding that had to be transmuted eventually into a popular concern with power and democracy..." He announces "a general

elision between political and cultural representation; that cultural autonomy has been a crucial substratum for political autonomy”.

If Dr. Kane's examination produced an over-optimistic bill of health, it was partly due to a confusion with the state of his group practise. The past decade has indeed brought a form of "cultural autonomy", in that material success for Kane, Deacon Blue and Runrig within Scotland would have been unlikely before then. But any valuation should take account of the particular market segments to which they play, in a not dissimilar way to big-gesture groups elsewhere, as well as the extent to which the breweries (whose political allegiances are well known) have formed and re-formed the vocabulary and concept of home to which they refer. Why should the political allegiances of that group of flag-wavers be given any more credence than Moira Anderson (signatory of an advertisement supporting the constitutional Union) or the more reticent Jimmy Shand?

IMMUNE DEFICIENCY

Nor was accommodation with constitutionalism limited to the liberal-left. Such inflammation is the everyday ailment of revolutionary groups, in the absence of real social movement. When the infection spreads to the liberal-left, revolutionaries' immune systems even succumb to belief in a "national revolution". For example, the article *Scot Free in Class War* sought nourishment under the constitutional froth. It too had to be selective about what it found. "In Scotland, the posh Scots of Glasgow and Edinburgh speak in strange, strangled accents and send their kids south to English boarding schools". True, some aristocratic children are sent to English public schools, but the private day schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh are more fertile sources of future leaders of the Faculty of Advocates, etc. The writer follows the tradition when radicals try to deal with nationalisms, and tries to export the ruling class in a way which can render them less Scots than the rest of us - a sleight-of-hand always needed when creating the illusion of national interest.

In the pre-election *New Left Review* (no.191) Robin Blackburn scavenged around what were anticipated to be "The Ruins of Westminster". He emerged holding aloft the unique failure of the British New Left to institutionalise itself, a victim of the

terrible British political system. But where, unless in a few tenured academics' seminar rooms, can the vibrant and victorious New Left be found? Presumably not in France, Germany or Italy. GLC socialism may even be one of that New Left's highest actual and possible achievements.

The NLR presented the left-liberal consensus around electoral reform as encouraging diversity rather than conformity and hoped that it might provide a safe haven for shell-shocked socialists. Isobel Lindsay, the convenor of the *Scottish Constitutional Convention* was allowed to roam freely over the space claimed by the Convention. Once again, the list of parties and interest groups vouched for the Convention's legitimacy, and Lindsay could rest assured that "the project has been a classic example of civil society at work".

What is this "civil society"? It is less the formal and informal life-experiences of the population than particular interest groups oriented around the State. David Marquand admired the Convention's "roots in the autonomous institutions of a civil society on the march" and the Scots ability to "fashion a participatory constitution in a participatory manner" (in *The Guardian*, 28/2/92). But "civil society at work" amounted to almost nothing. Its crutch was electoral (not through referendum but through party consensus) and needed one or two Conservative MPs to lose their marginal seats. They didn't, and by the early hours of 10th April, the edifice of the Constitutional Convention was crumbling.

Before the election, suspicion of hyperbole was a matter of belief and argument, but a post-mortem is obviously now required. The Convention's pretense was to present itself as representing the people of Scotland "through their institutions". This was accepted across the spectrum of non-Conservative political parties and a stratum of celebrities came to believe in such a tele-democracy in which their voices supplied the self-understanding. Long-distance radicalism had repeatedly mistaken cadres for the general population (such as the vicarious support for the Sandinista Stalinists). Now the fatted calf had been prepared for the returning radical sons and daughters. A warm light in the window beckoned them home for

their appointment with history. "A false radicality had scattered us into centrifugal spaces; a vital leap will bring us back to reality. Everything becomes real and takes on meaning again once this spectre of historical unreality, this sudden collapse of time and the real, is conjured away". (Baudrillard, *Fatal Strategies*). The Convention play had depended on position. Now the positions began to drop away. Within weeks, many of the Convention cast were "resting". Out went Malcolm Bruce (Scottish Liberal Democrat leader). Out went Charles Gray (Strathclyde Regional Council convenor). Labour splinters joined with the SNP in *Scotland United* - once more, the presentation of unity rather than diversity.

Substantial Frustration

Several weeks after the election, Lindsay could be found trying to salvage something of the failed promise: "Whatever its other faults, the SNP has been non-violent, constitutional and non-racist. Like the other opposition parties and campaigning groups in Scotland, it has tried to channel the substantial frustration which exists here into positive political activity. There was no violence in Scotland over the poll tax which was not the case in the south. Credit should be given for this commitment to the democratic political process despite the unfairness of the system" (Letter in *The Guardian*, 19/5/92)

The article *Devolution: The Chance of Unity* in the June 1992 issue of *Labour Research*, projects itself on the facade of unity. Lack of unity is portrayed as the reason why the 1979 referendum failed. (In so doing, the article falsely projects Conservatives in 1979 as being "firmly against the idea of a Scottish Assembly"). Clutching at unity as a chance for recovering position, the article degenerates into a list of trade unions which have endorsed the Convention documents. Optimism then lies with the "strength of feeling that...has seen thousands of people on the streets calling for self-government and a new political unity for all opposition parties".

Does all this matter? Does it amount to no more than a frenzy whose passing leaves the sufferer wiser? However, the loss of an illusion tends to take the form of contempt rather than disenchantment. Failed by their compatriots, the patriot tendency

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Infantile Disorders

Towards a Toddlers international, or the tyranny of everyday life ?

Recent issues of *Here & Now* have criticised the way in which managerial groups seek and extend their power by presenting their own interests as everyone's. This should indicate concerns which differ from all those for whom politics is ultimately an administrative programme.

Rival groups' arguments appeal to a general interest which just happens to coincide with their own. Attention paid to this "ventriloquism" can show how disputes within managerial sectors escalate and are contained. But there are pitfalls in discarding the progressive "solutions" supported by professional sectors. A refusal to identify with a specific group makes it possible to float off into a general rhetoric which is no longer tethered to any specifics. Emphasising the need to reject all "progressive" political groups also brings the risk of identifying instead with the apparent negativity of various subcultures.

Living within such constraints can amount to no more than continuation of politics by other means. The decks may seem to have been cleared, but the same furniture keeps appearing: scathing critiques of conventional politics, and commentaries on events and actions falling within the "crisis" category which defines the borders of political interest.

Off-limits lie the associative, mundane, and often non-political, forms through which our lives are constructed. This is something much more diffuse than the "public sphere" where many try to rebuild socialism. That "public sphere" already divides doing from speaking - and hence brings opportunities for the intelligentsia's aspirations.

The associative area is, of course, being subjected to stresses similar to those faced in informal workplace organisation and the like. The remainder of this article considers some pressures faced by one such associative form - toddler and play groups. It would be nice to be able to say that no apology is offered for this choice, but the preceding four paragraphs do amount to some kind of apology.

Toddler and under-five playgroups have been affected by the 1989 Children Act. In many ways, the Act consolidated previous legislation; in other ways it responded to the "issues" of the moment (such as in declarations in favour of equal opportunities). As a result, its passage was untroubled by controversy and gained all-party support. (Other aspects of the Act may be discussed in future issues of *Here & Now*.)

The Scottish Office guidelines to the Act ("Regulation and Review of Childminding, Daycare and Education Services for Children Under Eight: Guidance for Local Authorities") place

playgroups under the same broad category as child-minding and private and employer-organised nurseries, although allowing for some differences in staffing ratios, etc. They do acknowledge that the "playgroup movement stresses the role of parents as prime educators of their children" and that the "playgroup philosophy is based on parental involvement in all aspects of management and organisation". Nonetheless, the category hides even the basic economic difference between playgroups and paid childcare. Paid childcare is based

not on association but on marginal utility: the squeeze between the monetary or positional rewards which a parent gains by working and that passed on to the child-minder. The legislation, with its checks, balances and administrative opportunities, regards association and marginal utility as commensurate. But if they are converging, this is partly due to the legislation itself.

The Act wears the fashions of its time. It requires registration of anyone who supervises children, and police checks on their pasts to detect child abusers. All child-care premises

must be registered and inspected annually. With a straight face, the guidelines intone that this inspection will "provide reassurance to parents about the involvement of the local authority". When association becomes something permitted by central authorities, its limits fall under the notion of exemption: exemption from registration when two families have a mutual arrangement or for a conference creche used fewer than 6 times in a year. Ample potential here for repressive application of norms! And by diluting the associative principle, it permits administrative intervention under the notion of needs. Rather than standing outside capitalism, a need is already something which can be manipulated in terms of resource allocation.

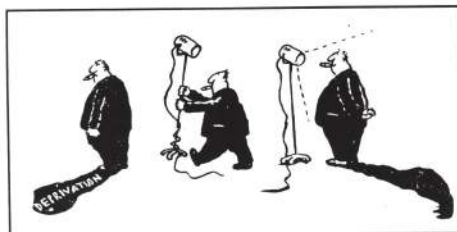
So Section 19 of the Act requires a regular review of services for young children. Responsibility for the review is placed on the Social Work and Education Departments, but many of the facilities under review are outwith their control, and may be based on these different social models. The "two departments" need the voluntary sector to underwrite their legitimacy, but do associations need the departments? The question becomes acute when they organise the recommended "Under-Fives Forum" to seek any "representations which they consider relevant". This is described as an "open process" but is just a prelude to the concocting of a report by the two departments. They are to summarise resource availability, compare this "with known policy objectives" and identify "centres of excellence and known mismatches between supply and demand". These expressions in bureaucratic language have no known translation into dialects of association. After all, what if a particular toddler group was identified as



a "centre of excellence"? Its success results from the relations of the people involved. How could this be ported to other situations, even if it was desirable?

Political attitudes to processes like the Review can range from "take-over" to "abstention". A "take-over" to use the institutions proclaimed values against it may be presented as more subversive but is based on the general abstention in the "black hole of the social". People recognise and avoid a purposeless meeting intended to underwrite the bureaucrats' Review process.

Despite abstention, the legislation and its processes may increase the extent to which Social Work Departments regard



EFFICIENCY.....

An organisation and methods unit visited the University of Liverpool to examine the efficiency or inefficiency of the workings of the Vice-Chancellor's Office. The visit coincided with one of the concerts of the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra, to which the Vice-Chancellor was in the habit of going. On this occasion he could not go, and with his usual generosity gave his ticket to the leader of the O & M unit who had never been to a symphony concert before. The main work that night was Schubert's Unfinished Symphony. When he asked his visitor the following morning how he had enjoyed the concert, the Vice-Chancellor was surprised to be handed a two page typewritten report:

1. For considerable periods the four oboe players had nothing to do. The number should be reduced and their work should be more conveniently spread over the whole concert, thus eliminating peaks of activity.
2. All the 12 violins were playing notes. This seems unnecessary duplication. The staff of this section should be drastically cut, and if a large volume of sound is really required this could be obtained by means of an electronic amplifier.
3. Much effort was absorbed in the playing of demisemiquavers. This seems to us excessive refinement and it is recommended that all notes be rounded up to the nearest semiquaver. If this were done it should be possible to use trainees and lower-grade operators.
4. There seems to be too much repetition of some musical passages. No useful purpose is served by repeating with horns the passage that has already been handled by the strings. If all such redundant passages were eliminated, the whole concert time of two hours would have been reduced to 20 minutes and there would have been no need for an interval. If the composer had attended to these matters, he would probably have been able to finish this symphony.

(thanks to anon computer network contributor for this report)

voluntary associations as self-administered colonies of their own empires. (Already, it is not unknown for groups of Council bureaucrats under such false impressions to carry out unannounced and uninvited tours of playgroups.)

But federated toddler and under-five groups are equally able to give themselves the managerialist veneer of the times. The keynote speech at a recent Scottish Pre-School Play Association conference was delivered by an Educationalist who focussed on training and standards, the setting of objectives, etc. The subsequent Editorial in the Association's Parent to Parent magazine suggests that "his definition of a good manager could just as easily be a definition of a 'good' parent". Again, this indicates how a separate goal-oriented public sphere amenable to administrative logic can emerge from lack of appreciation of the value of association in its own right and with its own limitations.

Alex Richards

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may deplore others for finding something better to do than join the 5,000 on a Scotland United march. Like the Convention before it, Scotland United survives only as long as its demand is ignored. It is almost certain that no constitutional referendum could produce a definite consensus. As long as the demand is not granted, Scotland United may appear as a rallying point for particular campaigns, for example against water privatisation. But for as long as "the distinctive Scottish experience of citizenship" can be written in terms of "the law, the kirk and the educational tradition" (John Forsyth in *The Guardian*, 7/2/92), constitutionalism remains a search for the good side of political representation, a number play which fails to add up but succeeds in hiding sectional interests.

Alex Richards

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This leads me, neatly, to the tendency Here & Now has to combat. It isn't unique to us, witness for example Radical Chains (see Listings) & numerous other projects internationally affected (or is it infected?) by the scourge of latter-day revolutionists, namely academicism: chiefly essays pieced together by a collection of quotes laced with footnotes and reverential name-drops. Unlike manipulative groups like the RCP, we aren't obviously orientated to the academic/student world. Even people working within it, more usually are working against it, and in spite of it. However, it isn't easy to shake-off and the comfort of its cloisters (even if under attack from efficiency experts), rarely translates to an understanding of how people live - outwith quantifiable statistics called social trends. The skepticism and criticism required in H&N is at odds with academic equivocation, prevarication and writing devoid of commitment, empathy and references to strategies to escape or foreshorten obstacles to change.

Related to this "bee in the bonnet" is the reduction of political agitation and theory to the status of a hobby. While recognising that seeing it as another hobby takes some of the messianic gloss of part of our existence that can consume ourselves (see "Political Personality" article in H&N 1), there is a sense in which hobbies, 'toys for the boys' etc belittles an orientation towards the resistance and sacrifice on an international scale and forecloses the possibility of the system coming under threat. Hobbies relate to a semi-enclosed sphere, the problem of writing in a theoretical sense without the hope engendered by positive social movements is that we take solace in this pursuit and the limitations inherent in a mentality of defeat, amidst the collapse of universal values & an uncertain world.

Jim McFarlane.

Hot Time in Desolation Row

In an article for the German 'Wildkat' BM BLOB reflect on the spate of riots, affecting urban wastelands in Coventry, Tyneside, Blackburn, Burnley, Oxford, Bristol, Telford, Cardiff etc. This slightly edited version focusses on the social conditions underlying the anger and frustration.

Over the last year, from the summer of 1991 onwards, the U.K. has erupted in a fresh bout of urban rioting. This time it's not only confined to England but has spread to Wales. Even the Republic of Ireland has had it's troubles with disturbances on Dublin's north side. It's not the same as the last major outburst in 1985 nor is it anything like 1981. July '81 was an expression of the decaying inner cities and instigated by black youth. The solidarity of black youth, dragging whites in their wake was again to the fore in 1985 but this time its most ferocious expression came from those estates built in the late 60s/early 70s. The kind of point block, concrete jungles of the Loughborough estate in Brixton and especially Broadwater Farm in north London which in the 70s even received some bullshit architectural award. But by 1992 rioting, continuing this urban drift, has largely been focused around the ubiquitous low-rise modern estate but with one big difference: the vast majority of protagonists are white youth.

There's the same vandalistic spree with youths attacking police, hurling fire bombs, looting and setting fire to shops. Derelict buildings have been torched, schools and council housing offices set ablaze and, even law courts and police stations firebombed. Most have been occasioned by some incident, often a death, related to police pursuing joy-riders. In that sense it's more like riots in France in the early 80s.

Until the Hartcliffe estate exploded on the outskirts of Bristol in June '92, press coverage over the past months has been minimal. Princess Di's suicide attempts were far more important. But the sudden explosion of fury simultaneously in West Yorkshire and Lancashire in early July briefly made the riots headline news. Even so, disturbances involving fire raising and molotov police had previously been going on for days in Burnley. About the same time, extensive trouble on a Luton estate, 35 miles north of London, wasn't even mentioned until quelled five days later. And so on. Of course, Newcastle in Sept '91 was so dramatic and big that everyone knew about it and the media gave up on its familiar blanking.

The Los Angeles uprising in the Spring had a slight effect on England and there were sort of 'solidarity' troubles in Bolton and elsewhere in Lancashire. Amusingly there was an outburst in Oulton Broad, Norfolk here youths in an idyllic pastoral scene of fen and bullrushes went of a rampage shouting "L.A. L.A.". But its real nitty gritty lay elsewhere.

Generally rioting has taken place on estates rather different in character to those dominated by point blocks which were at the centre of the Autumn storm of '85. Riots have broken out on dispersed council estates (in terms of housing design) where two up/two down semi-detacheds are interspersed with low rise flats and were, more often than not, built in a slightly earlier period. In short, those estates which were part of a socially conceived plan aiming vaguely at some kind of abolition of the working class under the guidance of "benevolent" social-democratic ideals which, even the now lapsed one nation Toryism of the 50s/early 60s Macmillan era, subscribed to. As heirs of the Garden cities movement, the housing on these estates possessed better internal spaces, were well-lit and often looked out onto the countryside. Nearby would be a new school symbolising the increased educational opportunities for workers afforded by the

1944 education act. These schemes were much influenced by Lord Beveridge, the main 'architect' of the welfare state and post war social consensus whose ideal was a plumber alongside a head teacher or, personnel manager - everyone getting along famously! All liberally garnished with temperance Puritanism and lofty nonsense about workers sitting around listening to Bach, reading Dickens or more appropriately, (a concession to popular taste!) H.G. Wells with his mixture of Sci-Fi and democratic State 'socialism'. Consequently there are few pubs on the estates. When built, workers needed little persuasion to move from their badly lit Victorian dwellings to these brightly painted, often red brick semi-detached set inside a small garden and distanced somewhat from the grime of old smokestack industries or chemical works.

So much for the ideal! Even when they were being built reality gave the lie to this unworldly, unworkable, social democratic crap. But reality now couldn't be farther from the ideal. Consensus, the end of the working class? (Well, yes, in terms of no work). What a laugh! Generally these areas are now desolate. The red brick has faded frequently blighted by sporing and the paint has cracked off years ago. Many houses are boarded up, usually to stop squatting and having become prey to damp and general neglect. Many gardens have become abandoned and overgrown and the green sword nothing but bare, windswept clay on which a few blighted trees struggle to survive. Litter and refuse accumulate everywhere and, here and there, the odd junkie's needle which never seems to get cleared away. Diseases like dysentery which were supposedly obliterated have returned. (This happened recently on Bradford's Buttershaw estate) The new industry of small firms and warehousing which in some cases developed on the fringe of towns and often spread alongside estates has, for the last decade, suffered the drawn-out traumas of restructuring which so often in the U.K. is a coded word for gradual closure. As for middle class residents they're nowhere to be seen.

Well that's Bleak House estate writ large, it's far more complex though the above description is true for a majority of them. Some still look quite presentable and cared for. Bristol's Hartcliffe estate, for example, is noted for its pleasant disposition and amenities but that didn't save it from an uprising.

The rioting in Huddersfield over the last 10 years highlights this geographical displacement. In '81, it took place fairly near the city centre among the old style stone terraced housing of Fartown and right next to the ironically, but appropriately named, Red Doles heavy industry estate on the fringe of which there is an ICI plant. In '85, it occurred further out on the modern, mainly low-rise, small flat complex of the Sheepridge. In '92, rioting has broken out even further away on the fairly hilly semi-detached Brackenhall estate on the edge of town. Coventry in May '92 had a similar trajectory but moving in the opposite direction where, in the space of 10 days, disorder spread from the peripheral Wood End estate to Willenhall, ending up on inner-city Hillfields.

When describing just how broken down these estates are now and where council maintenance is virtually non-existent (what with the closure of Direct Labour Depts, competitive tendering and more importantly, government imposed cash starvation), there's a danger of falling into indignation of neglect fairly typical of the intellectuals' Guardian newspaper or Channel 4 news. It's just too surface, behind the decrepit facade there's nonetheless a real community totally unlike the prissy inter-classist community envisaged by the planners and far richer in life than the oceans of pretty suburbia which often surrounds them. And, which, invariably is the genuine Desola-

tion Row. It's real in the sense of time-honoured working class values of neighbourliness, friendship and simply helping each other out - which usually means a lot of the time. You've only to chance on one of these many lost estates on a bus ride on a hot summers day and you're immediately struck by the wealth of street life. Doors are open, kids all over the place, adults hanging around talking to each other. Then the bus passes on.... back into typical suburbia where, an occasional ghost appears at the window and cars drive by empty of occupants save a faceless driver. It's rather like some form of class oriented passport control.

This sense of urban separation; of islands in a sea of middle class, managerial hypocrisy and conformity undoubtedly has strengthened among estate residents the feeling of a discriminated against togetherness the more these estates have physically fallen apart. It even happens on estates placed in old-time working class areas. Recently our building gang worked on the Elgin Estate in West London (supposedly, according to the newspapers, as "experts") sealing in the dangerous blue and brown asbestos which seemed to be everywhere in the structure. This cosmetic remedy was Westminster City Council's cheapo way of getting round the costly ripping out of asbestos after the "Daily Mirror" tabloid had recently headlined the estate on its front page as; "The Point Blocks of Death". In fighting the council, the multi-cultural poor tenants (some of whom are surely going to die from asbestosis) had broken out of their isolation and had gotten friendly with each other. We found out, as a happy by-product of this new bond of togetherness against the hostile council, that mugging, which the estate was notorious for, had simply disappeared. Although this is still a complete rarity on big housing complexes, it does seem that something similar is happening on those estates lost in the suburban wasteland.

SUMMER ON THE ESTATES

In the recent rioting on these estates solidarity has been palpable. Although it's only a couple of hundred or more youths involved possibly a majority of people on the estates have been sympathetic towards them. It's even been said that some parents have encouraged their kids - young women among them - to join in the rioting, certainly that hostility between older residents and wild kids seems to have lessened somewhat. It was a gap that was very nearly a chasm in the last round or urban uprisings in '85 when most estate tenants committees wanted more policing to curb vandalistic youth. This also seems to have given somewhat possibly because the police presence has gone over the top, or perhaps, in addition it's something simpler and more direct. There's a dawning realisation that the cops aren't there to clear up small-time crime, (or much crime at all come to that), on housing estates; crimes which can be devastating to poor residents. You know the familiar complaint: "the police are never there when you need them". Consequently, a form of self-organised patrolling or "vigilantism", (one must be careful about the way the press use the term), has come into existence whereby special patrols made up of adults, (young Dads as it were), hand out their own rough justice, and in so doing, transcend police functions of fines and jail sentences etc. The estates in the South Yorkshire mining village of **Grimethorpe** were probably the first to initiate such moves whereby local burglars who rob their own are publicly denounced and given a good going over, the shame of such a thrashing is usually enough to stop the culprit. It since seems to have spread to many northern estates, the latest we know of is the Bierley estate in South Bradford. Such a presence so far doesn't seem to have interfered in the process of rioting although quite frankly, one needs a lot more information before being really clear. Surely there must be some patrols who are all too keen on helping out the police? But lets hope generally it's heading in the right direction. Down on petty pilfering of poor people but up with the great crime of revolution.

Also, particularly in the north attitudes among older residents have changed the more they realise that there's nothing for youth any longer; that they really are as the Americans term them, the "macjobs". The rioters are even an object of pity. Equally youth have progressed a little in recognising the plight of others living next to the. for

instance, just after the riots on the Ragworth estate in Stockton-on-Tees and in Burnley, there were reports of youths beating up opportunistic burglars caught trying to rob old people.

For, let's face it, caring responses are getting fewer and deteriorating material circumstances scarcely help. The general drift of the capitalist mode of production is towards some sociopathy where the aim is each and everyone trying to hurt another in one way or another. There is a particularly nasty psycho atmosphere pervading the UK. Perhaps it can be summed up through reference to the lack of a national ideological phrase like liberty, equality, fraternity, is to France, here it's God Save the Queen with two fingers up and a "fuck off" said with a mad glint in the eyes.

Therefore it's a pleasant surprise that the present riots, unlike those of '85 have been remarkably free of nasty incidents (with the exception of Newcastle which will be gone into later). In the rioting on the Blackbird Leys estate in Oxford in the summer of '91 some random and bloody stabbing was much spectacularised by the tabloid press. Later it was shown by some of the estates' residents that the incident had nothing to do with the riots. They also pointed out that some of the joy riding stunts in the riots had been paid for by TV companies looking for good footage. Similarly with the rioting in Willenhall, Coventry in May '92. Around the same time a child was brutally murdered. The media played on subliminal suggestions hinting that it was part and parcel of the riot. It was miles from the truth.

Whether one gives an optimistic interpretation to tendencies present in the riots there's no getting away from the fact that the far-flung estates have become the focus of a permanent police swamp operation. In the early 80s such urban swamp operations were the exception rather than the rule. Although there's the same police presence on big inner city estates, the lucrative gains from drug dealing have possibly kept them, for the moment at least, reasonably calm as well as doing in black solidarity. Maybe too, the cops are learning how to ease up having, for instance, defused stone throwing incidents recently on the huge Stonebridge estate in North London and Peckham in south London. But then, they can just as quickly do an about turn and come on really heavy again.

We know of quite a few incidents recently in the **Yorkshire coalfield**, the most prominent being 4 nights of rioting in Maltby in Summer '81 and trouble in Knottingly in June '92, and, mindful of the media black, where else? Memories of the year long miners' strike of '84-'85 hasn't remotely gone away and in some ways the police occupation of mining towns hasn't let up with a clamp down on all town youth. It's focus has changed that's all.

To some degree, the intensification of the police presence everywhere can be related to the miners' strike. The old Public Order Act of 1936 was used against the miners preventing them from travelling to various hot spots throughout the land. Two years later, in 1986 it was toughened up under the 1986 Public Order Act whereby the cops were able to arrest anybody deemed a threat to law 'n' order and a meeting of more than 2 people construed as a "public demonstration" liable to a fine, contained within it was a new charge of "violent disorder" which could mean a prison sentence of upto 5 years and a charge of rioting resulting in a life sentence. It meant that any crowd from soccer hooligans, free festivals, acid house raves, to beach parties or too many tourists could be conceived as a threat to authority.

Thus there's a permanent police occupation with stop and search in the suburbs often worse than in the inner-cities. Everywhere, from pubs to city estates, police video cameras have been installed and there's a kind of permanent unofficial curfew on youth. After each incident the surveillance techniques are stepped up. Push and boring **Bournemouth** beach on the south coast is now covered with police with police video cameras. No doubt it came about in response to the 1990 soccer hooligan disturbances there where in one beautiful episode, youths took over the famous pier and occupied the pleasure

dome.

In an atmosphere like this it is hardly surprising things have got really heavy. Following on from Broadwater farm in '85 guns have been used against police and fire-fighters during the riots on inner city estates in Ordsall in the Manchester conurbation and in Leeds in June '92. Some of the guns are there because of the ruthless competition inherent to a drug pushing gang structure but which are now occasionally being turned against the State's thin blue line.

There's a further twist. Unlike their chiefs, the police on the beat (at least on the estates) may perhaps be coming down heavy in order to scupper the government's privatisation plans which seek to do away the jobs for life police force, substituting contract work, merit wages and giving a greater emphasis to private agencies like Securicor or even Pinkertons who are cheaper because their employees are on much lower rates of pay. Provoking incidents is a way of saying to the free market mandarins you can't do without us.



But what exactly characterises the present rioting? There's nothing remotely ideological to it - not even some ill-fitting black consciousness present in '81 or '85. Unlike L.A., no demands no matter how confused have been put forward in the present rioting, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and anarchist Class War have handed out leaflets on the estates - often while the events were taking place or in the process of dying down but can one make much out of it? The newspapers, particularly the intellectuals' gutter press pick up on Class War but as for the actual residents responses.....well that remains fairly unknown. Generally it's the local labour party councillors and community worker cadres who are to the fore in noticing and condemning Class War possibly because they drink in the same pubs together and receive a ritualistic slagging-off from Class War types every now and against....Well, if London's Notting Hill is anything to go by.

WITHOUT ANY VISION

The rioting is almost without any vision; things been just so bad that vision is for those with some kind of privilege, almost. Connecting links, even to other estates, aren't really there. Each is going up in isolation, separate in time and space from one another, with no solidaristic thread in between and strangely at odds with the solidarity practised within the estate. The parameters of the rioters' world ends with the estate, it would seem. This is to be expected, as estates are miles from the town centre and de-regulated bus fares are an utter rip-off. Youths are often penniless, unable to go anywhere but the estate, having been denied all benefit, welfare relief or place on a training scheme. Contrary to the "feather bedding" welfare claptrap, the UK has the lowest level of welfare support in the highly

developed world. Surprisingly, in payouts even Spain and the USA rank higher, although benefits are more limited and harder to obtain. The situation is so closed-down - infinitely so - in comparison with ten years ago that it may explain why localism, incapacitated though it is, is so pronounced.

In fact, localism is far more of a problem than racism. Something has been made out of increasing racism in the UK (e.g. the Trotskyist SWP has revived the late 70s Anti-Nazi League) but where is the real evidence for racism spreading on any generalised scale? There hasn't been a fascist revival of any significance (so far) and racial tolerance, especially within England, is still far stronger. In some ways, there has even been a decline in anti-Asian racism since the mid-80s, although there's no denying its existence. The complicated veneer of UK Racism is dissimilar to mainstream European racism.

But what impact has the new bout of rioting had on the rest of alienated society? Their actions have left some impression, but it's

not so obvious as before. The urban rioting of '81 did have some effect on subsequent strikes because of an immediate willingness to resort to violence and looting (the printers, miners, SilentNight workers, although this must be placed in the context of the bosses' brutal intransigence at the time - an intransigence which, in many respects, is even more unyielding now - but which hasn't, as yet, really been put to the test). One hopeful sign: immediately after the death of two joy riders killed in a high-speed cop car chase and which sparked the violence on the Meadowell estate in North Shields in September 1991, there was a call from some of the area's youth for a work stay-away as a mark of respect. North Shields is right at the centre of what's left of the engineering and shipbuilding industries on the River Tyne. Whether individual workers obeyed the call or not, it's difficult to say.

In some ways, it wasn't such an unrealistic thing to call for. A lot of the youth, it must be remembered, have no money at all. In many ways, they are forced into activities like the Newcastle invention (at least in the British context) of ram-raiding vans into store front security shutters, then doing a hit-and-run with the goodies, merely in order to survive. Tyneside has never come out of a recession which started in the early 70s, and off-the-cards "scrounge" work whilst signing-on the dole has become more difficult to find. Ram-raiding has consequently become damned hard work, a substitute for grafting in the heavy industry which the area, not so long ago, was noted for. The more playful aspects of joy riding tend to go by the board and has to be put in the context of the work-a-day world: a police chase; a car crash; several injured; a death - it's viewed more as an industrial accident in an engineering plant like Reyrolles close by, or a pit disaster in Easington Colliery. To call for a sympathy strike in such a situation is therefore perfectly logical, even if it did fall on deaf ears.

That said, a lot of fully-employed workers and unemployed aren't very keen on joy riders. Sometimes, it's their car that gets nicked, or they worry they might be next. And mums tend to hate the activity as little children can get run over. Indeed, the only demonstration in the Newcastle area was a counter-demonstration, when working-class mums blocked the Scotswood Road in protest at a child's death blamed on joy riders, just days before the adjacent Elswick area exploded. People generally are a bit lacklustre about the rioting - glad it's happening but not getting the same lift from it as before. Without sounding narrowly leftist, most would prefer to see a really hard-hitting successful strike which might begin to put a stop to the passing

continued page 26....

Where Reason Sleeps Monsters Reign (Goya). The Satanic Abuse Myth.

This article is written by David Long who recently resigned from being a social worker, 'dissatisfied with the purpose and direction of social work'

Once again more information is emerging about the prevalence of satanic and ritualistic abuse. Recently 'Dispatches' on Channel Four, the book by the producer Andrew Boyd, *Blasphemous Rumours*, and prior to that Tim Tate's book, *'Children for the Devil'* have all gained publicity. There are also a number of books from adult survivors. What is surprising is the lack of an effective critique, but see *Here & Now* 11, & 12 for just such an attempt at critique.

DENIAL OF RATIONALITY

This is now forthcoming in the United States where concern is expressed at the denial of rationality, the failure to consider empirical evidence and the serious implications for those caught up in the process, particularly the children. At the onset it should be made clear that sexual abuse is a major problem which requires resources and skilled intervention. It is one thing to accept this and quite another to jump to an acceptance of a national and international conspiracy. It is the view of an increasing number of academics and professionals that in the 1980s America was in the grip of a classic witchhunt which bears some resemblance to the Inquisition. The lessons learnt from the mass hysteria which occurred in the Salem witch trials of 1692 has not been lost on some American academic observers of the recent satanic scares

In Salem a supposed outbreak of witchcraft led to formal trials in which 27 people were convicted on the basis of children's accusations. 19 were hung, one stoned and four others died in prison. Several months after the trials, jurors and officials were stricken with remorse about what they had done to innocent people. Compensation to the descendants of those tried continued until 1957.

MICHELLE REMEMBERS

The evidence for satanic ritualistic abuse in the United States seems to come from two sources. Firstly, the reports from adult survivors themselves and those of their counsellors who interpret repressed memories which were uncovered during therapy. Secondly there are allegations involving young children in day care centres. Rumour of satanic cult ritual abuse of children appeared to start after the publication of *Michelle Remembers* in 1980 - the story of a supposed adult survivor. Shortly after followed allegations of Satanists operating in day care centres.

The most famous case in the McMartin Pre-School Case which began in Manhattan Beach, California. It proved to be the most expensive and longest trial in American history. The initial allegations linked Devil worship cult. As a result of the allegations sixty two year old Peggy McMartin Buckley, her son Raymond Buckley and five other child care workers were arrested. They were accused of victimising 360 children in ex-

tremely bizarre sexual acts. In January 1990 the two remaining defendants Peggy and Raymond Buckley were found innocent of most of the charges against them and later that year the remaining charges against Raymond Buckley were dropped. The Jury were not aware until after the trial that the woman who initiated the allegations was a paranoid schizophrenic (*New York Times*, Feb. 1, 1991 & July 28 1991).

This case generated a number of volunteer organisations of parents and child care workers which were committed to alerting the public to the hidden dangers of ritual child abuse, the largest being "Believe The Children". This resulted in a host of similar accusations across the country with more and more bizarre allegations emerging. It is possible to consider all of these but it is worth noting that there have been no findings of physical evidence to corroborate claims for the existence of satanic cults, human sacrifice, satanic orgies or a widespread conspiracy. Kenneth Lanning, the leading F.B.I. expert on the issue, following investigations into over 200 such allegations believes that satanic abuse conspiracies are nonsensical. (1)

THE SPREAD OF PANIC

One of the problems for those critics who place emphasis on empirical evidence is that the picture is fluid and cases have now emerged in Holland, France, Australia, the U.K. and New Zealand. As quickly as one is proven to be nonsense another emerges. The major tragedy is the growing number of innocent people whose lives are irreparably damaged. For example in Kern County, California, between 1984 and 1985 a satanic cult rumour resulted in the arrest of 77 people whom local police believed were involved in a satanic cult. Dozens of people in several trials were given custodial sentences. In one of these cases, 7 people were convicted and imprisoned for sexually molesting children as part of a satanic cult, the only evidence against them came from the testimony of children who alleged they were injected with drugs and forced to drink urine, as well as engaging in bizarre sexual rituals with adults, the children also accused the defendants of murdering at least 20 babies, using their blood in rituals and engaging in cannibalism. Some of the children later recanted their stories. In 1990 the convictions were overturned on appeal. (2) One of the most insidious things about such cases is the way individuals, who cautioned against presuming the guilt of those accused, became suspect themselves. In another case in Jordan, Minnesota, a policeman who vouched for the character of an accused person was charged himself. (3) In Chicago, two women who vouched for an accused person, found their names on a list of child molesters being circulated by a concerned parents group.

This has some parallels with the McCarthyite red scare of the 1950s in the sense that it is a witch hunt for moral subversives engaged in a secretive and conspiratorial network. Such scares have emerged since time immemorial and the reasons for this have been analysed by J.S. Victor in *'Satanic Scares'*, 1991. Victor argues that "Satanism" and "satanic cult" are socially constructed labels based on preconceptions, rather than any empirical analysis of what the labels presume to identify. Such

scars tend to occur in an unplanned way in response to the shared source of stress in a society. In this case it has manifested itself in many different spheres of social life, including claims of satanic cult crimes which include kidnapping, serial murder, infanticide, grave robbery, vandalism of churches, censorship campaigns against children's books, alleged subliminal satanic messages in rock music and fantasy role play games, i.e. dungeons and dragons. Halloween comes in for special attention.

There is a long history of Satanic cult scares, the most notorious being the blood rite libel. Some of our earliest written sources for this come down to us from the 2nd Century A.D., where in a period of Roman instability, interestingly enough, it is the small prototype Christian sects who are accused of slaughtering children and ritually devouring them. (4) Since then, traditionally and more infamously it has been the Jews who have been persecuted with this horrendous slander. This notion was frequently interlinked with the idea of an international conspiracy to take over the world. At the beginning of the 20th Century a stress on Russian orthodoxy under Tsar Nicholas II saw pogroms against the Jews which linked the above notions. An international *cause celebre* was a case of Mendel Beilis, a Kiev Jew accused of the ritual murder of a Gentile child in 1911. Hitler replicated this process and it is perhaps a salient point to note where such irrationality can lead.

MEDIA MANIPULATION

In considering factors of causation for the current crusade against satanic abuse, it is necessary to examine the role of the media. Likewise attention must also be given to the plethora of volunteer organisations who perpetrate the myth.

The 'Los Angeles Times' on Jan. 19th., 1990, in its report on the McMartin case, recognised media responsibility by observing that "as the record shows, the media frequently plunged into hysteria, sensationalism and what one editor calls 'a lynch mob syndrome' " in its treatment of the issue. This equally applies to the English situation.

Volunteer organisations have been organising to educate the public. Regularly held conferences have both promoted the idea of a Satanic abuse conspiracy and offered united support for those groups who perpetuate the myth. 'Believe the Children' is now a national organisation which publishes a regular newsletter, provides information and organises support groups, police training manuals and social work training videos are being produced. 'Professionals' then set themselves up as 'experts' and then alert people as to the 'signs' of ritualistic abuse. The dissemination of 'satanic indicators' has led to their use by public sector professionals as well as charitable and voluntary organisations, some of which are of national standing. A large network now communicates elaborate assumptions about ritualistic abuse.

Faced with such frightening claims, many people fall back to their ideological preconceptions. This is then fuelled by religious fundamentalists who come from an ideological tradition which

affirms the existence of secret conspiracies of evil. They are therefore receptive to conspiracy theories. There is ample evidence that evangelical groups have targeted professionals in the child care field in both the U.K. and the United States as a likely receptive audience for these views.

LEADING QUESTIONS

This still leaves unanswered why these views have managed to achieve the hold they have. The social process leading to the creation of false stories of ritual abuse amongst children is analysed by psychiatrist Lee Colman, and attorney Patrick Clancey, both of whom have considerable experience in child abuse cases. (5) They found that poorly trained therapists often used leading questions, cueing of desired responses, praise for desired answers and manipulated fantasy play to implant ideas about ritual abuse in the communication process between the child and therapist. Similar conclusions are reached by Wakefield and Underwager in their review of the research evidence about therapists' interviewing techniques. (6) A comparison of the cross examination of the children in the witch trials of Salem and the McMartin disclosures is illuminating. It is evident that satanic disclosures are achieved through the employment of interviewing techniques which fit the model of a process called 'priming' by social psychologists.

The research on priming indicates that it is most likely to happen when an authority figure questions a child who is nervous and highly suggestible. In intent that process is not necessarily deliberate or conscious. If a child care worker inadvertently shapes a discourse around preconceptions concerning ritual abuse, then priming can easily occur.

Debbie Nathan in 'The Making of a Modern Witch Trial' illustrates how this can happen. Nathan points out that "according to a decades worth of literature, children don't lie about it. If a girl says grandpa, daddy or uncle had sex with her, she isn't likely to be making it up; but often after she has come forward with the accusation she'll back off and recant in a desperate attempt to keep her family from shattering or her father going to gaol."

'BELIEVE THE CHILD'

The process by which this occurs has been called the "incest accommodation syndrome" by Roland Summit a Californian Psychiatrist who was prominent in the McMartin case and who is a proponent of the satanic abuse myth. (7) He argues that if a girl says it happened, then a concerned social worker or therapist must act as an advocate by believing her. If she later recants, you should show you care by not believing her. Nathan points out that in the McMartin case and others, the children offered "vague, garbled and contradictory stories", and many admitted they had lied - often as a response to repeated questioning. The problem was that the "incest accommodation syndrome" was applied despite the cases not being about incest, the logic of why a child should abuse to protect adults who are not part of the family seems not to have been considered. According to Nathan, the assumptions operating were, "believe the child, however sketchy the evidence and never take no for an answer". This sanctions coercive and interrogative interviewing.



It is possible for children to 'remember' events which did not happen. Much research suggests that childhood memories are largely the product of learning in conversations and are structured by the discourse between the child and others. Thus when over zealous therapists 'prime' the discourse between the child and themselves, they may gradually implant reconstructed memories of events, these false memories can then become 'subjectively real' events in the memory of the child. because there is a preconception of ritualistic abuse, the therapist digs away until the child confirms the hypothesis and with children they have fertile territory on which to work. Opie and Opie (1959), studied the superstitions of 5,000 children throughout England. (8) They found that the thinking of children aged between 2 years and 6 years was characterised by magical thinking, there was no sense of probability. Foley and Johnson found that 6 to 9 year old children had difficulty in distinguishing between what they did and what they imagined doing. (9) The work of Piaget confirms these views.

Succinctly put, it is not simply a question of "children don't lie", it is a question of treating seriously what they say and the crucial point comes in interpreting it. Indeed research into sexual abuse, regardless of satanic abuse, now indicates that children in divorce custody disputed, where access is at issue, sometimes fabricate allegations of sexual abuse as a result of adult pressure. (10)

SURVIVOR THERAPY

Other alleged major evidence of satanic abuse comes from so called survivors. Numerous books have been written by those who claim to be childhood victims. The first and most important account is that of Michelle Smith in 'Michelle Remembers'. This purports to be the true story of a woman, who after 200 hours in therapy, remembers being the victim of satanic abuse in childhood. As co-authors, Michelle Smith and Dr. Lawrence Pazder, the therapist whom she subsequently married, embarked on a lecture tour of the United States alerting churches and the media to the dangers. Smith had been referred to Pazder in 1976 by her General Practitioner following a miscarriage. She was traumatised and in a state of turmoil. Pazder took Smith through seven years of therapy during which, it is alleged, repressed memories of satanic abuse were brought to the surface, including a memory of the destruction of an infant. It is pointed out that the abuse took place in 1954 and 1955 and involved a large number of perpetrators. from this Pazder concluded that he had discovered a highly organised ritual which had the worship of Satan as its goal.

In Pazder's care, Smith underwent a highly contentious therapy which consisted of hypnosis, prayers to the virgin Mary and exorcism.

Anthropologist Sherill Mulhern is of the opinion that Smith's memories were constructed piecemeal under hypnosis, with Pazder introducing notions of Satanism. Mulhern, researched other "survivors" and their therapists and realised she was not dealing with a real cult, but with people linked to a delusional belief in one. Mulhern found common themes in the traumatised lives of teenage runaways who became "survivors" under therapy. There were histories of involvement in prostitution, drug abuse which had led to personality disorders, and most significantly, all had fundamentalist Christian parents or had become "born again". Whilst being "born again" they were hypnotised by self styled Christian therapists. (11)

Adult survivors alleged to be suffering from a condition known as multiple personality disorder or M.P.D. This leads them to adopt different selves in order to block out the trauma and shock of their satanic abuse. Only the therapist who can understand the condition and know how to treat it could uncover patients memories of ritual abuse. What is rarely mentioned is that there is considerable debate surrounding the label M.P.D. and that there is a body of psychiatric opinion which seen it as a high status

diagnosis for both the therapist and patient. In many instances it is iatrogenic - ie, comes from within the therapist and is projected onto the patient. ray Aldridge in 'Multiple Personality: An Exercise in Deception', maintains that even if multiple personality is accepted as a discrete psychiatric syndrome, it has been grossly over diagnosed. He notes the lack of empirical evidence to support it and believes that it is heavily dependant on cultural influences for both its emergence and diagnosis. He hypothesises that multiple personality may be a variant of hysterical psychosis which occurs in highly suggestible persons.

THE FILTER OF BELIEF

Sheriff Mulhern offers a further explanation as to why the notions of satanic conspiracies have achieved prominence. (12) She attended 14 conferences on Satanic and ritualistic abuse between 1987 and 1990 and all offered training in the identification and treatment of satanic and ritualistic victims. Mulhern points out that all these conferences formed a two stage procedure. The first stage was to construct a belief filter with listeners exhorted to believe. The second stage is built on the first and assumes all claims are real. Therapists are then given suggestions for treatment using technique with unknown validity and reliability. Mulhern concludes "Conversion to believe provides individuals with the intimate conviction that they can suddenly see and understand realities with they have never seen before. However, when uncritical belief becomes linchpin of all understanding, anything which would cause the believer to doubt, must be systematically eliminated. Succinctly, the ear educated exclusively by belief is also a deaf ear."

The tragedy for British social work is that it has not learnt from the American experience. Cases have been reported across the country in Nottingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Rochdale, Orkney and Epping Forest and all raise similar concerns to the American experience. A recent Dispatches programme on Channel 4 also claimed to have discovered evidence of widespread satanic abuse.

Space prevents consideration of all these cases but it is worth considering the judgement of Mr. Justice Brown on the Rochdale case delivered in March 1991. He stated, "there was over interviewing of the children, leading to elaboration, exaggeration or fabrication on the part of the child, there was a confusing combination of assessment with therapy, and once therapy is started any further evidence obtained is almost certain to be contaminated. The children were also interviewed for very long periods of time. Anatomically correct dolls were used in a most inappropriate and helpful way, obvious fantasy was accepted without question and may have stemmed from the social workers' failure to recognise fantasy until it was transferred into reality, for example by talking about the contents of dreams as if they were real. " Mr. Justice Brown accused the social workers of "being obsessed" with their own belief that the children were victims of ritual abuse.

Similarly, the Epping Forest Case, November 1992, collapsed when the judge instructed the jury to return "not guilty" verdicts on the three men and two women in the dock. They were acquitted when Michael Lawson Q.C. admitted he could no longer rely on the testimony of the youngest of the alleged victims; who claimed amongst other things that she had seen babies sacrificed and had been forced to eat their flesh. This 'victim' admitted under cross examination that she had lied about the role of her father, fabricated names of others and could not be certain whether the killings had happened. The judge, Mr. Justice Turner, said the child's evidence was, "so certain, inconsistent and improbable, it would not be right to seek a conviction.

PERFORMANCE ABUSE

Undeterred, the proponents of the Satanic scare continue. The recent *Dispatches* programme, Channel Four, claimed to offer evidence of a satanic abuse conspiracy. What it did show was a performing arts video intercut with a sado masochistic video. The adult survivor who confessed to murdering her own child turned out to be a person with a serious psychiatric history, who had been through therapy in an evangelical retreat where her repressed memories were uncovered by an evangelical minister. The producer of the programme also failed to make clear his own bias.

In his book, *'Blasphemous Rumours'*, Andrew Boyd, the producer of the above programme, quotes interviews from carers, therapists and survivors who claim to know of over 900 victims of ritual abuse in Britain. Using anecdotal evidence liberally, the author acknowledges that there is no empirical evidence substantiating the claims. The question of proof in his own words "can be left to posterity".

Boyd's attempts to add historical weight to his thesis are not convincing, historically his conclusions are weak, for example, in an effort to prove that satanic abuse has existed for hundreds of years, he refers to the case of Gilles de Rais, Marshal of France, who was hanged and burned in Nantes, "as an occultist and alchemist in 1440", (13) this ignores the fact that even by the standards of the time, the trial against de Rais was highly irregular in that not one of his five hundred servants was allowed to testify on his behalf, most of the evidence against him was hearsay and those who did testify against him were tortured prior to doing so. (14)

'THE SCORPIO CONSPIRACY'

He is no more convincing when convincing to contemporary material. For example, lengthy quotations from the founder of Child Watch suggesting that there exists a satanic cult on Humberside by the name of "Scorpio", are presented to us without concrete evidence, tate, another proponent of satanic abuse would seem to disagree. In *"Children of the Devil"* he describes the founder of Child Watch as operating in a climate of feverish paranoia and having invented by her questioning of children, the scorpio conspiracy, can we look forward to the battle of the sensationalists in the academic press?

Standing back I do not wish to comment on the validity of these views. However the inherent contradictions would seem to indicate Boyd's tendency to selectively present information, especially as he refers to Tate's book throughout.

Historical flaws also abound in the work of Tim Tate. Referring to the case of Sister Magdalene Baven who in 1633 made allegations against satanic practices with the priesthood involving satanic orgies, he quotes from her testimony - *On Maundy Thursday I saw the Lord's supper being celebrated in a horrible way, A roasted child was brought in. It was eaten by the assembly, and I could not say with certainty whether I tasted it.*

Tate links this testimony with that of a "15 year old survivor" who in 1988 described a similar banquet; presumably in an effort to substantiate his dubious thesis that satanic abuse has been a feature of life for hundreds of years. He omits to mention that Magdalene Baven asserted that her testimony before the court had been "based upon nothing else than the vivid suggestion she retained from the questioning" of the investigators. (15)

Selective interpretations are a common feature of Tate's book; its references to the Nottingham case are riddled with inaccuracy. As his book is currently the subject to legal proceedings I will refrain from further comment, at least for the time being.

THE GRIP OF REIFICATION

If the American experience is anything to go by, Britain is in the grip of a satanic abuse myth. As mentioned earlier, sexual abuse, including group abuse is a grave problem, this article contends that a classic "witch hunt" is currently taking place which detracts from the reality of the problem, not least in terms of wasted resources, of greater concern is the damage to the children. American psychologist Ralph Underwager puts this succinctly, "to treat a child as if satanic abuse were real is to teach that child that the world is filled with evil, that powerful forces can hurt and destroy us and we cannot stop it. It is to train a child to destroy others, to believe in the most macabre, disgusting and horrifying events. It is to train a child to live in an irrational world in an irrational manner and to steal from the child the ability to live a life of reason and logical coping skills. It is to reify a child's most terrifying fantasies and force a child to grow into an adult whose world remains at the level of a constant night terror. It is to run the risk of training a child to be psychotic, not able to distinguish between reality and unreality. It is to irrevocably and likely irretrievably damage a child and induce a life long experience of emotional distress. (16)

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David Long.

Barbarism Rules

2 views on the dilemmas of intervention & nationalism today.

The Challenge,

Your article "Urge to Destroy" in Here and Now 12, while identifying the course of events, nevertheless ducks the issue of taking sides.

This is hardly surprising given your "libertarian communist" pedigree. If not complicit with the carnage that has ensued, your approach is tantamount to a callous disregard for the plight of the suffering population.

The Bosnian conflict could have been prevented or at least mitigated by European State resolution. Everybody was aware that the conflict in Croatia was an appetiser for a wider conflict and that the Serbian forces had control of heavy weaponry released from army barracks. Assurances should have been given to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government that armed intervention, in the form of airpower, would be unleashed should such weaponry be used to drive out muslims and croats from areas of ethnic diversity.

Russell Johnston of the Liberal Democrats and later the "NewStatesman" editorials found themselves in harmony with Lady Thatcher in advocating selective intervention. This opportunity was missed due to diplomatic dithering and we have had war and genocide on a scale not witnessed in Europe since World War 2.

I recognise that the Bosnian Croat leaders have their own agenda for partitioning Herzegovina and that the Bosnian muslims have sought to exploit the suffering of their own people even to the extent of perpetrating sniping at funeral parties during TV coverage etc. But the burden of guilt for the atrocities of ethnic cleansing and terror used against civilians rests chiefly with the Serbian forces and design for a Serb state incorporating territory of Bosnia and Croatia tied to the rump Yugoslavia.

Now Bosnia is carved up and thousands killed and displaced. Europe is paying the 'price' for such prevarication in terms of attacks on the rights of refugees and ethnic conflict around the eastern borders of the embryonic EC super-state. Cool, detached observation, with hopes resting on an ineffectual Peace movement and the spectre of 'class' unrest are far removed from the current necessity to preserve human dignity and integrated communities by public opinion forcing the U.N. to adopt a positive interventionism. I can't see any other way to stop the spread of conflicts and signal to others that fascism can be halted.

Kenneth Dinnie(Wormit)

The Response,

The dilemma you have highlighted has been thrown more clearly into focus by the Bosnian tragedy. It is even possible that airpower could have signalled a determination on the part of Western powers that expansionism and cantonisation was actively opposed. However, the reality is different.

The 'peace' moves of Carrington and his Portuguese deputy were enthusiastically backed by the bosnian Serbs through the medium of their Psychiatrist leaders Karadzic, and less vocally by the Croat leaders. With 'secret' meetings in Austria and elsewhere Tudjman's Croatia and Milosovic State agreed their spheres of influence, with conflict in areas like north-east Bosnia where their designs clashed. The nature of Croat expansionism was scarcely different from their Serb counterparts, as illuminated by the exposes of HOS 'Blackshirt' atrocities in western Herzegovina, the regular army restraint on HOS attempts to expand into the Serb sphere of eastern Herzegovina, and atrocities against Serbs in north-east Bosnia during a period of Croat advance. Historical ties between German power and Greater Croatia caused other western powers to be more circumspect about isolating Serbia and only the media exposes of the 'Concentration Camps' in north-west Bosnia forced their hand and the present diplomatic impasse under Vance-Owen.

Historical parallels also provided the legitimisation for disregarding muslim demography and instead concentrate on the relative preponderance of Serbs and Croats when pursuing ethnic cleansing. This is the real callous disregard, with Western duplicity, which ranked against our own powerlessness is an unfair comparison. Where we rightly stand accused is a lack of any anti-militarist agitation over the issue. Many leftists are

spellbound by the complexity while others grasp on to Serbian Partisans role in WW2 & the International sanctions today.

Bosnia may be a 'botched job' or a case of not been pressurised into German one-sided policy of demonising the Serbs, with the muslims as pawns on the ethnic chessboard. The people of Bosnia and elsewhere previously content to live, work and struggle in mixed ethnic communities initially demonstrated

The rough guide to YUGOSLAVIA



Dispersed Fordism and a new organisation of labour.

The following is an edited translation of a text from the June '91 edition of the Barcelona based magazine *Etcetera*. Its point of departure is the Spanish lorry drivers strike of October 1990 but it could equally apply to the French truck drivers strike in the early summer of 92 which excited attention not only in France but elsewhere. Deregulation had backfired and the 10,000 new firms which had come into existence since France de-regulated road haulage in 1986 merely added to the stranglehold truckers were exercising. Basically however, the text deals with the re-organising of production in the 80s applying techniques pioneered in Japan, particularly the highly effective use of subcontracting. This not only economically favours the big firms but is of enormous consequence as regards the workforce pitting, in a hierarchical chain, one group of workers against another with relative ease. But, as the text shows, this seemingly unassailable monolith is highly vulnerable to sectorally limited action which can have a devastatingly knock-on effect making up for, at least partially, for the absence of a social vision. Note from **BM Blob**, translators of the text from Spanish. I

TOWARDS A NEW TYPE OF STRUGGLE

From the 10th to the 20th October 1990 the road haulage industry in Spain, which according to sources in the Confederation of Spanish Industry carries 75% of goods in transit became the scene of some of the most violent conflicts in recent years because of a strike call by the self employed unions.

Basically the strike could be cited as a typical conflict of interest between large and small haulage firms. That is, a confrontation between the large firms who control the majority of the long distance transport market and small proprietors (owning from one to five lorries). As a conflict of interest between two fractions of capital the platform of demands by the unions calling the strike which according to the press represented up to 15% of the sector - it led to a series of requests relating to the defence of an operational niche within the profitable transport market. This required the intervention of the government against "illegal" lorry drivers for example, and other aspects relating to the fixing of rates, inspection, pensions etc. In other words from the point of view of the forces at work, the lorry drivers' strike does not justify the interest granted to it in these pages.

As has become habitual in the latest conflicts in Spain, the strike unfolded within a strict corporatist sphere, although it was capable of generating a very tense atmosphere (confrontation with the police, attacks on scabs and the blocking of entrances and exits on the main roads and motorways). But its real significance was not to be found here. As the media recognised in its haste to discredit the strike, only a minority of lorry drivers obeyed the strike call and that not in all areas. Nevertheless one must recognise the extraordinary impact of the strike action. Within a few days of drivers having drawn their lorries across motorways and mounted pickets the disruption to supplies to the large towns became evident, to the point where shelves were

emptied in supermarkets (Bilbao, Catalunya) and some products became scarce (fish amongst them) in the Madrid and Barcelona markets. But the consequences to the industrial sector were of much greater magnitude. Although the Confederation of Spanish Industry and the larger bosses organisations tended to exaggerate the losses (they mentioned figures which oscillated between 50,000 million pesetas and 200,000) the fact is the threat of total closure hung over the industrial belts of the principal regions (Madrid, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Guipuzcoa). By way of example - General Motors closed down, Firestone, Nissan and Seat halted their assembly lines as did Citroen. Many other firms suffered interruptions to the productive process like Fasa, Renault, Michelin Ford (who commandeered a fleet of 25 aircraft to fly in components from their factories in the U.K. and Germany), the chemical industry in Tarragona and an endless number of smaller industries. The Irun frontier town was blockaded by lorries.

VULNERABILITY IN THE PRODUCTIVE PROCESS

In spite of the spectacular character of some incidents, given prominence by the mass media in their campaign to discredit the strikers and spread alarm amongst the population - people hurried to stock-up as if a war was imminent - the lorry drivers' strike took on a telling dimension that exceeded the limits the strike had formally set itself.

And the significance of this refers not only to the enormous economic/social repercussions from what was in any case no more than a minority action, but because it brought out the deep structural weaknesses of the productive process arising from capitalist restructuring in the 80s' and the objective limits of modern techniques of organisation and control of the labour force.

The cycle of capitalist restructuring which characterised the past decade had as its aim a double strategy, the result of which has been what is called the dispersed factory or dispersed fordism. It was for industrial strategy a question in the first instance of overcoming workers' resistance (and the pressures exerted on the terrain of production itself) by dispersing the great mass of workers which had formed around the productive centres which had appeared after World War I (and above with the rise of the car industry and consumer goods).

In this period the massive aggregation of the labour force around the production lines of the large factory complexes was the basis of the cycle of capital accumulation. This extended into the 70s' and implied the culmination of the scientific organisation of labour put into practise by Ford half a century earlier. It was an organisation which, alongside the massive numbers of workers, revolved around the subdivision - breakdown of the physical movement of the worker on the production line - and this was the source of many acts of resistance, strikes and sabotages. But the industrial conglomerations also implied the establishment by the workers' of a social and economic force able to exert pressure and who through a successive cycle of struggles (trade union inspired and autonomous) eroded the rate of accumulation in the industrialised counties. At the end of the 70s' the crisis of profitability arrived at a point which made a reorganisation of the labour force inevitable as regards reorganising control of the labour force and intensifying the exploitation of the latter. A recovery in the rate of capital accumulation was then possible. It was the era of social contracts, the politics of austerity and neo-

liberal models resulting in undermining the foundation of the "Welfare State".

As a consequence, the second strategic orientation of capital in the restructuring achieved in the past decade was apparent in the recomposition of the productive process. In addition to overcoming the resistance of the mass-worker, this was capable of speeding up the cycle of accumulation by relying on the implantation of electronic technology and the new system of industrial communication. This brought into being a double strategy: the territorial disaggregation of productive processes. Increased flexibility was generated by virtue of the requirements of a type of flexible demand which made necessary the production of a limited number of products (factories attempted to achieve a greater market share based on the introduction of design, fashion etc.).

Over the last few years we have witnessed the displacement of the process of assembly and finishing of products towards the capitalist periphery, put together by countries with a price advantage as regards the labour force and labour penalties (Turkey, South Korea, Philippines, Brazil, Mexico). This dispersion on a world scale had its counterparts on the regional plane in the industrialised countries themselves. Thus we have observed the breaking up of the big industrial complexes into small productive units increasing the incidence of sub-contracting through which the big industrial corporations shifted some stages of production to other firms of a smaller size, which took on the task of allocating services and supplying pieces and components necessary for the final finishing.

In this sense the car industry, the real motor of economic growth in capitalist countries up to the 70s, is the prime example.

JIT & ZERO INVENTORY: THE LOGISTICAL CHAIN.

Understandably, in such an industrial landscape, new techniques regarding the organisation of labour and the management of production are a pressing necessity. And this is how there began to proliferate the precepts and watchwords of the new enterprise culture (just-in-time, zero inventory) which sort to cheapen costs, release tied-up capital, total quality control, control of human resources etc.). In fact this designated new enterprise culture was in response to a new stage in the division of labour between firms and warrants being called the logistical chain of added value. Take for example, a car - which involves in its manufacture a large number of component factories - which carry out intermediate assembly stages and operate in conditions dictated by the big firm which sells the finished article. For efficient dispersal of production, a perfect co-ordination of the movement between secondary firms and the corporations with whom they maintain subcontracting links is necessary. This means that everything functions according to the principle of JIT. In the words of the Nissan president, the first firm to put it into practice in order to link-up their factories in Japan and Britain, JIT consists in having the necessary components "at the required time, in the required quantity and in the appropriate place".

It was only one more manifestation of the subordination of small capital (subsidiary firm) to big capital (the firm that fixes the contract price). It is, of course, a strategy for transferring profit from small productive units to big industrial corporations who shift storage costs (zero inventory) in this way and the tying up of capital that the existence of stocks carries with it. At the same time it permits the shifting of the stages of the productive process that yielded less added value to subcontracted firms.

As for the workers, this new industrial order represents a new turn of the screw, intensifying the exploitation of the labour force.

The splitting up of the great aggregations of masses of workers is transposed into a relative loss of the capacity to exert pressure, characteristic of the "old workers movement" having as its prime consequence the devalorisation of labour power and the wors-

ening of work conditions. It is the state of affairs we know as lack of security. A reality which took shape in a myriad of examples of (temporary) contracts existing in subsidiary firms which are, in addition, the only firms in the labour market to take on workers, just as they have reduced wages all round and limited the rights and resources of workers' (flexibility).

All this has resulted in a powerful hierarchy, the dis-aggregation of the mass-worker class components, a neo-corporatist and trade conscious conduct that counterposes employed to the unemployed, temporary to fixed contracts, advanced sector workers (information technicians) to the marginal sector (operatives, cleaners), the skilled to the unskilled etc.

Attempting to remedy the concentrated resistance of the mass-worker, the new organisational and managerial formula for the socialised production of commodities has given a different dimension to the contradictions inherent in the social relations between capital and labour. The dispersal of production substantially increases the vulnerability of the process. In fact, in order for the new organisational techniques to no longer function as theoretical models but in productive practice, it is necessary to eliminate the possibility of any delay, eventuality or unforeseen situation that could shut down the continual flow of commodities and components as defined by JIT (as much in the process of production proper as in the realisation or marketing). It becomes necessary that "all" connecting links in the process are adequate to the end precept by the decision making center.

The least error at any one point in the logistical chain whether voluntary (sabotage) or voluntary has a magnified effect on the whole and leads inevitably to the collapse of the process in the sphere of production or distribution or even both).

This was born out in the strike in Ford's U.K. the Spanish lorry drivers strike which we began the text with etc. **

Seen as a social relation, capital is not a force exterior to us. It is only so formally, that is in the social forms of domination which it clothes itself with. From here there comes about the insoluble contradiction between the affirmation of the forms of formal domination (financial/technological decision making centres) that require the physical suppression of the potential for conflict that labour power brings with it and the necessity of incorporating and intensifying the exploitation of labour power as the means of perpetuating the accumulation of capital.

OBJECTIVE LIMITS vs SUPPRESSED SUBJECTIVITY

Whether in the classical ford type organisation or in the present form of dispersed fordism, the reality is that the contradiction between capital and labour continues to appear and change, each time more fundamentally. The real limits (objectives) of the growth of the accumulation of capital is located in labour power, or, to put it in another way, in suppressed human existence as labour power. Without exception the automation of industrial plant puts its dependency vis a vis living labour power in greater relief. And this is true not only in respect to the knowledge integrated into technology, but also as regards the functions of control, supervision, maintenance and related services - that go from the most advanced sector to cleaning functions - the most devaloured labour. Without whose coordinated intervention automation is not possible.

IDEOLOGY & THE MANAGING HUMAN RESOURCES

However abstract the former observations might appear, they are corroborated daily in the conduct of firms. From Japan to the U.S. and Europe one of the main preoccupations of the big multinational firms is "the management of human resources". That is the management of electronic technology requires a complementary strategy that entails the generating of a consensus amongst the different levels of the functional hierarchy of labour. This seeks to evade any translation into a class identity, as was the case with the mass-worker.

This renders possible a certain "enterprise culture" in



which each worker internalises the objectives fixed by the financial/technological decision making centre (the hegemonic industrial corporations).

With the constellation of firms that form around the dispersed process of production, the Taylorist authoritarian formulas are juxtaposed to the formulas of the new culture. This pretends to involve the workers in the attainment of the objectives fixed by management. For example, the competition agreement proposed by the Minister Solchaga that negotiations concerning wage increases are a function of productivity indexes.

The growing importance insecurity plays amongst sections of working people indicates a limitation to class consensus. Industrial strategy arising from this tends towards a differential treatment for each worker according to their relative importance in the logistical chain. This determines a rigid, functional and wage hierarchy within the firm. In fact the new organisational techniques of the labour process relies on the necessity of obtaining an explicitly assumed consensus by everyone belonging to the productive and distributive chain. Now, the pace of the business cycle and the level of technical and historical development of the exploitation of the workforce which has led to the dispersed organisation of the productive process, makes the promotion of consensus the cornerstone of social submission.

JIT, quality control are watchwords emanating from the most aggressive Japanese multinationals. Not only are they in the forefront in terms of technology but also in ideology. Until now we have been used to equating capitalist growth with protestant morality. But protestantism, the cult of reason matured in the Enlightenment maintains a separation between individual liberty and actual submission to the new order typified by the organisational process of work. This separation is parallel to the invention of individuality in the western democratic system.**The totalitarian domination of capital extends in a dual direction: qualitative - over the individual and his/her physical capacities; and quantitative - over social expression in its entirety. This is becoming more and more totalitarian.

At present, the subordination of the ideological sphere to the material process of accumulation is total.

The ideological functionaries that propagate such a total view have ceased to be formally independent of the material interest this represents. Ideology arises in the process of valorisation itself and is concretely expressed in the cult of money (as a generalised sociological manifestation) and in the private accumulation of wealth as the be all and end all of existence. Truly, the imaginary individual is handed over to the principle of money, the cult of value quantified in the possession of things.

The ideology of the enterprise culture then constitutes the basis of consensus that expresses the productive process. Different capitalist blocs go about the promotion of consensus

by different methods. In the present retrograde era for capital, the Japanese approach has the ascendancy over the European Welfare State.

The greater part of the technologies of control and organisation of labour come from Japan, in conjunction with its aggressive technological and financial penetration of Europe and the U.S.A.

The technologies of control are integrated in the process of automation. In order to carry out the physical control of the productive sequence this requires that these corresponding techniques of control be interiorised by the employees throughout the productive process. The automation ideal is to achieve the self-regulation of the process: in the comprehensive sense of human and technological components.

THE NEW CYCLE OF STRUGGLES.

This desperate search for consensus however encounters its limitations in fulfilling the imperative of optimisation and maximisation of profits. Although it sounds like something from the past, we must recognise that the capitalist mode of production, even with all its electronic paraphernalia as an intrinsically contradictory reality. The growing complexity of the productive process requires the submission by consent of all the links in the productive chain of added value. Thus the cheapening of the costs and the absorption of a continually greater part of added value, leads to the hierarchisation of the subcontracting of services that causes a multiplicity of different interests to appear. In this sense the lorry drivers strike is paradigmatic. The big companies such as the car industry have dispensed with all these stages in the productive process which for technical-organisational or strictly economic reasons are carried out by other subcontract firms. In this way, while centering activity in the logistical chain with greater added value, it exerts a monopolistic dictatorship over rates including transport. Nevertheless this same big factory finds itself in a position of close dependency from the logistical point of view as regards the subcontractors - lorrydrivers or component suppliers being an example. With this there opens a fissure for potential conflict amongst the interests present, which is what caused the October strike to break out.

The conflict of interests between two forms of capital brings out the weaknesses and the potential for conflict existing in the prevailing model of dispersed Fordism.

In the past few years we have witnessed a multiplicity of intensely localised conflicts in segments of the productive chain and complementary services.

This is more than corporatism: Renfe train drivers, airport controllers, cleaners, buses, hospitals etc.. Most of these disputes specifically relate to trade/professional status in the new hierarchy.

Rank and file committees, even if they exist within the framework of traditional union demands, are the expression of the forms of solidarity corresponding to dispersed Fordism. In the same way, mass actions were the expressions of the mass worker in classical Fordism, with powerful industrial concentrations of the labour force. To criticise its sectoral or narrow character is simply useless. Or is it one more consequence of our fixation with outmoded ideology which equates communism as a legacy of past projects rather radical critique addressing a new reality. To the atomised organisation of the labour process there corresponds atomised forms of solidarity and resistance. More precisely, the capacity for global control of the process is rooted in the technico-scientific control of each one of the links of the social productive chain. A hierarchy of privilege within the distinct industrial categories is, as a consequence, established on account of their relative importance in the realisation of the process. That is, according to their contribution to the logistical chain of added value.

The dis-aggregation of the forms of sociability and resistance of the mass worker presupposes a reality where contemporary proletarian resistance is attuned to the new conditions of exploi-

tation.

It is the end of the teleological concept that deduces the objective necessity of communism and of hallowed concepts. These were anchored in the recuperation of previous forms of community which up to now had provided inspiration to the movements opposed to the wages system.

In fact with the implanting of fordism, the perspective of "going beyond" capital was already being abandoned to a new realism of "living in capital". The absence of a project derives from an absorption in the immediate. This typifies the new cycle of proletarian struggles and is itself a reflection of the stage of total domination, the absence of any new project by capital itself corresponds to a process of accumulation turning into a zero tendency. That is, in the reduction to zero of circulation which denies in the concrete practice of accumulation its capacity for cyclical generation of administered time. As a result the ideal of progress that constitutes the (bourgeois) project of ascendant capitalism linked to a business cycle, which used to carry a stake - and a risk - in the future, has been transmuted into a business cycle that dedicated to increasing the mass of capital. This instantaneous form does not contemplate any perspective of projection in the future. In reality, the future only remains in the dominant discourse as a residual spectacular category proper to a model of civilisation that is lost in itself.

THE UNSTABLE DIS-AGGREGATION

The dis-aggregation of the formal expression of resistance represents in fact the breaking up of the forms of organisation of the ruling productive process. The phenomenological reality of capital is a world wide totalitarian reality. This is carried into effect as extensive domination of the world market and intensive weighing down on potential subjectivity. This is the structural reality corresponding to such dispersed production.

The emergence of such centrifugal forces threaten the whole from within.

With the world levelling of cultural diversity there corresponds particular erosion of national or other identities generated by the dictates of capital. Similarly, such global dis-aggregation changes the methods of labour force exploitation in harmony with the totalitarian realisation of the domain of capital. However, a world under the sway of capital is also the actualisation of its totalitarian limits but subject to contradictions that threaten this domain.

The total domination of capital confirms itself as a mere abstract unification of the world around the commodity and money. But the unification around these abstract categories (commodities are value, have a value) imply in fact a break down of thwarted sociability. This is precisely because access to the commodity, and to purchasing power, is ever more stamped by the position each person has within the logistical chain of added value. This is determined by the more or less advantageous position each person can negotiate as a transaction within the social relations we define as capital. Precisely because actual sociability takes place in the concrete circumstances of the immediate (private consumption of things) there is no room for a social project. "Within" the coordinates of commercial forms of sociability only capitalist social relations can exist.

The manifestation of these crises of sociability is made obvious in the centre of capitalism itself.

The appearance of the 4th world in the rich countries, gives rise to : the deterioration of living conditions in the metropolis, the extension of pathological forms feeding off capital accumulation from pollution to drug addiction and the homeless in "cardboard cities, those who are surplus to the logistical chain.

REPRESSIVE UNIFICATION: THE GRIP OF CAPITAL

The unstable equilibrium in which the process of reproduction in the capitalist countries is maintained and its implicit recognition by the dominant technocracy, has engendered the generalised

introduction of the systems of industrial blackmail represented by the lack of job security and direct repression when conflict breaks out.

But the insecurity that accompanies dispersed fordism implies a potential limit to consensus.

The instability of employment generates disaffection and places difficulties in the way of generating "loyalty to the firm". The strategy of differential control that privileges and recompenses in a structured form each category of the industrial hierarchy, tends to breed insecurity, especially amongst those who contribute less to the chain of added value following the notions of political economy that are dominant in reality.

Even the present success in terms of techniques of control will reach limitations. These are manifest in the growing need to valorise all the stages of the productive chain in order to maximise the surplus value at each level of the productive chain. Although strategies of divide and rule have prevented a unified solidarity amongst workers this has not prevented strategically significant stoppages such as the cleaning workers in Madrid airport recently.

Insecurity in the labour force reflects the unstable equilibrium and the promotion of consensus is backed up by openly repressive options.

The extra recruitment of police, the restriction of so-called democratic rights, the criminalisation of insurgent minorities or exponents of dissent, are all features of modern democracy. With an increased gulf between the Political and social spheres, democratic liberties are reduced to propaganda, masking technocratic control of public life, increasingly totalitarian in application.

Democratic legitimisation does not now correspond with the reality of a world based on functional and productive dis-aggregation. A pivotal interest group in the financial or social sector can devastate the process of social reproduction perhaps as a response to disruption elsewhere in the chain.

Such is the concentration of capital, democratic mediation rarely interferes with its autonomous operation. Equally the dispersal of the productive process dictated by the 'laws of accumulation' makes any reference to democracy banal. Democracy merely legitimates, rubber stamps the power of multinationals. In the case of anti-Nato or anti-Gulf War actions they inhabit a ritualised space harking back to the era of the mass worker and are peripheral to the present system. When an organisation threatens the logistical chain - as in the Paris transport conflicts - the propaganda apparatus of the State & mass media mobilises public opinion against the "anti-social" minority.

Experience demonstrates that conflicts are neither cumulative nor are they orientated toward an imaginary goal of emancipation. They boil down to prompt acts of resistance pointing toward a real guerrilla social struggle. However, these acts are fundamentally radical because our existence is increasingly defined as a source of valorisation in a world in which capital constitutes itself as an intrinsically conflictual social relation. Outside the space that determines the social relation of capital there are no real options. However, it is a social relation that involves us in conflict.

To affirm oneself in conflict and to consciously renounce hope is perhaps the last existential option to those reduced to being labour power with nothing at all to lose not even their illusions.

Editor's note: * * denotes sentences missed out. Although a number of people have tried to re-write the text in as 'plain' english as possible, we recognise that the Negri-ist language poses problems. Comments on substance of text welcome. Thanks to BM Blob, London WC1N 3XX for suggestions.

Notes from the Health Factory

Part One

Steve Bushell reports on

restructuring in the supply of health

'Working For Patients' (the 1989 White paper on which NHS reforms were based) sought to enhance local management's control over the 'delivery of health care'.

What has been called marketisation might be better described as the decentralisation and franchising of a large national firm, the better to respond more ruthlessly to the variations of demand and supply. This empowerment of management has occurred in order to reduce the cost of labour, to remove obstacles to profit in the medical industry, and to ensure a more effective servicing of the 'human resources' of the country. This last point has come about as a reaction to political criticism, but more importantly as an attempt to defuse the critiques of medicine, by ensuring more 'sensitive' medical policing, including the institution of the paraphernalia of 'customer-care'. Naturally enough the first target of the new management has been the medical profession, whose guild power this century has attempted to secure sole rights over the designation and cure of disease. Such an ambition had led to proliferating costs as well as popular disaffection with the service. The new managers have employed rudimentary cost-benefit analysis onto doctors. This undermines 'clinical autonomy' and ensures that the rationing of the scarce resource known as 'health' is overseen by managers more tuned in to the needs of the State and Economy than doctors who might be moved by common humanity or overweening professional ambition. The response of doctors to this assault has largely been confined to publicity campaigns, although Junior Doctors (paradoxically the most 'skilled' and exploited of the NHS workforce) have threatened industrial action if their hours are not cut to 72 a week. This itself would require them to challenge their own guild tradition by taking on their master consultants.

The Industrialisation of Nursing.

Nurses make up the largest section of the NHS workforce. The effect of the new managers has been, at first glance, contradictory. The assault on the medical profession is applauded by those nurses who see the critique of medicine as an opportunity to advance their own claims to professional status. Hence the production of 'holism' as a (spurious) opposition to the 'medical' model in the treatment of sickness. 'Holism' has become the ideology of all the proliferating para-professionals who are displacing the medical profession's monopoly as purveyors of health. As a result, some aspirant 'professional' nurses have allied themselves with the new managers.

However, nurses themselves are responsible for a large wage bill and use up a lot of the resources involved in treatment of the sick. This puts them in line for strict managerial control. Before the developing crackdown in the 70's & 80's nurses and doctors used resources by and large as it suited them. Budgets were based on last year's costs plus a bit for inflation. This relaxed attitude is a

distant memory in the current tight world of self-administered budgets, with sisters and charge nurses given responsibility for devolved accounting on the wards. This is represented as a conferring of autonomy (which panders to aspirant 'professionalism') but in reality means that more and more of the nursing craft becomes tied to the needs of money, and the money-managers. As management, budgeting and cost control become part of the job of nursing the possibility of using 'professional knowledge'

OBSERVATIONS (circle all applicable)	1	1	1	1	1	1
Daily Observations						
Observations 2 Times a Day/4 Hourly	3	3	3	3	3	3
Spinal Observations	10	10	10	10	10	10
Neuro One Craniovertebral/Head Injury	30	30	30	30	30	30
Neuro Observations (1 - 4 Hourly)	6	6	6	6	6	6
Post Anesthetic Observations	16	16	16	16	16	16
Glucose Stick 6 - 12 Times Daily	5	5	5	5	5	5
INTECTIONS/RESPIRATORY AIDS (circle all applicable)	2	2	2	2	2	2
Continuous Oxygen with Humidification/Setup/Check	13	13	13	13	13	13
Suctioning: Tracheal, Oral or Nasopharyngeal						
Medication/IV Fluids (circle all applicable)	2	2	2	2	2	2
Oral Medication/Drugs/Plantain/Supp						
Medication via Nasal Gastric Tube	10	10	10	10	10	10
Injection (include Controlled Drugs)	6	6	6	6	6	6
Continuing Care of Intravenous Fluids	8	8	8	8	8	8
IV Medication	18	18	18	18	18	18
IV Medication via Pump	7	7	7	7	7	7
Wound Care Therapy	6	6	6	6	6	6
OTHER DIRECT NURSING CARE (circle all applicable)	3	3	3	3	3	3
Single/Intermediate Dressing (Clasp/Bandage/Straps)						
Care of External Vascular Drain	1	1	1	1	1	1
Removal of Tubes, Catheters and Lines	2	2	2	2	2	2
Assessment of Wound Drainage	1	1	1	1	1	1
Specimen Collection including Urine Test	1	1	1	1	1	1
Preparation of PE for Special Investigations/Theatre	2	2	2	2	2	2
Application/Management of Anti-Biotic Stockings	2	2	2	2	2	2
Care of Confused Patient Minimal Supervision	11	11	11	11	11	11
Care of Confused Patient Frequent Supervision	21	21	21	21	21	21
Special Care of Severely Confused Patient (Select an other category)	216	216	216	216	216	216

against the dictates of finance recede because increasingly the definition of a 'professional nurse' is one who takes on such financial responsibilities. The much-prized 'status' which the new managers claim to grant is little more than the acceptance by some nurses of the role of surrogate accountant.

At the same time new work study systems have been implemented which, far from pandering to the illusions of those seeking professionalism's mitre, point to a thoroughgoing Taylorisation of nursing. I will describe two systems currently operating at the Leeds General Infirmary and at the Huddersfield Royal Infirmary.

G.R.A.S.P. "Time is money". Benjamin Franklin.

This is a system developed in the US. It stands for Grace (name of US hospital), Reynolds (source of cash for the study), Application and Study of PETO (Poland, English, Thornton and Owens - the name of the researchers who organised a work study of nurses in the American paediatric ward). The PETO study was done by timing (without

grunted by their loss of autonomy in doing the job and their managerialisation. (The bait of 'primary nursing' - where each patient is designated a specific qualified nurse is an attempt to hang onto a more humane system, and is given support in John Major's Patient's Charter, but it simply does not work under current conditions of over-work and speed-up of patient through-put. Officially it has been in existence on my ward for 1-2 years, but in practice it is the first thing to be set aside when things get busy). Trades union attempts to confront the scheme have mostly been at the level of wanting to be 'involved' in the timing etc. Since this has already been done by nurses who are their members, they have been outflanked and unable to organise any boycotts, even if they wanted to.

Further Recompositions.

The overall tendency of the reforms has been to accelerate the process of hospital specialisation (centralising specific kinds of health care within a particular hospital - 'niche-marketing' in ad-man's terms). This has led to an alteration of the composition of patients treated by 'general' hospitals, an alteration which exposes deep changes in the social role of such institutions.

What has happened (and what continues to happen) is that sectors of chronic and long-stay patients have been subcontracted to the private sector for 'care'. Many of the elderly and very dependent patients have been transferred to private nursing homes, although the cost continues to be carried by the State (although this is means-tested). Part of the reason for this is the hospital's shedding of the role of 'moral universe' established by the necessities of the C19th capitalism. The hospital is no longer either the officially-sanctioned repository of 'charity' (2) nor part of the State's armoury of social regulation through 'care' - that role has been dispersed into the 'community' (3). The modern hospital is less and less a site of 'care' in that non-specific sense of a place people go to when they are sick, and more and more a purveyor of customised health supplies. Emphasis on 'Value-for-money, medical audit and work study systems betray this development from general 'care' provider (with an often haphazard understanding of the results of 'care') to a specialist health factory applying cost-benefit analysis to all its operations. 'Health' from being something prescribed by the monopoly of the medical profession now has a superfluity of suppliers, from wholefood restaurants, fitness centres, alternative medicines to health visitors, social workers and health educators. The contemporary hospital recognises its niche in the market, that of, high-tec intervention, and consequently has begun to shed the responsibility of antiquity. At the same time indicators are being established which, for the first time, will provide costings for this scarce 'resource' thereby furthering the process which locks being alive within the conditions of scarcity.

Notes.

1) After sporadic strikes and actions throughout the NHS in 1988 the NHS management determined a new set of grades for nurses, which connected rates of pay to responsibility. This led to thousands of appeals which clogged up the NHS Grievance Procedure. 4 years later not all appeals have been heard.

2) The origin of Leeds Infirmary (like other infirmaries in the U.K.) emerged as an attempt to promote sensible charity and overcome the divisions in the upper middle classes which could trace their source from the dissolution of the monasteries;

OVERVIEW	
Ward	Date
Sample PCN Instrument	
Use/Report (Select as applicable)	5/1/94
Special/Admission Interview	5/1/94
Update Assessment	5/1/94
Planning (Select as applicable)	5/1/94
Initial Assessment/Development	5/1/94
Update/Review Care Plan	5/1/94
Update/Review (Select as applicable for each element)	5/1/94
Learning/CPD (Select as applicable)	5/1/94
Planned Learning	5/1/94
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Calculated Outrages

A Reader takes issue with Frank Dexter's article on Serial Killers in Here and Now 12.

Part One

Mr. Dexter offers a number of characteristics or "the distinctive configuration." First may I suggest a generalisation then deal in specifics. I think it is hard to generalise about Serial Killers. Indeed Serial Killer is a generalisation. It is a stereotype. It is packaging. It sells. In reality the killers are not a series i.e. they are not a repeat of the same crime by different individuals but with the same characteristics. In other words I wonder about the value of the concept except as a device.

To specifics:

Dexter's characteristic 1

This covers a number of different points. To take just one: the principle of 'selection.'

This relates to the idea that a Serial killer has a pattern or 'signature.' But the signature is not reliable as it is not necessarily consistent. To the list of victims given by Dexter, "mostly young women...children and young men," we must add other victims e.g. nurses kill the people they look after - babies and old people - because they are there. In other words the victims are available. Can we apply the same lack of choice to other 'vulnerable' such as hitch-hikers and streetwalkers? Both rely on the kindness of strangers.

The use of terms such as 'selection', 'pattern' or 'signature' introduces a new element. It glamorises the crimes. It moves the description away from the traditional term of 'modus operandi' to a new level where the crimes are distinguished by intelligence. The victims are selected, chosen. They are designed. Likewise the wounds and cruelties are not only done to a design but also are seen as having a design or logo. When the killer actually dovetails by giving the media a peg on which to hang a nickname, (there were various tries before they settled on The Night Stalker) or even a graffito (the Zodiac Killer), then we may wonder if there is some sort of designer awareness of the media's requirements. Already it is possible to see the danger of intellectualising. Selection, pattern, signature - all assume a logic is at work however twisted. The assumption is the murders are planned and not impulsive. They are deliberately the same. In fact this is rarely the case. The similarities may be there but that should not blind us to the peripheral things which are different. Nor should we assume the killings have no progression i.e. that they are repetitions. But more important is to question the cold-blooded, pre-mediated image. Serial Killings are differentiated from domestic killings or fights, both of which are hot-blooded and impulsive. The implication is one kind has extenuating circumstances the other is proof of evil.

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First this is unnecessary wrong. True many if not most victims in films are women but not all. Any more than all killers in films are male. The point is a continuation of the last observation: what the cinema shows is not the same as reality. In real life victims are not dependent on gender. Serial Killings are not the proof of the demonic nature of males preying on females. Real life Serial Killers often prey on other men: Nilsen, Gacy, Dahmer, Wayne Williams, Al Bishop. Nor are their victims only the same sex. Nor can we omit Serial Killing done by women, alone or with others. In other words Serial killing is not a gender crime.

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The simile of the superior intelligence with 'smart' weapons contains a flaw. Smart weapons are notorious for going wrong and hitting the wrong target! They are dumb weapons. It seems to me a similar glaring contradiction destroys the shopping metaphor. 'Shopping' is largely a female activity which would mean we could expect most Serial Killers to be women.

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I do think Serial Killers have been invented. Why? What need do they fill? Are they justifying something? Is there a new sort of surveillance and distrust? A new Cold War?

When I say Serial Killers have been invented I mean that literally. I do not suggest there are no serial killings. What I do suspect, based on the evidence as I know, is that Serial Killers are a scare.

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One thing they have in common and which is how they have become scares is the asserting that the cases 'uncovered' are the tip of an

iceberg.

I think there are similarities in these scares though I don't think they are the same. On the contrary I detect a progression and different elements. The synthesis helps to understand the scares retrospectively. I see the mixture as a way of identifying a new politics and a new bigotry. I think what we are seeing emerge is the replacement of the old left/right politics by something more dangerous, a consensus of bigotry masquerading as liberalism even revolution. Bea Campbell and people like her become more significant in this context for revealing how Marxism and Feminism have allied with their traditional enemy: fundamentalist Christianity and intolerance.

Serial Killers are the perfect expression of Sinister Forces. The image of an invisible, faceless even inhuman killer is as old as mankind. It is the personification of Death, many horror writers have worked on this aspect, But Serial Killers are supposed to inhabit the real world.

Here is the extra twist. Killers are traditionally set apart from the rest of us so that they can achieve a perverse stardom. This phenomenon is shown at the end of *Badlands*, a fictional account of the Starkweather/Fugate story. The Starkweather figure is in chains surrounded by wondering police. A dialogue goes on in which the killer offers personal souvenirs "You want my comb" A cheap comb becomes an icon because of its contact with the inhuman. Serial Killers take this worship further. They are like gods, evil divinities, at least agents of the divine or the devil.

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Two processes stemmed from this fact. First police authorities all over the continent closed their files on unsolved murders. Second was the phenomenon of merging: allegations became evidence and possible numbers became facts and therefore statistics. This produced the scale of Serial Killing.

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Of course this meant there was a need for counter measures. (Why? if hundreds of unsolved murders were now 'solved'?) An industry of anti-Serial Killers was created.

Not only Quantico but other constituencies found Serial Killers ideal for requesting increases in importance and money. Feminists too rejoiced. They now had proof of the predatory nature of the male. (Here is the origin of the distortions I have mentioned throughout.) People who felt that America was being morally attacked were more prepared to listen to the Christians' scare message. Soon the notion of deliberate evil - as proved by Serial Killers transposed into a super-natural conspiracy driven by Satanism.

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Calculated Outrages

A Reader takes issue with Frank Dexter's article on Serial Killers in Here and Now 12.

Part One

Mr. Dexter offers a number of characteristics or "the distinctive configuration." First may I suggest a generalisation then deal in specifics. I think it is hard to generalise about Serial Killers. Indeed Serial Killer is a generalisation. It is a stereotype. It is packaging. It sells. In reality the killers are not a series i.e. they are not a repeat of the same crime by different individuals but with the same characteristics. In other words I wonder about the value of the concept except as a device.

To specifics:

Dexter's characteristic 1

This covers a number of different points. To take just one: the principle of 'selection.'

This relates to the idea that a Serial killer has a pattern or 'signature.' But the signature is not reliable as it is not necessarily consistent. To the list of victims given by Dexter, "mostly young women...children and young men," we must add other victims e.g. nurses kill the people they look after - babies and old people - because they are there. In other words the victims are available. Can we apply the same lack of choice to other 'vulnerable' such as hitch-hikers and streetwalkers? Both rely on the kindness of strangers.

The use of terms such as 'selection', 'pattern' or 'signature' introduces a new element. It glamorises the crimes. It moves the description away from the traditional term of 'modus operandi' to a new level where the crimes are distinguished by intelligence. The victims are selected, chosen. They are designed. Likewise the wounds and cruelties are not only done to a design but also are seen as having a design or logo. When the killer actually dovetails by giving the media a peg on which to hang a nickname, (there were various tries before they settled on The Night Stalker) or even a graffiti (the Zodiac Killer), then we may wonder if there is some sort of designer awareness of the media's requirements. Already it is possible to see the danger of intellectualising. Selection, pattern, signature - all assume a logic is at work however twisted. The assumption is the murders are planned and not impulsive. They are deliberately the same. In fact this is rarely the case. The similarities may be there but that should not blind us to the peripheral things which are different. Nor should we assume the killings have no progression i.e. that they are repetitions. But more important is to question the cold-blooded, pre-meditated image. Serial Killings are differentiated from domestic killings or fights, both of which are hot-blooded and impulsive. The implication is one kind has extenuating circumstances the other is proof of evil.

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fulfilment too. He carried on about satanic secret orders. He became a born-again Christian, he mixed with scare-mongers such as Patricia Pulling. Pulling's teenage son committed suicide. She realised who was to blame: he played Dungeons and Dragons. The game was satanically inspired like rock music. Pulling is only one person making a living and a name out of such scare peddling. By the mid to late 1980s the bogey of Communism was becoming hard to sustain as Gorbachov was in his golden days.

By the eve of the 1990s pronouncements of The End Of History and similar millennial claims dominated. Smiles, destruction of nuclear weapons, the end of the Cold War, the healing of Germany and the re-shaping of Europe...the paranoia industries were in danger of being dismantled too. Of course some people already knew Communism was only a front, a tool of Satan.

Henry Lee Lucas created growth industries based on Serial Killers. Unfortunately he also denied everything he said. Except that he did do the killings for which he was originally charged: his young girl friend, his mother and the 80 year old women with whom Lucas and his small set stayed. By no stretch of the imagination was Henry Lee Lucas a Serial Killer! Yet he has had his film: Henry, Portrait of a Serial Killer. If Henry Lee Lucas showed there was no tip where was the iceberg? Lucas's recantation has hardly been noticed in the rush. What difference would it make, the craze was now off and running with a life of its own. The scare had its own momentum and no longer needed to refer to anything outside itself. Feminists, Social Workers, Zealous Doctors, Child Abuse Agencies, Police, Concerned Parents, Good Citizens, Christians, Media Commentators - they can't be all wrong can they? There's no smoke without a fire.

Even the Experts got on the bandwagon and re-wrote the text books. One of the founding studies appeared in 1988: *Serial Killers, the Growing Menace*, Joel Norris. It gave a chronology of Serial Killing from 1961. It contains 67 cases of which 13 are unsolved. In other words 54 during a 28 year period. But this was an early study and the scare allowed for many, many more.

Suddenly, by the 1990s, just as the political bogey vanished, Serial Killers were everywhere. They weren't a new phenomenon. It is ironic to watch the process of - what? Of re-habilitation? Of finding the pioneers and founders? Colin Wilson offers Jack the Ripper as the first Serial Killer. A nice way to re-package Jack but even Wilson had to admit there were earlier cases of multiple murder. Some old ghouls got new leases of life: Albert Fish and Ed Gein have starred in new biographies. Even the medieval mass murderer Giles de Rais earned a new cult, Raism. The trouble with renaming old cases as Serial Killers is that it devalues the concept itself! If Serial Killing is not new or special where is the appeal? How can we produce any theories of what Serial Killers tell us about Society - whether we are going to Hell

in a hand cart or being manipulated by managers of the unconscious - if Serial killers aren't sexy? or don't exist.

APPENDIX

Case history of how a scare grows.

I offer a report in The Independent 17 March 1982 to show how this works. The annual report of the NSPCC was published. I offered a number of facts.

1. It predicted a big rise in the number of cases of child abuse. So what? Hasn't the NSPCC been warning this for years? Wasn't the NSPCC deeply involved in the creation of the scare that there were groups sexually abusing children for satanic purposes? But that is not what the 1991 report is talking about. Suddenly it seems we have all been looking in the wrong place. It wasn't satanic pervers but the very people authorised to protect children who were abusing them!

2. We are now told of 'institutional' abuse. That is inside children's homes, boarding schools, special need places both public and private. The NSPCC claims to have evidence. (Just as it had evidence of satanic abuse?) 'I could name about (?) eight counties where I know (evidence?) there has been some form of institutional abuse involving hundreds of children.' Bad though this may be the 'truth' is far worse. 'I do not believe this is the end of the line...I do not know how big the iceberg is.'

3. The NSPCC claims that "between 150 and 200" children die each year "following abuse or neglect at the hands of parents or close relatives." Shocking? Of course. So much so many will miss the wide margin for error. Is the total 150 or 200? Or somewhere in between? If there is a total why can't we be told? Why a variation of 25%. But if we take the worst total of 200 and put it against their other figures a strange discrepancy emerges.

4. Their helpline earned its money. It received 120,000 calls. Almost 10% needed immediate action i.e. 12,000. So the alarms are there. Again it is shocking but there will always be some who aren't saved. All this makes sense. What then blows it all away is the 'tip of the iceberg' argument.

5. they claimed the number of children at risk of "significant harm" is 1.1 million.

Hang on. In that case the help line is woefully inadequate. But how did we leap from a maximum of 200 deaths to over a million in danger? In danger of what? Because the words are chosen with all the care of a bureaucrat ensuring an escape route. It is not their fault if the public forms the wrong impression that there is an iceberg of a million and more children being treated cruelly, maybe sexually abused. The scare is the fault of the believers

An ironic footnote.

On 31 March a conference began in London about the sexual abuse of children - by women! Perhaps this is a sign that there is a move towards recognition of women as monsters? Will we see the admission that women are capable not only of sexually abusing children but of violence, even Serial Killing?

John F.L. Nicholson
See also Woods
vs Dexter,
Pages 27/28.
This debate is
now closed.

Correspondence to:-
Here & Now, PO
Box 109, Leeds
LS5 3AA, or
c/o 28 King St.,
Glasgow G1 5QP.

Country Corner

It's round about now that you will find allsorts of people on the side of lanes, roads, and in urban parks picking the fruit of the land. This year has been a particularly good one for soft fruit and blackberries are both huge and juicy.

Seeing families and individuals picking this free food reminds us that even in fully industrialised nations, the commons, that is anything which is neither bought or financed by taxes, have not been totally enclosed, that there still remain forms of access independent of capital and the state. Indeed it seems strange to me that blackberry picking is not advanced more forcefully as a glimpse of what a non-commodity society could be. Perhaps then 'communists' (whose name has been so discredited of late) might like to take up the name 'commonist' as a different way of describing their position.

Peter Porcupine.

Dear Here & Now, Yes. Your "Satanic Abuses" article (H&N 11) considers important issues about professionals' constructions of "abuse". There was a time when it was personally liberating to "come out" as an "abuse" survivor. Nowadays, the word "abuse" has been misappropriated by various vested interests.

Having said that, I think your article would have been stronger if the reality of young peoples' traumatic experiences had been put with more emphasis. I understand your point that converting Marietta Hicks into some kind of save-the-children folk

Debate

hero is dead suspect. Nevertheless, the overwhelming number of Cleveland children had been assaulted or abused by adult carers. The same goes with the "ritual" abuse cases. The "Satanic" construction is suspect. But the experiences of children are real. I am aware that your article does emphasise this to some degree. The fact that some people will not notice this supports your overall thesis, maybe (?)

Best Wishes, M. Charles London
confidential doctor office which is private.

Hot Time Continued from page 9

For ever more fearsome laws aimed at subduing already very subdued workers. This gradual attrition of workers' rights is part of a wider process of softening-up, so that people finally will accept catastrophe without a murmur - even be glad of it because death brings to an end a vain struggle against hopeless odds. Bit by bit, the UK State is abandoning all forms of intelligent corporatist State control. Even formal logic has to be done in. The government is committed to zero inflation, yet at the same time it wants to see house price inflation back once more - even though that would figure as inflation! And this is one of the reasons it is mercilessly persecuting travellers (new age hippies, etc.) and their growing - often unwelcome - entourage of footloose youth, some from the estates. In the State's eyes, this form of homelessness is not helping the housing market to recover. The poor must be made to purchase, even though they have nothing to purchase with. The perversity is epic in scale, recalling the lunatic demands of biblical tyrants.

Any leaning in the direction of broadly-based recuperative projects have been stamped on. The government-sponsored inner cities initiative following the '81 riots, which was an important factor in the yupification of many inner-city neighbourhoods and an object lesson in how State intervention helps the "free" market, was the last large scale effort of its kind. Sure, there are minor examples. Some government money has gone to riot-torn estates. One wonders what effect this might have on tenants' committees landed with the job of getting untrained estate youth into doing building work on wrecked housing stock, as has just happened on Stockton's Ragworth? On another cultural (sic) level, Amber Films in Newcastle tried to break into the major cinema circuits with their sub-Meyerhold film "Dream On", about the Meadowood Estate which mixed residents and actors. Made before the riot, the grand opening in the Odeon, Newcastle was attended by chain-wearing civic dignitaries and Gazza. Despite the nimble footwork, the film has bombed, leaving Amber Films with massive debts. So, at least this attempt to capitalise on the rioters has failed. The Amber Films

collective has also been involved in getting the estate's residents to write poems, plays, etc. to combat severe cases of depression and alleviate a more general sense of hopelessness. Drowning people will clutch at anything, and some of the residents doubtless are grateful because they are at least being shown some attention, proving to the unfeeling world outside that they are worthy, deserving citizens. However, given the grim facts, it is about as unfortunately believable as discussing the texture of Bonnard's paintings when the trumpets of doom are sounding, and this effort to attract charitable attention must turn against the hard questions involved in any overthrow of the status quo. *Class War*, having no critique of art, praised "Dream On" as working-class culture instead of savaging it as the miserable bit of recuperative junk it is. (On a more positive note, women from the estate formed a group to deal with depression: it would be interesting to know what, without professional help, came of it.) Despite the economy being in the midst of the worst recession since the 30s - a "contained depression", one bordering on slump (interesting how psychiatric jargon is now being applied to the economy) - free market triumphalism continues unabated, oblivious to the fact that the economy has all but ground to a halt. The enterprise culture is dead, long live the enterprise culture! We recently got talking to a British Telecom engineer originally from the Caribbean. He reckoned that BT's recently announced redundancy programme was a covert way of casualising the work force by buying out job security. He then made the astonishing claim that now was the best time to set-up in business!

English pragmatism belongs to the far distant past and the threadbare ideology of privatization still tunes most pulpits as we descend ever deeper into a privatized hell. The breach opened by the great poll tax protest, largely responsible for Thatcher's dismissal, has, for the moment, been patched over. For how long? But for that to change, a lot more will be needed than sporadic urban explosions, even though they burst out continuously, and even if one still hopes they portend something a lot more dramatic. Text from BM Blob, London WC1N 3XX.

Continued from page 14

their opposition to canonisation & the threat of ethnic cleansing. Mass demonstrations in Sarajevo before the onset of conflict were disrupted by snipers firing at an unarmed mass. Unlike their counterparts in Thailand, Burma etc this proved sufficient intimidation despite their numerical superiority. In Belgrade and other Serb towns public protests evaporated with the end to conscription of Serbs from outwith Bosnia and the beginning of Western economic sanctions. Increasingly the liberal middle-class in Belgrade relied on the co-opted Serbo-American Prime Minister Panic to reign in the military machinations of Socialist leader Milosovic in league with fascist allies such as the Radical Party.

The recent experience of intervention in the Gulf was motivated by strategic economic interests (apart from 'trying out' weaponry) and the Kurds and to a lesser extent marsh arabs were afterthoughts stimulated by embarrassing media coverage. Such media coverage has also played a role in the Bosnian conflict but intervention has been equated with humanitarian relief and 'big brother' disapproval. The logistics of terrain in Bosnia, mountainous and wooded no doubt played a part, but the hopes of the Bosnian ruling elite for intervention or arms proved an illusory hope. The trajectory of the rump state is now muslim rather than pluralist and funds and arms are being solicited from Turkey and Iran in particular, promoting guerilla war in areas such as south-east Bosnia which may prevent any comprehensive canonised three-way solution with UN troops stationed as in Krajina to police the fait-accompli.

The future spread of the conflict, with current muslim harassment by serb irregulars in Belgrade and Sandjak, and hungarians on the receiving end in Vojvodina is destined to reach Macedonia after Kosovo. The pleas of the "Vardar Macedonia" state (or whatever name they are saddled with) may provoke a sterner response from the United States. The need to prevent war involving Greece and Turkey (among others) would be the motivation, however, and not any real defence of pluralism or of a 'defenceless' republic unwilling to 'tool up' for conflict. This remains to be seen but the "cool" distinction we make, in common with other libertarian revolutionaries is that the interests of working people are not the same as states, no matter how pluralist or much of an 'underdog' they appear. As long as the only option is identifying with the preservation of nation states, and humanitarian gestures to alleviate suffering, then only barbarism can prosper at the expense of social hope.

Jim McFarlane

Dear Here and Now,

Your periodical is now well and truly infected by a disease which, were it to break out elsewhere, would instantly be pilloried by your main contributors. We could call it, vaguely, "professionalism" but - to parody a specific H&N style - I will refer to it as *theorism* or, easier to pronounce, *professorism*.

Theorism/professorism is an approach prevalent in the arts and humanities faculties of polytechnics and universities whereby anything but anything is made to fit a synchronic, pretend-comprehensive, *apriori* theory. Delimitation is considered *passé*; context is deemed too static; facts are forced into the straitjacket of theory.

By this token - since everything's just part of a continuum waiting to be colonised by theory (i.e. *theorised*) - a film is perceived as something as existent as parallel real-life events. In H&N No 12, Frank Dexter's paranoid article on the "serial killing craze" attaches more credence to Hollywood's *Silence of the Lambs* ...

"contrived fantasies take place in full wakefulness" (p32)

... than it does, say, to the sad case of Michael Ryan in Berkshire. That certain murderers might well be acting out film scenarios in their own heads - of which they are scriptwriter, director and top billing - need not be discussed here. *Silence of the Lambs*, however, is no more than a construct - an edited film based on an edited screenplay based on a book based on an author's imagination based indirectly on a real-life case. As a film, it is at least four removes from reality and, therefore and obviously, it should be assigned to the discourse of film or literary criticism rather than to that of social psychopathy or of topic mixing by theory junkies.

Ironically enough, Frank's reductionist synopsis of *Silence of the Lambs* (a romance, by the way, not a fairy-tale: knights and quests don't figure in fairy-tale structures) only goes to confirm my argument. In literature, multiple killing has been around for a long time - Das Nibelungenlied, for instance, or *Revenge Tragedy*. As far as I know, nobody has ever tried to impose on to the Elizabethan audience the sort of hypertheorising scheme of things that Frank, hyperventilatingly, goes in for as he rewrites (case) history: Jack the Ripper goes shopping? Jack the Shopper! Not true, of course, but the feminist suspicion

must be voiced that Frank doesn't care as long as it's only female prostitutes who get killed.

The Ripper theme has been used by many a mediocre film director and by a playwright as astute as Wedekind (Pandora's Box 1904). Agatha Christie's *Ten Little Niggers* (whoops!) was published in 1939. *Kind Hearts and Coronets* was released in 1949. The Boston Strangler came out in 1968. Countless *Dracula* movies, westerns and cop thrillers have featured multiple killers. Why now get worked up by *Silence of the Lambs*? The novel, by Thomas Harris, is merely an extension reworking of its superior, much less cathartic, unhappy-end predecessor *Red Dragon* which is mostly interesting for its treatment of the detective/murderer mentality overlap that crops up now and again in the genre - e.g. *Tightrope* (1984) with Clint Eastwood as the officer investigating a "serial killer" in New Orleans and being drawn into the perversity he unearths. The *Red Dragon* "serial killer" film was released in 1986 under the



title of *Manhunt*, was recently shown on British TV and somehow - also - managed to escape the attention of H&N's craze spotters.

"Serial killer" is a designer phrase anyway, not the sort of media hype expression that H&N should be bandying about. If you murder twice, are you graded as a "serial killer" or must you deal with a minimum three before being issued with your *Serial Killer's Licence* by H&N? How do you define Michael Ryan - as a serial killer for a day? Must he be defined? Do terrorists count as serial killers? Fassbinder, incidentally, fingered RAF members as consumers in his film *The Third Generation* as early as 1979. Now that's a theme for H&N discussion.

Even more inept, Frank's reactive choice of caption "serial killer craze" reveals that the critic has been absorbed by that which he set out to distance himself from in the first place whilst the Sun-type invective of "craze" means as little as "serial killer" - especially when, as here in H&N, the craze seems to total all of one film. In my

view, it's Frank who's fallen victim to "the latest structural permutation of fact and fiction" (p29) - another phrase very low on pinpointable reference.

latest:

Rubbish, when was the last one?

structural:

Who? Where? Is there an Institute for the

Structural Permutation of Fact and Fiction?

permutation (as in mixture of, confusion of) of fact and fiction: A backfiring cliché if ever there was one.

This sentence - the Latest Structural Permutation etc. - maps out Frank's mind more than it does the state of the world.

Writers of the Benjamin or Barthes calibre got away with topics such as the phenomenology of a house front or the ethnomethodology of a washing machine precisely because their approach was more literary than either might care to have admitted and because the theory was allowed to respond prismatically to the object, not vice versa. There must, at some point, be limits to the application of theory which is, after all, just that: a theory. *Theorism* obscures these boundaries, mercilessly consume-analysing all that goes before it. I am reminded of the time a Marxist warned me against the use of headphones since headphones epitomised, no less, bourgeois alienation. Those were the days: when everything could be put down to bourgeois alienation and bourgeois mystification. Nowadays, of course, most people feel alienated if they don't possess a walkperson.

H&N *theorism* also affects a haughty, mannered style of language which grates. The overuse of boldface lettering comes across as facile and comic-strip. The tortured wordplay does not deshackle the reader from the tyranny of meaning but merely pedanticises. The prose leans towards sterility and routine jargon. Propositions are artificially set up ... only to be demolished with equal artifice, usually in the form of a twee rhetorical question:

Here & Now, neither here nor there. Or is it?

The appending of bibliographies to articles which, in essence, are nothing but opinion parades is simply pretentious - feigning, as it does, academic "solidity".

Academic. Most of the H&N *theorist* contributors clearly aspire to the rhetoric of the tertiary education lectern or to the lectern itself. As they write, they seem to envisage an audience of rapt students in front of them - students begging to have

their illusions stripped. It is at this juncture that theorism becomes professorialism. I had to chuckle when I read this on p18 of Colin Webster's article:

Turning now to ...

I can just see our Colin - corduroyed, bespectacled, possibly absent-minded - stooped over the lectern and his pile of yellowing wordprocessor-printouts. So serious! so self-important! What's up with you guys? That was not a rhetorical question: I want an answer.

Theorists also presume to speak on behalf of people they've patronisingly decided to scrutinise — just like the way SWerPers arrogate themselves the right to represent "the" workers, just how feminists claim to be acting in the name of "all" women. For example, during the course of Frank Dexter's article on p5, I was surprised to learn that, because I am selfemployed, I am definitely oppressing myself. Well, Frank - sorry to pick on you again - but how do you know? How do you know you know? Have you experienced selfemployment at close quarters? Or do you just like railing at reality? And before you started sounding off about the need for a transitive verb "to unemploy" perhaps you should have looked into the

commonplace linguistic notion of lexical gap or, better still, flicked through a thesaurus:

to axe, to dismiss, to fire, to sack, to be given the chop, to be made redundant, to be served notice etc. etc.

I'm sure the workers who have been shed (there's another term) by modern British capitalism would be delighted to know that an H&N theorist would prefer to describe the process they've recently undergone as an unemploying one. I am sure that the Stonehenge travellers would be amused to hear that they're into a "Situationalist critique [...] of the spatiality of the spectacle of everyday life in the urban environment". I wouldn't wish to speak for them but I can imagine that it is this sort of metropolis-based nonsense (and syntax) that, amongst other things, the travellers are trying to flee. See Kevin Hetherington's article on pp25-28 of H&N No 12: his theorist injections add little to reports that have appeared in The Observer and elsewhere.

Have theory, will travel ... no; have theory, will impose it ... yes.

All this is not to deny that H&N and its anti-diachronic theorists might well,

ultimately, be saying something important but as Gide once commented:

I always let people be right; they're rarely anything else [MÉnologue in The Immoralist Part II, Chapter 2].

Think about it.

Since we don't want H&N contributors to degenerate into approach disciples, truth custodians and rococo stylists - or do we? [sic] - I trust the infection will not be terminal. My religious imagery here is no coincidence: there's a definite hint of Bible Studies to the reverent manner in which previous articles from earlier editions of H&N are intoned. Steve Bushell's closing remark (p36) could have been made - probably was - by an early 17th century Pietist:

"It is not wide but narrow horizons which are the most beautiful and interesting and acceptable in the eyes of the Lord God".

Looking forward to your recuperation of this criticism.

Paul F. Woods

Dear Paul Theorist-Killer,

OK, it's a fair cop. What's the sentence? Or rather the cure, since you treat the crime as an illness?

Actually, your own four erudite paragraphs on serial murders provide not only an interesting corrective to my article but also evidence that you too exhibit some of the symptoms that you accuse me of - namely a perverse interest in what's going down in the commercial vomitorium currently called "culture", as well as a desire to pass comment on it - comments that hopefully won't get caught up in the pipelines of academia.

The fact that your own writing style might be a lot slicker than mine makes it no less "theoretical" (yuck). I honestly can't see my text as a "straightjacket". Any dubious assertions can be called dogmatic, but the alternative is making mealy-mouthed "hypotheses" - and that's academicism surely?

It was you who was talking about diseases "breaking out" and the need for "limits" to the application of theory. Despite appearances, I agree with you, but I can't refrain from pointing to your infelicitous metaphor of the need for constraint. Very well, I shall try to restrain myself better in future, and I plead guilty to tortured wordplay (though not, however, to sterility, routine jargon and orthodoxy, etc.). There is certainly academicism in what I wrote, but much of it was the

result of a (no doubt incompetent) attempt at parody. You too could use the same excuse for all your jargon (e.g. "diachronic"), your scoties (Benjamin, Barthes) and even your neologisms (not least "theorism" - which could be accused of being a "synchonic" concept by which to "colonise" something in the world of radical magazines).

I wasn't really "theorising". The syndrome you're describing is more a feature of postmodern journalism - a criticism to which I'm far more sensitive: that facetious and cynical running commentary on the madness of our times, that is actually part of it. As it happens, I think sometimes some decent radical theorising might not be a bad idea. What is called "theory" in the Arts and Humanities Faculties these days is largely a matter of self-serving doctrines, authoritarian sloganeering and conformist shibboleths (in the exact dictionary sense, i.e. catchphrases which define membership of cliques).

One of the few definite "theories" at work in the issue of Here & Now under diagnosis is the one for which the word desocialization is the shorthand: this certainly needs better delimitation and context-specifying as you rightly say (it is obviously too "pretend comprehensive") but, arguably, it is not an *a priori* one and not at all "synchonic" as it denotes a process. Without being too ambitious, I could suggest that it is at least as worthy of being considered in the same company as other recent notions like "artificial negativity", "new class" or "hyper-reality".

The essay on serial killers was meant to show one aspect of this process on unravelling sociality in the operation of the culture industry (and the "craze" was a reference to the media phenomenon, as I thought was clear).

Some of your other points I don't think were inconsistent with what I said. As for "unemploying" as a transitive verb, I think you missed exactly the point I was trying to make. Did you really think I was not aware of the number of words for sacking? You may envisage me as a tenured absent-minded professor, but at least credit me with being a diligent thesaurist. Being unemployed is a social relation in which people are placed: it is not a "class" or "category" or people and it's not a "state of affairs". The phrases you list refer precisely to the one-off act of taking away people's livelihoods but not the systematic maintenance of their abjection. This distinction is fundamental in Russian and other Slavic languages by the "perfective aspect" of verbs The English language doesn't emphasise this difference, therefore it's of no significance, eh? The point may be beneath your triviality-threshold, but you didn't actually get it. The prevailing language doesn't call things by their proper names. With Benjamin and against Baudrillard, I believe language can and therefore it should.

Thanks anyway for reading and responding,

Frank Dexter



Letters

Dear Here and Now,

You take the piss out of the Situationist International's attempt at coherent action by a group, comparing it to the S.D.P. The project of "a unity both inclusive and exclusive, inclusive in the belief that everyone discuss, be involved in what affected them most, and act decisively together; exclusive in the projection of a single organisational line" (as you mockingly put it) is certainly a difficult one, and the Here & Now gang should be congratulated for ingeniously avoiding this difficulty by their refusal to take a line. It is a testament to the vigour of your resistance to such totalitarian notions as coherence that you devote your time (1) to discussing management-speak without having decided whether or not "the struggle against alienation (2) conceals a death-wish" without feeling that you're trying to lose the wood in the trees.

The situationist truth-fascists would doubtless have said that you're just a bunch of ego-wankers, intellectualising for the sake of it and taking a stand only when it is most safe (and probably would have mockingly pointed out your debate on whether management-speak really is bullshit to claim that you don't even do this very well). But, as you point out, the attempt at TRUTH, aside from being oppressive in itself, involves the danger of splitting-up (as the S.I. so perfectly demonstrates). You, on the other hand, can guarantee, virtually, your continuation ad infinitum. Congratulations.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen Small, Glasgow.

- (1) And indeed your space. I don't want to be a spacist. Thanks to Kevin Hetherington for pointing out Marx's deficiencies in this area.
- (2) Shouldn't that be "alienation"?

REPLY TO STEPHEN SMALL'S LETTER

First, a confession: The review of Debord's *Panegyric* was written before seeing the book. Our correspondent is surely in the same situation, as it's hard to imagine that any one who had read the book would defend it.

The letter's accusations against Here & Now can just as well be directed against the Situationists themselves. For example, see the pamphlet *Echecs Situationnistes*, which was reviewed in Here & Now no. 7/8. More recently, Russell Berman gives a useful concise critique of Debord in Telos

no. 86: "Debord wants to speak from the standpoint of the last avant-garde. He, and perhaps a few others, are the last intellectuals in the know. Then there are the bad guys in charge of the spectacle, who are also in the know but get the values wrong; and last, and least, there are the duped masses deprived of all intelligence... He cannot imagine society operating without the leadership of an intellectual vanguard: it is either going to be the bad secret societies who are in control or the good situationists." We bring you this summary as a public service, which should save anyone having to plow their way through Debord's later writings.

Our review concluded that the Situationist project seemed to have collapsed into just seeking "to document the moments which had been". This seems to be borne out by the gradual change in the conditions of the French Situationist texts: first their passage under copyright, and now, we hear, their publishing and sale on to a major publisher.

Like other fundamentalisms's, Situationism needs to be mocked. How much or how little of the Situationist lexicon do you find questionable? The S.I. cultivated an arrogance and studied contempt for those less in the "know" than themselves. This has long outlived any use it might have had, especially when resurrected by those who seem to have nothing to say about this epoch and today's problems, struggles, contradictions.

Here and Now is explicitly an enquiry into present society and the ideas needed to get out of it, so it would be odd if it was resolutely coherent. However, certain obsessions which keep coming up throughout the magazine should indicate that what is questioned is not the idea of truth but the way particular groups assert their own interests as the Truth.

Our look at managerialism may not have settled much, but dismissing the idea as "safe" overlooks its pervasive and persuasive influence in many areas of conflict. It has the ability to transform discontent into manageable procedures and to turn longings for autonomy into the nightmare of self-management. This renders it a formidable weapon in the armoury of pacification. Being disturbed by a thought does not suggest agreement - however, some manifestations of the struggle against alienation skate close to a desire to dissolve uncertainty by submitting to a higher power, be it the "Earth", History, the State or plain old God. And no, alienation should not be in inverted commas.

Steve Bushell

Dear Here & Now,

I enclose a pamphlet, which I wrote some time ago, touching on some of the issues raised by the Quail/Peters debate on managerialism. I think that, broadly speaking, Quail wants to subvert the new managerialism by treating its pretensions as though they were true; Peters wants to reject it; and I want to learn from it. Perhaps a synthesis of all three approaches is possible.

Despite my plea at the readers' meeting, the prose style of Here & Now remains, in my opinion, inflated and obscure. I shall use the first article to illustrate my point. Dexter evidently starts as he means to go on, by suggesting that the expression "self-employed" is an "oxymoron". It is not. ("Oxymoron" = "pointedly foolish".) Presumably, he means "self-contradictory" but since the usage of the term "self-employed" is in any case clear and unambiguous, there is no point in drawing the reader's attention to the fact.

At the beginning of the article we are promised "the implications of the contemporary organisation of work". However, it is not until the penultimate paragraph that anything on that subject is mentioned. Even then, all we are told is that modern management places greater emphasis on psychological control. Since this observation, in itself extremely banal, is repeated elsewhere in the magazine, the whole piece turns out to be contributing exactly nothing.

In the next article, Quail observes that Taylorism "offered only to the employer... a zero sum". Quail goes one better here and offers gibberish. And so it goes on, right through the magazine, culminating with the flourish of the "vanishing point of command-based politics" where, according to Richards, "transport policy lies".

Might I suggest that, before you write anything else, you read Orwell's "Politics and the English Language"?

Fraternally,

P. Wilkinson
London

Claudia Uncovered

A few comments on "The Rebel's New Clothes".

Some people are scared by the prospect of waking up in the morning and wondering what in the world to do. They relieve themselves of the problem by becoming careerists, drug addicts, parents or revolutionaries. (P.13)

So declares "Claudia" in her latest pamphlet **The Rebel's New Clothes**, ostensibly a critique of some of the "escape routes" (P.36) modern society has on offer. A good deal of the pamphlet is specifically targeted at "revolutionary activism" (P.29) considered as an escape route and details the author's own progressive disillusionments with various political milieux and the personality types attached to them. Lefty paper sellers, anarchists, feminists, pacifists and animal libbers all come under fire for being "petty tyrants" (P.15), wife beaters, middle class poseurs, patronising moralists, social inadequates or all of these things and worse. The pamphlet is full of valuable and amusing insights, and as an antidote to the pretensions of political grouplets/individuals, is a hundred times more revolutionary (in its own way) than an issue of **Wildcat** for example. However, for reasons of brevity, this review will concentrate on criticisms of the pamphlet.

SQUAT THE ROT

An initial criticism might be its system of classification of activists/subcultural types, is not very accurate:

Today's typical young revolutionary graduated from Winchester school to a squat in Stoke Newington. Sensitive to plebian mockery, he lowered his braying tones to a mumble, and gleaned some rhyming slang from 'Minder'. he imagines he is spitting at bourgeois values by sticking myriad rings through his ears and arranging his hair in dreadlocks. he supports himself on handouts from worried Mum and Daddy, while disguising the fact by pretending to live off the proceeds of despatch-riding. (P.23)

Here, for example, although it presents us with a good (if Sunday-supplementesque) joke, the passage might be even funnier if it **was** a description of today's typical young revolutionary". Unfortunately it is more a description of today's typical young middle-class squatter, who is just as likely to be into veganism or mysticism as politics, and might not, even by his own flimsy set of criteria, identify with the label "revolutionary". This passage is fairly typical of many in which distinctions between different sorts of revolutionary/rebel/subcultural type either aren't made when they should be, or are made only to be used inconsistently, thus we often aren't sure whether the author is talking about Stalinists, feminists or militant animal libbers. The author, of course, might reply that such distinctions are unimportant as all these different groups can be subject to the same criticisms, but this would at best be partially true for certain of her criticisms are completely inapplicable to certain

groups that her terms would seem on the face of it to apply to. In this respect her slapdash use of the term "revolutionary" is particularly annoying. Another example of this is as follows:

Revolutionaries see their whole lives as a political statement. They make it their mission to hector those around them on the "correct" way to speak, eat, dress, have sex and earn a living. (P.23)

Here we want to say that there are people who desire a revolutionary transformation of society who, far from "seeing their whole lives as a political statement", think that an individual's mode of the day to day prospects for its supersession, that in their terms, no "revolutionary" worth his/her salt would associate themselves with the above perspective, which is specifically that of the **lifestylist**. Indeed, as an indication of how loose and ill-fitting Claudia's categories often are, we might add that Claudia herself seems to have more in common with such lifestylists than the "revolutionaries" to which we refer, for arguably her whole pamphlet, replete with photos of herself looking alternative and numerous autobiographical details, is little more than an attempt to present her life as an (anti)political statement.

A second point might also be made in connection with the exclusion of a certain type of revolutionary from the implied definition of "revolutionary", namely that this is a reflection of a more general concentration on the most obviously spectacular manifestations of opposition in this society. Thus, for example, the only clearly demarcated political alternative to Leftism, is anarchism. Moreover the latter, when it isn't associated with nutty lifestylist types, is identified with **Class War** (P.18), and this, one feels, not because they are seen as epitomising all that is most ideological, cynically populist and role-bound in the "revolutionary" arena, but conversely because they made the most noise, and so they, if anyone, are deemed most worthy of attention, (like attracts like?).

WANKERS & POSEURS

Such criticisms, however, are perhaps incidental to the main thrust of Claudia's argument which would seem to be that **all** politics, **however they are categorised** (and including the ones she would say she happened to leave out), are poseurs or wankers, or are in some way deficient, and furthermore that their political activity is an "escape route", a means of avoiding real life or difficult questions about themselves.

If this is her position, then, what are we to make of it?

The first part seems pretty uncontroversial. most politicians might well be poseurs/wankers/casualties of some sort, though they aren't particularly in this. As for the second part - that political activism is merely an escape route like any other - this can only be accepted with reservations, for though it might be true that anti-Capitalist politics can fulfill the same role in

someones life as stamp collecting, the difference in content is not arbitrarily determined. people are involved in political activism because there is a Capitalism to be active against. moreover, some of the "real life" to be had or "real questions" to be answered, can only emerge in the struggle against Capital (even if those who play the politically active role are not themselves engaged in this struggle to a greater degree, or even as much as many others). the question here is whether Claudia acknowledges such reservations or whether she thinks that the possibility of using political activism as an escape route is itself sufficient grounds for dismissing the struggle against capital in any form. it seems that, aside from one reference to the "seductiveness" of mass action" (P.19), the latter is the case:

Even if the whole edifice of the State were to come tumbling down, there would always be aspiring leaders and guardians of public order waiting in the wings for a chance to have a crack at the whip. (P. 19)

The basis for this logical jump - from thinking that revolutionaries are wankers looking for an escape route, to thinking that the revolutionary project is unrealisable - appears to be twofold. Firstly it is grounded in a paradoxical sort of vanguardism. The argument, at least, in certain passages, seems to be that any successful revolution is dependent on the action of revolutionaries, but since revolutionaries haven't got as big willies as their rhetoric suggests, and since if they did have they'd use them to seize power anyway, revolution is impossible. This vanguardism, it should be noted, is assumed rather explicitly formulated. Thus, for example, she asserts (in the sentence preceding the above given passage):

The police represent ((!)) oppression; rioters, like terrorists, believe that by targeting symbols of viciousness, they will act as catalysts for the masses to rise up against their oppressors. (P. 19)

Here she imputes to "rioters" beliefs that are only true of (vanguardist) "revolutionaries", thus the term "rioters" is seen as synonymous with the term "revolutionaries", thereby implying that they are the most significant element in a riot, that a riot without revolutionaries is inconceivable. (Moreover, as noted earlier, a certain sort of "revolutionary" - specifically that sort who **doesn't** imagine him/herself as a "catalyst" for the "masses" - is left out of the picture, along with the proletariat.)

REAL SELFS

This vanguardism however, is only able to get off the ground as part and parcel of a general emphasis on the Individual and Individuality, to be found in Claudia's pamphlet, which threatens to develop into full blown Individualism i.e. The presupposition that revolutionaries are the only ones capable or desirous of revolutionary activity is coupled with the presupposition that since revolutionaries **as a matter of fact** tend to be wankers outside of revolutionary situations, so their conduct at revolutionary moments is irrelevant because it is not true to their "real selves".

The "real self" - who an individual "really" is - is the unquestioned "given" in Claudia's analysis, the category of more significance than any other; and a person's real self is manifest in the behaviour they "normally" exhibit. From this perspective Claudia is enabled to argue that:

It is odd to assume that someone is a thoroughly fine human

being because they put a brick through the window of the shop you want to loot. (P.19/20)

as though what is at issue in a riot situation **could ever be** whether or not the person helping you loot a shop is "really" a thoroughly fine human being. In as much as such an idea makes sense we want to say that yes, in so far as someone put a brick through the window they **are** a "thoroughly fine human being". The situation which provoked what turned out to be an act of solidarity has, for all intents and purposes, made the human being a "thoroughly fine" one, even if they lapse into their old ways once (or before) the strike/riot/whatever peters out. The best outcome, of course, would be the creation of a situation where it has become impossible for people to return to their alienated old ways.

Claudia, however, is unable to conceive of such an occurrence, for her standpoint precludes *a priori* the possibility of a change in social relations entailing the abolition of alle-

A society run by women instead of men, or by the proletariat, would make no difference to my own feelings of separateness. (P29)

she confidently asserts (again, just as she blurs all differences between political types, she is inspecific about what being "run by" any other group, e.g. women - this is either dishonest or another example of vanguardist presuppositions.) Here we have, clearly stated, the bottom line of her individualism (a la Stirner), that whatever happens to society **my inner core**, my fundamental separateness, will remain unchanged. The atomistic individual is not seen as a product of a particular mode of social organisation but as *supra* historical entity only contingently social.

Not surprisingly this individualism is hostile to concepts like "solidarity" or "class consciousness". Thus she writes:

The true appeal of rioting, like football hooliganism and war, is that it allows souls to find camaraderie in banding together against a common enemy.

(and later)

Belonging to a side generates a spurious sense of closeness to ones fellow humans. (P.19)

"Camaraderie", here, is seen as a sign of weakness, offering benefits only to those "lonely souls" (to admit to loneliness must be the ultimate heresy for an individualist) unable to see how "spurious" their sense of closeness to others really is. The naked anti-sociality of this position, however, becomes partially concealed because there is no attempt to distinguish genuine community from other alienated forms of



mass activity. All forms of "taking sides" are seen as equivalent - which they are to the individualist - whether one is "taking sides" with the proletariat, with a football team, or in a nationalist war. A possible reply to this might be that "taking sides" with the proletariat is unlike any other form of taking sides because rather than being grounded in an acceptance of the alienating roles that Capital allots to us, it involves actively seeking to abolish them. We are taking sides with our "real selves" as social beings, in an attempt to create a state of affairs where the desire to arbitrarily identify oneself with an alien entity no longer occurs.

We might add too, with reference to the above passage, that it is misleading to suggest that riots occur because particular individuals decide to have the, outside of any other context of events, most riots, apart from the dismal ones, are relatively unpremeditated and arise out of a concrete need to respond to the latest police atrocity. One underway, however, other possibilities emerge, possibilities which include the practical supersession of the category of the alienated "individual" so beloved of Claudia.

Claudia's individualism, then, does not leave her with much time for revolution. In those passages where political concerns are not seen as a dishonest front for egoistic enterprises, they are seen as an outlet for pointless altruism. "It took me until my mid-twenties to realise that I did not have to live for others" (P.14). She says at the beginning of a passage which surpasses any lefty ideologues outpourings in its overly romanticised description of how Brazilian workers will cheerfully take their lives in their hands everyday for fuck all wages. They're happy so why shouldn't we be, is the implied conclusion.

'FASCINATING'

Mirror imaging the poses of those "revolutionaries" she berates for concealing personal motives behind a political agenda, she implies instead that personal problems are the **only** real problems. She suggests that everything would be alright if only politicians "sorted themselves out" (29) and stopped craving "distraction from the selves they can never escape" (36). Yet we suspect that such "solutions" are given, at least in part, as a means of bolstering her own ego and the ideology which is its expression, for her whole position (and sense of identity?) depends upon her being able to continue to differentiate herself from "most people" who "fear life like I fear flying" (36).

If we were to take her 'solutions' seriously it is difficult to see where they might lead. Presumably she sees herself as someone who rather than seeking an "escape route" is trying to live life authentically, so perhaps we should look to the text for clues to her lifestyle? The "postscript" tells us she has a "fascination with life" (36) (a wilfully alienated stance if ever there was one). The preface tells us that.

Claudia has lived in, visited and travelled around over forty countries in the Americas, Europe and Asia. She feels at home in most big cities given a ready supply of books and alcohol. (About the Author)

So, travelling around, getting pissed, reading a few books, and finding it all "fascinating", this is the key to everything? But if life under present conditions can be so satisfying why waste so much of it writing pamphlets for us plebs who persist in saying it's miserable? Perhaps one cannot be true to one's individuality without an audience. Phil(Hackney).

Covert Action Information Bulletin

(\$5.50 single issue, subs \$30.00 4 issues)

1500 Massachusetts Ave., NW 732 Washington DC 20005

CAIB monitors not just the CIA but its web of supporting agencies, including the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). This was the final meshing of a public & private funding mechanism for an 'institute of international affairs', to aid the long term desires of the CIA, which were thwarted after various exposures of conduit foundations; particularly after Watergate, which revealed a variety of illicit and anti-democratic programmes (operation CHAOS and COINTELPRO domestically, with foreign operations ranging from electoral manipulation, assassination plots & government overthrows). Bush's appointment as CIA director in 76 came in the wake of this, and - according to CAIB - was a behind the scenes manoeuvre to mollify Congress & limit proposed CIA reform. As Vice-President he would later legalise through executive order, numerous covert activities previously deemed illegal. The NED became the Reagan Administration's overt-covert intervention and 'public diplomacy operation', to co-ordinate 'Project Democracy', a lot of what was done covertly by the CIA years ago (changing the rules of international politics) could begin to go public. The NED has been involved in 77 countries from Afghanistan and N.Ireland to South Africa, a tiny aspect of it was Oliver Norton's co-ordination of supply and support networks using its labyrinthine gathering of quasi-private organisations.

The magazine is of a consistently high-standard, recent articles included an interview with Mike Davis (author of *City of Quartz*) on the L.A. riots, the U.S. covert proliferation of nuclear technologies by Michio Kaku (a professor of Nuclear Physics), the transfer of resources from Cancer research to germ warfare by Richard Hatch (a research chemist working in biotechnology). At times their research can be chilling and highly complex, but it is vital material, clearly written and well produced.

Wm. Clark

Lies of our Times (\$3.00, subs \$32.00 for 10 issues)

145 West 4th Street, New York, NY 10012

L.O.O.T is a magazine of media criticism, which challenges the accuracy of the main printed media in the States, and their claim to be a public record. The lies analysed encompass subjects which are ignored, hypocrisies, misleading emphases, hidden premises and good old fashioned literal falsehood - in short all the biases that systematically shape reporting. Their aim is to correct the record, each magazine is indexed and intended to be used as a research tool, while being informative and entertaining (where appropriate). L.O.O.T. is edited by Ellen Ray, William H. Schaap and Edward S. Herman, a contributing editor/columnist is Noam Chomsky, so perhaps you can grasp its standards and level of investigation.

Recent articles have included the U.S. media's complete avoidance of a 1991 report from the Japanese news service, outlining how Prescott Bush (George's brother) 'helped Japanese gangsters penetrate the American market', through his receipt of \$1m for his part as a go-between in the take-over of a Wall Street Investment firm by the Japanese Mafia, the Yakuza. Given the ambit of U.S. foreign policy the material it covers is of international interest and should be just as stimulating for European readers.

Wm. Clark

Baleful: International Shamanism

Alan Cohen, *The Decadence of the Shamans, or Shamanism as a Key to the Secrets of Communism* (London: Unpopular Books, 1992), 40pp A4. Available (£2?) AK Distribution or UB, Box 15, 138 Kingsland High St., London E8 2NS.

Rather than writing the sort of guide that sells in esoteric bookshops at a rip-off price, Cohen attempts in this remarkable pamphlet to explain the meaning of the universal phenomenon of shamanism in a universal context—namely, in how it relates to the development of the human species and the necessity of communism.

His starting-point is the extremely widespread myth of a lost primordial paradise and consequent 'Fall'. Noting that shamanic festivals and ceremonies were above all perceived as a way to recover the previous unitary or 'more exalted' mode of being of the ancestors, it is to this myth that he first relates shamanism. He then shows how it is important to recognise that during these festivals neither the shamans nor the other participants were perceived as fully accessing such a world of beauty; and since the ecstatic states reached were understood as being a mere 'pale shadow'—a merely spiritual experience—he consequently makes reference to 'decadence.'

Cohen is thus obliged to deal with the origins of alienation, which he relates to the origin of the species and summarises as Man's raising himself above "a life-activity dominated by instinctual responses [p.7]." If there is a problem with this formulation, it is that it rests on two assumptions which remain unproven: first, a theory of evolution; and second, the idea that non-human animals are dominated by (physical) 'instincts.' The second is especially dubious, and the infancy of the study of 'animal psi' shows that humans shouldn't be too confident in making such statements. (D. Scott Rogo, *Psychic Breakthroughs Today: Fascinating Encounters with Parapsychology's Latest Discoveries* [Wellingborough: Aquarian Press, 1987], chap.8).

But clearly in the context of the myth of the lost world he is right to stress that the myth of something being lost is also the myth of something being (re)attainable. He argues convincingly that what is at issue is the yearning to supersede a world where people are dominated by 'brutal material necessity' or 'economic scarcity' (the latter, of course, being a tautology).

Cohen describes how the development of civilisation has involved the gradual, but accelerating suppression of the shamanic art, and as part of the same process, the rise of work, religion, priesthoods and ultimately capitalism. "Capitalism's hostility to shamanism is very profound." Consequently today the shaman's 'tree' tends to emerge in a 'completely marginal form', e.g. during near-death experiences (NDEs), out-of-body experiences (OBEs), or, more negatively, on the road to oblivion expressed by cultism or drug addiction. The "real rediscovery of shamanism is yet to come."

Integrating psychoanalysis into his exposition, Cohen makes

a structural analogy between, on one side, the Fall, and on the other, the development within the individual psyche of repression and the division between ego and id. It thus appears that "the attempt to regain the timeless, playful mode of being of the ancestors is really an attempt to regain our own lost capacity for play [p.17]."

If shamanic techniques for reaching altered states of consciousness appear as techniques for assaulting the walls of psychic repression, then they clearly go one step further than psychoanalysis. One might say that whereas the latter interprets dreams, shamanism enters them directly (p.21). In fact, though, as Cohen shows (p.29), even this formulation is inadequate, since shamanic experiences do not even fit into the categories of psychology: despite their symbolic content and their dream-like reality, shamanic experiences are not dreams. (Ditto hypnotic states.)

Cohen reinforces this last point by discussing OBEs, but his reference to the clairvoyance and telepathy often associated with them is unfortunately only cursory. Indeed, while he bemoans the inadequacy of psychology, his own dealing with the field of parapsychology (psi research) is itself inadequate: this is perhaps the pamphlet's main weakness. His quotation of Freud's remark that "the state of sleep seems particularly suited for receiving telepathic messages", rather than supporting his consequent assertion that telepathy proves "hard to track down" in the tedious laboratory experiments by the 'respectable' researchers into parapsychology" (p.32), would seem on the contrary to be evidence only of Cohen's own intellectual preoccupations.

Niall Reed.

"Bad": The Autobiography of James Carr.

Donations are requested for financing the reprint of this book by an ex-member of the Black Panthers shot and killed by hired assassins acting for an unknown client. Carr broke with the Panthers over their fascination with the guerrilla role ("Guerrilla ideology reduces all revolutionary questions to quantitative problems of military force") and their involvement with racketeering. Lacking the need to portray himself as some paragon of revolutionary virtue the book is a 'warts and all' account of the radicalisation of an American black who experienced the divisive and dehumanising power of the U.S. prison system first-hand. Surpressed by the State, and not welcomed by those liberal leftists who prefer their chosen objects of radical concern to exhibit passive victimisation. The Autobiography of James Carr is being published by News From Everywhere and BM Blob. All donated money will be returned once the book is selling in the shops. Cheques should be sent to the following addresses:

News from Everywhere or BM Blob, London,
box 14, 136, Kingsland
High St., London E8.
compiled from the provisional introduction to the book.



On Common Ground

'On Common Ground', Francis Reed
Working Press, London 1991, 89 pages. £5.80.

The 'Common Ground' of the title of this book is a reference to a principle of diversity and interdependence which Francis Reed identifies as running through nature and, ideally, human life. The subject of the book is, almost tangentially, architecture. A survey of the history of Common Land takes up a third of the book; a critique of the alienation of industrial, Capitalist life and building from nature and the land takes up another third, and the final third is a wide ranging exploration of cosmological ideas as they might manifest themselves in a future architecture.

Francis Reed is not short of his own ideas - in many ways this book is a very personal statement - but he is very often happy for his sources to speak for themselves. It is illustrated with many well-reproduced sketches from his notebook and a similar number of original photographs, some of which reproduce less well but which nevertheless help to tell the story. It might sometimes appear that the book does not know what it is about, but this is because the author is linking several ideas with one of his own.

Common Rights '...were the residue of rights that in all probability antedate the idea of private property in land and are therefore of vast antiquity' (p.7, quoting W.G.Hoskins). These lands were by no means chaotically managed, but were regulated by complicated local rules & organised at formal meetings of Commoners. They constituted a productive resource which was inherent in the community, largely outside the control of the Manor, and has been systematically eroded.

Common Land represents a link to an ancient way of life which was less alienated from nature. In its complex local rules it reflected the minute adaptation of nature to specific conditions. 'Through the process of development and the synergy of inter-relationships, things at once become themselves and achieve a transcendent dimension; in places we call this 'Common Ground' "genius loci", perception the 'saturated complex', and in people the process of individuation' (p. 37). If I understand this and the thrust of the book correctly, it means that the network of relationships between living things constitutes a common ground which they all share, but also individuates them. The local and specific nature of the interlocking rules governing the processes of life means a variety and diversity which is both evolutionarily beneficial and a source of delight.

'To some [Classical Architecture] may have had connotations of free thought independent of medieval theocracy, but it has always been used to conceal enormous brutality

(p. 52). Reed respects the Beaux-Arts trained Mackintosh and Corbusier, but 'to be really alive, architecture will always have to go beyond the Classical framework' (p.54).



The Sower, a Memorial to John Potts produced at a 'Living year'

For Francis Reed there is in the Gothic style a pre-dualistic 'paraphrase of nature'. The Renaissance was a 'winter', and today there is 'a diseased architecture of monumental banality' (p. 36). Reed has sympathy for what Colin Ward called the Moral Left, who work collaboratively with materials; an undercurrent on the margins, from the Arts and Crafts to the pioneers of the Modern Movement. The post-modernists, however, have created a cardboard pastiche without a 'genuine inner force' (quoting Christopher Alexander, p. 41). 'De constructivist' architects produce '...a devious architecture, a slippery architecture that slides uncontrollably...towards an uncanny realisation of its own other nature...The architect expresses nothing here. What

is being dissolved is a set of deeply entrenched cultural assumptions...about order, harmony, stability and unity' (quoting Mark Wigley, p. 59).

'Even the marginality of the dispossessed can be appropriated...with the arrival of the new Yuppie Internationalism with corporate post modernism as its aesthetic, we have the perfect expression of a culture which...displays a passivity towards the totalising forces, systems of exploitation, administration and control, and at the same time continually simulates signs of 'individuality' to produce a totally colonised but 'irresponsible' subject - the free individual' (quoting Hannah Vowles and Glyn Banks, Art in Ruins exhibition 1988, p.59).

'If so much of our predicament is rooted in an eclipse and negation in the relation between things, a way forward may lie in the idea of dynamic balance - embodied, for instance, in traditional Celtic metaphysics or the wheel of the Four Elements, or in much of the 'New Science' (p.63). A localised 'mythos', such as the 'Matter of Britain' or 'Albion', can be thought of as a part of the consciousness or memory of the planet itself which is concerned with the relation between people and a particular part of the Earth (p. 63).

Reed says that there are 'archetypal symbolic themes which form a common ground of the human imagination' (quoting Kathleen Raine, p. 66), which also have a bearing on architecture. These are such as the meeting of inner and outer forms, water, and the flow of space. Celtic tradition 'introduces a feeling of transparency and interpenetration of one element with another, of transposition and metamorphosis' (quoting Kathleen Raine, p.68).

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Revolution as Merchandise

"Unfinished Business-The Politics of Class War" - a British road to Anarchism

"The Class War Federation is not another party seeking to gain power or a new way of telling you what to do. Class war is what happens when ordinary people have had enough of being pushed around and decide to fight back."

So starts *Unfinished Business*, the book produced by Class War as a definitive statement of their politics following their stoc'ing filler, *Class War: A Decade of Disorder*. This statement of populism is followed by a list of "working class" resistance in Britain, ranging from the 1381 peasants revolt up to the poll tax and prison revolts of 1990. Finally there is a call for the destruction of wage labour, capitalism and the state rounded off with a denunciation of middle class intellectuals of the Left and Right.

Whereas Left wing populism has rooted itself in admiration for the old 'Soviet Union', and the Right has cultivated a nostalgia for Nazi Germany, Class War centre their populism on a British sense of identity. Rather than relying on an imported ideology (which always gives the intellectuals undue predominance) they are trying to rekindle a radical ordinariness drawing on a sense of working class identity rather than on formulae for saving the world. Very nineties.

In the revolts of the sixties and early seventies, the very process of struggle opened up a series of problems which have shattered the universalism of euro-centric socialism. The radical subjectivity of Black Power, the Women's Liberation Movement and the Gay Liberation Front erupted through the workerist gloss which dominated all discussion of Revolution. Of course, this led to a counter-offensive by the state and its cultural organs — universities offered courses in Women's Studies, Black Studies, the New Left then participated in the promulgation of insidious "identity politics" — a veritable perestroika of the political subject manifest both at the level of the introduction of professional advertising to political campaigning and the organisation of radical conferences. Increased individualisation is shown in both areas — the advertisers with their careful analysis of the voting population based on analysis of consumption patterns developed for target adverts at distinct segments of the population, and amongst radicals a recognition of distinct interests within an increasingly fragmented opposition.

This was directed by the states cultural organs. Television viewing was fragmented with an increasing variety of channels. The local state funded a variety of community groups stressing ethnicity. The Greater London Council offered sinecures particularly from the Women's Committee to ensure that well paid middle class women dominated the discussion about gender. Meanwhile Gay capitalists from the Pink Economy increasingly dominated such events as Gay Pride.

In the eighties the Leftist sects lost a lot of ground. Key cadres left, sometimes taking leftists business with them (eg Pluto books cut its links with the Socialist Workers Party and published a book about Princess Diana), others preferred a state sinecure to unpaid party work. Despite the "Beyond the Fragments" conference and the Debate of the Decade at the end of the seventies, the left has been unable to contain the disparate interests. This should come as no surprise as within its ranks are those who have been championing identity politics, using all manner of post modern theorisation to bamboozle the casual reader with a list of continental writers who can only be read in the original foreign.

It was in this context that the proletarian fundamentalism of british autonomism emerged in distinction from the Left. From the mid seventies a boisterous anarchist fringe used to gather at the tail end of demonstrations using bad language and such slogans as "Two, Four, Six, Eight, Masturbate and drown the state!" Not content with ideological positions drawn from Kronstadt and the Spanish Revolution, we saw it as essential to see the Left as counter-revolutionary in the here and now. This meant confrontation with the Left.

Fascism/Anti-Fascism

Unfinished Business is peppered with quotes from *Eclipse and Re-emergence of the Communist Movement* by Jean Barrot and Francois Martin. This book, published in 1974 by Black and Red, became a source book. It offered a critique that was rooted in a close reading of Marx, it offered a Marx uncontaminated by Lenin or Trotsky — "Communism is not a program one puts into practice or makes others put into practice, but a social movement." This book also gave a theoretical basis to a rejection of democracy and anti-fascism.

After the battle of Lewisham in 1977, where a demonstration against the National Front led to riotous assaults on the police, the Anti Nazi League was set up. Those of us who had seen the Left in action that day knew exactly what they were up to. At Lewisham they had called on people to stop fighting the police with crap like the police are not the real enemy, and we should not alienate (middle class) support. For many Black youth it was a good opportunity to strike back at a form of organised thuggery much more significant than the Hitler groups. The Anti Nazi League wanted to control opposition to the Nazi's and funnel this opposition into voting Labour ('without illusions' in the case of the SWP). The autonomist wing emerging from anarchism saw clearly that the Left was the first line of defence of the state and had to be treated as such. Things came to head when the Anti Nazi League staged a meeting in Friends Meeting House featuring a French 'anti-racist' cop, and the Mayor of Bologna (in fact only his deputy turned up). Tony Benn was also there. He had been active in



developing links with the Italian Communist Party during the period of the Historic Compromise between the Italian CP and the Christian Democrats. This was a declaration of war, in that the Mayor of Bologna had called out tanks to attack workers and students on the streets of Bologna. A contingent of forty occupied a corner of the hall, to the dismay of the stewards. Malicious rumours were circulated about the autonomists being fascists — an old technique favoured by the CP during the Spanish civil war. The meeting was heckled, but when four women went to the toilet (in a group for protection) they were physically attacked by some leftist men. Word got through to the body of autonomists still in the hall, who then joined the fracas in the corridor. Having thus been manipulated out of the hall the leftists made a desultory attempt to attack us. There were fights in the street later that night.

From then the spirit of confrontation with left continued. The annual CND rally always offered a good occasion. Sometimes we would take the head of the march, we would never go where political groups were meant to be. The CND was simply a leftist front building up electoral support for the Labour Party as the ANL was used before. We knew that the Labour leader Clement Attlee sanctioned the dropping of nuclear weapons on Japan in 1945 and at each rally we wanted to attack the current Labour leader, who then had to be protected by the police. At other meetings such leftist politicians as former energy minister Tony Benn came under attack. This hypocritical scumbag who was personally involved in importing Namibian Uranium called us a product of Thatcherism.

This was the background for the emergence of Class War. As the autonomist wing of anarchism sharpened its attack on the Left, more traditional wings of anarchism did not know what to do. They found that their ideological grip was being weakened over the influx of post-punk youth. Sometimes they joined in the fascist smears organised by the media and the left, sometimes they treated as irrelevant councilists. However faced with the increasing irrelevance of syndicalism particularly amongst unemployed youth who had no great desire to become industrial workers, they tried to go with the flow. But they always kept most of their ideological baggage even if it was kept for Sunday best. Class War however developed through a process of innovation — taking up Lucy Parsons slogans to hold the Rich personally responsible 'Now is the time for every dirty lousy tramp to arm himself with a revolver or a knife and lie in wait outside the palaces of the rich and shoot or stab them to death as they come out.' This was rhetorical and no rich people were assassinated.

This first phase of Class War reached a crunch in the crisis of autumn 1985. First off there was a riot in Handsworth, Birmingham. When Douglas Hurd, the current Home secretary visited the area next day he was attacked and had to scurry away. A week later Brixton erupted in riots after the police had burst into a Black woman's house and shot her in the back (she has not walked since). Class War produced its next issue with a Black man carrying a petrol bomb with the slogan 'The working Class Strikes Back'. This was a challenge to identity politics echoed by the Tory election poster in 1987 picturing a Black Person — 'Labour say he's Black, We say he's British'. The paper appeared on News at Ten. The media were ready to set class war up, with the Guardian publishing lies that Class War was set up by former leading NFers. Plans to organise a march in Brixton the next weekend were sabotaged by the Left. The state was scared that a new wave of riots would spread the

country as in 1981.

Then a week later still, the cops barged their way into another Black families house and pushed a woman to the ground. She died. The Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham became the scene of one of the most important uprisings. Guns were used on the police, and a police officer was stabbed to death. This created an ideological necessity for the police. Their day to day operations are based on maintaining a myth of police invulnerability. In the sixties when Harry Roberts killed to policemen a national hunt was mounted for him with his face spread over the front of the newspapers for several weeks. He was eventually cornered camping in a wood. Here again the police had to reassert themselves with a campaign of terror on Broadwater Farm which exceeded anything they did against the miners during the previous miners strike.

The police stole people's clothes ('for analysis') and prevented Giro cheques reaching those on benefit. Children were kidnapped and kept incommunicado, their parents not knowing where they were. The truth was that despite the rhetoric Class War could not deal with the new state offensive. Suddenly the state was going to take everything a lot more seriously. Having kicked its way into the headlines, Class War discovered its position was exposed.

A Revolutionary Organisation is like a Bank

"A revolutionary organisation is like a bank."

It is from this point that Class War became succeeded by the Class War Federation, a retreat. *Unfinished Business* represents a summation of that retreat. Under the guise of fostering a positive working class identity they attempt to resolve a problem — the destruction of the original English culture and identity, and its recreation in the late nineteenth century around the Royal family. This is seen at the heart of the British nationalism. Their book is careful to avoid dealing with the changes being wrought by the development of the European Community, in particular that a unified Germany must seek a disunited Kingdom if it is to succeed in uniting Europe as a continental empire. It is this which underlies the growth of Scottish nationalism, and such things as the readiness of the government to ban the Ulster Defence Association and the normalisation of Northern Ireland. Class War simply see this as increasing 'resistance from within'. Class war put forward the view that while racism and sexism are used to divide the working class, 'Other People's Nationalism' is equated with identity... and they do not want to limit or deny this.

In the appendix, there is evidence of some confusion in the section about Ireland. They 'quote' themselves from Chapter 1, — but as it happens this paragraph is not in Chapter 1. Perhaps it was edited out of the main text. they say: 'What we must understand is that in the face of often brutal oppression nationalism gives working people something. This 'something' is identity, pride, a feeling of community and solidarity and of course physical self defence. We need to combat capitalism and its nationalism with something as strong i.e. - with our identity, pride, community, solidarity, history, culture and inspiration of the international working class's. To achieve this effectively will require courage, imagination and determination. To challenge nationalist ideas means doing more than saying they are bad, we must prove that fighting for our class is better than fighting for a country.'

This occurs in the middle of a muddled apology for Republicanism. CW suggest that "The situation is similar to what we expect

to find in a revolutionary situation in Britain and elsewhere, a shifting set of political, military and social alliances. "In fact the situation is as far from being revolutionary as Yugoslavia or the Lebanon. What is remarkable is that Ireland has shown a maturity of class struggle despite loyalism and republicanism. Eg during the seamen's strike Belfast seamen occupied the ferries and were only removed when cops with machine guns turned up. Republicanism is as 'revolutionary' as social democracy was in Europe during the forties when it organised underground armed cells to fight the Nazis/German occupation forces - i.e. not revolutionary at all. A willingness to use violence is a poor guide to political soundness. In Britain an illusion has been fostered of an effete middle-class preventing a 'virile' working class from expressing itself. From this the question of violence has been tied to the assertion of masculinity. This is of course bollocks as regards revolutionary strategy. O.K., organisations like the British National Party offer white working class male youth the opportunity to 'be real men' and this is symptomatic of the self-contempt which this society induces in working class boys. But whether such youth are manipulated to defending their 'country', or defending their 'class', neither is revolutionary. What is needed is to overcome the self-contempt which means unraveling the mish-mash of conditioning and breaking free of identity politics. Identity politics appeared from women-identified women, Black and Gay identities. It based on a liberal pluralism which offers alternatives. But these alternatives turn into ghettos, with an implicit demand for the re-assertion of white, male, heterosexual identities. This has been the outcome of twenty years of reaction. Such newspapers as The Sunday Times can popularise an attack on *Political Correctness*, and this is readily picked up by so-called revolutionaries. This is not a call for a return to navel-gazing consciousness raising, but a call to action e.g. actually dealing with gender issues instead of talking about them.

CW's reactionary views on class are most adequately illustrated when they talk about two Irish working classes, one catholic and one protestant. When this is compared with the anti-religious actions performed by anarchists during the Spanish revolution, which are held up as a model for dealing with religion, it is obvious that Class War are just taking the piss. In a largely secular society like England it is easy to slag off religion. It is a different story in Ireland (where presumably they haven't lost their original culture or identity). People there are killed for their religion — which is not so much the pious peice of interior consciousness as it is presented in English society — but a social fact around which identity is organised. As Class War are only interested in Brits and not 'Other People', this is an irrelevancy. Faced with an earthquake in terms of national identity stemming from European integration Class War have produced an ideology of class around an unstated nationalism. Thus in *Heavy Stuff 5* in an article they say "If a united Europe is inevitable, it at least offers the potential to develop a European working class with a genuine internationalist outlook. . . . More than ever the struggles of other workers within Europe really will be our struggles." (page 6). So presumably the struggles of workers outside this new superstate will remain secondary and unimportant. Thus despite all their calls to set the agenda they still tail end the state, only this time a Euro-state instead of a Brit-state.

Communities of Resistance

At the end of September, CW organised the Communities of Resistance Rally in that familiar venue, the Friends' Meeting House. From the chair they made it clear that they did not want an ideological debate but wanted to concentrate on practical

struggles. This fitted in with their general policy of exercising hegemony over the other various anarchist movements. Having abandoned a central ideological structure they have been able to link up with activists involved in a range of spark off points where riots and the like have erupted across Britain. Much to their chagrin the other Anarchist groups are obliged by their ideology to turn up, but have little say. As the guiding hand behind the rally, CW can take the credit for any ideas that come up and work, and also distance themselves from less successful ideas.

It was certainly useful to hear people talk about the struggles they were involved in up and down the country. And the calls for less thought and more action are certainly worth consideration. The speeches from chair however reflected a shift from sociology to business studies. There was less talk about getting across to those alleged 'ordinary people', and more about 'product'. For a moment lulled into sleep by the dull melody of the speakers voice I drifted into a reverie — I was at a quality circle meeting with some low grade manager giving us a pep talk about how we must work harder. The illusion was shattered by a burst of applause and as I regained consciousness it was the exceedingly long beard of the man across the room which reminded me of where I was . . .

Nat Turner

continued from page 34

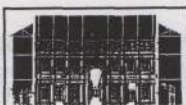
The Four Elements can be seen reflected in the traditional house as well as in renewable energy sources. Earth represents walls and Air space, forming a polarity of shelter; Water in the well outside and Fire in the hearth inside form a polarity around which life is lived. Earth also represents geothermal power, whilst the others have obvious connotations with renewable energy.

John Betjamen is brought in: 'Architecture can only be made alive again by a new order and a new Christendom...! It is unlikely that this will be capitalism' (p.82). Reed draws in many ideas which could come together to inform a new metaphysics; and he sees Architecture as playing a mediating role in groping towards a new consciousness for the continent. This is not an argument for an indiscriminate appropriation of new age fads, and Reed is fully aware of the dangers of submerging the self in the Cosmos, but he argues that rational materialism is sterile without vision; that, in fact, much of what passes for materialism is little more than abstract technological romanticism.

There is a general consensus that Architecture as a discrete profession is in crisis. Reed's book can be seen as an attempt to redeem the profession by opening its economic ideological framework to a plurality of other influences, including Japanese ecomancy, Lovelock's Gaia hypothesis, and Sheldrake's Morphic Resonance theory. There is certainly a worthwhile idea behind this book, concerned with restoring severed connections, which may indicate a direction in which our civilisation and its architectural could look for that all too necessary rebirth. Whether such a rebirth will destroy or preserve Architecture as a profession remains to be seen.

Malcolm Stroud

Encyclopédie des Nuisances no.15. Contains articles on environmentalism, transport (including the pamphlet text reviewed in H&N 12) and an interesting review of two recent histories of the Situationist International.



ENCYCLOPÉDIE DES NUISANCES

Dictionnaire de la déraison dans les arts, les sciences & les métiers

The review reconsiders the paralysis and mythologisation of the SI after 1968, as it came to measure each subversive movement against an abstract and already determined programme. (45FF from 74 rue de Menilmontant, 75020 Paris, France).

A.R.

In Girum Imus Nocte Et Consumimur Igni by Guy Debord.
Translated by Lucy Forsyth

At last, the first English translation of Debord's last film is available from Pelagian Press. Whereas academia has tended to assimilate the work of the Situationists into the history of artistic avant-guards, and revolutionaries emphasised their radical iconoclasm, this film reveals an elegiac temper to Debord as he contemplates the fate of Paris and the destiny of the generation of 1968.

96 pages, including 24 stills from the original 1978 film and footnotes added by Debord in 1991. Sewn paperbacks. Price £6.95 plus £1 postage and packing. Available from Pelagian Press, BCM Signpost, London WC1N 3XX. Please make cheques payable to Pelagian Press.

G.B.

Away with All Cars: Mr. Social Control. Price £1 from P.O. Box 406, Stoke-on-Trent ST1 4RN.

The car industry has become a thermometer of the nation's health, like inflation and unemployment statistics. A slump in sales is a national worry, despite the overwhelming evidence that the counter-productivity of the car is an international disaster. This pamphlet is a sustained polemic against car-users, and as such is prepared to use any

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means necessary to jolt them out of their complacency.

In fact Mr. Social Control may be underestimating the creeping disaffection with the car which many drivers have. Certainly the municipal, if not the national, State has begun a slow squeeze on the car in the city. Economic dependence on cars is a far greater reason for their proliferation, than susceptibility to a representation of male sexuality (whatever that is) that needs expression in fast, aggressive driving (which hardly explains the number of female drivers). nor should it be forgotten that the car represented a means of escape from industrial civilisation when it was first mass-marketed, and, despite the excellent points in the pamphlet about the growing uniformity of car destinations, still does.

Such objections obviously identify me as a driver, and to be fair to the pamphlet its intention is not to suggest a social policy for the diminution of traffic, but to reveal how impoverishing car use is on levels of everyday life. I would like to add further petrol to the fire: probably the single most important factor in the restriction of the freedom of children, the elderly, the mad and the handicapped is traffic. traffic makes restrictions on freedom seem common sense. How quickly liberation turns into a new enslavement!

S.B.



Sabotage in the American Workplace: Ed Martin Sproule. Price £9.95. A.K. Press. A manager in a Toys R Us shop

alters a Cabbage Patch Doll so that it can be sold as an Anatomically Correct Cabbage Patch Doll, cross dresses a Ken Doll and arranges Barbie Doll displays into unusual erotic situations, just one of the catalogue of funny and ordinary ways of introducing some humanity into the automatism of work. This is a glossy reference book for those times when cynicism tells you that conformism and Stakhanovism are the norm. It should be a refreshing antidote for those anarchists who like to believe people are worse than they are, the better to preen themselves with their own 'rebel-ness'. The editor is right to take an 'anything

goes' attitude to sabotage. Often these things have no connection to a dispute, a grievance, or even hatred of the boss - they're just ways of living. The book also illustrates its anecdotes with comments drawn from government and company reports or just interesting quotes that cast some light on what is going on. The introduction takes the view that sabotage is a normal and eternal response to work. Whereas this avoids the trap of seeing it as a 'problem' the better to support the job enrichment programmes etc. etc. beloved of managerialists, it underestimates the importance of sabotage. More than simply a reaction to inhuman conditions, it contains within it elements of the supersession of work itself. the same thing should be done for this country. Please send your anecdotes, rumours, and plans to P.O. box 109, Leeds LS5 3AA. Anonymity guaranteed! J.B.

"SUFFER THE LITTLE CHILDREN"

by Dr. D. H. S. Reid £15 p/b Published by Medical Institute for Research into Child Cruelty, St. Andrews, KY16 9AT

This 168 page book covers various aspects of the Orkney Child Abuse scandal from the viewpoint of a doctor who gave evidence to one of the Children's Panel hearings. Dr. Reid is particularly sceptical of the quality of evidence extracted by the social workers during "disclosure" sessions with children who are being held incommunicado.

The book's internal structure leaves something to be desired, but this is partly due to the convoluting nature of the exercises of power which came together to make up the Orkney case.

For us, one of the more interesting points is that made suggestively on page 3: "Similar features between the witch-hunts of the 1590s and 1990s include the emergence of a new class seeking social control", a point whose implications aren't really followed through.

On the question of what should be happen if a child is being mistreated, Dr. Reid considers that "The integrity of the family is the key to the situation of child abuse". Informal institutions, particularly the family network, are more likely to bring healing than the entire range of state institutions. "The best thing that the State can do is to withdraw funding for any social work department that it controls at local or central government level. Leave it to the people." However, his is no Illichian solution: he would retain a specialist medical role, "a confidential doctor office which is private, voluntary and unconnected with the State in terms of control or finance".

A.R.

Limits and Development

In 1986 *The Economist* pronounced that Africa's land "must be enclosed, and traditional rights of use, access and grazing extinguished". "Anti-Imperialist" nations have been just as quick as "client" states to toe the line. Under the cover of nationalisation, the commons are appropriated. (1)

In the meantime, famine occurs again in Africa, stretching from Somalia to South Africa. Bemused aid workers in Somalia, stunned by the carnage of factions seeking state power, suggest that a return to the authority of the village elders (as opposed to the warlords) might be the only way to solve the aid debacle. No doubt others will damn such a suggestion as paternalist and regressive.

The possibility that these famines result from trying to squeeze 300-400 years of capitalist progress into a couple of decades should not be dismissed. Stalin too tried to pass off the famines of Ukraine in the 1930s as a "natural disaster" when in fact they were the direct result of his policy of creating an industrial proletariat in the Soviet Union. The centuries it took to establish such a workforce in the British Isles were marked by civil war, mass emigration, vagabondage and famine. What is seen in Africa today is an accelerated version of what capitalism did to those countries now lumped together as "the West". Only those seeking a re-arrangement of essentially the same power relations identify such a process as an ethnically based "imperialism". What is happening in Africa today is what capitalism does.

Many in the industrialised nations dig deep into their pockets for the starving of Africa. Such gifts and their fate reveal a lot about how states conduct foreign policy today. It can have escaped nobody's notice how mobilisation for aid and mobilisation for war have become increasingly hard to distinguish. The Gulf War appealed to much of the sentiment summoned up by Live Aid. Although these mobilisations are nothing like the "total" mobilisations during WW1 and WW2, such movement as there was was inspired more by concern than by militarism. This was one reason for the failure of the anti-war movement during the Gulf action and for its total disarray when faced with the Balkans conflict. Attempting to explain war in terms of moral or psychological unpleasantness has always been suspect. Today, with what seems to be half the Left lined up behind "brave little Bosnia", such simplifications have proved to be disastrous. By shielding themselves from the realities of war (i.e. that it is motivated as much by the highest as the lowest of human attributes), they have allowed their good intentions to lead them into the camp of the enemy. Those who don't realise that concern, humanitarianism, and even internationalism, can point the way to the triumph of militarism are doomed to being the perpetual reformists of that which they would like to see abolished.

The same illusions in good intentions underlie the aid phenomenon. There is little doubt that all people involved in the aid process (except politicians and media stars) are motivated by a genuine desire to help their fellow human beings. Even journalists who pride themselves on having a thick skin can perhaps be included among the well-intentioned. However, none of this virtue seems enough to prevent aid becoming part of the penetration and destruction of convivial, traditional ways of living.

This is not to say, as the New Right claim, that aid is the direct cause of famine (by setting up a dependency culture and undercutting the prices of locally-grown food). In fact, the causes are more to be found in the debt-induced rural depopulation and the disruption of subsistence agriculture by either collectivisation or privatisation.

But once these scourges have been unleashed on a population, aid exacerbates the disintegration of the local community by creating needs which can only be (un)satisfied by plugging into the global economy and by introducing values and ways of seeing the world which are incompatible with continued traditional existence. And yet the gift remains a muted expression of the sort of sociability which is antagonistic to the universal uniformity of commodity exchange. So there is a savage irony when that which could neutralise the forces of production threatening ways of being, ends up sustaining them.

Such observations are not meant as an apology for despair. Nor by revealing the fate of superficial moral critiques of the system is a return to the determinism of the ultra-Marxists intended. The problems of the world are solved neither by the tinkle of money into a charity tin, nor by the well-trained smile of an intervening UN soldier. But this recognition does not provide an excuse to embrace non-existent extra-human forces of salvation. Gifts should be redirected outside the official agencies of care. They should be accomplished in ways which unplug people from the commodity economy. Statecraft should be rejected as a legitimate form of political practice. The imperative to think, plan and imagine as if one was a state or in "state power" is corrosive to free-thinking and stifles the possibility of solutions. With the likes of Hurd and Cyrus Vance hand-wringing in the face of the Balkans bloodshed, there is a hint that capitalism's much-hyped moment of victory contains the seeds of defeat. Could it be that the State should be opposed not only because of its restrictions, regulations and reformations, but because the world is now dominated by problems which, by their very nature, cannot be solved by the actions of States, however disguised?

John Barrett

(1) See Sylvia Federici's excellent article "The Debt Crisis, Africa and the New Enclosures" in *Midnight Notes* no.10.