

**HERE
AND NOW**

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REALITY T.V.

ANTI-FASCISM

RACE & SPACE

THE HISTORY OF ECSTASY

DEFENDING COMMONS

EXCLUSIVE!

INTERVIEW WITH SATAN

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Editorial

Vigilantism has drawn criticism from all the right quarters. The police don't like to see their monopoly on the use of force further eroded, and the political class just doesn't trust the neighbours. As with most media abstractions the term obscures what it purports to illuminate, lumping together paid private security firms with one-off examples of community punishment. It could be that it is just one more symptom of the torment of the social body— a torment exhibited not so much by a rampant individualism (a vice almost totally confined to business fanatics like Anita Roddick or George Soros) but by collective egocentrisms. Collectivities crystallise so that heightened but fragile loyalties bind members into a singular identity in which all other people become, at best, outsiders, at worst inanimate objects. Both criminals and vigilantes, can fall into this temptation, but the precipitating factor lies with the continual unravelling of sociability and the absence of material (as distinct from moral or enforced) bonds between people.



While Yugoslavia shows what happens when politicians destroy mutual dependencies by talking up the possibility of ethnically-based welfare States, the conditions of 'them' and 'us'-ism is not confined to what progressives would like to call 'backward' places. Wherever community is disaggregated or dispossessed the possibility for a fanatical assertion of its remnants is heightened. This tendency seems to hold true whatever sort of community is involved. **Ray Singh** in **Racism and Spacism** gives a detailed outline of the process at work in the West Yorkshire town of Keighley where the intense management of racism seems only to have accelerated the loyalty to fragmenting identities which lies at the bottom of most racial violence. In the section on **Anti-fascism** it is the community of anti-fascists which are shown to have succumbed to the lure of universal elitism which an almost febrile hanging on to a political identity implies, while **Tom Jennings** in **The Hidden Injuries of Theory** sees similar tendencies in the political purism of the revolutionary intelligentsia. Certainly the role of the dissident can be shown to be both insecure and counter-productive as **Steve Bushell** shows in his revelations about corruption in low places.

But this balkanisation of the banal does not necessarily have to have a political or even racial dimension to be a source of deep misery. The production of micro-social pseudo-communities only temporarily salves the absence of conviviality and mutual support, indeed often raises seemingly insurmountable obstacles to attaining this by setting professionals up in careers which depend upon the continuing separations, as **Douglas Spencer** suggests in **PC: Redefining the Radical**. But despite the fashion industry's current celebration of the continual reinvention of identity, the desperation with which people try to hold on to perpetually destructured social relations reveals itself in diverse ways. The article **End of Celebrity** shows just some of the forms this fascination for 'real' human life takes as the desire to see, be with, and laugh at, people like oneself is seized upon by media-manipulators to create a new spectacle of the mundane. While **Arch Stanton** and **Karl Baxter** disagree as to the nature of rave culture, there seems to be indisputable evidence as to its ephemeral friendliness and its temporary community, held together by customs which have been self-generated rather than professionally imposed. Similarly the intensifying fight over the commons in the UK point to a possibly fruitful supersession of the politics of managed exclusivity. Against the background of a perpetual unpicking of the unmanaged and its accompanying recurring disenchantment escape from the dead hand of liberal politics in all its guises is becoming less a luxury, and more a necessity.

Heres@y

Busy Doing Nothing



Another delayed issue deserves an explanation at least. While we could talk about problems of technological application, articles promised which never materialised or just the pleasure of more interesting and exciting things to do than bring out a journal, sadly none of the above recommended excuses will really do. The truth is more banal, but maybe more significant.

During the rail strikes in the earlier part of this year some commentators were scandalised by the opportunism of people who took the day off in order to avoid the jams. In fact, it was one of the quietest days on the roads. Channel 4 News matter of factly announced the arrival of utopia: "Most people didn't bother to go to work today" (2/4/93) but tried to make it sound like a victory over the rail strikers. The rail strikes after this stayaway were accompanied by warnings from employers about the consequences of absenteeism etc.. The comments that followed candidly admitted that nowadays each person in work was doing the labour of two so that any opportunity to safely avoid work was seized upon by workers (whatever their salary or status). Despite the pontifications of economists or politicians it is a public secret that everyone is working harder now than they ever have done.

But it doesn't just stop there. It is no longer adequate to talk about a speeding up of the rhythm of production - the imagery of assembly line extended to the whole of society doesn't fit present reality, although the impulse to make connections between work and society shouldn't be dismissed. The fact is that 'production' calls to mind material manufacture, while most work today has a remote association with such a specialised branch of industry. In the Age of Manufacture a radical distinction could be made between the norms of industry and the norms of life, and a critique could be made of the creeping invasion of industrial imperatives into everyday life. Today making such a pristine distinction between life and the economy invites (at best) puzzlement. More and more of being is taken up by the domain of the economy (as in 'working on my relationship with...', 'body-building' or viewing oneself as a 'text' or 'system' requiring management), more and more of the economy has become sensitised to being (employment no longer just involves labour power, but the 'whole person' as a resource). Differences between work and leisure start to evaporate. It's no longer a question of shrinking free time, but of shrinking time itself.

Other critics of capital before us have isolated capital's ability to accelerate time as a key to its destruction of the traditional community.¹ What is perhaps distinctive about time today is its almost universal scarcity. The joyful release from work time is continually muted by awareness of other 'projects', 'chores', imperatives which although free of direct labour discipline mysteriously collect the attributes of work: anxiety, time discipline, pressure, targets, even performance indicators in the case of what was once play but which has now been hived off by 'keep fit' specialists into a new category of dutiful body maintenance. Because this sounds a bit like Paul Virillio or Jean Baudrillard, it doesn't mean that this isn't a real worry. If more and more of life becomes indistinguishable from work (regardless of whether wage labour is involved) then how can life fight back against the homogenising effect of work, how can the cumulative amnesia which is progress be jolted from the path of escalating management and regulation?

Pulling the plugs from 'project-mentality' is pretty important. If everything has a deadline it becomes harder and harder to imagine anything different. Commitment doesn't have to express itself in the well trodden signifiers of meeting attendance or in the display of campaign medals. Nor should popular disaffection be solely judged by demo attendance or riot frequency. However, even though, despite the 80s, the UK has maintained its high position in the absenteeism league of Europe² this does not guarantee the survival of the necessary purposelessness vital to neutralising the economists of time. (The absurdity of time-management can be conceived by examining the phenomenon of the 100 metre running race- only the increasing sophistication of the instruments of time-measurement make record-breaking a possibility- ever increasing loads of human labour are invested in devising instrumentation which can take measurements at the micro-second level. A similarly profitable absurdity underlies the financial markets and their obsession with speed.)

The dilatory has to be defended against those for whom human being is an ever greater extension of effort, an ever better distribution of abilities. While some people still treat their hobbies as timeless zones, the tendency to prioritise tasks the better to manage a rapidly diminishing dimension, only exacerbates the problem of turning everything into work. Rigour is added to this self-managed time discipline by the fascination with labour-saving devices. The need to conserve time militates against the pointless pleasures of doing. Time has almost to be unexpectedly yielded to be properly restored.

Common sense tells us that most travel, a lot of dressing and grooming are entirely subservient to work dictates. We might not get paid for them, but they're part of the job nevertheless. By using the disruption of travel to redeem time lost to work the normal encroachment process is reversed. A rare example of poetic justice showed itself in the response to the rail strikes. Some time escaped its enclosure in the reservations of work study and life-style prioritisation.

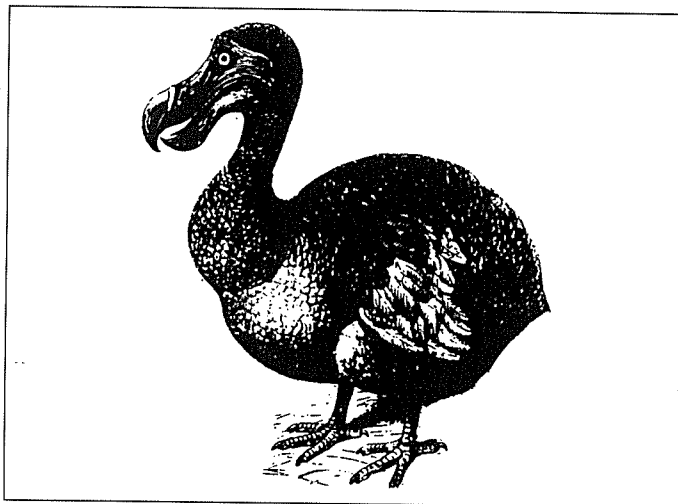
Such contemplations about the commonplace don't seem to me to be alien to what *Here and Now* is about. Any movement concerned with autonomy can't escape the reality of the everyday. The fact is that busy-ness now characterises a multitude of activities, few of which have anything to do with a good life. Official statistics indicate a fall in working hours from 54 hours a week before 1918 to 43.6 hours a week in 1991.³ No figures exist for the time lost in travel, shopping, self-maintenance etc. which are as tedious and unpleasant as work itself. The production of the magazine shouldn't be a priority but a pleasure. Our business doing the nothing necessary for maintaining our subsistence has regrettably disrupted our desire to please and provoke our readers. Complaints should be addressed to the responsible authorities.

John Barrett

1. See *The Fairy Ring of Commerce* by Herbert Shove. Birmingham Distributist League. 1930? Forthcoming Reprint Pelagian Press 1994.

2. The UK is second in the percentage of work time lost to absenteeism (2 and a half per cent per week in comparison to the magnificent Dutch achievement of 4 per cent) in EC countries. (*Social Trends* 1992).

3. In fact the average working week has gone up by over an hour since the beginning of the 80s. (*Social Trends* 1992).



Court Bans Birds

High Court judge in England has recently issued an injunction which officially defines wildlife as guilty of trespass. This shows that according to capitalist legality, nature violates the principles of private property.

Mr Justice Allott granted an injunction to the Department of Transport naming 59 individuals at the Twyford motorway protest as guilty of trespass and nuisance. In naming these individuals, video evidence was used in which protesters were identified by placards they were shown holding which named various species of birds whose habitats are threatened coot, ruff, siskin, reed warbler etc. The injunction therefore names the banned individuals accordingly.

So there we have it: the hegemony of the signifier means that these birds will only be allowed to be present in this area for a lawful purpose. These creatures are, of course, still permitted to protest peacefully but only on roads and public footpaths.

* * *

The struggle against the Twyford Down motorway project seems to have reached its end. The opposition, subjected to the now-routine methods of virtual media-blackout, combined with the (privatised) totalitarian policing of Group 4, have confronted the desecration of the place by combining the tactics of direct mass action with an ideology of neo-superstition [see Listings: "The Great Conjunction".] The obvious futility of the strategy of pretending to be primeval Celtic aborigines defending sacred Arthurian hiding places should not, however, obscure the deeper significance of this political turn to the occult milieu. In the long term, it may well be a sign of interesting future developments. The capitalist programme for the tidying up and reconstruction of "nature" demands as a perfectly fitting response the summoning to vengeance of all the spirits of the earth. Motorization is itself no less a mystical cult based on its own bizarre cosmology.

The End of Celebrity?

Reality TV in Germany

The democratisation of TV has confused the Left. Paul Wood shows why the projection of real people in real live situations in no way invalidates critique of the modern media complex.

Any of you remember Michael Crawford on *That Was The Week That Was* and his satirical mod character Byron sitting on a Vespa? One of his jokes, in an allusion to mid-1960s Sunday evening television entertainment, was: And the next honeymoon couple on stage has sixty seconds to consummate their marriage, burst all the balloons and beat the clock!

Well, it's 1993 and we're nearly there. Private life and television have merged.



Depending on which region of Germany you live in and what cable network district you've been allocated to, you can receive up to thirty television channels. Run for profit, financed by advertising and governed by the dictatorship of the ratings, such TV stations do not rate quality very highly. Though that's not the most worrying aspect; the most worrying feature is that TV is being taken over by the likes of you and me.

Using an English phrase, the Germans call this invasion of the plebeians Reality TV, though reality programmes is what they mean, and - as so often - the notion comes from the USA. Like the expressions serial killer, child abuse and aerobics, the redesignated phenomena have been around for some time. My mother used to sit glued to the BBC's *Your Life In Their Hands*: blood-splotted surgeons saving lives on a seemingly conveyor-belt basis. Nor can it be said that the concept of audience participation is anything new. Nevertheless, the German TV channels have taken up Reality TV with enervating *élan* and expanded it. A wide range of formats is involved but they all centre on one basic idea: antic celebrity or at least Warholian fame for fifteen minutes.

Here firefighters are shown working in 'real-life' fire situations, ambulance personnel giving a life-or-death kiss of life, doctors helping at gruesome accident scenes, animal protection officers releasing trapped cats, mountain rescue teams struggling through blizzards (how did the cameras get up there?), policewomen arresting a dangerous criminal and - not so spectacular but equally patronising and salt-of-the-earthist - ordinary folk going about their daily routine at the workplace. Look, Daddy using a typewriter.

What is not shown is also telling: Reality TV programmes do not cover the everyday endeavours of, say, environmental activists or human rights supporters.

Whereas the older style of documentary à la BBC deferred to the subjects it was heroising and had some claim to serious investigation, Reality TV makes transient superstars of its ordinary folk objects in order to promote the adverts in which they are embedded. Thus it is that the voiceover announces in the middle of an accident scene: Find out whether the exhausted rescue workers were able to haul the Jablonskis from the wreckage of their deluxe caravan alive... after the break.

Pseudo-documentary Reality TV is not real-time and it is not real; it is an amalgam of constructed highlights and manipulated viewer responses. Editing processes take place on both sides of the screen. The events being filmed become increasingly stage-managed as the participants learn to be reality people and not humdrum nobodies. The viewers, enticed away from soap opera and romantic comedy on the other channels, have their feelings of concern - which may well be genuine - time-framed.

Reality TV in Germany also includes relationship shows where intimate spheres are not sacrosanct. Apart from the four or five *Blind Date* programmes - where members of both sexes swoon at the sight of, or the shock of, meeting the dream person they've just laboriously picked - there is a programme devoted to love-struck TV-struck persons proposing marriage and getting married in front of the camera. Byron calls. There's a reality programme for apologising to the close friend you insulted five years ago and haven't seen since. One where the programme makers will vividly reconstruct that time you were almost savaged to death by a pitbull terrier. One in which the viewers at home send in a videotape of their daughter narrowly escaping a fatal accident. One in which the viewers at home send in videotape of their loved ones stripping. A confessions programme where a secret transvestite or similar *"speaks out publicly for the first time*

about her years of anguish." And three Missing Person programmes where nationwide appeals are put out for the whereabouts of someone who probably doesn't want to be located anyway.

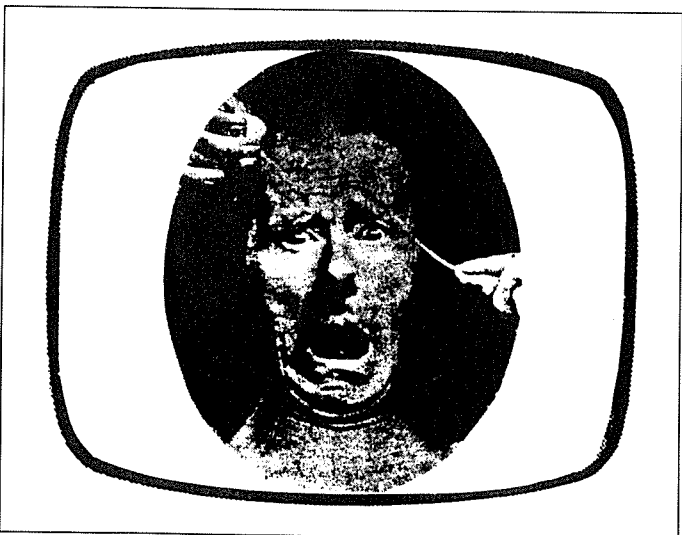
There's a whole quiz-like subcategory with programmes such as Happily Divorced where the ex-spouse and the new spouse happily compete as to who knows more about the person they are now seen to be sharing thanks to serial polygamy and the TV managers of voyeurism. That such amicability exists in 'real' life may be doubted but Reality TV is not bothered about reality as such.

Of all the shows, the most harrowing and intrusive is the reconciliation programme Forgive me. Here the person who is about to be forcefully propitiated opens the house door, pretends to be surprised by the TV lights on the front lawn and is interrogated by a microphone. In the corner of the TV screen, in a locket-shaped window, the flagellant apologist can be watched watching and sobbing.

Last January, two social workers faked a bitter disagreement, were not checked for authenticity, got on the show and subsequently sabotaged it. Cynically, the producers remained unfazed by the exposure and congratulated the saboteurs on a fine acting performance. Much more disquieting about the same programme, however, was the emotional collapse of a 14-year-old schoolboy who had wanted to say sorry to a mate who, in turn, had been too shy to speak to the cameras. The two social workers reported that there were no help facilities for this sort of TV-induced distress and that the boy was left to his own devices at the back of the studio somewhere.

This is a good example of television disrupting the social relations it claims to be newly cementing, amends-makingly, in the wake of the cohesion it has usurped in the past.

Last March, it was revealed that a murderer had gone on all



three of the Miss You programmes appealing for news about his wife... who he had killed ten months previously. One producer knew of the man's conviction but still authorised transmission on the grounds that the public at large had a

right to be informed about what direction a missing person story could take.

This is a clear case of 'reality' being postshaped to fit any frame that our sensation managers decide is most televisually effective. The same producer could just as easily have unmasked the man and she would have done if there had been more mileage in it. Facts and common decency are subordinated to degrees of sensationalism.

It won't be long before TV-chartered citizens will be invited to broadcast scenes of (their own) birth and death - as Michael Crawford semipredicted. In fact, one American reality programme has already breached the dam and featured a murder actually being committed. Or let's put it a more facetious way. A heroin dealer could come home after a hard day's work on the street, settle down in his TV armchair and watch himself getting busted on-screen as the cops burst through the front door. Though perhaps not so facetious: TV coverage of the Gulf War ventured down this self-looping alley where reality and representation eventually synchronise.

To be fair (not that fairness is a *Here and Now* hallmark feature) pseudo-documentary Reality TV in particular is coming in for criticism from many tiers of society in Germany though not, of course, from the managerial suites of the TV companies and ad agencies:

- ♦ The emergency services themselves object to the tedium of work not being shown: the all-important vehicle and appliance maintenance tasks or staff training routines. Only the 'sensation bites' are transmitted, sandwiched between commercials.

- ♦ Reality TV camera personnel and equipment often get in the way of ambulance crews, emergency doctors, police officers and firemen - obstructing the work they are there to glorify.

- ♦ Home movie dullards will rush to a disaster scene in the hope of selling their footage of gore, misery and dashed/fulfilled hopes to a TV station - also blocking the efforts of the people they wish to profit from or use as means of being on TV.

- ♦ Reality TV producers, it is claimed, are prepared to bribe emergency service workers for the first tip-off about the next deployment.

- ♦ Theoretically, a Reality TV producer could sign exclusive rights with, for example, the fire brigade nearest to an accident-prone motorway - the danger being that the producer would then get a say in how or when the service was to operate.

Transplant this situation to Britain, though, and no great stretch of the imagination is required to picture Conservative Party chumps lining up to welcome such innovative sources of nonfiscal revenue.

♦ Doting, camcorder-toting mothers might well encourage their children to climb the garden tree in the sublimated hope that an accident will be avoided, just, so that Beadle-type audiences can have a laugh.

♦ Would-be participants will say anything, fabricate anything and agree to anything in order to appear on the box - a dissimulation that makes a mockery of the title Reality TV.

♦ Despite pretences, educational and informative factors do not play any significant role. Analysis is not attempted.

♦ There are no follow-up reports. Does matrimony contracted underwater or in a hot air balloon (I am not joking) fare better, statistically speaking, than run-of-the-mill registry office marriages? Does that kid performing on the tree branch break a leg next time?



Another aspect of Reality TV in Germany is the amphitheatre debate. There are two variations here: one against five or three against three - each with a kind of lion-tamer presenter. The topic for the evening is, needless to say, as controversial as possible so that, within minutes, the participants are yelling at one another in either genuine or contrived rage - it really doesn't matter - all egged on by a vociferous audience who are encouraged to interject. Again, the 'debaters' taking part tend to be noncelebrity, avowedly normal.

Not worth getting excited about, you might be grunting. Yes, but certain left-wing journalists - one of the above menagerie managers, for example - argue that this is open access

television at its best, a healthy antidote to the anodyne discussions held on celebrity suck-up chat shows. Reality TV, they insist, is interactive, a democratisation of television content and more down to earth than the superficiality of a Beverly Hills megastar campaigning for the rain forest - another regraded term, by the way, it used to be 'jungle'. Real people discuss things more honestly and profoundly, is the construct we are being sold.

I can recall Trotskyists in London greeting the first episodes of Eastenders as "realism on TV at long last". In much the same way, a *Spectator* TV critic once claimed that Eastenders was a twentieth century extension of populist Shakespearean drama. The question what is realism, what is reality and who wants it anyway? is simply not asked. I myself prefer a boring bit of escapism any day.

Responding in panic to Reality TV, straight celebrity talk show producers have started scouring the streets for 'normal' people with tragic fates or lurid backgrounds to liven up or replace their otherwise product-plugging star turns. One anchorwoman attracts four million viewers with her human interest mix of chronically snoring husbands, reformed child abusers and talking pets - nearly five times as many as the Wogan or Carson showbiz equivalent here in Germany.

At last year's multi-media art exhibition *Dokumenta* in Kassel, a group of media students calling themselves *Piazza Virtuale* hooked up a system whereby you could fax a message via the television screen. The hello-mums were then transmitted during the midnight hours on 3 SAT, which is cable-networked. A circuitous way of telephoning you might be wondering - as the group themselves admitted - but the point was: with the same digital technology plus a remote control, it will soon be possible for the viewers at home to interactively transfer what a newsreader is saying on one channel to the mouth of a soap character on another channel. Tongue in cheek? So was Michael Crawford.

In London, a Cable TV company is offering interactivity sports viewing i.e. you can use your remote control to watch a football match from a 'selection' of several angles.

Interactivity, Reality TV. Two more facets of fake choice, masque democracy and the levelling-low of culture by TV programme producers, ad agency managers and finance providers who themselves wouldn't be seen dead in a shell suit -- or, for that matter, on a Reality TV programme.

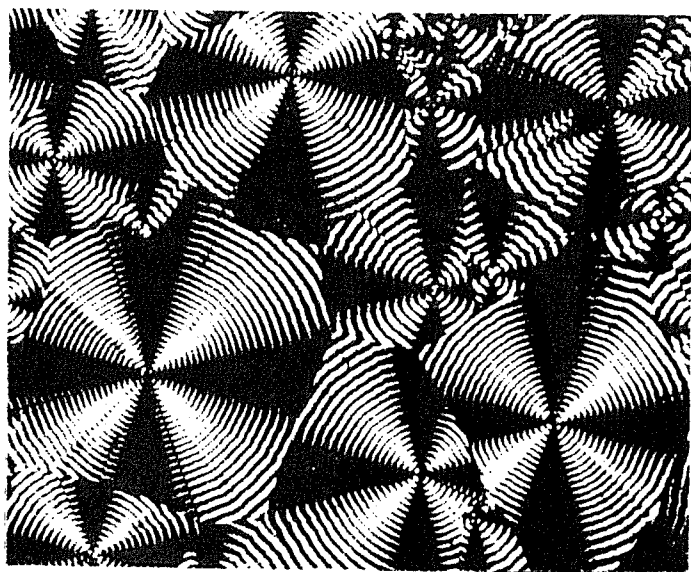
Since 1945 the UK has lost 30% of its rough grazing land, 65% of song thrushes, 90% of meadows, 50% of lowland woodlands, heaths and fens and 140,000 miles of hedgerow. 80 commons have been deregulated and since 1980, local authorities no longer have to provide "equally advantageous" land when they take open space for development. (Info from the Council for the Protection of Rural England).

What Future for the Real Raver?

Karl Baxter examines the growth and future of rave culture.

Defying traditional subcultural analysis on a macro level in terms of common class, economic situation etc. the Rave movement has grown from what Russell Newcombe, in a paper at an Ecstasy Symposium in Leeds (6/11/92), called "*a cliquy, mutating underground subculture*" to its present shape as a "*more socially diverse, stable and popular leisure culture*." Its current form is the latest of many since its shape was altered from the media's most emotive enduring subject and folk-devil in 1988-89 to virtual media silence today following its absorption and exploitation in the commercial world as its moneyspinning properties were realised. Yet despite apparent societal endorsement of the rave, providing it and its attendant problems are out of view, the New Age Traveller/Raver seems to have become the new folk devil inspiring more media venom than ever before for not playing the game, as it were, on a number of counts.

In this article I intend to examine the work of Russell Newcombe and Terence McKenna, their writings and influence on the direction the rave scene is taking both here and in the USA where it has been, in a sense, reimported. Does the New-Age traveller represent the true progeny of the British Rave scene?



Russell Newcombe, perhaps the leading academic authority on the commercialised British Rave scene, fully admits the centrality of substance use to that scene instead of being a peripheral element as in past subcultures. Indeed due to the nature of the favoured substance Ecstasy's effects it is probably the only element holding such a diverse class and ethnic mix together under one roof bar the music - both being seemingly interdependent in the optimisation of the substances' (i.e. a variety of psychedelics and stimulants) effects. Ecstasy was the preferred substance in Newcombe's studies of commercial raves in Liverpool but a variety of other substances were used to a greater or lesser extent - some

intentionally ingested and others unintentionally as the blackmarket 'Bathtub Chemists' cashed in on the mass market, created by business and media, with 'imposter' substances.

Newcombe is quick to emphasise the sharp practice and potentially dangerous conditions created by some club owners who, while appearing to satisfy the 'Drug-free' legal requirements imposed by the police on commercial raves with a superficial door-search policy, are free to exploit the substances' properties to the hilt on the inside. Cases have come to light of water-taps removed from toilets so the dehydrating effects of Ecstasy can be maximised via super-heating and overcrowding the club, eventually turned into profit as water sells for £2 per bottle over the bar. The sometimes fatal consequences of such activities are all too evident as several ravers have already died from what strongly resembles heatstroke. From a practical policy point of view, Newcombe has devised some measures to minimise harm at commercial raves including constantly updated leaflets on bad tablets, air-conditioning and first-aid teams but whether these will be acted upon is doubtful since such events have only been legally sanctioned by the government for profit and the economic good - the welfare of the raver being exploited not being an issue.

More interestingly, Newcombe's work has emphasised the positive aspects of the rave scene, reporting the feelings of togetherness and community generated there and the beneficial effects of Ecstasy use reported by ravers particularly in terms of their personal relationships. He particularly emphasises the importance of the music to the total experience to which he applies a list of adjectives i.e. "*euphoric, uplifting, moving, nostalgic, intense and transcendental*" in order to drive home his point. The way in which the music is presented by DJs who command almost 'religious status' is fundamental in understanding the event as ravers "*worship (make contact with) the god of altered consciousness*" (Newcombe in *The Ecstasy Papers*, ISDD, 1992). The religious metaphors used by Newcombe should not be dismissed altogether. His studies reveal that raves are notable for their "*virtual absence of activities found in other youthful leisure settings*" e.g. violence, disorder, sexual displays and conversation. This total dedication to a collective experience of mental as well as physical dimensions, based around (supposedly) love and understanding is very religious in nature.

The ancestor of modern sociology, Emile Durkheim in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915) saw the need to define 'religious' and 'sacred' in broader terms than what is essentially a watered down Western Christian notion. Drawing on various 'primitive' religions, Durkheim sees that the common element in all is the use of symbolism in helping to create and recreate the experience of collective conscious-

ness i.e. set apart from everyday life. He notes:

“The cult is not simply a system of signs by which the faith is outwardly translated; it is a collection of the means by which this is created and recreated periodically”

Durkheim's description of an Australian Aboriginal Corrobbori bears an uncanny similarity to contemporary descriptions of raves. Is rave, while bearing many religious hallmarks, a religion in itself?

The dispersed condition in which the society finds itself results in making its life uniform, languishing and dull. But when a corrobbori takes place, everything changes... The very fact of the concentration acts as an exceptionally powerful stimulant. When they once come together, a sort of electricity is formed by their collecting which quickly transports them to an extraordinary degree of exaltation. Every sentiment expressed finds a place without resistance in all the minds, which are very open to outside impressions; each re-echoes the others, and is re-echoed by the others. . . This effervescence often reaches such a point that it causes unheard-of actions. The passions released are of such an impetuosity that they can be restrained by nothing. They are so far removed from the ordinary conditions of life, and they are so thoroughly conscious of it, that they feel that they must set themselves outside of and above their ordinary morals... They produce such a violent super-excitation of the whole physical and mental life that it cannot be supported very long; the actor taking the principal part finally falls exhausted on the ground.

Before examining this point in greater depth, other related reasons cited for Rave's existence must be considered. Steve Redhead, in *The End-of-the-Century Party* (1990) talks of “post-industrial disillusionment” and alienation of the young from society, as does Newcombe who senses a certain air of hopelessness amongst youth in the light of economic conditions, political instability, and impending ecological disaster. Redhead sees it as no accident that the choice of locations for Acid House parties (e.g. empty warehouses) were “*artefacts from the industrial past...before Thatcher.*” This is suggestive of Phil Cohen's theory of subcultural symbolism recreating the elements lost in the parent culture. Is Rave the element which fills the gap and gives a sense of collectivity to the individualistic ideology preached in the Thatcher years? This factor is used by Smith in the *New Statesman* 11/9/92, who believes this partially explains certain areas of the New-Age traveller/raver movement since he notes that it consists largely of “*young people whom the 1980s boom has passed by, who see themselves as having no stake in society and prefer to drop out instead.*” How does one explain the New Age traveller as merely a social outcast? I feel the answer may lie in the religious aspects of the rave.

It is evident that the commercialisation of the rave scene has led to several strands emerging within and without it. The mixed class and ethnic makeup of the participants seem to defy traditional subcultural analytic method and attempting to do so on an assumption of homogeneity is fruitless. Such methods may be employed when examining the many subgroups and mutations and most importantly the different meanings they attach to the experience.

It is at this point that the writings and philosophies of Terence McKenna become important. Author of among other things,

Food of the Gods and *The Archaic Revival*, McKenna is an apocalyptic New-Age propagandist who suggests that elements of the rave mark a return to our tribal roots and a release of our repressed urge to alter consciousness. He also points out how through rave music the amount of beats per minute (b.p.m.) is important in creating an altered state so the listener is most receptive to the messages both from the music and the planet. His followers include The Shamen who incorporate his philosophy of natural psychedelics (a rejection of Ecstasy) and shamanic ideas into the subject matter of their music - a force that is, next to the substances, the life force of the entire movement. Of the group, Mr.C gave a summary of the functions of the rave in an interview with *Select* magazine (Oct. 1992) speaking of the “healing power of rhythm” and its importance to the “Shamanic quest”. He goes on to state how the combination of rhythms (at 130 b.p.m.) and the music create a “telepathic community” and the group vision received is taken out to wider society.

This is the fundamental point explaining to an extent the emergence of the New Age traveller/raver. Instead of being part of the commercial rave scene, which for the organisers is good business, they view the event in an altogether more spiritual light, unlike the majority of ravers who, I feel, while taking substances, do so on a very superficial level purely in the interests of temporary pleasure. Newcombe (1992) in his studies appears to overestimate the extent of what could be termed ‘deep rave culture’.

In my own interviews with ravers in N.Ireland, the majority of the sample saw Ecstasy and the rave in terms of their prior experiences with other substances i.e. with a view to temporary intoxication. The temporary nature of the substance's ability to cross social boundaries was also noted by the sample as one respondent noted when speaking of a scene witnessed at a club in the religiously neutral centre of Belfast:

“I went into the bog at ‘Joe’s’. Big fucking fellas from up the Falls in shorts and you can see the fucking scars on their knees where they’ve been fucking kneecapped. These boys are fucking crying and hugging other boys from up the Shankhill with Rangers tops on saying things like “I really love you”. It’s fucking mad!”

Such events could be construed as evidence of a positive aspect to Ecstasy in overriding the usual sectarian hostilities in Ulster. However, respondents both in N.Ireland and in Leeds are aware of no lasting effect once the substance has worn off. I feel that Newcombe failed to appreciate that it is a minority who have gained permanent deep and spiritual insight to the point where their lives are significantly affected. He never seems to question how he himself was perceived by his subjects. Was he considered an outsider? Were the respondents entirely truthful? If such mass consciousness at the level Newcombe implies did exist than surely the traveller offshoot would be larger by far?

A religion which does not translate to wider society can only exist at the point of recreation e.g. churchgoers who soak up good living philosophy on a Sunday but fail to translate any of it into their everyday dealings with people. Therefore the



travellers are taking Rave down its logical path and taking McKenna's philosophy seriously. It matters little if McKenna's theory is shaky from its very foundations since truths are only truths if enough people believe them and such belief has translated into a movement incorporating an almost complete societal rejection. Though a small group, the threat felt by the government can be measured in the action taken against the travellers.

Reading McKenna, one cannot help but laugh at his unsound and eclectic anthropological hypotheses, not to mention his botanical illiteracy and his pure fantasy as to the beginnings of life on earth with psychedelic mushrooms as the single greatest contribution to human development. Certainly, psychedelic plants and fungi have had a more significant role in several areas of human experience than acknowledged by western society whose repression of all these substances has been largely due to a mixture of economics and paranoid fear about the threat to social norms (not least of which is an alcohol culture). I recall a friend relating a story of how he was arrested for possession of a small quantity of hash and when asking his arresting officers why they were making so much fuss about a relatively harmless substance received the reply:

"It's not so much the drug we find dangerous but the lifestyle that goes with it".

The lifestyle of the New Age traveller offshoot from mainstream rave have been considered a serious enough threat to warrant a number of lines of attack from the government. Melucci, in his *Nomads of the Present* (1980) notes the intervention of dominant classes against new social movements they perceive as a threat, through the powers of ideology, the media and direct repression but notes that direct action is very rarely taken. The media channels have been used to the full against this group emphasising dirt, using bestial metaphors, and portraying their activities as a serious threat to the 'British way of life' as we know it.

Such erosion of public sympathies ensures minimal outcry once more direct measures are taken. Smith points out that the aims and sentiments of the government and the instruments of repression are not necessarily a united front in this matter. He cites West Midlands Police Chief Constable Ron Hadfield, appointed by the ACPO as investigator into the free rave phenomenon, as being "reluctant to call for a strengthening of public order" contrary to the wishes of many Tory M.P.s, since he fears violent confrontation "all because a crowd of New Age travellers and kids want to play some noisy music?" C.C. Hadfield recommended the introduction of state licensed sites but this has been ignored as the government presses ahead with draconian and messy measures hastily trying to outlaw an entire lifestyle leading many members of such groups to seriously consider taking their lifestyle out of the country. Will such measures be a universal response once exported?

The way the rave scene developed in Britain depended on a mixture of substances, music and socio-economic conditions and is possibly unique. What should be noted is that the substances and music were largely a U.S. creation. There has

always been a tradition in Britain for importing American ideas and while imitating them have transformed them into new forms especially in the area of music. The 1960s London Underground Psychedelic scene drew most of its musical inspiration from the West Coast Psychedelic bands such as The Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane whose idealistic hippie visions were transformed into altogether darker and more cynical forms by their imitators such as Syd Barrett (and the early Pink Floyd) and Edgar Broughton before being reimported. Similarly with Rave. Chicago was the birth-place of sampling, a staple of all rave tracks but it took Britain to refine it and invent the Rave placing the DJ in a position of not simply playing records but also in the driving seat of participants' substance induced visions and emotions. Rave has just begun to penetrate into the U.S. - now reimported in a radically different form having experienced its adolescence in Britain. Why only now?

The DIY nature of rave music creation, tailored to enhancing dance and substances gave no priority to image and hence it proved too faceless for the U.S. market - concerned with FM/MTV marketing possibilities. Any imitations of the rave style has taken the form of cosmeticised inane and formless, messageless nonsense. The commercial success of The Shamen with their strong image has made it compatible with the U.S. requirements but they appear to have no intention of toning down their message in the process. Their espousal of Terence McKenna dominates most interviews and he has appeared regularly with the band both on record and in live appearances. Taking off mainly on the West Coast, the Heartland of Humanism has apparently welcomed both the Shamen and McKenna's philosophy with open arms. Watching McKenna perform his rambling psychedelic monologue must seem eerily reminiscent of Timothy Leary to many 'old hippie' types who can now reaffirm their beliefs. To the younger generation, brought up on Nancy Reagan's 'Just Say No' campaigns, such a movement must seem like a dream come true i.e. a plan to save the planet which involves substance use and all-night dancing can't be all bad!

One can only speculate as to what status Rave will acquire in

the USA. It seems unlikely that the repressive measures practised in Britain will prevail in the land of supposed religious tolerance. The already evident commercialisation of rave may ensure its homogeneity at present but following its inevitable fragmentation any breakaway movement may be much larger, mainly because the 'Americans tend to take their substance experiences rather more seriously than the more cynical British.

McKenna's advocacy of natural substance use rules out most commercially trafficked drugs - bar cannabis. The more enterprising psychedelic traveller (on either side of the Atlantic) who wishes to take this seriously has arguably a greater choice of hallucinogens, stimulants and sedatives available at his/her local supermarket and garden centre. For example, myristicin - a close chemical cousin of mescaline and raw ingredient of Ecstasy may be easily obtained via extraction from Nutmeg - achieving an arguably purer product at a tiny fraction of the cost. LSD amides can be extracted from Morning Glory seeds via a relatively simple process. We must not forget the plentiful supply of hallucinogenic Psilocybin fungi growing wild (especially in late summer). For those in the States, an even greater choice is available (e.g. Peyote, California Poppy, Dona Ana, Yohimbe, etc.) with the added bonus of freely available manuals on home psychedelic chemistry. Such manuals' classification as 'subversive literature' in the U.K. has meant only a few are in the know while most people remain blissfully unaware of the hallucinogenic delights lurking in their kitchen cupboards!

In Britain the rave scene will undoubtedly continue to fragment. The National Drug Intelligence Unit gave a conservative estimate of 500,000 people ingesting Ecstasy alone every week. For the government to preach morality and concern about the situation regarding New Age travellers is to create a scapegoat for the problems of a blackmarket selling potentially lethal combinations of substances masquerading as Ecstasy (which is positively benign in comparison with some of its imitators) in clubs operating life-threatening practices with minimum interference by either government or the forces of law and order.

The Leisure Opportunity.

[Leeds City Council/Leeds Development Agency document on LEEDS KIRKGATE MARKETS QUARTER. A Partnership in Urban Renewal Dec.1991]

The City Council has no fixed proposals for primary leisure facilities but would welcome multi-purpose developments which can be adapted to cater for changing trends and varied accommodation requirements... The overall target is an attraction (or grouping of attractions) which adds to the range of facilities in Leeds for local residents and which enhances the City's visitor attractiveness...

Special emphasis should be placed on features which encourage the use of the area in the evenings and weekends (and lunchtimes) and which make the area

welcoming and safe to walk through at these times.

Examples of activities which might be included are: interactive science and technology centre; Imax cinema; multi-screen cinema; 10-pin bowling; electronic zoo; water-based experience centre; laser game park; health and fitness; indoor fun ride park. However, the City Council will be interested in any other leisure ideas. Any proposals will need to complement those already existing or being developed elsewhere in the City Centre and at the Royal Armouries site nearby. The Markets Quarter should provide a unique urban leisure experience for local people and visitors filling its own niche in the City's growing range of attractions.

Unitary Disturbanism or transforming public space into value-generating resources.

The Political Economy of Ecstasy.

Arch Stanton sees the unique experience of rave culture in the UK as under continual surveillance and interpretation from academics and professionals.

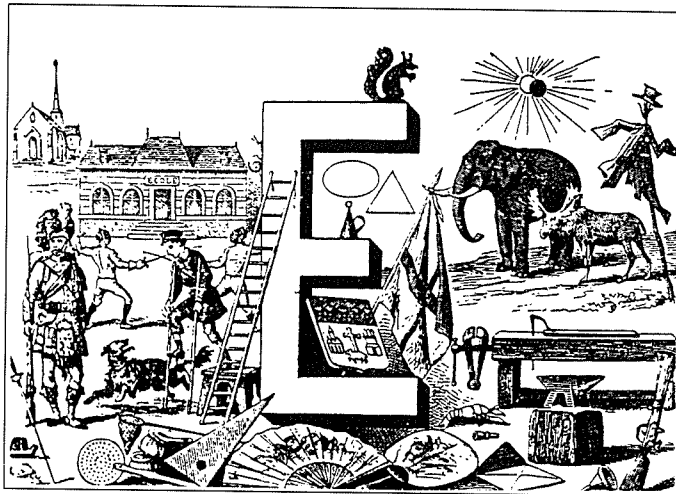
“Christ! How many movements before them had run into this self-same problem. Every vision, every insight of the... original... circle always came out of the *new experience*...the *kairos* and how to tell it! How to get it across to the multitudes who had never had this experience themselves? *You couldn't put it into words*. You had to create conditions in which they would feel an approximation of *that feeling*, the sublime *kairos*. You had to put them into ecstasy...”

Tom Wolfe *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*.(1968)

‘Everything Starts with an E’

Of the several thousand substances known to be psychoactive in man, only a hundred or so are regularly used by him for recreational, ritual or social purposes, and most of these have been enjoyed by the cultures in which they have been consumed for generations. It is exceedingly rare then for a novel psychoactive substance to be discovered in our own time, and rise to such popularity that a new name is added to the lexicon of western drug use. The last time was in 1963 when media reports of the expulsion of Timothy Leary and Reinhard Alpert from Harvard first told the world of the classic hallucinogen LSD or ‘acid’. Twenty one years later in 1984 the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported the emergence of a new street drug known as ‘Adam’ (and wrongly identified it as MDMA). Within a year *Newsweek* had not only given the substance its correct chemical name, (3, 4 Methylenedioxy-methamphetamine) but also popularised the street name that was to stick; the title of the article was *Getting High on ‘Ecstasy’*.

It is sometimes said that when a new drug is introduced into a culture, that culture struggles to integrate the individual experiences of a new form of intoxication into the collective cultural experience, causing a period of upheaval changing that culture irrevocably. Examples given are the effect of alcohol on Native Americans and Australian Aborigines and opiate use in Britain in the 19th century. In other instances a substance that had been used ritually and largely without harm suddenly becomes an agent of misery for peoples whose culture has become disembedded from its original context, leading to the rules and guidelines for socialised use no longer pertaining. One example is the deleterious use of Khat by impoverished Somalis living in the UK. The lesson that has often been drawn from both phenomena is perhaps that for a substance to be used safely by a society its use must be integrated securely into its culture, limited by social or religious convention and often overseen or mediated by specialists, religious figures or shamans.



The emergence and rise in popularity of ecstasy on both sides of the Atlantic, from unconfirmed reports of underground batches in the early 1970s in the US, to the estimated 500,000 doses consumed every weekend in the UK in 1992, has had an effect on such diverse areas as fashion, graphic design, football hooliganism, new age travellers, dance, marriage therapy, studies on the biological causes of violence, synthesizer programming, chemical classification and treatment for heatstroke. But throughout it has been accompanied by a fierce battle for supremacy amongst those who wish to oversee or contain the experience, to define it in terms of which they are the true arbiters, to say who may take ecstasy, in what circumstances and why - in short a struggle to be the shamans of the new drug. It is these people, the psychotherapists, psychiatrists, yuppies and drug workers who are being thwarted in their ambition by the mass use of ecstasy, by people of every class, ethnic group and social background who are both learning (not without the odd casualty) the lessons of the ecstasy experience for themselves and creating the rules and social context for its use.

‘Get ready for the best time of your life’

It is probably time to say something about the drug itself. MDMA is N-methylated form of MDA (3,4 Methylenedioxy-phenylisopropylamine) which is itself a relative of Mescaline (3,4,5-Trimethoxyphenethylamine). Many of these phenethylamines (and there are hundreds of them) combine to different extents the effects of a hallucinogen (like LSD) with those of amphetamine (speed). MDA ‘the love drug’ enjoyed popularity amongst clubbers and others in both the UK and US in the 70s and is a reasonably strong hallucinogen. The

effect of N- methylation (unlike with amphetamine where methamphetamine is considerably stronger) is to significantly attenuate the experience to a point where no true hallucinogenic effects are felt beyond some spatial distortion and heightening of colour and sound. However this is far from the only difference between MDA and MDMA. All recreational drugs by definition produce intoxication. A few such as cocaine also produce a distinct mood change. Even those substances which are described as euphorants, such as opiates, do not always produce euphoria in all circumstances in those who take them. The detached dreamlike state induced by heroin and the relaxed intoxication of cannabis can be accompanied by a range of moods and emotions from bliss to paranoia depending on the mental state, disposition and circumstance of the subject. MDMA in a very large proportion of cases produces, as its name suggests, a mood of ecstasy in those who take it. Often this mood can be discerned by the user as distinct from the intoxication produced by the drug which, as mentioned above, is little more than a combination of amphetamine-like stimulation and cannabinoid-like sensory modification. The ecstatic effect has a number of characteristics:

- 1) It is emotional and creates a strong bonding with people, events and situations that are experienced with it (a tune heard for the first time on E can become instantly rooted in the emotional memory and will often produce emotional nostalgia when heard later).
- 2) It is free from fear; one commentator described the effect as 'switching off the anxiety centres'.
- 3) It is externally focussed, joyful and exuberant, rather than contemplative. This goes some way to illustrating the empathetic quality which has been much commented on. Other people become very important and the normal barriers between people are temporarily suspended. Empathy with others, even strangers can be so strong that the subjective impression is one of emotional telepathy with other users just by eye contact.
- 4) It is familiar and memorable. The emotional rush from MDMA is like a much stronger version of feelings that we all have or have had at some time in our lives. Nicolas Saunders (see Note 7) remarked that the only time he failed to get much of an effect from ecstasy was when he took it when he was in love and put it down to the fact that the two states were too similar to tell the difference.
- 5) The state also persists - albeit in an attenuated form for up to a week. Users report that the empathy, open-ness, tolerance and perspective from the ecstasy experience stays with them and that after it has finally faded, it can be remembered and recalled on an emotional level in a way which is quite different to say, remembering a maudlin mood produced by excess alcohol.

These last two characteristics mean that the state produced by E is often felt to be, if not exactly 'natural' then most certainly 'real'.

For reasons that will become apparent I have tried to describe above what the Ecstasy experience *feels like* and tried to avoid saying *what it means*. For this experience, which a far greater proportion of people who have tried it rate as pleasant than do for any other psychedelic (in other words, it has high 'reliability') is also an experience that has seen an

almost unprecedented explosion of expert interpreters on both sides of the Atlantic. These are the would-be shamans, jostling with each other to reproduce the meaning of the experience in the idiom of their own class, profession and interest with the goal of making - and keeping - it their own; and all the while battling against an intransigent mass who take the drug on terms they have invented for themselves and have for the most part no need of witchdoctors.



'I've Got The Key; I've Got The Secret'

In his book *Ecstasy: the MDMA Story*, Bruce Eisner uncritically chronicles in detail the struggle to keep the drug within the community of responsible technicians and their friends. Of the period 1977-1984, before MDMA 'escaped' into society he writes:

"Learning from these earlier mistakes [i.e. the publication of LSD by the Harvard Psychedelic Research Group] those who experimented with MDMA, many of them psychotherapists, attempted to control the dissemination of information about the drug as well as the substance itself... During that time, MDMA spread through underground channels which included psychotherapists, psychiatrists, long-term psychedelic drug experimenters, yuppies and a remarkable assortment of individualists of all kinds."

This 'golden age' was brought to an end, however, with an article published on 10 June 1984 by Bill Mandel entitled *The Yuppie Psychedelic*. By the following month, after MDMA popped up in statistics collected by the World Health Organisation, the US Drug Enforcement Agency announced its intention to place the drug in Schedule I, of the Controlled Substances Act, making it as illegal as heroin and having no medical use. (Ecstasy has been outlawed in the UK since 1977 when it was banned pre-emptively upon the discovery

of a formula for making it in a raid on a clandestine laboratory).

At once Ecstasy's guardians mobilised to retain control. A group describing themselves as 'physicians, researchers, therapists and lawyers' established themselves under the name 'Earth Metabolic Design Foundation'. At the same time four professors hired a lawyer to oppose the DEA and demand a hearing.

In 1985 a conference was held in Esalen, California, co-sponsored by Stanislav Grof and the EMDF. Of the 35 participants, 5 were veteran researchers on psychedelic drugs, and 4 were psychiatrists who used MDMA in their clinical practice. On day 4, thirteen of the participants dropped an E! The conclusion of the Conference was that **"supervised experimental use with full informed consent was medically acceptable and safe"** [my emphasis]¹.

By now the struggle was going public. After the *Newsweek* article in April 1985, there was a live studio debate on the 'Phil Donahue' show on network TV, then an article in *Psychology Today*, then the *Doonesbury* strip by Gary Trudeau. As the DEA hearings continued, experts lined up on both sides to mark out their pitch. Ron Siegel, author of *Intoxication* - a ridiculous book in which various crude animal experiments are mobilised to 'prove' that the drive for intoxication is a basic instinct - sided with the DEA and produced some startlingly dishonest testimony. On the other side Rick Doblin of the EMDF spoke of the 'political implications' of empathy and proposed that Ecstasy should be used by the United Nations in a project called 'Shaping a Global Spirituality While Living in the Nuclear Age.'²

Eventually in 1986 the DEA used emergency powers to place MDMA in Schedule I despite the judge's decision that it should go in Schedule III. This was then appealed against as unconstitutional. More hearings, and, of course, more conferences, more medical testimony and more sociological research projects resulted.

Some of the more bizarre arguments advanced by the pro-E experts in the battle to hold on to the franchise included:



since MDMA produces a tolerance in the user, it has 'low abuse potential'(!); MDMA is not a hallucinogenic drug at all but belongs to new class called 'Empathogens' whose use in therapy enabled people to *"do changework on themselves very rapidly compared to ordinary therapy"*³ and MDMA is not a hallucinogenic drug at all but belongs to a new class called 'Entactogens' *"allowing a touching within"*⁴.

'I've Got The Power'

Throughout the struggle for control over the meaning of the ecstasy experience in the US, a key plank in the arguments of the experts has been the status of the 'archetypal' user. It was in the US that the now largely-forgotten term 'Yuppy psychedelic' was coined. This view of a drug for the professional classes was exemplified in the seminal, yet now hopelessly irrelevant paper *Ethnographic Notes on Ecstasy Use amongst professionals*.⁵ Here users are quoted as being *"professional people like real estate brokers, nurses, doctors, lawyers, entrepreneurs in business"* who are *"middle/upper middle class"*. Various anonymous users - a 30 year old civil engineer, a 46 year old PhD, a 38 year old psychotherapist, a 51 year old airline pilot - are quoted to support the view that *"Ecstasy presents an opportunity to be open and relaxed within the context of a professional lifestyle that is stressful and very regulated"* which *"may have beneficial effects on their performance"* because of the *"necessity in a worried world for condensed 'time-out' behaviour"*. This view of E as a time-saving leisure activity for the busy executive (a sort of microwave meal version of a four week holiday in the Caribbean) is just another version of the 'it's OK with people like us' argument, this time on class lines.

'Let The Music Take Control'

In the UK, however, this kind of 'substance abuse snobbery' was still-born as ecstasy arrived in the mid-1980s and quickly became associated with the House Music scene imported from Chicago, leading to the explosive phenomenon known originally as Acid House and latterly as Rave. From its origins in the gay scene and the nightclubs of the Balearic Islands the synergistic combination of a drug which produces emotional euphoria and empathy with others and a fast music (average: 125bpm.) that is:

*"though fundamentally eclectic and plagiaristic in its sources is distinctive in its emotional impact: euphoric, uplifting, moving, nostalgic, intense, and transcendental"*⁶

produced the 1988 'Summer of Love'. Although the original scene of illicit large warehouse parties and illegal gatherings at motorway service stations, which excited some commentators with its images of youth confronting the police, quickly gave way to the more conventional, recognised and less illegal rave club scene, this has done little to diminish the popularity of the 'total experience' that can be had at a rave. Music, flavoured smoke, psychedelic lights, novel social relations and, of course, the drug provide a bombardment of the senses. By 1992 an estimated 100,000 people were going

to raves every weekend with estimates of the number of people who have taken ecstasy ranging from a million Es consumed every week⁷ to a total of 750,000 people who have tried ecstasy at raves.⁸

'Free Your Body! I'm In Ecstasy!'

For 1993 the estimated annual expenditure on drugs in Britain is 8 billion pounds and is believed to have increased by over 75% in the last 5 years.⁹ And, of course, it's not just the money spent on ecstasy itself which is generating economic activity around the rave scene. There are DJs, the clubs, the records, the pirate radio stations (Dream FM in Leeds, Fantasy FM in Wolverhampton, Kiss FM in London - now licensed) the magazines (*Mixmag*, *the Herb Garden*, *DJ Generator*, 24-7) the fashion (70s-clothes revival and psychedelic posters that have replaced the 'hunk holding baby' images of a couple of years ago).

Although there have been complaints that all this commercial activity is an exploitation of ravers and the rave scene, these grumbles can usually be put down to two factors. Firstly, the inbuilt nostalgia that has accompanied the rave scene from the start (and appears to be in some way connected to the ecstasy experience itself). To illustrate this point: Rosie Boytt in the London Review of Books in September 1989 bemoaned the fact that the summer of love of that year wasn't a touch on the one the year before. How many ravers does it take to change a light bulb? A dozen. One to change it, the others to say you just can't get good light bulbs any more. Secondly, there are complaints by those who failed to get on the bandwagon. Most of the economic activity listed above is carried out by independent outfits. It is the DJs who command decent money for playing recorded music at a 'live' event rather than large record companies raking it in. Similarly the large leisure chains such as Rank and First Leisure have been hit by the ravers' disdain for alcohol. The Independent reported Richard Carr, chairman of Allied Leisure as saying:

Youngsters can get ecstasy for £10 or £12 and get a much better buzz than they can from alcohol. It is a major threat to alcohol-led businesses.

'Who Loves You and Who Do You Love?'

The real threat of exploitation comes once again from the proliferation of would-be shamans amongst the state-funded cohorts of drug workers and their academic hangers-on. The former can barely contain their excitement at:

rediscovering skills dating from the last upsurge in hallucinogenic and stimulant drug use in the late 60s and early 70s. Dealing with bad trips, giving advice on how to avoid or reduce them are once again becoming bread and *butter issues* [my emphasis] for drug workers in the 90s.¹⁰

Widespread ecstasy use has come just in time for the drug workers. Where once the crack menace's failure to materialise and heroin use's stabilisation threatened their careers,

now there are 'Golden 'E' rules' to promulgate, demographic user profiles to establish and new methods of invasion to deploy. "*Infiltrating' this peer group is therefore a key tactic*" (This quote is real).¹¹ At a 'higher', though not distinct level we have the academics who are advancing a more comprehensive strategy of interpretation and containment. For example, there is the Socialist version which argues that raves are an attempt by the kids to seize back control of their entertainment from the pre-packaged, isolating leisure on offer, and raising concerns amongst the working class that:

...the same methods that send thousands of people to obscure country locations ... could send them into the centre of London at a few hours notice for a mass demonstration.¹²

Sucking out stress

Highly stressed business executives are being urged to release tension and pent-up anger at work by sucking on dummies. Despite initial resistance, up to 6,000 men have taken to the sucking gimmick, and reported a soothing release of adrenalin, a feeling of well being and improved performance.

The experiment, carried out in a large multinational company, and monitored jointly by stress experts at Spitsbergen University and Hincley's College of Clinical Studies in the UK, may prove a breakthrough in stress research.

"An average amount of stress is healthy in everyday life, but if it gets too much, individuals may suffer physical reactions such as headaches, upset stomachs and eczema.

"In severe cases, individuals may suffer nervous breakdowns and even feel suicidal," Dr Eggon Bakon, a researcher at HCCS told *EuroBusiness*. "Dummies are used in early infancy to calm irate, upset, often colicky babies. There is no reason why grown-up men and women should not use a dummy as a simple, cheap tool to release their stress."

The multinational group,

which took part in the experiment for 18 months, reported improved productivity and efficiency among the executives who sucked on dummies. "There was quite a lot of resistance initially," a spokesman for the company said. "People were scared they would be laughed at. Imagine your boss in a suit and tie, usually giving orders, planning strategies and entertaining clients, sitting in his office sucking on a dummy. But after a while, employees did not notice."

Managers were told to give the plastic device a good suck "every time they felt tensions running, or felt like punching their superiors, or their staff. They were advised to go to their offices, sit down, breathe deeply and suck on the dummy for at least 30 seconds while staring at a point in the distance," the spokesman said.

The company is now thinking of applying the scheme to its 20,000 staff from 1 April, at a cost of some £2,000, an average 10p per dummy per employee.

This could mean substantial savings on the £130 million bill the group faces each year because of absenteeism and stress-related illness.

IT'S OFFICIAL - CAPITALISM SUCKS.

(EUROBUSINESS APRIL 1993)



Or there is the New Age version of the eco-Leary (and Shaman mentor) Terence McKenna for whom raves are a re-emergence of the primal urge, long suppressed by industrial society, for the '3-D ritual' of dancing, drug-taking and drumming, by which we might re-discover the collective consciousness of the tribe. More recently there are being prepared: 'An Ethnographic Study into the Impact of Ecstasy on the Drug-taking Habits of a Group of Young Men in the Greater Manchester Area' by Mark Gilman, a research officer with the agency Lifeline. Gilman's hobby horse of the lessening effect on football violence (in 1991 soccer hooliganism fell to its lowest level for 5 years according to The Independent), is the perfect subject for the pseudo-populist 'scally' persona with which he wows conference audiences.) Sheila Henderson's 'Young Women, Sexuality and Recreational Drug Use' which seizes on the 'women's studies' angle of what is a fairly redundant concern. (Empathy and sensuality, not sex, is the issue at raves, much to the chagrin of the AIDS and safer sex lobby who have missed another entrée)

and Sadie Plant's 'Beyond the Spectacle - The Matrix of Drugs and Computers' who is combining two 'sexy' subjects (three, if the post-Situationist theme of the 'Spectacle' in the title is taken up). How can she go wrong?

Harm reduction/minimisation is the buzz term amongst many of these professionals, implying as it does a non-judgemental approach and diverting attention away from the fact that all these people have a vested interest in the phenomenon as their careers are tied up in interpreting it. In this regard, one honourable exception must be made in the case of Dr. Russell Newcombe, senior Research Fellow at the University of Manchester and self-styled Rave Research Bureau, who, despite his 'sensible' Alternative Strategy for Regulating Raves (licensing of raves, training of door staff, provision of 'chill-out rooms', provision of on-site drug information etc.) treads a fine line between producing the information his paymasters demand and evincing a personal enthusiasm for the rave experience. As his reputation has deservedly grown Newcombe is gradually abandoning his caution at extolling the virtues as what he evidently regards as a thoroughly worthwhile phenomenon.

Anyone who has been with an open mind to a large all-night rave will have subjectively felt this cathartic magical experience, or at least observed the physical evidence (eg: synchronised dancing, waves of raised arms 'moving' across the crowd, spontaneous mass cheering, ecstatic strangers hugging).¹³

'My God, It's Full Of Stars'

As the rave scene continues to fragment into more and more specialist styles: acid, garage, ambient, progressive, trance, jungle techno, hardcore, breakbeat - the customs and social relations that have seemingly spontaneously arisen within the culture, those of friendliness, conviviality, tolerance, compassion, disdain for violence and alcohol, religiosity, spirituality, looking after one another will continue. As Newcombe puts it: "Being seen with the 'in-crowd' has given way to being 'out of it' in a crowd." To go to a public place where friendliness is the presumption and where being

happy is more highly valued behaviour than demonstrations of good looks, sartorial elegance or social skills, is, in this society, a startling and refreshing change - and a moving one.

Despite the best efforts of the academics, experts and careerists to seize control of the encoding of the ecstasy phenomenon, to contain the democratisation of access to the experience ecstasy provides would be like trying to get toothpaste back in the tube. In a much-cited anecdote, Brother David Steindl-Rast, a Benedictine monk, who tried ecstasy at a conference is reported to have said:

It's like climbing all day in the fog and then suddenly, briefly seeing the mountain peak for the first time. There are no short-cuts to the awakened attitude and it takes daily work and effort. But the drug gives you a vision, a glimpse of what you are seeking.¹⁴

Notes.

1. George Greer in *Advances: Journal for the Institute for the Advancement of Health* Spring 1985.
2. Reported by Joe Klein in *New York* magazine.
3. Ralph Metzner in an address to a conference on 'Psychedelics and Spirituality'.
4. This term was coined by David Nichols and 'supported' by his esoteric argument that since both MDMA and MBDB are both psychoactive despite having either/both structural features that diminish or attenuate hallucinogenic activity [N-methylation and alpha-ethylation] "...clearly one is not dealing with the pharmacology of hallucinogens any more but with some different category of psychoactive drug." 'Differences between mechanisms of action of MDMA, MBDB and the classic hallucinogens: Identification of a new therapeutic class: Entactogen'. David Nichols 'Journal of Psychoactive Drugs'.
5. M. Rosenbaum, P. Morgan, T. Beck. *The International Journal on Drug Policy* Vol.1 No2. Sept/Oct 1989.
6. Russell Newcombe *The Use of Ecstasy and Dance Drugs at Rave Parties and Clubs: some problems and solutions*. Nov. 1992, Liverpool.
7. Ian Wardle of Manchester Lifeline. quoted in *E for Ecstasy* Nicolas Saunders. London 1993.
8. Russell Newcombe *ibid*.
9. *Mixmag* Vol. 2 No 22 March 1992.
10. 'Beyond Opiates ...and into the '90s' Mark Gilman. *The Ecstasy Papers*. London, 1992.
11. Andrew Fraser, Laura Gamble and Peter Kennett in the above.
12. S. Garret and L. Baker 'Clubland after Acid House: the We Generation' *The Face* December 1989. Quoted in *Raving and Dance Drugs - House Music Clubs and Parties in North West England*. Newcombe July 1991.
13. Newcombe 1992.
14. Quoted in *Ecstasy: The MDMA Story* by Bruce Eisner. Berkeley C.A. 1989.

Directors want bank holidays abolished

TRADITIONAL bank holidays are outdated and should be scrapped, the Institute of Directors said yesterday.

The IoD, which represents 40,000 senior managers, is asking the Government to abolish the existing system of statutory bank holidays and

wants companies to be free to set holiday dates to suit production schedules.

A spokesman for the institute said that the holidays could be negotiated between employers and employees. Many companies already had contrac-

tual arrangements whereby staff worked on bank holidays, he said.

The idea was submitted to Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Employment, as part of the institute's response to a government proposal to abolish the May Day bank holiday.

The Hidden Injuries of Theory

Tom Jennings talks about the real contradictions in *Class War* and questions whether revolutionary theorising doesn't disguise more particular interests behind its all-embracing eloquence.

Despite readers' criticisms and editorial self-doubts, *Here and Now* is steering a fruitful path between academicism and the risks of self-marginalisation and ritualistic ultra-leftism. Assessing the power of middle class ideology (eg managerialism, professionalism, bureaucracy) is long overdue, given that middle class groups and agendas are instrumental in making quite fundamental decisions in the running of capitalism and the disposition of State resources; control of resources and personal ownership of capital no longer necessarily correspond; and when the course of so much of our day to day experience follows directions moulded by scientific and professional power.

A close attention to the complexities of new middle class discourses and practices, in terms of their effects in real life situations, could begin to answer some of the desperation and plaintive demands of older generations of radicals, such as ex-Solidarity member Andy Anderson,¹ without mistakenly expecting answers from specific theoretical currents. The role of theory itself in radical politics (ie as employed by 'professional revolutionaries') should also be questioned, given that one of the libertarian left's most conspicuous failings must be its inability to talk about modern Western class structures without falling foul of vulgar marxist fantasies of class struggle.

The kind of pitifully inadequate formulation which has 'capitalism' exploiting either: industrial workers; or, everyone who is waged; lingers on even in more dynamic recent movements such as *Class War*. Ironically, this may partly be a result of giving a privileged position to theory itself - felt as a necessity, having value prior to its use or any relation to practice. This parallels the structure and effectivity of middle class discourses in general, which also create realities (in the sense of shared frameworks for expression, communication and action) with considerable potential and actual force in the world, but which take little account of their effects - except those given high status within the discourse. Perhaps the traditions of classical anarchism and syndicalism, and of postwar left communism (eg councilism, situationism, autonomism) can now function only by reproducing the tensions always inherent in marxism - relating to the desire for a theory of total and conclusive causes and explanations. When undermined, the arrogance of this desire is unveiled for what it is, and so are its links with other imperialising middle class discourses. Remember, it is only 'theoretical' ground that is lost, and in terms of revolutionary politics this is a traumatic prospect mainly for those who stand primarily on theoretical ground.²

A humility of theory, on the other hand, may allow more critical practices to emerge that guard against individual moral idealism as well as ridiculing those with totalising ambitions - perhaps appropriate for a postmodern context where radical hope lies more in alliances of local practical struggles, campaigns for self-determination and expressions of class anger. Rather than fantasies of a unified world proletariat, such a politics may pay more regard to differences among the poor and oppressed, and the consequent diversity of our potential - and working towards even more effective meshings than could be achieved, for example, in the Poll Tax Rebellion or the LA uprising. In the meantime, the following (fairly mundane) examples from the last issue of *Here and Now* show some of the consequences of prioritising the demands of theory when conducting political analysis.

Funny Business: the Interpreting of Class War

If the above analogy - between professional, managerial and other middle class discourses and revolutionary doctrines - is not completely spurious (or mischievous), an unexpected effect of analysing them properly might be that some hitherto radical perspectives may lose some of their allure, when for example a class-specific disgust and hatred lurking under the purity of 'revolutionary' rhetoric is exposed. In mapping the development in Britain of the "autonomous wing of anarchism" ('Revolution as Merchandise', *Here and Now* 13, p35-

RADICAL CHAINS

No.4

'AUTONOMIST' & 'TROTSKYIST' VIEWS:
HARRY CLEAVER DEBATES HILLEL TICKTIN

THE FATE OF THE LAW OF VALUE

THE BOLSHEVIKS AGAINST THE
WORKING CLASS?

The Situationists Chris Hani
Roy Bhaskar

RADICAL CHAINS is a journal which aims to contribute to the retrieval of the revolutionary core of Marxist theory, the critique of political economy. Our starting point must be the need to understand the *prevention of communism* in all its forms, e.g. social democracy, Stalinism, fascism or national liberationism. Whatever their differences, these forms constitute real changes within bourgeois political economy by which the self-formation of the working class has been hindered. Serious theoretical work is necessary if all inherited ideologies are to be discarded and the communist perspective rediscovered as a practical need.

RADICAL CHAINS helps organise regular discussion meetings in London, along with others of differing political outlooks. Write to us at *BM Radical Chains*, London WC1N 3XX if you want to come or want copies of the journal:

RADICAL CHAINS No.1: The Prevention of Communism; No.2: Commodity Fetishism, Pannecoek; No.3: Lenin, Carl Schmitt. One issue £2.50 inc p&p, 2 for £4.50, 4 for £8 (overseas add 25%). Cheques payable to *Project Publications*.

37), Nat Turner gives a timely reminder of the Left's shortcomings. More to the point here is that special kind of contempt reserved by some radicals for any sign of human weaknesses - such as pleasure gained in and through aspects of the present evil set-up, or maybe thinking that the implications of a given situation may be, perhaps, ambiguous (just a little?). Oh no -that's reformist, even downright reactionary! Sacred theory must be protected at all costs, even if that means losing any connection to the real world. If there's joy or anger - it should be a consequence of theoretical analysis and the righteousness, and self-righteousness, that goes with it, rather than arising from our sensual engagement with the world and its attendant frustrations.



The sheer puritanical zeal of this kind of revolutionary politics runs counter to all of the irreverence, conviviality and passion - seedbeds of solidarity and direct action - that characterise so much of the diversity of lower class culture across the world and throughout history. Strange, then, to hear this evangelism called, in the British context, "proletarian fundamentalism" (Turner, p35) - meaning, presumably, proletarian in the sense of being on the 'side' of the theoretical proletariat conceptualised by Marx. Of course, awareness of these theories is utterly absent from working class communities, whereas some of the down to earth attitudes of Class War, for some reason, are familiar to many thousands of working class people.

So, Nat Turner's discussion of Class War's *Unfinished Business* pinpoints serious weaknesses in the book, especially its inability to deal with CW's own historical, geographical and social specificity. However, to write off their views on class as 'reactionary', refusal of middle class leftist political correctness (including the "proletarian fundamentalist" varieties) as "macho" and the robust populism as merely 'marketing' completely misunderstands the wide, complex appeal of the Class War paper and the diversity of its supporters and members. CW do spend a lot of time sneering at the middle classes, but their explicit politics defines the bulk of the middle classes as part of the working class (waged work/

subject to extraction of surplus value) whilst many members and supporters would not count as working class at all according to such criteria (eg underclass or new middle class). Worse, such fundamental questions are hardly addressed within the organisation. Many members are confused or have little consciousness of these issues, yet those who write CW's, 'theory', draw up 'business plans' and develop 'rigorous approaches' react hysterically to comradely debate from CW supporters, presenting their artificially unified opinions as "the Politics of Class War".

Nevertheless, a fairly straightforward exposition of classic anarchism, from a modern working class perspective, ends up in a glossy paperback stocked by High Street bookshops, regularly selling out (good pun, eh?). It passes itself off as 'The Politics of Class War', but it's really the dogmas of a few bores and loudmouths in CW who shout over, wear down and tire out a more independent, realistic, down to earth and politically naive membership. The theoretical confusion and political redundancy of *Unfinished Business* described by Nat Turner lies in its resort to classic anarchist and left communist theory, whereas the potential of the CW phenomenon resulted from bypassing such straight jackets. The view of class in the book is only reactionary if its gender, race and cultural bias is generalised to apply universally, having already been tied to archaic marxist economics. I prefer to interpret this as the effort on the part of some in CW to establish themselves as leading cadres, via their grasp, use and control of these particular theories - illustrating the role and principles of operation of middle class discourses in general.

The whole episode says little about the CW rank and file except that they were unable to prevent such manoeuvrings, now that the organisation is a revolutionary organisation along classic anarchist lines. It's a far cry from the mould-breaking tabloid swagger that spoke to many of our feelings, and went down a treat with working class people across the country - helped by the rudimentary politics and refreshing lack of refined theoretical sensitivities. The CW project began by mobilising working class identity and pride, drawing on richly varied traditions from working class cultures to describe patterns of resistance that are and will be equally diverse. But to suit the needs of CW's theorists, this is transformed into a call for working class cultural unity. Of course such unity couldn't happen without the obliteration of differences - unfortunately CW members seem wholly unaware of the implications of this shift in perspective -they aren't even sure what they mean by 'working class' at all, let alone a (singular) 'international working class'. They don't really want to have to think about it either.

Middle class politics is forced to attack the directness and vulgarity of working class behaviour and attitudes, because these are the dimensions of collective action most resistant to guidance, control or harnessing - the functions middle class discourses best serve. CW's treatment of 'working class violence' reflects their debunking of the mainstream political discourses of criminality and social cohesion. When the category of 'violence' is complicated by questions of direct bodily engagement as opposed to rationalised detachment,

then it has little to do with working class "virility" being hampered by the "effete middle class" (Turner, p37).

Middle class individuals can, of course, be as violent as anyone else, though associated meanings will usually be gathered into discourses such as legalism, 'rights' or nationalism. The point is that these ideological underpinnings have to play down effects of social class, in order to be coherent - middle class knowledge and action, whether via State institutions or, less concretely, in scientific, theoretical or 'common sense' understanding. The point is that although working class people can 'operate' middle class discourses - if less readily and seamlessly - the institutional practices and material inertia associated with them can still exert their power in the world, and still need to be exposed - as *Here and Now* is trying to do from one set of perspectives, and as Class War also helped to do from an entirely different starting point. Class identity, like any other aspects of identity, is fragmentary. It is the structure and effectivity of a discourse that concerns us in the first instance, not the 'essence' of those individuals momentarily mobilised by it. Yet, of course, ideas are not in themselves, important - only their capacity to enlist, mobilise and animate strategic groups of people, in deploying specific material resources.

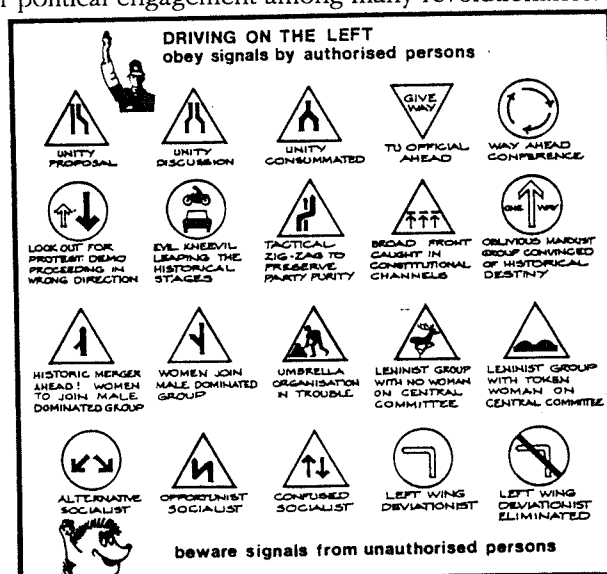
The failure to grasp any of the implications of this is evident in the idea that "action... instead of talking" (eg about gender issues; Turner, p37) has any relevance to politics (revolutionary or not); or that identity politics should stick to "unravelling the mish-mash of conditioning" (ibid). That hoary old dichotomy of mind-language versus body, elaborated into identity via 'learning', may fit postwar far-left theory, but should otherwise be relinquished as the anachronism it has been since the sixties. "A willingness to use violence" may be "a poor guide to *political soundness*" (Turner p37, my emphasis), but we know that self defence is no offence - and to revolutionaries, 'offence' should be no offence either. Liberal pluralist identity politics, and its tactic of political soundness - sorry correctness - refer to the lifestyle choices of those whose institutional positions allow them to disavow the world's unpleasantnesses, while the structures they serve do the same old business. It's not a case of gratuitously hating middle class people, but the need to be clear about the dominance of certain types of discourse (which, more often than not, coincide with middle class positions).

Similarly, CW's honest sense of rootedness in specific British working class cultural environments doesn't have to lead to nationalism, or be denied with illusions of universality - even if CW's ideologists don't understand this (proved by their discussions of Ireland and Europe in *Unfinished Business*). In general the Class War newspaper had considerable propagandising potential, which it was able to fulfil for several years without needing to appeal to or engage with the agendas, priorities and sensitivities of its near neighbours in far-left politics.³ These and other political interests respond by resurrecting the kind of smears⁴ aimed in the past at Bakunin and Sorel, among others - expressing an intense fear of collective explosions of unrest - in particular that these may evade the grasp of the political cadres, and, more pertinently here, reveal the bankruptcy of theory. Many

people would be relieved to see the end of Class War, not least because its success threatens to undermine all sorts of "proletarian" pretensions.⁵ However, a combination of the effects of CW's own 'theorists' (lending contingent support to equations of populism with demagogic orchestration of hate), plus the surprisingly intense levels of enmity and contempt from other revolutionaries for its rashness and vulgarity have helped to stifle CW's progress.

Dream Off

This contempt is open in Blob's 'Hot Time on Desolation Row' (*Here and Now* 13, p7) - an otherwise valuable and incisive summary of recent patterns of British rioting, most successful when based on information from local contacts as opposed to playing guessing games with the inaccuracies of media coverage. But the arrogance referred to above about the theory and politics of class struggle lead to Blob's comments (p26) about Amber Films' production of 'Dream On', commissioned and shot on the Meadow Well estate in North Shields long before the riots there. The account given of the film's development, production and reception is in most respects falsified (bad guesswork?), apparently so as to preclude any analysis of events other than the predictable left communist rant. It seems most appropriate to interpret this as reflecting the submission to theory which has displaced commonality of experience and motivation as the grounds for political engagement among many revolutionaries.



Class War's review of the film (issue 53, p15) did not refer to any of the so-called theory of *Unfinished Business*. It was simply one CW member's immediate and emotional response to the film. Though rather naive about the film's producers, this was refreshingly free of the pretentious, alienating garbage dragged in by many 'radicals' when they wish to sneer at ordinary folks enjoying something so blatantly commodified (and admitting it is almost beyond the pale!). Unsurprisingly, the sneering is rationalised as ideological correctness. So we learn from Blob that Class War have no 'critique of art', causing the reviewer (and the editors and entire membership?) to misunderstand the film. Apparently, not only should a film review be scrutinised for its adherence to doctrine, but film viewers are supposed to

interrogate the motives of its producers before deciding on whether to laugh at the jokes, empathise with characters or be engaged by the narrative. I'd like to see Blob trying to convince 'Dream On's large and enthusiastic audiences (huge in the NE) of this - because the film did not 'bomb' at all. Being a Channel 4 TV production, only modest debts were incurred in printing the film for the cinema - to be repaid when foreign TV rights etc come in.

This may be thought too trivial to mention - it's only a film - a media product made and sold, like any other, according to various institutional and market constraints. So, why does Blob go to such trouble to trash it? Class War's reviewer liked the film partly because it portrayed its chosen aspect of working class culture accurately, plus it hinted that positive responses to anti-social behaviour and suffering could be autonomously generated through community links. There was no sign of any middle class characters or discourses within the narrative (pretty unusual eh?), although passion, fantasy and empathy among the characters were prominent. The screenplay was based on the experiences of women residents of the Meadow Well estate in a writing group in the mid-80s. Their book⁶ ends with a copy of a letter to Thatcher, including the words, "*We're amazed you haven't been assassinated yet,*" plus the polite reply from a Downing Street minion, ending, "*...your comments have been carefully noted!*" These women had no illusions about the significance or likely effects of their activities, and were unlikely to be 'recuperated' in any sense. Maybe CW and I lack a 'critique of literature' too!

The writing group was self-originated, but only developed the way it did because of the recuperative efforts of various funders and professionals. For example, the interests of the



group's co-ordinator - as writer, community worker and Amber Films partner - require a certain intensity of working class suffering and a supposed inability for this to be expressed positively (let alone in 'art' or worthy culture) without the ministrations of middle class culture entrepreneurs. However, the pivotal role in the film narrative - the 'wise woman' character - is clearly based on the co-ordinator. This identity is mystified in the narrative as a working class older woman tied organically to the community, rather than being parachuted in as a paid middle class expert.

This crucial manoeuvre allows all of the social and economic relations of production of the film to be denied. The council can cite a community worker to justify their image as caring while they get on with the main cuts and yuppification business at hand. Amber build up their catalogue of documentary realism, reinforcing their claims of expertise in objectifying, patronising and rendering as tame the working class communities that they target. Yet all signs of the institutional networks and forces that plague the real life community have been purged from the film's narrative. But, this amazing evacuation of reality, in the passage to fairy tale, allows the fantasy elements of the narrative (including the wise woman character) their full effect. This level of paradoxical 'realism' suggests how contradictory and how crucial creative fantasy may be in working class culture and politics, as a key factor in its resilience and relative imperviousness to the stultified managed passivity that the professionals work towards (whether they know it, or like it, or not).

This double irony reflects the ambivalence of many professional social and community workers from working class backgrounds. They rely on poverty, oppression and external imposition for their material security, yet wish-fulfillingly fantasise that they are really part of the communities they police. If we were assessing 'Dream On' from a perspective of measuring the pretensions of its makers against some ideal revolutionary motives, then "*savaging it as ... miserable ... recuperative junk*" (Blob, p26) makes sense. But to identify so blatantly with the film's makers (even to slag them off) betrays the bias of revolutionary proletarian theoreticians, including the fascination with "drowning people" who "clutch at anything". Meadow Well residents may be depressed at times, but aren't "drowning". Condescending charitable attention - whether from radical theorists with critiques of art or more conventional sources - is not constructive and will not be welcomed. Class War may be slated for its populism, but taking the perspective of the film's viewers allows these traps to be avoided. The reviewer need not assume a position of superior knowledge - most viewers couldn't care less about the careers, agonies and postures of film makers, or their friends and rivals on the left - all competing for the right to know and represent the truth of working class suffering, claiming a position of privileged access to its essence. Meanwhile, the CW reviewer accurately perceived that many working class viewers will have been affected, in some small way, by this film - either at the pictures or on the telly - but in ways that media professionals can't have access to - to use, spoil or manipulate. Most wouldn't even be aware of these effects. Thanks to self-imposed theoretical blinkers, neither is Blob.

Postscript

Unfortunately Class War's editors may have taken on board the left communist-type of 'critique' - perhaps so as to compete more credibly for status in the anarchist ghetto. A film reviewed recently was 'Reservoir Dogs' - a Scorsese-style bloodbath movie about as far from 'Dream On's kind of realism as you could get. The film strips down the usual "phony macho Hollywood crap" (CW 58, p15) - male bonding in extremes of pain, terror and death -by forcing several Hollywood styles to their logical extremes. The glamorous image of careers in serious crime and police investigation are comprehensively tarnished, whereas the film is saturated not only with fake blood, but also the dominant media representations (the clothes, the music, the poses) that associate such danger with sexiness. This is a clever and powerful film, although designed and marketed as a cult object for trendy youth and film buffs, rather than for a blockbuster's audience. However, Class War no longer seems able to pitch a review at a simple and effective level - raiding the film text for messages conducive to their own purposes and trampling all over other contrary meanings in the narratives - as with Batman as assassin, or with Terminator as nemesis of the ruling classes.⁷ Instead the review of 'Reservoir Dogs' hints vaguely at its "vacuous arguments"; complains that sympathy is evoked for the 'wrong' characters; and ends by calling it a "distasteful" film. Distasteful ... ?! Yes ... but is it recuperative?! Well, quite.

Notes

1. Andy & Mark Anderson, *Why the Revolutionaries Have Failed* Splat Collective, c/o 5 Cadbury Rd, Birmingham 13.
2. For various perspectives on these questions, see: Cornelius Castoriadis, 'Marx Today: the Tragi-Comical Paradox' (interview with *Lutter* journal), *Solidarity*, Issue 17, 1988, p7-17; Dick Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things*, Routledge 1988; Mark Poster, *The Mode of Information: Poststructuralism and Social Context*, Polity 1990; Sadie Plant, *The Most Radical Gesture: the Situationist International in a Postmodern Age*, Routledge 1992; Tom Jennings & Mike Michael, *Culture Shocked: Passion, Truth and Politics*, AK Press (forthcoming, 1993).
3. For example: Stewart Home, *The Assault on Culture: Utopian Currents from Lettrisme to Class War*, AK Press 1992 - as well as Class War's own *Decade of Disorder*, Verso, 1991; and *Unfinished Business: the Politics of Class War*, AK Press, 1992.
4. And the criticisms in *Here and Now*, which confuse *Unfinished Business* with CW as a whole, fit nicely into the agenda of those currently attacking a wide range of anti-fascist libertarians - an unfortunate irony, given Turner's account of 1970s autonomists and the Anti-Nazi League (*Here and Now* No.13, p35).
5. Not just on the libertarian left, either, eg: 'The Passing of an Old Warrior', *Analysis* magazine's sympathetic but premature obituary (early 1993) circulated to CW groups - presumably hoping for conversions to Leninism?
6. *Mixed Feelings: Writings from Cedarwood Centre Women's Group*, Cedarwood, North Shields, 1988.
7. See: Tom Jennings, 'The Lynch Mob: Watching New Film' in Jennings & Michael, *Culture Shocked*.

Progress of Enclosure

"Not as a chore, but as an eagerly desired pleasure, I was fairly often entrusted with the task of buying fish and bringing it home alone. This involved the following: walking to the station in five to ten minutes; buying a ticket; watching train with coal-burning steam locomotive pull in; boarding train; riding across long bridge over shallows separating small-boat harbour (on the right) from ship's harbour (on the left), including small naval base with torpedo boats; continuing through a tunnel; leaving train at terminal, sometimes dawdling to look at railroad equipment; walking by and sometimes entering



'Never play with footballs in the middle of the street / Don't take anything from strangers - money, games or sweets': rhyming survival tips for the Nineties child from *The Streetwise Kid: A Keeping Safe Rap* by Lorraine Simeon and Sarah-Jane Stewart (Blackie £3.50).

fisheries museum; passing central town park where military band played during mid-day break; strolling by central shopping and business district, or, alternatively, passing fire station with horses at ease under suspended harnesses, ready to go, and continuing past centuries-old town hall and other ancient buildings; exploration of fish market and fishing fleet; selection of fish; haggling about price; purchase and return home."

Albert Parr describing an event in his childhood, in a Swedish port, when he was aged four. (Colin Ward *The Child in the City*, 1978)

Redefining the Radical

PC as Media Scare and Translation

Douglas Spencer discusses how the phenomenon of 'political correctness' is a vehicle for cultural specialists to manage language in their own interests.

Introduction

The media assault on Political Correctness which reached its peak in the US during 1991, shares many characteristics with other scares of recent years, such as those over serial killers or ritual child abuse. It was manufactured, both in the US, and to a lesser extent in the UK, through an organised media campaign into the latest epidemic of evil to threaten innocence, freedom and civilisation as we know it.

The aim of this article is to examine how this campaign was orchestrated, who by, and for what purpose. But also to go beyond the defensive counters to this by the left and to critically map the origins of PC as a strategy of 'tenured radicals' and question its premises and presumptions.

Now the Enemy is Within

An article in the US journal *Propaganda Review* dates the origin of the attack on PC to a memo circulated amongst the academic Right which:

"...suggested 'highground articulation', that is, thoroughly reframing issues so that the right would no longer be seen as the champions of bigots and exclusion."¹

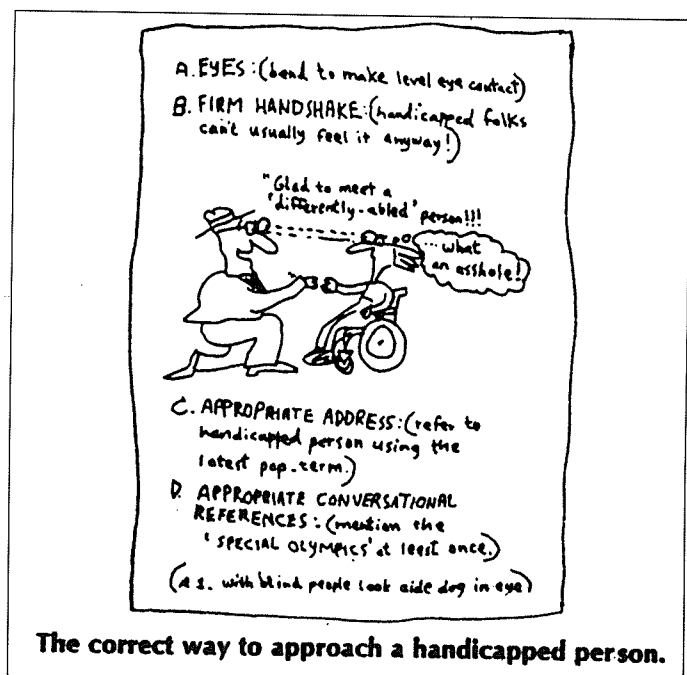
The Bush administration, allied with conservative academics and the media, were able to project those unappealing characteristics - authoritarianism, intolerance, narrow-mindedness, etc. - with which they would normally be charged, onto the academic Left. Now casting themselves in the role of guardians of free speech and the protectors of innocence, the Right charged the Left with being enemies of freedom, and then, as the campaign gathered pace and broadened from academic debate to public propaganda, with totalitarianism, fascism and, most significantly in terms of its strategy of projection, with McCarthyite witch-hunts.

In its initial stages, however, the case against PC was articulated around concerns over the entrenchment of radicals within academe who were bent on discarding the great traditions of disinterested pursuit of truth and knowledge, and replacing them with narrow and negative interpretations of Western culture in terms of race, class and gender. Many articles took their cue from key texts such as Roger Kimball's *Tenured Radicals* and Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education* and significantly both of these were funded by Right wing organisations (Kimball's by the American Enterprise Institute, and D'Souza's by the John Olin Foundation). Referring to fears of the 'enemy within' Kimball wrote:

"Yesterday's student radical is today's tenured professor or academic dean... the radical vision of the sixties has not so much been abandoned as internalized by many who came of age then and who now teach and administer our institutions of higher education."²

Like all good scares the PC scare had its innocent victims and evil perpetrators. Numerous tales of professors silenced, or hounded out of universities, by rabid PC'ers for breaking 'restrictive' speech codes, circulated throughout the US media. These stories summoned up images of PC storm-troopers patrolling the halls of academe using unjust accusations of racism and sexism to silence those who failed to comply with their ideological dogma. Like all good scares, this impression was built more on lies, hype and 'just the tip of the iceberg' rhetoric than on the small number of actually verified cases of PC's restrictive practices.

Of course, concerns over academic freedoms and the plight of professors don't stir up much fear or anxiety for those outside the university walls. So, as the campaign was spread to the wider public, the anti-PC rhetoric became more hysterical, using the random selection of any convenient and obvious symbol of evil and oppression to characterise PC. Both the *Atlantic Monthly* and *New York Times* carried features on PC accompanied by images of book-burning Hitler Youth, while another article quoting Stephen Thernstrom warns:



"This is a new McCarthyism. It's more frightening than the old McCarthyism, which had no support in the academy. Now the enemy is within. There are students and faculty who have no belief in freedom of speech."³

Through this kind of rhetoric PC was articulated as a threat to the public at large implying that what happens in academe today will happen to us all tomorrow. This strategy is most neatly exemplified in the frequently used question 'Are you politically correct?', invoking a fear of ideological dogma and implying that we are all, or soon will be, subject to its orthodoxy.

The attempt to remodel language in terms of political correctness provided PC's opposition with an opportunity to ridicule the new euphemisms like 'animal companion' ('pet') or 'vertically challenged' ('short'), while simultaneously creating fears about interference with 'our' language and threats to 'freedom of speech'.

At the peak of the PC scare President Bush made his contribution stating:

"...the notion of political correctness... declares certain topics off-limits, certain expressions off-limits."⁴

What we actually see behind the anti-PC rhetoric is an attempt by the Right itself to 'declare certain topics off-limits' - namely racism, sexism and class, or any other reference to systems of exploitation and oppression, under penalty of being tarred with the PC brush as totalitarian-communist-fascist.

The response of the Left to this assault has been mixed. While exposing the Right's hidden agenda some have claimed that PC is merely a media construction, i.e. 'there is nothing to be scared of', while others affirm its existence and make claims for its radicalism, i.e. 'there is something (for the Right) to be scared of'. If PC was nothing but a figment of the Right's invective there would be no need to explore this topic further. But as the academic Left would like to see itself as 'more than merely academic'⁵ we do need to examine such pretensions to radicalism, not least to understand how its practices enable the Right to present themselves in a position of relative tolerance.

Translating the Radical

Although the majority of its practitioners, especially following the PC scare, would avoid the label 'PC', there continues to exist a firm belief by sections of the academic Left and other middle class professionals, in the idea that by using strategies such as politically correct speech and 'positive' media images the inequalities and oppression on which capitalism is built can be overcome.

This belief has its origins in a broad left-intellectual current of this century which has placed an emphasis on attempting to analyse and understand the role of culture, or, in Marxist terms the superstructure, in reproducing capitalism, attempt-

ing a more sophisticated analysis than the vulgar Marxist economic reductionism of the base-determined model. This current examined the roles of cultural apparatuses such as the media, education, the family and language, as carriers of a naturalized bourgeois ideology that could be unmasked, or demystified, by radical intellectuals using the techniques of critical theory.



Semiotics occupied a key position in this current as a theoretical practice which promised to analyse culture and cultural products as signifying systems which placed their spectators and consumers in their subject positions, of 'working man', 'housewife', 'patriot' etc within ideology. Semiotics and structuralism sought to analyse features of capitalism such as racism, sexism and class domination in terms of cultural codes, structures and discourses which, while on the surface appearing to be 'natural' or 'common sense', could, through acts of decoding, be made to reveal their historically constructed ideological essence and thus be challenged.

The disillusionment that followed the failure of the student's and worker's uprisings of 1968 prompted an even more fundamental questioning of the traditional Marxist framework in which these intellectuals had operated. With post-structuralism the cultural codes of language, discourse and text were understood to refer to only to each other in an endless chain of signifiers, without having any reference to a fixed reality or signified beyond the text. Power was understood to be dispersed through a fragmented network of these discourses, of race, sex, patriarchy etc., in ways which undermined the possibility of conceptualising capital

as a totality of exploitation and traditional notions of class struggle as a means to bring about its downfall.

If the Situationists had complained of the alienation caused in a world where 'real life' had been negated and replaced in the mediated form of spectacle, then post-structuralists, and later post-modernists, would argue that there is no 'real life' or genuine 'human nature', to be alienated from: the only reality is the reality of the spectacle.

It is important to understand that theorists and academics, like Foucault, Baudrillard and Lyotard, while rejecting the concepts of orthodox Marxism, class struggle and revolution, saw themselves, and came to be seen, as more advanced, critical and radical than those still trapped within these now passé mindsets. They were not disavowing their claims to radicalism, but redefining, or translating it into their own terms, terms which now privileged the status of those doing the translation as experts in the newly defined field. What this newly defined field marks is the terminus of the movement from economic reductionism to textual reductionism. How convenient for 'radical' cultural critics to conclude that only their own fields of specialisation are worthy of attention and that real social action can be abandoned, without bad conscience, to the less enlightened and naive. All this allows these specialists to underwrite their ideas and practices with the authority of being truly radical and therefore entitled to engage in its professional management.



Since, in the realm of textual reductionism, little, if anything, exists beyond text, discourse and language, and these discourses are all-pervasive and responsible for producing, and reproducing, oppression and inequality, it is these discourses which need to be challenged and changed: a change of language which will change people and their social relations.

In practice this takes the form of the advocacy of politically correct reformulation of language by sections of academe and in areas of social work, together with calls for 'positive images' of minority and oppressed groups within the mass

media. In redefining the radical these professionals are able to redefine what constitutes radical activity, in this case, action by an enlightened professional sector on behalf of the oppressed, justified by their own discourses of professionalism and expertise.

Aside from the obvious vanguardism of such practices there are numerous criticisms to be made of PC, and the ideas it originates from. These would include the abandonment of ideas of class struggle and the failure to realise how different facets of oppression actually connect as a totality in capitalism. But we might look here, briefly, at two major criticisms of the PC approach.

Firstly, the kind of discourse theory associated with this approach sees individuals as simply produced by, and within, dominant discourses of, for example, race, gender and nationality, and allows little notion of a human agency capable of sidestepping, or challenging, dominant ideological discourses. This ignores the many ways these discourses are critically subverted, or rearticulated. For example, the use by radical gay and lesbian groups of apparently abusive terms like 'queer' or 'dyke' shows how language can be appropriated in far more subversive and dynamic ways than the professional management of language attempted by PC.

Secondly the argument for 'positive images' is one which can easily serve the interests of those who wish to maintain the existing order of things. If everyone is represented, as image, within the media spectacle, then nobody can be said to be outside or excluded. Capital can present itself as catering for all, at the level of appearances, while in social reality the conditions which perpetuate oppression continue. The demands for representation are far more easily met and incorporated into capital than demands for an end to the conditions it produces.

Culture is an important area of struggle but how we do so is crucial. We should not hand over the responsibility for this struggle to a professional vanguard of cultural specialists who, while arguing for politically correct language happily inhabit institutions which help to perpetuate social inequality. Apart from its other failings, this strategy has allowed the Right to characterise all radicals as the enemies of freedom.

Douglas Spencer

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EXCLUSIVE Interview With Satan

May I start by asking you whether you are worried by the increasing attacks on you and your works by Christian evangelicals and fundamentalists?

Frankly these people do not concern me at all. Their 17th century forebears were a much more serious danger, but that was the last time I have had to worry about christians. These days they pose no real threat -for the simple reason that none of their ideas or activities actually impinge on my real interests or powers. They think their Jesus is some sort of magic talisman that will guarantee their victory. Such sublime overconfidence means they are doomed. They underestimate me. I realise a lot of people think the fundamentalists have an exaggerated view of my influence in the world, but in fact where they go wrong is the opposite: they still haven't grasped that it is *I* who am in command of their world not 'God'. They just can't handle this fact because they are basically just conservatives with a religious gloss, not serious revolutionaries. Now, those christian fanatics in the 17th century -they were a real nuisance! *They* knew the score. They realised the world belonged to me and that a wholesale social upheaval would be needed to overthrow me.

What are your plans for the future?

At the moment I'm trying to simplify the world. It's got too complicated and I'm working on ways to eliminate wastage and streamline my operations. In the long run I'd like to dispense with the whole biological side of things -the earth, bodies, all that stuff. Over the last couple of hundred years my people have been developing some impressive schemes for doing this. You see, the direction we have to move in the

next thousand years is towards greater spirituality and away from all this outmoded materialism. Bodies are messy, unpredictable things and take too long to die. They also have quite limited capacity for suffering and are easily distracted by their senses and so on. For some time now I've been trying to get across the idea of doing away with people's bodies altogether. The need to get the body under closer social control and to devote more attention to regulating, tidying up and ultimately abolishing nature is increasingly being appreciated nowadays. Of course (and this is normally how I do these things) the people who think they are defending nature are helping to hasten its demise. I have to make sure they are motivated by such ideas in order to make them bring about the opposite of what they believe they are doing.

Can you explain why the body has to be eliminated?

I find people's minds so much easier to manage than the bodies. It's as simple as that basically. A long time ago I succeeded in getting the view established that it was the flesh which was evil and that this was my special area of interest. That was how I implanted religious, and then finally scientific, ideas into people, and the whole habit of valuing *abstractions* more than material realities. Naturally, I let 'Go' take the credit for all that business: dualism, the mind/body division, puritanism and so forth. All the psychological misery, self-hatred, etc. that resulted should have made clear it was really *me* behind it all!

Anyway, at that stage my plan wasn't to get rid of the bodies simply to get control of the physical world by means of control over people's minds. And my idea was, as it still is, ju

Satan and his goals for human beings have often been misunderstood. From his gracious abode in the underworld the Devil granted Here and Now an exclusive interview in which he reflects on a period which has seen his comeback from obscurity and outlines his hopes and fears for the future.

to increase misery and unhappiness. Nowadays, of course, with the technology people have created, and above all with the *society* they've made, where *money* (my favourite invention) makes sure nobody can escape, it is possible to make everyone accomplish in practice what hitherto only ascetic priests and idealist philosophers could speculate about: to replace the physical world by a purely spiritual or mental one. Virtual Reality, which you're all so agog about, is just the first stage on from visceral reality. First you train yourselves to turn off most of your senses and while you're not paying attention I can remove them from your control altogether. These days hardly anyone obeys a purely physical impulse: they put their whole bodies at the service of some concept or other. Physical reflexes, I admit, still exist. I get a shudder whenever someone sneezes, for example. But that's just because it reminds me of the time when I had so few handles on what people did, when they were just animals.

They're part of the programme, naturally, but they don't need to know why. Their hatred and disgust for their own species is their most positive contribution.

As you know, people have debated for centuries about what the nature of your game really is: whether you serve God's larger purpose or whether you are a rival power independent of Him. Do you have a 'Grand Design' of your own and will you tell us what it is?

Forget 'God' for a start. It's he who serves *my* purposes. If you use the brains I gave you, you'll realise that this resolves a lot of your old theological riddles. My aim is to make people *suffer*: to spread fear, hatred, misery. Once you've got that, it shouldn't take much thought for you to see how your 'God' fits into this scheme: what better way to enhance and intensify suffering than to let my victims believe there is something out there looking after them. If you want to produce *despair* you must let people have *hope* so you can keep thwarting it. I don't expect to convince you of this, naturally (you humans only want theories that fit your own criteria, based on your need for wishful thinking), but that's the score. Take it or leave it. All the theological systems I've come across seem to be variations on the same themes: either a good god who is in total control, or two rival forces of good and evil, or a whole mess of gods with nothing to do with good and evil. If you ask some of your mental patients, you'll find quite a few of them have hit on the right answer - that I'm the one in command and I'm the *BAD* one. But who's going to listen to those people?

So animals are outside your control?

Don't talk to me about animals! They really piss me off. What the hell can you do with them? They just sleep, eat, fuck and run around exercising their bodies. I spent millions of years experimenting, trying to see if I could get just *one* of these bloody species to show some spark of guilt, depression, self-hatred, or even plain thought. The sooner humans get rid of them the better as far as I'm concerned.

The Animal Rights and Earth First people, I suppose, must have grasped your aim then? They at least must be a thorn in your side?

But you yourself speak as if you meet resistance, and you have to work to achieve your aims. You are obviously not in complete control?

The passive recalcitrance of nature, including human nature, is an obstacle, yes. There is also a lot of *active*, but fortunately largely unconscious and poorly organised, resistance. You don't expect me to tell you about the limits to my power and the weak links in my organisation, do you? I've given you more than enough clues already, but I feel justified in being confident about my own omnipotence, even if, as you rightly say, it is only conditional upon other things.



"You know, we're just not reaching that guy."

Can we get on to the issue of sexual abuse of children? As you know, recently it's been alleged that you, or your followers, have got into this. How do you respond to these claims, and what is our view of them?

This is an interesting one. It always amuses me the way that, in the christian tradition and its offshoots like social work, psychology and feminism, I have been linked with sexuality. This is really a very small part of my concerns. Let me fill you in on some of the background to this. Sex was originally introduced purely as a means of reproducing; to ensure there would always be a continual supply of souls to torment. The brief pleasure attached to it was simply an incentive to get people to do it, to keep them in the game, so to speak. That's basically all there was to it. The fact that people have used it for all sorts of other things has always been a bit annoying, and at times has been a very worrying sign of inefficiency and waste, but until recently I can't say I gave the matter much thought. I have nothing against people enjoying themselves, as long as it doesn't divert them from their function. Their selfishnesses and cruelties in this sphere are pretty small beer in my scheme of things. But really I have to make it clear that this whole sex business is a very limited sphere of operations for me.

Now, since my main aim is to maximise misery and despair, it is LOVE that has always proved far more productive.

Another thing I'm most proud of is the association I've encouraged between the ideas of 'God' and of 'Love'. Love causes much deeper and more lasting harm -of the kind I'm interested in- than mere sex ever did.

But the mental damage caused by men sexually exploiting children is incalculable. From everything you say, you must surely benefit from this misery?

You humans are so unimaginative. You always view the world in terms of your own limited experiences and can't see beyond the pathetic fantasies whose origins you don't even want to understand. What you call 'evil' hardly deserves the name. I deal in *eternities*, mate. What's the maximum a kid can suffer from what you call 'sexual abuse'? One, maybe two lifetimes of unhappiness, with occasional remissions. Not really on my scale of priorities. If you want some idea of *Hell*, you're going to have to do better than that. I've seen all these things you're referring to -ritual torture, mutilation, human sacrifice, a million times before in human history. I'm not too impressed.

If you are really so concerned about the fate of all the victims of child sex abuse, I presume you will be pleased if I tell you that hardly any of them end up in Hell? I can assure you, too, that you won't find any 'followers' of mine involved in this activity. My purposes are better served by the agencies who organise the social *response* to it.

I don't understand that.

Just reflect on what it *is* about the sexual exploitation of children that arouses the outrage. Is it because it corrupts and distorts the development of a healthy sexuality? Is it that it is a violation of the proper relation of trust between children and their parents? That may well be what lies behind the popular indignation, but believe me this is not what is at work among those organising the 'protection' campaign. Don't you think they have interests of their own in all this? And isn't the suppression of *trust* one of the most striking consequences of this whole affair? I find the liberation of fantasy and its judicial empowerment a very positive development.

What about the abusers?

You shouldn't expect me to gratify your petty 'morality' by telling you that the perpetrators will get what they deserve in the afterlife. You'll never understand the character of my enterprise if you think it runs according to human notions of justice. I leave it to psychiatrists and social workers to try to convince these people that what they've done is wrong. That is what motivates the do-gooders: the urge to make people experience the misery of penitence and so on. Everyone to their *own Hell*, that's what I believe. You might be surprised by the Hell I have lined up for the crusading child-savers, by the way. I have some of them abusing kids themselves, just so they know what it's like. Amuses me, that sort of thing.

That's a notion of justice, isn't it?

Not at all. Not even poetic justice. It's not for punishment in your sense. It's for my fun. Only those who are obsessed with morality and suchlike get what you could call their just deserts. I'm not into making sure that rapists and child-abusers get castrated or bugged for all eternity; what I do to them depends on what they themselves happen to be most afraid of. I don't make the penalty fit the crime in any such rigid, old-fashioned way, because there are no crimes in my system, only fears and loathings. The moralist idea of Hell is based on the wish-fulfilment principle that people get what they 'need', as a kind of symbolic compensation (which is what punishment is all about). I love to disappoint you people: the world isn't fair like this! Hell is where you get what you *don't want*. How do I decide this? People are delighted to give me all the necessary information by the very care with which they indulge their desires and hatreds. Hell is generally the materialization of some ideology or other. I take people very literally, so that they realise they were exaggerating or oversimplifying when it's too late. Utopian planners and techno-futurists are a favourite sport of mine: I follow their designs to the letter so they can live alone in worlds they thought up themselves, and they spend eternity in remorse. You should hear them whining how they never meant it *seriously*. It's wonderful. The world you see around you is essentially just a scale model of worlds to come.

I don't really make written contracts like your Faust story says. There's no small print and I'm not into legal tricks of that kind. You just need to think it and I do it for you. Let me know what you really hate and I'll make sure you get it. Tell me what you think you really *want* and I'll make sure you get that too! It's nothing to do with justice. I don't tell people what's bad for them, I'm more like a counsellor -a good listener.

To get back to the christian fundamentalists: they have been saying that AIDS is a divine retribution meted out to sexual minorities. Can you shed some light on what your role has been in this?

AIDS has been around a bit longer than you think, but apart from that I'm afraid I'm not prepared to go into details about matters that are still very sensitive. All I will say here is that I am very gratified by the manner in which the whole issue has been made the focus of moral campaigning on *every* side, and not just the christians. Just as with the child abuse situation, I steer the actions of those who are not themselves involved but who *use* it to exploit the moral fallout for their own advantage. I don't intervene directly, I'm more of a facilitator, as I indicated. The more anxiety, grief, guilt and shame the better. AIDS has been very lucrative. It's good to see people uniting around symbols of fear and loathing of course, but in the long run the safe sex, behaviour-modification programme is definitely a move in the right direction. It is helping to make sex-control and behaviour-change into a necessary and accepted function of the state. I'm anxious that this doesn't get relegated simply to the goal of stopping the virus but develops into a broad-based strategy to restructure

the whole sex instinct, and at the very least eliminate the homosexual form of it altogether. I'm sure this can be very easily done.

The means by which this disease *spreads* is the direct exchange of bodily fluids: as an epidemic it therefore highlights the dangers involved in humanity's real social nature -the unmediated physical union of individuals as individuals. As I've already explained, this is a major problem for me. Just consider the ancient use of blood as a symbol for human community and the rituals of mixing blood as a way of expressing social bonds. You can't imagine how disgusting I find such things. I have to make sure people learn to submit their sexual inclinations to more social policing, by propaganda and professionalisation, etc. I've already got people scared of kissing, even inhibited from *shaking hands*. So far this has gone pretty well, but I'm still a bit concerned that a purely medical cure will come along before society has got sex properly under control. If the worst comes to the worst, the whole thing might subside and will be looked back on as just another *sickness* like syphilis or cholera.



What are your views about racism and nationalism?

I am continually being blamed for hatreds and wars, but I don't have that much to do with them. I don't control either their causes or their results. Unlike 'God' I am genuinely impartial in most conflicts. Wars aren't caused by the differences among peoples, but by their similarities -which their conflicts actually strengthen. For my part I'm trying to raise awareness about differences. You will find an answer to your question in this.

I'm afraid you'll have to explain more fully

Look, take the situation in Yugoslavia today -which I'm sure is in your mind or that of your readers- and the wars in Africa. Whatever people there are fighting 'for' or fighting 'about', in

their own minds, the point is that in the very process of fighting, people are engaged in the *same* sort of activities, in the same way as their enemies. Hegel was quite astute on this business and came very close to appreciating my perspective on things like this; he saw that conflicts produce a common fate for the forces involved. You could say, therefore, that I'm in favour of Western intervention. Yes, definitely I'm for increasing the stakes.



Finally, can you give us your views on the world political situation as we approach the Millennium?

The year 2000, as I'm sure you realise, is only significant for christians and the decimal-fetishists of the media. The Jews went through the 2000 barrier a long time ago without making any fuss about it. My hope is to stay in business successfully as long as I'm needed. Contrary to what you might imagine (and, as I've been suggesting, most of what I do is precisely beyond your imagination) there are some very disturbing signs around right now. My regime depends on people *behaving themselves* - that is, conforming to whatever I get them to think is the spirit of the age. Smallish-sized collectivities are, I find, much better at enforcing this kind of conformism than big impersonal structures which leave too many blindspots, so I've been working on breaking societies down into these smaller, more manageable mental worlds. I can actually get a better handle on developments this way, and it's not at all incompatible with overall standardisation. But this fragmentation is getting very complex now, and all sorts of people may be starting to extricate themselves from mental regulation and may even start *thinking for themselves* which would be quite intolerable. The old mass hysteria trick is wearing a bit thin nowadays: witch-crazes, pogroms, lynch-mobs, terrorism, etc. don't seem to work so well like they did in the old days. Ecological catastrophe is fine as a short-term panic but it may backfire and put the whole system in jeopardy. We'll just have to see.

Thank you. This has been very enlightening

“What a difference there was between the new and the old parts of Mexico City only 20 years ago. In the old parts of the city the streets were true commons. Some people sat on the road to sell vegetables and charcoal. Others put their chairs on the road to drink coffee or tequila. Others held their meetings on the road to decide on the new headman for the neighbourhood or to determine the price of a donkey. Others drove their donkeys through the crowd, walking next to the heavily-laden beast of burden; others sat in the saddle. Children played in the gutter, and people walking could still use the road to get from one place to another.

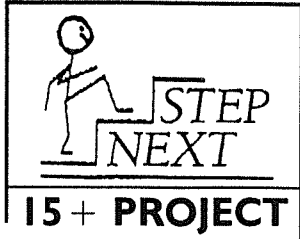
Such roads were built for people. Like any true commons, the street itself was the result of people living there and making that space livable. The dwellings that lined the roads were not private homes in the modern sense - garages for the overnight deposit of workers. The threshold still separated two living spaces, one intimate and one common. But neither homes in this intimate sense nor streets as commons survived economic development.

In the new sections of Mexico City, streets are no longer for people. They are now roadways for automobiles, for buses, for taxis, cars, and trucks. People are barely tolerated on the streets unless they are on their way to a bus stop. If people now sat down or stopped on the street they would become obstacles for traffic, and the traffic would be dangerous to them. The road has been degraded from a commons to a simple resource for the circulation of vehicles. People can circulate no more on their own. Traffic has displaced their mobility. They can circulate only when they are strapped down and are moved.” Ivan Illich, *Silence is a Commons*, 1982.

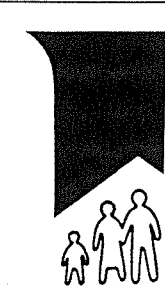
Logocentrism



Barnardos



Working with children and families.



NCH is a Christian-based and aims to be an equal employer, offering training opportunities to employees.



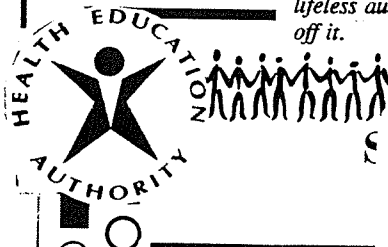
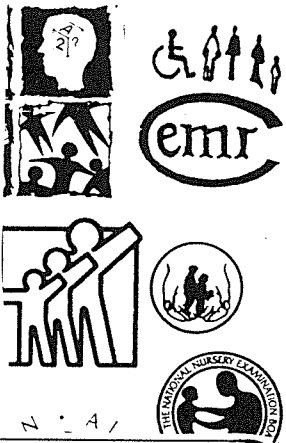
SOCIAL SERVICES

In the age of the Logo and corporate identity, all social relations become PUBLIC RELATIONS. Behind the obsession of the 'caring professions' with presenting 'POSITIVE IMAGES' of their clients, lies the commercial need to boost their own self-image. What they CARE about most of all evidently is the message they give about themselves...but what sort of message is it? Just as it is the managers who benefit most directly from the concern elicited on behalf of those whose interests they manage, so does the image they put across of their customers tell us just HOW THEY MANAGE THEM. And this is precisely as mere IMAGES - signs, marks, ciphers. There is nothing so patronising as the relentless insistence on not being patronising.

And the interminable 'affirmative' prattle about real 'PEOPLE' reveals nothing so much as the essential ABSTRACTION of the category itself. Accordingly, when these 'people' are represented it can only be as SCHEMATIC representations of the CATEGORY. A CARICATURE is therefore the obvious mode of representation.



In this politically-correct and 'care-ful' culture, where standardised complaints about 'STEREOTYPES' are reproduced in identical formulas by everyone, it is fitting that the TYPICAL image of 'people' projected by those whose trademark is the conscious disavowal of all stereotyping should be the FACELESS GEOMETRIC DOLL, lacking even the bare tokens of 'humanity' and 'personality' of the 'HAPPY EATER' or 'LITTLE CHEF' motorway signs, upon which they are no doubt modelled. The world of the caring services is a world in which human beings can only hold hands, or nesile in the palm of giants, or are reduced to the stark simplicity of stick-creatures drawn by a child, while the child itself is reduced to the prevailing toy-manufacturer's cliches. Politically correct, maybe, but anatomically monstrous. These Bowdlerised cartoons reflect the infantilised status of the 'ideal' client: a lifeless automaton that cries on demand and can be relied on to NEED the hand that feeds off it.



PEOPLE WHO STILL CRITICISE IMAGES FOR NOT BEING POSITIVE ENOUGH ONLY PROVIDE THOSE IN CONTROL WITH EXCUSES FOR MORE AND MORE PROPAGANDA PICTURES OF HOW WHOLESOME THEIR POWER IS AND HOW HAPPY WE ALL ARE TO BE THEIR PUPPETS

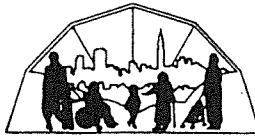
So this is what they mean by Role MODELS?



Save the Children

Forest Health

COMMUNITY HEALTHCARE



The Whistleblow Job

Steve Busbell continues his Notes from the Health Factory.

The new managerialism is very concerned to elicit not just obedience, but loyalty. Its utopian dream is to produce a staff which doesn't just participate in, but identifies with, The Organisation. Fund-raising activities by nurses in their 'free' time, plush house magazines acclaiming the virtues of staff and management, a 'democratic' corporate image, all are designed to imply that love for the Trust is a natural and spontaneous emotion amongst its workers. However there still remain people whose loyalty is not given to the transitory personnel of a politically-dependent management but to the notion that people should be treated decently, and that bosses shouldn't get away with ripping off the health service.

The Leeds General Infirmary (LGI) had a 'whistle-blowing' case going on quite recently. It still isn't really finished yet, but the events which caused the case are worthy of comment, for what they reveal about the vulnerability of whistle-blowing as well as for exposing how the economy of health and scientific research operates. The events begin in 1988 and this version is based on what I've figured out by asking around and reading various documents. The responsibility for it, and the interpretation I give it, is therefore mine alone.

The story is convoluted and technical. I feel, however, that it's important that some of the more technical information be aired, since the press coverage has concentrated on the injustice done to the whistle-blower (Dr Chris Chapman) at the expense of asking how the scientific fraudsters could have hoped to get away with it in the first place. For what is most remarkable about this story is not the undoubted wrong done to Chapman, but the questions it raises about ordinary scientific endeavour. The people involved were eminent men of science, yet they appeared to connive in something which, if we are to believe the claims of science's apologists, would have been exposed the first time a responsible fellow scientist gave serious scrutiny to the original research. If the reader ends up feeling that the potential exchange-value of the project outweighed a more considered assessment of its truth-value, they may perhaps be some way in to unlocking the secrets of this case and other scientific scandals of our time.

Some time in 1988 a Dr Barnes from Bristol was appointed to run the Pathology Dept. at the LGI. He was joined by Professor Wicher, whose job also involved responsibilities at the University. Around this time Prof. Wicher suggested setting up a team to isolate a protein 'Interleukin 6'. This is a 'hormone-like' protein important in inflammatory and immuno-processes. Interleukins are able to direct immune responses. Manufacture of interleukins may be used to crowd out any natural molecule in a cell structure thereby blocking out its effect. Interleukin production is one of the

most important areas of current biotechnological manipulation of human natural processes. It is regarded as being on the cutting edge of molecular biology, which is itself very much the vanguard of the medico-commercial complex. Commercial applications run from enhancing transplant acceptance to possible anti-carcinogenic treatment. It should be said that molecular biology and its offshoot gene therapy remain very much the science which promises a lot and has delivered (apart from a lot of money to certain research agencies) comparatively little. Molecular biology itself remains entrenched within certain patterns of causality and determinism which some think utterly inadequate to solving real human problems. This blindspot at the heart of the science may go some way to explaining the less explicable events of the story which follows.



The brief was that a Dr Evans was to isolate the protein and Chris Chapman would develop a process to identify it. When the first batch of Interleukin 6 arrived for Chapman to begin developing a technique for identifying it, he asked for confirmation that Interleukin 6 had actually been isolated. No such confirmation was forthcoming but Evans assured him that future batches would be so confirmed. In October 1988 Evans stated that the latest batch had been confirmed as Interleukin 6 by a Dr Stephen Hopkins of Salford University. Although this did something to allay Chapman's doubts, by June 1989 he was so doubtful about what he was receiving from Evans that he requested an internal enquiry. He contacted Mr Rushfirth, (the then Director of Finance). In the meantime Chapman learned that Barnes and Wicher were

negotiating a £200,000 contract with British Biotechnology Ltd. to produce derivatives of the IL6 they claimed to be producing. An internal enquiry was conducted by the internal auditors of the hospital - a team from Coopers Lybrand. The 'investigation' amounted to taking a statement from Chapman and a chat with Wicher. Mr Rushfirth announced that the enquiry had been unable to discover any evidence of scientific fraud for "technical reasons". In August of the same year Chapman received a letter from Dr S.Hopkins of Salford University stating: "In response to your letter of 26 July I am able to confirm that I have received no samples from Leeds for measurement of IL6". Far from any new investigation occurring Chapman was threatened with dismissal, for by now a new can of worms was being prised open.

ated." Attached to the letter was a statement which Chapman was required to sign: "I recognise and accept the findings of the Audit enquiry, and I apologise for any damage to Barnes' professional reputation that these allegations may have caused." It has to be assumed that Chapman's signature was a condition for his future employment.

(In May 1992 Mr T P Carroll (Director of Finance LGI Trust) confirmed that Barnes had a consultancy with Medgenix "on a small fixed fee basis" which he terminated at some time between 1989 and 1992.)

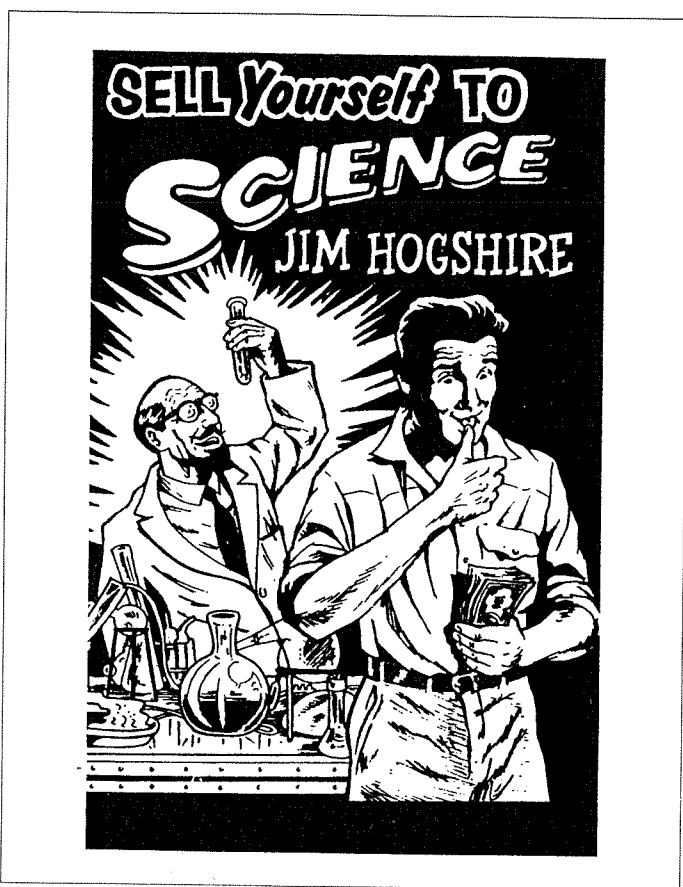
A Short Digression

Round this time I was involved in a campaign against the LGI becoming a Trust. This involved the usual leaflets, petitions, posters of a largely publicity-based campaign. NHS trade unionism had itself not recovered from the defeat of the 1982 dispute, many who had tasted the excitement of sustained recalcitrance didn't go back to their old jobs, and many of the old local trade union leadership had burned out or worse. As a result, perhaps mistakenly, campaigns remained at a 'hearts and minds' level. Leaflets were sent through the hospital internal mail system, just as leaflets from management in favour of Trust status were so circulated. One such contained a cartoon of the then Health Secretary Kenneth Clarke carting the LGI off in a supermarket trolley. This was mistakenly interpreted by management as a caricature of John Jackson, the then chairman of the health authority, local sweatshop owner, and leading figure along with Stuart Ingham, the District Administrator, of the opt-out initiative. One GP was so incensed by the cartoon he informed Timothy Kirkup (a local Tory MP) who went on local radio demanding that those responsible be sacked. With dogged consistency the LGI management called in the internal auditors to investigate this 'misuse of health authority property'. It required no Sherlock Holmes to discover the culprit, the cartoonist had signed his name to the cartoon and was rapidly fingered. After a hearing he was ordered to pay the costs of the postage which amounted to about £6. Although the punishment was trivial it did serve to intimidate campaigners and revealed management's sensitivity to the whims of their political masters.

* * *

The trail seems to go cold until May 1992. (I can't find out whether this was because Chapman himself was intimidated into silence, or whether management were simply ignoring his protests). By that time the LGI had Trust status, indeed Prof Wicher had been Vice-Chair of the Trust Board. (Stuart Ingham, the previous District Administrator had become Chief Executive). Ms. S. James was still the manager in overall charge of the Surgical sector, which included labs, and Barnes continued as Pathology Head. In that month a management team which included James and Barnes drew up a 'Business Plan' for the Dept.. Only one fact grabbed the attention - out of 200 staff there was to be one redundancy - Dr.Chris Chapman.

This brought the whole affair into the public gaze, and shed some light on what had been going on. In the first place it became known that the University had finally been persuaded



On taking up his post as head of the Pathology Dept. Dr Barnes was very keen to use certain Thyroid Hormone Test kits manufactured by a Belgian company, Medgenix. Dr Chapman, as head of the Endocrinology Dept. had tried them and considered them to be very poor. Despite his objections Dr Barnes (a notorious bully if accounts by staff are to be believed) insisted that the kits be used (in fact Chapman managed to ensure that none were). In June 1989 Chapman formally accused Barnes of having an improper relationship with Medgenix (i.e. was receiving money for pushing their products). Ms. Susan James, the manager covering these departments, appointed Barnes' old Bristol chum Wicher to investigate these particular accusations against Barnes. On the 16th August '89 Chapman received a letter from James stating: "The allegations made by yourself against Barnes have been investigated by the Authority Auditors, and it has been found they cannot be substanti-

ASSAY, ASSAY, ASSAY!!

What's the difference between Robert Maxwell, and a Senior Manager in an Institute of Pathology ?

One is a devious fat bastard, who takes backhanders and money that does not belong to them, also fiddles people out of their pension entitlements.

The other was a respected publisher who tragically drowned off the Canaries last year.

ALLEGEDLY

Flyer doing the rounds at the Leeds General Infirmary

to look into the 'scientific fraud' aspect of the IL6 case. In March 1992 Professors Gowland, Brown and Willoughby reported : "That the balance of evidence supported the view that there had been a fraud, in so far as Evans has falsely claimed to have had bioassays performed on his putative IL6". Prof Wicher had since promoted his acolyte Evans after Chapman's initial claims had been dismissed - it was widely believed that Evans had been sacrificed at this tribunal in order to protect those higher up. The British Biotechnology Ltd deal fell through, Chapman became engaged in checking IL6 produced by I.C.I.. In the protests that followed, the new Finance Director confirmed the Barnes retainer with Medgenix, but management continued to assert that Chapman's 'redundancy' was entirely a matter of 're-organisation' despite the fact that both James and Barnes had been on the committee which determined the sacking. The dismissal was also timed to the day to ensure that Chapman received a much reduced pension.

Mass meetings were called by Chapman's union (MSF), which got a vote in favour of industrial action (there was also a ballot on strike action which got the support of about a third of MSF members working in the Pathology Dept). The form the action took was largely withdrawal of goodwill, slowing up on tests etc.. The union itself was more concerned to pursue an action for unfair dismissal, rather than confront management with a hospital-wide dispute against corruption and the cover-up. These tactics confirm how NHS trade unionism had become mired in proceduralism and legalism. One of the consequences of the '82 failure seemed to be a transformation of the shop steward from militant to quasi-lawyer, always ready to confront authority by showing how it had broken its own rules, rather than by appealing to a set of values, or aspirations, which were incompatible with the regulatory world-view of management. By the time Chapman finally went, the campaign was stuck in the mire of publicity exercises and MP lobbying. Management never shifted from their position of "normal re-organisation", although Ms James did leave her job to work for the Bradford Trust. Rumours continued to circulate that secret talks were taking place, basically to avoid a scandal being exposed in the Industrial Tribunal. It has since emerged that Derek Fatchett, a local Labour MP did initiate discussions with the Trust Board. The result of these negotiations were revealed in May '93 when it was announced that Chapman would get his job back - in another hospital under a different management- and that an enquiry would be launched under the chairmanship of Merlyn Rees (Former Labour Minister). Stuart Ingham was

reported to be incandescent with rage about this decision, which seems to have been taken behind his back, but it shouldn't be forgotten that he remains as one of the highest paid Chief Executives of NHS Trusts in the country, and that Dr. Barnes remains in post, while Prof Wicher moved, apparently unscathed, to further glory at the St. James' Trust.

In retrospect what seems to have happened is ordinary corruption compounded by a cover-up. The relationship between private profit and the national health has always been closer than the medical and scientific establishment would like to pretend. For British Biotechnology Ltd. a relationship with the NHS opens up access to peoples' bodies which they might have to pay a lot more for in an entirely private system. No one can be sure that their blood sample taken for medical reasons does not end up as free raw material for the biotechnology industry to manipulate. (In this sense the relationship between the biotechnology industry and the NHS recalls the legalised body-snatching of the poor in the 19th century under the Anatomy Act). Quite what Evans was doing falsifying his results I don't know. Perhaps he was confident of eventual success but needed to exaggerate his progress in order to impress the potential clients of British Biotechnology Ltd. It certainly suggests that normal scientific checking within the same team may not be as rigorous as the public has been led to expect. Or is it a more common practice amongst holders of specialised knowledge to club together to support each other's statements? Was the 'use-value' of the project so obscure that fraud could pass by quite undetected ? How much is other scientific research falsified in order to secure funding, indeed how much is the need for a particular and narrow branch of human understanding to come up with deliverable answers to problems not necessarily soluble within this approach, responsible for the skulduggery which has been exposed ?



But commercial pressures alone do not explain the course of events in this case. All the evidence which 'convicted' Evans of fraud and Barnes of an 'improper relationship' in 1992 was available in 1989. So what difference did three years make?

My view is that 1989 meant that management were particularly vulnerable to any whiff of corruption. In January of that year 'Working for Patients' had been published by the government and Stuart Ingham had begun to draw together the management team which would lead the LGI into the promised land of Trust status. Prominent amongst these were Prof Wicher and Ms James. Wicher became vice-chair of the Trust after it was formed. Had Chapman's allegations been investigated in full it would have exposed Wicher as someone who had presided over a project which was producing entirely useless results, that a member of the team was engaged in scientific fraud (with or without Wicher's knowledge), and that his crony in the Pathology Dept. was pushing the interests of a Belgian drug company in the NHS while taking money from them. The internal auditors aptitude in recovering six quid from a health worker cartoonist does not seem to have been emulated in discovering far larger sums being wasted by top scientists. Were they leaned on by a management desperate for no scandal to disrupt the passage to Trust status? The silence of the auditors and the inability of management to explain why the '89 investigations missed all that was admitted in '92 demands an explanation. Until we get one, I think mine fits most of the facts.

But in the end Chapman remains, like so many other whistle-blowers (Graham Pink was another) the sacrificial lamb of other agendas. The fate of the whistle-blower seems to be that after dismissal they become semi-public figures, minded by political or trade union officials who are able to reveal plenty but affect nothing. Both Chapman and Pink were outsiders, unwilling to conform to what passed for normal behaviour in the NHS - it was particularly depressing to see some of the nurses who had worked with Pink slag him off on the telly. Partly this fate is an inevitable result of the automatism that operates under wage labour - life so dominated by routine and procedure that real questioning almost seems like a violation of everyone, not just management. Partly this destiny occurs because of the view that the media is a panacea for all problems - if only we get this issue, scandal whatever on TV then things will surely change, but as Pink and Chapman are perhaps learning, media coverage is less a solution, more a sponge which absorbs anything and everything and regurgitates it as undifferentiated, uniform entertainment. Heroes make good copy, but things have moved on from this last gasp from the enlightened intellectual.

Arguing with and trying to get fellow workers onto your side right from the beginning puts you in a much stronger position than going through a grievance procedure which identifies individuals. Being one of many can guarantee anonymity if leaks or leaflets need to be produced. Where fear and indifference dominate no one should underestimate the power of an unsigned leaflet (or fax). In the end there are



sympathetic journals in the public domain only too willing to carry articles on the sort of shenanigans Chapman exposed to management, and networks do exist in every organisation which would circulate such stuff - they only have to be found. In 1992 local switchboard staff, reasonably successful in a dispute with management over pay, used their networking capacity to call a meeting of all switchboard staff in the region, whether in a union or not, to pass on their experience of a local dispute and to encourage others. Despite union officials denouncing the meeting as a Trotskyist front (surely they need to update their name-calling to contemporary standards) over a hundred people attended and at least 3 other hospitals started similar disputes. Corporate dissidents, with their appeal to the 'universal' values of fair play and honesty are in the end only seeking a perfection of the already existing order. Losing the role of dissident is the first step to less heroic, but altogether more hopeful times.

Cameras focus on falling crime rate

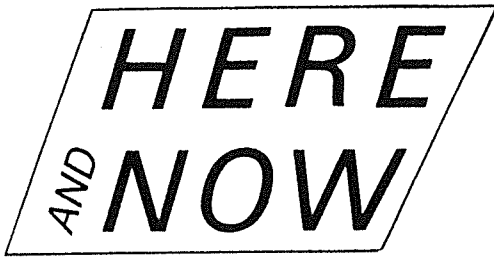
Peter Motherington
FROM his city centre station, Sgt Peter Durham trains the remote control camera down a busy shopping street and beams in on a bus queue.
 It is labelled Britain's most elaborate street surveillance system, with 16 long-range, remote control television cameras monitoring the one square mile centre of Newcastle upon Tyne and taping everything in sight for action replays. At night, infra red cameras light dark alleys.
 The system, funded by

local business, the Environment Department and the police authority, was introduced in December after a wave of lawlessness that pummed the city to the top of the national crime league.
 Even local Labour politicians, once hostile to the concept of electronic monitoring, backed the £500,000 venture after pressure from councillors - with only the civil rights group Liberty registering concern.
 Yesterday Northumbria police produced figures to support their argument that the cameras were curbing crime in a city which regis-

tered more offences than the total in 19 of the country's 43 towns.

"The City Becomes a Theme Park ... Street lighting has always represented the policing of people by the city authorities. Colonizing the night enabled increased observation of what people were doing, not just to suppress criminal behaviour and other activities that threatened authority, but also led to the creation of the street as it exists today, a public space for the flow of traffic. Sleep was conquered, the shining light of capitalism now overcame the last refuge, the dark, and the business of the city could expand into the night."

Fatuous Times No.2.



A Magazine of Radical Ideas

Ms. Stella Rimmington,
P.O. Box 500
LONDON.

Glasgow:

Here & Now, c/o Transmission Gallery, 28 King Street,
Glasgow G1 5QP.

Leeds:

Here & Now, P.O. Box 109, Leeds LS5 3AA.

Dear Ms Rimmington,

I have pleasure in enclosing a complementary copy of Here & Now for your personal use. We are a small publishing enterprise with a significant implantation at the cutting edge of social radicalism in the UK, but we believe you will be interested in the distinctiveness of our product from all others in the same sector, and are confident that you will appreciate the extra benefits we can offer to the security services in these difficult times.

Other publications will already be providing you with a perfectly adequate overview of the range of current revolutionary activities and ideas. What we are offering is something quite unique:

For a small subsidy of £500 p.a. we can guarantee to provide reliable disinformation for your organisation on a growing number of imaginary dangers to the fundamental interests of society. Additional investments of around £1,000 p.a. could ensure a range of specialised services, including:

1. Brand new forms of subversive organisation, fully documented and designed according to your specifications to maintain and expand your service's budget
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3. Conversely, should you opt for this, we can act as your representative in the milieu by disseminating a more positive image of the security services than that which they have enjoyed hitherto. Short promotional features tailored to the favoured style of the readership can be published: eg. "smashing the glass ceiling in the spy business"; "Affinity Groups in MI5"; "Towards an anti-authoritarian security service", etc.

I look forward to hearing from you in the near future. This is an offer you cannot afford to miss.

Night and Fog



Many people must be confused by the game of cops and robbers being played within the anti-fascist milieu at the moment in the UK. What has turned a movement normally so clear about its enemy into a self-destructive swamp of accusation and counter-accusation? No longer can the old certainties of a two-sided war be relied upon: in the Right corner the easily-recognisable Nazis; in the Left corner the "progressive democratic" forces. Whether or not such a caricature was ever applicable, it is certainly not valid now. With Searchlight denouncing a veteran Leftist like Larry O'Hara of being an accomplice of the fascists, Class War suggesting that Tim Scargill (reformed NF now Class War activist) works for the secret state, and everyone from Lobster to Green Anarchist accusing Searchlight of working for MI5, can any of us not professionally involved full-time in any of these organisations really trust anyone to tell us which way is up any more? The Nazi group Combat 18, for its part, claims to have infiltrated the Anti-Fascist Alliance and other Leftist groups (and also says that Searchlight works for MI5) and a scurrilous trade seems to be taking place in people's names and addresses for purposes of intimidation. If two 'sides' are still discernable in this morass, then at least they seem to be increasingly using the same tactics.

Some people have been prepared to give nazi fellow traveller Larry O'Hara the benefit of the doubt, despite exposure in several issues of *Searchlight* in the past few months. His recent booklet attacking Anti-Fascist Action, one of the groups willing to accept his membership, has now made many people realise what a danger this wretch is to the anti-fascist movement.

The booklet is written with the help of Tim Scargill, another person deep in Combat 18's pocket, and some other characters from the fringes of the anarchist movement. The booklet broadens their assault on the anti-fascist movement.

Everyone must now recognise that the time for argument about O'Hara and Scargill is over. They have now shown their true colours, as enemies of anti-fascists. Black people are dying and the anti-fascist movement is under all out attack from Combat 18. We must not allow a fifth column to infiltrate as well.

Searchlight can show how these various creeps hanging around the anti-fascist movement support each another in an attempt to damage Searchlight's key intelligence role and the broader anti-fascist movement. How much of what they are doing is for the state and how much for the nazis we cannot say.

Searchlight has never hidden the fact that we are prepared to work with the police to beat the nazis when the right opportunities arise, but we are not and have never been their tools or agents. Watch your backs, brothers and sisters, the enemy is within our ranks.

We feel that those caught up in the immediate details of what looks from the outside like a private war don't seem to be reflecting on why this is all happening or what the real significance of it all might be. Some questions need asking:

- ◆ What are the political effects of anti-fascism?
- ◆ What is the political strategy of Searchlight? and, more

importantly -if, as seems likely, Searchlight does collaborate with the state, then what are the goals of the state in this business?

- ◆ Are the political, social and cultural conditions in the country ripe for an emergent fascist movement?
- ◆ What are the long-term political prospects of the fascists themselves.
- ◆ Should anti-fascism take priority over other forms of political activity?

Only rarely are such issues talked about in the ostensibly anti-fascist press.

We can't offer instant answers to these questions, but we feel that those who see themselves as engaged in warfare should think about who they are really fighting against, what they are fighting for, and what the consequences of their activities might be.

Security alert

Major security alert

would like to add that when one lies down with a political dog like Harrington, one is sure to get up with fleas, and the proof is the little wretch O'Hara's nauseating association with Brady, one of Britain's nastiest nazis and thugs.

Ramsay's excuse for publishing all this fascist claptrap is his belief that *Searchlight's* editor Gerry Gable is an officer for MI5, MI6, Mossad, the KGB and even possibly the Salvation Army. He bases this revelation on

A series of phoney documents current, circulating among anti-fascists, believed to be the work of agents provocateurs and a number of people working hand in glove with fascists.

Those behind the documents evidently have three aims. The first is to promote claims of C18 into being dark, thereby damaging the anti-fascist movement. This we strongly caution against. The second is to create a smokescreen for the continuing activities of the criminals of C18. The final aim is along the way to smear Searchlight, the anti-fascist organisation, that is doing any damage to these nazis.

One of the most disturbing features about anti-fascism today is that it is starting to betray both in its language and practice many of the traits of the 'Intelligence community'. For example, a quick look round the pages of *Searchlight* and its opponents reveal a working knowledge of the tricks and terminology of the spying trade: "smears", "moles" "assets", "dirty tricks", "disinformation" abound). There is an almost gleeful pride in bandying around this technical jargon. In short what seems to be happening here is a severe case of spookism. The net result of the latest hysteria, moreover, is the very condition of general disorientation which is aimed for by the Counter-subversion agencies of the secret state when it uses the strategy known in the trade as 'intoxication':

The French term *intoxication*, which in general means poisoning, here refers specifically to manipulation of the political environment by means of the systematic dissemination of false or misleading information to a target group (or groups), the purpose of which is to paralyse or otherwise influence that group's subsequent actions. The targeted group can be relatively small or encompass an entire society. Jeffrey M. Bale in *Lobster* No.18 Oct 1989 p. 10

Chronology

This is only a partial listing of some of the salient events in the complex intrigues between fascists, anti-fascists and the state during the last few years. Undoubtedly there are many omissions and inaccuracies, for which I apologise; few of the sources on which I have drawn are entirely trustworthy and the deliberate dissemination of false information now seems to be part of the tactics of several of the protagonists. I hope this chronology will, nevertheless, help readers get some sense of what has been going on, as far as this is possible at present. The right-hand column refers to fascist activities, the left to anti-fascist.

1982	Red Action expelled from Socialist Workers Party (SWP)	British National Party (BNP) set up (John Tyndall, expelled from NF in 1980); BNP is openly Nazi, produce <i>Spearhead</i> magazine
1983	Class War formed	National Front (NF) leader Martin Webster overthrown by coup
1984	Green Anarchist (GA) set up	NF membership by down to 3,000 (from highpoint of 17,000 in 1972); street marches mobilise less than 500
1985	Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) set up	
1986		
Jan 27	Gable (<i>Searchlight</i>) makes vague accusations of fascist connections against Class War which lead to its suspension from AFA. Subsequent inquiry cleared them since no evidence given (<i>Guardian</i> Aug 4)	
1986		
July		<i>Searchlight</i> claims exposure of Colin Jordan's (BM) attempt to organise a secret Nazi military force. [<i>Searchlight's</i> line is that there is an underground fascist terrorist network on a European scale] NF openly splits: majority ousted (forming the <i>Flag/Vanguard</i> faction), while the official publications (<i>Nationalism Today</i>) & premises come under control of a nucleus around Derek Holland, Patrick Harrington etc, developing so-called 'Third Position'. It is this group which Larry O'Hara (LOH) has studied most closely: their ideology draws on mixture of Evola ('political soldier' rhetoric) & Strasser (Left-Nazism); their stylistic innovations include: dropping the Aryan myth (the Brits are now Celts, so the Union Jack replaced by the Celtic cross); stress on racial 'difference' rather than 'superiority'; involvement in Green issues etc. NF launch 'Greenwave' organisation. Ray Hill <i>The Other Face of Terror</i> book
1988		Holland/Harrington split. Former moves to France with his group 'Third Position' 'Greenwave' taken over by Flag-NF
1989		[Unification of Germany] NF formally dissolved Harrington launches 'Third Way' org. - split from NF Mid-Staffs by-election: Flag-NF achieve 0.5% (21 votes less than the Monster Raving Loony Party) <i>Searchlight/The People</i> exposure of Br KKK
1990		
Jan		
March 17		
March 30		
June		
Oct	Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF) split with <i>Searchlight</i>	
1991		
Jan		<i>Searchlight</i> estimate NF 4,000; LOH estimates 800
Feb 21		Rolan Adams murdered by white gang in Thamesmead
April		Orville Blair murdered
May		Gable/O'Shea arrested for attack on League of St George (LSG) march
July	<i>London Labour Briefing</i> (LLB): letter from several black organisations denouncing <i>Searchlight</i>	
Summer		According to <i>Searchlight</i> [April 1993], Tony Wells said to be visiting BNP branches to organise terror network
August	According to LOH [April 1993], Tim Hepple recruited by Ray Hill into GA	
Autumn		According to <i>Searchlight</i> , US Nazi Harold Covington comes to UK to organise terror group Combat 18 (C18)
Sept	LLB: letters defending <i>Searchlight</i> by Ray Hill & Daphne Liddle	
Oct		During last quarter of 1991, according to <i>Searchlight</i> , core members of C18 preparing for action [Germany: racist attack on 300 refugees at Hoyerswerda; demo by 4,000 anti-fascists]
Oct	LLB: LOH letter criticising <i>Searchlight</i>	Hepple (according to his own account) begins working as an informer for <i>Searchlight</i>
Nov	Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA) formed, Black leadership (Marc Wadsworth)	
Late 1991	According to LOH, Hepple working at BNP HQ	
1992		
Jan	Anti-Nazi League (ANL) relaunched by SWP; denounced by ARA, and <i>Searchlight</i>	
Feb	ANL leafletters in Tower Hamlets attacked (Hepple involved)	
Feb	<i>London Labour Briefing</i> : Atkinson (<i>Searchlight</i>) letter	
March	LLB Tony Greenstein (AFA) reply	
March		1st issue of <i>Redwatch</i> 'bimonthly report on the red front'
April	[UK General Election]	M15 put in charge of Irish terrorism. UDA banned <i>Redwatch</i> reproduce reports of fire at <i>Morning Star</i>
May		
May 29	<i>Tribune</i> article by LOH: claims Harrington's group no longer 'fascist'	
June		<i>Searchlight</i> claims exposure of Covington: publish a letter from Klassen (Church of the Creator (COTC)) giving what purports to be Covington's UK address, forcing him back to US; (according to Covington, Klassen got this from Gable, with whom Klassen allegedly collaborates)

July		Murder of Ruhullah Aramesh, Afghan refugee, Croydon
July		Gable/O'Shea acquitted
July	<i>Searchlight</i> : LOH attacked in Ray Hill column: described as "a political errand boy for Patrick Harrington"	
July 1	LOH circulates dossier & open letter replying to <i>Searchlight</i>	
July 11		Rohit Duggal murdered
July 31	<i>Tribune</i> says Gable "should be ashamed of himself"	
Aug		Hepple edits <i>White Resistance</i> No. 1 (COTC newsletter); (LOH suggests that "Searchlight's hope was that, by setting up/heavily influencing a UK COTC branch, they could create an agent provocateur set-up here")
Aug		C18 attacks: assault on Democratic Left; 12 AFA members attacked in London pub
Aug		[Germany: siege & arson at migrant hostel, Rostock. Riots & demo by 20,000 anti-fascists]
Sept 18	<i>Tribune</i> report that LOH has appealed to Press Complaints Commission	
Sept	<i>Searchlight</i> : another attack on LOH: falsely alleges he was never in Big Flame	
Autumn	GA article by Hepple	
Nov		[Germany: 270,000 asylum applicants accepted since Jan; UK took 12,000 in same period. Firebomb kills 3 Turks at Molln. The worst incident so far. (17 killed during 1992 in 2,200 attacks; in Britain in same period 8 people killed in racist attacks)]
Nov	Scargill split from Class War	Protest march outside BNP HQ
Nov		<i>Target 1</i>
Nov	GA; the same list later reappears in Tim Scargill's <i>Network News</i> : LOH claims that the aim behind this is to SET UP those who published it for attack themselves by fascists. <i>Searchlight</i> report <i>Target</i> as LSG supplement	According to LOH, <i>Searchlight</i> 'Targeters Targeted' (bogus list of BNP/C18) members is passed by Hepple to
		<i>Searchlight</i> 's statement that "the BNP have published membership lists of Class War & Red Action in a magazine called <i>Target</i> " is, according to LOH, evidence of advance knowledge of <i>Target 2</i> -says not published till Feb 92(?)
		<i>The Rune</i> (Croydon BNP) -names & addresses of leftists. <i>Redwatch 3</i> (Zyklon B issue)
Dec	LOH article in <i>Lobster</i> ; Robin Ramsay reprint of Gable memo of 1977 (evidence of Gable's providing information to the state against the Left)	
1993		
Jan 1	<i>Tribune</i> editorial support for LOH & <i>Lobster</i>	
Jan		'Public Eye' TV prog on BNP
Jan 30		<i>Guardian</i> story about orchestrated attacks on blacks
Feb	<i>Searchlight</i> accuse LOH of drawing up IRA hit lists	Irish march in London attacked by 600 UDA/NF members. 295 arrested, only 5 charged
Feb 14	Six page letter from LOH refuting <i>Searchlight</i> allegations	
Jan 2-Feb 3		[Germany: 2 antifascists killed. Republicans win 8% in Hessen elections]
Feb		<i>Target 2</i> : on Red Action & Class War
March 16	<i>Wombat 92</i> appears;	
March 20	"Commander Zero" analysis of text surmises it probably comes from <i>Searchlight</i> or MI5/SB	
March		Hepple letter to GA: reproduced in <i>A Lie too Far</i> (April)
March 27		C18 raid on Freedom Press; (the <i>New Statesman</i> , on the basis of no evidence whatsoever, insinuates <i>Class War</i> did it)
Feb 3	<i>Freedom</i> reports <i>Wombat 92</i> saying it is almost certainly the work of fascists attempting to stir up trouble	
April		<i>Searchlight</i> special issue: exposure of C18: also claims that C18 has "a highly placed source in anarchist circles who was not only supplying information but was encouraging them to carry out arson attacks on anarchist properties". In this issue too, it claims that Tim Scargill's <i>Class War Org</i> is "a vehicle for spreading false information about C18" [according to LOH it was <i>Searchlight</i> itself, via Hepple, that had planted this "false information" in the form of the "Targeters Targeted" list]. Another refrain in this <i>Searchlight</i> issue is the suggestion of links between NF & UDA (thus pursuing current MI5 agenda)
April 19		'World in Action' TV programme (Andrew Bell): exposure of C18 as trailed by April <i>Searchlight</i> . Hepple featured in this prog. as a <i>Searchlight</i> mole inside BNP
April		Covington: Open Letter denying (falsely) any such organisation as C18 exists; claims Gable invented it
April	O'Hara/Scargill <i>A Lie too Far</i> booklet (GA)	Stephen Lawrence murdered in Eltham
April 30	<i>Class War</i> No.59 denounces Scargill as a spoiler & possible state agent	
April		[German Parliament restricts asylum rights; French govt tightens controls on immigrants: police to carry out mass sweeps for illegal migrants; at same time EC 'Expulsion Group' document leaked, showing plans for monitoring all migrants & asylum-seekers; all these measures legitimised by upsurge in racist violence]
May 26		[Germany: 5 Turks killed at Solingen. 3 days of riots by Turks. Other arson attacks at Munich (17 injured)]
May 29	<i>Tribune</i> : LOH article on Far Right & Maastricht	
June 2	<i>Searchlight</i> intensify attack on LOH, calls him a "Nazi fellow-traveller"	
June	Same issue accuses M.Astells, Midlands AFA organiser of being a fascist infiltrator a charge rebutted by Greenstein (Brighton AFA) in an open letter (June 24) which calls for a national conference of AFA to discuss the whole business	
June	ARA march in Croydon. Funeral march for Stephen Lawrence	
July	Further <i>Searchlight</i> attack on LOH	

Fearful Symmetry

Don Keoghty takes up and enlarges on the issues raised by recent events in the anti-fascist milieu

I don't share the sense of bewilderment expressed by the editors of *Here & Now*. The situation seems perfectly clear to me. What is happening is simply another case of Leftists working themselves up into an artificial hysteria. The consequences are real enough, but the issues are bogus. You ask whether the 'fascist menace' is exaggerated. In my view it is entirely invented and *Here & Now's* reluctance to grasp this nettle is a legacy of the lingering 'anti-fascist' commitments of some of its members. Fascists have existed in Britain since the sixties; they have grown neither more nor less important. They are as irrelevant to the larger political scene as their Leftist rivals as they suffer from exactly the same self-created problems: living in a fantasy world, allegiance to false symbols, hatred of imaginary enemies, fetishism of inappropriate historical models (Hitler, Lenin etc). Every Leftist lunacy is mirrored by an equal and opposite fascist folly. This is not a comforting message.



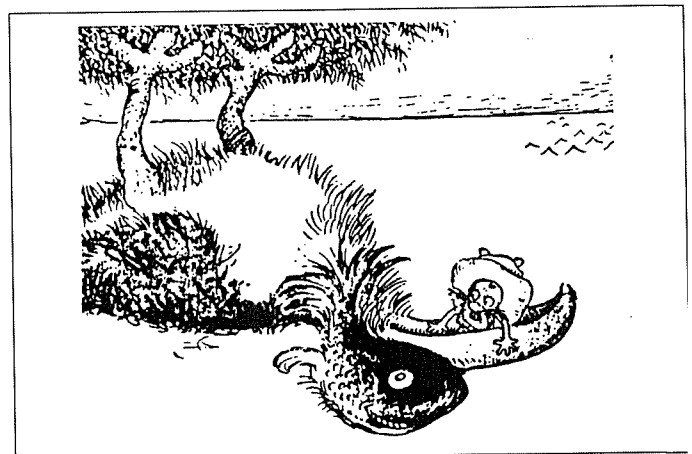
You also ask about the strategy of the state in all this. Again, I think you too have been 'infected' by the bug of parapolitics in suspecting the invisible hand of the state at work in this recent storm in the teacup. There is no doubt at all that those in charge of 'security' keep as close a watch on fascists as on Leftists, and have the means (both direct and indirect) to make use of both. Leftists tend to get demoralised when evidence of the secret state's manipulation of 'revolutionaries' is disclosed (witness the stunning silence about the whole 'Red Brigades' charade in Italy, or about the scale of KGB activities). But what is it that makes such exploitation possible? I contend that this ability to be used is rooted in the Left's infatuation with what *Here and Now* itself calls 'statecraft' (behaving like governments and playing at soldiers), and its refusal to think about exactly what 'The State' actually means.

In this context, anti-fascists are almost begging to be led like lemmings. As the state (including the police) gets more subtly managerial, the hoary old image of thugs in uniform gets fastened on to the Nazis, who will always oblige in kind (even while some of them may be getting smarter). Those who want to hide their brains in balaclavas should wise up to the newer forms of power that wear plain clothes. Helping the political class keep East London's 'white trash' in its place is hardly being revolutionary, and being ready to get stuck

into the police at any moment is playing by well-known rules. Power now isn't on the street but in the voice (by turns seductive or agitational) of the progressive manager who speaks as 'one of us' about what must be done. If you want an image of the state of the future, it may well be that of a playgroup-leader inducing an infantilised captive audience to 'participate' in some pre-planned learning activities. Anarchists, for all their aversion to hierarchical authoritarianism, seem particularly vulnerable to manipulation by those masquerading as representatives of a collective will. To put it bluntly, Leftists are the easiest people to manipulate because they are only too willing to surrender their will to the latest 'collective' interest. Anti-fascism exemplifies all the foibles of followerism - the desire to be part of something larger, an imagined pseudo-community, united around shibboleths rather than real shared interests, and always on the winning side (how many of today's brave anti-fascists, I wonder, would have been on the *otherside* in the thirties? After all, the catchword 'fascist' was not yet a self-evident term of abuse).

The O'Hara case is thus only one episode in a larger ideological dementia. The persecution and character-assassination of Larry O'Hara and Tim Scargill as performed by the inmates of the asylum of *Searchlight* illustrates the refusal of self-styled radicals to engage seriously with what 'fascism' really is and to reflect on the grounds of their own opposition to it.

No understanding is possible without first acknowledging that anti-fascism is an ideology, a body of quite specific ideas and concerns, which have little connection with, and can only be precariously foisted upon, manifestations of real community self-defence which potentially could overflow the confines of everyday political endeavour. Nothing I have to say implies any criticism of the obvious need for community self-defence against racist violence, but there is no necessary connection between antifascism as it often manifests itself and such community self-defence.



RELATIVITY

I would suggest, furthermore, that anti-fascism as it is practised today is every bit as irrational as, and hardly more emancipatory than, fascism. There is a system of political necessities at work here, which can be summed up in four broad theses:

1. The state needs the Left (and vice versa)
2. The Left needs Anti-fascism; and
3. Anti-fascism needs Fascism; but
4. Neither the state nor anyone else needs Fascism.

Let me take the first and last of these propositions in turn:

1. The Left of late has been protesting too much its own demise. A pale version of 'socialism' captured large areas of the public services (health, education, welfare, etc) during the last 20 years. Even policing and penal apparatuses now use its language of 'social needs'. Capitalism has never been seriously threatened by any of the varieties of Leftism which invariably gravitate into managing everyday life for it. The Left flaunts its 'opposition' merely to the already-outdated forms of domination. Socialism has always been sustained by a belief in 'progress' and as such its role is to provide capitalism with the alibi that its accelerating destruction of the conditions of social life is ultimately for the best. The Thatcherist mirage of 'rolling back the state' only hid its restructuring -while those denouncing 'privatization' were busy clambering for their places in the revamped state apparatus. The state depends on Leftism as its ever-predictable outrider as much as the Left has always needed the state as the ultimate addressee of all its 'demands' (and underwriter of all its new professional careers and titles to expertise).

4. If capitalism and its states have nothing to fear from socialism in any of its known varieties, the same can hardly be said of fascism. Fifty years ago the last global war decided the issue once and for all: those sections of capital that had ridden with the behemoth of continental Nazism were quite simply beaten by those sailing with the leviathan of Atlantic liberalism. Once bitten twice shy.

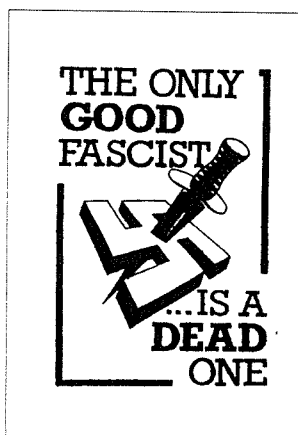
"To insist on the recurring menace of fascism is to ignore the fact that the real fascism was poorly suited to the task it took on and failed: rather than strengthening German national capital, Nazism ended by dividing it in two."

(Jean Barrot *Fascism/Anti-fascism* 1982 p. 9).

Fascist groups still had local uses but never again would the fate of the system be risked by allowing ideological fanatics to control the state. End of history lesson.

If we look at the bottom of this dependency chain today, who would put serious money on fascism now? Anyone not caught up in the collective hysteria of the radical media should be able to assert with some confidence that the likelihood of a major fascist *movement* developing is extremely unlikely (and in Britain virtually negligible). The kneejerk response to this assertion, of course, is the *non sequitur* that real fascists do exist and have perpetrated a series of murders in London recently. Those whose judgement is so poor that they cannot apparently distinguish between a popular or mass political movement on the one hand and a deviant and despised minority subculture on the other, are equally likely to believe in the threat of international satanism, for example, and can be expected to have similar delusions about their own prospects too. I would go further and say that anti-fascism gives some people a status in what passes for society today which is far too valuable for them to let it be jeopardised by trivial questions about whether there actually is a fascist threat.

This leads to proposition 2: the role of Antifascism as artificial respiration for Leftism. One of the many functions of antifascism for the Left is that it enables it to put on the voice of the 'decent wholesome majority' condemning a sinister minority of criminals, and to thus align itself with the mainstream of a social order it otherwise likes to think itself as challenging. (It is from contradictions of this sort that recourse is sometimes made to specious anachronistic rhetoric from the thirties about a 'functional' relationship between fascism and capitalism; capitalism, however, knows its needs better than this).



The spectacle of resurgent Nazism in the guise of the BNP works wonders for the morale of the Left, who would otherwise face disorientation and the need to rethink fundamental contradictions in their own theory and practice. The old enemy appears and everyone has to close ranks: all decent people must unite: that is the symbolic function of fascism. Antifascism simplifies difficult issues and demands instant ac-

tion, which understandably appeals to those who feel powerless. The urgency and apparent clarity of the 'fascist menace' relieves one of the depressing confusions of finding a radical politics. How much easier it is to pretend that social problems can be dealt with by getting rid of the undesirable people who can symbolise social evils.

The present debacle of anti-fascism was already latent in the crassness of Left slogan-vending ever since the seventies, already summarised cogently by Camatte as the mechanics of political gangs which "must seduce in order to recruit":

"When the gang appeals to external elements...it thinks that it has to speak on the level of the mass in order to be understood. It talks about the immediate because it wants to

mediate. Considering everyone outside the gang to be an imbecile, it feels obliged to publish banalities and bullshit so as to successfully seduce them. In the end it seduces itself by its own bullshit and it is thereby absorbed into the surrounding milieu."

(*On Organisation* p. 14: 4 Sept 1969, pub. in *Invariance* Series III No. 1 Nov 1975)



In December 1991 the SWP, for example, tried to hype up its recycled ANL outfit by pretending that the BNP were going to stand 50 candidates in the 1992 election so that they could claim a 'victory' when it turned out to be a far lower number. This combination of cynicism and self-deception (deluded by their own bullshit into imagining that anyone any longer believes anything they say about themselves) is typical of how these rackets work.

3. The third proposition is a matter of pure logic. To be anti-fascist means you have to have a visible fascist presence. This elementary necessity is not as trivial as it might seem and is the key to many professional political games today. Investing one's energy and even identity in 'opposing' something means not only having to cultivate one's fears and remind oneself of its omnipotence, it sometimes requires one to deny troublesome evidence that it might be changing or, even more disturbing, getting weaker. At times when reality begins to outstretch ideology, propaganda efforts must be redoubled lest the bluff be called. I leave it to readers to judge how far this need to deny change might apply to other identity-defining struggles such as feminism or anti-racism.

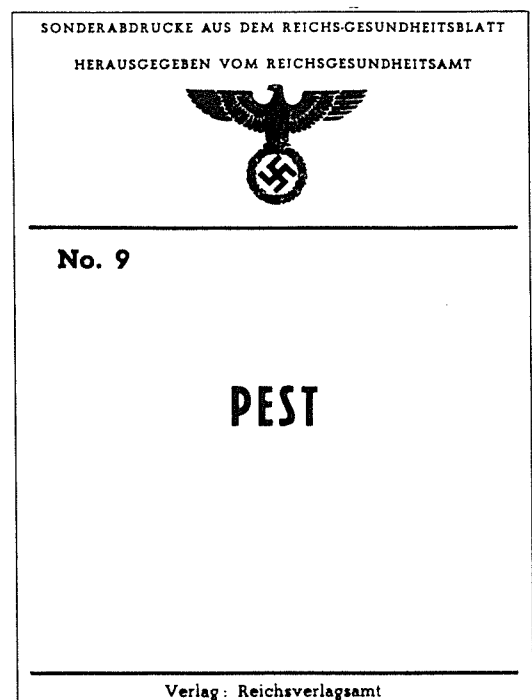
It cannot be denied that anti-fascism needs and thrives on a continuous diet of information and publicity about fascists: who they are, where they are meeting and what they are doing. Without *Searchlight* and all the TV documentaries it advises, for example, most people would hardly pay heed to them. But this dedicated following of fascists doesn't seem to be accompanied by much study of fascist ideas and of the nature of their appeal. The image of fascism that comes from the various anti-fascist publications is mostly of tattooed thugs and sinister paranoiacs. Even if this is an accurate picture, it doesn't help to understand how these people get what influence they do. To his credit, Larry O'Hara at least has been concerned to investigate not only the minutiae of the affiliations and regroupments on the extreme right but also the ideological shifts taking place and to find out about how fascists think. I have no doubt that this is another reason *Searchlight* finds his work threatening: if it turns out that 'fascism' isn't reducible to their simple caricatures then this threatens the credibility of their propaganda.

What sustains the recent bout of anti-fascist histrionics (apart from highly publicised outrages in Germany) is, of course, the spate of racist attacks in London and elsewhere. But racism can exist quite independently of fascist political

organisations, and if the fascists really are the way anti-fascists present them, then the problem they pose is not a 'political' but one of 'law and order', which local black communities should be in charge of dealing with. How come Leftist radicals are campaigning for more state-controlled streets? Needless to say, and as your own chronology shows, all the anti-fascist activities of the last five years (from the ARA protest marches to the complex intrigues of *Searchlight*) have done absolutely nothing to reduce the level of racist violence in London (unless one resorts to specious claims that things would otherwise be even worse). In Germany, where the whole business is on a much larger scale (with an estimated 40,000 ultra-rightists and 6,400 neo-nazi militants – ten times as many as in the UK), the main product of the fascist spectre and its anti-fascist chorus has been an intensification of the regulation and surveillance over 'foreign' immigrants, all in the name of law and order. Excellent analyses along these lines have already been presented last autumn by Andy McLure in *Flux* No 5, by *Wildcat* 16 (with an important account of the Hoyerswerda events from the German *Wildcat* group), and more recently in the current issue of *Aufheben* (Summer 1993).

A reading of the Left press on this could easily lead one to the cynical conclusion that the Left is only interested in victims of racist murder insofar as it hopes to 'mobilize' people and thus capitalise on the moral outrage felt by everyone. But 'fascism' as it presents itself in this form is a problem of racist criminality, and so to make it a focus of political mobilization can only be to fuel a demand for stronger policing. Indeed that is the whole thrust of the recent marches.

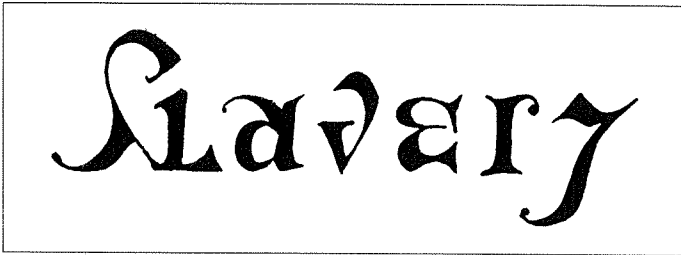
Which brings us back to Proposition 1: the service the Left performs for the State. Despite the impasse in left-wing theory Leftist movements remain, in this country at least, the first political outfits people come across when they feel moved to act against an oppression or evil. The Left gives a schooling in statecraft and agitation which means that popular agitation invariably flow down old established channels



(although even this habit is becoming less common). No matter how much the language of the Left speaks against the State, its effect is to maintain dependence on it by equating social change with a change in social policy. Leftism is, then, about shaping minds and nowhere are the deathly effects of this exercise more apparent than in antifascism.

The Psychology of Anti-Fascism

Antifascism actually runs on an overdose of a moral indignation, self-righteousness and repulsion. It exhibits a mentality not fundamentally different from other forms of social prejudice. The anti-fascist mindset runs on the following lines:



Dangerous evil forces lurk in our midst. These forces have their most obvious manifestation in the form of organised groups of *extremely bad people*, consciously dedicated to beliefs which all wholesome morally worthy people like ourselves find abhorrent (beliefs such as: that people should be judged by what they look like; what is essential about a person is the collective category they belong to; might is right and moralistic ideas such as freedom of speech are simply legal niceties; etc). An oversimplified caricature, maybe. But it is just too easy to see the enemy as recognisably *different* from 'us'.

It is fuelled by moral purism of the kind that regards dissent or even debate as treachery: whoever is not prepared instantly to obey the order to go into battle against the designated enemy of the day is objectively in the service of that enemy. Since the label 'fascist' has become a signifier of unmitigated evil, there is a natural tendency to stretch the word to cover as much as possible. Something similar has happened to the word 'racism'. Assigning the label to someone effectively discredits them. All the more dangerous therefore is a situation where the assignment of this label becomes monopolised. *Searchlight* has sought to secure such a monopoly of information about the Far Right to the extent that a large number of people depend almost entirely upon it for their knowledge of who these people are. Some of the hysteria in *Searchlight's* recent accusations, against anarchists, and Larry O'Hara for example, may be explained as a desperate attempt to defend its privileged role in the antifascism industry. Rival researchers like O'Hara pose a threat by their very independence from *Searchlight* and what better way to drive the competition out of business than to accuse them of complicity with those they are studying?

The consequence is a stupefying conformism. People are only allowed to speak, let alone be listened to, if they carry the right credentials and recite from the stock of cant phrases

which antifascism demands be used. It is depressing to see how much this acquiescence is still in force. It remains *de rigueur* even amongst anarchists to demonise the fascist foe, as if the more ugly epithets attributed to it, will somehow undermine its occult power.

* * *

I think some of the arguments presented fifteen years ago by Martin Thom in a magazine called *Wedge* are not without relevance to the situation today. At the time this was written, the Anti-Nazi League had been set up, at the instigation of the SWP, with the stated objective of countering the apparent electoral rise of the National Front by a propaganda campaign designed to expose the fascist essence of a party claiming to be merely populist.

Among other things, Thom's analysis showed the existence of an obsessional and phobic pattern in the rhetoric of anti-fascism, as evident in the metaphors of disease and contamination - metaphors which are themselves a hallmark of classical racist and fascist discourse.

It is worth reminding contemporary readers of some of the typical slogans used in this earlier antifascist campaign since Thom found them particularly revealing:

"The ANL is like a bottle of Dettol that we pour down the gutter of racism in order to stop the vermin breeding there" (ANL speaker May 1978). "Enthusiasts for rock & roll, punk rock and football have all recently received the attention of the NF, ever alert for an opening to *plant their virus*." (Communist Party pamphlet 1978, my emphasis).

Thom characterises the ANL view of the NF as follows:

"[T]he hard core are *essentially* evil (like rats, like a plague virus) and their their followers are contaminated by their influence. They seem to be human but essentially they are...rats. Touch one, look at one, and you are lost. Here politics is nothing more than a contagious disease that emanates from its animal bearers".



Thom pointed out how easily the antifascist imagery slipped into something not unlike its putative opposite. The use of animal names (dogs, vermin or whatever) as terms of abuse is a notable feature. Metaphors of filth, disease, contamination, often linked to an entirely specious medical analogy were not the lurid vehicles of fascist propaganda but of the self-styled "progressive" ideology.

"The British Road To Socialism, the programme of the Communist Party, regards the battle to defend and extend democracy as a heartbeat that pulses through the politics of our time. To this, the National Front are a *thrombosis*." (*A Knife at the throat of us all* Communist Party pamphlet 1978, my emphasis.)

Not only is the social hygienic wholesomeness to which these utterances aspire completely undesirable, but the unstated moratorium on reflecting on the whys and wherefores of fascism rules out any understanding of the origins of fascism and the conditions from which it arises. Today's antifascism may be a little more sensitive to the desirability of deviance, but it is no less single-minded in its determination to demonise an enemy.

You can still find the same language at work today, both in *Searchlight* (which refers to "rubbish like Harrington... [h]aving a Jew and a black at his conference... is supposed to give Harrington a clean bill of health" (July 1992); and says of Larry O'Hara that "when one lies down with a political dog like Harrington one is sure to get up with fleas") as well as *Wombat 92* (the scurrilous leaflet attacking *Searchlight* but whose true authorship is contested) which says that "racial attacks are a strong indicator of fascist infection" and *A Lie too Far* (the O'Hara/Scargill booklet) which denounces *Searchlight* as "a poisonous parasite that deserves to be starved and isolated so it will finally wilt and die."

Even homophobic prejudices, eg:

"Face to face, they're fat fortyish, wizened Nazi wankers having flaccid fantasies of butch, blond Bavarian boys resplendent in leather hot-pants - they're male menopause Boy Scouts who've been flouncing through selected high streets under a red, white and blue swatika since 1974." (*Socialist Worker* 29 April 1978)

haven't disappeared, as when *Searchlight* refers to one Mark Taha as "a man whose interests range from the hard fringe of sadomasochism to libertarian and national socialist politics" (November 1992)

reversal



And behind the whole thing the rhetorical mechanism of guilt-by-association (the hallmark of conspiracy theory: X talks with fascists, therefore X is associated with them, therefore he is one of them) easily slips into the paranoid logic-of-contagion (fascism is so evil that merely to go near it is to be contaminated by it).

When Marc Wadsworth of ARA recently appeared (unwittingly it seems) with Patrick Harrington on the James Whale show, Gerry Gable fulminated at him for having "broken one of the most sacred moral and political tenets of the anti-fascist movement, by sharing a public platform with nazis and fascists" (quoted in *New Statesman & Society* 16.7.93 p.7). Gable's arrogance is simply breathtaking: it is presumably morally OK to join fascist organisations, write their literature for them, collude in and even instigate their atrocities etc (all of course under the aegis of *Realpolitik*: intelligence-gathering, entrapment, destabilisation etc), but to be seen *talking with them publicly* is somehow unspeakable. (Bad enough, one would have thought, to go on the James Whale show in the first place - this show is a 'platform' already?)

Radicals *should* analyse fascist ideas, their diverse forms, how they may have been changing, and the nature of their appeal without fear of infections. If the recent confusions in anti-fascist politics show anything it is that the intense (and, it must be said, *reciprocal*) fascination of Left and Right has itself led to a gradual, if unintended, collusion between them. Fascists are just as avid readers of *Searchlight* and the Far Left press as anti-fascists are of fascist publications. Each seems sometimes to be the main audience of each other's papers. With the extensive use of infiltration, disinformation and agent provocateurs, fascists and anti-fascists have got more than just a stake in each other's operations but, it seems now, a *de facto* mutual complicity.

Lary O'Hara has been accused by *Searchlight* of being a fellow traveller of fascists. This is a lie concocted by Gerry Gable for reasons best known to himself. *Here and Now* supports Lary O'Hara's right to carry out his research wherever it may lead him, and condemns the use of intimidation and guilt by association to silence discussion.

Readers' Quiz

Test your CQ (Counter-Intelligence Quotient) by giving a plausible answer to the following questions:

1. Tim Hepple is
 - (a) a fascist infiltrating Searchlight
 - (b) a Searchlight/MI5 mole in the Green Anarchist milieu
 - (c) a Searchlight mole in the fascist milieu
 - (d) a reformed fascist recruited as a mole by Searchlight
2. Tim Scargill is
 - (a) a fascist masquerading as an anarchist
 - (b) an MI5 agent masquerading as an anarchist
 - (c) an ex-fascist/ now born-again anarchist
3. Larry O'Hara is
 - (a) a Green Socialist researching the fascists
 - (b) an errand boy for the Third Position fascists
 - (c) a danger to the unity of the anti-fascist movement
4. Ray Hill is
 - (a) a longstanding nazi who saw the light and joined Searchlight
 - (b) a longstanding nazi who saw the main chance and joined Searchlight
 - (c) a Searchlight mole whose nazi mentality fits him perfectly for the role
5. Gerry Gable is
 - (a) editor of Searchlight, a broad-based organisation that monitors fascists for the benefit of the general public and fully deserves to be trusted even though not accountable to anyone, and anyone who criticises it is obviously a fascist and deserves to be crushed
 - (b) an agent of the secret state who uses Searchlight to monitor and destabilise both fascists and anarchists
 - (c) a Zionist-Stalinist agent of the secret state undermining the white race
 - (d) a Zionist-Stalinist agent of the secret state undermining the black race
5. MI5 is
 - (a) currently at war with MI6
 - (b) currently at war with Special Branch
 - (c) currently engaged in fitting up the UDA as fascist
 - (d) fully informed about fascist terrorist activities
 - (e) all of the above
 - (f) none of the above
7. Wombat 92 is
 - (a) an anti-Searchlight pamphlet produced by anarchists in support of O'Hara
 - (b) an apparently pro-O'Hara pamphlet really produced by Searchlight in order to discredit O'Hara
 - (c) an MI5 forgery meant to cause confusion and disorientation among anti-fascists
 - (d) a double-bluff produced by O'Hara in order to look like an MI5/Searchlight disinformation exercise
 - (e) a detournement produced by Stewart Home as a scam against everyone involved
3. BONUS QUESTION: Match each of the 28 propositions above to one or more of the authors to which it is attributable:
 - (A) Searchlight
 - (B) Spearhead
 - (C) Class War
 - (D) Anti-Fascist Action
 - (E) Anti-Racist Alliance
 - (F) Anti-Nazi League
 - (G) Green Anarchist
 - (H) Lobster magazine

TIME ALLOWED: As long as you like or before the next issue of Here & Now, whichever is soonest.

The first empirically substantiated and political justifiable answer to all the above questions which we open will receive as a prize a free ticket to the fascism/anti-fascism cup final. (Date to be arranged by consultation).



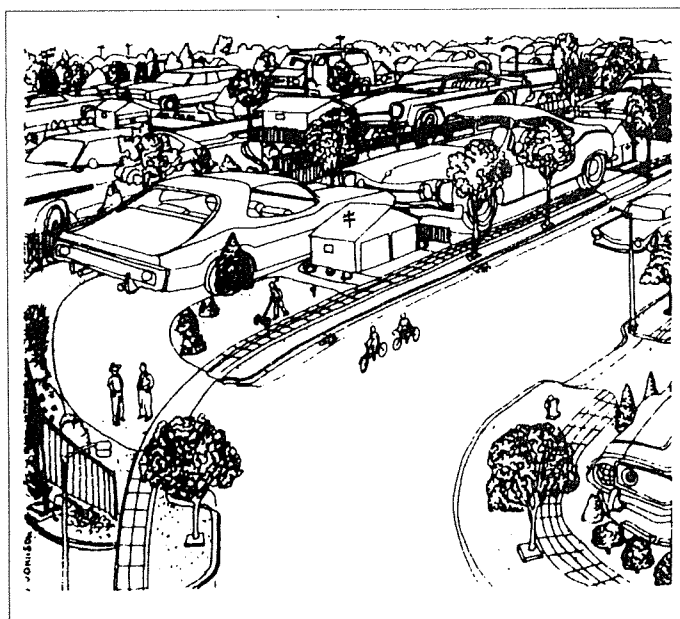
Racism and Spacism

Racial Harassment and Localism

Ray Singh argues that racism has hitherto been understood by political 'antiracism' and antifascism in a one dimensional way. Racism has been seen as a uniform, albeit 'irrational', set of ideas, beliefs and attitudes. The best response to racism and racists is therefore seen as either rational persuasion of racist of the error of their ideas (antiracism), or physically challenging racists, who are always also reduced to being 'fascists', on the streets (antifascism). The specific conditions that give rise to racism and the varieties of racisms are rarely addressed. A more effective antiracism would need to take account of the particularities and localities of racisms.

"I come from Keighley in West Yorkshire, a place where the weak die young and the strong envy them their fate"
(Conservative MP Dr. Robert Spink, *The Independent* 16th May 1992)

We do not have to look too far from home to understand the underlying logic of what has come to be known as 'ethnic cleansing'. Keighley, an outlying town in the Bradford Metropolitan area, is like other towns in the North of England - overwhelmingly working class and manufacturing based, with a substantial ethnic minority Muslim population. The town has 'missed out' on those supposedly 'modernising' influences that are seen as the basis for an outward looking



ethnically tolerant cosmopolitanism. In addition to its popular perception as a generally violent town, Keighley also stands out in the region for its notorious public record of racial incidents. Another important feature of the town is its insularity and fierce independence from what is perceived to be the interference, intrusiveness and 'do-gooding' of the local state. Keighley demonstrates that every day racisms and pervasive inter-ethnic conflict are a highly localised and condensed form of what has escalated into full blown

conflict, in the former Yugoslavia. Although the political military and ethnic conditions in Britain, clearly do not support ethnic genocide, some of its assumptions and logics are clearly present in towns like Batley, Halifax, Dewsbury and Keighley in West Yorkshire. The absence of any real serious escalation of underlying ethnic animosity and hostility, is due as much to a certain agreement and self control over the rules of engagement of racial harassment among young victims and perpetrators, as it is to the containment and management of the 'problem' by the local state and the police. The connections between localism, territorialism, racism and identity mean that racism and racial violence is more complex, ambiguous and ambivalent than is supposed by either the (political) orthodoxy of 'Anti-racism', or its Leftist version in 'Antifascism'.

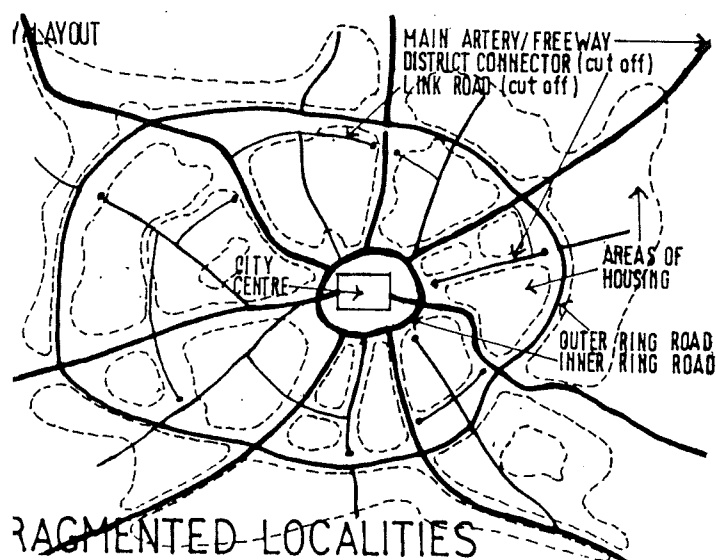
Asians Live in Socially and Culturally Segregated Reservations

Keighley is rather remarkable in that its non-white minority population is almost entirely Asian, and virtually all Muslim at that. The bulk of the Asian population, is concentrated in specific parts of inner Keighley, and in some Neighbourhoods or streets Asians comprise a majority.

Because of the prevalence of young males in Keighley youthful Asian population, compared to both the white population in Keighley and compared to, say, Bradford Asian population, they are more 'available' as victims. Young males generally tend to be victims of attack, and Asian youngsters are especially targeted for racial attack among the Asian population. Although this demography does not of course *explain* or *justify* victimisation, it does suggest that the prevalence of young Asian males means that they are especially likely to be attacked. This demographic structure is accounted for in the late reunion of Asian families in Keighley - most women and children joining their husbands and fathers during the course of the 1970s and 1980s (with Bangladeshis undergoing the process most recently).

Social conditions amongst Keighley Asians are worse than those of whites. Housing conditions among Asians have

remained poor since the earliest days of settlement by unaccompanied male migrants. People of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin, especially young people, are three and a half times as likely as whites to be unemployed. It seems almost certain that, as a group, Keighley's young Asians are still bearing the brunt of unemployment in the town. It has more recently been suggested that currently perhaps only 30% of Keighley Asians are fully employed (*Keighley Target* 16/1/91). Because of this concentration of unemployment among Asians, there is less likelihood of Asians and whites meeting and co-operating at the workplace, although the shift system and Asian ethnic concentration in the badly mauled textile industry had resulted in segregation in the past.



Other ways in which Keighley Asians are segregated from Keighley whites is that they are embedded in specific social and geographical spaces. Not only is both white and Asian mobility around town low, but most Asians work and socialise within their own locality and ethnic group. Asian and white youth go to different places, and even schools (perhaps the only 'statutory' meeting and mixing places for Asians and whites) record generalised separation between ethnic groups. A lot of this is down to the fact that Asians have mapped out 'zones of unsafety' in the town which transcend individual instances of racial harassment. 'Safe havens' are established by the length of time Asians have lived in the area - the older the population, the safer, as well as by the geography of defensibility - foliage, hiding places, etc..

Whilst some Muslim Asian young people themselves may not be so religious and pious, they do see themselves as belonging to a community of faith. However, the informal controls on Muslim youth from their parent culture are considerable and, more often than not, oppressive. Internally, the Keighley Muslim community could be characterised as being relatively unified, compared to Muslim communities elsewhere in Britain. This is partly due to the high degree of communal

(Mirpuri/Punjabi) unity exhibited by the Muslim Association, and little factionalism, as elsewhere in Britain. This is because almost all members are of the same original socio-economic and geographic provenance (i.e., a rural background in Mirpur and vicinity), and kinship (*biraderi*) - cum - caste (*quom*) groups are given formal representation in the Muslim Association's decision-making body. Many Mirpuris in Keighley belong to one of some half-dozen close-knit, extended family groups who settled in the town through 'chain migration'.

While the Keighley Muslim Association has succeeded in many ways in uniting and providing for the Pakistani community at large, it has not succeeded in supporting or integrating the desires, needs and energies of the large number of young Muslims.

Although some young Muslims participate in Association-run events, many attest to feeling alienated from the Association and its decision-making elders. There is no youth wing or sub-group for young people. A great many young Muslims in Keighley believe in their faith and are staunch in their identity, but are not happy with the more rigid devotional practices and forms of religious instruction. Instead, they say they would like to be taught Islamic values of 'relevance' to their lives here and now in Keighley. The growing presence of Pakistani families in Keighley stimulated a new self-consciousness, and the building of a Mosque in 1975, underscored Muslims' sustained presence in their own eyes. A Muslim Community Centre was opened in January 1991, and, in late 1991, after a considerable amount of negotiation with the local state authorities, the Jamia Mosque was given permission to make *azan* (the call to prayer) through loudspeakers on top of the building.

This heightening profile and increased visibility reflects the growing confidence of the Muslim community in Keighley. But at the same time, this encourages a perception by Muslims, and by the white residents, of separateness and distinction.

The somewhat special 'external' situation within which Pakistani Muslims in Keighley live - that is, in being the single most prominent, non-white minority in a context where the majority of (white) residents already feel themselves to be somewhat exceptional in the Bradford area - an attitude contributing to widespread and highly focused resentment and racism - has created firm ethnic boundaries and stimulated, in no small way, strong feelings of a kind of togetherness-under-siege among the Pakistanis.

Working Class Whites Live in Socially and Culturally Segregated Reservations

Working class white youth are only marginally better off than Muslim youth. They have marked out areas of influence in the town. Some, who have jobs, can get enough money to go for a drink and fight and sometimes get involved in racial harassment. Other forms of drug use, however, may well have lessened racial harassment. Specifically, Acid House and Raves are cited as an alternative to racial harassment. While the scene is still largely racially exclusive (i.e. white),

buying and selling of drugs have tended to involve inter-ethnic transactions which have diluted the separatist mentality. Such moments of mutual interest and dependency undermine ethnic animosity in favour of a common interest.

Housing also affects the social conditions of young white people. The design of domestic dwellings on local estates and lack of anything to do, cause pressure on white young people and exacerbate family and generational tensions within households. In short, both inner Keighley and the council estates suffer from a level of social decay, environmental misery and trouble with parents that can make life not worth living. For both Asian and white young people, social and parental pressures result in them being thrown onto the streets and into the parks - places and spaces often lacking in conviviality and facilities, but offering a relative freedom from the surveillance of adult authority and a certain freedom to imagine other possibilities.



The Local State Can Make Racism Worse Rather Than Better

The history of how the Local State has managed 'race relations' policy since the 1970s is partly seen in a number of reports, directives and Local Authority initiatives under the ideological umbrella of 'multiculturalism', and later 'Anti-racism'. In the early 1980s, Bradford Metropolitan Council attempted to mobilise the Education and Youth Service as key vehicles to implement the Council's 'race' relations policy, interpreted as extending these services to address the needs of ethnic minority youth and opening up access. One of the effects was to provide a public and voluntary provision to Black youth, whilst ignoring the reception of this approach among white youth.

This led to some unintended consequences from the point of view of improving 'race' relations. Firstly, it meant a relative

neglect in tackling racism among white youth living in outer suburbs and white council estates, compared with providing public leisure and other services to ethnic minority young people living in inner city areas of Bradford. This type of educational and leisure provision was initiated in the late 1970s and early 1980s by the setting up of an influential and powerful 'Race Relations Advisory Group' within Bradford Council, directed towards the 'needs' of Bradford's ethnic minority populations. It produced definitive documents which became an official framework within which Bradford Council employees were supposed to operate. In particular the *Race Relations Policy Document* in 1982, followed by the more controversial *Local Authority Memorandum* in 1983 set the tone and direction of policy debate for all subsequent service delivery.

Because of concern about 'race relations' - that there existed culturally coherent, homogeneous ethnic communities and identities with easily identifiable 'needs, experiences and aspirations', and, at the same time that the youth of these communities presented a potential threat to social order, the Council's policies became synonymous with 'inner city' and 'race issues', rather than with the supposed delivery of these services to the population as a whole. This was reinforced by the association with Urban Programme funding - provision of extra funding to manage 'race' related issues.

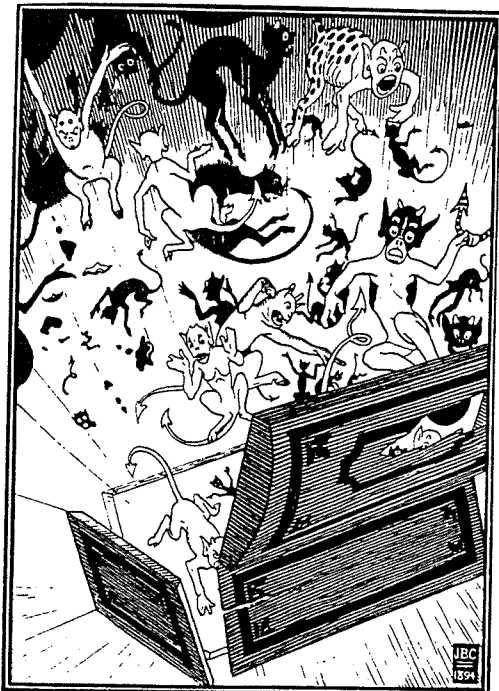
Even assuming that the actual methods employed to tackle racism could be effective for different groups, the seeds were sown for either one of two responses - either a white backlash or white indifference. In the outlying estates and suburbs perceptions grew that ethnic minorities were receiving more than their fair share of attention and resources. The reality was these that areas where whites live are often no-go areas for Asian and Black people generally, and Asian and Black youth in particular.

This can be illustrated by Keighley which has suffered from a disproportionately high level of racial attacks. Despite having only 9.5% of the metropolitan area's Asian and Black population, Keighley reported 41.6% of the area's 'racial incidents' in 1988. As well as reporting the highest number of racial incidents in the metropolitan area Keighley recorded more incidents than any other police sub-division in West Yorkshire. In 1987 and 1989, in fact, Keighley was said to have the worst such record in the country (*Keighley News* 2 March 1987; *Keighley News* 2 June 1989). According to the public records, the majority of offenders were white males and aged 12-16 years, and the main victims were young Asians (69% of incidents involved Asians as victims).

Racial Harassment is Part of a Continuum of Discontent

'Racial motivation' is questionable as an indicator of whether an inter-racial incident can be considered 'racist'. The problem is that 'race' mediates and 'justifies' (in the sense of providing a vocabulary of motive) fighting between adolescents, without there necessarily being an exclusively or even mainly racist motivation. Although probing may reveal deeper 'racism' based in local and biographical experience

there is a very real problem of how to separate 'racially motivated behaviours' from 'just fighting' or incidental abuse. Young people, both Asian and white, routinely differentiate their actions and behaviours between racial targeting - 'I attacked him because he is Asian and I don't like Asians', and a more contingent 'fighting' - proving oneself through fighting. These two explanations may exist in the same situation; alternatively youth may be quite specific about why they are fighting - attributing a racial motive in one case, and a 'proving oneself' motive in another.



What I'm trying to suggest is that a one-dimensional definition of inter-ethnic conflict as racist doesn't universally apply. Racist sentiment and the motivation for it may vary. Racial harassment is often just another expression of youth discontent and what is called racial harassment can just be another manifestation of anti-social aggression. Some young Asians themselves are involved in fighting, and some of this fighting is racially motivated against whites, although much of it might be accounted for as retaliatory attacks on known racists. Some white young people have shifted from proving themselves through fighting (Asians or other white youth) to proving themselves through style or dress, associated with 'rug' cultures. Of course these new expressive styles do not necessarily exclude racial harassment from their repertoire of behaviours. As one Asian young person put it to me, in referring to a white group calling themselves 'The Dressers', 'racism has become more stylish.'

We need to be skeptical of racial motives. We cannot reduce all disagreement and conflict between whites and Asians to a function of racism, neither should we reduce the totality of Asian or Black experience to a function of racism. This is not to deny or bury racially motivated behaviours in pedantic obfuscation but to clarify, as far as possible, what is really going on. For example, in Keighley I would suggest that we should be cautious about giving an exaggerated importance to young people's 'racist behaviour' compared to state, professional, and adult, attitudes and behaviours. For example, Asians have been routinely excluded from youth clubs

situated in predominantly Asian areas for a long time. The people directly responsible for this state of affairs are racist youth workers. Whenever the Asian composition of a local school reaches a nominal 50%, then this produces 'white flight' - the transfer of white kids on the basis of 'parental choice', to schools over the County border into North Yorkshire.

Racial harassment, racial attacks and racially motivated behaviours, amongst white young people, goes on amongst groups who at the same time, also demonstrate other forms of aggression. Specifically, white young people who target and attack Asians tend also to be involved in fighting and victimising other white young people. Often it's impossible to isolate the 'racial' incident from the general aggression.

The Pseudo Logic of Racisms

Without wishing to dismiss out of hand those explanations which lay the roots of racism at the door of an imperial and colonial legacy and a racially exclusive culture, what seems more important to me is white territorialism. It makes more sense to talk about different racisms which operate quite complexly in different ways depending upon the particular situation. It's been said to me,

"In general, Keighley people are against authority and are very parochial and very territorial."

Young people have a map in their heads about racial harassment, even though this changes as they get older. As a result certain locales (e.g. Keighley town centre and Devonshire Park, Braithwaite and Brackenbank Estates) become zones of unsafety, where trouble is to be expected.

There seem to be certain spaces which are racially contested. But this itself is very much tied up with the protection of an embattled identity which is seen by the white working class as much threatened as fundamentalist Muslims see their religion as under attack.

White young people who had racially harassed Asian people argued that Asians were given preferential treatment by the police, social security and council officials, and were seen as having privileged access to the town's educational and leisure facilities. The main source of these alleged inequities, it was said, were the policies of the local state - Bradford 'Met' - itself seen as an alien imposition on Keighley (Keighley was an independent county borough until the 1972 local government reorganisation, when it became incorporated into Bradford Metropolitan District). Asians themselves were seen as recent and unwelcome outsiders who had come into the town. Further, that the source of Asian influx was *not* primarily understood as migration from Pakistan and Bangladesh, but as a feature of Council policy in Bradford (there is some confused basis to this claim, in that primary migrants, Pakistanis and later Bangladeshis, travelled to Bradford and settled there first, before venturing out to Keighley). These and other themes suggested a strong sense of *incursive*, *invasive* movements (note the similarities with the local vernacular '*incomers*') into white territory, facilities and

resources, and that generally, Asians were portrayed as an illegitimate presence - a highly visible but unwelcome presence. While at the same time, they should be excluded from 'white territory' by means of excursions into Asian areas. *When pressed, some white young people provide a rationale of racial harassment as expulsion, or on occasion, extermination of the non-white Other by means of fighting and intimidation. Living in a relatively internally pacified and unarmed society clearly has an inhibiting affect here! The consensus, however, seems to be that 'they have their areas, we have ours', a view shared by both white and Asian young people.*

"...it became very clear to me that there was definite territorial conflict within the (Lund) park whereby white youth had five-sixths of the park and Asian youths were only able to use one-sixth of the park and not use the facilities, the play area."

Racial harassment is not, as the official view would have it, a result of cultural differences, racial dichotomies of fixed majority/minority, proximity of communities that can't get on, etc., but revolves around *identity and feelings of a lost 'pride of place', ultimately, of a certain loss of identity.* Phil Cohen relates the views of some white young people, asked what changes they have seen in their locality:

'Well, they just keep building flats don't they? They're opening a new lot now at the top of the road there. It just keeps on getting bigger and bigger... and how many flats have gone to blacks in just the last few years? That's where my first house was, where they are now.

It was good when we were smaller; it was much better wasn't it? [general agreement]... Where our flats are, all it is now is green and trees and everything. There used to be rubbish dumps and mud and all that and we used to have a laugh there, you know what I mean?

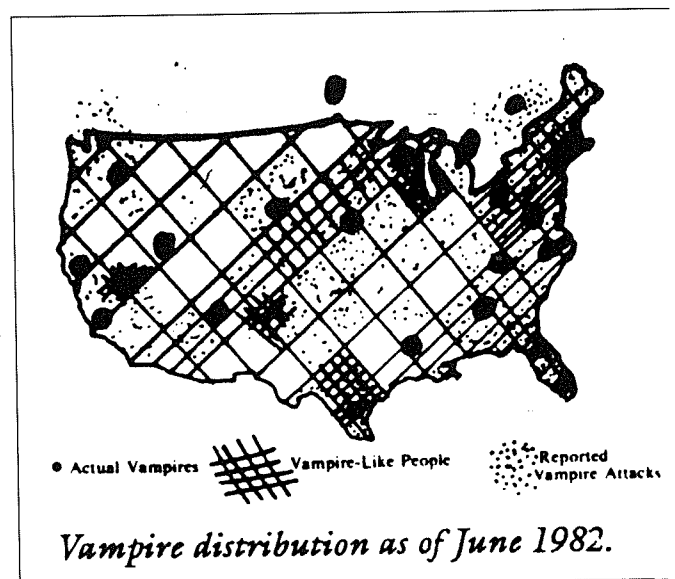
There used to be a lot of older houses and we used to all go in them. But they've been knocking everything down. I mean we can't even have a bonfire around our way now, can we, without them phoning the police.'

(from Phil Cohen 'It's Racism What Dunit', in J. Donald & A. Rattansi 'Race', Culture and Difference, 1992)

The focus here on changes in the use and pattern of the built environment is repeated in Keighley among young white racists, as are the nostalgic references to a mythical past, a past associated in the imaginations of these young people with human scale and control, compared to a present in which the disruption that has accompanied their experience of growing up is linked to the presence and arrival of Black people. Keighley Asians settled in the older parts of inner Keighley, areas abandoned by working class whites for the modernist dream of the new council estates. These exercises in 'democratic' planning and architecture have been found wanting. Meanwhile Asians have become almost exclusively owner occupiers, albeit of poorly maintained run-down property, in stark contrast to whites who continue to pay rent to the local council. *It is these images and histories which combine to produce racist effects and which therefore call into question the rationalist arguments of multiculturalism, the guilt-inducements of antiracism and the political simplifications of anti-fascism as strategies against racism. Neo-nazi or neo-fascist sentiment or organisation hardly*

exist in Keighley, and underlying racism does not take these systematic ideological forms.

Most white young people in Keighley agree that Asian and Black people are an illegitimate presence in their locality - town - country. "After all, Britain is a white country". But there is more to this way of thinking than meets the eye. They have learnt, through their parent culture, peers, customary and local traditions, and the general dominance of white representations, what it is to be 'British'. 'British' identity and 'Britishness' here is fundamentally about territorialism - Britishness as landscape, topography' and territory (seen as 'white space'). *'Britishness' as expansiveness and fear of invasion or even conflagration (supported in vague notions of ethnic purity - clean (rural) spaces, clean bodies, empire and military conquest - more often military defence) and all this linking and associated symbolism becomes condensed in locality.* At the level of locality this works in terms of the visible presence of Black and Asian people who then come to represent a *loss of white identity for white youth, and that they wish to return to how Keighley once was - to return to being Keighleyites and a pride of place, or in contradictory ways to leave the town. To return to a (mythical) situation of the same spaces, same faces.* It is in these senses that my allusion to a very topical idea, 'ethnically cleansed space' makes sense. Whatever the support for these speculation about the sources and mechanisms of racism, the sheer immediacy, excitement, danger and physicality of inscribing and marking bodies through fighting, comes over strongly and consistently. Time and time again what comes over is the view "First we were taken over by Bradford [in 1972], now look what's happened... too many Asians... Keighley used to be such a great place, its shit now, nothing to do, nowhere to go..."



In summary, racial harassment expresses, in the eyes of perpetrators, a sense of proprietorial relation to social space as white territory. Specifically, racial harassment clusters either the parks, marginal or transitional areas (where 'ownership' and control remains unclear) or the town centre where Asian people appear to be challenging the territorial

preferences of whites. White young people regard themselves in racial or cultural terms to be *defending their space against change and transformation.* In this context, talk of either 'equal opportunities' and 'antiracism', on the one hand, or 'antifascism', on the other, both miss the point. What is being fought for and contested is a mythical identity and space, not available to working class young people by other ('rational') means. It is not easy to legislate out of existence the cultures which produce these practices.

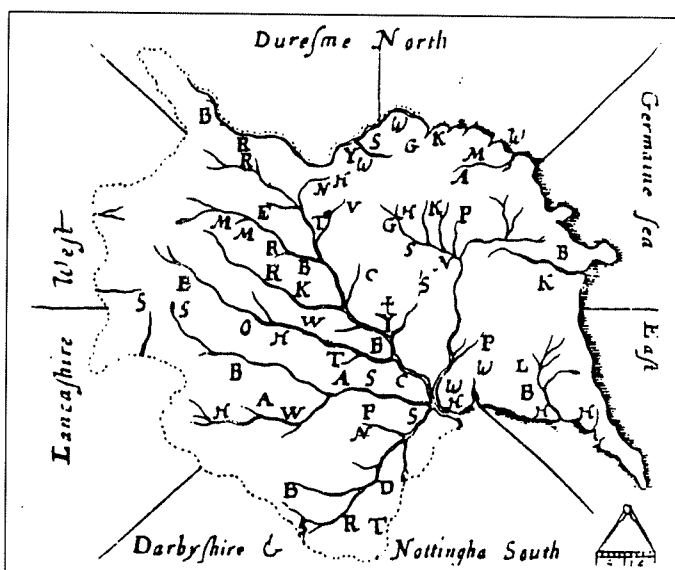
What is to be Done?

Doing nothing is, on balance, probably better than supporting many of the local state initiatives directed towards improving race relations', that can, more often than not, raise the profile of racial injustice yet only succeed in managing and containing the problem, or produce a white backlash because of their one-sidedness which does not invite either Black or white people as a whole to participate in an open and democratic debate on racial and other injustices. In fact, these initiatives and their professional personnel cannot deliver in ways that openly question fundamental injustices and imbalances of power, whether racial or not.

Whilst it is important to act in a robust and decisive fashion in situations of genuine inter-ethnic conflict, particularly where racial harassment is taking place, the genuine disenfranchisement, sense of loss of identity and loss of control over social space experienced by white youth cannot be dismissed. This is particularly difficult to swallow when young people express racist sentiment and racist behaviours, and some white youth routinely attempt to harass Asian young people. But the alternative to recognising the specific grievances which fuel racism is to see racist ideologies, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours as **essential** and unchanging attributes of white youth. These attitudes and beliefs can become intractable *at certain times and under specific conditions through particular biographical, group and local social relationships and experiences.* On the other hand *such attitudes can be influenced and racist actions can be eradicated,* by encouraging or at least not repressing, autonomous initiative towards attaining the social, material and cultural freedoms denied to them.

What seems to be happening at the moment is a marked increase in Asian-on-white harassment and attacks, whether retaliatory - settling old scores - or racially motivated. This would seem to indicate that Keighley has begun to follow Bradford and Southall, where in the 1970s and early 1980s,

Asian youth organised themselves through the *Asian Youth Movements*, to defend their space against white intimidation. The difference is that now, unlike then, the self organisation of Asian youth to defend space and deter racists, is not consciously political, but takes the form of a more spontaneous, individualistic and contingent mobilisation based in 'gang' networks and co-operation, *when the need arises*, rather than being based on a 'Left' inspired political 'Antiracism'. When racism does arise, then Asian and Black people can and do show solidarity, and they are often supported by some whites, in these instances and at these times, but in other aspects of life, Blacks and Asians clearly do not show solidarity as class, gender and personal factors come into play, as they do for whites and any other group.



The problem with this form of mobilisation, although undoubtedly effective at the level of the street, is that it is in danger of reproducing and consolidating already predetermined 'ethnic areas' and territorial boundaries - 'we have our places, they have theirs' - rather than challenging the very existence of spatial apartheid in the first place.

Notes

1. 'Topography', here, means the limited features of a small area, and is meant to convey a lived sense of racialised territory and its physical and symbolic boundaries.

One of the very few publications worth reading that attempts to explain and analyse racisms and racial harassment outside of the confines of political and behaviourist orthodoxies is Barnor Hesse's *Beneath the Surface: Racial Harassment*. Avebury (1992)

Manners make business sense, but too few companies understand the vital importance of social skills. Special report by Gilly Wiscarson

KATE and her sister-in-law Jill, both waitresses, have got the hang of juggling and are practising quietly and industriously in the corner. The security guards, covering their shortcomings with bravado, have formed a large, noisy circle and are lobbing the balls to each other, while explaining to anyone who will listen how it should really be done.

Kate, Jill and the security guards are learning to juggle as part of "Meadowhall Magic", a three-day training course at the Retail Academy for ground staff

at the vast American-style mall that opened six months ago on the outskirts of Sheffield and provides work for 10,000 people.

The cleaners, security staff and waitresses, or "food court attendants", get special attention because they're the ones most likely to come in contact with the public. "Your job is to act as ambassadors for Meadowhall," says their training consultant, Denice, a bouncy New Englander with a relentless smile and lots of eye contact.

Meadowhall works on the basis that happy staff will be nice to the

customer. "You can't make someone else feel good unless you feel good about yourself," says Denice. "If you can get up in the morning and look at yourself and say, 'Hey, you're looking good today', then, boy, you're going to be a lot more effective."

People have this idea that there are things they can't do, but it's just a question of trying hard enough, Denice explains. Mastering the art of juggling proves to them they can do things they thought were impossible.

Letters

Dear *Here and Now*:

Communism in the Nineties

We must work towards an understanding of the 'Dialectics of Liberation' that heralded the radical student worker movements of the late 1960s. We must understand the catechisms that turned mere academic and scholarly thought into a street theology of pure ideological rebellion, to that society from whence it came. To talk of Marx's theory of Capital and Labour, or Milton Friedman's supply orientated market mechanism is not enough. The raw cane sugar must be refined into a pure white sweetener that will sicken or enliven according to taste.

Land battles, the right to reclaim sovereign lands back to the people and their common heritage is essential. The ground swelling earth first resistance to over sanitisation of our land, food and public health services is the anarchic future of our lost golden heritage. The rigours of modern medicine drilled into our consciousness at each turn of the dial, or flick of the switch, has left us numb to the value of life. No moment of existence has any true meaning in our own self will, because it is to be judged continually against unachievable criteria of personal and social perfection: the rich well-looking model of perfect health and balance in all but moral outlook.

Communism is traditionally seen as atheistic. Communism of the nineties will reaffirm the primitive preindustrial spirituality of the commune. In the failure of the Marxist utopia and the final defeat of the working class's industrial-based, economic common identity, the 'class' solidarity that must arise will not be out of economic necessity. The pragmatic constraints of a service based economy make it impossible for mobilisation of the masses around controlling heights of economic production to take place.

The question that must surely 'dog' us, if we as the theoretical professors of the revolution are to participate and actively to facilitate the movement, is 'to what extent can key strategic posts within the Corporate, medical and legal system be held pending the revolutionary strike?'

Statistics and all forms of Marxist based qualitative analysis of quantity are of course vital mechanisms for efficient resource management. Yet the basis of the land grab revolution is the rebirth of a spiritual communism that defies such social scientific attempts at rationalisation. The dialectics of liberation cannot succeed on the same grounds as the predominant social control mechanism of report, survey and report. It is the empathy of the masses in a shared feeling of universal suffering that will create the political will to liberation.

Good communists will not attempt to therefore justify the preliminary shoots of active ecological and social resistance to the medical-welfare state. They will understand that the huge yawning distance perpetrated by the media view between perception and reality is unbridgeable. Good communists will be there to pick up the mess when the youth have fought, kicked, screamed and yelled to bring the whole self satisfying edifice crashing to the ground.

Yours,
Comrade Don

Here and Now replies:

We don't fully understand this letter, but have printed it in the hope that others interested in the conjunction between New Agery and Communism might reply.

Dear *Here and Now*,

I was glad to see it stressed (M. Charles, *Here and Now* 13, p26) that very many children (in and out of the headlines) are sexually abused by parents and other carers. The spotlight of moral panic is now turning inexorably from (unpaid) parents onto (paid) child carers: residential care staff, nurses, teachers and doctors, and social workers themselves. Each new scare story generates outraged citizens or parents groups calling for hangings, Spanish Inquisitions and so on. Most ironically, a proportion of these advocates of infant innocence will themselves be parents who are sexual abusers of their own children (before the institutional abusers got at them). And a proportion of the media pundits and politicians who talk and act on the issue will also be abusers. But social and political structures mustn't be challenged, so we won't hear *institutions* being prosecuted under the Children Act, even if many sussed social workers know this would often be the least nonsensical approach.

So while I understand, and fully support, *Here and Now's* determination to focus a fine-grained attention onto the effectivity of professionalism and managerialism, I think it should be made absolutely clear that in this case, as many others, there is *no* solution to child abuse to be found in the better management or practice of any of the professional groups involved. The only outcomes on this level concern the careers of the latest welfare discourses and interest groups, and the passage into the media banality of yet one more dimension of the human condition that is of deep emotional import to us all (and still will be, but not in the public domain). Consequently, because social and political effects can be so complex and clouded, it makes perfect sense (to me) to analyse the field of cultural commodities, which purport to illuminate or reflect real events, rather than sticking to some supposed privileged or transparent 'reality'. So carry on with the 'postmodern journalism' and 'opinion parades' - they're much more interesting than the mean spirited pedantry you seem to trigger in some disgruntled intellectuals.

To sum up, did you mistakenly edit out a crucial part of M. Charles' letter? Following: "*the overwhelming number of Cleveland children had been assaulted or abused by adult carers*" (*Here and Now* 13, p26), shouldn't this sentence have ended: "...before being assaulted and abused by their professional saviours"? The latter abuse arises from either following the official rules (freeing the children from abuse by abusing them), or despite the rules (from the personal problems of abusive 'carers'). As to which of these is worse...

Finally, keep up the good work *Here and Now* gets better and better each time.

Tom Jennings

Dear *Here and Now*,

...I was very glad to see the review of the shamanism pamphlet in *Here and Now*. It's a pity that the



full text of the review wasn't published, because the last few paragraphs end on a more positive note (especially vis-a-vis the communist perspective) [See below for rest of review]. But I understand that your position is one of basic sympathy for what the text is trying to do.

Still, the review shows that there are some important differences between us. As I understand it your main criticisms are:

On the idea of 'evolution'. Are you talking about Darwin etc - or the general idea of historical progress? The text certainly attempts to affirm that there is no such thing. It seeks to affirm it in a dialectical manner, not a positivist one: in other words progress is not linear, not a straight upward movement from darkness and superstition to reason and science and involves many set-backs, catastrophes, and profound losses. But merely arguing that through all this movement there is a process of evolution going on runs counter to the position developing more in the milieu of councilism/Wildcat/Fifth Estate/GCI and a whole ragbag of anarchists and 'Greens' - namely that the very notion of progress or historical evolution is bourgeois. To me this view expresses the flight into nihilism so characteristic of the present period.

Underneath all this is the question of marxism. The text is very definitely trying to situate itself within the marxist tradition. But your review doesn't mention this at all. This omission amounts to a distortion of its content.

On the origin of alienation. You say that the thesis of the text is that alienation derives from man raising himself above the purely instinctual level, and the query whether animals are totally dominated by instincts. Two points here. First, you have glossed over the fact that the text tries, following Marx' method, to situate the origins of alienation in the labour process. Man makes himself through his labour, but because up till now, he has done this in adverse conditions determined by the struggle for survival, labour has been "*man's coming to be within alienation*" (*Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*). It's only then that I try to show that there is a profound connection between Marx' concept of alienation and the psychoanalytic concept of repression, and that both, consistently applied, lead to a notion that the qualitative leap from animal to man is also a 'fall', a kind of catastrophe.

This is linked to the second point about animal instincts. It's true that the more intelligent species of animals tend to be reared by their parents for longer time, increasing the importance of learning rather than instinctual behaviour. The point remains that with humans quantity turns into quality on the positive side this means that human conscious activity has an infinite potential for development and is no longer dependent on a fixed environment. On the negative side, as Freud noted, the new freedom is won at a price: up till now, human beings have been characterised by a *conflict* between their conscious activity and their instinctual needs, and this, for Freud, is what makes man the uniquely neurotic animal. Again, the booklet's idea that the myth of the fall really does express an attempt to understand the origins of humanity stands or falls with this notion of a qualitative difference.

between man and the rest of the animal kingdom.

In the unreliability of magic. Magic may be 'useful' or overcoming the separation between conscious and unconscious, for uncovering the lost depths of the psyche - ie as a form of 'spiritual practice'. But it is not reliable for providing the basic necessities of life. This takes us back to the debate with those who abstractly condemn technology and the idea of the development of the productive forces. For me it seems obvious that human beings developed the material productive forces because this corresponded to their material needs. This is a key to understanding why the primitive community was eventually dissolved. Without such an approach, we end up with a purely moral condemnation of the rise of civilisation (i.e., class society) and a utopian desire to return to the primitive level - which in practice could only be the result of a mass extermination of the human species, something capitalism is driving towards in any case.

The text is criticised for being a bit conservative on the reality of telepathy, far-seeing, etc. Maybe. But I think the basic thing is to establish a framework for working at these phenomena which escapes both mechanical materialism and spiritualism.

I'm sure we could find a lot of other things to argue about but that's enough for now ...

Revolutionary greetings
Alan Cohen

Decadent Shamans

Due to a cock-up the complete review of Alan Cohen's 'The Decadence of the Shamans' was not published in the last issue. The following completes Neil Matthews' review.

In fact, parapsychology is precisely the field in which such phenomena as 'remote viewing'¹ have been demonstrated in 'objective reality', albeit a long time after Freud's death. Some researchers have also achieved positive results in the (conscious) telepathic influence of dreams.² But far from reinforcing the view that waking states are not conducive to psi functioning, these results would rather seem to call for a further and more holistic development of Cohen's view that shamanic and out-of-body experiences represent "an authentic state of consciousness in their own right" (p.31)

Nonetheless, Cohen writes interestingly on the role of telepathic communication in 'primitive societies', where

"repression is less advanced and the wall between the conscious and unconscious is less thick; by the same token,...the connection between minds was far more intimate than in later, more 'civilised' times...Since

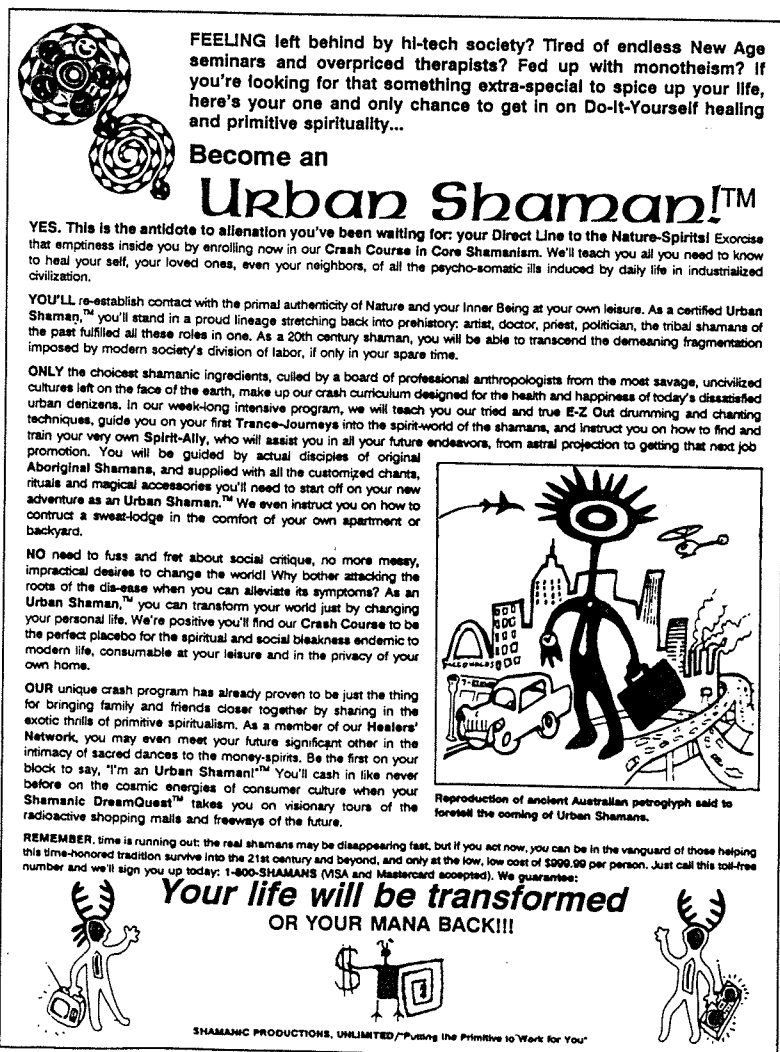
the productive forces were but little developed, there was no doubt a genuine reliance on such 'occult' forms of communication (as telepathy), especially to deal with situations of extreme crisis (which of course is when the shamans would be called in)"(p.33)

My only query here is with the first clause of the second sentence, which is indicative of a view that not only 'magic', but also psychic communication in general, is "by no means as reliable as other methods of communication." Reliable for what? Maybe it's true you can't find out how to build a gas-fired power-station without using verbal communication, but this is hardly the point. If we need to overthrow oppression, make the wall between conscious and unconscious thinner, and make the connections between individuals more intimate, there is little case for thinking that psychic means of communication are any less reliable than any other. First, it is putting the cart before the horse somewhat to make this assertion in a written text; second, it would be a mistake to assume that psychic functioning only operates when we're conscious of it.

Cohen concludes by discussing the nature of the universal movement/ the movement against separation/ the movement for communism, and relies on Marx's most fundamental idea, namely, that communism resolves the separation between man and nature. Communism is thus "the complete emancipation of all human senses and qualities," a world where "all objects become for (man) the objectification of himself: that is man himself becomes the object." The strength of Cohen's pamphlet is that in dealing with this he reunites what are usually portrayed as totally separate things: the communist nature of 'primitive' societies; and the communist movement as a tendency in succeeding societies. The key is what folklorists have called 'psychic unity'.

1. For some basic literature on remote viewing (the 'extrasensory' perception of someone else's sensory experience - usually of what they see), see Russell Targ and Harold Puthoff, *Mind-Reach* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977); and Russell Targ and Keith Harary, *The Mind Race: Understanding and Using Psychic Abilities* (Sevenoaks: New English Library, 1985).

2. See the report of the 'Maimonides' experiments given in Hoyt L.Edge, Robert L.Morris, Joseph H.Rush and John Palmer, *Foundations of Parapsychology: Exploring the Boundaries of Human Capability* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986). Bob Morris holds the Koestler chair of parapsychology at Edinburgh University.



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Dialogue of the Def

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Outside an Against the Unions, SAE & donation from BM Cat, London WC1N 3XX.

On the face of it, Cajo Brendel and Dave Douglass are poles apart. Brendel, a veteran councillor, and respected commentator on workers' self-activity and contributor to *Echanges*; Douglass, an NUM miners' representative, leader of flying pickets during the 1984/5 strike, seller of *Class War* and columnist in the *New Worker*. The pamphlet, *Goodbye to the Unions: A controversy About Autonomous Class Struggle in Gt. Britain*, published by Advocom/Echanges et Mouvement, gives the opportunity to Brendel to 'put the record straight' after a version of his 1974 book on class struggle in England(sic) was reviewed by Dave Douglass as part of his speech to the International conference of the Class War Federation in 1991.

Dave Douglas's own (untypical) experience of unions via the NUM has led him to view the potential of unions in a completely different light to Brendel. He makes reference to unions having a role in unfair dismissal representation, in health and safety issues etc, and in the current climate of non-union small firms making arbitrary decisions, within capitalism, it has to be conceded that unions can be a welfarist counterweight to the excesses of the 'free market'. From these examples Dave leaps to the assertion that Cajo Brendel has probably never spoken to a worker, and that "only a situationist would get it wrong" in not appreciating the sterling role of unions in the workplace.

What Douglass can't appreciate or seemingly conceive is that it is the militancy of the miners historically which has forced the union into militancy and likewise created structures in the NUM less obstructive or remote than the remainder of the Great British unions. He states,

unions *are not* instruments of capitalist order, they are defence organs of the working class, and attack organs of the working class, which have become bureaucratic in many cases... unions are catalysts in movements which go above, below and beyond them.

From this statement there is the leap that to attack such fine, misunderstood institutions is to be an 'enemy' of the working class.

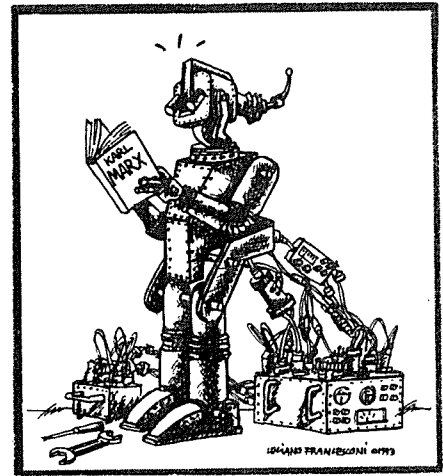
The assessment of leftists in relation to Union activism also reveals a chasm. Brendel would see leftists as increasingly the lifeblood of the union, capturing the posts for their respective sect, and it is difficult (miners' union excepted) to argue with this. But Dave does! Dave states that the

"real problems faced by the British Left and the Revolutionary Marxist Left in particular was one of a trade union taking political action without political leadership..."

(Scargill?, McGahey?, Heathcliff -bystanders?). Reading Dave's diatribe you would think the miners had won and that the

other unions, had all followed in unison! No mention of the decimation of the miners and the paltry support for them by other unions...

Reading this pamphlet, the indignation, and inability to appreciate where the other is coming from bursts out, and has even crept into this review. Brendel for his part gives us a picture of the unions, which, while nearer the general picture, is still one-dimensional. After all there have been isolated examples of supreme militancy directed through unions: the COB in Bolivia, the IWW, CNT etc. However since much of the debate is contained within the period 1945-72, we only get vague reference to the current malaise



in the workers movement. Where unions are strong (Scandinavia most notably) or where unions are weak (southern Europe, USA etc.) isn't an accurate barometer of revolutionary consciousness, far from it! Theo Sander 'rubs salt into the wound' in terms of further attacks on Douglass, again unaware of his grassroots role during the 84/85 strike. For the last word on this saga, with echoes of the anarcho-communist vs. syndicalist 'debate', we have *Outside and Against the Unions* described as a "communist response to Dave Douglass' text 'Refracted Perspective' This *Wildcat* pamphlet, unlike some of their recent issues the magazine, is surprisingly cogent and well argued. Unlike Brendel/Echanges, they are aware of the contradictory 'anarcho-leninism' preached by Douglass and what's more they've also done their homework on what happened during the 1984/5 strike, and how much of this was beyond the union and not under their control. What's more they've tied this into a demolition of democracy and stressed how workers' self-activity is not 'majoritarian'. From this unions are identified as the "corporatist organisations *par excellence*. the attachment of the NUM to the Plan for Coal was just one expression of this". They also critique the left in terms of failing to realise that "any workplace struggle can fall into t

cap of corporatism *as long as it remains just a workplace struggle*”, and that territorially based struggles have greater subversive potential” than those contained at the point of production.

More surprisingly, they offer a more balanced (dialectical?) account of how unions operate, have to be flexible to stay in the business of representation. For any latter-day cardanalists still around (e.g. those editing *Tribune*, etc.), they assert: *Unions don't serve the interests of capital because they are bureaucratic. They are bureaucratic because they serve the interests of capital.*” Before any syndicalist sees a glimmer of hope in this statement, Wildcat invokes the memory of the CGT in pre-World War One France passing resolutions in favour of a General Strike, collapsing like a pack of cards when the ‘Country’ needed Popular Front unity. They also have some nice points about the distinction between ‘real’ as opposed to ‘scab’ unions, the history of the NUM and the

influence of urban village community, and the fact that Dave Douglass isn't a boring trot, but somebody devoted to rescuing unions for ‘ordinary people’.

At the end of the 12 pages, we come down to earth. Not Wildcat's fault, “but what's the alternative”, they bemoan? As identified in the article, on *Dispersed Fordism* (in *Here and Now* 13) by the *Etcetera* Collective in Barcelona there are hard questions awaiting answer as to how anything approaching the collective purpose and radicality of the Yorkshire miners can be achieved given present day trends of capitalist organisation. Faced with the gulf between hope and reality, Wildcat ends with a lethal strike: *“how many more times do union officials have to promise to grass up workers involved in sabotage to the police before this becomes obvious to every class struggle militant?”*

Jim McFarlane

Enclosure of nature/securing new scarcities.

“The overriding of commoners' rights has been taking place for centuries all around the world. But in the last two decades it has accelerated. The impetus for much of this change came from a paper published 25 years ago, whose title had become a catchphrase among developers.

In *The Tragedy of the Commons* Garrett Hardin, an American biologist, argued that common property will always be destroyed, because the gain that individuals make by over-exploiting it will outweigh the loss they suffer as a result of its over-exploitation. He used the example of a herdsman, keeping his cattle on a common pasture. With every cow the man added to his herds he would gain more than he lost: he would be one cow richer, while the community as a whole would bear the cost of the extra cow. He suggested that the way to prevent this tragedy was to privatise or nationalise common land.

The paper had an enormous impact, appearing to provide some of the answers to the growing problem of how to prevent starvation. For authorities such as the World Bank and western governments it provided a rational basis for the widespread privatisation of land. In Africa, among newly-independent governments looking for dramatic change, it encouraged the massive transfer of land from tribal peoples to the state or to individuals. In Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas, developers hurried to remove land from commoners and give it to people they felt could manage it better. The commoners were encouraged to work for those people as waged labour or to move to the towns where, in the developing world, they could become the workforce for the impending industrial revolutions.

But Hardin's paper had one critical flaw. He had assumed that individuals can be as selfish as they like in the commons because there is no one to stop them. In reality, traditional commons are closely regulated by the people who live there. There are two elements to common property: common and property. A common is the property of a particular community which, like the Turkana of the Turkwei River, decides who can use it and to what extent” *The Real Tragedy of the Commons*, George Monbiot *Guardian* 6/8/93

Greenpeace warns of threat from crop patent deal

THE GERMAN chemicals giant, Hoechst, has won exclusive rights to exploit a patent on crops genetically engineered to resist one of the company's own herbicides.

Environmental campaigners say the deal confirms their worst fears over the motives of companies seeking patents on life-forms. Greenpeace said the patent ties farmers into an agricultural system dependent on chemicals, by

making it attractive for farmers to buy herbicides hand-in-hand with resistant crops. The herbicide will destroy weeds, but leave the specially engineered crop intact.

Earlier this month, the European patent office rejected an appeal by Greenpeace against the patent – the first to be granted on a herbicide-resistant plant.

Greenpeace said that the day after the patent office rejected its

appeal, it was revealed that the two companies that filed the original patent, had granted Hoechst exclusive rights to exploit its weed control aspects. Hoechst makes the Basta herbicide to which the engineered crops are resistant.

Black Mask

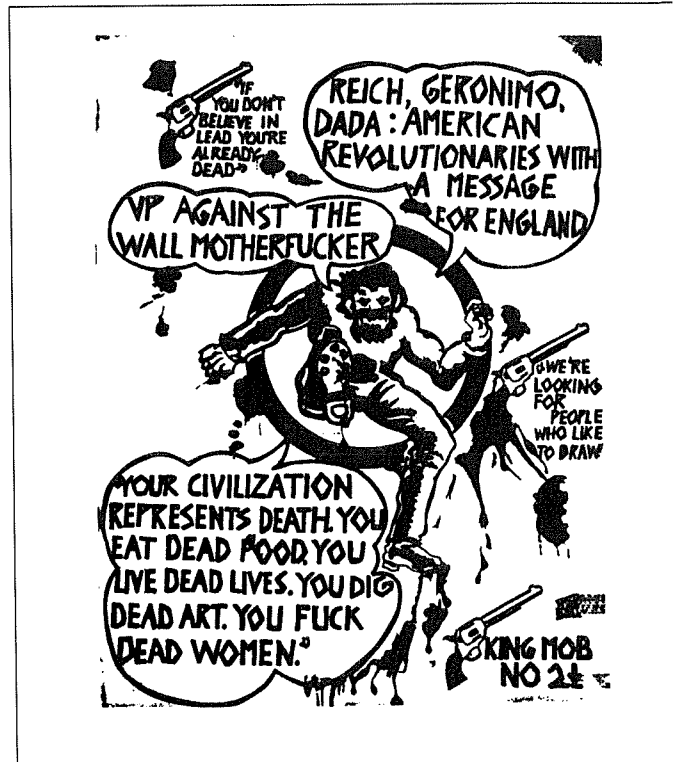
Black Mask and Up Against the Wall Motherfucker: The Incomplete Works of Ron Hahne, Ben Morea & The Black Mask Group (Unpopular Books & Sabotage Editions, London 1993)

This book contains all the material from the ten issues of the Black Mask period and later on when Ben Morea had transformed his group into Up Against The Wall Motherfucker, the full text of a Motherfucker magazine and two long press reports on Motherfucker activities. It also reproduces a fistfull of graphics, a number of which have sometimes been mistakenly identified as King Mob product because they were reprinted by the English group.

Black Mask emerged from the New York Surrealist Group and the American Anarchist Group in the mid-sixties. Black Mask's brand of political neo-dada was of sufficient interest to the specto-situationists in Paris for the Debordists to consider franchising them as the American section of their organisation. But after a considerable amount of manipulation on the part of Tony Verlaan - a Black Mask fellow traveller who went on to become a member of the American section of the specto-SI - the Debordists broke with Ben Morea and his group. This, in turn, led to the expulsion of the English section of the specto-SI for containing contact with Morea. From their early days as the British end of Rebel Worker and then as Heatwave, the English section was far closer to the activism of the Black Mask group than the acerbic intellectualism of their French 'controllers'. After their expulsion, the Brits transformed themselves into King Mob with the help of Dave and Stuart Wise, two Notting Hill activists who had also established fraternal links with Black Mask.

The texts gathered together in this book are presented as source material with little attempt being made to locate them historically. However, they show the urgent necessity for re-evaluating and downgrading the importance of situationist ideas in the UK and North America. Critics such as Greil Marcus who've pointedly ignored Black Mask and the Motherfuckers will find their claims of a major situationist influence on punk left in shreds once this book has been widely read. The situationist-punk connection is by tradition made through King Mob. However, since the the Notting Hill group were clearly an underground phenomena cast in the same mould as the Motherfuckers, any influence King Mob exerted on Malcolm McClaren and Jamie Reid can hardly be considered 'situationist'. The Debordists made this state of affairs quite clear in *Internationale Situationiste* No 12 where they stated: "a rag called KING MOB... passes, quite wrongly, for being slightly pro-situationist". The SI was self-consciously avant-garde, whereas the wilder aspects of the sixties counter-culture that fed into punk bubbled up from a less sectarian - and simultaneously less intellectually rigorous - underground.

Despite this, there is plenty to titillate situationist train spotters. Black Mask ran odd fragments of situationist prose translated into English - alongside reprints of material put out



by civil rights organisations and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation! Ben Morea and his group were deeply involved in the anti-Vietnam war movement and developed an analysis of 'the new proletariat: nigger as class'. Black Mask and the Motherfuckers succumbed to some but by no means all the illusions prevalent among sixties activists in the US. The flipside of this is that unlike the specto-SI, Ben Morea and his group presented their ideas in an easily accessible - rather than an academic - fashion.

Black Mask and the Motherfuckers were activists rather than intellectuals. However, they also shared a number of illusions with the specto-situationists: 'Art as alienation, the inevitable outcome of a culture (itself the result of a socioeconomic system) which is divorced from real life'. The arbitrary division of phenomena according to the traditional marxist metaphor of base and superstructure from a manifesto signed by the Wise brothers, Tony Verlaan, Ben Morea, Ron Hahne and others - forms an integral part of Black Mask's cultural analysis. Like the Debordists, Black Mask subscribed to a simplistic understanding of art as a radical content deformed by its bourgeois packaging.

While Ben Morea and his friends took pot shots at a number of political targets, it seems likely they'll be remembered for their attacks on the cultural establishment. King Mob devoted a lot of space to Black Mask and the Motherfuckers. The way in which the Notting Hill group hyped their American comrades was truly dadaist in spirit:

"Black Mask seized every possible opportunity of fucking up culture. They moved in at a moment's notice and improvised as they went along. They heckled, disrupted and generally sabotaged dozens of art congresses, lectures, exhibitions, happenings... Probably their most notorious escapade was the wrecking of the 3-day marathon seminar on Modern Art sponsored by the Loeb Student Centre. Howls of ART IS DEAD, BURN THE MUSEUMS, BABY and POETRY IS REVOLUTION. Tables kicked over, windows smashed, scuffles breaking out. Larry Rivers roughed up a bit in the best futurist manner. The theoretical dimension - "fuck off, you cunt" - equally worthy of the occasion."

ter Black Mask transformed themselves into the otherfuckers, things got heavier and the targets became more wide ranging. An undated bulletin mentions members of the group facing '40 criminal charges with penalties ranging from 10 days to 10 years'. The Motherfuckers adopted 'med Love' as their war-cry Morea was charged with being a soldier and the group had a run-in with the MC5 the musical wing of the White Panther Party - who they accused of having sold out.

Like the actions undertaken by the group, the Black Mask/Motherfucker texts are inspirational. While there are criticisms that should be made of the group's political and cultural analysis, the excitement of the times is readily evident as an assortment of authors describe their involvement in an escalating series of confrontations with various authorities. The book is important because it will enable many people to rediscover a piece of their own history and through empathy with the protagonists, a sense of their own power. Ultimately, this is of far more use than fruitlessly attempting to employ these - or any other texts - to uncover some 'Truth' with which to 'fix' history.

The book is available for £5 including postage from Unpopular Books, Box 15, 138 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2NS. US readers can order the book from the same address for \$10 (cash only) including postage.

Stewart Home

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A Letter From Stalin

Lettre de Staline à ses enfants enfin reconcilés de l'est et de l'ouest by **Raoul Vaneigem**
(Manya 1992)



As most readers will know, the Situationist International enacted its self-dissolution in 1972 amidst rancorous mutual defamations which make the polemics amongst Trotskyists seem, by comparison, reasonable and humane; re-reading *The Veritable Split in the International* (translation BM Piranha 1974) after

21 years reveals a Guy Debord beside whom many other 'leaders' (like Gerry Healy, Robert Maxwell, Nicolae Ceaucescu or Sun Myung Moon for example) seem modest and tolerant: a certain style of writing was thus enshrined and faithfully replicated in the character of personal relations in this milieu. In certain circles 'Vaneigemism' is still a term of abuse.

Amidst all the public exhumations of the S.I., the writings of that 'other' central figure in the movement -Raoul Vaneigem- have been systematically neglected. He hardly gets half a dozen mentions in Greil Marcus's 500-page *Lipstick Traces*. And yet arguably it was Vaneigem's texts, especially the impassioned precision of the *Revolution of Everyday Life* (1967), which did more to inspire such influence as the S.I. exercised than the gnomic, and often pompous, *Weltschmerz* of Guy Debord. Of all the rumours, one at least is true: it really was the most stolen book in France for a time; it was also, by all accounts, one of the few Situationist texts anybody actually *read*. And they still do. And it's still worth it.

This latest little book by Vaneigem shows that he has lost nothing of his acumen. His style has been brilliantly honed. The book takes the guise of a message from beyond the grave by Stalin addressed to the present generation in the manner (and literary style) of an 18th century *philosophe*. It presents a vision of the world today as he might see it, and in an apologetic *tour de force*, he looks upon our world and the way it is going pleases him. The grand planner on a world scale recognises in the totalitarianism of the commodity system and the triumphs of global social engineering (and ecological management) that his spirit lives on.

The spectral voice asks: "*What are these snorts of condescension? Do you believe that the disrepute which it is fashionable to load me with will be big enough to hide the omnipresence of my ideas?*"

This is a wonderful and timely message, full of sardonic wisdom. Ludicrously expensive (at £7.45 for 97 pages it will *have* to be stolen) and desperately difficult to translate. I hope someone can do so soon.

Mike Peters

THE HIDDEN INJURIES OF HUMOUR

We like to think of ourselves as professional care-workers, but how often do we too collude in acts of gratuitous verbal violence and abuse? Bullying has at last been recognised as an area to be explored and dealt with professionally, but what about the verbal aggression which takes the form of teasing and ribaldry? Is verbal abuse - often trivialised as "joshing" and "banter" - really so harmless and innocent?

Studies have recently shown that as many as 94% of women and almost the same number of men have at some time or other been offended, embarrassed and/or upset, by one or another form of so-called "humour" directed against them by their peers or perpetrated within in their presence. It is estimated that as many as 20% of those so distressed or humiliated have suffered severe trauma attributable to such abuse, requiring extensive counselling. Workers in the field believe that this is just the tip of the iceberg and that what we are slowly becoming aware of is a massive new area of suffering.

The whole topic of "humour" is only beginning to be a subject of systematic investigation. The courageous and pioneering work of Sue Grundy and Fritz Sauerpus ("*Laughter and Health: a critique of orthodoxy*" **US Journal of Clinical Sadistics** April 1981) opened up the issue and enables us to understand for the first time the scale of the damage being inflicted on unprotected children and adults by our society's addiction to joking, and the unacknowledged violence and cruelty which hides behind the 'smiling' mask.

A new helpline for survivors of teasing (Help Against Humour Abuse, HAHA) run by Patsy Frown of Loughborough University's Centre for Structural Studies is being set up for victims to come forward so that statistics on the scale of the problem can be produced. This September, a new agency **Jokewatch** chaired by Dick Head, will launch a nationwide campaign to increase awareness of this problem and publicise the Helpline. A three-year research programme under Professor Pete Sake of the Munchausen Institute has already begun a survey of workplace bantering practices. Next year in the USA an International Conference on **The Sense of Humour as an expression of Male Agression** will be held and this will provide a forum for Humourworkers to share their experiences and learn about new theoretical approaches as well as practical skills.



Bio-electoralism?

Real World - "the voice of eco-politics". £1.50. 91 Nuns Moor Road, Newcastle upon Tyne. NE4 9BA.

Whether what is about to be read can be described as a review I'll leave others to judge. What is interesting about *Real World* is that it gives the lie to the (comforting?) notion that the politics of ecology slip easily into the tracks laid down by leftism. It is the journal of that tendency in the Green movement described as 'managerialist' and 'pragmatic' by its opponents. In fact the latter epithet rather than the former could be considered insulting by the *Real World* project, which prides itself on being the uncompromising deep green current in British politics as distinct from other, anthropocentric, tendencies. This is the local manifestation of Green politics which is not afraid to say that the consequences of neo-politics is radical austerity, against those for whom green politics is just one of the colours in the Rainbow Coalition. *Real World* is posing dramatic changes for the everyday life of human beings on this planet, but at the same time pursues a conformist politics devoted to leadership, media coverage and practical politics. Implicitly it challenges the edifice of liberal politics based on ever-burgeoning rights/entitlements which have no limit. Explicitly the project is desperate to get a foot in the door of the policy-makers. For *Real World* the threat to the planet renders critiques of technocracy null and void.

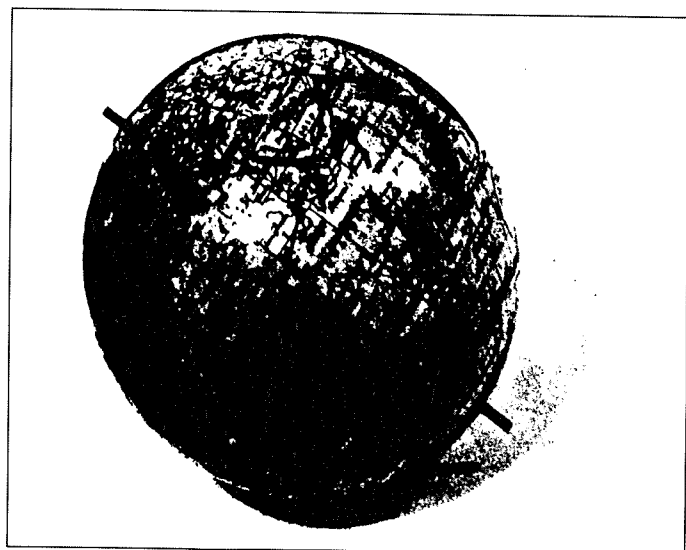
What remains harder to see is whether the project has any interest at all in the difference between libertarian and authoritarian approaches to global problems. The latest issue contains an article in favour of population control which manages to avoid any mention of the means of such control - a strange omission in the light of the past failures of birth control programmes and their historical association with the ends of eugenics. At the same time an article attacking counterculture shows a libertarian awareness of how apparently neutral, technical methods conceal a host of lying assumptions necessary for the sustenance of the un-status quo. This ambivalence becomes all the more worrying in the light of the seductive advances made by the economy towards ecology latterly. The strategy is to assume that there is an identity of interest between ecologists and capitalist - both are concerned about a commercial asset in danger - the globe and all its inhabitants. But scarcity, rationing and resource management are the great principles which brought us to this brink in the first place. Few ecologists, let alone *Real World* seem to grasp this.

The recurring distrust *Real World* exhibits towards 'anthropocentrism' asks more questions than it answers (though this may be their intention). Anti-humanism, however, has been just as powerful a tool in the hands of exploiters as humanism. It belongs with humanism to those who are laying claim to universal application the better to oppress and destroy the particular - one thing I hoped ecology was about defending. There's plenty of evidence that people if left alone will live in their habitats without needing them. Sometimes it seems as if the only species not

allowed to live wild is the human one. Confusing such an ideal with the liberal project of ever-expanding needs and rights is either the result of wilful ignorance or a deliberate provocation. I hope it's the latter.

The Green movement now has so many tendencies and traditions informing it that it's hard to see the worth of the 'Green' label. All kinds of interesting, sinister and silly ideas are sailing under the Green flag. Social Credit has found new admirers in the Green Party (although the statist implications of the ideology ought to alarm all those anarchists who are apparently rampant in the party at the moment). Henry George's Single (Land) Tax has inspired interest. Distributism has both a leftist version in the followers of Schumacher (whose chapter in *Small is Beautiful* called 'Buddhist Economics' was to have been called 'Chestertonian Economics'), and a rightist version in the racist outfits of Patrick Harrington's *Third Way* and *The White Eagle*, which combine the politics of ethnic cleansing and race conservation with a specious commitment to diversity. As well as providing a natural home for the Left diaspora following the final disillusionment with the Labour Party in the 80s, the Green movement includes the Social Ecology Network (Bookchin-influenced, but doesn't seem to feel the need for a clear critique and remedy, unlike its libertarian municipalist inspirer), New Agery, and 'Earth First! UK' which seems as committed to direct action, but less inclined to deep ecological ideology as the original US 'Earth First!'. For 'Real World' these are the sideshows of a vanity fair which is an obstacle and not a resting-place on the journey towards the celestial city of a re-balanced planet. The jury is still out on whether its willingness to dirty its hands with state and media-craft will sustain or stifle its desire to promote a radical break with the patterns of social existence established by the growth economy.

John Barrett.



Footnote



Defending the Commons.

*
“Marx made a thorough analysis of the production process as an exploitation of labor, but he made only cursory and reluctant comments about the prerequisite for capitalist production, about the initial capital that made the process possible. Without the initial capital, there could have been no investments, no production, no great leap forward. This prerequisite was analyzed by the early Soviet Russian marxist, Preobrazhensky, who borrowed several insights from the Polish marxist Rosa Luxemburg to formulate his theory of primitive accumulation. By primitive, Preobrazhensky meant the basement of the capitalist edifice, the foundation, the prerequisite. This prerequisite cannot emerge from the capitalist production process itself, if that process is not yet under way. It must, and does, come from outside the production process. It comes from the plundered colonies. It comes from the expropriated and exterminated populations of the colonies. In earlier days, when there were no overseas colonies, the first capital, the prerequisite for capitalist production, had been squeezed out of internal colonies, out of plundered peasants whose lands were enclosed and crops requisitioned, out of expelled Jews and Muslims whose possessions were expropriated.

The primitive or preliminary accumulation of capital is not something that happened once, in the distant past, and never after. It is something that continues to accompany the capitalist production process, and is an integral part of it. Fredy Perlman *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism*.

Scattered throughout the pages of this issue are examples of the persistence of enclosure. There is a tendency to think of enclosure as simply a question of the land dispossessions of European squatters, labourers and peasants, but even at the height of these clearances enclosure embraced a wider commons than this. It wasn't just the means of subsistence which were brought under more intense regulation but a profusion of independent activities and communal entities. Custom, which dispensed justice, set limits and sustained the community, became subject to increasing intervention from a burgeoning class of professional administrators. Social care became institutionalised in workhouses and asylums as the commons of self-sustenance fell to the

invading norms of wage labour, taxation and individualism. Time itself became more strictly managed.

It is not my intention to mourn a better age than this one, but to remind readers of what happened in the 'classic' age of enclosure the better to understand the process today. Enclosure wasn't just about dispossession, (although such expropriation continues with a vengeance in the unfortunately developing world) it involved a new discipline of the mind, a new way of being in the world, with new scarcities and concerns. It broke people into faster rhythms and more exacting conditions of living. It corroded the vestiges of autonomous sociability.

There are some who are puzzled by this journal's apparent obsession with professional and managerial power, when there appear to be more pressing evils to confront. The critique of this class looks as if it is disengaged from the deeper problems of making one's way through life, almost a luxury in a period of concentrated necessity. It's my view at least, that the growth of this class is concomitant with the disappearance of the commons, and that the disappearing commons continue to be a major source of present misery. For, as Perlman notes above, the continued existence of capitalism depends upon expanding enclosure. This doesn't just happen in the diminishing wildernesses of the world, or the dwindling number of colonies to plunder, but right at the heart of everyday life in the over-developed zones. Spaces which were once at least contestable, like city streets, become objects of intense surveillance, as a prelude to transforming them into practically the private property of the local state. Streets become traffic conduits, destroying the variety and possibility they could have as sources of both sustenance and pleasure. What's left of custom shrinks from the multi-disciplinary assault of teeming professionalisms. Enclosure circumscribes matter and immateriality alike. It cordons off the emotions in order that they can be turned on and off at

the will of management. It embraces social action in order to transform it into manageable skills and procedures, the better to sell courses to people in that which the education system made them forget in the first place.

Enclosure creates value. It turns everything into a resource to be managed, and its unhinged manifestation today is a sign of how little commons is left for transformation. While technology can be relied upon to discover new resources in the world of genetics or cyberspace, it is questionable whether they will provide enough new value to overcome capital's problems. So simultaneously the creeping invasion of the self continues, altering our perception of what it is to be a human being by breaking up everyday existence into a series of social skills requiring tutelage and assessment. Now body and soul are 'human resources' at the service of enterprises and the functions of both are required to submit to self-administered cost/benefit analysis. Life disintegrates into tasks and projects and it is professionalism which invigilates and measures them.

The consequence of this (the "hidden cost" in Economy-Speak) is not just the redefinition of self-hood according to the interests of professionals and capitalists, is not just the loss of autonomy and growth of dependence upon the State and Capital, but also involves a quiet invalidation of our human being, as experiences, thoughts and feelings are submerged under the same laws of scarcity and resource management as everything else. The

dream of socialists for a synchronicity between the economy and human needs looks like being fulfilled, except that it is humans who are being 'economised' rather than the economy being humanised.

Only some of the opponents of capitalism are beginning to grasp what is going on. The Left remains gripped by alternative resource management, arguing for public rather than private enclosure, thereby bolstering up rather than dissolving the legitimacy of transforming commons into resources. But there are people who recognise that self-sustenance and a restoration of some part of the commons in their lives are essential prerequisites for some sort of good living, be they travellers, allotment holders or home educators. Extension of such arrangements would help create the vital precondition for a successful revolt against the economy's dominion. It would nurture communities which are not only against the state but independent of it as well. Continually capital itself finds things falling out of its orbit, as human beings find use for what exchange value found waste, but rarely does use hold out against the transition to value. The defence of the commons emerges from resistance to the latest enclosure. Twyford Down and Jesmond Heath have brought that resistance back to the forefront of anti-capitalist rebellion. Awareness of both the ubiquity and variety of enclosure including all its beneficiaries is a first step on the road to reversing the incursion of scarcity into existence.

Peter Porcupine.



Listings

A Infos. European anarchist bulletin. Sub. £3 from Humeurs Noires (FA), BP 79, 59370 Mon-en-Baroeul, France.

Am I TOTALLY NORMAL too? from: BM CRL London WC1N 3XX: Booklet-length diatribe against everyday life in general with embarrassing confession: "I always wanted to be a hero".

Anarchy Spring 1993, No.36 Includes Society of the Spectacle and Prostitution, Bisexuality (and lesbian denials of), On Gogol Boulevard (copy) no longer in *Love and Rage*, and 27 pages of letters. Available from PO Box 1446, Columbia MO 65205-1446, USA. **No.37** Summer Edition reprints Perlman's *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism* and Zerzan on the rank and file radicalism of the 1920s Ku Klux Klan. Is this a critique of radicals' view of the KKK, or of what is regarded as radicalism in the first place? plus usual 50 million letters...

Arguments With Obduracy: Problems and questions for the international working class movement today. Published by Kramunist Kranti. \$1/Rs. 5 plus post from Mazdoor Library, Autopin Jhuggi, N.I.T. Faridabad-121 001, India

Aufheben No. 2, Summer 1993: Yugoslavia Unravelling, Critical analysis of the Decadence of Capitalism theory, the Rostock events (reprinted from German *Wildcat*). £2 c/o Prior House, Tilbury Place, Brighton, BN2 2GY.

Bad Attitude No. 2. Radical Women's paper. Yugoslavian women against rape and nationalism, Bangladesh, etc. No. 3 now out. £5 sub. from 121 Railton Road, London SE24 0LR.

Jonathan Bowden: BM Egotist, London WC1N 3XX. Bills himself as "Britain's most ferocious, exciting and mysterious "underground" author". Titles such as **BRUTE: An Analysis of Theoretical Deconstruction** ("A Work of Intellectual Dexterity, Nuance and Force"); **Aryan: An Analysis of German National Socialism** ("A Work of Sustained and Megalomaniacal Force"); **Axe: An explanation of Ideology and Personal Conceit** ("A Work of Immediacy, Violence, Brutality & Force"); etc. all £3.95 plus 50p p&p. Britain's most arrogant writer? Certainly Britain's only anarcho-fascist. Imagine Stewart Home without the sense of humour, or Claudia without the style, and then add pages of half-digested pseudo-erudition.

Cease To Exist 1993 Mail Order book catalogue: majik, occult, surrealism, Re/Search etc. Send A5 SAE to: 83 Clerkenwell Road, London EC1M 5RJ

Common Sense No. 13. In addition to the usual mix of 'Open Marxism' (Werner Bonefeld on Global Money Power & Crisis of Keynesianism) and a 20-year old piece of Marxolatry by Sergio Bologna, there is an interesting and highly informative essay by Robert Ovetz on 'Noise Music: the Hypostatic Insurgency', which argues that the underground music scene, by virtue of its allegedly non-commodified structure "can be recognised as an overt political force antagonistic to capital's organisation of life around work". If only... £3.95 from PO Box 311, Southern District Office, Edinburgh EH9 1SF.

Counter Information No.37 Free/donation from Pigeonhole Cl, c/o 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1. Compilation of news of industrial and ecological struggles: Timex, Twyford Down, etc..

Critical Review Vol 6 No 1. American 'libertarian' journal going in for a bit of agonising about the future of libertarianism after the eighties. This issue is even billed "After Libertarianism". This libertarianism is of course the economic free market variety but the self-doubt expressed opens up some interesting fault-lines in the apparently seamless edifice of free market thought; "Libertarian thought is wonderfully sound as far as it goes but there are two gaping holes in it that are now taking on a decisive importance. For one thing there is no very distinct libertarian vision of community - of social as distinct from economic process - outside the state... Nor have libertarians confronted the disabling hypocrisy of the capitalist rationale which insists that while capitalists have extensive freedom of action, their employees have much less." Expensive, best seen in libraries.

Death of Vinyl Winter 1992 Catalogue. Strange music merchants. Catalogue from Doventertainment Inc., 2 Bloor Street W., Suite 100-159, Toronto, Canada M4W 3E2.

Discussion Bulletin Nos. 53, 58, 59 (1992-3). 6 issue subscription \$5 (\$10 air mail) from PO Box 1564, Grand Rapids, MI 49501, USA

Drunken Boat No 2. \$30 from: PO Box 718, NYC, NY 10009, USA. Beautifully-produced, massive "Anarchist magazine of literature and the visual arts", but let down on content.

Et in Claudia Ego (BM Claudia, London WC1N 3XX). Latest "Class Whore Publication". Following **The Rebel's New Clothes** (reviewed in *Here and Now* 12) and **Love Lies Bleeding**. "There are two basic types of people today: (a) myself, and (b) other people. Of these, (a) is by far the most interesting. Category (b) on the other hand is really boring and predictable as is shown by the fact that it is not (a)."

Factsheet Five. The definitive guide to the zine revolution. Any and all publications of the US underground and more. \$3.95 from Seth Friedman P<O>Box 170099 San Francisco CA 94117-0099.

Fake Left by Jack Common. £1.25 plus post from AK Distribution. Published by Working Press. Welcome reprint of a 1933 critique of the British Left, which judging from the state of the left today went ignored. Some gems: "Every materialist hides a secret romanticism in which he finds the antidote for the cynicism he offers to others." "Political parties are constructed on the assumption that what is needed is an adjustment of the political machinery which serves society; revolutionary ones in the belief that a sudden transformation of the economic order will be enough; and planning parties out of the notion that tinkering with the financial mechanism will make all come right... the assumption is, always, that one activity or other is fundamental whereas we know that no activity is fundamental."

Fatuous Times No. 2 Issue on Theme Parks, city design, Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, priest-hating. **Fatuous Times 3.** Sensationalist magazine of serious thought. Fatuous joy-riders, Yugoslavia (All the Lonely People ...Armed). Immediatism. Each issue £1.50 from BM Jed, London, WC1N 3XX.

Fifth Estate. Spring 1992. Major article by George Bradford 'The Triumph of Capital' on the collapse of Soviet-style regimes in '89: 'The desire for industrial growth and the expansion of needs, for the exploitation and valorization of nature for exchange is shared by bourgeois and commissar alike' - see the death of state socialism as caused by an increasingly commoditized mass society created by state socialism itself. Suggests the tendencies which caused the Soviet-style systems to implode are all and well elsewhere. Always interesting. The Fifth Estate, 4632 Second Ave. Detroit, MI 48201.

Fighting Words: An Epigrammar. The Last International PO Box 3142, Albany NY 12203-0142 USA. 32 untypically weak puns from Bob Black

flux issue 5, Autumn 1992 75p from Box A T Rainbow Centre, Nottingham

Friendly Fire. More assorted Bob Black essays (pub. 1992 by Autonomedia: PO Box 5 Williamsburgh Station, Brooklyn, NY 11211-0564) Includes serious & important essays on work (Primitive Affluence and Smokestack Lightning) as well as Bob's curriculum vitae and assorted squibs. bumper collection.

The Great Conjunction: The London Psychogeographical Association *qv* (celebrating "35 Years of Non-Existence") in conjunction with The Archaeogeodetic Association play games with dates and maps to find the longest distance between any two pieces of information, and find their way into the nearest maze. Neo-Nashism meets the C Straight Path? Published by Unpopular Books, E 15, 138 Kingsland High Road, London E8 2NS.

Green Flame BM 4769 London WC1N 3XX. The Masthead says it all: the old Big Flame logo: simply substitute the word Green.

Hoax! No. 3 (Monster Issue) Compilation of pranks and scams. No price stated but good value. Send (real) money to AUX, 64 Beechgrove, Aberhonddu Powys, Cymru, LD3 9ET

Instead of a Magazine PO Box 433, Willimam: CT 06226. Vol 11 No 53/54 Spring 1992: Anarch Sex!!! (their exclamation marks not ours): sf essays, fiction, letters.

Kas-Kor Digest Vol 3 No 3. Journal of the Lab Information Centre, Moscow. Contact: Kas-Kor Information Centre, PO Box 16, Moscow 129000 Russia.

Lantern Waste PO Box 346, Petersham, N 2049, Australia. Title reveals interesting anti-lightenment, anti-civilization stance: a series of unfinished enquiries into technology, sociology, history, religion. Critical without being triumphalist. An Australian Fifth Estate?

Lobster No. 25 £2 from 214 Westbourne Avenue Hull HU5 3JB (UK Sub. £4; Eur. £6; US \$7). Ec Robin Ramsay has purged Steve Dorril's apparatus for not doing enough work for the magazine. Dorril is bringing out his own mag (also to be called Lobster -he says the name was his own idea in the first place). Readers don't need to take sides in mutual acrimony: both writers do worthwhile search, but Ramsay's is the more eclectic (a conspiracy analysis, historical revisions, and an interest in UFOlogy and PSIcontrol technology then while Dorril's work is more narrowly focused

ber contemporary research on intelligence/security services. Paradoxically, Ramsay belongs on the right Right-Wing of the Labour Party and Dorris more anarcho-situationist origins.

is latest issue of the (Ramsay) Lobster has interesting articles on recent "non-lethal" Mind-Control technologies; Churchill's group in the 1930s (by Mike Hughes) and a reprint of Ramsay's review of Carroll Quigley in the light of Clinton. Also Part 3 of Gerry O'Hara's detailed history of the British Fascists, bringing the story up to the mid 1980s.

London Psychogeographical Association No. 'Open Up the Northwest Passage' Rally 2.15pm, August 22nd outside the Empire Memorial Hostel of the British Sailors Society, Salmon Lane, London E4. Seven more years of patriarchy, Slovenian bourgeoisie behaviour, etc. Also available a special issue 'Scotland Against Nationalism' plus discovery of a missing piece of Scotland in East London (which would explain a lot of things). Send your entries for the LPA All-Britain Bus Stop of the Year Competition, deadline November 1st, to LPA (ELS) Box 15, 3 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2NS. Forthcoming from LPA: Asger Jorn's **Open Creation and its Enemies** (£22).

World Survival Guide (MSG) 6 issues for \$7 (sh) to Box 791377, New Orleans, LA 70179, USA. Local but of wider use: practicalities of urban resistance and humorous rants. Typical Yank-Punk but more original than most zines of this kind. The 1993 issue has articles on bioregionalism & anarchism as well as an excellent reviews & listings section.

Monolith News Issue 13. John Harrison's regular informative bulletin about Travellers, ravers Against the current theology of money it poses counter-theology of earth mysteries, and New Age spiritualism etc. Subs £4 or £5 according to means and conscience to: Monolith Publications, Box 4, Syston, Leicestershire. LE7 4RD.

Radicus temporarily suspended publication last year to "engage in reflections which should lead us to a new formula for Spring 1993. Undoubtedly too haven't known what to do faced with the complexity of this epoch and to the exigencies it imposes on us". Now **No. 9** has appeared. Articles include: Quand la realite creve l'ecran, Ordinaland, ecrans de nos vies, Ecologie et barbarie, De la en Slavie. From BP 11, 75622, Paris, Cedex 13. £10 out now. Subscriptions 100 francs.

Baseline Newsline from Public Information Research Box 5199, Arlington VA 22205. **No. 2** July 1993 'Cyberspace Wars' by Daniel Brandt: very interesting essay on the politics of information privacy versus security etc)

Work! by Ivan Ullmann, Reader's Indigestion Summer 1991; no address, no price. Available from AK Distribution. Short, lucid critique of work, which tries to open up thinking about practical alternatives. A good beginning but it's a pity the author is too ready to wish away the central problems of power by normative fiat, eg. however negotiations run themselves, "it should be done out coercion and authority." (emphasis added). I'm not agreeing entirely with the thesis that most of us is a self-perpetuating juggernaut of wasteful, destructive and at the very least socially useless activities, and that this is indeed the biggest issue of our times, I'm not sure that the author has even

begun to grasp how capitalism now has a stranglehold over the creation and multiplication of human needs. To talk about "bypassing the money system and supplying people with all that they need for free" without inquiring into how 'needs' themselves arise seems almost perverse. More work on this problem is needed!

News and Views from (the former) Sovietsky Soyuz. Russian anarchist news bulletin. Contact: Mikhail Tsovma, Volzhsky Blvd. 21-62, 109462 CIS, Moscow, Russia.

NO No. 7: Kill Your Idols. More ranting in the Anti Clock-Wise tradition, Malcolm X, Kill Elvis International etc. **No. 9** : anti-managerialism; Bob Black letter etc. 50p from PO Box 175, Liverpool L69 8DX

No Longer Silent! No 4/5 Thoughtful unpretentious anarchist mag from Eliza Blackweb PO Box 3582, Tucson Arizona 85722. Anarchist Separatism, Another rewrite of Revolutionary Self Theory, Radical Women in the sex industry (as the editor is). \$2 issue; \$10 sub.

Open Eye No.2 Densely packed, excellent value. Long articles from Chomsky and Agee. Interview with Ken Livingstone who enthuses about a socialist eugenics. Memoir of GK Young by Peter Cadogan, and much more. 3-issues £5.00 from PO Box 3069, London SW9 8LU.

Poor Lenin: Extracts from *The Communist Technique in Britain* (1952). Reprint of a long-neglected expose from within of CP methods by London bus worker. Good to see this partial reprint (by Irate Press of Leeds) since it didn't belong to the prevailing Cold War/Right Wing 'anti-communist' genre of the fifties (which was why it got forgotten). £1 plus post from AK Distribution, 22 Luton Place, Edinburgh EH8

Power: Corruption: Lies. "You may well be apathetic to politics, but politics is coming to get you." A3 broadsheet produced for May Day 1993. An offshoot from the Free University. Available from FUN, 28 King Street, Glasgow G1 5PQ (send SAE).

Radical Chains No. 6 Forthcoming: Tickin/Cleaver debate, Law of Value, Bolsheviks versus the Working Class, Otto Ruhle, Situationists, Shining Path etc. £2.50 (4 issues for £8) from BM Radical Chains, London WC1N 3XX

Red Pepper. (latest Promotional Venture for the Great and the Good of Ingsoc PLC, formerly trading under the name 'The Socialist' alias 'Red Green Radical'). Due out in October, according to the junk mail package sent out to potential investors (7-page Business Plan plus Marketing Strategy, tax-deductible shareholder scheme under the Business Expansion Scheme. "Our target constituency is the 2.5 million people (6% of the electorate) identified in a Mori Poll as to the left of the Labour Party, and the 630,000 people who belong to environmental groups". Whatever they say or do, and however often they change their corporate image, these people just *know* they are the goodies

Smashing the Image Factory c/o The Institute of Media Deconstruction, Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4. Technical tips on how to deface billboards etc.

Squall No 4. Timely squatters magazine including articles on the anti-squat and traveller laws, homeless, etc. Send an A5 SAE to Squall, 2 St Pauls Road, London, N1 2QN

Subversion. Dept 10, 1 Newton Street, Manchester M1 1HW. Includes IRA: Anti Working-Class Bastards!

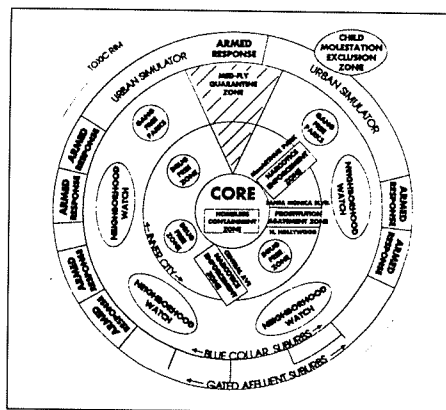
Temps Critiques No. 5 Aut. 1992. 50F (cheques payable to Jacques Guigou) from Editions de l'implicite, BP2005, 34024 Montpellier cedex 01. Impressive journal of radical social theory. Current issue contains articles on 'Community'; 'Networks'; etc..

Trotwatch c/o Box NDF 72 Radford Road, Hyson Green, Nottingham NG7. Grisly chronicle of which sect took which absurd and/or cynical "position" on which issue and when it switched. This is a **must** for anyone who has to deal with those depressing vanguards, and presented with delicious humour. The research is meticulous, and a vital resource for revolutionary groups wanting to get up on each other's follies.

Due out this summer is Trotwatch Report No. 1: **Carry On Recruiting! Why the SWP dumped the 'downturn' in a 'dash for growth'**, which examines just how the policies of this party are actually determined. (They should keep better control over their internal documents).

Underground, No.1. Broadsheet size, tabloid style. Exactly what all these sub-Sit detournements are taking the piss out of must be known by someone since the editor says "so far it's been a great success with thousands being positively received at hundreds of venues across town". What is it about living in London, I wonder, that so alters one's perception that anyone outside one's own subcultural milieu becomes invisible? Perhaps it's all the lead in the air. Answers on a postcard, please, to PO Box 613, London SE22 9QT

Urban Control: The Ecology of Fear (Beyond Bladerunner) by Mike Davis. Dec. 1992 booklet in the Open Magazine Pamphlet Series.



Analysis of the emerging geography of post-insurrectionary L.A. where entire communities are incarcerated and architecture is the weapon of social control. As urbanism becomes psychotic (town planning for deterrence), Ridley Scott's dystopic modernism does come to seem quaint. Davis envisages urban terrorism as the most likely future. From AK, or PO Box 2726, Westfield, NJ 07091, USA

Windchill Factor Issue 8 (Nov/Dec 1992) \$1.50 from PO Box 81961, Chicago, IL 60681. "zine for ideas, action, news, anger, creativity, and more".



LIFE reproduces itself freely in an infinite variety of forms, as Nature gives in abundance and makes USE of everything



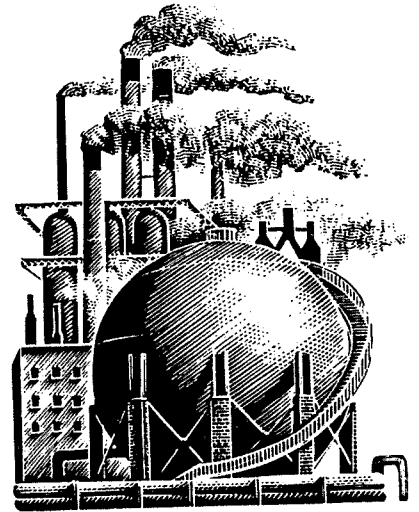
LABOUR creates its own conditions of existence within social relations which escape its control, and finds itself entering into dependencies of which it is not conscious. These material and social needs give rise to transactions of more or less disguised exploitation



MONEY - appearing first as a mere medium of exchange, becomes finally the only measure of all value and, in the form of Capital, signifies total and absolute human self-mystification



POWER over all things on earth is thus conferred upon a class whose very condition of existence enforce a continual increase in the real costs of its own ever more insane demands for social change.



PRODUCTION of commodities on an unlimited scale to keep this unstable system functioning transforms life into an interminable holocaust of Consumption in whose service none may find rest



WEALTH follows its own course as, behind the glamour of Appearances, all the energies and imagination harnessed to its pursuit end up in the poisonous waste of unrealised desires



Because NATURE, despite all Ideology, cannot be persuaded to accept Illusions as recompense for the slow death of stolen time

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