

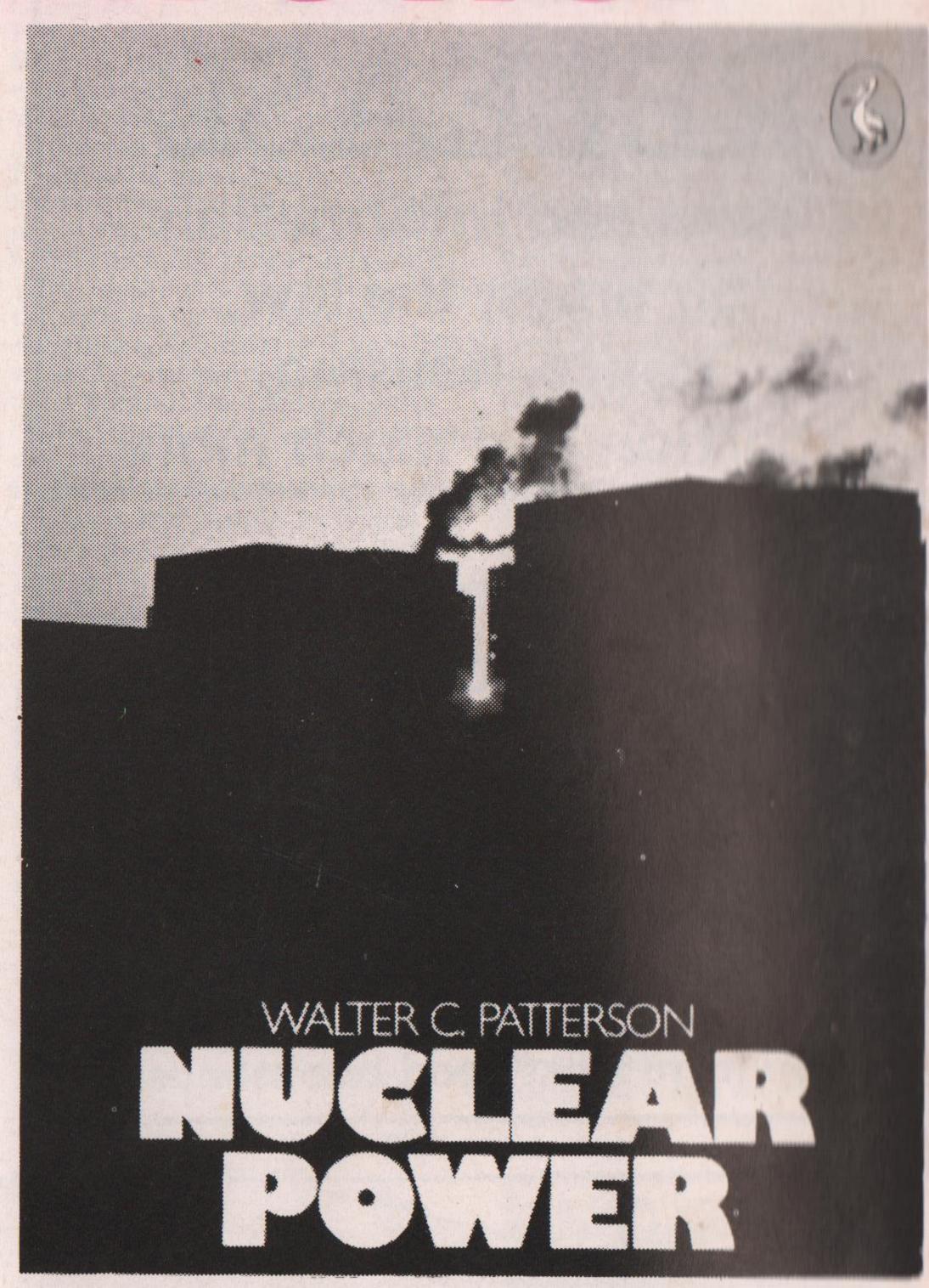
This month's offer is a choice of one of two books on energy recently published by Pelican. Send in your subscription order by March 20 and you will receive a free copy of the book you choose.

1. Soft Energy Paths - Toward A Durable Peace, by Amory B. Lovins. 95p.

2. Nuclear Power by Walter C. Patterson. 80p. Amory Lovins' lucid account of a coherent non-nuclear energy policy, explains why it is necessary and how it can be implemented. He sets out both the basic concepts for lay readers and more detailed calculations for those with more expert knowledge.

Walter Patterson's book concentrates on the other aspect of the energy debate and explains in everyday language nuclear technology and how it works – and sometimes fails to work. The author surveys the development of nuclear power worldwide and delineates the technical, economic, social and political issues which now preoccupy the policymakers.

Neither book is explicitly socialist, but both provide much needed information for those on the left interested in future energy policy.



There are two kinds of subscription:

Supporting Subscribers are the backbone of the magazine. As well as receiving a year's copies, they get regular newsletters; are informed of all developments; and are able to influence and vote on the policy of The Leveller at the Annual General Meeting of the Friendly Society which owns and controls it. This democratic structure is one of the chief strengths of The Leveller. The extra subscription also gives us a secure financial basis and allows us to increase circulation and to make the magazine more effective.

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SEFT is the Society for Education in Film and Television, a grant-in-aid body of

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For details of SEFT's activities, lists of back numbers, subscription rates etc write or ring: SEFT, 29 Old Compton Street, London W1V 5PL 01-734 3211/5455.

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Working committee meetings are held at 7.30 every Tuesday in our office. Readers are welcome to attend and assist in the development of the magazine. Written contributions, photographs, cartoons and story ideas are also welcome.

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Letters

Buggery

In view of all that has been done to change the law on homosexuality in recent years, I feel that it is time that the offence of heterosexual buggery was abolished.

Sections 12 and 16 of the Sexual Offences Act 1956 make buggery between a consenting man and woman an offence liable to a maximum sentence of life imprisonment and assault with intent to commit buggery an offence. The National Council for Civil Liberties' Report No 13 on Sexual Offences argued that these two offences should be abolished. but the present NCCL staff have told me that they are not interested in the subject, no doubt because of their unwillingness to take up controversial measures in their present financial predicament.

There is nothing inherently sadistic about buggery and it is clear from magazine surveys that consenting couples often practise it it. In any case would we have had Byron or Lytton Strachey imprisoned for life?

The Home Office informed my MP that the Criminal Law Revision Committee will be considering the subject in its review of the law relating to sexual offences and the Home Secretary's predecessor appointed a Policy Advisory Committee on Sexual Offences to advise and provide an assessment of lay opinion. I should like to appeal to The Leveller's readership to express their views to the latter committee

Roy Holland Watford

Utopian and parochial

You deserve credit for ventilating the issues on energy policy. However, the position taken by the writers suffered from two defects. First, it was parochial. Second it was utopian.

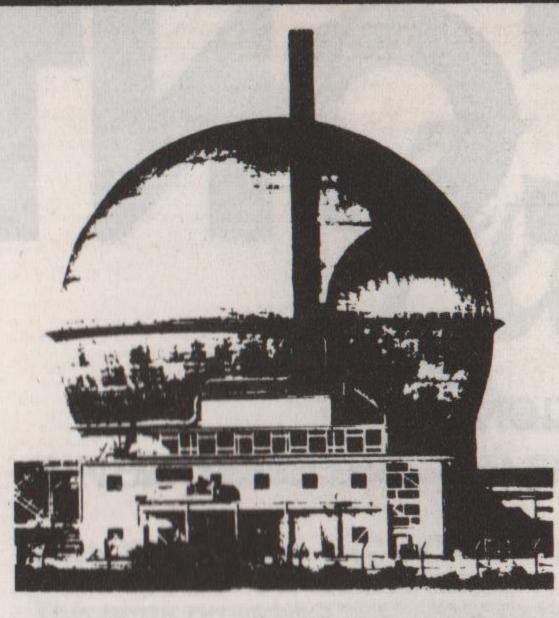
It was parochial in that it ignored the relation of the current international economic crisis to energy and treated the supply problem almost entirely on a UK basis. It is certainly reasonable to argue that the UK could go for a non-nuclear strategy (a moratorium on new building, a vigorous conservation programme, expansion of coal mining, depletion controls on oil and gas and the selective deployment of alternative technologies-of which wave power is the most promising in a UK context), and thereby achieve a transition to a self-sufficient energy system with adequate standards of comfort and a reasonable level of industrial output in the twenty-first century. The problem is that this argument cannot be extended outside a handful of developed countriesmost of them English-speaking, like Australia, Canada and the USA. A non-nuclear world would be one in which the "Anglo-Saxon" powers enjoyed a substantially higher standard of living than continental Europe and Japan, let alone the Third World. As an internationalist and egalitarian, I am not wholly convinced this would be desirable.

Though I am extremely dubious about the case for the fast reactor, I cannot see how one can expect countries like France, Italy and Belgium to return to full employment and achieve socialism-or even just social democracy-without substantial commitment to thermal reactors. At a pinch, highly advanced and efficient capitalist countries-like West Germany, Japan and Sweden-can export unemployment and import oil to replace the power stations they decide not to build. For the weaker countries, the unemployment will not be exportable

This does not mean that nuclear development should go ahead world-wide on the scale advocated by its proponents, whether in London, Brussels or Vienna (the headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Authority). However, countries like the UK ought to put in enough nuclear energy to squeeze oil out of electricity generation and progressively free coal for use in industry and as a means of producing substitute natural gas. This would mean that we and the Americans, Japanese etc. would end up "hogging" less of the world's oil and thus the pressure on less fortunate countries to go for very large programmes (which might imply breeders) would be eased. Likewise, it should be accepted that some of the larger developing countries (up to a dozen-among them Argentine, Brazil and Mexico, Egypt and Nigeria, Iran and Iraq, India and Pakistan, South Korea and the Philippines) can make good use of a limited amount of nuclear electricity

This parochialism also affects the suggestion that the UK industry should export small generating sets and alternative technologies such as solar collectors. At least one developing country (India) is already exporting small generating sets (I assume that the power plant industry trade unions are unlikely to accept Indian levels of pay in order to compete!) There are already plans at an advanced stage to develop a solar collector manufacturing industry, using local raw materials and scientific expertise from neighbouring countries, in at least one of the

Sahel countries (Mali). My second criticism is its utopinism. There are real obstacles to the development of energy conservation, combined heat and power schemes and alternative energy sources and not all of these can be laid at the door of capitalism and/or large state corporations. To promote energy conservation means replacing energy by capital (sometimes also in part by labour). If energy prices rise, this will have some effectbut it is at best "rough justice" because of its effects on the distribution of income and the fact that other parts of the system



may not respond to price changes (e.g. how many local council housing departments have even tried to improve insulation standards-and how far does the "cost yardstick" system imposed by Whitehall inhibit them?). Making energy expensive has all kinds of unpleasant side-effects and cannot be done in isolation. As for combined heat and power, the case for it depends on energy price assumptions and investment appraisal rates used (as it would in any other economic system). It is just not true that thermal nuclear reactors are assessed on a different basis from CHP. Precisely the same assumptions, rules and techniques are applied to both. As for alternative energy sources, though wave power is encouraging, the technical problems are formidable (worse than thermal nuclear). Most of the other alternatives are not suited to the UK-e.g. solar energy is likely to contribute far more in Australia, California, the Tropics and the Mediterranean than here, wind power is more suited to Denmark (though the Wash could be suitable in the UK), geothermal is more appropriate for Italy, Japan and Mexico and other geologically unstable countries, biomass is more suited to the Tropics where crops grow faster.

The energy problem is a critical issue for the left. It is too important for discussion to be confined to fantasies of an Anglo-Saxon arcadia (shared with some elements of the far right of the Tory Party, like John Biffen, MP) or those of an all-electric. all-nuclear world. More than any other factor, it is the failure of international capitalism, especially marked in the main capitalist power, the United States, to cope with the energy problem that has led to the present economic crisis. If the left cannot present an alternative strategy, then, as with the last major slump, others willand some latter-day version of fascism based on full employment, protectionism and large-scale commitment to nuclear energy will come into power in one or more major capitalist countries in the next few years.

Donald Roy London SW15

The Unaligned – Another View

I'd really like a little of your space in order to take up and lead on from one important area touched on in the discussion on "the unaligned left" in recent issues of The Leveller by Max McFarr, Bob Dent and Leeds Other Paper.

Unfortunately the discussion between McFarr and Dent was spoiled by Dent's libertarianism ("There's no organisation like no

'organisation'') and McFarr's hollow rallying call for the unaligned "To realize the limitations of their practice and join the national organisations closest to their aims". In between these two positions some excellent points were raised but as so often is the case the discussion is in danger of becoming unnecessarily polarised. What I want to do here is to look at just one aspect of the discussion on "the unaligned", that of local alternative newspapers,

For a start it's impossible to lump together "the unaligned" as some total animal. Within the alternative press alone there are many different magazines and papers serving totally different functions. The job of revolutionaries is in my opinion to examine clearly the strengths and weaknesses of these various forms of publication. Unfortunately most of the left in Britain have failed to even acknowledge the existence of the alternative press-never mind take it seriously. Local alternative papers in particular have been overlooked by these groups who have narrow conceptions of the forms of propaganda needed in the struggle for socialism. So we have a situation where many groups fetishise their own national

An analysis of many forms of propaganda such as local papers, mass leaflets, factory bulletins, seems to be beyond the capabilities of many of these groups. And we all know how so many have simply reduced political activity to "selling the paper". All would rush to quote Lenin on *Iskra* (the Bolsheviks' paper) to justify this, as if we're living in the conditions of Russia in 1917.

When we say that the seeds of communism are present within the struggles of the masses it is not just a bit of jargon; it should mean a lot to the practice we seek to develop. Politics isn't simply what it brought to the working class from the outside, it is also what is brought out from the inside. Something which so many organisations fail to realise. Our task is a massive one, to build the resources, consciousness, skills, culture and power of our class to such an extent as to seriously confront

consciousness, skills, culture and power of our class to such an extent as to seriously confront the organised power of capital at every level. What should this mean with regard to forms of propaganda? It means in my opinion, recognising that no national format alone can adequately cover the sheer quantity of working class struggles that are taking place daily in communities, workplaces

and schools up and down the

Letters

In fact I've often wondered whether Big Flame (my own organisation) has understood fully the connections between our own relative strength on Merseyside and the fact that we began our political life as a Merseyside based socialist paper. Unless of course we envisage national papers the size and price of the Encyclopedia Brittanica. Not that I'm against Big Flame having a national paper: I think it would be false to pose things as national versus local. Rather we

Not that I'm against Big Flame having a national paper: I think it would be false to pose things as national versus local. Rather we have to understand fully the relationship of both forms of propaganda to the class struggle as a whole, and look more closely at the organisational forms/structures, around existing alternative local papers in particular.

Unlike Max McFarr, I believe papers like the Leeds Other Paper do "actually influence the practice of struggles". Indeed as a regular reader I can honestly state that I have learnt a lot from its pages (especially on Youth and Ireland) and this has, in turn, influenced my practice on these issues. However Max is dead right to state that though "Propaganda is important . . . without concrete political action to go with it, it is limited in its effectiveness" (my emphasis)

My own belief is that many of the people working round existing alternative community papers can play a very important role in creating with others (including Big Flame) a qualitatively new revolutionary socialist organisation. But not as Max suggests by simply joining "the national organisation closest to their aims".

There is I feel another course of action open to alternative community papers. It means recognising the limitations of being a group of people that (through a paper) simply agitate and educate. To these two honourable qualities another essential quality is required . . . the need to actually organise. What I'm suggesting is that around certain alternative community papers there is already the basis for political organisation/s. Groups of militants who round the format of area/community/ city wide socialist papers could develop a non sectarian and non authoritarian method and practice.

I realize I've missed out loads.
I'm suggesting simply that the many people working round alternative community papers should stop and reassess their own strengths and weaknesses and begin to take themselves more seriously. I want you to be participants in creating a new revolutionary socialist organisation, not simply observers.

Brian Johnstone Birmingham

Sex Mags

In January's issue there was an article entitled 'Promises, Promises' about magazines for teenage girls. The fact that there are also men's magazines is often overlooked. If men's magazines are considered at all, they are usually considered under the heading of pornography. This confuses the issue. It can then seem as if magazines such as Playboy, Club International, Climax etc. are for both sexes. The nature of their content is often misrepresented also, as sex rather than power over women. I am, as a teacher of apprentices, well aware of the reading matter that teenage boys consume. Magazines on cars and bikes and puzzle books do figure, but the most universal reading matter is porn. I define pornography as material concerned with the degradation and humiliation of women for the titilation of men.

Whilst girls are fed a diet of insecurity and powerlessness, as the article pointed out, the boys are being fed dehumanised pictures of women, just as bodies in passive and submissive postures, or parts of bodies seperate from heads or personalities. For example 'split beaver' which covers genitals and thighs only -usually centre page spread. More and more porn is now concerned with sado-masochism, the savage brutalisation of women, and paedophilia, the exploitation of young females.

t, it is paedophilia, the exploitation of young females.

The enormous increase in the production and consumption of porn has coincided in time, with the development of a new type of magazine for teenage girls. When I was a teenager I could choose between Girl's Crystal and Schoolfriend and read with excitement of hooded heroines rushing from the dorm, at night to solve mysteries. Jackie and

rushing from the dorm, at night to solve mysteries. Jackie and Bunty developed to balance Knave and Whitehouse. It is not accidental that at a time when opportunities are supposedly opening up for women, and women are actively fighting for liberation, that the extremes of sexual fetishism in terms of active/passive, and sadism/ masochism should become the meat of teenage magazines. Porn belies liberal hopes of 'equality' and makes women's victories seem hollow. Porn is a tricky nettle for

Porn is a tricky nettle for socialists to grasp because 1) it points clearly to the brutal realities of sex war; 2) no-one wants to seem a puritan and most critics of porn up to now have come from the far right and are anti sex!

It is about time that women and men on the left started to come to terms with these problems and realised the crucial importance of taking a stand against porn at this stage in the history of male supremacy.

Sheila Jeffreys London SW15

Red Therapy Blues

I thought your article about Red Therapy was a bit too uncritical, and didn't press home the importance of making a meaningful connection between politics and therapy. I was in the East London group out of which Red Therapy developed during the period between 1973-75, when the group gradually transformed itself from a group of political activists who brought certain 'therapy' understandings to bear on our political work, into a group primarily concerned with doing and propagating therapy. It was at that time that I wrote this poem. It reflects, from a particular and angry viewpoint, the discussions that were taking place in our group at that time.

Now that politics is going out of fashion,
And the working class is beaten back where they belong,
Let us remember, before the dinner party's over,
The things we did, the places we went wrong.

Do you remember how we gave out leaflets
At dawn, outside a factory somewhere?
And talked about the need for revolution?
I wonder, are those old factory gates still there?

Do you remember how we marched and shouted, And painted slogans up all over town? Sat up all night discussing National Organisation? Let's face it. The working class has let us down.

Let's not forget, the working class is racist. Disunited, brainwashed media-dupes. In this collective, none of us is racist. We welcome Asian families in our groups.

Let's not forget, the working class is greedy.

They want to own the trash that they produce.

If they wanted, they could give up work, be free like us,

And live on brown rice, nuts and apple juice.

Let's not forget, the working class is brutal.

(The work they do affects their sexuality).

In this collective, none of us is sexist.

We've fucked and fucked and fucked until we're free.

For it's capitalism stops us having pleasure, So let's enjoy ourselves, before it gets too late. And it's capitalism stops us having feelings, So the more we feel, the more we fight the state.

The working class feels bitter, mean, and angry, But the only way they show it, is to fight.
They don't release all those uncool emotions.
The working class is terribly uptight.

Marina Lewycka



Tony Nicholls

The ultimate fix

Over the last thirty years a number of new contraceptives have been developed. One that is convenient for a doctor to prescribe and administrate may not always be acceptable to women or free from side effects. Depo Provera is the latest miracle drug. A single injection of this synthetic progesterone will prevent conception for at least three months. Experiments began in the third world, working class women are the current guinea pigs. Rose Shapiro and Dorothy Jones investigate its use in East London, to see who's getting what out of

The short term effects of Depo Provera, whilst inconsistent from woman to woman, include disturbance of the menstrual cycle: women either stopping their periods altogether, or suffering from continuous bleeding. Once off the drug it is impossible to predict how long it will take for a woman to start ovulating A lot of women put on weight, some lose huge amounts. If a woman is breastfeeding, her milk supply is improved.

Nobody knows what the long term effects are. In tests on beagles and rats, some developed breast and cervical cancer, so across the board licensing has not taken place. Dr Wendy Savage, gynaecologist at the London Hospital, first used it in 1973, on a woman who had been pregnant a dozen times, had induced abortion in herself at least three times, had three living children, the rest of the pregnancies ending in miscarriage. Later it was licensed for use if the man had just had a vasectomy which had not yet taken effect, or if the woman had been vaccinated against german measles (conception after this vaccination can cause handicap of the foetus

In the third world DP has been used on an experimental basis, and has dealt with the problem of population control from the doctor/state point of view. Advocates of the drug use the argument that the increase of breast milk in women on DP can help them to overcome feeding problems (although no-one knows what effect DP improved breast milk has on the child) and that progressive weight gain is also an advantage in malnourished countries.

Different reasons are advanced for using the drug on working class women in Wendy Savage's East End practice: "It has always been used on people who have had problems with other methods of contraception. For the women that it suits it's an ideal method, and that's why they like it. It's more efficient in practice than the Pill, and if a woman knows that she's not pregnant she's quite happy not to have periods."

So why is it mainly used on working class women? "Middle class women are more used to the idea of organising their lives, and they've got the money to do this. If you're living in a sixth floor tenement with no hot water, three kids under five, your husband unemployed and taking all the housekeeping to buy drink, frequently there isn't even the money to go to the clinic, and it's such an effort to go to the doctor or FPA to get your pill." And the risks? "We don't know that if you use it for five years when you're 35 that you won't get lumps in your breast when you're 45. But women take risks all the time. I do believe it's safer than the Pill. Some people are going to take your word for it anyway-I'm sure that patients will accept an opinion about it if it's put across in a positive way."

Peter Huntingford, Professor of Gynaecology at the London Hospital and a long term campaigner for women's abortion rights, thinks differently. "Women don't like it, mainly because of the menstrual chaos it produces. We don't know about the long term effects. Resumption of a normal menstrual cycle after withdrawal of Depo Provera can't be predicted, so it is not a good idea to use it between pregnancies. There are indications for DP and I do use it, but I don't sugges it to anybody. I certainly wouldn't recommend it as a regular contraceptive to a young woman who didn't know what her childbearing wishes were likely to be." He believes that DP should only be given to women who can understand the complications, and if there is difficulty providing people with contraceptive choice, that difficulty has to be shared with the patient. Working class women have sensitivities and feeling like non working class women, and I have had enough experience here to know that they find DP equally unacceptable."

The East London Women's Health Group started their campaign against DP after a woman for whom they had arranged an abortion reported that she had been given an injection at the same time as her termination. She didn't know what it was, but had been told by her doctor that in her circumstances (21 with one child and a history of two abortions) it would be the best contraceptive for her. The doctor was Wendy Savage. The woman developed stomach cramps, lost weight, and suffered from frequent dizziness.

After investigation the group found that Depo Provera is often given to young women after they have had two or more abortions and to working class women who are thought to be "unreliable". As part of the campaign, the group put on a play about DP, The Guinea Pigs.

Medically, it is unarguable that the safest form of contraception is the barrier method (cap or sheath) with early abortion as a back-up. But the East London women

told us that barrier methods are not encouraged in their area. "I spoke to a health visitor who said that she didn't think that women should use the cap because it's so messy, and if you didn't have a place to wash it's embarassing. She said there was greater demand for DP than other contraceptives but denied any knowledge of the risk of cancer. She herself used the cap, and thought it was the best thing you could use, but that the kind of women DP would be recommended to wouldn't want to use

So once injected, if a woman returns to the doctor with "no problems", the doctor can "process" her in 60 seconds. As the Women's Health Group put it, "Depo Provera is like the ultimate technological fix. Drugs are sold as the answer, so you don't question it. The solution to the contraception problem won't be found in drugs, because the only people it's benefited have been the drug companies." Depo Provera is manufactured by Upjohn.

Dr Savage accepts some of the criticisms made by the Health Group, but thinks "the critics have missed the point. There are women who are very unlucky with contraception, and for them the injection can be manna from heaven. It would be a pity if it was given a bad name just because doctors are so bad at explaining it." Dr Savage put about 70 women on DP last year, but the number being prescribed it by other doctors is anybody's guess. None of the women in East London are being systematically monitored for long term effects.

If, as seems likely, its use becomes more widespread over the next few years, doctors will have even more control over contraception. As the Health Group point out: "A drug that has those sorts of side effects gives you no choice anyway, however well informed you are about it. I'm sure that what doctors would really like to do is sterilise these women, but it's too politically explosive, so Depo Provera is second best. Women in organisations like the National Abortion Campaign have demanded the provision of abortion and contraception for women, but if we don't have any control over these facilities, they are wide open to abuse . . . for instance when clinics offer DP alongside abortion."

And would Dr Savage take DP herself? "I hate the idea of having an injection every three months . . . I . . . I don't know. I don't particularly want to put on weight, and I'm not in that situation because I haven't found the coil a problem. I'm certainly not worried about dying of cancer in twenty five years because I've had the injection. I wouldn't want to put on a weight, and also I'd have to remember every three months, wouldn't I, whereas with the coil once it's in you can forget about it.'

The Naming of Colonel H A Johnstone (The Leveller issue 11) stirred a good few worms under the stones of British official secrecy.

Johnstone, readers will recall, gave evidence anonymously (as Colonel B) in the committal of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell, under Section One of the Official Secrets Act, at Tottenham Magistrates Court last November.

In court the old boy offered some incoherent and inconsequential opinions on the prosecution, to the general effect that any discussion of the field in which he had made his career -Signals Intelligence - should be forbidden (even his own presence in the witness box). He also gave in open court his army unit and date of posting, from which The Leveller and Peace News together deduced his identity, and duly published it.

There were perceptible stirrings in the Attorney-General's office, where they are trying to drum up a prosecution for contempt of court court; and in the Special Branch, whose officers have been motoring around for the last three weeks in a fruitless attempt to dig out more information on our publishing the name. Sergeants Fickling and Blackmore visited out office on January 23.

Just what seizures were induced inside the Defence Ministry, and SIGINT....and DI5, for secrecy's sake, can only be imagined.

Colonel H A
Leveller issue
few worms
itish

Colonel B? Who you trying
to kid, Colonel H.A.Johnstone
to kid, Colonel H.A.Johnstone

The moment the special branch

The Leveller reaffirms that we published the name for important political reasons - to resist the attempt by the security services to step up their political prosecution of ABC - and that we will continue to publicise it, and

burst in (artist's impression)

any other "secret" material we can get our hands on, as loudly as we can

Peace News has already republished it. Other left papers have pledged to do so. And the name JOHNSTONE has even been

announced to those of the nation at large that still listen to the BBC Radio 4 "Today" programme though after much internal debate the BBC decided to obliterate it with a loud bleep that must have startled many early morning

We accept that there are times when witnesses' identities shouldl be kept secret - rape victims, for instance. But Johnstone is quite

In calling him anonymously, the prosecution was trying to work up an atmosphere of the state in peril. ABC have to be painted as a huge threat to "national security", since the charges were shifted from Section Two of the Acti(politically unusable, what with the government's "pledge" to repeal

it) to Section One, which was designed for use against the agents of foreign powers.

So, although even the prosecution has admitted that no such accusation applies in this case, it has to resort to stupid stunts like calling poor old Johnstone, who has retired anyway.

Threats of prosecution - which are by no means certain to be carried out - don't deter The Leveller. They can up the stakes if they like, and we'll up our response. Ad part of the left, we are part of the resistance to state attacks on it. No copping out here.

Group therapy for ex-IS?

Martin Shaw may yet prove to be the patron saint of regroupment. Those who thought the recent ex-IS conference would turn out to be a group therapy session for conscientious objectors should harness their cynicism.

"An historic moment in the history of the British left", claimed one participant. Perhaps. One thing is certainly true, since his exit from the SWP Shaw has done much to improve relations on a particular section of the left, and the recent conference—called to discuss revolutionary unity—was supported by the IMG, Big Flame, Workers League and attended by ICL and Workers Power.

About 150 ex-IS stars inspired by the initiative of people like Shaw, Steve Marks, Richard Kuper and Richard Kirkwood are considering entering into a new kind of political alliance around the Socialist Unity campaign currently organised by the IMG and Big Flame. Shaw wants it to be called the International Socialist Alliance and be a membership organisation—the name suggests the "positive aspects of the IS tradition."

The idea is to broaden out the electoral activity of Socialist Unity and intervene in the immediate issues of the class struggle. There seemed to be a general agreement on the need for some such grouping but the zealous Shaw was somewhat restrained by the conference which decided not to set up the organisation there and then but to call a further conference in

There is more than a temporal reluctance, however, for the quantum leap of the summer. There are some major disagreements on major issues between the groups involved. There were long discussions about the Trotskyist tradition

and the nature of democratic centralism and the importance of a "transitional programme". Big Flame want nothing to do with the Fourth International and the main current of ex-IS thought feels unhappy about a lot of Trotskyism. It is perhaps the main problem but the IMG are prepared to work in such a grouping and discuss this and other thorny issues like state capitalism and the kinds of demands to put on reformists.

Another problem is the relationship of such an organisation towards its paper(s). Martin Shaw moved that Socialist Challenge (print order steadily rising) should be retained and developed but the conference decided to leave the question open-presumably Big Flame and Workers League would not want to fold up their own papers.

There seems to be a very serious attitude towards issues like the gay movement, the women's movement, racism and the so-called "politics of the personal" and a desire for a direct approach to "the class"—that is, serious rank and file activity.

If the very considerable political problems can be overcome an important step towards left unity will have been made.

The other major imponderable is, of course, the SWP. They are about to relaunch Socialist Worker and, for those with long memories, Socialist Review is to reappear shortly. Leveller readers will be interested to note that it will be a magazine with people outside SWP on the editorial board.

Whatever happens, summer of 78 could see a very different balance of forces on the left.

Dave Taylor

THENAMO

SWOMEN

Despite the rise of the women's movement and its impact on the British left, the National Front's views on women have not attracted more attention from its opponents. Two main sources for the anti-fascist activist have almost completely ignored the question. Martin Walker's book The National Front, and Searchlight, indispensable as they are on many things, are almost totally silent on women. But fascism is not only a threat to immigrants, to trade unionists, and to the left, but to women.

The centre of the National Front's concern with woman is her as mother—or more exactly, as breeder. "The world picture today is of a small boat in which the beleagured White races are slowly sinking as the rising tide of the coloured world population threatens to swamp it" (Spearhead, January 1977). The Front advocates eugenics, selective breeding, to build up the white race.

Like its predecessors, the NF is not only concerned with the maintenance of the white population, but about the type of people that make up that population: "The racial quality of the White world is declining. We shall find ourselves with fewer and fewer people of any quality whatsoever and more and more morons . . . the Marxist levellers will rub their hands with glee." (Spearhead, Spring 1967)

Front-leader Tyndall spelt it out even more clearly: to family planners, he wrote in the party's magazine Spearhead, all families are the same. But one could be good and robust, another diseased and indolent. In nature the best breed abundantly, the worst perish. The capacity to rear, he claimed, is roughly related to success in life, and hence, usually, to latent abilities. Because of this nature gives the greatest success to the best stocks.

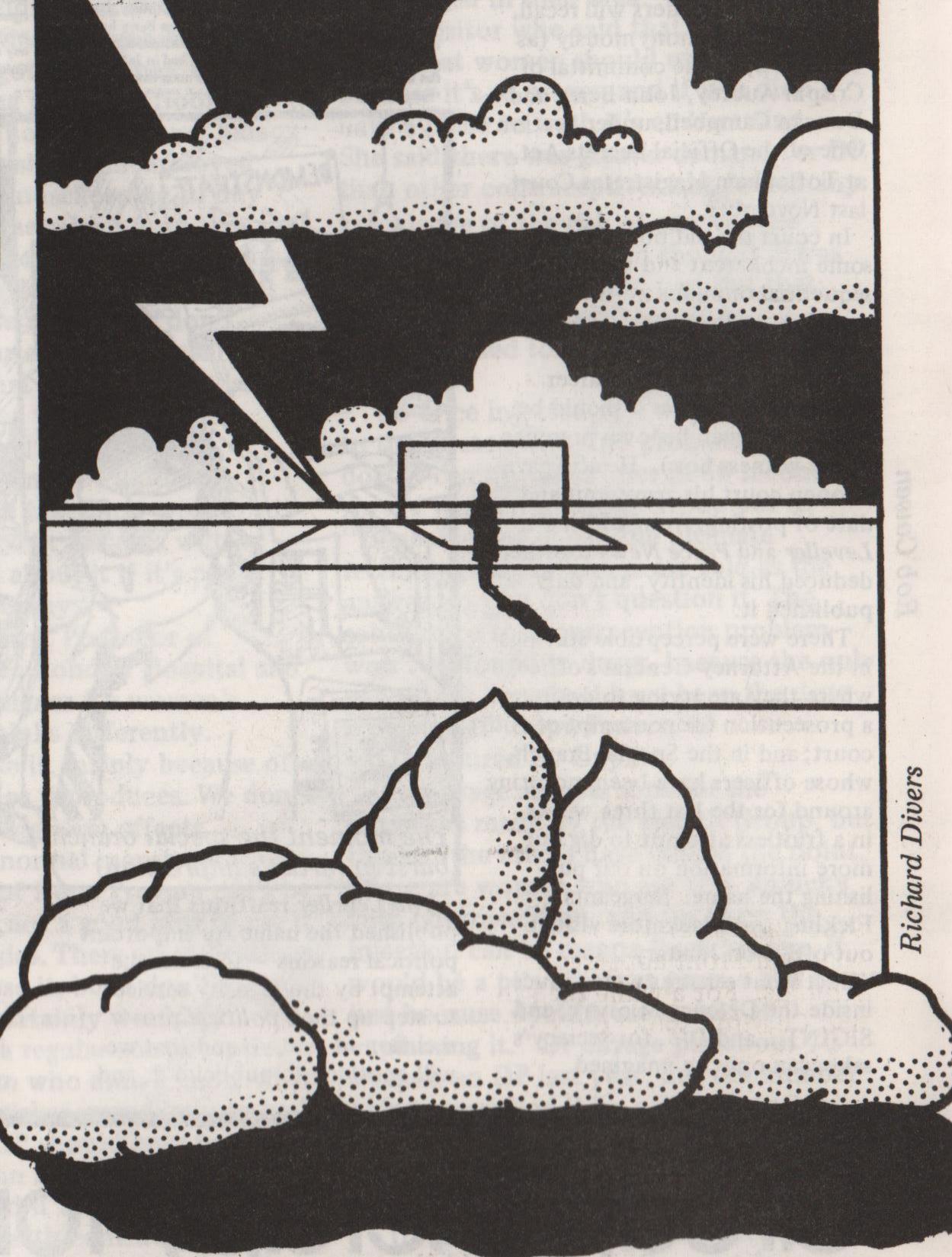
He goes on to say that birth control, used by the best, disturbs this. So too do family allowances: given to those most in need this means the multiplication of the most wretched. In the world population explosion the question is who will survive. The whites, Tyndall replies. When achievement is penalised it is only to be expected that families will be small. What is needed is new values; skill and industry must be rewarded, large families encouraged: "a vigorously increasing birth-rate . . . a tendency towards the greatest increase in the most intelligent and most fit. . . . To these aims . . . all ephemeral social considerations must be subordinated."

What Tyndall advocated in 1968 a more recent article restates and expands upon. "The first essential of a Nationalist police is . . . an education programme which will eliminate the moral and political sensitivity which has surrounded population policy and has inhibited governments from taking the necessary action. This education programme is the precondition for the success of pronatalist policy . . . that Government should positively encourage, by every means possible, the raising of large families." There should be financial incentives such as low-interest mortgages. Resources should be channelled into cutting down infant mortality.

It is on this issue that the Front are drawn into the abortion debate.

Because of the priority of raising the white birth-rate, "It goes without saying that the present abortion laws should be scrapped. There is indeed a case for abortion to be made altogether illegal."

Contraception too is attacked. "The widespread availability of contraceptive methods is a symptom of a more general



abuse that demands reform. What needs to be abolished in our society is not contraception itself but the national and governmental mania for the official promotion of 'family planning' through the public health service. What is required here is simply a complete reorientation of government policy where state encouragement to build a family is the priority, instead of state discouragement to build one, as at present."

People often identify NF policy on abortion with the right-wing anti-abortion body, SPUC. But its policy is not that of the "right-to-life" movement. The Front have been careful not to alienate Catholic feelings but its policy is not the same. In the October 1974 election the NF manifesto called for the repeal of the 1967 Abortion Act, but this call vanished from Front campaigning almost as soon as it had appeared.

Where other anti-abortion groups base their opposition to abortion on the sanctity of life, and the attribution of a soul to the foetus, the Front's objection is based on race. As with contraception, abortion is seen as enfeebling the white race. From very early on the NF had opposed the Abortion Act, and Tyndall, in his pamphlet Six Principles of Nationalism had pointed to the Act as a glaring example of "government by consensus of a liberal minority and without the remotest mandate from the population as a whole." But that opposition is based on the need to drive up the white birth rate, not on Christianity. It is also, like their opposition to contraception, connected with the other guiding theme in the NF's views of women: permissiveness.

The Front has frequently changed its ground on the masterplan behind the 'sexual revolution'. In June/July 1969 they claimed the existence of a Soviet secret plan to promote

FRONT AND...

sex and youth rebellion in order to destroy national pride and promote chaos. In January 1974 they claimed that post-revolutionary sexual freedom taught the Russians the use of unleashed sexuality which they then promoted in the west in order to undermine those countries. Their most stunning "discovery" was unveiled in July 1971 when they published a little-known Lenin quotation, "We will undermine the youth of the West with sex and drugs"!

The Front believes the changes in sex-mores to be both deliberate and dangerous. It sees television as maliciously pushing perversion, free love and mixed marriages. It views pornography as part of the drive against the family. And the centrality of the white family, "basis of a strong race and nation" means a firmness about sex stereotypes and a corresponding hostility to homosexuality. "I would like to see real manhood and real womanhood once again valued, and the current trend to unisex reversed," said Tyndall.

The Front seeks to force back the advances that have been made, establishing "the power of the male". Its members are, in a literal sense, the stormtroops of patriarchy.

Richard Marlen

。包)语义且

A RECENT issue of the Daily Mirror purported to expose a new shock horror on the terraces when it was revealed that the National Front appeared to be recruiting thugs inside football grounds. For a while the game reeled in astonishment. Clough and Charlton spoke out courageously. National papers fought for quotes from people inside the game. The traditional "handful of extremists and troublemakers" was invoked. What steps could be taken to combat this new menace that threatened the national game? Out of the World Cup, and Nazis on the park, all in one season! The mind boggled. Breathless we awaited developments. Would Frank Worthington join the SWP? Could we expect the Internationale to precede all League games? Would Paul Foot sign for Chelsea?

What in fact happened was exactly what should have been anticipated. The game slowly fell asleep again and throughout the country a vast sigh of relief could be heard as boardrooms returned to the real business of considering falling gates and spiralling transfer fees. Fleet Street's fickle interest waned and the National Front got back to the hard graft of recruiting alienated and confused kids which they had been doing systematically for months before the *Daily Mirror* scoop.

The only astonishing thing about the whole affair is that it commanded the interest it did, albeit for only a few days. What more fertile ground could there be in which to nurture lies than in the minds of those whose value system is so confused that their response to the wrong team scoring a goal is to kick shit out of the opposing supporters.

I went along to White Hart Lane (which I do every Saturday there's a home game anyway) to try and talk to some of the kids who might have come into contact with the NF. What I discovered in the course of three visits was enough to overwhelmingly confirm that the NF is following a well-trod path, conforming to the pattern established long ago in Germany and elsewhere.

Martin H is twenty one. Half of that time has been spent in children's homes, detention centre, community school and Borstal. His parents are divorced. He never went to school except when he was in care and is barely able to read. Most of the time he reads war comics in which gigantic and heroic British army sergeants single handedly decimate battalions of Huns to whom they frequently refer as "Nazi scum". Martin wasn't recruited at a football match. He joined the NF about

eighteen months ago with "a friend" but admits to persuading several mates to join at matches and that is something which is generally encouraged. In his own words Martin joined because "the Front stands up for English people. The socialists want more niggers and Pakis here because they vote for them.

We kick fuck out of the wogs. The reds are always stirring up trouble. Someone's got to stop them."

He wasn't prepared to talk about systematic recruiting at White Hart Lane at a higher level, that is by someone whose job it was. Martin is a Spurs supporter, who both identifies with the team and spends a small fortune during the course of a season following them wherever they play. He goes every week because, again in his own words, he loves football. The NF involvement adds spice to the confrontations with rival supporters, and the NF provides additional stimulation through similar situations like Lewisham. When I asked him which would be the greater attraction a home game at Tottenham or an NF march he grinned and said, "Spurs—every time, unless it's a big one."

Keith E—Keef to his mates—is eighteen. Like Martin he has been in "care" and recently came out of Borstal. Unlike Martin the Front holds no attractions for him. He had much to say about their activities however and had himself been approached by someone who thought he might like to join. Keef had already identified the person concerned as a "nutter" and declined the invitation. According to Keef's way of thinking the Front are all nutters. "If they're black send 'em back . . . nutters. It'd cost more to send 'em back than it does to keep 'em here. Most of those nutters don't care if its's a coloured guy or an Arsenal fan on the other end of the boot. They're just into violence—the Front's just an excuse. They're all nutters."

Asked if he thought the Front should be taken seriously he was unsure. "I dunno. They never took Hitler very serious till it was too late did they. That's what they'd like to do here—the Front I mean, all them gas ovens, that's where they'd put all the coloureds if they had the chance—that'd be cheaper than sending them back once they got power. But the ones at football—they're just nutters."

In the course of thirty odd conversations on the topic I received an impressive number of positive responses acknowledging the reality of an active Front presence on the terraces at White Hart Lane. All the conversations took place within the group of supporters identified by outsiders as the hard core. Within this group is an even harder core who are positively violent. For obvious reasons I did not seek them out. But it seems likely that here we would be most likely to find Keef's "nutters". For those with ears to hear, the chant of TIN-DALL . . . TIN-DALL . . . is a regular feature on Saturday afternoons. The clubs however are not prepared to listen or if they are they do not draw the correct conclusions.

Spurs assistant manager, in response to a direct question about the club's policy with regard to the National Front recruiting at the ground, said "We have no objection to anyone watching our matches. We have no evidence that this [recruiting] is taking place. If we had direct evidence that it was we should have to decide what to do about it." The Supporters Club was even less forthright. Their spokesperson said, "We are completely non-political. We wouldn't allow anyone who was political to use our lounge, whether they were National Front or left wing. It's nothing to do with us we're just the supporters' club."

British football, it is often said, is big business. It is totally unrealistic to expect the clubs to do anything effective about this issue for precisely that reason. The only initiative can come from the Left. It is obvious that the Front is profiting from our neglect. It will be our loss if we allow them to continue to pervert the minds of the very people least resistant to their venom.

John Berry



Marchers on the demonstration marking the first anniversary of the arrests of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell, on 19 February, were informed that this building, at the corner of Gower Street and Euston Road in London, houses a joint department of DI5

SPECIAL BRANCH

Police detain two Liverpool socialists

LAST MONTH the Special Branch searched and questioned two socialists in Liverpool. This followed the discovery of unexploded incendiary devices at a local army recruiting office in Manchester.

Former British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign activist Rick Walker was taken in for questioning and his address book and personal papers were taken from his home. The other person questioned was Allan: O'Toole. He has already spent a week in police custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, late last year.

Before being questioned, both of them had received threatening phone calls from what they think must have been a right-wing organisation. Also, O'Toole was arrested under the PTA as a result of an anonymous phone call.

The Special Branch Officers travelled from Manchester to Liverpool to follow up their enquiries. They seemed interested in the fact that a similar incendiary device had been found in a Liverpool recruiting office and thought one of the two might know someone who did it.

Rick Walker was asked if he had heard of the the Revolutionary Action Movement and O'Toole had to give a writing sample, which seems to suggest a note was left. But the devices did not explode and there was little press coverage of the incident.

THE PRESS

Press Council- Take a running jump

Those disrespectful Scots. The august body that is the Press Council is spluttering fury at the uncommon lack of civility it encountered lately from the West Highland Free Press newspaper after it had been called upon to adjudicate on a complaint made by some aging soldier-type named Lt. Commander P. Dalzel-Job against the paper.

and MI6. Britain's internal and external secret intelligence agencies. The ABC trial is now set for September 5, and the defence campaign is looking to broaden the support for the political fight against secrecy. John Berry on the

The Press however was unimpressed. Referring to Job's complaint as 'the frustrated squawkings of out-of-work military men', it refused to apologize, refused to print the ruling, and said about such Press Council worthies as Lord Shawcross; "They can go and take a running jump".

Dumb-founded by such a response, the feeble Council fumed in impotent pomposity; "The Press Council takes a grave view of the irresponsible behaviour of the Editor of the West Highland Free Press in disregarding the system of self-regulation which has been accepted by the whole of the British press for a quarter of a century and has recently been approved and endorsed by the Royal

This drivel continued by saying the Scottish newspaper in failing to print the unfavourable ruling "advertised its own irresponsibility and earned the unanimous condemnation of the Council, which it now receives."

DEFECTORS

Johnson's rave from the grave

Poor Paul Johnson. The ageing thinker's wondrous conversion in recent times has led to renunciation of his dogged socialist ways towards embracing a political ethos of all he once once opposed.

And now An Phoblacht, the weekly organ of Provisional Sinn Fein in Dublin, of all papers, has reprinted a 1971 New Statesman article by Johnson-from the era before he lost his

With such phrases as "Ulster itself is a giant gerrymander", Johnson wrote; "I find it difficult to echo the lurid and hollow-sounding language conventionally used about the IRA by British politicians of all parties-'cowardly thugs', 'unprincipled murderers' and so forth."

Johnson noted further: "It seems very unlikely that the army will ever master the IRA"; he derided the concept that as the Northern Ireland majority wants to stay British,

so it must stay; he intoned; "The truth is that the only means whereby Ireland can be reunified without civil war is by Britain not merely dropping the 1949 declaration but stating openly that the unity of Ireland is the object of its policy irrespective of unionist

How mischievous of An Phoblacht.

Court action over housing exposure

THE MONTHLY magazine Race Today which has done much to expose the housing conditions of Bengali workers in East London, now faces a libel writ over an article written in August 1976. The Race Today collective are appealing for funds to help with their legal costs in the cose - costs which they fear may run into thousands.

The Leveller is unable to re-print the allegations in full because of the legal action hanging over Race Today: but they stem from a carefully documented investigation in the August 1976 issue into the sale of rent books for squats. Introducing the investigation, Race Today wrote: "the issue of homelessness is closely linked to the issue of racial attacks, police apathy (some say complicity), racketeering by local hustlers and NF's campaign to recruit soccer hooligans, page 9

The work of exposing these rackets, and of assisting the self-organisation of Bengalis to resist them, must continue. We appeal to our readers to help Race Today with their Libel Fund by sending donations to: Race Today Libel Fund, 74 Shakespeare Road, London SE24 OPT (Tel: 01-737 2268).

Agee forced out of Holland

PHILIP AGEE seems to have lost his fight to stay in Holland. The Dutch authorities have refused to renew his residence permit, citing mainly his letter to The Leveller, and his alleged intent to compile a complete list of people and organisations which worked for the CIA.

After his expulsion from West Germany at Christmas, Agee wrote: "Is it paranoia to suspect a conspiracy when one expulsion follows another without a single charge of illegal activity, not even in the United States? Yet these actions are designed precisely to silence, disrupt and discredit a critic of his own country's foreign policy, exercising a right explicitly protected by the acknowledged covenants on Human Rights, to which these countries are signatory.

Throughout the campaign in Holland, Agee and his lawyers have been fighting got yhe right to appeal to the country's highest legal body, the Council of State. The Dutch Aliens Advisory Commission ruled that he was entitled to stay, but the decision was overturned by the Justice Minister of the new Conservative-Liberal coalition government. She also opposed an appeal to the Council of State.

In a parliamentary debate early in February, a motion to allow the appeal was defeated by ten votes, despite support from the Labour Party, the largest opposition party.

Agee said: "We will appeal to the Council of State anyway. First we will expose the illogical and irrelevant reasoning in the September decision," (when Agee was first refused the right to stay) "in the Aliens Commission's advice, and the Secretary of State's discrepancies with the Commission. Then we will show how the treaty of friendship signed by by the Netherlands and the United States in 1956 has been violated in these procedures.

The Ministry of Truth

The Information Research Department of the Foreign Office, founded in 1947, has been one of the State's principal weapons of ideological struggle for thirty years. Using propaganda techniques perfected during the Second World War, it is no exaggeration to say that IRD has been a major, unseen influence on the way in which people view the world, and in particular, the way they see communism and socialism.

IRD conducted covert media operations like the CIA: but unlike the CIA, it directed its operation operations at the home country too. Three operations have so far come to light.

The first was against the left in The Labour Party and the Unions, designed to smear it as communist. This started as early as 1947, and seems to have been one of the reasons why IRD was founded in the first place.

The second was a massive propaganda operation using at least 100 journalists in this country, and many more abroad. The idea was to place, in the British and foreign media, anti-communist stories emanating from IRD, while deliberately deceiving readers, and in some cases the journalists and papers concerned, about the origins of stories. Journalists and others were used in the F.O.'s propaganda campaign. allowed to slide when the

IRD became the midwife of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, the think-tank run by former CIA contract employer Brian Crozier. The third IRD operation was bookpublishing. It suggested names and titles to various publishers, using different intermediaries. It arranged to buy back large numbers of these books, and distribute them free via British embassies, to schools and colleges around the world.

IRD was established as an alliance of social-democrats and civil servants, and collapsed when this alliance fell apart. Conservatives were determined that the revolt against imperialism should damage Britain's international position as little as possible, and socialdemocrats had to draw on the resources of the state to protect them from the spread of socialist ideas within the labour movement

IRD carried out the 'belowthe-line' functions in propaganda which in the US are the job of the CIA. In official terms, 'IRD was responsible for the nonattributable portion of the British official information effort.'

The difference between IRD and the CIA's media operations w was this: the CIA, nominally at least, did not try to affect US politics through propaganda. 'Domestic fall-out' from CIAplanted stories was tolerated, but not intentional. But the IRD effort was in part deliberately directed at influencing public opinion at home.

At its peak, IRD occupied a whole building-Riverwalk House in Vauxhall-and probably had three of four hundred people working for it. In addition, its annual budget for propaganda material was about one million pounds. All this came from the 'secret vote'—the parliamentary allocation for the secret services.

It becomes clearer that this country doesn't have the distinction between 'secret' and 'non-secret' which in the US is organisationally enshrined in the

division between CIA and State Department. The Foreign Office has its own dirty tricks capability, of which IRD was a part. On a dayto-day basis, departments financed out of the secret vote are even further removed from control by ministers than civil servants normally are.

IRD's line, from the beginning, was to use the glaring deficiencies and outright barbarity of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe,

and to contrast this with 'social democracy'-to stress that workers were not only freer, but also economically better off in the west. Documents on the founding of IRD indicate that anticommunism came quickly to the fore. 'Third Force propaganda, attacking communism and capitalism, as IRD's task was originally described, became simple anti-communism by 1949. How far to the right IRD was

conservatives came to power in 1951 can easily be imagined. was grey propaganda, partial

thruths: no-one needs reminding that the Soviet Union is an easy target. IRD drew on secret service information, and public information gathered openly by diplomats. The deficiencies of the Soviet System were mercilessly repeated: so were advantages of the West. Most important of all was the underlying assumption that opposition to the west, throughout the world, was organised by the Soviet Union, thus clearing the decks for attacks

IRD did not tell many lies. It

on all left-wingers everywhere. IRD has now been closed down. The political reason for its demise seems to have been the collapse of the social-democrat conservative 'broad right' coalition which underpinned it. As the right has moved further right, its anticommunism has become too hysterical even for Labour Ministers: like the late Anthony 'Crosland, who took the first steps to close it down, or Dr David Owen, who took the final decision.

The close political alliance between IRD in its latter days and the extreme right in the shape of Brian Crozier and Robert Moss also contributed to its downfall: not least because ISC's alter ego, the National Association for Freedom, attacks all social democrats-not just the labour left-as allies or dupes of the Russians

IRD is no more. Its functions have passed in part to a smaller Overseas Information Department, OID. OID is still publishing the same slanted information, and still sending it to selected journalists. The last head of IRD, Ray Whitney, was the first head of OID. In February this year, Ray Whitney resigned from the Foreign Office, and is now conservative candidate for High Wycombe. A bye-election is pending in this super-safe tory seat, so he will be in parliament very soon. Grey propaganda has friends still in high places.



Secret aid for Labour right

AT ITS BEGINNING, IRD was a social democrat initiative. Christopher Mayhew, the Foreign Office junior minister concerned, described it as "third force propaganda" which would attack capitalism and communism. Mayhew was number two to Hugh Gaitskell during the war in the Ministry of Economic Welfare—which supervised dirty tricks.

IRD was set up at the end of 1947, and the Gaitskellites were able to draw on its resources from the beginning. In March, Mayhew told Fred Warner, the supervising undersecretary in charge: "I have been turning over in my mind the possibilities of organising a series of speakers' notes which we could supply on demand to ministers and friendly Labour MPs to help them in combatting communistinspired opposition in the Labour Party and the Trade Union movement. At present, as you are well aware, we get a number of requests of this kind and deal with each one ad-hoc." Mayhew suggested that IRD should prepare briefings on a series of 'familiar Communist themes', which he was prepared to distribute 'on an informal basis with a personal covering

The topics he suggested were: "American imperialism", (with the inverted commas), Soviet expansion, Soviet intransigence, Soviet Union—a dictatorship with low living standards, Greece, Spain, Eastern Europe, and The Colonies

By May that year, Mayhew was able to report to Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin that he had "held discussions with the Lord President (Herbert Morrison), the Minister of Labour (George Isaacs), Morgan Phillips (then General Secretary of the Labour Party), and Denis Healey (then its International Secretary) individually and collectively, in order to try to implement the recommendations" of a Cabinet meeting held in April which discussed European policy. At the same time, Mayhew reported that he had made arrangements with Herbert Tracey, then the publicity secretary of the Trades Union Congress, "for the dissemination inside the Labour movement at home of anti-communist propaganda which we are producing for overseas consumption". Mayhew added that he was going to talk further with Tracey about "the possibility of mutual assistance between the Foreign Office and the TUC on publicity overseas".

By June 1948, IRD was in full swing. Mayhew wrote to Bevin: "IRD Material is at present circulated to Information officers at Overseas Missions and—on a strictly personal and confidential, basis-to Mr Percy Cudlipp (editor of the Daily Herald), and Mr Denis Healey. I believe that some impact has already been achieved by this propaganda". But, Mayhew thought, the best impact was always to be got from ministerial speeches and the like. So, he suggested, IRD's anti-communist. material "should be regularly sent to all cabinet ministers and that these should be asked to make use of it in their public speeches " Selected members of parliament were also to be circulated with these "anti-communist talking points". They were circulated from January 1949 onwards, until 1977.

Some of the early efforts of Mayhew came unstuck; in the search for allies for IRD, he began to "encourage the development of the Famous anti-communist 'Freedom First' organisation" which Tracey ran, along with right wing members of the TUC's general council. "I let Mr Tracey have a good deal of

our anti-communist publicity material, some of which he used in the organisation's news letter which went to several hundred key trade union organisers", Mayhew wrote.
"Unfortunately", he went on, "'Freedom First' was favoured with the attentions of Mr Sidney Stanley and his friends."

Sidney Stanley was a dubious financier who claimed to be collecting money for Labour politicians for a fund to fight communism.

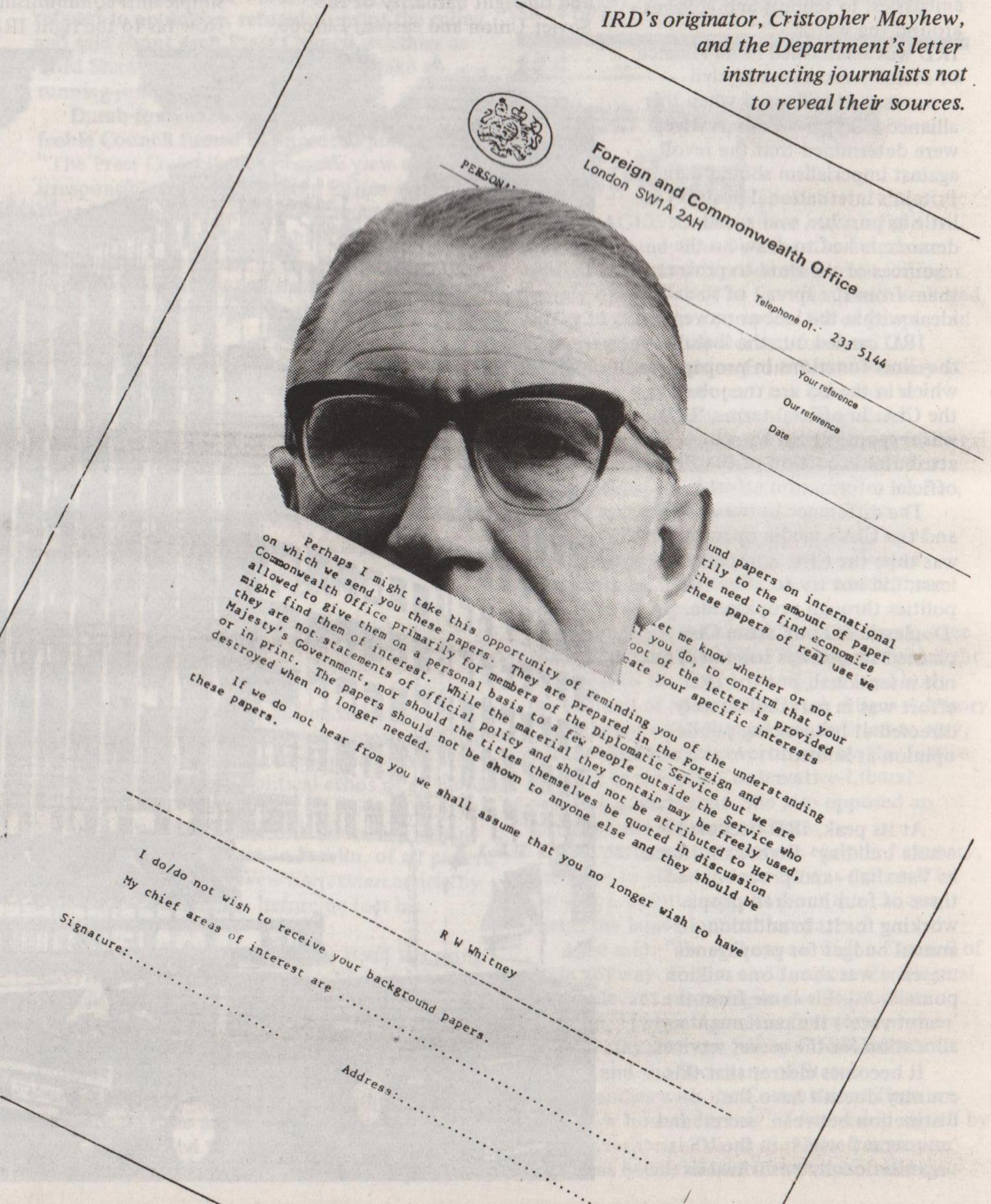
Some of the money found its way into the wrong pockets, a junior minister resigned, and a large public enquiry followed, which the press turned into a predictable attack on the Labour Party. But before 'Freedom First' collapsed, the Foreign Office had "already worked out a deal with Mr Tracey for the purchase of the newsletters on a scale and at a price sufficient to guarantee its financial soundness", according to Mayhew at the time.

By April 1949, the interchange between the Labour Right and IRD was very close. Mayhew noted that the "expected stereotyped resolutions are beginning to come into Ministers from Communist-controlled trade union branches and other organisations, condemning the Atlantic Pact". Mayhew suggested that replies to such resolutions should take note of the fact that "individuals in these groups who oppose the communist leadership can be heartened by a good reply from us".

Such replies, suggested Mayhew, "should be drafted in the first place by IRD and not by the political departments". Such replies from the F.O. to internal Labour Movement discussions must even now be languishing in files of better-organised trade union branches and constituency Labour Parties.

The right wing of the Labour Party and the trade union movement were able to call on the financial and information strengths of the Foreign Office to fight their battles. No-one holds dual membership of the Labour Party and the Communist Party-now or in 1948. The enemies of the Gaitskellites, of the right wing in the Labour Party, were, then as now, a mixture of leftists of various persuasions. But they were all caught in the 'communist smear'. The cold war, as older trade union activists can testify, began with a vengeance in 1948. From then until the mid-fifties, not a single left winger became a member of the TUC General Council. The Mayhew-IRD propaganda initiative was a part of the great cold war hysteria which swept all left wingers, communist or not, away in its tide. That indeed was its

"Freedom First" disappeared, but the right wing trade unionists who ran it re-appeared over the next thirty years in a variety of red-hunting organisations, including Common Cause and IRIS



Confidential-For your eyes only

Anthony Shrimsley (Daily Mail)

World Features, now BBC)

Telegraph) Woodrow Wyatt (Sunday Mirror)

Peregrine Worsthorne (Sunday

David Spanier (Times)
Brig WFK Thompson (Daily
Telegraph/ISC)

John Tusa (formerly Forum

lan Wright (Guardian)

Peter Snow (ITN)

From various sources, The Leveller has learned that the following journalists, among others, regularly received IRD material. How they used it, readers will have to work out from their memories of what each has written.

John Berry (Sunday Times)
Bridget Bloom (Financial Times)
Alain Cass (Financial Times)
Robert Conquest (Soviet Analyst)
Aidan Crawley (London Weeken'd
TV)

Brian Crozier (ISC)
John Dickie (Daily Mail
David Floyd (Daily Telegraph)
Anthony Grey (formerly
Reuters)

Anthony Hartley (EEC's London
Press Officer)
Siriol Hugh-Jones (The Economist)
Colin Jackson MP (Freelance)
Leo Labedz (Survey)
Walter Laqueur (Encounter)
Colin Legum (Observer)
Roderick MacFarquar MP

(Freelance)
Robert Moss (Economist Foreign
Report)
Hella Pick (Guardian)
Ronald Payne (Sunday Telegraph)
Lynn Price (formerly ISC)
Peter Reddaway (LSE lecturer)
Bruce Rothwell (News of the

Co

Soviet cruiser backing Ethiopia.

World/Sun)

Brian Crozier

IRD & ISC

Close links with the Institute For The Study Of Conflict was the main reason for IRD being closed down. Brian Crozier and Robert Moss had been giving lectures on Communism to new IRD personnel. But the links go further back. One of those who originally sponsored Crozier's project to launch the ISC was Christopher Mayhew.

In 1970, the first approach made by Crozier to the state for assistance in fund-raising was a letter to Peter Wilkinson, then Head of Administration at the Foreign Office. Wilkinson had been a deputy head of IRD in its

and was well aware of Crozier's intentions to make ISC an anti-communist operation.

As a result of the approach to Wilkinson, a retired General,

Fergus Ling, became ISC's

Fergus Ling, became ISC's fundraiser, and temains there today as its military affairs consultant.

Michael Goodwin, ISC's

Administrative Director, came from the International Association for Cultural Freedom. This organisation took over the activities of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, when CCF's CIA funding was revealed in 1967.

But in the 1950s, Goodwin worked for Ampersand, the firm set up by IRD to publish anti-communist books which were distributed by IRD officers in British embassies and missions throughout the world as honest examples of British scholarship.

Goodwin edited a fourteen book series, 'Bellman Books'.
One book, The Future of Russia, was by prominent anti-communist Leonard Shapiro—who is now the Chairman of ISC's council.

Lynn Price became a researcher in 1969 for ISC's predecessor organisation, Forum World Features, moving to the Institute in 1970 when in opened. He was with IRD through most of the 60s, serving abroad in Poland and the Arab Gulf.

Kenneth Benton, who wrote several 'Conflict Studies' for ISC, and helped on their study groups, is another former IRD officer.

The links between the two organisations were too close even for the Labour Party's comfort.

THE UNHAPPY band reading the American oil industry's British Sunday newspaper The Observer have by now begun to get used to their new editor-inchief—Conor Cruise O'Brien, whose reign as overlord in the last Irish Government of the national television and radio system, and his constant attempts at "re-educating" the Irish people, won him the accolade of Britain's favourite Irishman.

Observer readers can perhaps be grateful to O'Brien for his reported rejection of the ludicrous 'Pencourt File', and Irish television viewers may be happy with his one achievement—buying 'Match of the Day' off the BBC—but all the gush about him being 'the modern George Orwell" and a "great liberal crusader", like Yeats' centre (which O'Brien should know all about) cannot hold.

O'Brien joined the Irish Labour Party in the 1930s, trying to launch a political career, but this led nowhere against the formidable rise of de Valera's Fianna Fail party, and in 1942 O'Brien took a job in the Irish Civil Service.

In 1948, Sean MacBride, made Foreign Minister in the new coalition Government that followed de Valera's first long run in power, appointed O'Brien managing director of the Irish News Agency, a Government-sponsored venture of great promise but little achievement. Then came O'Brien's career in the United Nations which saw him involved in the Congo and the Katanga war, and afterwards he was invited by Nkrumah to become Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana. After several more years in a well-endowed post in New York University, O'Brien made a return to Ireland in the late 1960s to join the Labour Party again. Labour was delighted at the return and capture of an Irishman with such stature on the world

He had earlier described this party, with some accuracy, in this fashion: "The Labour Party in this three-quarters-of-a-nation has been dominated for years by dismal poltroons, on the lines of O'Casey's Uncle Payther. Connolly is venerated as a martyr, and Labour leaders sometimes pay homage to his ideals, without specifying what these ideals were, and always compensating for the reference by some allusion establishing the speaker's religious orthodoxy, and, if possible, Connolly's also." To Douglas Gageby—a former officer in G-2, the Irish Intelligence, an ex-INA journalist, and then editor of the Irish Times—who was trying to turn Irish politics to the left, O'Brien seemed an ideal candidate.

In the Irish Times, O'Brien was sold as a crusading radical republican socialist, sympathetic to the risen people of the North. His election victory in working class Dublin North East was regarded as a victory for the Left. But he was becoming more and more hostile to the aspirations of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland.

The purge by Irish Prime Minister Jack
Lynch in 1969 of the Ministers who wanted to
give more tangible aid to the nationalist
community in the North, and the information
that Irish Intelligence had helped the rising
people there, were used by O'Brien to raise the
cry of 'Green Fascism'. Under the cover of this
false hysteria, the Labour Party was pushed into
an alliance with the right-wing Fine Gael party,
and in 1973, taking advantage of national
confusion and a split in Fianna Fail, the most
reactionary government in Ireland since 1931
was elected into office.

In this repressive regime, O'Brien as Minister for Posts and Telegraphs with responsibility for

Conner O'Brien



communications and government propaganda, launched his counter-revolutionary Kulturkampf.

The aim was to wipe out all traces and gains of the revolutionary struggle and brainwash the people of the Republic to allow collaboration with imperialism of the British variety in the North.

Section 31 of the Irish Broadcasting Act was used to silence journalists, mainly on RTE, and others who publicly objected. The Constitution was pushed aside, and those who upheld Articles 2 and 3, broadly reflecting the national aspirations to a unified country, were subjected to witch-hunts. Tim Pat Coogan, the editor of the pro-Fianna Fail *Irish Press*, was threatened with jail, and something like the silence of a graveyard descended on the Irish press.

Under O'Brien directions, interviews with and reports on the IRA and Sinn Fein were banned, as indeed were members of civil rights groups, of prisoners aid bodies, and anyone deemed "subversive". The current affairs department of RTE was much weakened, and a good indication of the drift came when Tory MP John Biggs-Davison, scarcely a man of progressive ideas, last year advised the new BBC Director-General Ian Trethowan, to "consult his opposite number in RTE and study the policy of Senator Conor Cruise O'Brien when he was the responsible minister".

His attitude to the press was well illustrated by the Coogan incident. Giving an interview to Bernard Nossiter of the Washington Post, O'Brien revealed he was keeping a file of republican-orientated letters published in the Irish Press, and hinted at possible imprisonment of the editor for printing them. To his credit, Coogan responded by reprinting selected controversial letters, and in the furore, the matter dropped with O'Brien getting his fingers badly burnt.

Last May, he even advocated that the BBC

should adopt the same censorship policy as RTE, appealing to the British TV authorities to consider banning interviews with IRA "godfathers" who were, he said, being "wafted into our living-rooms", courtesy of British broadcasting—in fact, only two such interviews had been carried by the BBC.

There were attempts to 'clean up' the Irish press corps in London to get it in tune with the Coalition government. Journalists who played ball were suitably favoured. Those who refused were squeezed out, blackballed, reported on, and worse.

Despite a humiliating rebuff in 1973, when delegates at the National Union of Journalists annual meeting, held in Wexford, threatened to walk out if an executive plan to invite O'Brien to defend himself during a debate on Section 31, his campaign had some success (even though the NUJ voted unanimously to oppose the Section).

O'Brien covered every loophole, effectively taming down the bulk of the Irish press, and gaining consistent accolades from Britain from such as Bernard Levin. With the 1977 general Irish election coming up, O'Brien proclaimed he would accept a simple test: if the people of his constituency returned him to Dail Eireann (the Irish parliament), that would prove his claim that they had abandoned the republican demand for democratic majority rule in Ireland.

The voters spat in his face. His defeat emerged as one of the major sensations of a remarkable election, and indeed the totally unexpected rejection of the Coalition was interpreted as owing a lot to the general public's distaste for O'Brien's authoritarian re-writing of Irish history and traditions.

O'Brien at first hissed contempt saying he would have no more to do with Irish politics, but then stood for one of the Dublin Trinity College Senate seats.

The National University of Ireland, with 46,000 graduates, elects three senators. So does Trinity, with 8,000 graduates. More important, 75 per cent of them live in the United Kingdom. Soon his British establishment friends were at work. The Guardian reprinted his election manifesto in the form of a "review" months after publication date of a book on Charles Stuart Parnell. The mainly middle-class, mainly British, graduates of Trinity, sent Britain's favourite Irishman into the Senate of the Irish Republic. By their action in doing so, they have ensured that at the next convenient moment a Constitutional referendum will abolish the Trinity seats, or at least confine the votes to Irish citizens. But bigger things on a wider stage called. The Atlantic Richfield Oil Company required someone to keep the Observer safe for the Chilean junta.

And British imperialism needs him here (even for only three days a week). The Foreign Office and the US State Department, together with their intelligence agencies, are looking around for safe nationalist leaders to negotiate to power in Southern Africa. From his African days, the Cruiser knows them all, and here he is to find their Uncle Paythers for them.

But in Ireland, his chances of turning back the tide to pre-1916 days are ended. In fact the Labour Party has been reported as enjoying something of a revival in recruitment, from lefties and republicans, since the Mickyavelli of neo-colonialist poltroonery, the twentieth century Vicar of Bray, was kicked out.

Most Irish citizens would echo a ditty heard on the streets of north Dublin during the last election campaign:

"Most gracious Cruiser, we implore

"Most gracious Cruiser, we implore Go away and sin no more. But if that effort be too great, Go away at any rate."

Rosemary Sullivan



Kalma resigned on January 6. His political activities last year had become a rallying point for his enemies. After the alleged suicide of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe in Stuttgart-Stammheim, he was one of the co-signatories of a telegram sent to the West German ambassador in the Netherlands. The telegram was a "protest against the revolting treatment of political prisoners in West Germany, resulting in the death of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe."

Following this, on October 27, Kalma and his wife participated in a demonstration against the death of the three members of the RAF.

Roughly a week later, on November 7, Rotterdam's Mayor van der Louw, a social-democrat, received a letter from Attorney-General van der Feltz urging him in his capacity as head of police to remove Kalma from the Rotterdam police force. According to Kalma "a Berufsverbot' (a W.German-style anti-left witch-hunt) had set in. After that letter I wasn't able to have any contact at all with the 'judicial apparatus' and was also being boycotted by most of my colleagues."

Meetings which had been planned in advance were suddenly cancelled. No reason was given. Van der Louw, who clearly wanted to keep Kalma on the force, opted for the lowest grade of disciplinary action: a reprimand. This, at least, left Kalma the possibility of an appeal. However, because of his isolated position at police headquarters, Kalma resigned.

"An appeal case takes months. I did not have a minimum basis to do my work. So I took a political stand, because the worst thing is when you act as a sort of Don Quixote figure."

Even van der Louw's offer to keep him on the force in a newly created function despite top-brass antagonism—was Late last year the head of Rotterdam's juvenile department and vice squad took part in a demonstration against the death of three members of the Red Army Fraction. (See *The Leveller* 11). He was eased out of his job, disciplined and eventually resigned. Wim Faber interviews Holland's dissident cop.

rejected: "To me the only acceptable function was the one of head juvenile department and vice squad." Kalma is softspoken, modest, and perhaps sometimes even too nice person to be a policeman. You can't help noticing a silver symbol of a broken rifle on his lapel. Kalma is a pacifist, and a socialist. But why then join the police?

"In 1946 the Rotterdam police were advertising for inspectors. I applied and got the job. There was no motivation behind it. It was simply because I wanted to have a job after having been in hiding during the war. I had the basic education so I was hired."

After joining the Recherche (Dutch equivalent of CID) he was made head juvenile department and vice squad in 1973. In the fifties he supported a peace movement called De derde weg (the third road) and became a member of the Pacifist Socialist Party, which operates to the left of the biggest opposition party, the social-democrats, and has one seat in Parliament.

"As long as I was part of the force I've held my opinions openly whenever I thought the democratic running of the apparatus would benefit from it. My experience is that people are never too happy about the fact that you criticize... they do listen to you, but at some point they draw the line. I am of the opinion

Where things can't be settled internally, you should within existing rules try to bring these things out into the open."

When former Minister of Justice van Agt (now Prime Minister in a centre-right cabinet) tried to close down the abortion clinic Bloemenhove, Kalma sent two telegrams.

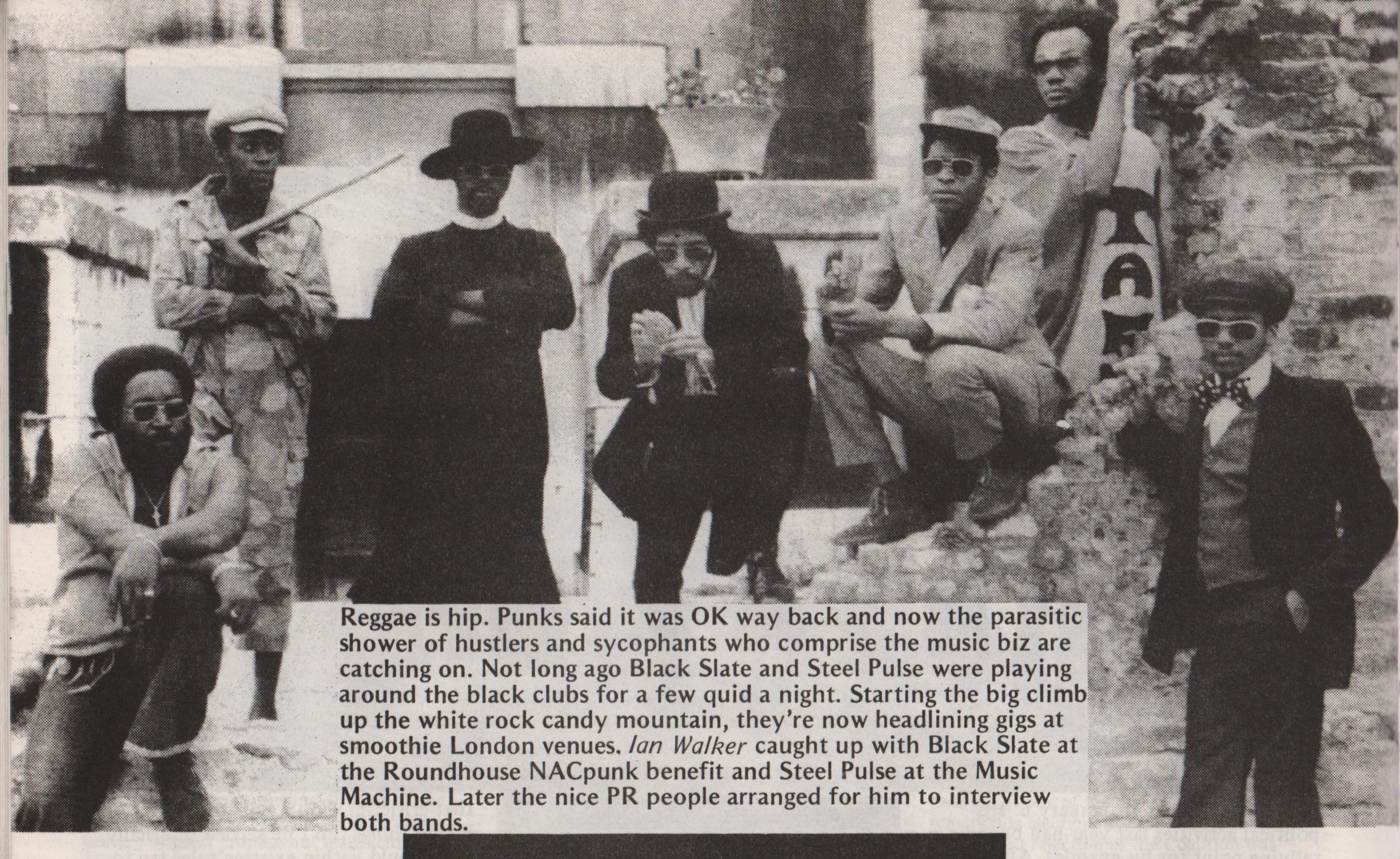
One went to his colleagues in

Heemstede asking them to think twice
before evicting the women occupying
the building, and the other one went to
these women as a token of solidarity.

"Since abortion then was about to
become legal, I found it unbearable that
van Agt because of his political ideas
wanted to use the police on these people."
Abortion is still not legal.

Solidarity for his actions within the police force seems, apart from a few exceptions, an unheard of phenomenon. Still, Kalma is not the only critical cop in Holland. After his resignation Kalma says he many calls and letters from other policemen who were genuinely concerned about the present state of Holland's police. A letter signed by 18 policemen read: "We are alarmed at the reactions about, and the results of, the Kalma affair. This signifies the need for democratization of the police, and we would like to point to the right of free speech every policeman has."

His Amsterdam colleague Lisette
Scholten, was suddenly transferred from
the Amsterdam CID to a traffic group,
where she couldn't do much harm in the
eyes of the police brass. The reason for
this sudden change turned out to be quite
simple: Lisette had attended a meeting
against the treatment of political
prisoners in West Germany (Kalma was
present too) with her West German
friend. In order not to lead her into
temptation she was moved 'for her own
good'.



Jah rock is the tag the PR people are trying to pin on homegrown reggae as performed by Black Slate, from Stoke Newington in London's East End, and Steel Pulse, Brummies from Handsworth. Punk shifted the promoters' shock threshold, so the story goes, dreadlocks didn't seem so dreadful and Jah rock was born. Both bands were supports for punk outfits a few months back. Now it's the other way round Steel Pulse's single, Ku Klux Klan, has just been released on Island and though Black Slate are contractless right now, record execs are going through the usual pre-signing rituals.

The two bands might seem look-alikes—both playing Rock against Racism gigs, coming from big-city ghettoes, having a big appeal for white rock fans—but the political contrast is utterly stark. Steel Pulse are thoughtful and committed, using reggae as a platform for fighting fascism amongst other things. Black Slate are preachers of another kind, repeating a set of moralistic cliches more reactionary and sexist than the usual load of godandlove

"I'm more opposed to the National Abortion Campaign than I am to the National Front," was Black Slate bassist Elroy's opening shot. "Someone using their body

for internal cemetery," expanded Desmond the drummer. It was you I saw at the NAC benefit? "It was a last minute thing. We were working the Saturday night before. I asked someone on the night what are they doing these people? He said something about abortion. heard later on in the evening it was for abortion, do you know what I mean." Elroy consoled himself with the thought that "Most of the people couldn't care two fucks what it was. It could have been C-A-N," he spelled it out, "not N-A-C."

White liberal myths about the dreadlocked revolutionary -Rasta carrying a gun in one hand, ganja in the other, getting up and standing up for his rights—shatter into tiny pieces with Black Slate's every word. Social worker sociology can doubtless explain away Rasta ideology as an escape route for alienated black youth, or something. But black women are denied access to the

mystical delights, unless they

renounce all rights as a human being. "The world was based upon a kingdom, not a queendom. So I, the man, must rule. And a man must decide what goes on in the house. Now a Rasta daughter, a girl, listens to all that."

Rastas lock away women when they're having a period "To us a woman on the period is sick. That's a time she should be by herself or with another woman, not with a man." So she can't even perform her usual servile functions, like cooking? "Not when they're on the period, no," Desmond shook his head. "That is our culture," shrugged Elroy. Claudine, the PR woman who is sitting in, leaps in trying to retrieve this. tricky situation with a boring tale about menstrual taboos in the South of France. "So there must be something in it,'

she ventured in hope. "You got certain tribes in Africa right, where the woman, if she's seen, then she gets stoned. Stoned," Elroy emphasised with a smile. And how do you rate that as an

activity? "It's their culture . . ." The shit justified in the name of authentic ethnic purity.

Claudine tells Elroy he's wanted on the phone. Two minutes later he re-enters whispering, "Raas clart." What's up? "It's my agent telling me to stop slagging off women . . . Fuck him."

Classic music biz stuff. Every move of the young hopefuls is monitored by the posse of managers, agents and PR people who muscle in on likely new bands. And they're all hustlers who've usually been in the biz a bit too long to even know when they're lying. Like Claudine when she says in the pre-interview peptalk, "I'm only interested in taking committed bands, bands that have something to say." Keith Altham, her PR group, also handles The Stranglers, The Who and Status Quo.

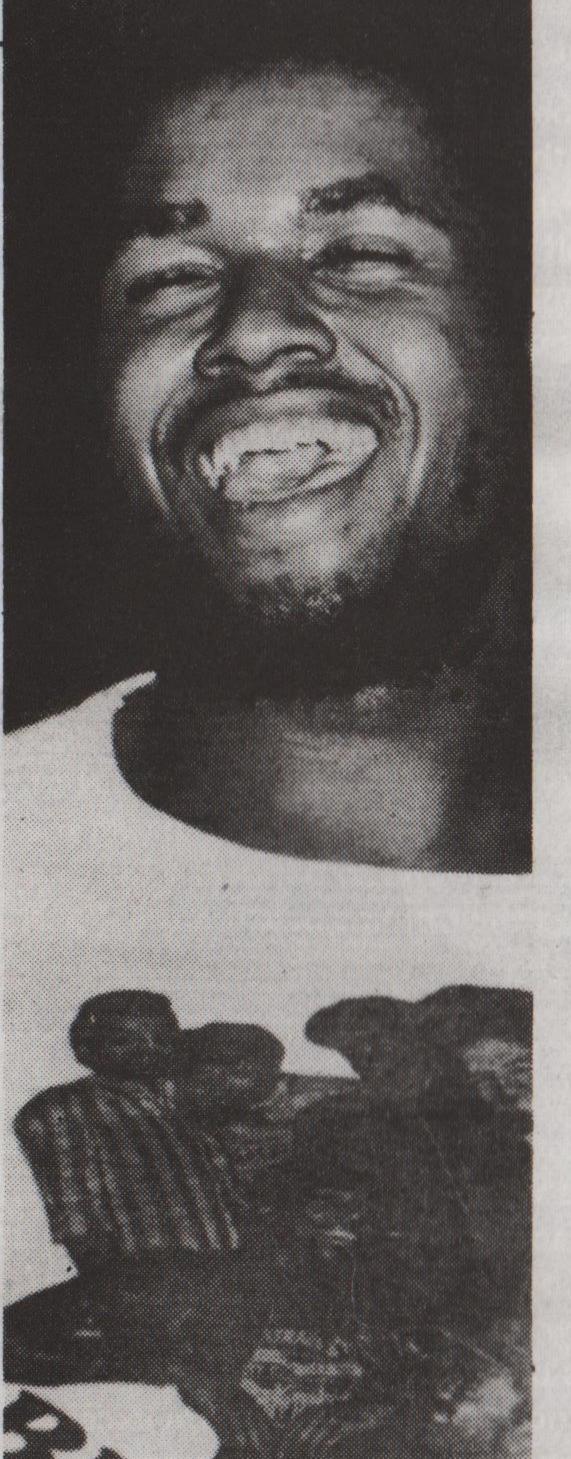
Black Slate are loved by the posse for their reggae which is bankable. Black Slate want people to love them for their massage: "Reggae is there to teach people. It's singing about your culture, about Ethiopia, about Africa, about God, which is Jah." What's all that got to do with Rock Against Racism? "Well if we said we wouldn't do it then people would say we were against RAR and not against the NF. We are not for or against. We play there mainly to please

the public," said Desmond. "To show them love," added Elroy.

So what does the SWP stand for? "They're supposed to stand for the good of the other half, the minority half, but then again they're just another political group trying to build themselves up for power, like the NF. I'm not involved in politics so it's not my business." You are involved in politics if you play RAR gigs. "Well that's what they want us to feel," said Desmond, "I just play music for love." Love of what? "Love of music . . . and not for the millionaire I might be one day."

Rasta as articulated by Black Slate is a sexual licence— OK for Rastas to have any number of partners but a woman is a whore if she's "unfaithful"—and a bibleful of moral platitudes. One of their songs, "Sticks Man", dishes out easy moral lessons to naughty black youths who thieve. The band eats a kosher diet and doesn't drink, apart from "Guinness because it's good for you", but they celebrate the spiritual qualities of ganja--"the herb"

Elroy, Black Slate bassist



-in a way which recalls the mindlessness of hippiedom.

The band would be quite a at home in a Festival of Light bonanza. "Rasta does not condemn another religion. . . you got the Catholic, Protestant, C of E. You also have the lake, the stream and the river. They're all water. They're all for god."

All that said, Black Slate's boppy reggae with soulsounding lyrics is great to listen to. At NACpunk they probably went down better than anyone else, including X-Ray Spex. But as for rebel music, forget it.

Steel Pulse have not been spiritually hijacked and, as I found out when I met Selwyn and Michael from the band. Rasta posers don't impress. "In London we find most of the people when they're talking it doesn't seem real. I and I and I and all this. It's a pose like your average weekend punk," said Selwyn in nasal Brummie.

And what do their mates back home in Handsworth think about them coming down to London to make it big? "Not much. That's the hardest part of our job, to get through to our own people and tell them what we're trying to do. But we know and time will tell." PR engineered rumours were going round and that didn't help much, I was told, "We were being called a black punk band and they thought we'd sold out completely. It's only since we did the Burning Spear tour that black people think we're OK."

Steel Pulse live in the front line of the anti-fascist fight—a recent riot took place five minutes from where they practise, when the NF held a meeting at a local school—and it is a grotesque coincidence that their single KKK, written months ago, is coming out at the same time as Klan hoods have become fashionable with Wolverhampton racists.

Like punks, the band are a bit suspicious of the word political ("We see politics as people who live to fight while the average man on the street fights to live") but they are under no illusions about possible comeback from the fascist bootboys. "The NF are opposed to Steel Pulse and we expect a reaction from the single. We did it as a single because it's an urgent tune talking about an urgent thing ... and something urgent has got to happen."

"We see ourselves as a natural target especially as nowadays our audience is 90% white. We're taking a big risk as far as that's concerned." (The day after I spoke to Steel Pulse NF scum made threatening phone calls to Capital Radio. DJs would be subject to all manner of Nazi torture if they continued to defile the air waves with soul and reggae.)

I asked the band how they got across agitational messages when they're playing venues where people just want to drink a few beers and swing their hips around, do the KKK shuffle. "That's why we use visuals," said Selwyn, "We understood that the audience, being 90% white, didn't understand fuck-all about what we were saying. That's why we wear hoods when we do KKK."

And what are you trying

to say with the cartoons in your stage act—the priest, the soldier, Mr Average, the Down-and-out . . ? "The garments worn on stage mock themselves," said Michael, "Take the soldier. They say join up, do your country a service and the black guy is sent to Belfast. What the hell's he doing there? The Irish have got nothing against the black guy. They're opposed to the English and the fact they're there in the first place. They blow up buildings cos they know England's got to cough up to replace it."

Reggae's hip so that gives you a chance to say things? "Yeah," said Selwyn, "because it's reggae music" they get off on the vibe of it. What we have to develop is a way of getting through to them while they're still getting off on the music . . . reggae's reached the point now where someone's got to say something and say it strong. We've got to do it good.

Michael and Selwyn aren't fooled by music biz flattery. They know they'll be dropped as quickly as they were picked up. Which is why they aim to make good use of their short lifespan. "It's up to us to make an impact while we're still here . . if something does happen there's a record here of what we have to say." You mean the single? "Yeah, we look at records as being what gives people knowledge. Records in the form of books, films and records themselves. People write diaries so they can remember what they did

yesterday, plan what they're going to do tomorrow. It's not just a piece of vinyl with a piece of music on it. It's a statement."

The history lesson of rock 'n roll, according to Michael and Selwyn, is that you have to go out there with a musical blunderbuss: "Take Bill Haley and Rock around the Clock. People said, 'Rocking? Rocking to what?' After listening to Frank Sinatra and all those guys for years . . . the basic unit of the establishment is the family and once you start breaking up the family . . . well rock music did that. Kids leaving home to go to the rock concert and taking dope. But it's part of the establishment now, even punk rock."

And why won't Steel Pulse become part of the establishment? "The fact of what we're saying opposes the whole system. We've got a following now and they've got to agree, or at least sympathise with what we're saying. Our aim is to become more and more outspoken."

OK, so what happens when the BBC are on the line, wondering if you might like to go on Top Of The Pops? "We wouldn't do it," Selwyn shook his head, "If they really wanted us then they could film one of our shows. But if we went on there with hoods, miming and jumping about, it just isn't on." "It's not funny," added Michael.

All power to Steel Pulse and all popular attempts to inject politics into rock 'n roll. At the very least, every punk turned onto reggae-even if it is a bunch of sexists like Black Slate—is turned off the NF. And, at best, who knows? "Sing If You're Glad To Be Gay" was no 1 on Capital Radio's People's Choice this week.

Michael, Steel Pulse vocalist



Stick two fingers up the shithouse which is the modern world and scream Oh Bondage Up Yours loud enough so all the wankers can hear and the kids can get excited. Poly Styrene is 20 and the lurex twinsetted lead singer of X-Ray Spex. She is predictably labelled "Punk Poet" and "Joan of Arc of the New Wave" by the parasitic hacks of the new wave. Rina Vergano, feminist impresario, chatted to Poly about life, politics, punk and the music biz.

How did you come to start singing and writing lyrics for X-Ray Spex?

I reckon everybody wants to sing or form a band at some stage. I wanted to do it about four years before I did but there was no way it could be done without experience or an agent, but when the Roxy opened it was somewhere that any new band could play. If it hadn't been for the Roxy, we probably wouldn't have formed the band.

Standard punk lyrics are all dole queues and highrise flats. Where do you get the ideas for your songs?

My songs are based on things around me, things of today as opposed to just writing about love or fantasy. I write about things that are really happening. I consider punk to be any form of new music coming up since 1977, basically, young music—young people expressing themselves in new ways. I don't think it has to have a certain format, I think it's more of a generation thing. The dole queue is an aspect of life today, but some people won't write about things that are beyond their immediate experience. That's the sort of thing the Clash wrote about. Songs like White Riot and Making Tea at the BBC are still good because they're classics of their time, but you've got to write about something else. I mean, they're not on the dole now anyway, are they?

What do you think of the fascist image the media gave to the new wave?

Some people in the beginning were into the concepts of anarchy and destruction, although I don't think they were really into that as individuals. That was the image of the Sex Pistols that Malcolm McLaren sold to the media without thinking of the consequences for the people involved. It comes down to people, like the Clash's manager, who created a set of ideals that went with being punk and, I suppose, bands like Siouxsie and the Banshees wearing swastikas. But they were just into the pose of it, doing things to shock and annoy the establishment. I'll be your Number One Enemy just for the sake of it—it's childish.

What makes punk different from similar movements in the 60s?

Young people aren't credited with ideals or intelligence, but I think kids today grow up really quickly because they're exposed to so much through the media. The scene today is much more working class than the hippy movement but you can't put people down just for being middle-class because if they're young they still may not agree with the set ideals that their parents have. You do sometimes get kids that just dress up in the gear but haven't got any genuine motivation, they're just doing it because it's the in-thing. I mean the Sex Pistols started all that up—wearing ripped up stuff. Now, it's only the new ones coming into it that dress like that. Again, it's just part of the media image and they probably feel that to be a punk you have to adopt that kind of dress, act mean. That's fascist—having to conform to set criteria.

Too many people think that punk rock is stupid and inarticulate. It is a bit basic up to a point, but that's also part of a pose, like it's a laugh pretending to be thick to people that think they're really intelligent because you're having a laugh on them, sending them up. I suppose it's not all that productive but I don't think it matters.

mpoly styrene,,,

Do you think there is a real element of violence in Punk?

With bovver boys and skin-heads it was just paki-bashing, queer-bashing, miscellaneous bashing and football. That's all it was. Reggae music, tamla, a fight, going down discos, carrying chains. It was a fashion. But this is more than a fashion. I don't see punk as being violent. I think it's more that people are on the defensive, more aware of somebody else shitting on them. It isn't open where you expose yourself totally to other people and say let's be free, let's be in love. The attitude is more paranoid and cynical than that because it's aware of vices and social wrongs.

What about your idea for an anti-NF demo?

I heard on the radio one morning that the National Front were organising a youth movement and were going round schools telling the kids how to recognise commie teachers that believe in multi-racialism. That really upset me because I know that young people together are a very strong force and with that kind of support the NF would become extremely powerful.

Punk is against everything the NF stands for because punk wants to express itself in its own way. It just wants to be individual and have freedom. Whereas in the NF you have to be one of many. It's fascism. It's revolting, the thought of having to become one of the mass. Punk is trying to break that down and make room for the individual to develop. So we thought we would like to organise a march and put on a concert specifically against the NF either through Rock Against Racism or independently.

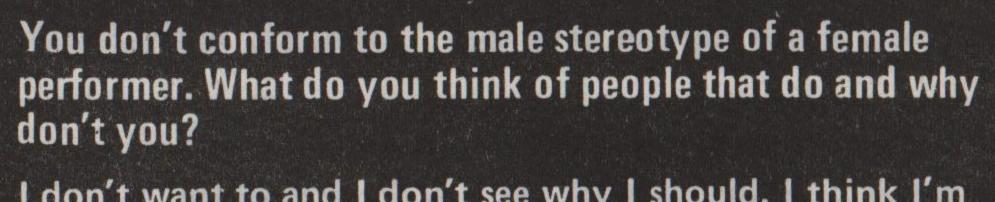
Doesn't it frighten you that there may be some sort of backlash against the people on the march?

No not really. I think if you believe something strongly enough you transcend fear. You just think "I've got to do this because it's important." It could be personal feelings against the NF because I am half black myself, but it's not just that. Black people are easy to identify simply by their colour. They can't be used as a scapegoat for the country's problems because they're just a small minority. I think a lot of the ones that are still shovelling shit here would like to go back because although they were poor in the West Indies they had a much more idyllic lifestyle than they have here.

And what about what's happening here?

It's just a big jumble. They just keep piling things on top of it without clearing up the real problems. Everything comes down to the way people think. Every physical thing is set up out of ideals, so if you've got a set of people up the top thinking the wrong way then wrong things are bound to happen. Kids today don't want to end up not using their brains because they're educated to have higher expectations; there aren't enough interesting things for them to do.

I don't believe in "the job" because at school the whole emphasis is on getting "O" levels and on the mass getting a job in the system. Now young ones don't want to be just that, they want to be themselves as well. They're not willing to be pushed around or work in a factory for 20 years. They don't want a gold watch at the end of it, because they've got more suss now. Some people I know like being on the dole. They prefer it to slogging their guts out in some big slave system. Nothing much has changed since the days of serfdom except that you get paid a wage, but just enough to make you go back next week.



I don't want to and I don't see why I should. I think I'm doing my job, I'm singing, I'm having a good time. Other people are having a good time, everything I've got to say is in 'my songs, it isn't in showing my tits, so that's all there is to it. I know it annoys some people: one journalist said "Poly Styrene looked very plump in a staid, middle-aged suit . . ." (laughs) . . . I don't care. So what if I get a bit fat sometimes. I'm not there to please them.

Is performing important to you?

Yeah, I like performing, but you can't perform every night in the same place because people just get bored with you unless you have loads of different songs. That's our best buzz, playing live, but we like doing things for TV, going into recording studios—it's a laugh. People take all that side of it too seriously. You have to make the best of every situation, enjoy it and do what you feel like doing.

I feel quite close to the audience when we play. I like people to come up on stage and muck in. It's not just our personal wank. I'm not particularly interested in being up on stage and everybody looking at me doing a marvellous performance so that the rock critics can say, oh superb. I'm interested in having a good time, playing good, emotional music, getting totally out of my head on what I'm doing, and getting the crowd totally out of their heads. If it's more than that it's just an ego trip for the band. The audience have got an ego as well, and that's why some of them crash the stage, but that's OK by me.

When I approached you to do the National Abortion Campaign benefit at the Round House what were your reasons for agreeing to take part?

First of all I wanted to know what it was for. If I agreed with it I'd do it. I think that's right. I personally don't know if I would have an abortion but I do believe every woman should have the right to choose. We didn't care about the money. We agreed with the cause and of course we wanted to play the Round House—combining the two things together. I don't really know enough about politics. The word 'political' confuses me. I think anything new that says something different to established ideas, is in a sense political.

What do you think of the rock business as a whole? How do you feel about your deal with Virgin Records?

I'm not really involved in the rock business. I don't want to be involved in it as it stands, I just want to do what we do. We couldn't really be any other way. They think they're so cool.... peace and love and have a joint while we rip you off. They're still just as capitalist as anyone else if not more so, but it's all done on a nice friendly stoned basis. They didn't try and control what we did, because it was a one-off deal. We'd rather wait for a deal that gives us control over what we do because otherwise you just become part of their system, and then you're just a victim of everything you stood against.

What does your family think of you singing in X-Ray Spex?

My dad doesn't really know about it. He just knows I'm singing, so he probably thinks I'm some stripper in a seedy night-club. That's about as far as his interest goes because I don't know him very well. My mum's never seen us live, but she's seen us on the telly. Like all mothers, she doesn't think of it as anything beyond the fact of "oh my daughter's making it". She thinks it's great. "Best looking band I've seen. Including you, of course."



Zimbabwe-Allaboard the gravy train

Britain and the US are battling hard to ensure that Zimbabwe remains firmly in the Western camp after independence. Russell Southwood examines the forces in the Nationalist movement working towards this, and a freedom fighter argues that the people are stronger.

For years the battle for independence in Zimbabwe has been fought without politics. Few of the major figures-with the possible exception of Robert Mugabwe-have given any idea of how they would like to see their country develop.

The twists and turns of the nationalist movement in all its diverse splits have more concerned who will end up as leader of independent Zimbabwe rather than how it will be achieved. This fatal attraction to power has been ably fostered by white Rhodesians and western powers.

Quick judgements of nationalist politicians' views are misleading. Not long ago Nkomo was negotiating with Ian

Smith and Bishop Abel Muzorewa was advocating armed struggle. Many of those talking to Smith now have been expelled from Zambia for factional fighting against Nkomo.

Nationalists of all factions come from the small Zimbabwean elite. Missionschool educated, they run small businesses of teach rather than working in factories or fields. The point might seem a cheap one as most of the nationalist leadership has spent many years in detention or exile. But it helps to explain the class interest of people like Maton Malianga, a former teacher and National Chairperson of Muzorewa's ANC who does not believe in "unfettered

capitalism", although he feels that uncontrolled socialism may lead to "laziness and handouts."

The dependence of this elite on foreign aid for further education indicates to whom they will lend a sympathetic ear after independence. Josian Chinamano, Nkomo's standin and vice-president, worked in the Political Section of the US Consulate in Salisbury in the early 1960s. Subsequently, he was given a leadership grant by the US State Department, which enabled him to tour the USA and Canada. Currently, his own children's education is being paid for by Lonrho.

His successor in the Political Section was Ariston Chambati, now viceSecretary-General of Nkomo's ANC. Later, Chambati studied in England and went on to work as a research officer for the Commonwealth Secretariat in London. He was particularly helpful in formulating Britain's Pearce proposals, subsequently rejected by Zimbabweans.

Another worker at the US Consulate before it was closed down was an old classmate of Chinamano's, Amon Jirira, who worked on the assistance programme which provided 2-300 scholarships a year to the USA. He is now Treasurer of Nkomo's ANC.

Now the gravy train is rolling there is no shortage of people waiting to board. A face from the past is the little-known (in

the UK) trade unoinist Reuben Jamela. A fierce protagonist during the early sixties for affiliation to the American-dominated International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, he was a good friend of Irving Brown, international representative of the AFL-CIO, the conservative US trade union federation, and was one of several individuals in the Zimbabwean trade union movement showered with money by the ICFTU. During its heyday, he was an executive board member of that cold war body.

Much hated by nationalists—he was stoned at a nationalist figure's funeral-he is remembered by the workers in Harare, Salisbury, as the man who pulled the rug from under their feet in several wage struggles. He quit his high positions in the trade union movement in the early 1960s but remained a member of the Salisbury Municipal Workers Union. Like many Zimbabwean power-seekers he has an uncanny knack of bouncing back. Late last year he announced that he was going to form, with the backing of the AFL-CIO, the Zimbabwean Labour Confederation, a body that could again split the trade union movement if it gained support.

This does not amount to an international conspiracy to turn Zimbabwe into a puppet state: but it will help towards 'Zambianisation'. A left social democratic state will be created

with good nationalist credentials which will pursue its nationalist interest against the West occasionally, but will remain broadly sympathetic to western foreign policy aims and its aid.

Shrewd critics always maintain that the next leadership will come from the guerilla camps but this overestimates their probable power after independence. Nkomo and Mugabwe conceded at the Malta Conference that the post-independence army should have 500 white officers. Some elements of the 3,600 black troops in the Smith army will probably be incorporated into the new national army. Many guerillas may return to civilian political life so any military coup is unlikely to favour the left.

A further level on Zimbabwe's post-independence politics will be the creation of the Zimbabwe Development Fund-the brainchild of Henry Kissinger's early attempts at bringing about independence. Estimates of its possible size vary from \$1.5-2 billion. The main contributors are to be America (suggested contribution \$500 million) and the UK. The figure will be made up from other 'European and Commonwealth countries, and would include donations from private corporations.

The Fund is part of the present US/UK proposals and its operation will tie Zimbabwe to the donor countries,

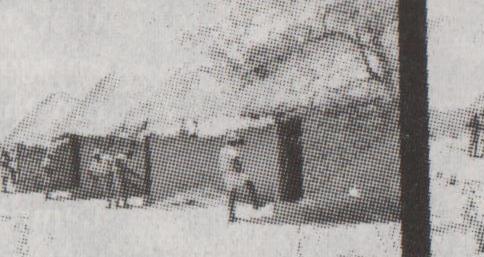
although this "can be the subject of inter-governmental consultation", according to the UK White Paper on the proposals.

The Fund will encourage white settlers to leave their capital in Rhodesia, which

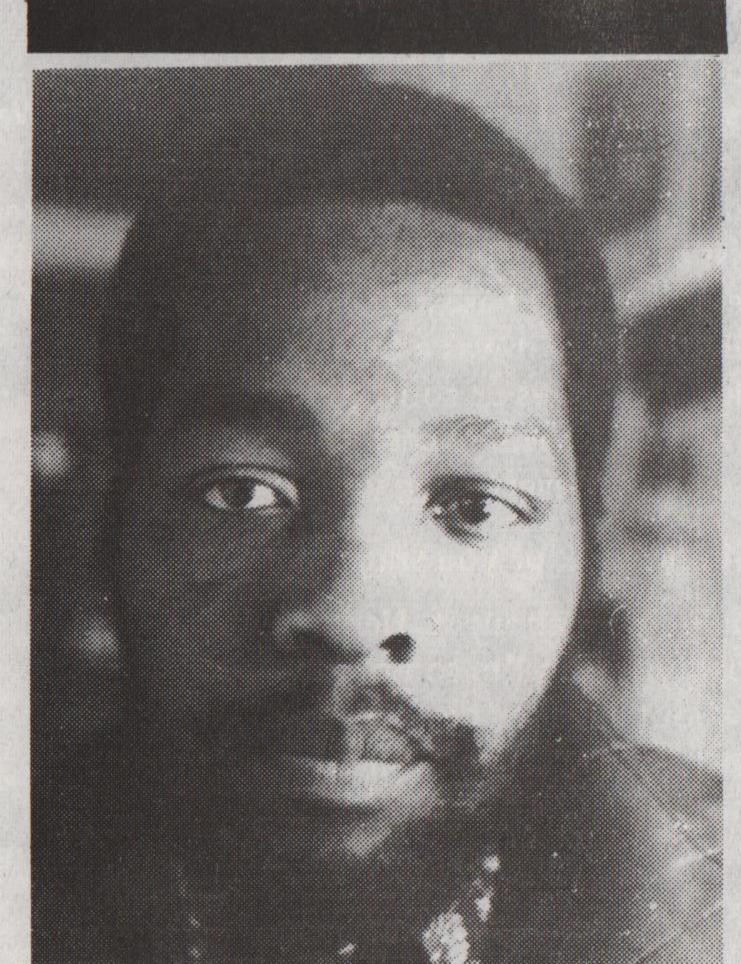


would keep the agricultural sector in largely white, privately-owned hands-in a strikingly familiar way to Kenya. Any postindependence government will be judged on the speed with which the land is brought under popular control.









PHILEMON MABUZA (below) served for seven years as a guerrilla fighter for the army of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), the army based in Zambia, now under the nominal leadership of Joshua Nkomo. The estimated 6,000 fighters remain in Zambia at the sufferance of President Kaunda. Mabuza, now in Britain studying for an economics degree, is a victim of the infighting within ZAPU, and between ZAPU and the Zambian security forces, infighting which has led to successive purges of the radical, socialist, elements. Mabuza is a socialist. His account of the politics of the guerrilla armies shows up all settlement efforts those conducted by Owen and Young as well as by Smith - as very hollow:

it won't change the economic structure or end white privilege. Many of the guerillas have no specific socialist politics, but they are fighting to see the country truly liberated, for a change in the distribution of wealth. There must be a change in the whole economic structure of the country. They are not going to stop because some deal has been made which puts any of the present leaders in power but leaves the white controlled companies in command of the economy. Not after so many have

The fighting men in both armies (ZAPU and the Zimbabwe African National Union, based in Mozambique) have similar views. The only things that divide them are the tribal backgrounds which make the real difference between the parties, and the people that are leading them. The guerrilla are not interested in the parties as such.

All these leaders, Nkomo and Mugabe as well as theones in Salisbury, are just

"No deal will stop the fighting, because fighting for themselves, to get into power. I cannot see Nko no and Mugabe working together for very long. Whatever deal is made, they will still want to be on top. This makes it practically impossible for them to work together. Nkomo thinks he is the father of politics in Zimbabwe. Mugabe has no political support inside the country at all. If there was a Parliament with free elections, I doubt if he would even win a seat. That is why he prefers to fight to the end.

None of the nationalist leaders can come out against the guerillas because they would all like the guerillas to support them. Both Sithole and the Bishop have supporters among the guerrillas.

I know Mugabe very well. He used to be the same as the others. But since he joined the fighting men in Mozambique he has changed his politics. Nkomo's politics have not really changed. He is just with the guerrillas to be able to negotiate from a position of strength, after he was

humiliated at the conference table by Smith. And because Kaunda supports him of course.

Many times there has been fighting among the ZAPU army. Many people have been thrown into prison by Kaunda or given indefinite scholarships to go away. Hundreds of people have been forced out of ZAPU. In 1972 Kaunda sent back 129 of the guerrillas who had been in the 1967 and 1970 campaigns to Salisbury, where they were imprisoned and executed by Smith. Kaunda did this under the influence of the vice-presidents of ZAPU while Nkomo was imprisoned, James Chikerema and Jason Moyo. Chikerema is now with the Bishop and Moyo is dead.

The people they are always having to get rid of, mainly, are the ones who are against Lonrho, that's what it comes down to. Nkomo and nearly everyone takes money from them. There are economic problems in Zambia, which makes everything difficult, and they round up the extremists, but the problems really come from the multinational companies bleeding the country, and Zimbabwe could fall into the same trap. That's why so many are against them. But there are still a number of people in Zambia who see how the people who are fighting are being misused, and who know we are right. We are doing everything possible to try to change the whole thing. But we are con-

sidered too extreme.

There was fighting as recently as last December. There has been constant instability within ZAPU. There were always people who wanted change and the leadership was resisting it. It makes it very difficult for the fighting men. On one raid we had to make our way back because there was no co-ordination.

The guerrillas can't put out their political programme. Where would they get it from? If they put out a programme in Zambia that would be the end for

Of course, if there is a settlement, it won't necessarily mean that the fight will go on. For one thing, the guerrillas might not want to carry on fighting just for the claims of one leader over another. But on the other hand, the leaders do carry weight. They are in a position to manipulate the system and use people. The guerrillas could just be victims of the situation.

Unless the guerrillas get the chance of taking part in changing the institutions, the differences will still be there and the people will destroy each other."





Grunwick: not al

LES LEVIDOW's article on Grunwick is an example of how never to write a political article. It combines sloppy writing with ignorance of political facts. If Grunwick has become a household word, it is because of workers fighting with qualified help from Union leadership, and lip service from the Labour Government, against right-wingers aided by the police, the law, and the media. Far from being a debacle, the struggle continues, on a muted scale, having raised the general level of political consciousness in this country. It exposed the nature and extent of the forces the labour movement has to overcome, and revealed that there is a very large but as yet unorganised body of militant workers, not merely in theory, but in concrete terms.

Let us look at the facts. Grunwick's labour force was divided, with a majority scabbing. Since Grunwick is labour intensive, and not organised on conveyor belt, mass production lines, all the management did was scale down its operations. In any case, pickets at chemists and at the factory were greatly but not sufficiently instrumental in reducing its business.

The workforce, mostly immigrant, was divided because there was no direct racial grouse, although the general business principle of exploiting immigrant workers was clearly active. (Observe the NF's relative inactivity. They could not side with management whose pivot was Anglo-Indian, and violated the NF pronunciamento against racial mixing.) Because the strikers at Mansfield Hosiery and Imperial Typewriters had a direct racial complaint against management and unions, the Asian workforce were solidly united. They stood up to scabs crossing picket lines, to the NF, to police and union harassment, with the support of the Asian community and some ultra-left and militant workers' help. The Race Relations people, the TUC and union HQ leaders rushed in making conciliatory noises

and put their weight behind strikers when they had already succeeded.

While the strikers at Mansfield and Imperial had joined unions and experienced union failure to combat racial exploitation and to improve general work conditions, the Grunwick strikers had not. Dromey unkindly described them as 'chickens out of a coop'. That is to suggest that joining a union is at present a useful but not adequate way for workers to learn about organising themselves.

One effect of the Grunwick headlines was that that struggle succeeded, where innumerable previous attempts failed, in getting many immigrants in the service sector, to join unions, and thus to experience that chasm operating between workers and union bureaucrats. For instance, the Grunwick Strike Committee's relationship with APEX leaders broke down soon enough over the tactic of mass picketing, and later, four prominent members of the Committee were expelled from APEX for going on hunger strike. Postal workers responsible for the crucial boycott of Grunwick mail which lasted almost seven weeks, were condemned at the time by the Deputy Gen. Secretary of the UPW, Norman Stagg. Some were later fined by the Union EC. Out of a total fine of £1500, John Taylor was fined £500.

The fact that the Attorney General refused to charge the postal workers with the criminal offence of interfering with the mail was largely due to the effect the mass pickets had on workers up and down the country. And this is where Levidow is quite off target.

He attacks the ultra left, though the terms of his attack are not clear for all the old cod about common enemy models and complicity. The ultra left could not have sustained a mass picket for more than a couple of days. The bulk of the mass picket were militants outside the ultra-left parties, provoked by the NAFF worms that crawled out of the woodwork. The mass picket did not not try to persuade the TUC to pull its finger out. It demanded that the TUC do something. But they deliberately muted support for the 11 July national day

of Action but could not show disapproval. And even the media, (who consistently underestimate attendance figures on demos), reported 20,000 marchers, with hundreds of union

The failure of the TUC to call for withdrawal of essential services to Grunwick was largely predictable. It would give a powerful credibility to the militant left campaign and undercut its own unwieldy bureaucratic power. Instead the TUC talked about law.

The legal argument is always a powerful one since law does regulate social life. But workers must never forget that many of the gains the labour movement has made in legal terms have come from fighting against unjust laws, extra-legally when necessary. The TUC wishes to fight within the law to preserve their respectability. Workers on the shop floor, who bear the brunt of exploitation are the principal ones concerned to push beyond these limits.

The mass picket, and the shattering of the police image as an unbiased law enforcement body, obliged the Government to act, setting up an enquiry which, in its toothless way, did vindicate the strikers and the mass picket. The two reasons, then, for the less than successful outcome of the Grunwick strike are the division of the workforce, and the TUC's equivocation. But the fact that, after forty weeks of relatively unpublicised striking, the small Grunwick strike became a world-wide issue, was due to that mass picketing.

Much of what is said here can be extrapolated from the wealth of information in Joe Rogaly's book, Grunwick*. But it requires some clear socialist thinking which the author, understandably as a liberal Financial Times journalist, and Les Levidow, for reasons unknown, do not possess. And no kudos to The Leveller for publishing his piece.

Naz.

*Grunwick by Joe Rogaly, Penguin Special, 80p.



The nuclear arms race is now almost out of human control. In both east and west, new and more terrible weapons are being piled up, because each side believes it can "only negotiate through superior military strength.

The greatest danger is of war starting through accident, either by an electronic mistake or because some crazy submarine commander, or an individual somewhere along the line of command misinterprets or disobeys a signal. If a nuclear bomb lands on Washington or Moscow, London or Leningrad, it is doubtful whether a government could prevent its own military chiefs from immediate retaliation.

The latest development in this fatal competition is the Cruise missile. This small pilotless plane can deliver its load within ten yards of its target, thousands of miles away. It would be a nuclear warhead, otherwise the preparation of the "map" for it would not be worthwhile.

This "map" is prepared by satellites, so that the missile can follow the contour of the land below it at low level, in response to continuous signals. This is of vital importance to the successful evasion of enemy radar. While the Cruise frame itself is cheap, the planning and control of its flight is fantastically expensive.

America is proceeding with the Cruise. In Britain, certain preparations are being made, as described below. The development of this new weapon by any country brings war nearer and presents a real danger to human survival. Its emergence heightens east-west tension, and damages the prospects for the Strategic Arms 'Limitation talks and other international negotiations on disarmament.

Furthermore, it involves a colossal waste of money which is urgently needed for housing, education, health, social services and the war on want. And its construction in Britain breaks the government's pledge, both to the electorate and the Labour Party, that it will enter into

When some Labour MPs unsuccessfully sought undertakings that there would be no further British underground nuclear test explosions in Nevada, we maintained that these would be part of a preparation for some new nuclear warhead (since existing bombs do not go stale like a piece of cheese, and do not need periodic testing). Then came a report in Aviation Weekly that

a British Aircraft Corporation factory was engaged on research into the Cruise missile. We tabled Parliamentary Questions to the Prime Minister and were informed that a mere £10,000 was being spent. This was supposed to seem so derisory as to indicate that there were no serious plans to build it.

However, shortly afterwards there appeared an important article by Ian Smart in the Royal Institute of International Affairs Journal. His theme was that the four British Polaris submarines would be worn out and unusable by 1990, that it would take ten years to plan and build a successor, and therefore that by 1980 the British government would have to take a decision whether or not to go ahead.

Not everyone would agree with this timescale. I understand that the four submarines are seldom at sea and extreme care is taken to ensure that they are not overused, strained or damaged. (Despite this, there have been accidents, as when one of them emerged in the Clyde immediately underneath another vessel.) So it may well be that they could be effective until

Further Parliamentary Questions were posed: did the Defence Ministry intend to proceed with a successor to the Polaris, and did it intend to build a Cruise missile? The answer to both was an unambiguous "no".

That seemed to settle the matter. But it appeared to some of us that the reply was disingenuous. For it could have been referring to the long-range Cruise missile, whereas Britain "needed" only a medium-range missile to reach

and destroy the cities and bases of western Russia. Defence chiefs might choose to exclude these from their definition of Cruise missiles. Accordingly, a further, reworded, series of questions was tabled, asking about mediumrange-weapons similar to the Cruise missile, and whether Britain had the capability to produce the components.

On January 23 this answer was given: "Contracts have been placed with British Aerospace and a number of other firms for further limited studies. Much of the relevant technology is available within the UK, although no development is taking place or currently planned.

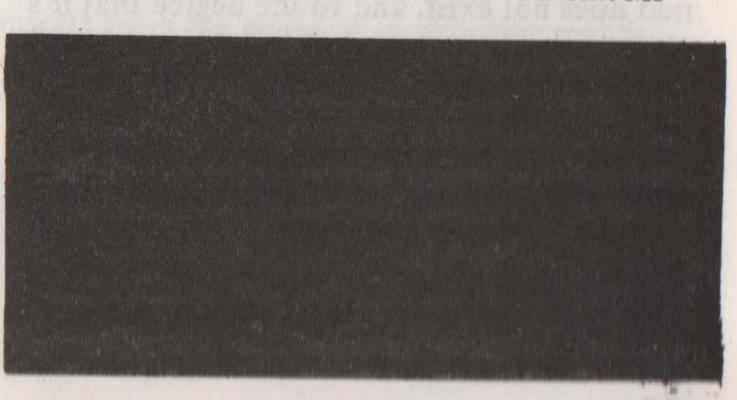
In other words, it seemed that at this moment work is proceeding on the research and development of the components for medium-range Cruise. Indeed in an article in the New Scientist the exceptionally well-informed Farouk Hussain names Hawker-Siddeley, Ferranti and the government atomic establishment at Harwell as being engaged on this work.

This should be opposed now, before it is too late. The government must be made to carry out its pledges that there will be no new generation of nuclear weapons, no successor to the Polaris, and that America be asked to remove its nuclear bases from Britain; this could give the lead to other countries, and also reduce our vulnerability to nuclear attack.

How can this be achieved? By increasing the pressure from the labour and trade union movement, whose policy it already is. Some readers may smile sceptically at the chances of doing this. But it can be done. For example, when the pressure was sufficient, the government unwillingly agreed to end British bases east of Suez, just as it was forced to drop "In Place of Strife". In any case the alternative to failure to move the government on this issue is total extinction.

I believe that great as is the pressure from NATO, the Pentagon, the British service chiefs and Conservative MPs, the counter-pressure from the organised working class, if exerted, is greater.

Frank Allaun MP





ABOUT Science Fiction. You could do worse than start with the two quite separate questions Jung used when writing about the Flying Saucer wave that swept America in the Fifties. First; does it exist and if so what is it? Second, and quite irrespective of the answer to the first; why do people think it exists and what do they get out of that belief? On the one hand the empirical approach, on the other the psychological, but there is another angle. . .

Marke Third Question W

HARKNESS waited until the man in the white coat had turned away from the bank of read screens before introducing himself. "You sent for me, Critic", he said, using the ancient honorific out of genuine respect as well as politeness. "Controller Harkness of UniKult, Terran sector."

"Ah Harkness," acknowledged the squat genius who had built US Culture Systems Inc into the largest multi-planetary of them all. "We have a problem in your area. One of our subcultural Ideopatterns has been straying from the predicted vectors. It's a literary form based on alternatives, which we call science fiction. A great success at first but now there are these, er, irregularities". He paused to wipe away a bead of sweat.

"It could of course be a few wild cards, but the computer doesn't think so. It seems too purposeful—either that or my original socio-cultural equations were wrong," he laughed at the absurdity.

Flickers of intelligence played across the young controller's face like flashes of lightning. "You mean, someone's behind the irregularities?" he asked.

"Exactly, and I think you can guess who that might be..."

JUST west of the Michigan Lake Productive complex there's a rundown district that once was called Chicago. Two young men lounged at the edge of a black cave that had been a 21st floor office suite in the corporate headquarters of one of the largest conglomerations of twentieth century capitalism. At first sight the two men looked like any other pair of junkie buddies squatted in the ruined mountain, plastic sheeting to keep out the wind and the snoop beams, a small fire sending damp smoke out into the building's updraught. But despite

their ragged clothes and grubby unshaved faces, their eyes were focussed properly and, stranger still, the dark gunmetal gleam of a hyperspace communicator showed they had access to more credits than the entire financial district of Chicago saw in a month these days. Two laser rifles were propped against the cabinet.

"You're sure the beams can't reach here?" asked the one who appeared least at ease. "Sure," spat the other one. "Now you know what you have to do. We're equipping you with the full identity of a wordsmith second class. Papers, denim uniform, the lot. Your job is to find out just what kind of catatonising trash these science fiction futurists are peddling." The nervous one nodded and then got up. Before he left the room he paused and then gave the other the double fingered salutation. "Till Overthrow", he said.

IN the Collective's grimy squat, big Russell poked his glasses back onto his bald head and stabbed at a piece of paper. "We've had a leak," he said. "There's something going on in this science fiction field. The organised left is taking an interest. We need the dirt. Dialectical involvements, company directorships, socio-economical overview, the lot. It'll fit in nicely after the SIS story and the letter from the WLDP. ."

NORBERT lifted a weary head. Ahead of him a great grey slab brooded under the blue and green twin suns of the planet. A door big enough for two dragons to enter side by side opened at its base. Norbert paused. He had travelled a thousand planets and grown old to get here. Then he entered. The door clanged shut behind him, sounding like 10,000 tons. He froze. Then a voice, very old but still sweet, sounded through the dusty space. "Welcome to your journey's end, Norbert.

"The third question is politics."

FACED with three questions, the square-jawed aryan frontiersman of knowledge (white coat or comfortable tweed jacket, take your pick) unerringly indicates the first.

That sf exists can be proved to most people's satisfaction. Enter a large bookshop and ask: "Do you sell science fiction?" Cleareyed and conscience free, the bookseller will answer "Yes". Ask Nick Austin, editor of Sphere Books and he will say the same. That's why they put Sphere Science Fiction across the covers. They do the same at Panther, and at Penguin and, on the spine, at Bantam.

But ask the second part of the question—
"What is science fiction?"—and the witnesses shut up. Thomas M. Disch, author of Camp Concentration among others, said: "To the degree that it's good sf it's about something that does not exist, and to the degree that it's about something that does exist it is probably not sf." He has caught the spirit of the thing, but as a definition it's about as much use as a Hotpoint Ice Diamond when you're in diminishing orbit on a white dwarf sun.

Cowboy stories and Barbara Cartland lointo-tearduct transplants are not about anything that exists or existed, and they are not sf. Or are they? Ursula K. Le Guin (One of the great contributors to anarchist thought thanks to the The Dispossessed, and a bit better than that as an sf writer) answered the question thus: "I write science fiction because that is what the publishers call my books. Left to myself, I should call them novels."

Science fiction is like a lovely smile, you can't define it, but you know when you see it. For instance. The shortest sf story in existence (there are rival claimants) goes like this' "After the last atomic war, Earth was dead; nothing grew, nothing lived. The last human sat alone in a room. There was a knock on the door." It's attributed to Fredric Brown.

So sf is an invention of the publishers. Not really. The true story is in the sf readers; they play a bigger part than any of their counterparts riding the purple sage or thinking through the murder in the conservatory.

Beginnings lie further back. Brian Aldiss says Mary Shelley with Frankenstein was first, and there's common agreement that the two great grandaddies after her were Jules Verne and H.G. Wells. These three were first and in the three of them you can already see two currents that still run side by side.

There's a lot of fun to be had from arguing

whether earlier writers were writing sf—Gullivers Travels combining two sf favourites, invented worlds and satire, is a popular choice—but naturally any argument which depends on applying a definition which doesn't exist is going to be for entertainment only. It's a reasonable proposition, though, that sf is the child of the technological age; of that realisation sometime after the industrial revolution that humankind might be in the process of changing itself and its world forever.

Quite properly this scared shit out of a few sensitive souls, especially if they happened to have first-hand knowledge of the characters who were setting the pace for this one-way wagon train into the future.

Frankenstein is the first of the long line of stories about man's creations getting out of hand; about the idea that the consequences of our actions are infinite, irrevocable and not necessarily pleasant.

Jules Verne was not so far ahead of his time as he might seem. He's the first prophet of the macho problem solving techno-junkies, but only because he got round in fiction to problems the engineers weren't ready for yet. Isambard Kingdom Brunel was the real-life man. By the steady application of anthrocentric confidence,

and attention to detail, he set about doing the things they said couldn't be done. It's only a question of concentrating enough resources, he would say as his navvies moved towards Bristol shifting their 3½ cubic yards of light sand or 1½ of clay per day, as per the tables.

Direct descendants of his applied the same principles to make Verne's fantasies of the submarine that could stay submerged for months, and a rocket carrying men to the moon, come true.

But the true founder and patron saint of science fiction As We Know It was Herbert George Wells, and not just because he snaffled so many really good titles like War Of The Worlds, The Time Machine, The Food Of The Gods and First Men In The Moon.

Wells wrote stories which projected consequences and took imaginative leaps from the technology of his time, not only to make adventures but also to dramatise the questions about the commonsensical notion of reality which had only been challenged before by philosophy and poetry. More important, as a fanatical Darwinist he developed the notion of the future as a consequence of people's actions and so as something that could be wilfully and deliberately affected for the better instead of being fatalistically accepted under the name progress.

These three could be left on one side as literary curiosities except: in 1912 Edgar Rice

can be held largely responsible for what little scientific literacy there is in the lay population.

Out of these beginnings came what is called the Golden Age of science fiction, often associatied with John Campbell Jnr's editorship of Astounding (from 1937 until the early fifties, although he continued as editor—the mag became Analog in 1960—until 1971). During this time, led by names like Heinlein, Asimov, Van Vogt, science fiction took itself seriously, first as a medium for ideas and later as a literary form of rather more significance than the "escapist" genres such as the western, the crime novel, the historical romance.

To begin with, the Pulps had a wide but fragmented audience. With the new sf the readers (who were also to an astonishing extent the writers) developed a great loyalty, not just to magazines and authors, but to the idea of science fiction itself.

These fans were a small group at first, clustering together against the outside world's indifference. But as the popularity and respectability of the genre grew, they turned into a movement and finally into a market.

Science fiction is just entering another boom. Star Wars, Close Encounters Of The Third Kind, and other sf films, are the box office news of '78. Sphere have just sold their millionth copy of the Star Wars book.

Like all movements there are factions and grouplets within it, and many observers think

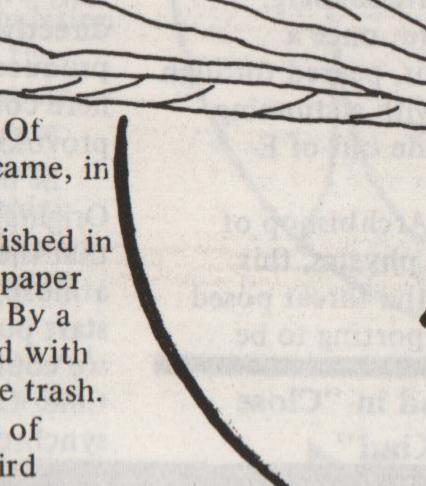
our futures. Nowadays this apprehension is more widely spread. Sf writers have been dealing for some time, intelligently and at some depth, with the various forms of species suicide we've been trying out. Now that people are more aware of things like the poison death of Lake Erie and the US experiment which exploded an atom bomb near 80,000 servicemen to find out what happens (they tended to die of leukemia), is it fear that is sending them into the worlds of sf?

Another, anonymous contender for the title of the shortest ever sf story: "The sun rose slowly in the West."

"I suppose the marxist view would be that sf is an escapist fiction which helps prevent people thinking about the real problems society imposes on them."—Nick Austin.

The two poles start from the same assumption; that sf is a product of soul-starving, technocratic, multi-national, advanced capitalist, ungraspable modern society. One way is to see sf as an escape route for fleeing these pressures. The other as an attempt to cope with them.

There is a story, I can't remember by whom. It is set in the far future when the human species has spread to countless worlds through space. With the aid of a generation of thinking computers they have solved all imaginable material problems, as well as such posers as



Burroughs published Under The Moons Of Mars in All-Story Magazine. From him came, in the Twenties, a vast output of romantic adventures set in space. They were published in magazines printed on cheap wood-pulp paper and were therefore known as the Pulps. By a poetic coincidence the word also applied with equal felicity to the contents. They were trash.

Readable trash though, those stories of Flash Gordon and Space Pirates and weird monsters, though the sf elements were really just an exotic location for the ancient nonsense about goodies, and baddies and sexless victimised ladies with bodies, like dolls, of featureless contours under the clothes they were never supposed to take off.

Operas were the glimmerings of thought about the sf background. Novelty ruled for the Pulp editors, and in the search for it the writers stumbled across the fact that environments had effects. If you make just one assumption about the future—say a new ice age or a planet where gravity is three times Earth's—then the people in your story will not only have to cope, they will be changed by having to cope. Their behaviour, assumptions, relationships, even their bodies are changed.

Meanwhile another strand, the Verne strand, was being woven into the thread. Hugo Gernsback's magazine Amazing Stories (launched in 1926) became the focus for a tradition of technological speculation which, although it tended to assume that Science was a a Good Thing and the sooner man was plugged into a symbiotic relationship with machinery the better, was also much more scrupulous about its science and (it's still a living tradition)

there has been a split as well. For a long time fantasy of the Flash Gordon type was lumped in with the rest of science fiction, but with the growth of sword and sorcery, sword wielding barbarians, dangerous magicians, devils and demons, it looks as if fantasy has split itself off.

Sf remains a large area, though, with a subject range from the techno-porn of outer space to semi-mystical explorations of the Inner Space between the ears.

"Outer Space is out. Inner Space is in," said J.G.Ballard.

If you're a fan you'll be able to tell whether it's science fiction or not for yourself, otherwise you'll have to go by what the publisher puts on the cover. Whatever, it exists and there seems to be more of it around than at any time since those early days in the Fifties. Which leads to the second question. What has science fiction got that people want, especially now?

When the old-style sf people were clustering together in a ghetto of mutual support and entertainment, they generally shared an apprehensiveness about what we were doing to

what happens inside a black hole. Then, with the aid of instantaneous hyper-space linkages, all the computers are united to have a go at the oldest wrangle of them all. In front of tv cameras a technician taps in the question; "Is there a God?" The super machine is pondering the implications when a high voltage fuse explodes, striking dead the man at the off switch, and on a trillion tv screens throughout the known universe, flashes the message; THERE IS NOW.

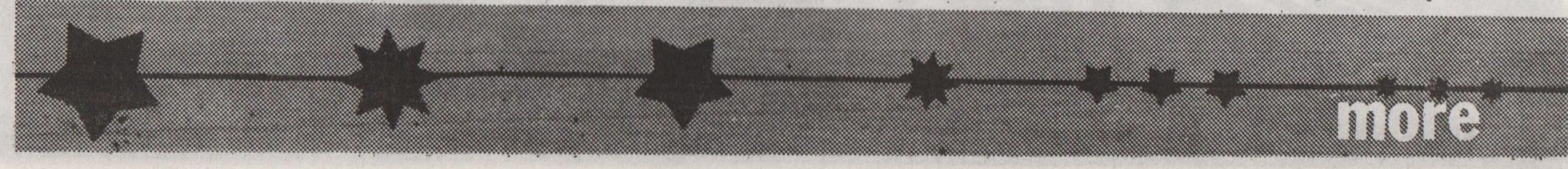
BRIAN STABLEFORD, sf author and academic, writing in the Number one British fanzine (mag about and of sf, produced by and for the fans) Vector, has used categories adapted from (according to Brian) the sociology of the mass media of Gerhardt Wiebe.

They are the Instructive messages—designed to introduce either directly or indirectly, new ideas, information or ways of organising information to the reader. Simply, they produce changes in attitude.

Maintenance messages confirm attitudes and opinions already embedded in the reader.

Restorative messages allow the reader a respite from the strain of confronting reality with his world view, a sort of literary and communicative parallel to sleep.

Maintenance messages are deep seated in all





forms of communication, and they reflect the prevailing attitudes and prejudices of the society. At a crude level, much of sf reinforces a patronising dehumanised view of women, not often overtly and deliberately, but because women are usually placed in subordinate positions both in the plot and to the male characters. In similar ways and countless areas, all writing, particularly all genre writing, unconsciously reflects, and so helps to reinforce at least part of the prevailing toolkit of attitudes. When the maintenance messages predominate in a work, particularly one, like a crime story, which is not intended to be read critically, then the effect of the work is conservative.

The restorative category is an obvious reworking of the opium of the masses argument, and there's plenty of this in sf. Look at Star Wars with its chaste princesses, gung-ho macho dogfights and loyal servants (Artee Detoo and See Threepio—the robots). The real sf fan is usually scornful of space opera and BEM (Bugeyed monster i.e. planetary xenophobia) fiction, but this scorn usually goes along with an ability to consume the stuff by the bookshelf foot.

There's another twist to the restorative aspect of some sf which has cropped up over recent years. Science fiction written as fact. This is Erich spacemen-in-the-bottom-of-my-garden von Däniken, who has propounded the theory that humanity is the deliberate creation of a bunch of extraterrestrials (Gods) who landed in their spaceships (chariots) and tinkered with the course of evolution to produce US, leaving behind some landing strips in South America and a couple of accurate maps of the earth.

His ideas proved immensely appealing to millions of readers and ultimately to the author's Swiss bank managers. They also spawned a whole new field of literary exploitation which the paperback publishers now market under the general title of cosmology. It includes Charles "Bermuda Triangle" Berlitz as well as a whole host of innocent eccentrics who've been tracking down ley lines and trying to tell the time from Stonehenge for years.

This goes hand in hand with the movement towards cults of spiritual awakening throughout the industrialised west which have this in common, they take away from their followers the decision about the goals of their lives and offer instead the injunction to try to live up to somebody else's idea. The fact that such movements tend to be led by Korean armament manufacturers and the like, and they often make somebody, somewhere, very rich, is almost incidental.

There is a double connection with sf. First these movements are part of an increasing distrust of "science" and the sort of mechanical, materialist thinking which has dominated western culture and which sf, as much as any other popular force, has criticised effectively. The second is that the door marked "There are more things in heaven and earth than you or I know of", together with its neighbour marked "Dare to imagine", was punched in the wall of post-Newtonian self confidence by science fiction writers, with a little help from Einstein and Heisenberg.

Some, like L. Ron Hubbard, once a reasonably successful sf author, peered through the hole and were rewarded with a stunning vision of the money to be made out of E-meters and worried people.

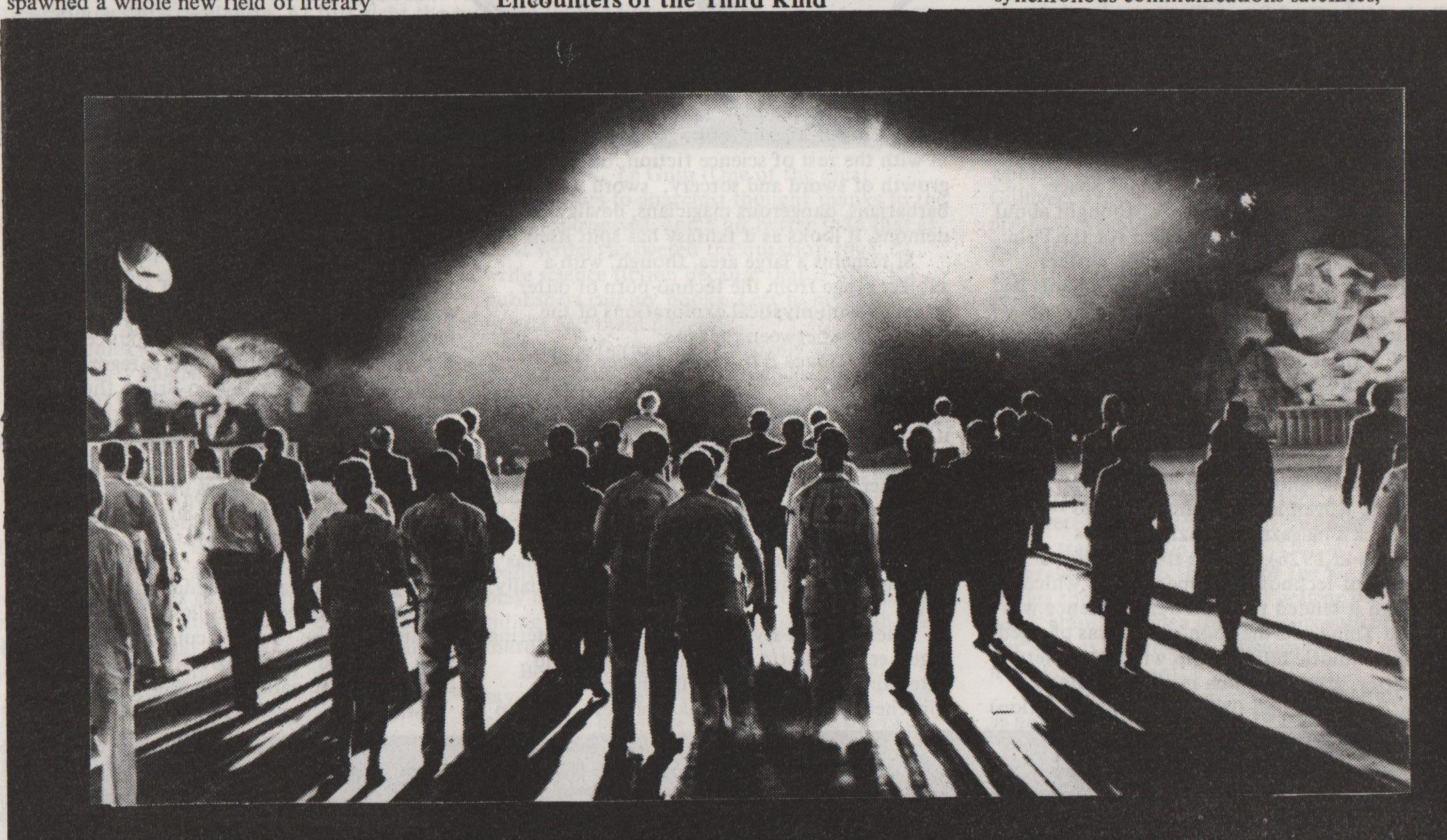
Apart from upsetting the Archbishop of Canterbury and professors of physics, this trend is also a heading off of the threat posed by "dare to imagine". By purporting to be

Freak out as the aliens land in "Close Encounters of the Third Kind" factual it reinstates the authority of the author, and thus the passivity of the reader. By inventing gods and higher purposes, they deny the possibility of people actively aspiring towards a future of their own creation. Their place is not so much in restorative category, or the instructional one, but in the Largactyl mode. The big battalions are now the Tranq. Battalions.

Another story; this one, I think, by Isaac Asimov. The big computers have solved all conceivable problems, and you have to be a pretty fair genius to even think of a question to ask them. One such genius worries all his subordinates by telling jokes to the machine. Finally he asks the computer two questions. First question; "Where do jokes come from?" Answer: they are deliberately implanted in people by an extraterrestrial intelligence who chart their transmission from one individual to another as a controlled experiment in human interaction. Second question: What happens when we know the answer to question one? Answer: The sense of humour will no longer serve an experimental purpose and will therefore cease to exist. The lads stare at each other across the input terminal, and none of them can think of anything even mildly amusing.

The instructive category is the interesting one, where writing attempts to involve itself directly with the reader's mind in order to produce changes. It's here that sf has beenhere come the claims,—subversive, thought provoking, mind-expanding and influential.

Originally they were simply pushing the idea. that the New Frontier was out there where the atmosphere ends and if we only bothered to start putting the ironmongery together NOW we could be opening up the virgin spaces in no time. Later there were advocates of synchronous communications satellites,





computers in the home, interstellar democracy based on the American Constitution, and No Government Controls On Asteroid Mining. But the thing sf has been best at, has been in making the unimaginable real, the far out relevant.

There are a series of standard plots, many of which have been going since H.G.Wells. They have been reworked and rearranged, and people who read in the genre bring to the new ones a shorthand of understanding created by earlier variations. So sf has been able to talk about the consequences of over-population and nuclear war, of environmental suicide, contact with alien intelligence, and learning to live with machines in a way that makes the issues real, not just as an interesting projection but as something to change our attitudes to what we're up to now.

The genre of course, is mainly read for entertainment, but there has always been an extraordinary relationship between the producers and consumers of this entertainment. The fanzines offer an astoundingly high level of criticism, something that never comes from readers in different fields. And underlying the criticism is the hidden assumption that in some way sf affects the way people think.

Harry Harrison talked about overpopulation (Make Room Make Room) years before they started printing alarmist graphs in the papers, but no-one would publish the book because "people weren't interested". Frank Herbert introduced the word and concept of ecology (Dune) years before Friends of the Earth and anti-pollution laws. It's not that these people were ahead of their time (the sort of nonsensical idea that sf likes playing with) but that they helped to make people aware of the issues.

People is the right word. Although sf is now gathering unto itself the critical and academic apparatus which goes with the living death of elite cultural approval, it has always been a populist movement. The fans and the writers made each other and they tend to draw together (the Ghetto mentality, say some) at conferences and gatherings and in rooms above pubs. The genre is a popular creation which represents a reaction by the victims of the soulless modern state to the tensions and pressures of a high technology/low humanity society which sent others whimpering into the arms of the Children of God. It was, at the best, made for purposes of their own by those who needed it. It's in this fact that the hard nut of the third question is buried.

As a genre, it also shares with the crime novel, and the western, characteristics of hurried writing and bad plotting, a tendency to do again what worked before. It is true that the usual maintenance messages —sexist, militarist, competitive—are deeply embedded in almost all the writing.

It's also true that out of most sf you can only expect a good intelligent read, and you don't always get that.

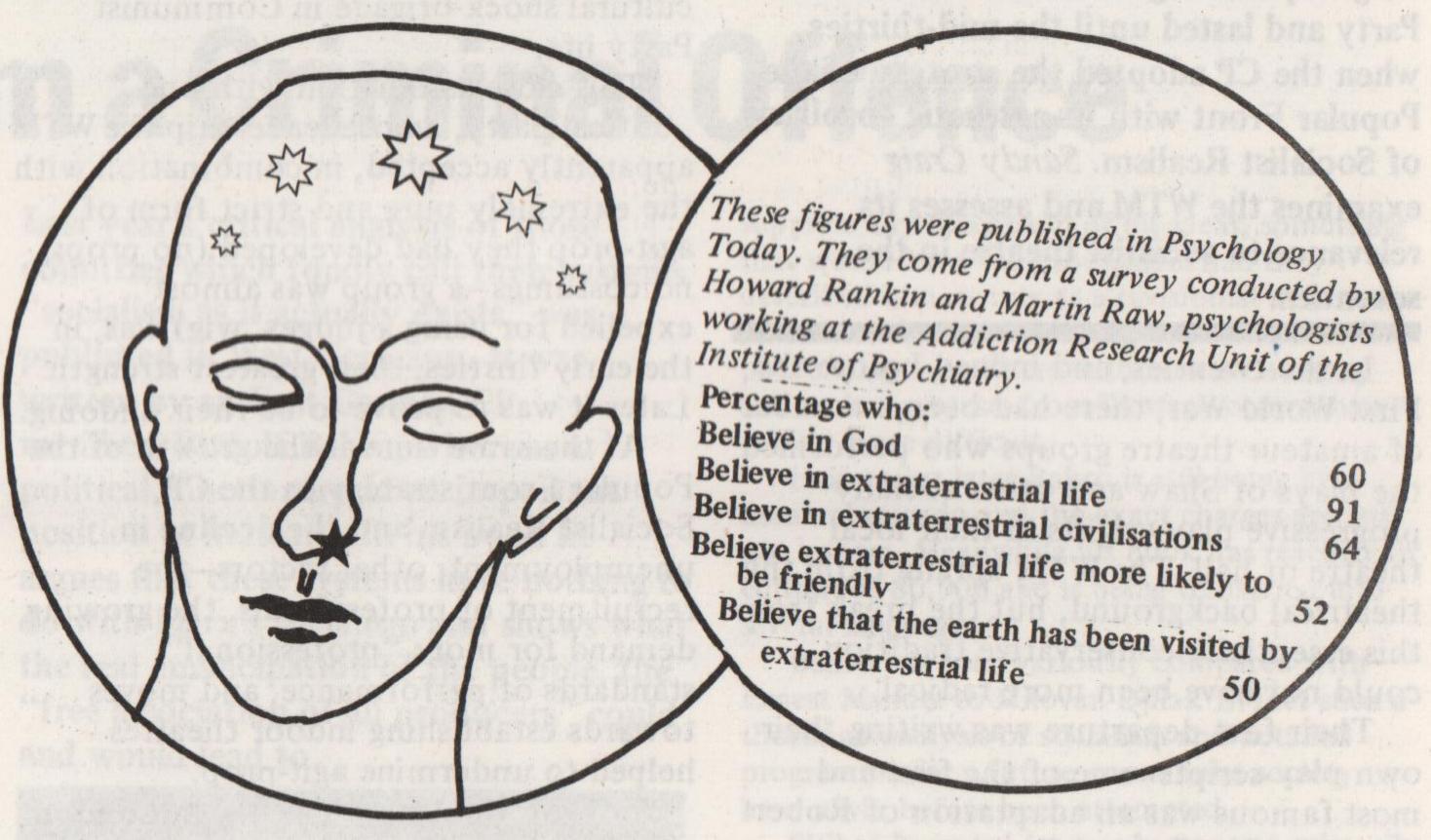
But it is the only literature which, in

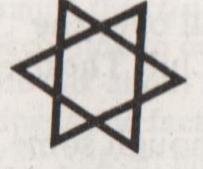
coming to terms with the realisation over the last couple of hundred years that we are doing things that will not only irrevocably change the far future, but also our own and our children's, has emphasised the point that the making of that future is in the hands of the people living now, not in the hands of gods, whether they be in government, military headquarters, or riding around in chariots.

It is, at least, interesting, that this attitude should be confined to a generally disregarded, specialist genre, created and consumed by a group of people for their own edification and delight, instead of being found in any of the constructs of establishment culture.

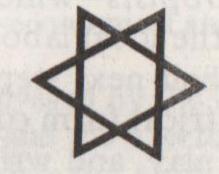
The critics of high culture have, among other things, knocked sf because its treatment of individual character has been generally perfunctory and uninspiring. But it's worth remembering that the idea that the proper concern of literature as art is the individual's thoughts, reactions, and motives is an exact contemporary of capitalism. They were born together, who knows what would happen if one one of them should die.

Nigel Thomas





"1978 looks like being a great year for science fiction," Nick Austin, editor at Sphere Books, whose paperback book of Star Wars has just sold its millionth copy in Great Britain and the old commonwealth.







PEOPLE'S The Theatre

The Workers Theatre Movement (1928-36) was the first organised left-wing theatre movement in Britain. It comprised over 30 groups all aligned to the Communist Party and lasted until the mid-thirties when the CP adopted the strategy of the Popular Front with its aesthetic corollary of Socialist Realism. Sandy Craig examines the WTM and assesses its relevance to socialist theatre in the seventies.

In the twenties, and indeed before the First World War, there had been a number of amateur theatre groups who performed the plays of Shaw and other socially progressive playwrights in their local theatre or hall. The WTM sprang from this theatrical background, but the break from this essentially conservative tradition could not have been more radical.

Their first departure was writing their own play-scripts—one of the first and most famous was an adaptation of Robert Tressell's The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists—which they then toured around the local labour and trade union clubs. Their next step was abandoning the theatrical form of a full-length evening play, and writing their own short sketches, monologues and songs, in a revue format, and performed free on the streets. The content of this dramatic entertainment also changed: the emphasis was on the class struggle, not the conflict of individuals, while the shows centred on specific, particular issues—one company in Dagenham performed a sketch about an eviction outside the house where the actual eviction was being threatened rather than on a generalised concern with the overall "social question". In a word: agit-prop.

The spokespeople of this new movement rapidly promulgated their own ideology: "The Workers Theatre Movement rejects decisively the role of raising the cultural level of the workers through contact with great dramatic art which is the aim of the dramatic organisations of the Labour Party and the ILP. The task of the WTM is the conduct of mass working-class propaganda and agitation through the particular method of dramatic representation" (Tom Thomas).

At its height, the Movement was a national organisation with over 30 member groups, its offices and journal,

Red Stage which published theoretical articles, news items and groups' scripts and songs for use or adaptation by other groups. It was openly sectarian, lambasting Labour politicians—not just MacDonald and Snowden, but also left Labour politicians such as Jimmy Maxton and George Lansbury. All politicians, Labour and Tory, were the same: the WTM's message was that social change could only come about through revolution. In the 1931 election an ad hoc group was organised to tour Scotland with the specific purpose of helping the Communist candidates with their propaganda. (And help them they did: Bob Stewart got 10,000 votes at Dundee, Willie Gallacher 6,000 in West Fife, A Ferguson 6,000 at Greenock.) By this time, the WTM, whose origins politically had been far to the left of the Labour Party, was closely linked with the Communist Party: they were seen as the cultural shock-brigade in Communist Party life.

This close association with one olitical party, whose leadership the WTM apparently accepted, in combination with the extremely pure and strict form of agit-prop they had developed (no props, no costumes—a group was almost expelled for using a judges' wig) was, in the early thirties, their greatest strength. Later it was to prove to be their undoing.

At the same time as the growth of the Popular Front strategy in the CP, Socialist Realism and the decline in unemployment, other factors—the recruitment of professionals, the growing demand for more "professional" standards of performance, and moves towards establishing indoor theatres—helped to undermine agit-prop.

In 1936 the Unity Theatre in London was founded, making a return to more conventional theatre. Other Unity theatres soon sprung up all over the country. The Left Book Club Theatre Guild was founded.

The WTM was dead, though some of its techniques and conventions lived on even in Unity. But only in Manchester with the Theatre of Action, and then after the war in London with the Theatre Workshop, both led by Joan Littlewood and Ewan MacColl were the full range of techniques and devices used and the style adapted to their indoors, theatrical presentations.

What relevance does the WTM have for today's socialist theatre companies?
Clearly, the social background, development and organisation of the

WTM was completely different from that of today's companies. In important ways, the two movements are diametrically opposed.

The WTM was a remarkably homogeneous grouping of companies: they all performed in exactly the same style, they frequently used other groups' scripts, and they were all aligned to, if not actually members of, the CP. By comparison, today's companies are extremely heterogeneous. Theatrically they develop their shows independently, in styles ranging from agit-prop street theatre, through revue, musicals, Brechtian epics to a near naturalism. Politically, the companies occupy the full spectrum of left politics. More importantly, most companies aim also to "raise consciousness" more generally, to re-interpret history, and to provide socialist entertainment. Finally, WTM companies were amateur; today's companies are professional.

These differences highlight the relative strengths and weaknesses of today's socialist theatre. Political theatre is always susceptible to political change, and such a change was probably the major factor in the demise of the WTM. Today's companies feel something of the same pressure. But the dangers aren't so acute, precisely because of the diversity and autonomy of the companies.

But independence and autonomy have their drawbacks. Firstly, there is not such a degree of penetration into the Labour movement as the WTM achieved Secondly, because of their professional and subsidised status and their relation to the Arts Council, today's companies can be seen as individualistic small businesses: there is only sporadic co-operation between companies, and a feeling sometimes that companies are in competition for the same audiences. Finally, companies have not framed an alternative ideology of theatre to oppose to the still-dominant ideology: the old Labour Party line, now dressed in Arts Council clothes, of taking culture to the masses—a culture propagated and controlled by professional experts with a set of definite criteria and standards which apply to all theatre: both to the National Theatre and the touring political theatre companies.

The First part of this article is based on articles in the latest issue of History Workshop, available from PO Box 69, Oxford. Subscription: £5 per year





Criticism a Criminal Offence

He knew it was inevitable: On 23 August 1977 Rudolf Bahro was arrested by the East German Ministry of State Security. The day before the West German weekly Der Spiegel had published an interview with him and an excerpt from his book The Alternative. Contribution to a Critique of Socialism as it actually Exists which was then about to be published.

"That I had to break laws in order to make my views public is part of the nature of our political system. It needs laws which ensure that a person who wants to spread dissenting ideas—if he does not want to spread them, he is not political—has to break them."

So Bahro prepared himself. Everything was well timed. For about 10 years he had worked on the book and a doctoral thesis in his spare time while carefully keeping up appearances in his job concerned with industrial rationalisation and the "scientific organisation" of work in a large rubber factory in East Berlin.

"I had a family. Until four years ago. My children are now 20, 15 and 13. The circumstances in our country however are such that lastly you have to be on your own if you want to step out in front in the way I'm doing now."

As soon as Bahro had finished the final draft of his book he went about the more hazardous task of publicising it. He knew there was no chance of having it published in East Germany. This he had unsuccessfully tried to do with his doctoral thesis—and in this criticism was veiled behind "official language" and hidden in statistics.

So he first distributed a small primitively produced edition amongst close friends—those with whom he had stayed in contact during the years of his recluse in order to test his ideas. But when he had found a publisher in West Germany he came out into the open.

"It is not easy to hide from your surroundings the consequences towards which you are really living. I would have much preferred to show my real face. It is precisely this "normal" conforming lifelessness to which you are forced in public which is so annoying. You can't imagine how happy I am that this game of hide-and-seek is now over for me."

Apart from the interview with Der Spiegel which sparked off his campaign he gave interviews to the two main West German TV channels, distributed a self-interview, excerpts from which we use in this article, and six

Last year a critical analysis of those countries which fondly call their systems "socialism as it actually exists" was published in West Germany. It was written by an East German CP member, Rudolf Bahro, who was a political functionary in an important position in industry. In his book he argues that these systems have nothing to do with Marx's socialism and shows what the real emancipation of the people, the "free association of all producers" could and would lead to.

lectures which he never had the chance to give, explaining the basic points of his book.

According to one report he even gave an 8-minute talk about his theories to a party meeting in the factory he worked in. It was the day *Der Spiegel* interview appeared, Monday 22 August. The next day he was arrested.

"I am ready for every conceivable reaction. I had time enough to prepare myself for the hour of reckoning. I will not be the victim; it is me who is on the attack. I was fortunate enough to be able to determine the hour myself."

According to the East German communist party organ Neues Deutschland "another spy for West German intelligence was arrested". By calling Bahro an agent of the West the party wants to accomplish two things. It hopes to

The book "The Alternative" is due to be published by New Left Books in 1978.

Bahro Defence Committee, c/o Günter, Minnerup, 14 Folkestone Road, Copnor, Portsmouth.

Or write to the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, 34 Belgrave Square, London SW1 8QB.

Inprecor No 13 new series 29-9-77, review of "The Alternative" by Ernest Mandel

Labour Focus on Eastern Europe Vol 1 No 5

November-December 1977. Biographical notes, interview with West German TV and extracts from the book.

New Left Review No 106 November-December 1977. The Alternative in Eastern Europe—a translation of the 6 lectures on the book by Rudolf Bahro.

Socialist Challenge no. 26 (15/12/77), extracts from the book "The Alternative".

suppress any discussion of his ideas, something that would have been inevitable had they described him merely as a revisionist or counter-revolutionary. And secondly it intimidates potential sympathisers within East Germany and makes protests from Western communist parties more difficult.

Half a year later Bahro is still being held incommunicado and the exact charges are still not known. Meanwhile his book has reached an edition of 80,000 and is being translated into several languages.

Bahro has been variously compared with Ernest Mandel or Milovan Djilas. In fact such a thorough analysis of socialism and detailed programme for a future communist society have never before been attempted.

"What I wanted to supply was not primarily a political polemic but the draft of a comprehensive political-economical analysis and alternative."

To an extent not conveyed by the various excerpts and interviews and the 6 lectures published in English to date this book carefully covers every aspect of an analysis of "socialism as it exists" as a specific social formation. It goes back into history to explain the genesis of the Russian brand of socialism from the asiatic modes of production. It explains why the Bolsheviks had to establish their party-state-apparatus as the substitute for an exploitative class, as the master of Soviet society: a rapid economic development needed a strong or even despotic state. The state as a civilizing force.

From this Bahro develops his alternative which starts with the necessity to overcome subalternity inevitably created by the vertical division of labour in all "civilized" societies so far

"What would the general emancipation of the people—for that was Marx's most basic goal actually mean today? Against which barriers would it aim? What could and would have to be a communist practice under the circumstances of existing socialism?"

In this process Bahro sees a new "Communist Alliance" as the driving force - probably his most controversial thesis. Not a party in the established sense, but an open alliance of people from all groups and sections of society; not a hierarchy intertwined with the state but the inspirator and instigator of a new non-alienated approach to society enabling people to control decision-making from within.

John Verner

Nuclear reaction

The United Kingdom Atomic Energy
Authority has admitted surprise at the
widespread and deep hostility felt against
the development of the nuclear power
industry in this country. As it prepares
a massive advertising campaign to
"persuade" public opinion to think again,
Tim Paul interviews ARTHUR
SCARGILL, President of the Yorkshire
Miners, an implacable opponent of all
forms of nuclear power, and chairperson
of Energy 2000.

Are there any difficulties for you as a socialist to take a stand against nuclear power based primarily on environmental objections?

No, I don't think this is unusual at all. The whole of the Australian section of the socialist movement is against nuclear power on similar grounds, and society as a whole is becoming more and more acutely aware that nuclear power carries dangers which are against the interests of the people.

This has been more vividly demonstrated in France and Italy where marches have been organised against the apparent vested interests who on this issue just cannot see the wood for the trees. This is no Luddite opposition we are putting forward to stop progress and destroy technology. It is done for the future survival of humanity.

Your policy is of course out of line with the TUC policy, which gives total support to the development of nuclear power.

I stand against the TUC policy. They have been wrong on this for a long time now—just as they were wrong on the Social Contract. I have

consistently argued against nuclear power and I shall continue to do so.

And the policy of the NUM?

The NUM policy nationally has been to push for coal as a base for all energy policy and to accept nuclear power provided it is shown to be safe.

We supported a resolution at the Labour Party conference last year to accept nuclear power if accompanied by environmental safeguards. There is now a growing commitment to look for safety requirements where previously there had been none. This is a major step forward.

It is expected that by the year 2000 this country will be consuming energy of more than 500 million tons of coal equivalent per year. You have calculated that this could be made up of 150m tons from ail and gas; 50 to 60m tons from solar and wave energy; 50m tons from added conservation, and 250m tons from coal. This would remove any need for a nuclear industry; but can the coal industry really meet this figure—more than double current production?

Well, I have always said that as far as the coal industry is concerned, it is only because of the closure of pits and the failure to develop the industry, that targets cannot be met. By stopping the closure of all pits (other than on grounds of exhaustion of course) and by opening up the vast resources, it becomes a real proposition. Remember not so long ago 90 per cent of our energy requirement came from coal. I have made some detailed studies of the future trends we might expect. At present, that is in 1976, coal provides 37 per cent of our total energy requirement in this country. Now allowing for a 2 per cent annual increase in energy demand, by the year 2000 we would expect coal to provide 47 per cent of the Total

Expected Demand. And as you can see, the only big jump in the figures comes in 1979-80 when it goes from 44 per cent to 48 per cent, before stabilising at 47 per cent.

I agree ultimately it must be a political decision. to develop the industry—it really depends on the point of view of your whole outlook. In 1976, 118.9m tons of coal were produced in all open-cast mining and in July 1977 I said on the record that with foresight and planning and development we could produce 130m tons by 1977-80, and already I am being proved right.

Is it not the recently agreed productivity agreements, which you opposed so strongly, ironically, that will probably do most to make your predictions come true?

Under the Coal Board's productivity deals, an increase of 15 per cent in productivity is anticipated in the industry. By my calculations that would mean an extra 17.83m tons per year, producing a total of 136m tons. My projection for 130m tons was considerably lower than that and did not depend on increased productivity—it was simply based on the non-closure of pits.

You are on record in November of 1976 as saying: "I would rather close every pit in Britain if that was a guarantee of preventing the development of nuclear power."

I am entitled to make any quote I like in the interests of human survival.

I demonstrate no vested interest. I speak as an individual and as the chairman of Energy 2000, a conservationist organisation, even though I have the official support of the Yorkshire miners on this matter. Obviously the quote was deliberately provocative and it would never come to that in practice. But what price is human life? It all becomes infinitesimal against the cost of human life.



No one can challenge you on that. But is it your intention to deliberately ignore arguments against nuclear power based on economics, the development of a highly capital intensive industry at the expense of labour?

I have always made it clear that it would mean a loss of jobs for the power-station workers. I have made it clear time and time again: the concept of nuclear power is full of discrepancies—economic, environmental and safety factors are all involved. And on economics I just don't believe their figures. Already it has been shown to be more expensive to reprocess the plutonium fuel than to obtain it from the ground.

Well then can you explain why you took the stand you did at Windscale when you went there to give evidence to the public inquiry last year, and why you did not first consult the workers of the power station?

At Windscale I was there as a representative of the coal industry and had to argue accordingly. But that is not the normal argument that I advance, which is that nuclear power is a danger to the whole of mankind.

I am well aware of all the protests which were made by workers at the Windscale plant when I went down there, and I debated many of the issues with the workers in a mass meeting outside the factory gates. Some of the working conditions described to me by the workers, and all the safety regulations that were necessary not only demonstrated the validity of my arguments-but totally demolished all the arguments that were put forward by that union Now that unions are winning compensation in the courts for any injuries and damage that they have suffered in working in the nuclear industry it only proves the arguments that I have been advancing—that it is danger for humanity and the workers who will be involved

A government decision on the future development of the Windscale is expected shortly. But many would argue that the public inquiry was purely a public relations exercise and the real decision to go ahead was made long ago. What sort of real opposition is still possible?

Well, you know they took a decision on the production of the H-bomb and the A-bomb and we fought to limit that. It has to be an uphill battle, such are the vested interests involved. But it has got to be done, and as chairman of Energy 2000 I am fully committed to it.

What is Energy 2000?

It is a national body which now has branches established in Scotland, Cornwall, South Wales and the Midlands. It was set up in April 1977 as an organisation that broadly encompasses all the anti-nuclear power groups, accepting different opinions as a sort of umbrella organisation. But there is one central point—that nuclear power is dangerous, and we unite around that central issue.

Some people would criticise you for sharing platforms with Conservatives and Liberals in your campaign against nuclear power.

That's very strange. They shouldn't—not if they are students of history, and not if they understand socialists and socialism. If they remember a few years ago, socialists marched with Tories, they marched with Liberals, they even marched with present-day union-bashers—in the CND marches in the 1950s.

So it's a question of tactics to fight a particular

Ves

Now what precisely has Energy 2000 achieved so far?

We have had a mass lobby of Parliament with between 80 and 90 MPs—including the secretary of state for energy (Benn), and Tory and Liberal spokesmen on the same platform.



A lot more people have been made aware of the dangers involved in nuclear power.

You have talked a great deal of the dangers involved in nuclear power and it forms the basis of your opposition to nuclear power. It is time for you to be a little more detailed.

Well the best way to demonstrate this point is to draw a comparison between the coal and nuclear-power industries because every single accident that has taken place in the nuclear industry on the world scale has been poohpoohed or ignored because of the power of the vested interests involved. But if there is a pit accident in India or Iran, great capital is made out of it, to show how dangerous the coal industry is.

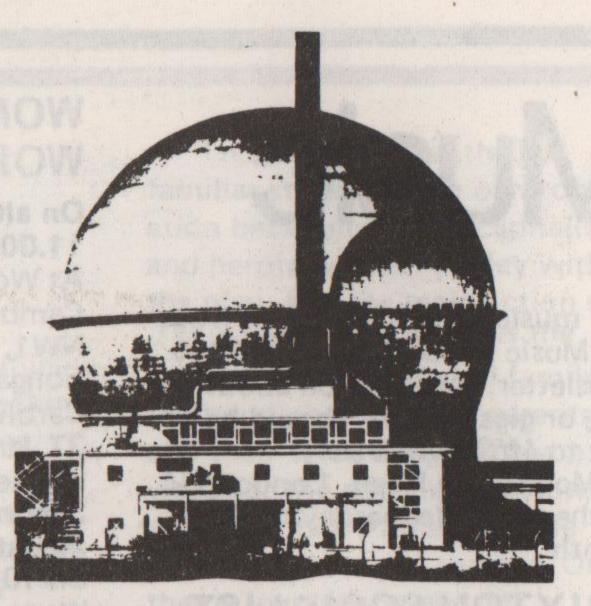
If one were to postulate the worst possible pit accident that could happen in Britain and that everything that could go wrong did go wrong, the number of people killed—at the most—would be 300, and the only problem left would be the recovery of the bodies.

Now look at this reply by a government inspecto to a question put by the current Energy committee chaired by Benn:

"About the worst possible combination of events that could be envisaged would be a melting and partial vaporisation of the core, combined with a failure of the containment. To assess the worse consequences of this improbable situation we can then make the following series of pessimistic assumptions: that the reactor is on a semi-urban site; that the wind blows towards the urban development; as much as 10% of the core is vaporised and released from the reactor and surrounding structures; only a small allowance is made for the likely rise of radioactive material. This postulated combination of circumstances itself very unlikely . . ."

Actually I would say this is a very optimistic set of conditions all of which are already present at the Windscale plant

"... combined with the severe and very unlikely accident to the reactor would cause several thousand deaths within a few weeks of the accident in an area extending about ten kilometres downwind of the reactor. There would also be some increase in the risk of cancer in those exposed to somewhat similar doess than the lethal level. Cancer is a common cause of deaths (about one quarter of all deaths) ... some of these deaths would, however, be at a significantly earlier age than would be expected in normal circumstances.



Altogether some tens of chousands of cancer deaths over this area and in a period of several decades might be caused by the combination of this improbable accident and adverse weather conditions.

number of casualties would be very much smaller, while in the most favourable combination of circumstances, which is no less likely than the unfavourable combination discussed above, there might be no casualties outside the reactor site."

The recently publicised leak from a nuclear plant in Belgium, the scare aroused by the crashing of the Soviet satellite in Canada last month, and even the leak in the early fifties in the Soviet Union which Medvedev has documented, presumably add to your case.

Yes, it is interesting because of the way all these cases have been discredited by the press. Now if Medvedev had been a Soviet dissident, attacking the Soviet state, the press would have been falling over backwards to quote him. But in fact so many vested interests are saying that he is talking nonsense.

You believe him?

I believe him as a reputable scientist, of course I do.

How far is it possible to dismiss your views as those of a man with a vested interest—namely the coal industry?

Yes I do have a vested interest because of my approach. I am committed to a vested interest —the interest of the human race.

People think, because of my approach, that I have just come to these views—but I have done so over the last 20 years, and the record shows that. I held my views against the EEC in 1960—when people were saying that it was not even an issue.

So what does Energy 2000 plan in the future?

We are planning a meeting later this year at which Energy 2000 will be launched as a national body and a national anti-nuclear campaign will begin from that meeting.

And you stand by your position of opposing nuclear power on basically humanitarian grounds?

Yes, I really do mean it—human life matters to me. I actually cried when I visited the Lofthouse Colliery at the time of the disaster in 1975 when 7 miners died, because I felt it—it really hurt.

Of course I would dearly like to devote all the resources that will be used by the nuclear power industry to alleviate the poverty and unemployment that exists in the whole of the country.

To some socialists, you see, such a stand which does not give much emphasis to economic arguments, will seem strange.

Yes I can see that it might seem strange, but really socialism is all about life. What else is it about except people and life? I can see the economic arguments but they are not the major ones. Neither is the future of the coal industry the major point.

Music

The music listings are taken from the Music for Socialism monthly newsletter. Information about gigs, or gigs wanted, should be sent to MfS Newsletter, 79 Mountview Road, London N4 by the third Wednesday of each month.

BRIXTON SOCIALIST CLUB

The Canterbury, Canterbury Crescent

Socialism and Everyday Feb 17 Life; music will follow a talk by Sheila Rowbotham

PETE SEEGER

Mar 7 London, Royal Albert

DEREK BAILEY

Feb 17-19 London, Soho Poly, 16 Riding House St (Company with Terry Day, Georgi Born, Lindsay Cooper) Bath Academy of Arts, Sydney St Bristol, St Georges Hall, Georges Rd Leeds, University **Debating Chamber**

(with Fred Frith)

HACKNEY AND ISLINGTON MUSIC WORKSHOP

Feb 16 London, The Florence, Florence St, N1

REDBRASS

Feb 15 London, Thames Polytechnic London, Seven Dials, Covent Garden Bracknell, South Hill Feb 18 London, Stage One, Deanery Road E15

ROY BAILEY

London, Phoenix, Feb 17 Victoria Warwick University Feb 18 (with Leon Rosselson) Feb 21 Newcastle University Feb 24 Coventry, New Phoenix Sheffield, Cross Inn,

Low Bradfield Nether Heyford, Old

Swan Mar 5 Amersham, Crown Hotel

Sheffield, Black Bull, Ecclesfield

Leeds University Newcastle, Guildhall

LEON ROSSELSON

Feb 18 Warwick University (with Roy Bailey) Portsmouth Polytechnic Feb 24 Penzance, Pipers Folk Club, Gulval Meadhouse

Feb 26 Keele University Mar 3 Manchester University

BIG CHIEF

Dick Heckstall-Smith's band is resident at the Stapleton Hall Tavern, N4 every Monday (free)

SPARE RIB BOP

London, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, N5 (with surprise live bands)

WOMENS MUSIC WORKSHOPS

On alternate Fridays from 8.00-11.00 pm. 30p. Women Only. At At Womens Arts Alliance, 10 Cambridge Terrace Mews, London

Congas/Percussion. With Janie, Caroline, Andrea and Margaret on 27 Jan.

Women in traditional music. With Sandra Kerr (plus Frankie Armstrong and Kathy Henderson) on 10 Feb.

Women in Jazz. With Jean Hart and Joanne O'Brien, on 24 Feb. Improvisation. With Lindsay Cooper and friends on 10 March.

SOCIALIST UNITY BOP Feb 24 London, Caxton House

N19 (with the Resisters)

SINGERS' CLUB

Bull & Mouth, 31 Bloomsbury Way, London WC1 Jim Doody & Steve Feb 18 Harrison, Jack

Warshaw Ewan MacColl & Peggy

Reel Union, Brian Mar 4 Pearson Peegy Seegar & Ewan

SWIFT

London, Micawber's Wine Bar, Putney London, Middlesex Poly (provisonal) London, John Bull, Chiswick High Road London, Micawbers Feb 24 High Wycombe College of Art & Technology London, John Bull London, Tam!

O'Shanter, Chatham London, City & East

Mar 6 London College, Bunhill Row, EC1

LONDON MUSICIANS COLLECTIVE

42 Gloucester Avenue, NW1.

Feb 23 "Whirled Music"-A performance on whirled musical instruments, by Max Eastley, David Toop, Paul Burwell, Steve Beresford. 8.00

Feb 26 Musics magazine open meeting. 2.00 Feminist Improvising Group. Performance.

8.00 Mar 3-4 Fred Frith (guitar), Lol

Coxhill (saxaphone). Georgie Born ('cello),

Roger Smith (guitar), Steve Beresford (piano, things). 8.00

Mar 10 Richard Beswick, Tony Wren, Roy Ashbury, Harrison Smith, Bob Carter. 8.00

Mar 11 Richard Beswick, Phil Wachsmann, Hugh Metcalfe, Larry Stabbins, Matthew Hutchinson, 8.00

Mar 18-19 Herman Hauge, Marc Meggido, Dave Solomon, Jan Steele. Musicians Collective

meeting. 2.00 (first Sunday of every month.

heatre

The dates given are only those which have been confirmed at the time of going to press. Most companies are touring continuously, and if you are interested in a particular company or show, then it may be worthwhile to ring or write to the company to check other dates in their itinerary.

AVON TOURING COMPANY

McArthur Warehouse, Gas Ferry Road, Bristol. (0272 20247). Current shows are Deadwood, about the cuts, Face Value, about racial attitudes, and Who Do You Think You Are?; Avon's new feminist youth club show.

AVON: Feb 20, Portishead Youth Club. (Who Do You Think) AVON: Feb 22, Chipping Sodbury School. (Face Value) AVON: Feb 23, Churchill Youth

Wing Sports Centre. (Who Do You Think) AVON: Feb 24, Pilning Youth Centre. (Who Do You Think)

AVON: Feb 27, Brentry Lodge Youth Centre, Henbury. (Who Do You Think) AVON: Feb 28, Hartcliffe School.

(Deadwood) WESTON-SUPER-MARE: Mar 1, Worle Youth Wing. (Who Do You Think)

BATH: Mar 2, Centre 69, (Who Do You Think) BRISTOL: Mar 3, Backwell Youth

Wing. (Who Do You Think) WESTON-SUPER-MARE: Mar 4, Weston Youth Centre, Bournville. (Who Do You

AVON: Mar 7, Gordano School Hall, Portishead. (Deadwood) THORNBURY: Mar 8, Castle School Youth Wing. (Who Do

You Think) AVONMOUTH: Mar 9, Lawrence

Weston School. (Who Do You Think)

FROME: Mar 10, Merlin Theatre. (Deadwood)

BRISTOL: Date?, Corn Exchange. (Deadwood) WINTERBOURNE: Mar 13, Fromeside Club. (Who Do You

Think) AVONMOUTH: Mar 14, Portway School. (Who Do You Think)

AVON: Mar 15, Gordano School, Portishead. (Face Value) AVON: Mar 16, Clevedon Youth Centre. (Who Do You Think)

ABINGDON: Mar 17, The Old Gaol Arts Centre. (Face Value) OXFORD: Mar 18, The Old Fire Station Arts Centre. (Face Value)

BELT AND BRACES 22 Vicars Road, London NW5. (01 485 2872). Current shows are A Day In The Life Of The World, a multinational spectacular, and Mrs. Colly Pepper, about the aged. LONDON: To Feb 25, Half Moon Theatre. (Pepper) WALLSEND: Feb 28, Arts Centre.

(Pepper) HUDDERSFIELD: Mar 1, Polytechnic. (Pepper) YORK: Mar 2/4, Arts Centre. (Pepper)

SWINDON: Mar 20/25, Wyvern Theatre. (A Day InThe Life) BRIDGEWATER: Mar 28, Arts Centre. (Pepper)

GLOUCESTER: Mar 30, Courtyard Arts Trust. (Pepper) BRISTOL: Mar 31, Folk House.

BROADSIDE MOBILE WORKERS THEATRE

58 Holbein Place, London SW1. (01 450 6992). Presently showing Divide and Rule Britannia about racism and colonialism, and Now You See It, Now You Don't about inflation, unemployment and public spending cuts. LONDON: Mar 3, TGWU Hall, North Gower Street, NW1 Benefit for Garners Steak

House strikers. (Divide and LONDON: Mar 17, Brent Trades Labour Hall. (Now You See It) LONDON: Mar 22, Fulham Town

Hall. (Divide and Rule) LONDON: Mar 30, Albany Empire, Deptford. (Now You Don't)

COMMON STOCK

31 Fulham Palace Road, London W6. (01 741 3086). Current show Spellbound is about adult illiteracy.

LONDON: Mar 3, Methodist Church Hall, Fulham B'dway. LONDON: Mar 6, Covent Garden Community Centre.

LONDON: Mar 10, Hoxton Hall. LONDON: Mar 11, Waterside Theatre. LONDON: Mar 20, Albany

Empire, Deptford. LONDON: Mar 23, Battersea Arts Centre.

LONDON: Mar 30, Tabernacle, Powis Square, W11.

COUNTERACT

27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1. (01 251 4977) Current shows are Screwed, which investigates the law, and She Asked For It, about

MANCHESTER: Feb 21, UMIST Student Union. 12.30 (Screwed) BANGOR: Feb 23, University.

(Screwed) LONDON: Feb 28, Balham Baths, SW17. (She Asked For It) LONDON: Mar 1/2, Battersea Arts Centre. (She Asked For It)

LONDON: Mar 9, Middlesex Polytechnic. (She Asked For It) PONTYPRIDD: Mar 15, Poly of Wales Students Union. (She

Asked For It) LONDON: Mar 21, Eagle and Child Pub, Wood Green Rd. (Screwed)

FOCO NOVO

2 Nugent Terrace, London NW8. (01 289 3226) Current show is Withdrawal Symptoms by C.P.

ST.ANDREWS: Feb 21/22, Crawford Arts. GLASGOW: Feb 23/25, Strath-

clyde Drama Centre. EDINBURGH: Feb 28/Mar 1. Traverse Theatre STIRLING: Mar 2/4, MacRobert

Centre. WAKEFIELD: Mar 6, Bretton Hall College. YORK: Mar 9/11, Arts Centre. LONDON: From Mar 14, ICA.

GAY SWEATSHOP

(01 579 9486) Current Show is As Time Goes By, about the past and present history of the struggle against gay oppression. BIRMINGHAM: Feb 21/25, Aston Centre.

GLASGOW: Feb 28, School of Art.

EDINBURGH: Mar 2/5, Traverse Theatre. MILTON KEYNES: Mar 11, Open

University. DURHAM: Mar 18, Assembly Rooms.

7:84 (England)

School

31 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1 (01 253 4049). Current show is Underneath by John McGrath. LIVERPOOL: Feb 20, Christs College. ORMSKIRK: Feb 21, Edgehill College RUNCORN: Feb 22, Southgate

LIVERPOOL: Feb 23, St. Sylvestre's Club, Vauxhall. CLAY CROSS: Mar 1. NORTHAMPTON: Mar 3, College of F.E.

MILTON KEYNES: Mar 4 Stantonbury Theatre. CARDIFF: Mar 14/18, Sherman Theatre. SKEGNESS: Mar 26, S.W.P.

7:84 (Scotland)

Conference.

(031 226 4300) Current show is His Masters Voice. GLASGOW: Feb 21, Art School. PAISLEY: Feb 22. EAST KILBRIDE: Feb 23/24, Village Theatre.

AYR: Feb 25, Civic Theatre. STEWARTON: Mar 1, Institute

CUMBERNAULD: Mar 3, Greenfauld School. EDINBURGH: Mar 6, George Square Theatre. (Benefit for

GLASGOW: Mar 13/18, Citizens Theatre.

WOMENS THEATRE

GROUP 27 Stepney Green, London E1. Current show is In Our Way. LONDON: Mar 15, Battersea Arts

Centre. LONDON: Mar 17, Fleet Community Centre, NW3. LONDON: Mar 18, Chats Palace,

Hackney. LONDON: Mar 20, Ealing College of F.E. W5. LONDON: Mar 21/22, Albany Empire, Deptford.

BITE

31 James St., London WC2. (01 609 3834). Presently showing Gast on the history, causes and effects of migrant labour, and Grunwick on the events and politics of the dispute. Performances followed by

discussion with the audience. LONDON: Feb 23, Canterbury Arms, Canterbury Crescent, Brixton SW9. A benefit.

(Grunwick) LONDON: Mar 11, ICA Theatre Platform evening on migrant labour. 6.00 Gast, followed at 9.00 by Grunwick.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES: Mar 20/ 21, Dovecot Arts Centre. NEWCASTLE: Mar 22/23.

RECREATION GROUND

(01 722 7334) Current show is Resistance, an anti-racist play for the labour movement. WEST MIDLANDS: Touring during week beginning Feb 27. BIRMINGHAM: Feb 28, Aston University.

NORTH EAST: Touring during week beginning Mar 6.

Review

W When the Red Ladder Theatre collective moved to Yorkshire from London two years ago they were both breaking from their own traditions and building on them. Formed in London in 1968 as 'Agitprop', the group's early work reflected both the strengths and limitations of that term. Simple images (the ladder symbolising hierarchical society, the capitalist in top hat) were used to dramatise specific current struggles: e.g. the fight against rent increases, and the opposition to the Industrial Relations Act. They aimed to present their work at the point of struggle and organisation itself-large scale demos, trade unions' weekend

schools, picket lines. But increasingly, the changing political situation, and the developing politics of the left, crucially the growth of the women's movement, demanded a more complex response, which would foreground the more insidious aspects of oppression. To this phase belonged A Woman's Work is Never Done and It Makes You Sick (on the politics of health). In making these plays they were also trying to develop a form of collective work where technical competence could be developed without reproducing the bourgeois theatre's division of

labour-between writing, producing, acting, music making, prop making, operating lights, administrating etc. They wanted a different relationship with their audiences, and took the plays to places where working class people came to drink, talk and enjoy themselves as well as watch plays. They moved from the metropolis to Leeds to develop further in this direction.

Taking Our Time is Red Ladder's first full-length production since the move. It is set in Halifax in 1842, when power looms were replacing the handloom weavers and a movement of resistance was developing through Chartism, culminating in the Plug Riots. By focussing on a small group of characters, it touches on a variety of issues. Perhaps most central are the shattering effects of factory work and discipline on the life-style of the handloom weavers (vividly represented by the deafening monotony of the sound of the steam-driven shuttle) and the ways in which these changes influenced relationships of authority in the family. The play mingles two dramatic traditions: the painstakingly researched naturalism of historical narrative and elements derived from the heritage of agitprop

ation between wicked capitalist and heroic worker. A play within the play. But the main action of Taking Our Time follows the story of the Greenwood familythe handloom weaving parents and their three daughters who work for the self-made millowner Ackroyd, two in the mill, the other as a domestic servant. One theme involves Sarah, the daughter in revolt against the oldstyle patriarchy. She seeks emotional and financial independence by going to work on the new power-looms and pursuing her relationship with William the "progressive" engineer and boss's protege, only to encounter another form of sexism in his notion of her as a housewife excluded from

The play opens with the

familiar street-theatre confront-

all day?" - "You'd be married". Standing both inside and outside this social realist framework is the figure of Tom the Tinker who operates within the drama while commenting on it to the audience.: "Most people never wake up-they sleep all their lives. My job is to wake 'em up." He is the spirit of subversion—the clown, the Fool, the poacher, challenging the Methodist preacher's ideology of obedient toil, refusing to be ground in the mill.

production. "But what would I do

Taking Our Time raises many questions, both about the historical period it deals with and the play's own approach to it. Reviving past events only makes sense if they connect with present experience. Taking Our Time emphasises the 'dehumanisation' of factory work through direct contrast with the world they had lost. It certainly was a real loss for the handloom weavers themselvesboth materially and culturallybut can our sympathy for their plight be more than socialist nostalgia? Or can the revival of a lost tradition contribute to our present struggle? Not the least of the qualities of Taking Our Time is that it forces us to examine and confront our traditions.

> Jenny Taylor Dave Laing

MONSTROUS

REGIMENT 190 Goswell Road, London EC1. Currently touring with Floorshow, a feminist cabaret, and Kiss and Kill, about domestic violence. LONDON: Mar 3/4, Tramshed, Woolwich. (Floorshow)

Scene from Red Ladder's Taking Our Time

University. (Floorshow) PETERBOROUGH: Mar 8, Key Theatre Studio. (Floorshow) LOWESTOFT: Mar 10, Theatre Centre. (Floorshow) IPSWICH: Mar 11, South Suffolk Drama Centre. (Floorshow)

COLCHESTER: Mar 7, Essex

SOUTHEND: Mar 13, Shrimpers Club, Roots Hall Stadium. (Kiss and Kill) COVENTRY: Mar 15/16, Warwick Arts Centre. (Floorshow)

Mar 17/18, (Kiss and Kill)

LONDON: Mar 20, Labour and

Trade Union Hall, Dalston Lane. (Floorshow)

NORTH WEST SPANNER

The Drill Hall, Manchester Road, Mossley, Ashton-under-)Lyme, Lancs. (061 881 7845) Current show is Out Of Control. DERBY: Feb 24, St. Helens

House. MANCHESTER: Feb 27, Holyroyde House. WARRINGTON: Mar 1, Padgate College of F.E. 'MANCHESTER: Mar 7, Friends Meeting House.

PRESTON: Mar 22, Polytechnic

RED LADDER

Students Union.

New Blackpool Centre, Cobden Avenue, Lower Wortley, Leeds 12.

Current show is Taking Our Time about the struggles of the traditional Yorkshire hand-loom weavers in 1842.

LEEDS: Feb 25, Royal Park School. LEEDS: Feb 28, Primrose Hill

School. ILKLEY: Mar 1, Ilkley College. BARNSLEY: Mar 2, Technical

College. SHEFFIELD: Mar 3, Hurlfield Campus.

HIGH MELTON: Mar 6, Doncaster Metropolitan Institute of Education. HUDDERSFIELD: Mar 8/9, Friendly and Trades Club.

SHEFFIELD: Mar 4.

SLAITHWAITE: Mar 10, Colne Valley Leisure Centre. GRANTHAM: Mar 14/15, Guildhall.

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Agitprop

CARF

Jan/Feb issue of Campaign Against Racism and Fascism-CARF-now out. Price 10p. Available from most progressive bookshops or the Anti-Racist, Anti-Fascist Co-ordinating Committee (ARAFCC), Box 35, 182 Upper Street, London N1. Individual copies 20p (inc p&p).

SQUATTING

New squatters handbook for 1978. It covers the law, finding a place, moving, organising, etc. Copies from left bookshops or send 30p (p&p) to 2 St Pauls Rd, London N1.

WORKERS

London workers group, meets alternate Mondays, 7.30pm at Earl Russell Pub, 2 Pancras Rd, London NW1. For independent militants and all those wishing to take control of their working lives. Fortnightly starting Feb 6.

SINGAPORE

A demonstration to protest against 15 years of detention without trial of the Singapore Five, a group of trade unionists, and journalists, at 2pm on 1st February 1978 at Speakers Corner and a rally in the evening at 5.30, Manning Hall, University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1.

NUCLEAR POWER

Stop Windscale demonstration on March 19. Starts 12.00 at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. For more about the issues, see The Leveller 12-Energy feature.

CIVIL WAR

A new pamphlet on The Irish Civil War 1922-23 which hopes to provide some specialised knowledge about aspects of that most terrible war.' For a copy send 30p plus 15p p&p to West London United Troops Out Movement, Box 37, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

SOUTH AFRICA

The crisis of world capitalism and the apartheid economy by Michael Williams. A detailed examination of apartheid which shows that the present crisis facing South Africa is both a crisis of apartheid, and world capitalism. 80p (+10p post) from Winstanley Publications, 71 Fleet Street, London EC4.

CIA IN AUSTRALIA

A useful summary (101 pages) of the CIA involvement in the overthrow of the Whitlam government by Denis Freng, its extended links which in Australia, and how it uses them. Essential reading for activists and provoking thoughts of parallels in this country. £1.50 including postage from Research Associates International, 67 Coleshill Flats, Pimlico Rd, London SW1.

SIXTY-EIGHT CLUB

Every Sunday at 8pm a political venue with a sociable atmosphere, at the new West Indian Sports & Social Club, Westwood Street, Mosside, Manchester. For details of membership write to Greg or Graham, 7 Warwick Avenue, West Didsbury, Manchester M20 8NA. Tel: 061-434 6427. Members 20p, Non-members 35p. Coming events:

STARPOWER. 26 February. A game introduced by Janey Harris in which everyone is invited to take part.

EMITAI. 5 March. Ousmane Sembene's film about Senegal. "A strong portrait of a people's despair filled with tragedy and sacrifice." Members 35p. Non-Members 45p. YUKONG. Joris Iven's monumental film How Yukong Moved the Mountains. ... definitive film portrait of

everyday life in contemporary China." Members 35p. Non-members 45p. FREE SCHOOLS in an unfree society? A discussion on ths subject of deschooling and alternatives to the educational system; but what alternatives? People from Manchester Free School which has been going for five years.

LIBERTY HALL

Events are being held at the Everyman Bistro, Hope Street, Liverpool 1. Members 25p, non-members 45p. All events being at 8pm and followed by a social and a disco.

A SENSE OF LOSS. 26 February. Marcel Ophul's film of Ireland made in 1972 and only recently on general release. OPEN EVENING. 5 March. With local musicians, poets, etc. ATALE OF TWO CITIES. 12 March. A film about inadequate abortion facilities in Liverpool. Plus Sheila Abdullah on Abortion as a political football in Liverpool.

HOSPITAL HAZARDS

A new pamphlet from NHS Hospital Hazards Group, about hazards of chemical and material

REPRESSION IN YUGOSLAVIA

Not all are people the British left would support for their politics: there

are Croatian nationalists, 'Cominform-

ists" (third internationalists who want

closer links with Moscow), Marxist-

system, and even right-wing

monarchists. But all have been

imprisoned, the report shows, by

generous interpretation of Yugo-

slavia's criminal code, and all are

suffering inhuman and degrading

treatment in prison (often including

torture). No surprise, that as it hosted

Yugoslavian government, which has

the dissidents up. Available from

North London Claimants Union

are holding a fundraising benefit

on Friday, 10th March between

8-11.30 pm at Ladbroke House,

Two rock bands-Charge and the

Resisters—will be playing. There

ADVANCE WARNING

There will be a mass march and

nuclear power and in favour of

of 6/7 May this year. Bath Civil

Aid will be catering with

the alternatives over the weekend

wholefoods; the National Centre

German anti-nuclear groups are

Edinburgh. Tel: 031-225 7752.

THE LEVELLER is now running a

proper classified ads column. To

going to charge only 2p a word for

insertions. But all insertions must

COMMUNITY NURSERY worker

Counselling Centre, preferably with

arranged. Phone 223-6662 between

wanted in 'alternative' multiracial

nursery at Battersea Action and

experience and/or qualifications.

£1.50 per hour. Hours to be

NALGAY the group for gay

Pickwick Court, West Park,

send £5, with future trends.

potentials £7, plus date, time

free price list: John Willmott,

RARE chance to buy in mint

works of Lenin, hardback, Lawrence and Wishart (30

volumes). Only £25. Ring 01-387 0176.

WANTED room or bedsit for

birthplace; alternatively send for

Knockan, Bunessan, Mull, Argyll.

condition the complete collected

Leveller reader Northwest/central

London. Ring 01-387 0176 and

Islington area. Ring 01-387 0176. EARLY issues of Andy Warhol's

LEVELLER worker seeks two

Interview magazine. About six

issues in all. Interviews with

Oliver Reed, Ken Russell and

other famous people. Offers?

Leveller can be bought at The Birmingham Peace Centre, 18

Moor Street, Ringway, Birmingham B5 7UH. Tel: 021-643 0996.

BOOKS and magazines like The

Ring 01-485 9737.

bedroomed flat in Camden/

London, SE9 4SA.

people in Nalgo. Details from 7

ASTROLOGICAL birth charts and detailed character analysis,

make it useful to people we are

for Alternative Technology is

coming as well as Labour MP

sending its Cretan windmill;

speakers from French and

Robin Cook. Details from

SCRAM, 2 Ainslie Place,

Classifieds

be pre-paid.

10.30-4pm.

rally on the site of Torness

nuclear power station against

Highbury Grove, London N5.

N1. Price 30p.

will be a creche.

CLAIMANTS BOP

Leninists who support the Albanian

Comprehensive report from the Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners. Smuggled out of Belgrade last summer, by an activist who was deported while trying to organise an alternative Belgrade conference (to the super-powers' European Security conference, follow-up to Helsinki). The 24-page report shows that there are between 6,000 and 8,000 people in prison in Yugoslavia, convicted of crimes against the imperialists' conference, the the state, about a tenth of them classified as "political prisoners" in the never officially denied any of the sense of being Marxist dissidents. Detailreports, should have wanted to shut of 41 political trials, involving the imprisonment of 162 named prisoners, Box 88, 182 Upper Street, London are given.

infection, and energy. Individual copies 5p plus postage from NHS Hazards Group, c/o Gene Feder, 4 Beacondale Road, Gipsy Hill, London SE19.

International Women's Day London March and Celebration

Saturday 4th March. Assemble 2pm Clapham Common (by tube station). Going to St Matthew's Meeting Place, Brixton Road (opposite Brixton Town Hall). Celebrations continuing into the evening. Food + Music. Creche provided from 1pm at St Matthews. No banners, leaflets or slogans contravening Six Demands of the WLM, or advertising groups whose main aim is not women's liberation.

Women in Struggle

A series of events at the Women's Art Alliance, Cambridge Terrace Mews, London NW1. Films, slides, posters and discussions presenting a historical and international view of women's fight for liberation. 27th February -18th March. There will be an all day event on International Women's Day.

The above sticker, along with others proclaiming "This building is an Official Secret", "Official Secrets are for sharing", and one with a picture of the Post Office Tower warning "Official Secret - don't look, is part of the Aubrey/Berry/ Campbell Defence Committee's new publicity drive. They cost 50p for an assortment, from ABCDC, 374 Grays Inn Rd, London WC1.

NEWS RELEASE

news and information on drugs, the law, police, housing, abortion and much more

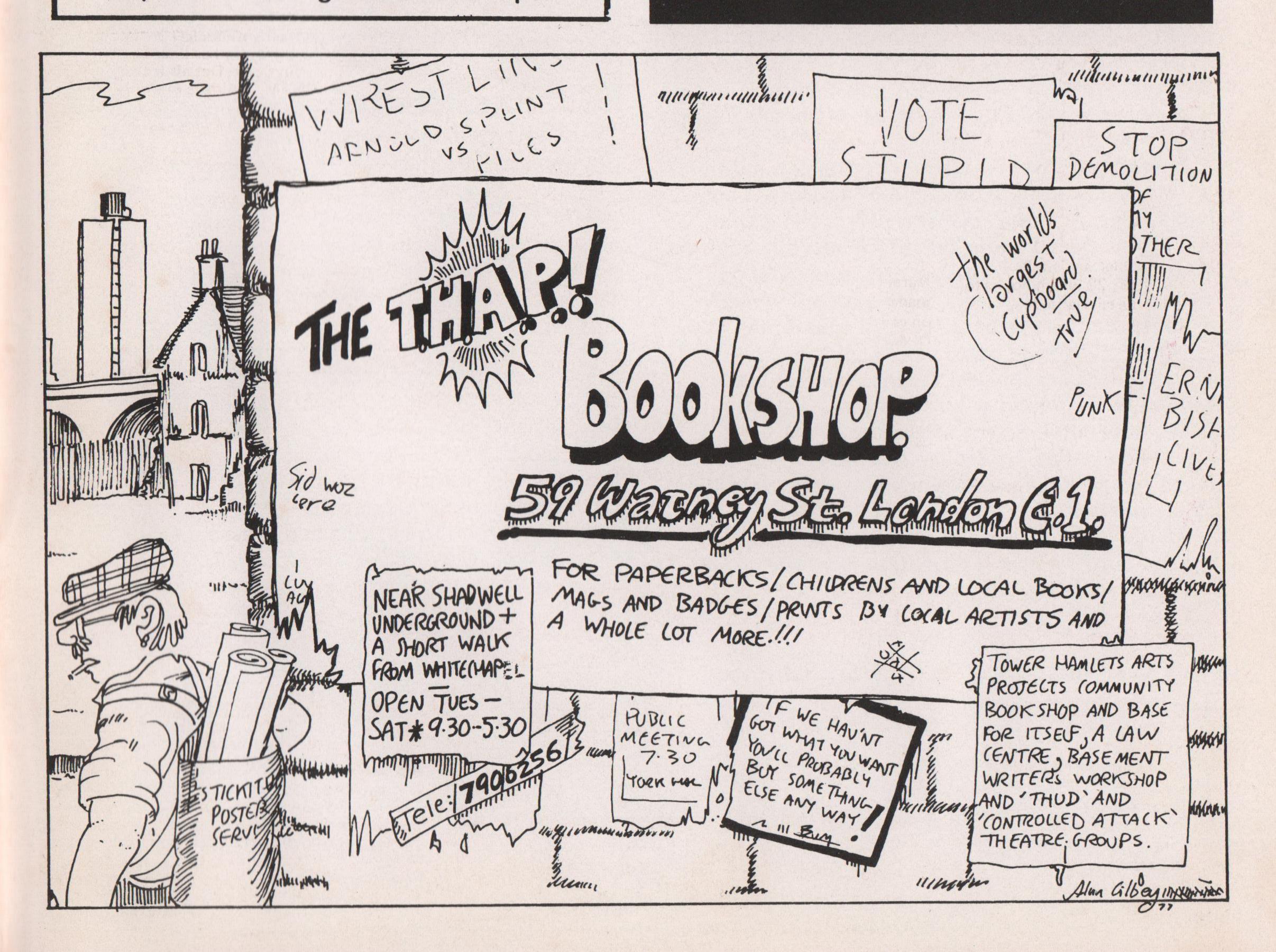
written from the Release Collective's direct involvement in these areas of struggle

Special subscription rate £2 from Release, 1 Elgin Ave., London W9. 35p from most good bookshops.

WINSGALE

Speakers Corner Hyde Park 12.00 onwards Departs 12.30

The NUCLEAR POWER INDUSTRY is unintentionally contributing to an increased RISK of **NUCLEAR WAR**



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