HERE AND NOW

50p NUMBER SIX.

FINANCIAL COMPANIES

165	92	AAF	165	xd	4.2	10.5
255	192	Abingwort	240		0.7	–
50	23	Abercom	41		15.2	–
106	76	Aitken Hme	80		6.0	8.0
49	31	Amal Fin	43		0.0	–
109	64	Argyle Ts	104		4.0	27.3
333	260	Auth Inv	308	xd	1.1	19.8
98	94	BWD	94		5.5	7.5
178	148	Baltic	153	xd	2.5	9.2
39	25	Benchmark				
343	265	Br Commod				
117	88	Brit Arrow				
138	91	Burns – An				
173	150	CLF				
348	320	Caledonia				
330	260	Candover				
20	17	Camelia In				
292	236	Cannon St				
71	54	Cattles				
222	176	Chancery				
188	75	Centreway				
21	19½	Duncan (W				
46	35	Edin Fin				
353	313	El Oro				
72	43	Ferguson J				
202	134	Framlingtn				
135	110	Goode Drn				
178	131	GT Manage				
805	640	Hend Admi				
83	62	Ind Fin&In				
202	149	IC Hldgs				
84	68	Investmen				
130	89	Ivory&Sime				
430	331	Keep Trus				
420	273	Kershaw A				
140	26	Kwahu				
53	44	Lon Amer V				
166	153	Lon Forftg				
400	264	M&G Group				
111	94	MAI				
211	180	Majedie In				
360	300	MAM				
67	53	Newmarket				
63	53	Parambe				
355	210	Parrish Pl				
148	101	Parkdale				
369	328	Prov Finci				
173	147	Rothschild				
81	66	Singer F				
193	150	Smith N C				
141	105	Templeton				
161	116	Tyndall Hl				
225	180	Transcontl				
79	51	York Tst				

MEDIUMS

503	434	Acatos&H	483		2.4	19.4
315	281	Ass Br Fd	290	–2	3.6	9.8
191	151	Ass Fish	175	+2	3.9	17.4
220	185	Bank Syd C	202		4.6	6.2
153	133	Barker&Dob	148		3.2	14.6
298	164	Bassett	232	–8	4.3	15.2
103	68	Benson Crp	75	xd–1	0.9	14.7
338	274	Berisford	296	+1	6.5	11.9
220	162	Bibby (J)	162	–3	7.2	7.4
413	361	Booker	398	xd–1	5.5	14.2
59	42	Borthwick	50		1.4	–
198	163	Brake Bros	198		1.9	17.8
887	231	Cadbury – S	355½	xd+6½	3.1	19.8
245	188	Carrs Mill	240		4.1	8.5
107	92	Chamb&Ferg	94	xd+2	4.0	10.1
120	80	Cranswick M	90	+5	8.4	8.7
100	77	Dalepack	80		4.6	9.2
325	272	Daigety	292	–1	6.6	11.7
117	85	Daniels S	86	xd+1	5.2	20.9
83	39	England JE	66		0.0	–
118	92	Fisher A	108	+2	2.9	21.9
293	253	Fitch Lvll	265		5.9	16.2

153	108	Tex Hldgs	153	+3	4.7	21.5
46	31	Thorpac	38		4.2	15.2
259	218	Tomkins	243	–3	1.9	16.0
205	162	Toye & Co	202	xd+2	4.1	15.7
346	309	Trafalgar	325	–3	6.1	12.0
61	58	Transrap	60		–	–
40	28	Tranwood	32½	–1	2.1	6.5
352	309	Travis&Arn	344	xd–2	2.6	10.4
151	93	Trent Hlds	139	+2	1.2	20.3
95	86	Triefus	95		2.2	18.0
40	28	Trimoco	36		3.1	–
141	136	UK Paper	136	–1	–	–
209	165	UTC GROUP	181		6.1	29.6
173	50	Unigroup	60		0.0	11.6
514	443	Unilever	453	xd–2	3.7	11.1
28	21	Utd Grntee	23		0.0	82.1
333	232	Usher Wlkr	305	+10	3.7	16.7
708	555	Vibroplan	703		2.4	23.4
163	140	Vinten	155	xd	3.1	14.4
558	438	VSEL Cnsr	533		2.3	12.4
213	175	Waddington	184	+1	4.6	12.1
208	158	Wade Potts	188	xd–3	3.3	13.1
320	268	Wagon Indl	291	+4	4.9	11.7
121	91	Walker G	112	–1	2.8	12.4
618	500	Wardle Sty	618		2.2	17.9

65	41	WilliamsRe	53	+2½	1.8	45.7
135	77	Wembley	123	xd	1.2	–
99	89½	Zetters	99		7.6	4.9

MEDIA

245	202	Abbott Mea	228	xd	2.7	11.5
103	80	AddisonCn	94	+1	4.1	10.1
115	85	Adscene	108	–2	5.1	–
398	66	Anglia TV	158	xc–1	5.0	21.9
440	370	Aspen Comm	432	xd	1.6	18.9
484	435	Ass News	453	+1	2.2	15.1
355	270	BPP	325		2.8	19.4
310	270	Barbour In	278		2.2	20.7
136	108	Barker C	136	xd+3	3.3	22.6
302	241	Boase Mass	256		4.2	14.0
51	32	Border TV	34		5.9	8.7
63	31	Broad St	39	+1	6.6	15.7
238	215	Bristol P	215	–2	5.1	18.4
250	205	Brunning	222	–3	2.3	55.6
102	89	CCA Galls	90		4.3	12.4
230	161	Capital Rad	226		3.6	13.7
773	653	Carlton Cm	746		1.0	26.9
568	447	Central TV	503	xd	6.0	9.1

136	100	LDH Gp	109	+3	0.8	21.4
273	193	Lambert H	195	xd+2	6.0	7.1
290	260	Latham J	285	+3	4.2	6.2
252	221	Lilleshall	228	xd–6	1.8	14.6
70	48	LonFinInv	53		2.8	15.5
298	253	Lon Intl	277		2.8	20.6
107	95	Lon Merch	106		3.6	21.4
251	177	Low&Bonar	244	xd+13	3.4	17.4
168	158	Macfarlane	162	xd+1	2.8	13.1
263	196	Magnet	243	+3	3.6	15.5
386	295	Manders	374	xd	4.0	20.8
162	128	Marley	148	xd	4.6	10.4
263	236	Marshl Hfx	260		3.4	17.7
148	105	McLeod Rus	105	–2	5.9	14.4
110	94	Meggitt	107	xd+1	2.9	11.4
221	173	Metal Box	200	+1	4.1	12.4
398	341	Meyer Intl	380		2.6	12.4
268	220	Morgan Cr	257	xd	5.3	11.6
101	90	Morris As	95	+2	4.9	9.5
75	61	MY Hldgs	67		3.1	13.5
127	98	Nash Ind	125	xd+3½	2.7	14.3
12½	9	Neil&Spncr	11		0.0	3.1
187	172	Newman Tks	179	xd+1	5.9	13.0
18	11	Nimslo	–		–	–
220	178	Nobo	192		3.4	14.1
431	349	Norcros	414		4.3	15.5
283	255	Nu – Swift	258		3.8	10.5
144	128	Nurdin & P	131	+1	4.5	10.5
830	615	Parker K A	760		3.6	12.5
350	313	Parkfield	332	–1	1.7	18.4
332	305	PatersonZA	312	xd+2	3.2	9.6
14	8	Pavion In	9		0.0	5.6
770	648	Pearson	674	xd+4	3.0	14.8
142	104	Pentland	105		0.8	7.8
105	86	Phoenix Tm	95		3.6	11.3
420	305	Photo – Me	410		0.6	–
260	239	Pifco	239	xd	4.0	9.5
189	174	Pifco A	179	xd	5.4	7.1
251	203	Pilkington	215	–1	4.8	9.0
90	68	Pineapple	79		0.0	25.0
310	194	Pittard Gp	194	xd	4.2	10.0

LEISURE

166	150	BerryStar	163	+2	–	–
69	60½	Br Asset	64¼	+1	5.1	26.0
492	440	Br Inv	485	+5	5.0	23.9
109	96	Brunner	106		3.6	37.3
348	320	Caledonia	345		2.8	48.8
157	121	Cres Jap	157	+1	0.4	–
980	708	Drayton Jp	980	+5	0.6	–
271	238	Dundee&Lon	268		3.5	38.3
		Edin Inv	150	+½	3.8	36.3
		Electra	196½	–½	3.1	39.5
		Electric &	75		2.1	–
		Eng &Int	211		2.9	48.5
		Eng &Scot	97		2.4	47.8
		Ensign	72	xd	1.9	66.7
		F&C Entre	29	+½	0.6	–
		Fst ScoAm	386	+3	5.0	27.0
		Fst Spain	66	–1	–	–
		Flem FE	180	+1	0.6	–
		Flem Japan	216	+2	0.1	–
		Flem Merc	171½	xd	3.2	41.3
		Flem Oseas	146		2.1	69.5
		Flem Univ	140		1.5	–
		For & Col	103½	+½	2.6	51.0
		FundvsInc	49		24.0	5.7
		FundvsCap	465		0.0	–
		Gart Amer	125		1.5	63.8
		Gart Euro	260		1.2	79.5
		Gart Info	42	xd	4.2	25.9
		Gen Con Cp	63	–2	–	–
		Gen Con In	109	+1	–	–
		German Sml	101		1.4	–
		Globe	136		4.3	30.5
		Govett Atl	119	+1½	3.5	43.3
		Govett Or	274	+3	0.6	–
		Govett Stc	226	xd	2.5	42.4
		Greenfriar	284	+2	1.2	72.1
		Gresham	405		1.9	32.7
		GT Japan	306	–1	0.6	–
		Hambros In	207	+2½	3.8	43.1
		Japan Ass	77	+1	0.1	–
		Jersey Gen	433		3.5	27.7
		Keystone	290	+8	2.8	48.1
		Law Deb	276	xd	4.2	25.4
		Lowland	160		3.4	33.1
		Merchants	142	xd	5.2	26.4
		Monks	204	+1	1.9	66.2
		Murray In	168	xd	4.5	32.6
		N America	352	+2	2.1	69.7
		New Tokyo	144		0.0	–
		O'seas Inv	170	+1	1.4	–
		Raeburn	437	+5	5.2	24.8
		Precious M	146	–2	0.5	–
		Rvr&MA Inc	102		–	–
		Rvr&Mrc In	99	+1	7.8	17.5
		Rvr&Mrc Cp	48		–	–
		Romney Ts	315	+1	1.7	79.9
		Scot Amer	84		3.4	40.2
		Scot Eastn	120	xd	2.7	48.6
		Scot Inv	122		2.8	53.5
		Scot Mortg	100		3.2	40.2
		Second All	704	+1	4.1	31.5
		Second Mk	100	xd	0.5	–
		Secs T Sc	100		4.9	32.4
		Select Ass	73		–	–
		Throg Tst	408	xd+2	3.6	33.6
		Throg USM	111	xd	2.0	54.7
		TR City Ln	70½	xd+½	5.0	29.2
		TR Ind&Gen	112	+1	2.8	44.8
		TR Pacific	49		–	–
		TR Trstees	118	+1	2.6	47.6
		Temple Bar	208	xd+1	4.6	28.8
		Viking Res	50		5.5	21.8
		Whitbread	319		3.6	37.1
		Witan	106½	–½	2.8	51.2
		Yeoman Inc	118	xd+1	10.7	13.5
		Yeoman Cap	88		–	–

12						
325						
180						
118						
195	145					
144	95					
378	277	L				
268	121	Loo				
238	188	Perry				
315	210	Quick Hl				
519	355	West Motor				

OIL & GAS

197	182	Acre Oil	185			
90	76	Amer Bus	82			
32	12	Amer Dist	12½			
136	98	Ampol	136	+4		
81	64	Aran Egy	73	+1		
34	23	Aus Oil&Gs	33	–1		
12	7½	Atlant Res	9	+½	–	
286	243	BP	272	–2	6.3	–
87	61	BP P/P	76½	–1	22.4	–
10½	6	BOM	10	+½	0.0	66.7
500	480	Br Borneo	495		6.4	14.0
524	437	Britoil	515		2.1	18.2
81	56	Bryson	75		0.0	–
7½	4½	Bula	5¼	–¼	–	–
567½	430	Burmah	560	xd+6	4.0	13.4
220	190	Caledonian	210		–	–
590	365	Calor	365	–8	4.1	11.7
120½	93½	Carless Cp	117½	+4	3.2	–
195	50	Century	178		4.5	10.6
120	90	Cluff	109		–	–
149	102	Clyde	140½	+½	0.0	50.2
77	40	Concorde	69		0.0	–
34	27	Edinburgh	29		0.0	72.5
406	256	Enterprise	394	xd–12	3.3	22.3
205	175	Flogas	180		–	–
35½	25	Floyd	32	+1½	0.0	13.1
106½	76	Goal	105½	xd+2	1.3	39.8
135	106	Gt Western	108		4.2	–
15⅛	11⅞	Hamilton	£14⅛	+⅛	–	–
200	165	Hunting	185	xd+5	6.7	10.9
16	9	Jackson Ex	9½		–	–
15	13	Jebsens	14		0.0	0.4
26	16	KCA Drlng	20	–1	0.0	5.4
410	271	LASMO	404	–6	2.6	76.5
43	27	Lysander	28		0.0	–
28	13	Marinex P	22		–	–
28	17	New London	19		–	–
49	27	Oil Searc	45	–1	–	–
15	7	Pennine	9	+2	–	–
64	47	Petrocon	47		5.2	7.4
16	9½	Petrogen	9½		–	–
1¾	1	Petroz	1½		–	–
73	50½	Premier Cn	70½	+1	0.0	37.3
27	22	Ramco	26		0.0	6.3
333	221	Ranger Oil	326		–	–
11¾	969	Shell	£10¾	xd–1½	6.2	11.3
328	243	Silkolene	313	xd	3.9	10.0
118	91	Sovereign	117	+1	0.0	30.7
25	18½	Southwest	20		0.0	39.2
54	38	Sun Oil	42		–	–
15	5	Target	6		–	–
17	12	TR Energy	15	–1	0.0	14.7
183	118	Triton Eur	179	–2	0.0	–
311½	173	Ultramar	311½	xd+7½	2.9	19.7
72	44	Woodside	69	–3	–	–

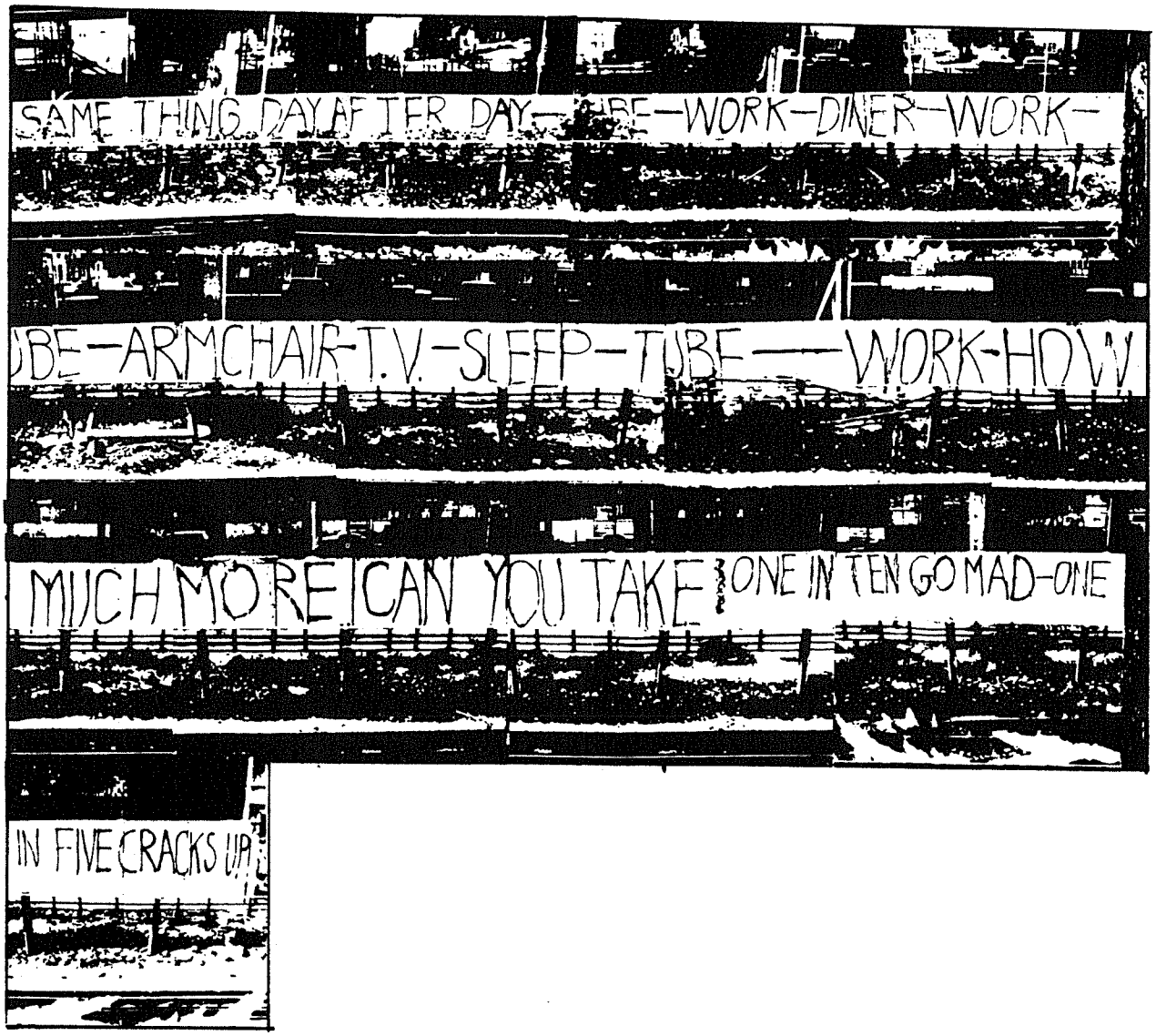
OVERSEAS TRADERS

65	55	Anglo Eas	65	+4	–	–
10	855	Assam Drs	£10		1.4	21.8
110	75	Bertam	85	+2	1.6	21.6
53	33	Boustead	48	xd	1.4	21.9
147	138	Chillingtn	140	+2	7.0	20.7
62	47	Cons Plan	52	xd	–	–
318	275	Eastn Prod	296		4.6	8.0
127	89	Elders IXL	119	–1	–	–
100	82	Finlay J	82		6.9	–
59	48	Grnd Cntrl	66		1.7	14.0
531	548	Harrison&C	619		5.3	22.3
94	77	Harrison M	90	+4	27.8	–
57	43	Highland&L	46	xd	–	–
744	620	Inchcape	699	xd–4	5.3	9.4
69	54	Kuala Lump	69	+3	18.1	–
21	19	Lawrie Pl	£20		3.1	43.5
239	195	Lonrho	209	xc–2	7.3	9.7
60	55	Malakoff	60		18.2	–
235	205	Moran	225		–	–
71	47	Ocean Wisn	54	–1	6.3	8.3
155	115	REA Hldgs	140		2.0	10.4
70	58	Rowe Evans	65		2.5	31.7
108	71	Tozer Kemp	99	xd	2.9	9.8
775	655	W Doears	775	+20	1.2	35.9
745	610	Williamson	735		3.7	29.4

PROPERTY

123	89	Ald Lon	118	–1	3.3	15.8
155	90	Arncliffe	133		3.3	8.3
209	133	Arlington	202	xd	2.7	14.6
175	108	Asda	163	xd	0.8	45.3
129	23	BHH Gp	114	xd	1.5	24.5
240	210	Baker H Sn	238		2.3	17.3
90	78	Barlows	88	xd+2	1.2	–
313	248	Br Land	303	–1	1.7	19.3
675	585	Bradford	675		2.3	19.6
223	168	Bredero	200	xd	3.1	15.0
305	218	Brixton	305	+2	3.5	25.5
405	335	Brookmoun	360	+5	1.7	19.4
280	155	Burford	280	+10	0.1	53.1
149	112	CALA	149		2.2	14.4
215	128	Caird Gp	168		0.8	–
423	318	Cap&Count	413	xd+7	2.8	25.1
95	60	Cap&Regnl	93		0.4	33.8
400	325	Cardiff	400		0.7	–
655	553	Chesterfld	650		3.1	21.8
230	170	Citygrove	230		2.4	11.4
192	145	City Ste E	192		0.8	40.7
110	85	Clarke Nck	110		4.4	23.5
293	203	Clayform	293	+3	4.0	10.8
800	700	Compco Hld	800		1.3	44.6
390	295	Connells	330	xd+5	3.3	13.0
60	43	Control Sc	50½	+½	0.0	9.4
370	335	Cussins Gr	335	xd–5	2.9	15.5
10¾	6	Daejan	£10¾		2.7	13.5
36	27½	Dares Est	33	xd	2.1	23.0
180	115	Debenham T	180		2.5	–
96	70	De Morgan	93		2.4	–
190	132	Dencora	178		2.3	21.9
550	513	Derwnt Val	550	xd+5	1.3	27.5
240	143	Egerton	214	–1	3.0	12.4
248	160	Est&Agency	248		1.7	35.1
173	128	Est & Gen	173	xd	2.4	20.3
273	190	Est Prop	273		4.5	20.9
153	126	EvansLeeds	153		4.6	14.1
230	149½	Ewart	210		9.8	–
115	80	FSM Props	112	xr+1	2.4	–
78	58	Five Oaks	72	–1	1.9	9.7
223	155	Fletcher K	220		3.9	17.6
365	275	Frogmore	355		2.6	12.9
316	263	Gr Portlnd	305	+1	3.6	33.0
428	325	Grainger T	423	–2	1.1	30.8
393	298	Greycoat	385	+1	1.1	42.4
59	49	HK Land	58	+1	–	–
624	513	Hammerson	602	xd	2.6	25.7


LIES & COVER-UPS



One of the first and most direct grafitti in Notting Hill. It was sprayed alongside the Metropolitan tube line, underneath the Westway.

from BM Blob pamphlet (see p. 18)

Editorial

Without conscious planning, a thread has come to run through these pages, a tenacious link forged from our perception of these times. When we started *Here and Now* we were concerned to emerge from behind the barricades of Left tradition and gaze unblinkingly at the wreckage beyond.

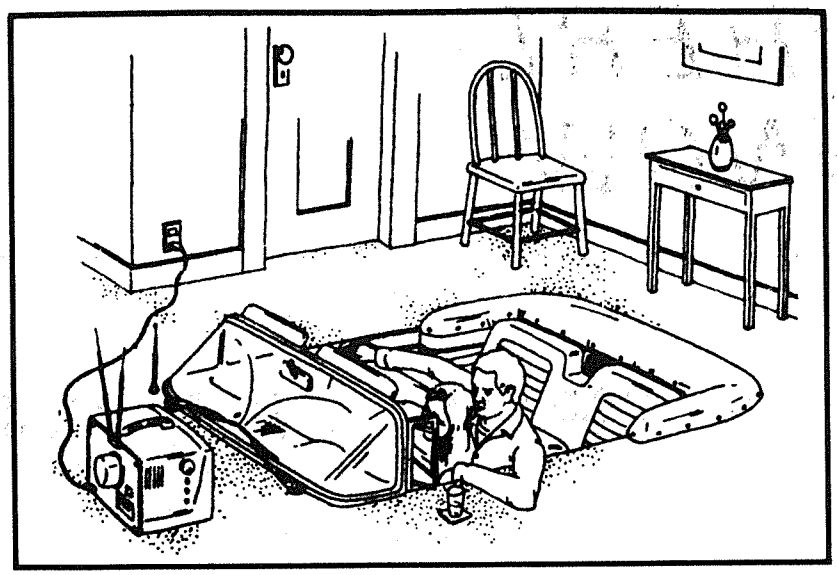
What we see is a wasteland being sold to us as paradise. What we hear is the misappropriation of the vocabulary of liberation in the service of the economic. Orwell and others identified the withering of language at the heart of totalitarianism. The defenders of "freedom" and "choice" have launched a similar assault on meaning. We live in a time when the man most adept at saying nothing is christened "The Great Communicator"; when the extention of choice is equated with the elimination of variation; when bosses criminalise the withdrawal of labour and call this "the right to work"; when an employer bullies seamen into scabbing by the threat of mass dismissal, then calls this scabbing a "free vote".

The battle for human society is the battle for truthsaying. It is the resistance to the subsumption of all value to the economic.

It is the determined opposition to the lie that freedom reduces to the choice between Pepsi and Coke.

■■■■■■

SADO-PORNO SOAP



Do you recall all those enraged letters to Radio Times protesting at the amount of repeats on T.V.? Well - in West Germany at least - that type of correspondent is now settling down daily to Cable T.V. ..... twenty or so channels which revolve on precisely that principle: repeats.

There are two channels devoted to repeating the best of the West German equivalent of BBC 1 and ITV (ARD and ZDF respectively). There is a joint channel named revealingly 'Gestern' [= yesterday) which provides you with the chance to view today what you might well have taken pains to avoid the previous day.

The most popular cable channel in West Germany, SAT 1, transmits virtually nothing other than repeats of Charlie's Angels, Star Trek, Waltons, Bonanza, High Chapparal etc. etc., sometimes twice a day, five times a week. Incredible Hulk was recently run every day from Episode 1 to Episode 36; the day after Episode 36 came to an end Episode 1 started again.

Two more examples of this pretext pluralism. Before Super Channel took over the Music Box frequency both Music Box (GB) and Musik Box (FRG) - spot the difference! - churned out exactly the same Top Twenty biased video clips all day long in a, for the discerning viewer, *slightly different order.* RTL (= TV Luxemburg) initially transmitted its sports programmes at exactly the same time as the ARD and ZDF, even covering the same events. Not that the great viewing public complained; it was the advertisers, who are already calling for set ad times simultaneously on all channels to prevent the viewers zapping away.

Across the board the emphasis is placed - with the honest, open cynicism of the New Right - on Happy News, Positive Weather Reports, untaxing quiz shows and non-political talk shows. Non-political means rightwing and celebrity obsesses. If you zap your way through the twenty channels at around 11 p.m. you will be confronted three quarters of the time by famous establishment male talking heads. An open access channel exists but nobody seems to bother about it much. Mind you, if some oppositional group did manage to broadcast anything remotely critical from it there'd be uproar.

Cable T.V. in West Germany is aimed squarely and conceptually at the silent non-disenfranchised majority. This is not just a matter of programming content it is also more significantly one of transmission time. Most of the channels, including the State ones, begin at about 4 p.m, in other words approximately at that time when the working masses in West Germany get back home. Non-integrated outsiders such as the forcibly unemployed, the voluntarily unemployed, shiftworkers, night owls etc. are not just ignored - they are not even conceived of as having wishes; which is one of the reasons why the financing powers-that-be are now demanding more soft porn and soft violence, obviously prerogatives of your average consumer at large.

This standardisation of choice will ultimately mean a twenty to forty fold "choice" between various nationalities of soap. George Orwell got the technology right for 1984 but not the content; someone somewhere someday is going to make a lot of money out of a porno-sado soap serial.

Such pretext pluralism is a sign of the times. We are conned into buying CD record players so that, under the pretence of better hi-fi quality, we can restock our record collections with records we have already got. We have our homes cabled so that we can watch programmes we have already seen. Contribute your own examples.

BUT IS THAT THE REAL POINT?

Cabling is an inordinately expensive technology which could not be implemented without incredible subsidies from the taxpayer state, just like atomic-powered electricity. And, although it is now considered too heavy a burden for the taxpayer to fund a welfare state, it is only normal and reasonable that he/she pays for atomic electricity and Cable T.V. Twice. Now, for the installation of copper cables - though it is known to be an already outdated technology - and again in the not too distant future when these will be replaced by glass fibre. But then the technology required to install Cable T.V. is actually a two-way process, which means that clerical labour can be decentralised and deunionised to home point unit production.

Just a by-product of the drive to give us more choice, you understand.

Mephistophole

Evrata: P.23 of Here & Now 5. "Off The Rails" is available from B.M. Blob, London, WC1N 3XX.

LIBERATION SEXOLOGY

The movements of the sixties and seventies suggested an idea of a liberation which would, by throwing-off inhibitions, lead to a "natural" intimacy in human affect. From the end of repression at home to the end of repression in society?

But nowadays - Rediscovery of perversity disavowal of the power implicit in "liberated" behaviour. And moral panic about the situation of the young in the family. As suggested in articles in previous issues of *Here & Now* contemporary social concern tends to identify with the *victim* position: with the laboratory animal, with the culled seal, with the infant victim of child abuse. The condition of voicelessness is shared; subjecthood is at best deferred to a better future.

In medieval times, the Pope encouraged crusades as a diversion from concern with the state of Western society; today, media stars crusade on child abuse. The major difference is that this *debate* has no opposition - a few squalid individuals hardly substitute for Saladin.

But the victims are easily translated into feel-good Capital, whether in the resource bargaining of Council Social Work Departments or the T.V. Pledge Campaign. After a Thirty Years' War to eradicate all dangers of collective social otherness, by herding a former peasant and worker alike into the ghettos of their own castles, a new question looms: Once the fantasy goods have been bought what happens behind the curtains? The response is a *Childwatch*, a policing of affect.

For all their taunts, Seventies' pundits expected an anti-hierarchical neutralisation of sexualised power through intimacy. Contemporary caring professionals see sexuality in every gesture. Apparently the unconscious and phantasy were only patriarchal myth; the body's true proportions are revealed only in the positive discrimination of the totemic doll; and every touch threatens an overwhelming power. Only a child's discourse will eventually reveal and confirm this truth. And only a specialist can bring about this epiphany. To every power a counter-power, and the reversals happen quickly here. The caring professional, his or her intuition confirmed by some sign, arrogates a position of irrefutable Truth; dispute is useful only in that it may yield more material confirming this truth.

Such a strong power, once established and backed up by legal authority, has to conjure up a counter-power. An occult international of child abusers may yet appear. For the time being, dubious statistic piles onto dubious statistics; like the Kentucky Fried Ratbone, it always happened to someone else.

There is an implicit class perspective behind it all. Child sex abuse is considered a problem of the working class, although its opponents are delighted to think they have found it "even" in professional families (such as in Hereford recently). The industrial working class, corralled into council or volume-builder estates, bought the commodities they were offered. To carer and New Right columnist alike, this alone suggests gullibility, a weakness of will which implies unfitness to reproduce a healthy society. On the one side, the interventionism of the carers; on the other, the disdain of the New Right, who would write-off whole estates, towns and cities of people. For both, commodity society is an implicit evil; for both, it appears to have been freely chosen by those whose freedom was always curtailed; for neither does this suggest the need for a subjecthood beyond commodity society.

Alex Richards

RESISTANCE IN SCOTLAND

Anti Poll Tax activists in Scotland are entering a decisive period of mobilising against Registration as a preliminary skirmish prior to the battle for a mass refusal to pay in April 1989. They face the difficulty of being 'first', without a recent widespread history of active opposition.

Unlike the Anti-Census campaign in West Germany, they do not have a constituency of concentrated defiance in the squatter, communal living areas in Frankfurt, Hamburg, West Berlin etc., which dovetailed with the defence mechanism of the large migrant population anxious to avoid forced return to Turkey and so on. They are a minority, predominately young or community activists, faced with an apparently 'immovable object', comprising the population reared on Welfarist passivity and unchallenged Concensus Politics/ Labour allegiance.

The strategy of the Tory Party depends on exploiting the discomfort of Labour Councils squeezed between a vocal minority refusing to pay and the 'silent majority' incensed at the level of the Charge. If the councils protect services then the charge is higher, if they reduce the charge they will have to privatise services and cut jobs. The problem for

Saying no to the Poll Tax 1381

Government & Councils alike begin if the minority is large enough & determined to go through with prosecutions & legal penalties.

An opinion Poll [*Scotsman, 12th March*] showed 75% against the Community Charge (Poll Tax) but more significantly 42% for non-payment & non-compliance with the enforcement of the regressive and anachronistic measure. The 50 Labour M.P.'s from an apparent position of strength, are trying to head off potential support for activist campaigns gathering momentum in Edinburgh and pockets elsewhere. They are prepared to endorse the delaying tactic of returning Registration forms with points of clarification requested but thereafter face a challenge from firebrand *Dennis Canavan* and other figures seeking to establish a Scottish Assembly by defeating the implementation of the tax. This does not suit the engrained habits of H.M. Loyal Opposition and opens the door to a 'popular sovereignty' being juxtaposed to remote Parliamentary representation.

The May District Elections resulted in only a slight slippage of Labour support, and heralded a revival in the fortunes of the S.N.P. who had cast the vote as a mandate for a Non-Payment campaign.

The unaccountable actions of zealous Registration Officers like Woods in Strathclyde has more or less rendered delaying tactics unworkable. The choice has narrowed down to non-payment or compliance. The extension of powers to arrest wages and directly recover benefit from claimants refusing to pay highlights the 'iron fist' of Government policy towards the less privileged. It is the politicisation of opposition which will assume greater pre-eminence since voluntarism and hyper-activity can become a short-term recipe for demoralisation once the Tax is imposed on an unwilling minority.

Jim MacFarlane

How to form groups: Info from p/h CR, 11 Forth St., Edinburgh EH1. (Encl. SAE).

AT BREAKDOWN POINT

I'm a woman who has worked for 10 years in one of the offices in dispute°

°°°

A strike has taken place by low-paid civil servants over the last 14 weeks across North London Dept. of Employment offices. It has involved Job Centre and D.H.S.S. staff who came out in solidarity when they were asked to do UBO work. They were suspended when they refused. It ended on March 31st in defeat.

Apart from one shoret news slot on London TV News, it has been virtually blanked in the newspapers, national as well as London local papers. Indeed it seems *La Republicca*, the Italian daily, mentioned the dispute more than the English based newspapers. This has led many of us strikers to conclude that perhaps there might be an orchestrated conspiracy of silence as it was rumoured that Alan Robertson, the new principal manager for the *DE's* had Thatcher's full backing.

Certainly management acted in an unusually hard but predictably clever fashion and quickly dampened down and gave into disputes elsewhere in the civil service. Basically, management wanted some issue to get rid of once and for all, the militant disruption which has taken place over the last few years in the North London offices.

A few days after the strike started, a mole at Head Office let us know that one of the top managers had walked out of a meeting saying *"This is the end of the CPSA[civil servants union]: It's finished"*. It seems that the Government wanted to inflict a defeat in the heart of North London's militant offices in preparation for a long attack om (civil servants work conditions). In order perhaps to prepare the stage for the horrendous April social security changes, merit wages and flexibility, YTS employment, the privatisation of the Employment Service, the possible abolition of the dole and/or welfare paid through a cash card unit you can't argue with! No civil servants.No problem. No claimants. No problem.

Since the amalgamation of Job Centres and U.B.O.'s under the new title of Employment Service, staff at some north London U.B.O.'s would be compulsory re-deployed to Job Centres without then filling the subsequent U.B.O. vacancies. Previously transfers had been conducted on a voluntary basis with the union. Camden 'A' was selected as the pilot office. On December 21st (just before Xmas and fitting in well with increasing managerial sadism) casuals at Job Centres were sacked and those - on a last -in, first-out basis - at Camden 'A' U.B.O were compulsorarily trasnferred to the Job Centre. One girl casual, in tears, came to say goodbye to her friends in the U.B.O.

There was an immediate angry response and the strike started. On January 11th, after a ballot, Marylebone 'A' and 'B' and Westminster U.B.O. walked out in support of their Camden colleagues. From then on the dispute accelerated to effect 30 to 35 U.B.O.'s, Job Centres and D.H.S.S. offices in north London.

Initially, the strike was a spontaneous angry response to managerial dictat. Strikers visited other offices to win support. Very quickly, however, the strike got taken over by Militant and S.W.P. Trotskyists who tried to use the strikers as cannon fodder for their own party political ends. Some non-party strikers didn't like the fact that S.W.P. members were usually the ones to visit offices because they knew colleagues elsewhere would be suspicious of their motives.

As more offices joined in, mass meetings were held every Friday in Camden's claimants union office who were expecting any day to be evicted by the Labour Party controlled Camden Council. In no time a self-elected strike committee, comprised mainly of S.W.P. members, came into existence. After that the meetings were totally monopolized by the S.W.P. who used the occasion to have their own private (but much publicised) battle with Militant (who, in their turn had a lot of influence on the official, N.E.C. appointed, disputes committee). Macreadie, deputy General Secretary of the C.P.S.A. and Militant member, was present on the platform at all these mass meetings. Basically, Militant didn't want the dispute escalated while the S.W.P. wanted an all-out London strike.

There was, in fact, a token one day all-out London strike on February 18th.

Brixton U.B.O. wanted to come out in support but was denied strike pay by the N.E.C. Macreadie didn't really want to see the strike extended to south London. In fact, Brixton did come out for a while and some staff there stayed out to the end.

After the mass meetings, Macreadie would report back to the N.E.C. about the strikers decisions. Finally, after weeks of procrastination, a ballot was prepared for an all-out London strike but with the rider that Macreadie and the N.E.C. had decided there should be no strike pay from the coffers of the C.P.S.A. which is one of the richest unions in the U.K. It was a calculated shoot-yourself-in-the-foot policy, which, (as probably intended) gave hard-nosed management a good laugh. As it was, after a low turn-out with only 60% of C.P.S.A. members voting, and with some offices not having ballots, the voting was reasonably close. 41% for, 59% against. Nobody really expected any other result. And, like the miners before us, we've returned to work without an agreement which has filled more than a few of us with the horrors.

The mass meetings became jargon-slanging matches with many determined and well-meaning strikers not realising what was going on. Generally the same, long-winded boring speakers would have their say every week. They weren't talking to the meeting but trying to prove themselves to their party. A lot of strikers felt too intimated by this speech-ifying party atmosphere to ask questions. Moreover, all speakers had to submit their questions to the chair and many questions were passed over with the excuse of insufficient time. One excellent proposal suggesting that there should be a mass picket targeting on a particular office decided secretly the night before (a tactic which would have terrified many scabs and possibly gained much needed publicity) wasn't even considered because it was a non-party proposal. Tactics, in fact, didn't emanate directly from the mass meeting but had been decided on in advance in closed party sessions. In fact, the different Trotskyists didn't want direct action and relaxed, open communication but behaved as pressure groups on lumbering, union bureaucratic procedure. Because all real discussion was suppressed, the meetings finally degenerated into mad debates on any unrealted, fashionable issue. One of the last meetings spent half the time drooling on about whether members could smoke or not!

Non-Militant, non-S.W.P. strikers got rapidly pissed-off and didn't turn up for further meetings. Then strikers started to get suspicious about what was being discussed between the strike committee and management. Management let it be known to the scabs that all the strike committee wanted to talk about was S.B.S. (Staff Basing Scheme) figures which they wanted to stay over the 10% level. It wasn't what Camden 'A' had walked-out over in the first instance. Issues were being slung-in by the self elected strike committee which strikers knew nothing about and weren't informed about. This resulted in more scabbing, plus the fact that the strike seemed to be going nowhere.

Towards the end of the strike, a union rank 'n' file group called *"Workhouse"* produced leaflets criticising the running of the strike (a little too late). They had valid points (e.g. condemning the party political games/emphasing the need to take control over the strike fund etc.) but after so much manipulation of strikers one was left with the feeling, maybe they too had an axe to grind!

In the Militant offices in north London because management over the years has been pushed back a lot, there's often quite a merry-prankster, bawdy, joking atmosphere which can make it a pleasure to be with your work mates. It's been said of one of these U.B.O.'s that strike there are an unholy alliance of the hard left and the hard drinkers. Some of this atmosphere got carried over into the strike. Although the dispute was serious business, the way it was conducted, meant the strike became farcical. Joking was one of the outcomes. In fact in no time at all, the jokers occupied the

front rows at the meetings purely to wind-up the platform and to bring in a bit of comic relief. When arguing over dates for an all-out London strike (the 14th or 28th of March) one hard drinking striker loudly said *"April the 1st would be more appropriate"*. Another loudly cursed *"Is Macreadie aenemic?"* Another proclaimed after a meeting's conclusion, *"that* I haven't had such fun since my leg *fell off"*. This repartee got the Trotskyists furious. Other comments were more serious. One person asked if Macreadie and company would contribute 50% of their wages towards the hardship fund. The platform remained silent.

A lot of U.B.O./D.H.S.S. staff earn a lot less than a sizeable proportion of the claimants moonlighting in the black economy (and good luck to them!) Throughout the 80's because we've been constantly standing up against further incursions by the Tory Government, plus a growing recognition of just how badly paid we are, there's been a growing sympathy from many claimants.

In one of our local west London pubs where U.B.O. staff were having a Xmas drink, a claimant gave a bottle of champagne with a nod and a wink to a desk clerk. Delighted cheers all round!

It's unfortunate but during the strike it was the poor claimants who were the real ones to suffer. Outside one office, pickets on a stint were confronted, on a bitterly cold winter's day, by a mam and dad with two kids who had no socks on their, blue with cold, tiny feet. These parents were enquiring about emergency payments. The pickets were devastated and suggested a whip-round to help them. In other circumstances this has happened before in the past.

Of all people though, the Fraud Squad was running emergency offices for pay-outs. One such was Paddington Green church hall. In fact there were heavy scenes and police were constantly called in. Obviously the Fraud Squad were scabs and ready to fill-in for striking staff but also they did this "service" with an eye to their future career. Obviously they were trying to nail claimants who were claiming and working. Job Club and Restart didn't strike (although in the one day strike against Y.T.S. in late '87 some Restart staff actually did strike).

Although receiving half take-home pay from the C.P.S.A., strikers supplemented their hand-outs by finding jobs (ironically considering our function) in the black economy. When doing these jobs they were afraid to say they were striking U.B.O./Job Centre staff because they were often working alongside people who were signing on. Strikers were worried in case some claimant recognised them and thought they were undercover Fraud Squad agents!

Once it became apparent we were being manipulated by the S.W.P. and others, a lot of strikers virtually forgot about the strike - even although they'd never cross picket lines. They silently got their heads down waitressing, baking croutons in a bakery, pairing up shoes in a shoe factory, handing out rush-hour free mags etc. Sadly quite a few of the best people who could have made an imaginative contribution to the strike, left the Civil Service during the course of the dispute. The danger is that this could make the scabs cockier.

We returned to work on the 31st of March defeated but with our heads held high, to be told *"welcome back"* by the management. Maybe this was an individual response but it makes one suspicious. A lot of the scabs looked shame-faced and so they should, the amount of overtime they had been clocking up meant they had been doing very well by stabbing their striking colleagues in the back.

Management seem to be wary of crowing too much because of the imminent restructuring of the Civil Service. It's going to mean many fights in the offing.

■■■■■

BLOWING HOT & COLD

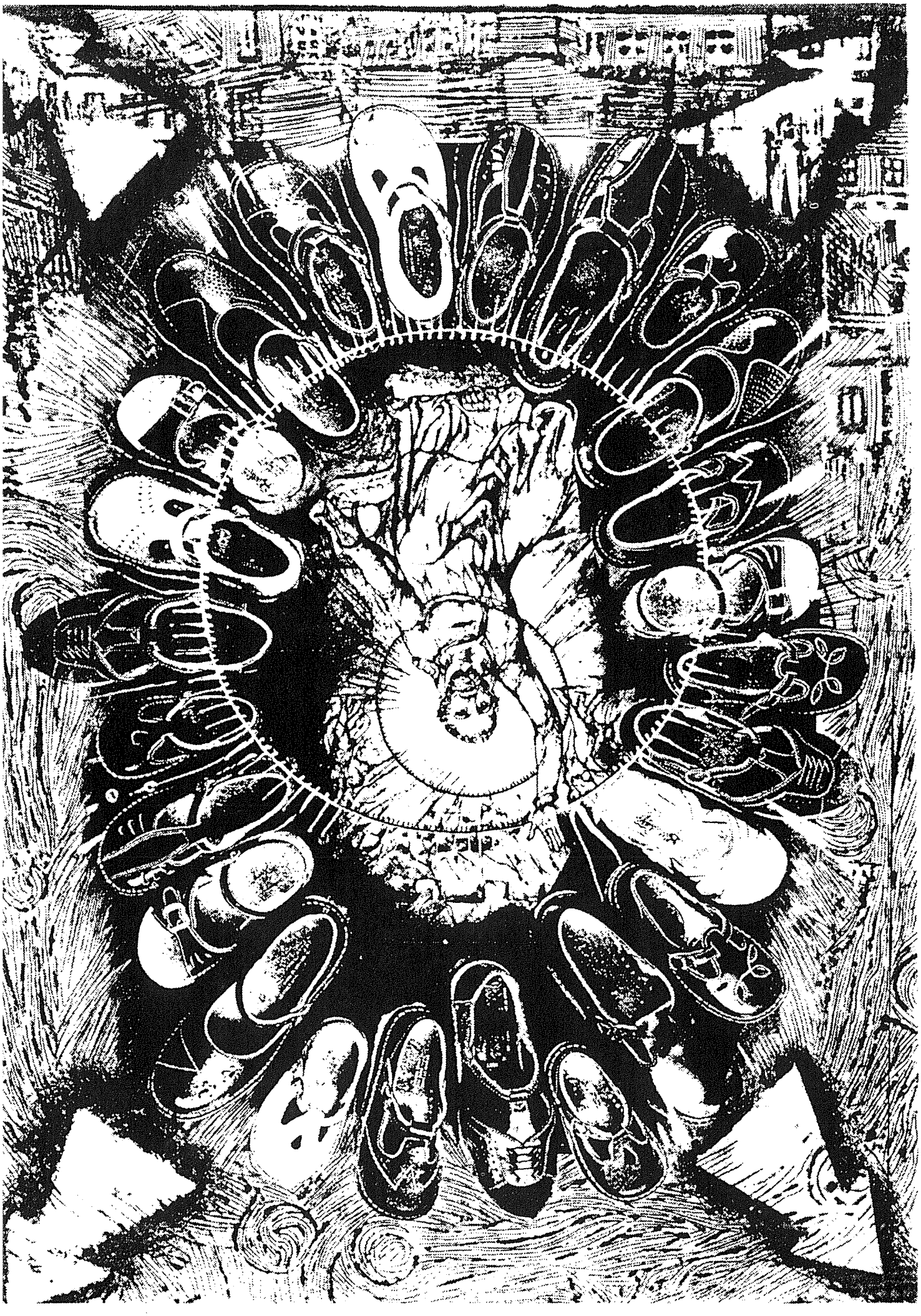
The disputes themselves have been almost totally controlled by the union apparatus, after the initial surprise of the Manchester night nurses and the Leeds Blood Transfusion staff. Health union officials seem to develop a peculiar knack of blowing hot and cold at the same time. Thus public exhortations on the St. James' picket line for greater militancy are contradicted by private manoeuvrings to secure a refusal to take part in the next day of action.

What seems to have happened is that after action taken by all hospitals in Leeds (except Cookridge Regional Cancer, I think) in February which was fully balloted according to Employment Act specifications, certain union officials were contacted by certain Labour Party officials. Oddly enough the result of these 'talks' was that the ostensibly militant union *N.U.P.E.* (my union) was forced to come across as moderate and refused to support the 14th March protest, called by the ostensibly moderate union *C.O.H.S.E.* These high table chit chats had absurd upshots. In the hospital where I work we have always held our mass meeting together in times of dispute. The same goes for our balloting - we all vote in the same ballot regardless of which union we belong to, and the counting is done by a selection of union officials and management. This practice legitimised strikes in '82 and it legitimised the February protest. However, suddenly our *N.U.P.E.* steward is told that the ballot which we held for the 14th March pro test (result suppressed, although everyone knows there was a majority for strike action) is invalid, by her own *N.U.P.E.* officials. On asking why she is informed that mixing up the unions plus the fact that it wasn't a branch ballot but only a section ballot (the organisation of hospital unions basically conform to the spheres of influence of union officials - *N.U.P.E.* members are in fact all members of St. James Hospital Branch, for no logical reason other than the fact that St. James *N.U.P.E.* is powerful and wants to remain that way) means that the ballot was illegal, and furthermore the Personnel Officer of the Hospital was informed who hauled up the stewards before him and made them apologise with the sort of words: *'I'll let it rest this time, but if there's a repeat.....'*

Needless to say this crazy behaviour upset many people who were all for leaving *N.U.P.E.* and joining *C.O.H.S.E.* only for them to hear that the *C.O.H.S.E.* branch secretary at the hospital [*C.O.H.S.E.* are a branch there) was being accused by his colleagues in *C.O.H.S.E.* of trying to set up a *'break-away'* union at the Hospital by having mass meetings and ballots jointly. Out of this chaos came nothing. People were advised not to strike and to go on the demo in their own time. Calls for further meetings have so far met with silence and prevarication, a phenomenon which I have since learned is common to other hospitals.

The Campaign for Imaginative Action Leaflet got some people thinking. We distributed it around Leeds hospitals and on a health workers demonstration (1,000 copies printed, about 800 distributed). About 8 people turned up to the public meeting, which although it meant an interesting discussion, was not what I had hoped for. It went down quite well where I work and infuriated some S.W.P. members who maintained that only pressure for a T.U.C.-led General Strike could make a breakthrough possible. They obviously don't remember the last fiasco of a T.U.C. called General Strike a few years ago. Breaking out of the discourse of unionism remains our only hope. Dispensing with the automatism of left-wing struggle with its phantom armies of proletarian footsoldiers is the first step towards a kind of citizens movement which transcends the corporatist aims of pressure group politics. We are now tentatively involved with Hospital Alert in Leeds, a broad based movement concerned with N.H.S. funding. Of course this is no panacae to the absence of a confident combativity, but it does pose the possibility of a future critique of current health care, if present and potential patients are involved. We intend to keep meeting in the pub on some basis, not least to maintain some sort of permanent space for public debate to occur. Getting things off the ground at my work is proving more difficult. People want a meeting to discuss tactics, but no one will call one. The nurses pay rise may complicate things further, but few people at the Hospital are convinced that the struggle was about pay in the first place. I'll let you know what happens.

A Hospital Worker from Leeds



Notes on EASTERN EUROPE

"How could I, a Pole, believe in theories? That would be grotesque. Against the Polish sky, against the sky of a paling, waning Europe, one can see why so much paper coming from the West falls to the ground, into the mud, onto the sand, so that little boys grazing their cows can make the usual use of it."

Witold Gombrowicz, afterword to Ferdydurke.

THERE IS A tendency to identify two 'camps within the tradition on Eastern European opposition to tyranny. The first is absolutist, moralistic and romantic and might have included figures such as Bakunin, Tolstoy and Solzhenitsyn in its ranks. The second is pragmatic and sceptical – one representative might have been Alexander Herzen – and the quotation at the head of this article captures its spirit precisely.

As a guide to understanding real situations this kind of academic party-game isn't very useful. Divergent strains of resistance split and recombine and sometimes come to rest within the person of the same individual. What are we to make of the present state of the Polish opposition, for example?

Solidarity still gets a fair amount of attention in the Western press, but almost everyone would admit its decline in influence and support. Young workers can't be bothered to join any more. A poll by Stefan Nowak, quoted in the New York Review of Books (Feb 18, 1988) revealed the following tendencies in Polish Society: -

25% sympathetic to Jaruzelski regime.
25% favour opposition.
50% indifferent between the two.

This would seem to be a major decline for an organisation which once claimed to speak for the soul of the nation.

The old guard of Solidarity, Walesa and the rest, were, within the terms of our previous categorisation, pragmatists, their defeated strategy being to conjure areas of social autonomy out of the hands of the monolithic State. From the experience of underground Solidarity a harder tendency, known as Fighting Solidarity, has been forged. Relatively small it rejects all negotiations and prepares for all-out confrontation. Its present condition is unclear. Its leader, Kornel Morawiecki, underground since 1981, was arrested last year and others may have followed.

Subject to a great deal of intimidation and arrest though it has been, the activities of the draft-resisting group Peace and Freedom appear to have led to the introduction of an alternative to compulsory military service in Poland. More or less outside the traditional arenas of political contestation, Peace and Freedom is in effect an embryonic Green movement its activities having embraced ecological as well as pacifist causes. On 6th September last year the Police used tear gas to disperse 3,000 demonstrators in Miedzyrzecz who were protesting against plans to dump nuclear waste. On 16th October police detained 4 Peace and Freedom activists during a demonstration against the construction of the Zarnowiecz nuclear plant.

And then there's another tendency, one to be found in oppositional circles thoughout Eastern Europe; the believers in 'economic pluralism', the readers of Hayek and Friedman. The interest in this sort of thing is the most depressing thing about the Eastern opposition for the Western anti-capitalist, especially when it embraces a second rate opportunist and self-publicist like Roger Scruton.

□□□□

Vaclev Havel, the Czech writer, has been reading his Hayek too.

> "When there is no natural plurality of economic initiatives, the interplay of competing producers and their competing entrepreneurial ideas disappears, and along with it the interplay of supply and demand, the labour and commodity markets, voluntary labour relations disappear too. Gone as well are the stimuli to creativity and its attendant risks, the drama of economic success and failure."
> Stories and Totalitarianism – Revolver Review, April 1987. English translation in Index on Censorship, March 1988).

This is not an easy passage to make sense of. What, for example, are 'voluntary labour relations'?

The crux of Havel's argument is this. For human individuality to flourish there must be plurality of choice in all aspects of social life. Logically therefore there must be 'economic pluralism' i.e. a market economy.

> "...without a plurality of economic initiatives...without competition, without a market place and its institutional guarantees, an economy will stagnate and decline."

What can we say? Only that in our experience market economies do not lead to meaningful choice, indeed tend always to the elimination of plurality. The paradox of 'choice' in a consumer society is that it is achieved via the elimination of every little local variation in produce, culture and tradition. Apparent increases in choice always mask the destruction of many more possible choices than are ever offered. Market economies are not about risk but the elimination of risk, not about competition but the crushing of competition, not about the proliferation of entrepreneurs but their agglomeration into massive corporations, individually richer than many nation states. Ultimately market economies are about the standardisation of choice and the standardisation of desire.

An example. The spread of the supermarket has brought with it an apparent increase in the variety of goods available to us. Vegetable counters are stocked with green and red peppers, aubergines, courgettes, mangos, kiwi fruit, etc., items mostly unknown to the ordinary person only twenty-five years ago.

At the same time individual differences at the local level are being eliminated. One would be forgiven for believing that carrots are always cylindrical in shape, less than six inches long and fairly tasteless. The massive variety of size, shape, texture, and flavour – the hundreds of carrot varieties in fact – are increasingly foreign to us, because the supermarket requires a standardised product. There are hundreds of varieties of apple, but the supermarkets carry at most half a dozen, most of which are imported (an ecologically crazy thing to do). The perfect supermarket apple is the bland French Golden Delicious – uniform size and shape, no special character, long shelf life. We are invited to 'choose' it.


PRÁVO LIDU

Číslo 3/86 ČESKOSLOVENSKÝ SOCIÁLNĚ DEMOKRATICKÝ ČTVRTLETNÍK Ročník 89 (9)

Svoboda A SLUŠNOST

Kosmetická úprava

LIBERTAS

RYSZARD LEGUTKO
FRIEDRICH von HAYEK
JERZY ŁOJEK
IDEA FEDERACYJNA JÓZEFA PIŁSUDSKIEGO
JOSEF HRADEC
TRAGEDIA EUROPY ŚRODKOWEJ

We have lots of choice but it's always the same choice. From one end of the country to the other we are offered a standard choice of standardised products. In Dortmund, Stockholm or Akron, Ohio, there will be more similarities than differences. Soon there will be no differences at all.

□□□□

But what are we to believe about Poland? Has the population sunk into apathy, as the Nowak poll would suggest? Then why is Jacek Kuron warning against a premature bloody eruption against the State?

"The spectre of social explosion haunts Poland", he writes in 'Tygodnik Mazowsz', the Solidarity underground journal. "The radicals await it and certain irreconcilable fundamentalists believe that it will lead to no less than the final fall of the Communists."

Kuron marks himself out clearly as a 'pragmatist', advises caution, even suggests that if they push too hard it might bring down poor old Gorbachev (and wouldn't it be better to give Glasnost a chance?).

> "...those who are pressing towards revolt now...are taking a mortal risk with the destiny of the nation and not just the Polish nation."

This is where we say: "We were right all along... collaborationist...sell-out...proto politician." And perhaps we're right. Still what Kuron turns out to be advocating is waiting for the right moment.

"Our only hope is the disintegration of the (Eastern) Bloc... many find that this chance is already taking shape on the horizon." Unrest in Armenia and the Ukraine, mounting tension in neighbouring East Bloc countries, all point to the imminence of the moment.

"There's no need to hot thing up; they're heating up all by themselves."

A clever politician acting as fireman, no doubt. Then again, given the hotch-potch of political tendencies, the brutality not far under the surface of the repression, and all the other various specifics which go to make up the situation which is present day Poland it is not immediately obvious that the generalised call to immediate total insurrection so beloved of those for whom the very word strategy is a dirty word, is the most sensible course of action. Especially when your companion on the barricades could well be a fan of Roger Scruton.

You too can die for the right to have supermarkets.

> *"But these theories, which drift across the sky, become ridiculous, blind, ignoble, bloody, vain. Gentle ideas are pregnant with mountains of corpses."*
>
> Gombrowicz.

Jack Murphy

RESPONSE TO THE THIRD ASSAULT

At some point, any attempt to resituate a radical political theory and practise must look to past theories and practises, taking from them what is useful for its own situation. As Gus McDonald's notes in his article *The Third Assault* (in *Here & Now* 5], this is often not what appeared important to a previous generation of radicals indeed, what is useful now may have been pernicious nonsense to them. Today, as the article also notes, it is necessary to free ourselves of certain perspectives relevant twenty years ago: the present and future are unlikely to take the same form.

So there is an extent to which *The Third Assault* stands as an appeal to a greater openness and reflexivity in our thought and activities. However, this is overlaid by a general periodization of the radical movements of the past century. The insistance that this yields a "true recognition of the contours" necessitates the asking of several questions.

1 **Social Democracy, Leninism, and Fascism are rolled together as reactions to a First Assault, which appears to be the union of Young Hegelian theory and the Workers' Movement. The contours of this period disappear into a retrospective judgement; gone is the novelty of the Leninist response to the growth of the "Labour Aristocracy" and the accommodations of the Social Democratic parties; gone is the fusion of elements of radical social democratic and anarchist practise in Fascism.**

2 **Is the 1923 boundary between the First and Second Assault valid? Didn't the Workers' Movement continue until the Spanish Revolution? Are Korsch's writings recognisably closer to 1968 than 1917?**

3 **The "Second Assault" foreshortens half a century of experience, half a century of various theoretical activities, in a perspective which can make Adorno snuggle up to the youth counter-culture, Horkheimer or Castoriadis to the Italian autonomists. Problems mount up whenever specific attention is paid to any "name":**

   a] **Breton's dictatorial recuperation of Dade, the Futurist manifesto attitude as Surrealist precedent;**

   b] **Frankfurt theory/practise as a response to Mass Production/Mass Culture: that total domination which was perceived as excluding any "assault"**

   c] **The varying attitudes to German Existentialism [Heidegger, Jaspers] taken by the names listed under the "Second Assault" and the "Third Assault" - Sartre on one side, Adorno on the other, and Derrida occupying a position straddling the wall.**

Only in the last ten years of the fifty years covered by the Second Assault does it find the practise which will justify it.

4 **Like that between the First and Second Assaults, the timescal of the passage from the Second to the Third is problematic some events and movements placed within the "Secon Assault" [the Situationists, the French and Italian movements peaked in 1967 - 69 whereas the major works of at least on "Third Assault" theorist, Jacques Derrida, were published i 1967. Indeed, indications are that the initial French vogue fo what is exactly called Structuralism [and the even more im precise Post-Structuralism] occurred in the years surroundin the May-June 68 events. The timelag before this interes crossed the Channerl and the Atlantic, and the reason why i eventually did, are different matters, related largely t institutional politics in higher education.**

Taken individually, these points (and others which could made) can seem like nit-picking. And the worth of the Thr Assaults schema can only be assessed from the insights whi it may yield when applied: foregrounding hitherto ignor elements and placing others in the background. That remai to be done.

There remains the emphasis on the necessity or *breadth* any renovation. The Situationists never once mentioned t theorists considered important in our times (Foucau Derrida); Castoriadis never referred to the Frankfurt Scho each emerged from a politics and never really broadenec instead they just dug a deeper furrow/grave.

Alex Richards

The ECLIPSE and RE-EMERGENCE of the ECONOMIC MOVEMENT

THIS YEAR, MEDIA commentators are celebrating '1968', the sepia-tinted central event of their youth. Others who never clambered out of the Left vanity press reflect these celebrations with rancour. Did 1968 lead to Thatcherism? Scan the biographies of the New Right for evidence... But such suspicions touch only the student movement, implicating a set of prominent radicals whose careers were established that year. The proposition collapses if '1968' is taken to mean the social movements in the ten years from 1965; struggles in factory, housing scheme and shopping centre (in forms varying from country to country, area to area) – in sum, a contestation of *authority* in any form.

Faced with the emergent 'consumer society' of the fifties and sixties, modernisers of socialism could highlight the status and struggles of the mass worker in the factories turning out cars, etc., and the dismal new towns built to house them. The contestation movement fed from the alienation and socialisation of such workers.

Whatever vitality did exist in society at the time appeared to be driven by the criticisms which such movements made of the existing state of things. Legitimised by this, the Left functioned as an energiser in the institutions, taking areas out of contestation (the process described as *'de-commodification'* in the article on *"'New' Social Movements in Here & Now 5*) and often eliciting participation where none was volunteered. Whether as the 'artificial negativity' of which Piccone wrote, or as Baudrillard's political class trying to elicit response from the a-social black hole, the Left performed a vital role in society's functioning.

A path to the future was clear: even an economist could write that *'exertion of active control in place of passive submission corresponds directly with the elevation of the political will over the blind interplay of economic forces."* (Helinbroner, *'Business Civilisation in Decline'*, p.62). Acquisitiveness being *"a dubious source of social morale"*, it seemed *"plausible that the economic institutions of socialism may prove superior to those of planned capitalism"* (p47).

This could hardly have been written subsequent to 1976. In the years since, the situation has seemed to have changed almost completely. Contestation, in the forms and at the levels previously seen, decreases under the onslaught of *'the crisis'* and its panacea: *Enterprise Culture.* The areas of 'de-commodification' have come into crisis: despite the Left's self-recognition as providing rationality (matching Heilbroner's position), much of what was provided was the arbitrary. The result is the onslaught of re-commodification.

The downturn in such contestation necessitates re-appraisal, not merely of contemporary developments in the organisation of life (in work, leisure and domestic arrangements), but also in the whole area of radical politics. The crisis generates an ever-bigger subclass, on which many radicals pin their hopes for the future. Some (such as Guattari and Negri) insist on a continuing pressure, effortlessly blending the Italian movements, Solidarnosc, the Iranian Revolution and South Africa. But this hardly touches the dynamics of life for the larger number in work, for whom recent years have brought pressure for new mentalities. We feel that these must be explored, and have started trying to do so in *Here & Now.*

Enterprising

What then is enterprise culture? It presents itself as a re-emergence of eternal truths which had become shrouded, as radical novelty which returns to the well-worn path. It must be viewed from various angles, both in the present and in the past which it claims for itself.

Restructuring within the enterprise has subverted the fusion of individual and collective goals. The solidarity of those who work together is tapped by defining them as a production or project team, designated as a profit or cost centre (as described in *'The Invasion of Exchange'* in *Here & Now 4*). Discontent with line management then increases this team-spirit, thus diverting it towards the enterprise's goals. Simultaneously, possibilities for increase in salary and status are individualised through performance review systems and gradings.

Such measures are common in 'enlightened', un-unionised, high-tech enterprises, and other firms aspire towards it as a way of dissipating potential trouble. 'Old' attitudes are undesirable – so recruit the wives of those who worked in the older industries. In the case of Nissan in Japan, such management arose with the training of a new workforce after a protracted 'old-style' industrial struggle was met by the 'new-style' response of *'sack the lot'*.

In those instances of recognisable mass struggle which do erupt, it is often the individualisation of reward which is contended, particularly by the Trade Union hierarchy, who see their collective bargaining rights evaporating. Apparently all they can now offer is a 'better' personnel package through single-union deals. The solidarity of order-takers against order-givers which some saw in the struggles of twenty years ago appears to give way to the pursuit of individual liberation through cash relations.

As important as material changes in work relations has been the relegitimisation of the idea of the entrepreneur-as-hero. Seen in the growing respectability of Management Studies course and textbooks and their bastard offspring, managerial memoirs, it matters little that yesterday's hero may be today's casualty (Laker, Sinclair, Saunders...). The role remains, and a *can-do* attitude is a popular self-image (particularly for those who get-others-to-do).

Local Labour councils, too, aspire to the enterprising role, anxious to be seen as more than grudging providers of basic services (of which more later). The fashionable name for a council-funded office becomes 'Enterprise Centre', for example. The former apostles of a planned economy now fall prey to 'visionaries' who can sell them a 'plan for the future'. In Central Scotland, for example, around £1m has gone into *Stirling Futureworld* – a grandiose tourist-based vision of glass escalators and international hotels, which has amounted to little more than artificial turf on the local football ground!

From time to time, terms such as 'service industry' are brought into play to denote some vital project. Strategic deployment of such concepts effortlessly conflates and neutralises two extremes of the working environment: the highly-paid sector of managing finance capital circulation and the low-paid hamburger-shop sector. All they have in common is a vigorous working environment and the 'designing-out' of means for pursuing collective goals.

Similarly, self-employment has been promoted, not merely as a way of reducing the dole queues but also as a means of restoring Capital's values to their rightful dominance, supposedly bringing corresponding social benefits.

Rewriting the History Books

In written and administered prescriptions, programs of re-commodification are being realised. Most disturbingly, their power often derives from their also seeming to be the re-insertion of the *human* into stultified social processes.

Revisionist histories legitimise such feelings. In Britain (as Pete Grafton, following Orwell, noted in his book *'You, You and You!"*) a widespread (and perhaps pre-revolutionary) discontent with the rulers in the period around the Dunkirk rout, was healed as much by the myth of national effort as anything else. The courage of Jack Hawkins on the Bridge and a Cockney sparrer in the Engine Room diverted attention from such conflicts as the 1944 Lanarkshire Miners' Strike. A postwar electoral consensus around the spectacle of Labour leaders elected in officers' uniforms brought the implementation of the liberal Beveridge proposals on the building of a 'New Jerusalem'.

Until recently, only anarchist writers (many of whose attention remains focussed on that time) highlighted chinks in the armour of postwar consensus. Even if the policies of the consensus were dead, the founding act was above denigration. Now, however, the spectacle of the-nation-pulling-together has become fair game. In war historian Corelli Barnett's *'The Audit of War: The Illusion and Reality of Britain as a Great Nation'*, each sector of the War Effort (coal and steel production, ship and aircraft building) is examined in turn, and demonstrated to have shown little of the supposed 'productivity miracle'.

Barnett's attack is socially and historically wide-ranging. He is contemptuous of the culture of the British Ruling Class, the Arnold ethics of the Public School, the pro-classics, anti-engineering bias dominant from the mid-19th century; he has scant more regard for the provincial engineering capitalists with their complacent acceptance of 'rules-of-thumb'; and little-to-none for the industrial working class itself, in its attempts to maintain craft traditions in the face of imposed change. Barnett sees the 'New Jerusalem' approach of the writers of the Beveridge Report as an almost willful avoidance of an economic reality which should have been paramount, as an uncost refusal to modernise the economy, with consequences faced only in the 1980s.

Barnett's willingness to stress the importance of class conflict in his historical model (although regarding it as an obstruction to economic necessity) indicates the different perspectives admissable in the New Right. Sympathetic as they may be to his contempt for such moralisers of social engineering as Beveridge, new Conservatives such as those around *The Salisbury Review* find such a class-driven outlook unacceptable. Nor would they be attracted to any replacement of moral education by technocracy.

But such Conservatives would agree with the tone and nature of Barnett's concluding remarks, in locating the roots of many social ills, when he states that *"the illusions and dreams of 1945 would fade one by one...at the last, New Jerusalem itself, a dream turned to a dank reality of a segregated, subliterate, unskilled, unhealthy and institutionalised proletariat hanging on the nipple of state materialism"* (p304).

Making Claims

Welfarism is under attack on various grounds. Some claim it to be redistribution of resources from the poor (whose taxes finance it, but who are less likely to take-up benefits) to the well-off (who are more likely to 'know their rights'). By this neat sleight-of-hand, the Islington Leftist who demands proper NHS treatment is accused of exploiting the Bengali sweatshop worker who lacks the articulacy in English to obtain such treatment. From this viewpoint, only a true living wage allows everyone the freedom to obtain equal treatment.

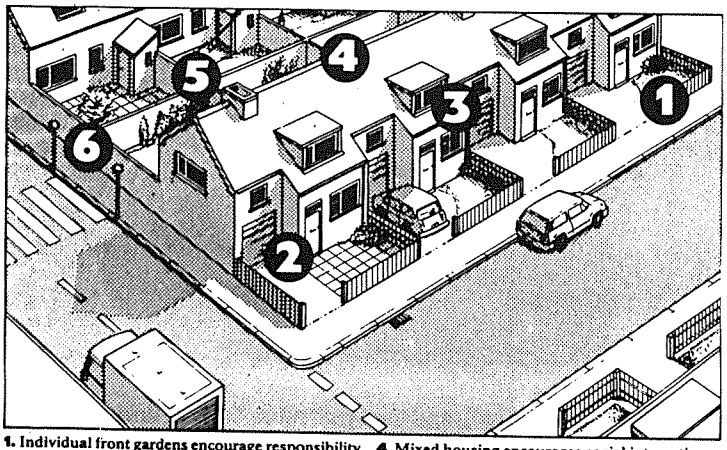
Others, such as former Primer Ministerial adviser Ferdinand Mount, consider that the first two terms of the present Conservative Government curbed inflation and trade-union power, and that the overall task of the third is a 'reclaiming of yob England'; the working class apparently failed to live up to the expectations placed upon it by the founders of the Welfare State. A former minister having claimed that *"council housing breeds slums, delinquency, vandalism, rent arrears and social polarisation"*, Mount saw much of this as having been founded in *"the worst mistakes of the Welfare State – the virtual destruction of the old Friendly Societies, the building of the council tower blocks, the erosion of the independence of the church schools, the destruction of the grammar schools, and so on"* (*The Spectator*, 28/6/86).

Housing policy is central to much contemporary political debate. In the first place, there is the current Government's bias towards individual home ownership – probably inefficient in direct *capitalist* terms (a reinvestment of resources in fixed materials), but extremely efficient in its fragmentation and reconstruction of the community. Secondly, in the field of public housing, there is the developing critique of the postwar housing scheme programmes. *'The Material Community'* (in *Here & Now 2*) tried to place the development of the crisis in this area in the context of development of Capital's needs.

Both our critique and that promulgated today are driven by the experience of involvement with local authority Housing Departments. Even the Left concede that this has often been unpleasant: *"Even a brief browse through (Local Government Ombudsman reports) gives the unavoidable impression that Labour authorities make lousy landlords.. (Council) housing is an undemocratic jungle and it's partly the fault of Labour landlords. The concept of choice...is quite absent." (Jolyon Jenkins, New Statesman*, 19/2/88). A free-market conservative like Sir Alfred Sherman instead stresses that *"...benefits like council housing leave such wide scope for administrative, political and personal discretion as to generate arbitrariness, unfairness, political corruption and eventually personal corruption."* While both acknowledge the crisis in allocation schemes, the ex-Marxist Sherman emphasises the systematic level, while Jenkins wishes a more humane implementation of the current system. A similar crusade for 'choice' is the prevailing tone of the Kinnock-Hattersley *'Statement of Democratic Socialist Aims and Values'*; tail-ending 'enterprise culture' by celebrating consumption.

In the mid-1970s (as described in *'The Material Community'*) the housing crisis was acknowledged under the rubric of 'urban deprivation'. Many ills identified by the New Right were perceived then, but were subjected to institutional palliatives intended to manage them out of existence. More recent critical perspectives step outside that perspective and attempt to provide a historical rationale for what went wrong with public housing, rejecting any systematic critique of everyday life but allowing a certain reflexive space. The fashionable palliative measures for housing schemes are those recommended by Professor Alice Coleman in *'Utopia on Trial: Vision and Reality in Planned Housing'* (1985) and subsequent reports.

She places much of the blame in the application of the Garden City-type housing ideas of the early 20th century: Utopia *"aimed to liberate people from the slums but has come to represent an even worse form of bondage. It aspired to beautify the urban environment, but has been transmogrified into the epitome of ugliness."* (p.180). Abandoning the failed deterministic belief that the new housing schemes would improve human behaviour and happiness, the housing bureaucrats substituted a possibilism, that *"it is perfectly possible for everyone to be good and happy regardless of the nature of the environment and if they were not, it was because they were problem people. The concept of*



1. Individual front gardens encourage responsibility
2. Integral garages cut down thefts
3. Windows facing street make observation easy
4. Mixed housing encourages social integration
5. Proper fences create sense of privacy
6. Back walls at least 6' high cut down easy access

'sink estates', populated by the dregs of humanity, followed in the wake of this volte-face..." (p.19). She instead proposes investigation of the extent to which environment does affect social behaviour.

The provisional conclusions were that a set of structural alterations could affect behaviour. Broadly, these were to increase the tenants' 'defensible space' by dismantling overhead walkways, reducing the numbers of people using each external doorway, splitting the 'confused space' of large green areas into individual gardens. Such measures resemble neighbourhood watch schemes in that they elicit a limited community *self-policing,* returning a limited amount of *self-respect* and reducing the extent to which people feel themselves to be mere objects of a Housing Department allocation plan.

It may be surprising that such technical assessment of housing scheme design while ignoring the wider social background, was initially unpopular with the technicians of the central government bureaucracy. However, design assessment by indexation of dog turds and urination could have appeared as statistics gone mad. Only after they were taken up by 'enlightened' commentators (such as Robert Chesshyre in *The Observer)* was a more enthusiastic response generated. Her proposals appear to offer a scientific, commonsense solution to the 1980s social disorder. Sometimes this is explicit, such as when their publicity level rose dramatically in the wake of the Broadwater Farm events. Now these are officially encouraged, as the Department of the Environment's decentralist *Priority Estates Project* and the Home Office's *'Crime: Together We'll Crack It'* campaign. So not the least reason why housing is a central issue in political debate is that it deals obliquely with the control of space and circulation.

Coleman's ideas were probably received coldly because she considers such remedial work as only making the best of a bad job: *"It would be far better to quietly phase out the DoE's intrusion into housing design and return housing initiatives to the free market, with minimum regulation and maximum consumer choice, so that architects, builders and developers can become responsive to residents' needs... Housing choice and responsibility for one's home should be decisions made not by the bureaucrats but by the occupants."* (p.184). So here again, maximum 'freedom' is seen as resulting from otherwise disinterested principles coming together in the market place: the equality of the commodity.

Healthy Crisis

This article has said little about the crisis engendered by the Conservative Government, except to note that 'crisis' as lifestyle becomes a form of permanent revolution in the profit centres of the large corporations as well as of supposedly weaning people off the 'dependency culture'. The most recent changes in social security may yet prove to be a step too far, widening a perception of injustice done. But the immense power of the project comes from a simultaneous centralisation and abdication of power through recommodification, which deprives opposition of a material target.

The ground for the debate over the 'crisis' in the funding of the National Health Service has shifted in a similar manner. Once a model is accepted within which the productivity of the economy is a real limit to resource allocation, the supposedly 'rational' decision-making on the allocation is laid open to challenge. As Stuart Hall put it: *"What the Right argue is that, once this limit is reached...then there is not much to choose between rationing by price (which they would prefer) and rationing by queue (which is what has been going on in the NHS for decades)." (Marxism Today,* March 1988). And such rationing by queue has always been overlaid by irrational and arbitrary criteria: people have been present in the system as objects. And, as mentioned above, privilege has been present (but hidden), almost as much as in private medicine.

While the Right as a whole sees virtue in the promotion of Enterprise Culture, this virtue is not perceived as identical to the pursuit of money itself. In this respect, for example, *The Spectator* has published editorials opposing the yobbishness of city yuppies interested only in money and against 'economic value' being taken as the only social value (for example, in closure of University Departments which don't 'give value for money'). As mentioned above in relation to the re-appraisal of the Beveridge heritage, social conservatism and economic liberalism criss-cross in complex ways.

The major triumph of recent years have been feelgood consumerism. Parallel with the stress on balanced books has been a consumer boom paid-for by credit. The collateral for this boom has come from escalating house prices and escalating investment incomes, and, internationally, from the depressed prices of raw materials since the recession of the early Eighties. The events of Black Monday last October may indicate that this was only a passing phase, with a true crisis to come.

One of those most deeply involved in the consumer boom, Sir Terence Conran (of the Mothercare-Habitat-BHS conglomerate) has recently begun making gloomy predictions: *"We have reached a consumerist plateau... People do not want more. They have lived the cycle of the early Eighties when they demanded goods that were exciting, new, desierable – not just the postwar commodities they once needed. Now people no longer want anything much...there is no imperative to go out and buy. With low inflation, consumers are not moved to buy unless excited or in need. Arguably the only goods people need are food and nappies." (The Observer,* 21/2/88).

At first sight, this would seem to be an example of the naturalism of needs to which the Left used to be prey ('people only need so much') coming from someone who has made his money from knowing better than that. On the other hand, Conran may just be confusing the consumerist phase of those who bought in his shops with the consumerist phase of those like himself who spent the periof devouring other companies. But the quotation remains strange...

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

The crisis has been a remarkably successful manoeuvre for re-volatilising society around an acceptance of economic relations. Left journals, by stressing familiar concepts of crisis and struggle, have tended not to do full justice to the extent of the struggle, have tended not to do full justice to the extent of success of the economic project. Can it be more than wishful thinking to suggest that the values espoused be turned against their advocates? Certainly, nothing will come of any project privileging decision-at-the-point-of-consumption, the purchase of lifestyle masquerading as self-will, as the Labour Party Policy Review seems likely to favour.

Alex Richards

The NEW LIBERALS

Channel 4 has recently re-run the series "The New Enlightenment", as part of its "Diverse Reports" production. Fronted by Professor Kenneth Minogue, the series followed the standard format of these productions: no attempt was made at an unbiased "both-sides-of-the-story" narrative, and the six-part documentary allowed intellectuals of the libertarian right to put their case across without T.V.'s usual "balancing" act (despite the complaints of some left-wingers when the series was first mooted). The series was accompanied by a book, also called "The New Enlightenment" (MacMillan), which attempts to explain their ideas in greater depth.

Mention of the phrase "libertarian right" conjures up media-inspired images of immature Tory youth wing loonies - the newly christened "loony right". Perhaps this is part of the reason these intellectuals have chosen to call themselves Liberals, and you can tell they don't mean the SLD/SDP when you learn that the subtitle of the book is "the rebirth of liberalism". The proponents of this political theory see themselves as renewing the propogation and development of ideas first expounded in the eighteenth century. A key passage early in the book states:

"We have called this book **The New Enlightenment** because the movement we describe is a lineal descendant of the Scottish Enlightenment which flourished in the eighteenth century. In the Scottish Enlightenment the concepts of individual liberty developed by the English philosopher John Locke were joined by the free-market ideas of the Edinburgh circle of Adam Smith, whose **The Wealth of Nations** was published in 1776...What marks this tradition is its commitment to individual liberty".

Clearly these "New Liberals" are pro-markets, and pro-capitalism. They argue that Socialism is "anti-individual", and that it has been tried and that it has failed to deliver the promised political and economic freedoms. (Some of the more virulent libertarian right supporters would argue that Socialism has been tried and has been found guilty.)

An argument they put forward, which has great topical relevance, is that the Welfare State, Socialism's great success, actually makes people poorer by creating an atmosphere of dependancy among the population. This is seen in many sections of the media as a cornerstone of Thatcherite policy, but a very similar viewpoint was put forward a few years ago by the libertarian left journal "Workers Playtime".

ARE THE NEW LIBERALS THATCHERITE?

The idea that libertarian right ideals and Thatcherism are synonymous has been propagated by many sections of the media, both mainstream and minority. This misses the very important point that Margaret Thatcher and her main political supporters have only picked up the sections of New Liberal thinking that appealed to them. The most massive diversion concerns the role and structure of government.

While the Tory government's public utterances talk about the freedom of the individual to choose, and that their aim is to reduce governmental control over people's lives, a number of their policies and actions have in fact increased the hold that central government has over the populace. This is in total contradiction to the ideals presented in the T.V. series, which held up the Swiss Cantonal system as an ideal government. In Switzerland, the local Cantons (federated regions) can, via public meetings, overturn the decisions made by the central government. Major decisions are taken by regular referenda. Its executive is "representative, emasculated and virtually anonymous". This executive consists of a seven-member federal council, composed of representatives of several parties. The presidential term is 1 year, and each member of the council becomes President by rotation. One can see why this system would be anathema to a power-seeker like Margaret Thatcher. Indeed, strip out the emphasis on capitalism, and the Swiss governmental structure seems almost anarchistic.

WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RIGHT-WING LIBERALS AND THE LIBERTARIAN LEFT?

Clearly the most obvious disagreement concerns capitalism. The New Liberals are pro-capitalism, seeing it as the fount of all freedoms, and the true and only source of economic well-being. The Libertarian Left obviously see capitalism as a repressive economic system. However, both movements agree on a pro-individual, and anti-government/anti-bureaucratic standpoint, but strongly disagree on the way to achieve these aims.

This leads to some odd areas of total agreement. For instance the book's authors argue for self-help organisations to be set up in deprived areas, outside the control of the local bureaucracy, something that nearly all Left Libertarians would agree with. There are some areas that are greyer, such as the New Liberals support for family units, and antipathy towards single-parent families. They argue for this on economic grounds, saying that it is extremely difficult for single-parent families to support themselves, especially those with very young children, and that they merely become a burden on society. In addition, they also state that the state-aid for single-parent families merely increases the number of these "units", and does nothing to solve the problems (one of a number of "misguided" socialist attempts to improve people's lives, which the New Liberals say has had the opposite effect).

The subject of social relationships (with particular reference to prejudice and bigotry), a key area for the Libertarian Left, was not discussed in the series. Their own logic would dictate that bigotry interferes with efficiency, and is anti-individual in outlook, therefore it is wrong. But many of their Tory supporters are undoubtedly bigoted against numerous sections of the populace (gays being the most obvious example). But as the New Liberal views are **not** exactly the same as the Thatcherite Tories, they may well follow this logic. Certainly their strong support for a "Bill of Rights" on the U.S.A. model would suggest that this is true (and as this is something that Margaret Thatcher is strongly opposed to, it further strengthens the argument that the New Liberals have to be thought of as a separate entity).

WHY ARE THEY SUCCESSFUL?

In the present public sphere, there are two clear reasons why the Thatcherites have been successful with their selective "New Liberalism". Firstly they have been using powerful positive language and imagery, which the Left has attempted to combat with negative complaints. David Selbourne, in a recent article in The Guardian put it thus:

"....the popular presentation of this Tory counter-revolution (which is what it is) in 'positive' terms of 'opportunity', 'choice', 'incentive', and so forth has far overtaken, in energy and insistence, what seems like Labour's merely 'negative' complaints about 'unfairness', 'hardship', and 'social injustice'."

Secondly these "negative" complaints are not even perceived as being backed-up by coherent alternative policies - a sort of self-fulfilling of Margaret Thatcher's "there is no alternative" prophecy. Indeed Labour politicians such as Brian Gould have been rushing to embrace the new "share-owning" electorate in an attempt to regain some lost votes.

At a deeper level, even the Libertarian Left seems bereft of alternatives. They are generally good at stating what they are against, but they are much less clear about what they propose to do instead. Most of all, with most of the Left's economic

theories appearing discredited, there is no coherent economic argument to throw against the dominance of capitalism. And on the Anarchist fringe (which, according to a recent report in the Observer, is going through a revival), they are reduced to night attacks on "yuppies" in the London Docklands, and running nails down the sides of cars, which seems more like desperation than revival.

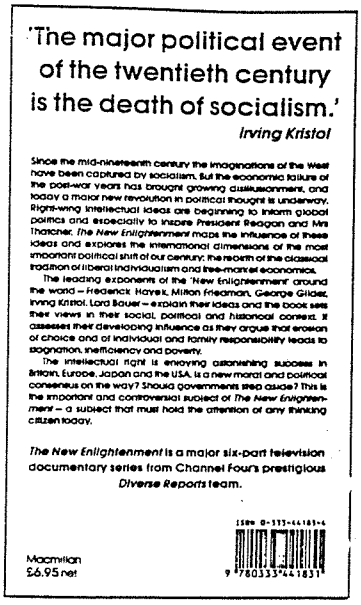
The question "Why have the New Liberals been successful at all?" has had a number of answers along the lines of "the time was ripe". However, it should also be noted that, unlike most of the Left, the Libertarian Right did not direct their propaganda at "the masses". It was aimed fairly and squarely at those in power, and more importantly at those on the edge of power. Tories such as Keith Joseph and Geoffrey Howe were early converts, and through them the message reached Margaret Thatcher - all of this occurring before they came to power. Their successes in getting anti-governmental propaganda to the centre stage has been far more successful than anything achieved by the Libertarian Left in recent years.

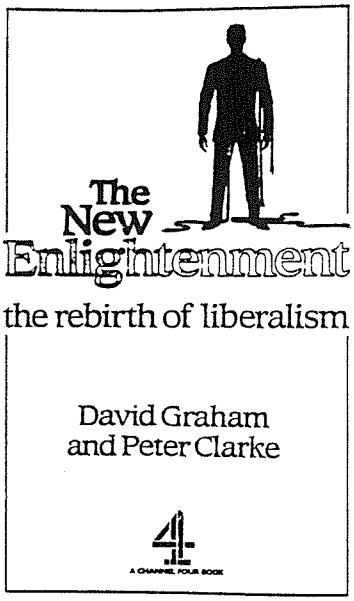
ARE THERE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED?

The succeses so far for the New Liberals pose some interesting questions for the Left in general and the libertarian left in particular. For the parliamentary Left the main question appears to be:"How can we attack the seemingly invulnerable Thatcherites and successfully seize the initiative ?" From the analysis outlined above, the answer would not seem too difficult to find - attack them on their own ground. Take the following logical sequence as an example:

a. The Thatcherites profess to be "champions" of the rights of individuals.
b. They generally profess to believe in New Liberal principles.
c. The New Liberals are in favour of a "Bill of Rights".
d. A "Bill of Rights" would strengthen the cause of the individual vs. the State.
e. Therefore the Thatcherites should be strongly in favour of a "Bill of Rights".

However, it is well known that Margaret Thatcher at least is strongly opposed to a "Bill of Rights". This would seem a perfect cause that could unite all the opposition parties in an attack on Thatcherism. A "Bill of Rights" campaign could be presented in a completely positive manner, and if it was handled correctly, it could do severe damage to the Thatcherites image as "champions" of the individual. The fact that some sort of positivist, undermining campaign has not yet been launched is yet another indicator of the present feebleness of the parliamentary Left.





For the Libertarian Left the problem is more specific. Why has the Libertarian Right been successful at bringing many of the arguments of libertarianism in general into the centre of political discussion, something the Libertarian Left has completely failed to achieve (at least since **1968** and all that)? Is it purely because the Libertarian Right have hooked libertarian ideals to a capitalist economic structure ? Or is it that the Libertarian Left have stuck to negative anti-this, anti-that arguments ? And finally, here are three questions that have to be answered if progress is to be made:

1. What **positive arguments** can be put forward ?
2. Are there **alternative economic** theories that can counteract capitalism's dominance ?
3. Should Libertarian Left propaganda be aimed more at those in power and positions of influence, as well as the "masses", the Left's traditional constituency, aiming for a revolution of the mind, rather than a "physical" revolution.

John Alexander.

H&N welcomes reasoned replies to this and other articles.

RIPOSTE RE THE THIRD ASSAULT

In response to the points raised by A.D., some clarifications are in order:

1] The 'Note' stands as a contribution to a debate occurring amongst those whom I perceive as engaged in 'post situationist' theorising. With apologies for the introduction of a fresh 'post-ism', I think the term is necessary to cover the attempts to use but also go beyond the thought of the SI, and I do think, despite raised eyebrows to the contrary, that this specification unites the diverse undertakings of Here & Now, The Pleasure Tendency and Smile.

2] The 'Note' was brief and therefore abrupt to the pint of brutality with finer details, and so, some confusion has arisen. The periodisation offered three eras of theoretical and practical activity. However, simultaneity of theory and practice is not claimed. So, although the theoretical intiative which launched the Second Assault can be placed in 1923, the practical activity of the First Assault did not cease the day before or after Lukacs published History and Class Consciousness. **The Third Assault analysis builds on its predecessors and accepts the precise delineation of the practical activity of the First Assault advanced by the SI:** "...the classical workers movement began a few decades before the official formation of the international, with the first linking up of communist groups of several countries that Marx and his friends organised from Brussels in 1845.....it was completely finished after the failure of the Spanish revolution, that is, after the Barcelona May days of 1937"(1) **The thought of the First Assault started rather earlier, with the Young Hegelian project of making truth** worldly. **Incidentally, the crises arising from Surrealism's attempts to 'serve the revolution' are attributable precisely to a mismatch consequent upon this period of overlap, 1923-1937, when the theory of the Second Assault tried to serve the practice of the First Assault.**

3] The 'Note' identifies a need to conciously initiate **the thought of the Third Assault. It follows that theorists of the Third Assault** do not yet exist. **Third Assault theory, like pataphysics,** "is a branch of science which we have invented and for which a crying need is generally experienced."(2) **There is therefore no attempt to recruit figures like Derrida et al to the Third Assault camp - the only claim made is that their thought, in addition to that of the Situationists et al, must be responded to in developing the Third Assault perspective. Which is to state in a different way A.D.'s point that we require breadth, and should not espire to discipleship - not either the SI or the potmoderns but both, and neither: what we can use from both, and rejection of the irrelevant from either.**

4] I have addressed here only the points arising from the First/Second/Third 'boundary disputes'. I hope to respond to the other points at a later date. The position may be clarified if it is understood that 'Third Assault' title has been adopted to build on the following: ".....a new epoch has begun. After the first attempt at workers' subversion... we see... a new spontaneous struggle... the portents of a second proletarian assault against the class society ...having become other and yet remaining the same..." , **from 1967. At a time when attempts to analyse what has happened in the period 68/88 abound, the Third Assault provides the best reason for**

'BEWARE THE BARMAID'S SMILE!'

WHEN BREWERY REPRES— entatives went to the 'Red Anchor' in Chelsea in order to arrange the departure of its landlord, Mr Ken Chapman,last year, they were met by scores of demonstrating 'regulars',arguing for the preservation of their pub as they had known it,and not as a twinkle in a marketing manager's eye.

When the directors of Fulham Football Club and Queens Park Rangers F.C. cooked up a plan for merger, under the clumsy monik- er of Fulham Park Rangers F.C., fans occupied the pitch at Fulham and the plan was withdrawn, for the moment. Both incidents point to a source of embarressment for the current *consensus* about the ability of the commodity market to *'give people what they want'* and they indicate the resurgence of an area of popular struggle which has been overshadowed by the *workerist* obsession with the point of production, fueled by the synd- icalist & Marxist domination of the Left.

Beware the Barmaid's Smile(1), examines what has happened to the pub in modern times that could so excite political passions. It reveals the ways in which beer consumption has become an area increasingly invaded by sophist- icated manipulators whose loyal- ties lie completely with the accumulation of abstract value (money) even at the expense of the nominal *'values'* which the company,to which they happen to be attached, purports to embody. As a result, the other side of the commodity system, consumption, becomes a possible bone of contention within modern capitalism.

The fact that to struggle for dignity and freedom it is **not** necessary to be organ- ised in the great factory of mass product- ion is good news for anyone concerned about the effects of British 'Perestroika' on the capacity and willingness of people to combine for shared goals and ideals. The decentralisation of work, its dispersal into smaller units of production,the regeneration of the artisan entrepreneur, and the automation of processes prev- iously accepted as labour intensive have broken down the imperative of combin- ation - the potentially revolutionary, reformist or reactionary army of labour is no longer assembled by the forces of production. In fact it is being broken into 'self managed' units with ostensible independence from Central Command.

Recognition that such a process is taking place has inspired many jeremiads from the Left about the decline in the commun- ity of struggle upon which many of the major disputes of the past have relied. However,close physical proximity and shared employment are **not** the necessary preconditions for collective action? the experience of the 'social' movements in the 60s & 70s prove as much, although they severely curtailed their potential by assuming a community of identical interest, thereby attempting to mimic the imagined unanimity of past movements.

□□□□

The absence of combativity in 'decenter- ed' industries and the self-employed sector has not arisen out of some structur- al compulsion which has rendered the non-mass worker utterly passive and obedient, it is simply that the new structures of work demand new arrange- ments of opposition. Perhaps the organ- isations of the 19th century Luddites & Swing rioters provide an example for comparison. The Luddites were largely drawn from small workshop artisans and others working in the dispersed cottage industries of Nottinghamshire & Yorks- hire;the Swing rioters were agricultural workers scatterred amongst the farms of Southern England. Both movements achieved considerable levels of collective organisation without formal or vertical structure. One can only assume that in contrast to 20th century trades unionism a greater reliance on voluntyarism and horizontal discussion enabled them to shake up the effortless progress of industrialism at that time.

It is somewhat ironic that the focul point for, in particular the Swing rioters,the ale-house. should once again be a con- tested area in 198os England & Wales(2).

These secular meeting places,which provided enough free **public space** for the farm-workers of the 1830s to discuss plans to challenge the modernisation of the English countryside,now find them- selves vulnerable to 1980s modernisation, a process described in **Beware of the Barmaid's Smile** as a strategy of depoli icising the pub:

The aim now is to have customers usin pubs whose prsence in them has bee brought about by social engineering an cynical manipulation. The outcome wi be drinking places which are parodies pubs, where the genuine long establishe social interaction is constantly being sul verted by an insidious directing people's activities through well planne brewery strategies - the purpose of whic is to get people to consume more of an thing and everything in a drinking plac of the breweries choosing.

□□□□

Whereas many pubs have long sin stopped being active centres of politic debate & radical talk, it is clear that the potential to be so remains. Even the pu itive licensing laws of England failed prevent a pub in Leeds being used as a unofficial strike centre during the 19 Healthworkers dispute, and the conti uing tradition of holding meetings bo formal and informal in pubs, indicate their surprisingly unsung worth popular meeting places for public dis ourse. One does not need a conspirac theory to see that what for a brewer loo like a quick way to a profit, for th contemporary individual looks like th further dimunition of places where he ca go for public and civilised chat.

The transformation of pubs into pee group 'venues', with the inevitabl bouncer on the door (the pub in Leec which played an organising role in th 1982 strike is now so policed) mirrors th wider process in today's society whic seems to suggest that the ordinary perso is not a fit and proper subject to be involv ed in political debate. 'Free' time be comes synonamous with 'leisure' time that is time filled with entertainment an consumption, the only alternatives t work on offer in Mrs Thatcher's capitalis utopia. It is chilling to imagine the loo of incomprehension on the faces of ou leaders if it was suggested that peopl might actually want to spend their time i discussion, and outside the patronisin control of Kilroy-Silk's and Robin Days.

Beware the Barmaid's Smile describe the monetary processes behind th assault on the pub, from an insider position. It explains why the interna decor changes with such bewilderin rapidity, and why the major brewin companies are so willing to give a pu a social label 'youth venue', 'family pub etc. It shows how thia is a travesty c the pub tradition which, for all its faullt (not least the exlusion of women) accept


VG
RICH TEA FINGER
SHORT

ed a variety of ages, and which gained in conviviality as a result.

It points to the abyss of difference between 'economic investment' and 'social investment', and how increasingly they are coming into conflict. That which the market considers to be played out like old football teams, pubs, traditional rituals seem to have grown in importance for people, perhaps as a strong antidote to the creeping utilitarianism of the times. Certainly the pamphlet has identified a future area for combativity, and one which fits in well with the way contests may have to be conducted when the dusts of Perestroika have settled.

For the defence of the pub will have to come from people who have been persuaded that the cause is right, and not the captive constituency that the old labour movement have been leaning on for some time. Disobedience to the authority of capital cannot rely on the reflex responses of blind class loyalism but will need genuine critical contemplation if shared commitments are to be made and shared risks taken. The fact that the pub remains one of the few physical spaces within which this public contemplation could take place makes the importance of winning the argument in their defence all the more vital.

Beware the Barmaid's Smile has begun the debate;it is by no means immune from criticism itself (more does need to be said about traditional pub culture's intolerance towards women on their ow and different racial & sexual groups), b it has already shaken up a near moribund CAMRA, and its identificati of conflicts outside the traditional cc fines of mass industry should cheer who may have feared that the gover ment's policy of the abolition of confl was succeeding.

Steve Bushe

[1] **Beware the Barmaid's Smile** by Ch Thompson, Pelagian Press,P.o.Box 8E London N16 6DY. Price £

(2) The situation in **Scotland**, althou facing the same pressure, is different d to the different tradition of drinki places. The pamphlet concentrates on t **English & Welsh** experiences.

CLEAR SIGHTED MINORITY?

In periods of reflux the recurring theme of the 'role' of a fighting minority comes back to haunt debates among self-styled revolutionaries.

In the absence of any common forum for debate - as **Intercom** was set up to develop a couple of years back - followers of theoretical exchanges often have to cross-refer to a number of journals to pick up the threads of the argument.

Henri Simon's book on Poland 1980-2 had been reviewed by the left-communist group, **Wildcat** and stress made by the reviewer on the reactionary content of consciousness in the Solidarnosc workers movement. In response (1), the **Echanges** periodical (co-produced by Simon) identified vanguardist conception in **Wildcat** which is consistent with their stress on a minority organisation acting as the carrier of communist ideas.

For **Echanges** (2), "a strike without any political content can have very deep political consequences and a riot with an evident political content could have no political consequences". An effective rebuttal is constructed against a position which measures violent confrontation, as enshrined in riots as the litmus test of authentic action and consciousness. And this leads to the conclusion that "the essential problem is not to beat the state by insurrection but to suppress capitalism by practising communist relationships of production (destruction of value) and at the same time destroying the state".

Suspicions that such a counterposing of positions didn't correspond with standard left-communism is gauged from an interesting text announcing the dissolution of **Wildcat** and its relaunch "under a new title" after a process of regroupment. Among those that have left the project were advocates of "a clear-sighted minority fighting the state despite and against the mass of the working class which was dominated by ruling class ideas". (3). Drawing from the experience of the Miners Strike, the text highlights the position of the miners Hit-Squads which carried out actions despite the ability of militant Trade Unionists holding the ascendancy in the mass essemblies. This observation, in the context of an exhaustive debate over respecting 'democracy' in mass struggles leads to the formulation:

"In the past workers' councils, mass assemblies and factory committees have emerged as organs of struggle. The weakness of these organs has been the extent to which they reduce themselves to organs for "democratic self-management" of enterprises or to "parliaments of the working class". At any given time it is usually only a minority of the working class which is in struggle. They don't struggle because they are more "conscious" than other sections of our class but usually because they are more under attack. Consciousness emerges through struggle as we become aware of the terrain of struggle and the nature of our enemies. The role of revolutionaries in all this is to promote links between these struggles internationally and promote/ participate in and spread those actions which are seen as the greatest threat to the maintenance of capitalist social relations. Minorities may be the spur to action but it is mass struggle alone, eventually encompassing the vast majority of the working class, which will overthrow capitalism".

Related to this debate is an element of Euro-centrism in **Echanges** view of global struggles, a hangover from council communist theories such as Pannekoek. (4). It is instructive to note the volatility of societies such as Brasil and So Korea where strikes and riots of become fused in class based strugg where the channelling of demands is so effectively recuperated or absorbed political systems enmeshed in questi of global economics.

Assigning a privileged position for developed societies, the "Teuto Castles" is nevertheless retained ir newly translated text which strives for "analysis for an anarchist perspect against post industrial capitalism" The author, the Sicilian neo-anarch Alfredo Bonnano, continues on fr earlier published texts (6) but project

endency in production and social life vhich will relegate workplace struggles o the periphery of contestation.

The advanced post-industrial societies, lrawing from Italy and Britain, are hrowing up a potential cleavage between he **excluded and the included.** Any dignity of labour' has been replaced by a iew underclass of workers and un-employed scratching a living serving the rivileged occupying capital intensive vork and intellectual/managerial iccupations. The 'excluded' are there-ore a proletariat diffused and disen-ranchised, "deprived of a language of ommon reference, the ghetto-ised will io longer be able to read between the ines of the messages of power". Hence heir recourse to riots since real reform ind representation has been robbed of neaning. Bonnano emphasises the codes' of the included which deny ommunication and access to the alien-ted, downtrodden mass.

His preoccupation is the progression of iots into Insurrections. This is only ossible due to deserters "asphyxiated" y the lifestyle of privilege and who levote their efforts as an informal novement of insurrectionists to "trans-nit concepts" and the knowledge iecessary to counter "disinterest and nental closure". Much more than this he new vision does not illuminate. The ossified Programmes of education eloved by anarchists and marxists inable to grasp "the sunset of the vorkers' leading role"are redundant. But, the features of the informal groups and their affinity structure is left vague.

Despite the more advanced "Teutonic Castles" in Japan and the U.S., it is the example of the 1980's riots in inner city England which serves as a model for where the main revolutionary hope is to be located. By stressing organisation, however informal and flexible, as the key the author's perspective is rooted in an anarchist tradition that ranges from the narodniks of 19th century Russia to the autonomists of late capitalism in Italy.

There are real insights and challenging ideas in all the texts reviewed. All suffer from revolutionary elite discourse, from the objectified categories such as "sections of the working class" (**Wildcat**) to the lack of concrete referents in Bonnano. A pragmatic approach would not denigrate or designate as peripheral struggles in spheres of social life as different as work, education, concentration of deprivation, public services and so on. It is difficult to be as certain as Bonnano who states, "if we were only to take account of the most backward situations we would not be revolutionaries, but simply recuperators and reformists capable only of pushing the power structure towards perfecting the capitalist project". After all, is a ghetto any more of a new invention than wage labour? The need to have hope should be measured alongside a global coverage of how social life is changing and how struggles contain contradictory elements, including riots, which can advance the project of domination currently being engineered.

Jim McFarlane

[1] **Poland 1980-2, Class Struggle The crisis of Capital [Black & Red] Interestingly** Echanges **have ignored the points about 're-ductionism' in** H & N 3, **by T.D.**

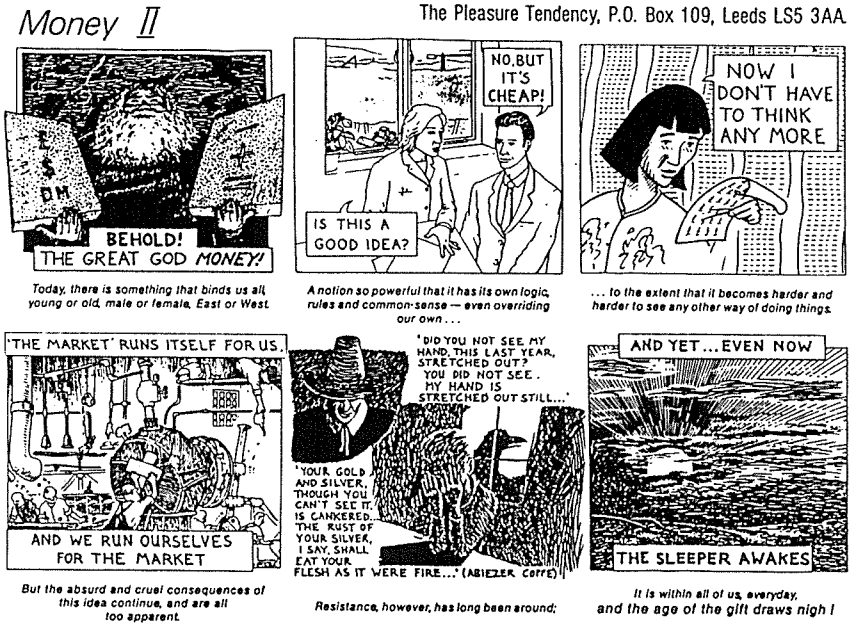
[2] **No. 53, February 1988 from BM Box 91, London WC1 N3XX. A different line of argument, by T.D. in** Here & Now **[on reductionism] has been ignored by Simon.**

[3] **Letter of 'dissolution',** Wildcat, **March 1988, Box W, 180 Mans-field Road, Nottingham.**

[4] **The book, "Workers Councils" has been published in four parts by** Echanges **and marks a return to the work of the Dutch astronomer/ philosopher. A correspondence between Panneokoek and Castoriadis in 1953 is resurrected to draw a parallel between** Wildcat **and their bete noir, then a leading figure in Socialisme ou Barbarie. An updated article on the Greek/ French theorist appears in the** Edinburgh Review **78/79 issue by Alex Richards, "The Academic-isation of Castoriadis".**

[5] **From Riot to Insurrection,** Elephant Editions **1988, £1 from BM Elephant, London, WC1 N3XX.**

[6] **Especially Critique of Syndicalist Methods & Workers Autonomy,** Bratach Dubh, **available through** Elephant Editions.



DEEP ECOLOGY

FIFTH ESTATE AND KICK IT OVER **both attack something called 'Deep Ecology' in recent issues.** Fifth Estate's **Fall 1987 issue has a 27 page essay by George Bradford called** "How Deep is Deep Ecology" **and** KIO's **Winter 1987 issue includes an ecofeminist critique of De by Janet Biehl, and an article by Murray Bookchin entitled** "Social Ecology vs Deep Ecology".

Deep Ecology is a tendency within the Ecology movement. Its categories are biological rather than social. It rejects all "anthropocentric" ethics i.e. those which privilege 'humanity' over 'nature' in any way. It treats humanity as an un-differentiated mass responsible as species for looming eco-catastrophe. No nit-picking here about the fate of the planet originating in a specific nexus of religious and cultural traditions, the State, and Capitalism. The problem is much simpler. First, humanity, in seeing itself as separate from nature, has become a cancer on it. Secondly, there are simply too many humans.

De mixes a sort of Taoism, wrenched rom any religious and cultural under-pinnings and expressed chiefly in a hazy notion of 'oneness', with a revived Malthusianism. The fact that much of this rests on a simple logical fallacy doesn't really matter, since reason is merely a 'humanist' fetish. After all mountains don't construct syllogisms.

The implications of these views aren't nice. De's emphasis on reducing population to the planet's "carrying capacity" [500 million or less they claim] leads them to advocate that the starving be left to starve, that no attempt should be made to find a cure for AIDS, and that the borders of rich nations be closed to protect 'their' resources from the wretched of the earth.

Between them the various critics of De do a fair demolition job. Fundamental questions are examined - the role of reason, social vs biological accounts of human activities. See for example Janet Biehl's deconstruction of the term 'wilderness', a notion fundamental to De as a sort of a priori absolute but in fact originating in Western economic and cultural practices

Jack Murphy

MAGAZINE REVIEWS & ASSORTED MATERIAL RECEIVED, 1987-88.

No. 16 of SOLIDARITY: a Journal of Libertarian Socialism is largely devoted to publication of a leaked copy of the IVth International **International Committee's** report on the corruption of the Workers Revolutionary party, in particular, its client role in relation to arab governments. Particularly generous with funding were Kuwait and Libya: the WRP helpfully rewrote its aims to snuggle up Qadhaffi's **Green Book**. Continuing on the theme of expediency and corruption in radical politics, the magazine also includes two reviews of Teresa Toranska's book **Oni: Stalin's Polish Puppets,** neither of which adds anything to the book. 80p from **Solidarity,**123 Lathom Rd. London E.6.

VAGUE 20: Televisionaries is a magazine somewhere between post-punk and post-politics. Apart from anti-work, anti-freemason and anti-ALF articles and cartoons,this issue is largely devoted to a 40-page chronology of West German terrorism, centered on the Baader-Meinhof Group/Red Army Fraction. While not as useful as the **West German Guerilla: Terror, Reaction & Resistance** (published by Cienfuegos Press in 1981),this text does demonstrate the distance between such activities and any liberating perspective.£2.50 from BCM Box 7207, London WC1N 3XX.

PLAGIARISM: Art as Commodity and Strategies for its Negation is a 30-page pamphlet containing various essays on the emergence of "art" as a separate area, in tandem with the development of Capital, and on current possibilities within and against this and all categories. £1.25 from Counter Productions, Room 101, 308 Camberwell New Rd.,London SE5.

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ABIEZER COPPE,Selected Writings, £3.50 from Counter Distribution, 308 Camberwell New Rd.,London SE5.

VARIANT[Art§Ideas]No.4,from 76 Carlisle St.,Glasgow G.21, £1.30.

EDINBURGH REVIEW: cultural journal, £12 sub from 48 Pleasance, Edinburgh.

COMMON SENSEnos 3&4,£1 each from Richard Gunn, Dept of Politics,31 Buccleuch Pl.,Univ. of Edinburgh.

DISCOURSE:No.s 1&2,from Dept of Philosophy, Univ. of Glasgow G12,50p + p&p

MENDEKU[Revenge]: Translation from Basque [**donation**]from BM Blob .

AND YET IT MOVES: by Boy Igor (The realization & Suppression of Science), Zamisdat Press. 5$

ONCE UPON A TIME THERE WAS A PLACE CALLED NOTHING HILL GATE. £1 from BM Blob, London wc1N 3XX.

Once Upon A Time There Was A Place Called Nothing Hill Gate.....

A True Story With Pictures By PADDINGTON BEAR.

COUNTER INFORMATION: nos16-19, from 11 Forth St.,Edinburgh(**donation**].

MAKING TROUBLE;J.D.Young,£4.20 + p&p from Clydeside Press,37 High St., Glasgow G1.

BLACK CHIP:A Radical Journal of New Technology,from R.Alexander, Cwm Gwen Hall, Plencader, Dyfed,SA39 9HA £3 sub.

THE POOR FOLK'S GUIDE TO THE REVOLT OF 1381,Box 19, 17 Chatham St.,Reading RG1 7JF **donation]**

ATTACK!,BM 6577, London WC1N 3XX [**donation]**

MODERN TIMES; £1. FROM Box 14, 136 Kingsland High St.,London E.8.

UKRAINIAN PEACE NEWS: Survey of Independent Peace & Labour Activity in the USSR & Eastern Europe, Vol 2 No.1 £5 sub., 50p + post each issue from 168/10 King St., London, W6 0QU.

■■■■

ON GOGOL BOULEVARD;described as a **"networking bulletin for activists east and west"** consists largely of support material for pacifists in the Soviet bloc and in the USA. The Winter 87/88 issue includes analyses of the current situation facing groups such as **European Nucleur Disarmament.** $1 from 151 First Ave.,62, New York, NY 10003, USA.

WORKERS INFO. RAG3: produced i New York, donation, from PM. c§ Zamisdat Press, GPO Box 1255, Graci Station, NY, NY 10028.

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CULTURA LIBERTARIA: Apda 1687, Vitoria 01080, Espana

TOTAL BRAND: Box 150,15 104 65 Stockholm. Sweden, Anarchist magazine

INTERROGATIONS: Pour la Commun aute Humaine,10F + post from Insecur ite Sociale, BP 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12

COMMUNISM[in english)75 + post fron 1666 Centre Monnaie,1000 Brussels Belgium.

SCHWARZER FADEN nr 27,5DM fron Postfach 1159, 7043, Grafeneu-1, Federa Republic of Germany(incl.Bookchin inter view).

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FIFTH ESTATE: Challenges Radica Environmentalism. Vol. 22 No 3 & 4 $7 sub. from Box 02548, Detroit, M 48202, U.S.A.

KICK IT OVER: Anarcho femini magazine, £4 sub. currency, from P.(Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontari Canada, M5W 1P2.

ANARCHY: A journal of Desire Arm No. . Articles by Zerzan & Chomsk from, Cal., P.O. box 380, Columbi Missouri, 65205 USA. sub. $6 issue

NOIR & ROUGE: (issues 6-8), 18F eac from N&R, 0201185F, Limpoge France.

ADVENTURES IN SUBVERSION: Flye & Posters 1981-5, Anti Authoritaria Anonymous, P.O. Box, Eugene, Oreg 97440 USA.

RABIES, A MAGAZINE & BIZARR PROCESSED WORLD: by Stephan Klein, from Bound Together Books, 13 haight St., SF, Cal. 94117. 2.50$

PROCESSED WORLD21: 41 Sutter S San Francisco, Cal. 94104, 2.50$

ANGRY WORKERS BULLETIN no. Shattuck Ave., Berkely CA, 9470 (like 'Wildcat' group, donation).

LOMAKATSKI, no.2: Box 633, 1377 Street NW, Washington D.C. 20005, sub to critical 'green' magazine.

NEWS & LETTERS: Vol. 32 No 11, late Raya Dunayevskaya, 25c + pc from 59 E. Van Buren, room 707, Chica III 60605.

LIBERTARIAN WORKERS BULLETI Vol. 9 no. 1, from P.O. Box 20, Parkvil 3052, Melbourne, Victoria, Australi Donation, comprehensive listing of title

ENLIGHTENED ANARCHISM: Swami Nirmalanandra, Karnatka, India

THE THIRD ASSAULT: FURTHER POINTS

giving a damn: to create the pre-conditions for what may happen in period 88/98.

(1) from 'The Bad Days Will End' IS/7 (1962), in the SI Anthology p84.
(2) from 'Ubu Cocu', Alfred Jarry, in the Ubu Plays p78.
(3) from 'The Society Of The Spectacle', Guy Debord (1967) para. 115.

Gus McDonald.

Some materials developing the Third Assault analysis will be produced in the next six months, and in the first instance will be available by mail to anybody who shows an interest in them - to 'subscribe', please contact Third Assault, c/o Here & Now. Supplementary to this, anybody interested in participating in a discussion group on matters arising who lives in the Sheffield area is also invited to make contact.

LIBERATION OF LEARNING?

In the last issue, an *'Open Letter'* makes passing reference to a 'free university' in Glasgow*.Over the past 15 months or so this has involved the majority of the *Here & Now* collective in the West of Scotland.

For us it has been an *opening out*, creating forums for discussion which in turn have spawned more focussed *autonomous politics* forums.From late August 1987, the F.U. project has organised a series of fortnightly discussions. These have been fairly eclectic in subject matter but have addressed contemprary issues such as the commercialised *Garden Festival* and the Poll Tax implementation.

Among the more notable from our perspective have been:
a panal of vetern anarchists on the 1940s Anarchist group & its rivalries;
a debate on Joseph Beuys, subversive art and a fundamental *Green* approach;
The *Pleasure Tendency* on the decline of *Social Hope* & class politics;
computing networks & new technology struggles;
Simon Frith,Rock columnist, on the new structure of the Music Industry & it's inter-relation with advertising;
& the editor of *Smile* on the futility of *realising & suppressing* Art by Lettrists, Situationists & Neoists.

Related to the project, there was a mildly successful post-General Election public forum in June and attempts to establish a Social Centre with funding. Compared to similar initiatives like the *New University* in Birmingham,the F.U. is probably less alternativist, being committed to creating a *public sphere* and taking the discussions outwith the *West End* radical & alternative ghetto.

* contact p/h 9, 340 W.Princes St., Glasgow G4. (send stamps to be *mailed*].

INFINITE

Glasgow,Sept '87.

Thanks for H&N. Very stimulating advance into new ideas - instead of churning up the old familiar brew. The editorial states the present very clearly. I find special interest in "Power of the Powerless"."The Third Assault" makes explicit what was implicit, as do the other articles.

I think the return of the moral principle is a concept that would be very hard to popularise;not because of inherent defects, but because it would be liable to infinite interpretation.

The moral principle may be returning. It is well to note that it has never been absent. It's alleged assassin, materialism -especially dialectical materialism -was really its assertion, for the dialectic portrayed as the inner working of a human urge to social justice. There is much more to be said on this subject.

JT Caldwell[biographer of Guy Aldred].

SACRIFICE

New York City, Nov '87.

Hello,
Found a copy of issue 5 of H&N in our [Libertarian Book Club] Box. I was absolutely compelled by the title to read its contents and am glad I did.

.....

I really enjoyed the article "Gift Against Commodity". But one thing that was ignored was the concept of gift-giving to obtain a commodity, an emotional commodity, the PERSON as commodity. It was mentioned that gifts become what their values represent; what their values really represent is a concept of sacrifice. that the willingness to sacrifice is equated with the affection one has towards another, and in the case of the gift, one vies to see how much money one can sacrifice to purchase a gift. The motivation is not unselfish, as is perceived, but is to impress people by living up to a standard of generosity. This is done in the search for the REAL commodity, but as the affection or gratefulness of another person, and very often their love, friendship or cooperation. Thus the acquisition of some sort of emotional gratification, based on their position of desirable commodity as the reward for the action of giving. Even when it is done in the name of happiness, it is usually an attempt to reward a person for behaving in a manner that made YOU happy in the first place.
What do you think of these ideas?

Laure Akai-N.

FETISHISATION

Poplar,E.14, 1987.

Dear H&N,
Thanks for the copies of H&N & CI that arrived this morning.
First off, nice to see that old photograph of the British Library in a state of disintegration during the blitz reproduced on the cover. The editorial has an urgent tone about it, but I think is too dismissive: "nobody it seems, is asking what kind of life we are being trained for or what we can actually do to determine the future ourselves".I think people are always asking these questions, although the way this is expressed varies a lot - 'New Social Movements' are an example of this, if sometimes in a very limited way.
I found the 'Power of the Powerless' article interesting simply because I knew very little about Charta 77, beyond the name, before reading it. Steve Bushell's ideas on individuality & morality don't always strike a chord in me - that's putting it mildly! However, I have a lot of sympathy with the optimistic way in which he concludes his piece.
'Gift against commodity' & 'Notes on Credit' were both good for demonstrating the abstract nature of money/economics in accessible language, and thus- of course -that economic realism has no grounding in 'reality'. It's good to see this point made in a straightforward way!

Peter Suchin's essay was good for demonstrating where post-modernism is coming from, and effectively dismissing it. However, he fails to grasp that art is a social process that serves the bourgeoisie-ruling class -bureaucracy. At the core of this lies the fact that the practices granted the status of art represent the interests of the ruling class. Thus in the West,beauty is considered a matter of personal taste, and art is whatever the museums and private collectors can be persuaded is art and will consequently buy. Duchamp, among others, exploited this fact and used it to secretly ridicule his patrons. But art, as Roger Taylor explains in his book "Art an Enemy of the People" is not autonomous of social processes and actively serves the interests of the brourgeoisie. And art is not, as Suchin seems to think, universal or eternal - it actually materialised in the seventeenth century at the same time as modern science - prior to that art had a very different meaning. Besides, as Pierre Bourdieu points out in his book "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste" art is not only essentially a form of snobbery - in its efforts to celebrate the lifestyle of the bourgeoisie, it increasingly avoids any reference whatsoever to the social. Instead it contains references to its own past which demand it to be perceived historically so that it may be referred to as the universe of the past and present works of art,rather than register an external referent, a represented or designatged reality. It is an idealist illusion to imagine, as Suchin does, that art can fulfill any critical function, beyond ther overturning of previous artistic traditions.

I take "The Third Assault" as an extract from a work in progress. What is needed, and I persume Gus McDonald is working on,is a rigorous critique of what he defines as the second wave. Using what Ive just said about art, one can quickly see that this can be applied as a critique of Situationist writing on this subject. To say, as Debord does in "The Society of the Spectacle",and Vaneigem in "Revolution of Everyday Life", that art ended in dada & surrealism is a complete misunderstanding. Art is a social process that takes place under capitalism, the SI treated it as having an essence - which is mysticism. Art is not to be "realised and suppressed", that's just bullshit that implies something transcendent. I won't go into a full blown argument, but the SI's inability to understand art is not an abberation, basically it was a mystical organisation as a study of its use of the dialectic will show. The SI's claim to use materialist analysis is belied by the facts when it comes to art - and this is true of Lukacs, Adorno, and numerous other Marxists as well.
I felt colin Webster's piece missed the positive aspects of a lot of the new social movements - and these movements have certainly been the root causes of positive changes in the left. Also there are greens, such as Cohn-Bendit, with a global and internationalist perspective. An ecological movement that doesn't deal with the planet as a whole isn't worthy of the name. After all, a planet is the smallest unit of life we know - sll the food chains are connected across the globe, if you fuck the ozone layer you fuck the whole world etc.
Issue 5 reinforced my opinion that the magazines basic problem is the fetishisation of what the contributors 'see' as 'economic' and 'political'...This substitutionism found its most fetid expresion in Colin Webster's 'New Social Movements'. Along with Peter Suchin. Webster views 'culture' [defined in the restricted, normative sense of ordinary usage] as autonomous of other social processes. He goes so far as saying:

> "To 'politicise' sexual or cultural orientations merely delivers up identity to surveillance, manipulation and subjective critique of 'behaviour'."

But then it's not a question of 'politicising' sexual or political orientations;it's long been a banality that 'the personal is political'. If the 'personal' is not an integral part of the social totality, then at Webster's insistence we must accept a pluralist view of this world - and such liberal perspectives belong to the right not the left. Which is why Webster's position is ultimately that of a bourgeois individualist.

The "Open Letter" ends the thing on a positive note. I find developments like the Glasgow Free University inspiring - showing that not everyone's completely cynical. The back cover was more traditional libertarian fare - but still amusing. Anway it was nice to see a smartened up presentation too - although the anti-design of the last[H&N 4] knocked me out too.

Stewart,[Editor,'Smile' Magazine.]

* SUPPLEMENT *

FURTHER COMMENTS ON ANIMAL LIBERATION

I thought AD's essay* on ALF was far the most interesting thing I've read on the subject from anyone on "the Left". *"Such a way of thinking has a certain power because it permits a position to be taken on everything, a confidence that behind every great commodity there's a suffering animal. It is the global nature of this meaning which is its attraction to the adolescent young, searching for a way into a seemingly hermetically-sealed society dominated by trivia and status-battles."*

This seems to be getting somewhere. It is right that we should look for the ***positive*** aspect of the Animal Liberation movement and identify ourselves with it, rather than take up a posture of lecturing them on the error of their ways from the standpoint of a fixed truth which we already know. The following notes are meant as a response to AD's "positive" criticism, offered in the same spirit, with a view to reaching greater clarity, and hopefully leading to a ***better*** understanding of the issues.

First, I should declare my interest: I'm not an ALF supporter, but I am much more in sympathy with their moral sentiments than AD seems to be. I got into vegetarianism and ecology-mindedness around 1970 with a small bunch of people in Oxford, and we published what must be one of the first books expressing the new wave of protest against exploitation of animals: Godlovitch & Harris (Eds.) *"Animals, Men and Morals"*** I'm not saying this just to claim any priority, but to establish my claim to know how these people think, because I recognise entirely their way of seeing the world, and I still ***share*** their feelings about the unspeakable horrors that go on in "scientific" research.

In fact, I still suspect that people who criticise ALF from a "Left" or "radical" standpoint themselves, when they acknowledge the cruelty inflicted on animals, do so *"with a moral system which bases itself on a concern for life in the abstract rather than the concrete"*. In other words, you go something like *"OK, yes, these things are horrible, inexcusable, but..."* and proceed to discuss the issues in abstract terms. I will refrain from describing in detail the particular experiment which "converted" me, in a flash, to the cause; the point I'm making is that it is ***concrete reality*** which is what morality is or should be about, and this is true ***even if*** many people develop "false" ideologies to make sense of their experiences.

Where I don't go along with AD is not just that he lapses into this abstract dichotomy between "humans" and "animals" (in his last paragraph) - Don't you know that what is done to animals is soon enough done to people, and it is done to animals because they ***are*** similar to humans? (Otherwise what value would the experiments have?) More important is the imputation of a breakthrough against "Commodity Fetishism" to the ALF ideology; "(They) *base themselves on an outrage against a "truth" perceived behind the shining polythene on the supermarket shelves, in the seemingly-agnostic commodity from which all traces of its production have been erased". Unfortunately, the Animal Liberation critique of the exploitation of animals does* ***not*** *grasp the connection between the exploitation of nature and the alienated mode of production symbolised in commodity-status of products. Would that it did. The "greatest error" of AL thinking is its uncertainty about the* ***root cause*** of the evil it sees.

A more fruitful line would, I think, be to take up the point AD starts with: the ***tactics*** of the ALF. He gives us a variant of the old Gauchiste wisdom *"I disagree with your aims but I approve of your methods"* This is the point at which the ALF people can begin to identify ***themselves*** with the concept of Capitalism, of Fetishism and the rest of the analysis which, I fear, AD is ***reading into*** their ideology. If they are going to make the connection, it has got to be done by going at least half-way with them and recognising where they are coming from.

MIKE PETERS

** a) *Gollancz*, 1972. Hard to get hold of now, because there was a libel suit which stopped publication. This was brought by the Research Defence League against *one sentence* in the chapter on animal experiments. Don't underestimate the forces the movement is up against!

* see issue no. 3

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