Free Book Offer

This month's freebie book is How To Save Your Own Life by Erica Jong, published by Granada at £1.00.

If you don't know what "zipless" means, and you haven't read Fear of Flying, now's your chance to catch up with this feminist author who gives you your personal politics with large dollops of beautifully ironic humour.

Rather than write any more boring blurb we'll let Erica speak for herself-one of the poems appended to the back of the novel:

The Wingless & the Winged

the wingless thing man . . .

- E. E. CUMMINGS

Most men use their cocks for two things only: they stand up pissing & lie down fucking. The world is full of horizontal men or vertical ones -& really it is all the same disease.

But your cock flies over the earth, making shadows on the bodies of women, making wild bird noises from its tiny mouth, making music & food for thought. It is not a wingless thing at all.

We could call it Pegasus if it didn't make us think of gas stations. Or we could call it Icarus if it didn't make us think of falling.

But still it dips & dives through the sky like a glider, in search of a meadow, a field, a sun-dappled swamp from which (you rightly said) all life begins.

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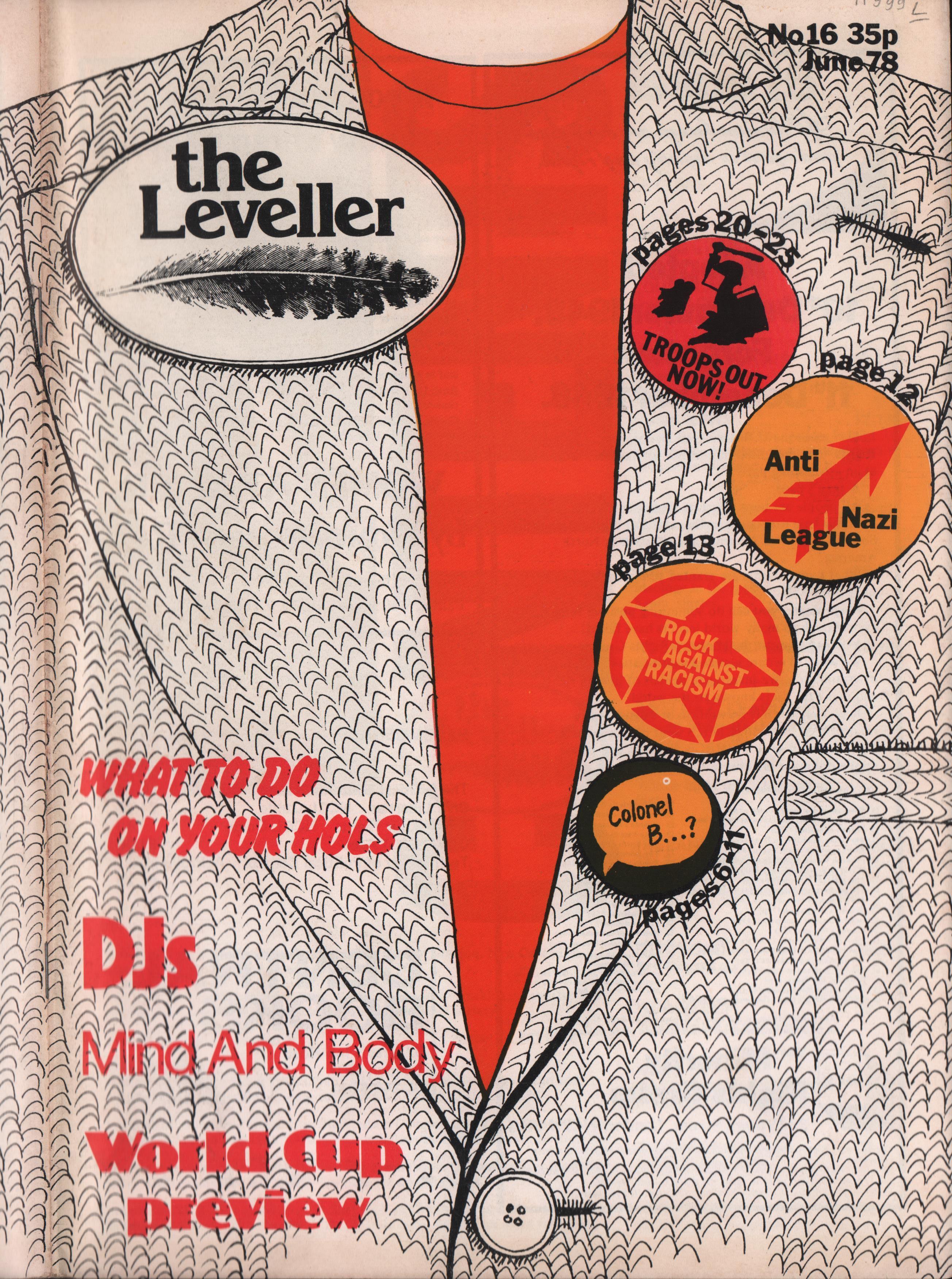
Supporting Subscribers are the backbone of the magazine. As well as receiving a year's copies, they get regular newsletters; are informed of all developments; and are able to influence and vote on the policy of The Leveller at the Annual General Meeting of the Friendly Society which owns and controls it.

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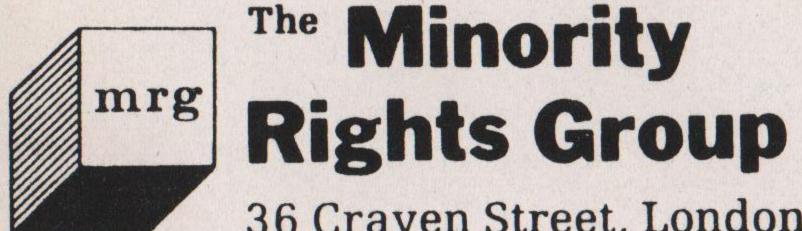
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For the first time in print, women in Britain tell of the rape they have experienced—and what they are doing to stop it.

Jenny Smith on rape and battering in marriage, and how she fought to get out.

Norma Steele of Black Women for Wages for Housework on being an immigrant and the rape and violence this entails.

Karen Crocker who worked as a stripper and was raped on her way home from work. When the judge said no lasting harm had been done, she went to the press with her story.

Jan Wills on the violence lesbian women face both on the streets and in marriage.

Ruth Hall, national spokeswoman for W.A.R., on the massive movement to finally end rape.

Caroline Barker, who introduces the pamphlet, is a founding member of W.A.R. Bristol.

WOMEN AT W.A.R. by Women AGAINST RAPE

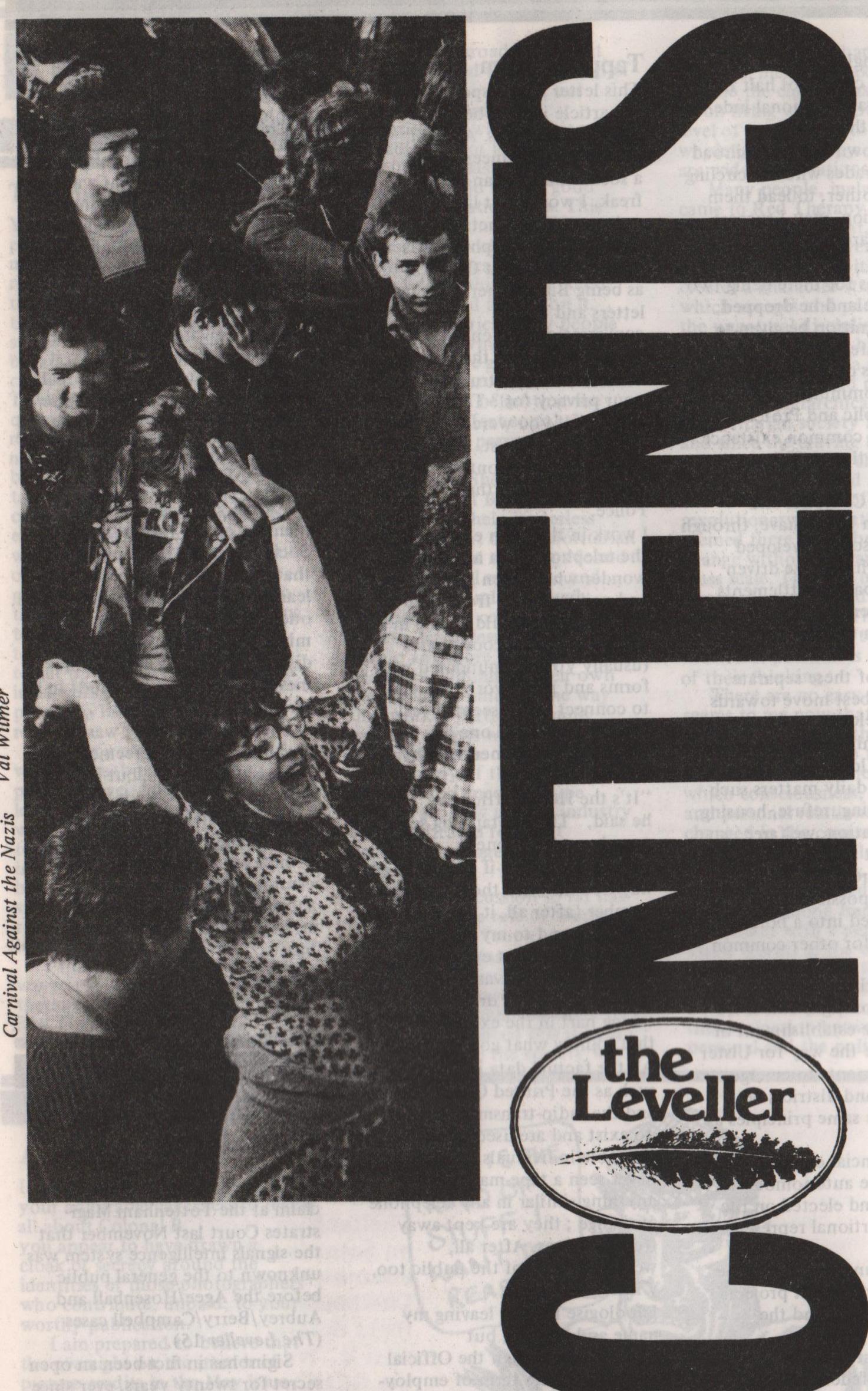
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Civil Liberties NCCL Guide	£1.75
Know Your Rights NCCL Guide	e .40
CIA Diary Agee	£1.00
Technology of Political Control	Ackroyd et al £1.25



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Leveller/Peace News Benefit. Polytechnic of Central London, New Cavendish Street (off Great Portland Street), Friday June 16.

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Leveller AGM. 2 June at the Fred Tallant Hall, next-door to our office on Drummond Street, NW1. Starting 11am thru to 5pm. Party with disco for afters.

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HOME NEWS 12-13 Sunny Jim's Cardiff connection; behind the Cornish tin mines closures; abortion struggles in Scotland.

MIND AND BODY Mystic reactionaries.

DJs Ideology in the space between 3 min. singles.

ROCK AGAINST RACISM 18-19 Rhythm and reds.

ANTI NAZI LEAGUE 20 Who are those arrows pointing at?

SHORTS A little bit of this, a little bit of that

IRELAND 22-27 The Brit left and the North; Amnesty and NCCL; manipulation of Irish reporting; Irish prisoners in Brit jails.

DEPTFORD In words and pix

WORLD CUP A celebration of masculinity

NEWS The Claridges fiasco; Republican News bust.

AGITPROP SPECIAL Lefties holiday guide.

33-34 AGITPROP Including theatre and music listings.

Phone: 01-387 0176.



In a rut*

The unease sparked off in the *Leveller* Collective by the article 'Republican Rethink' by John Lloyd, published in the No.14 issue, and the furious onslaught on this latter article in the columns of No.15 illustrate the need for continuing debate on *Ireland*.

Each has a valid point of view, but each has its limitations.

Imperialism: certainly Northern Ireland is a colony of England, just as, for example, Palestine was. And, just as England introduced Jewish settlers into Palestine to bolster its forces against Arab resistance, so England put in Scottish and English settlers as a force against the indigenous Irish.

Where two settler groups—as, for example in Canada—compete for space, conflicts different from the straight "rule-ruled" situation, can begin to develop.

Settler groups can emerge into nations (who can deny that to the French Canadians of Quebec?) thus Australia and New Zealand have arisen within the English imperial pale, and Israel.

The watershed for the forming of Israel from Jewish communities within a Palestinian nation was the partition which they won by force of arms in 1948/67. And Israel came into being when the separate Jewish communities were coalesced into one body: geographically contingent and under one government.

Until the English withdrawal from Palestine in 1948, the hostility between the Jews and the Arabs was kept in check by the imperialist army; with its departure, open warfare broke out.

What happened in Palestine in 1948 would have happened in Ireland in 1921, had the English army been withdrawn—and would still happen if it was withdrawn today.

The outcome would have been either a subjugated Protestant community or the Protestants would have obtained for themselves an area they dominated. At that stage the various Protestant communities would have coalesced and formed a nationand at that juncture there would have been two nations in Ireland: "Ulster" and Ireland. However, a partition enforced by an English army ensured that the latter was stillborn-at the expense of a festering sore which has periodically burst into guerilla warfare -and the turning of Protestants in the south and Catholics in the north into second-class citizens in their respective territories.

The movement towards nationhood in Northern Ireland was spiked by English guns in 1921, though they could not halt the progress towards national independance in the South.

To lay down another railroad for our comrades who are circling round each other, to lead them to a destination, may I suggest a discussion around the following points:

a) that claims for there being two nations in Ireland be dropped;
b) that recognition be given to the right conferred by centuries of indigenous development to the Protestant community of Ulster,
c) that Catholic and Protestant in Ulster have a common existence which marks them off from the Republic;

d) that, also, Catholics and Protestants in Ulster have, through historical reasons, developed differences which have driven them into separate settlements within Northern Ireland-but largely within the cities and large towns;

e) that each of these separate ghettoes can best move towards peace by developing a democratic structure within each area, which would be the local government authority for daily matters such as roads, lighting, refuse, housing, primary education, welfare: similar to, but stronger than the parish structure in England;
f) that where possible these areas be amalgamated into a borough of like-with-like for other common needs;

g) but where that is still not possible for boroughs still to be created for the establishment of (f) would pave the way for Ulster political alignments to emerge;
h) that cities and districts be formed on the same principles as (g);

i) that a provincial council be organised to be autonomous of Westminster and elected on the basis of proportional representation;

j) that the Council of Ireland be formed to discuss joint projects between the North and the South;

k) that amongst these be the proposal for a federation between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic;

 that the British Government be compelled to redress its historic wrong to Ireland by ensuring that sufficient aid goes to both the North and the South, but particularly to the Republic, to enable their standard of life to be that of the British mainland.

Alan Spence London WC1

*This letter has been shortened



Tapping From The Inside

This letter is in response to the article in Number 15 on telephone taps. As I am a telephone engineer, albeit a socialist and clean-living freak, I would just like to point out a few facts. In the article the emphasis was placed on the Post Office as being Big Brother, opening letters and taping

conversations, when this is not the case. What do the Post Office want to intrude into, your privacy for ? They couldn't care less if you were a dopedealing communist. They are being used as a front by the Home Office and the Thought Police.

I work in the main exchange for the telephone area and I used to wonder why (when I was young and naive) a clerk from a distant office would phone in a couple of wiring coordinates (usually you are inundated with forms and paperwork) for you to connect up. It seemed very strange to me and one day I asked a wise old mentor why this was so :

"It's the Home Office, lad", he said, "They're tapping some poor bugger's phone.' Outraged, I asked if there was any way I could trace the subscriber's number (after all, it could have been me) and to my dismay I disovered that not even a Post Office employee was let into this secret. I wouldn't dream of taking part in the exercise now that I know what goes on. All the factual data in the article, such as the Printed Check machine and the radio-transmitting bugs, do exist and are used by undesirable individuals. But I have never seen a tape-machine or anything similar in any telephone exchange; they are kept away from our eyes. After all, we're members of the public too, y'know.

I apologise for not leaving my name and address, but I was forced to sign the Official Secrets Act as a term of employment when I started with the Post Office, and therefore I could be liable to up to ten years in jail.

Mike Cleveland After all, they might open this letter....

The Leveller would be interested to hear from any other Post Office employees who can tell us about telephone tapping, mail opening and surveillance....

Controversy Rules

Congratulations to John Lloyd for having the courage to poke a stick into the wasps' nest of 'socialist' politics on Ireland and give it a good stir. What was most revealing about the response to Lloyd's original article was not their criticisms, which after one sorted them out from the abuse did not amount to much, but what it revealed about their attitude towards a real debate.

Revolutionary socialists, it seems, cannot tolerate any real questioning of their 'axiomatic' dogmas, their idea of a debate is for all participants to be in basic agreement before the discussion starts.

Some years ago I was a member of the International Socialists (now SWP) but found that it was almost impossible to learn anything about their politics, one had to walk through such a minefield of party dogma and to discover anything meant almost inevitably putting your foot in a piece of it.

I cannot say that I was in anything like full agreement with John Lloyd's views, but I sincerely hope you continue to publish articles that dissent from the generally accepted view. The ordinary reader, such as myself, cannot learn anything about socialism if debate is stifled and straitjacketed by revolutionary bigots.

J.S. Bromley

It's No Secret

Don't be fooled by Colonel B's claim at the Tottenham Magistrates Court last November that the signals intelligence system was unknown to the general public before the Agee/Hosenball and Aubrey/Berry/Campbell cases (The Leveller 15).

Sigint has in fact been an open secret for twenty years, ever since two students who had served in it during national service were prosecuted and imprisoned under the Official Secrets Act for an article on the subject in the Oxford student magazine *Isis* on 16 February 1958. Apart from the publicity surrounding the case, the article was widely circulated in leaflet form by students and New Left groups and was also reprinted in some left-wing student magazines.

In 1960 a similar article by a writer who had also served in SIGINT during national service was published in the anarchist magazine University Libertarian, but by that time the subject was too familiar to be interesting.

Arthur Freeman London E1



Therapeutic argument*

Your article (The Leveller 11) points out that Red Therapy does not suit everybody, because it requires "a certain level of togetherness and takes a lot of time. By and large it does not suit working class people not because they don't like it or can't afford it (and within Red Therapy there has been considerable effort and pooling of resources to make sure that nobody is excluded by expense) but because they can't afford to take the time off work and a life centred around work. The NHS exists primarily to keep the working class working, and it offers cheap instant treatmentsmainly drugs-that numb you to the problems while doing nothing to alleviate them. It is the need to keep going from day to day, to get up at six o'clock and clock in at work as usual, that impels people to look for this kind of remedy

Therapy can help you to work through problems at a personal level; but at another level it has much in common with drug treatments. Each aims to bring about changes in the individual which enable her or him to cope with an existing situation which is driving them round the bend. It does not itself change the situation.

I think there are five possible ways of looking at the politics of therapy, though I think it's up to Red Therapy to say which, if any, of these are applicable to their work now.

A negative response

I note with some pique that in your admirable eagerness to reveal all about Colonel B, you appear to have drawn a cloak of secrecy around the identities of those photographers who contribute, unpaid, to your worthy publication.

I am prepared to believe that the oversight on the matter of picture credits in the May issue occurred inadvertently, but there does appear to be a general attitude amongst the publications of the Left that anyone with a camera can be coerced into doing things for nothing and then dispensed with.

As it actually costs photographers money on top of their time and skill to produce photographs, I feel that a little publicity is the least we can demand. It is, after all, only through picture credits that other people discover where certain illustrations are available and then, who knows—we may even make a sale.

At the same time, it could now be revealed that the photograph on page 28 illustrating the article on the National Women's Conference was taken by

Disgruntled, London SW12 Val Wilmer 1) In the broadest sense it could be argued that any form of activity which increases our health and happiness is revolutionary, whether it's yoga or meditation or jogging or penicillin or yeast tablets or ginseng, or good music, good food, good relationships. This point is worth making if only because it is so often ignored in left wing politics, but having been made, I don't think you could build a political theory on it.

2) In America many people from the left-wing student movement have gone into therapy and into various forms of Eastern religions, in the belief that the only way to effect social change is to bring about personal change at a mass level.

3) Jo and Sheila stressed in their letter that Red Therapy groups are selfhelp leaderless groups, without the authoritarian and hierarchical trappings found in conventional medicine and therapies. I wonder, though, whether in the context of a class society, leaderless therapy groups can do any more than allow people to administer their own mental crisis, much in the way that worker participation in industry allows workers to administer their own exploitation. In fact many of the techniques developed in encouter-type therapy are now used in industry as sophisticated forms of personnel management, especially in America.

4) The discussion so far has emphasized the role of therapy in helping one to "cope" with a crisis; but the danger is that therapy very easily becomes a way of life. A new crisis is always brewing up to take the place of the old one. Indeed this is hardly surprising since the society we



live in generates unhappiness, neurosis, mental breakdown. For me the choice was either to, go on living with a not intolerable level of insanity, or to spend my whole life in therapy. But there are wider implications.

Many people, including myself, came to Red Therapy from the libertarian movement, or from reading Reich. We were concerned at the ways that capitalist society creates a character structure which accepts and perpetuates the unnatural discipline and limitations imposed by that society. We wanted a social revolution which did not merely mirror the hierarchical and authoritarian society it replaced and since the craving for authority and hierarchy were thought to be rooted in the character-structure of the revolutionary generation, it seemed there could be no real change without therapy on a mass scale. This was one of the moving forces behind the foundation of Red Therapy and I would be interested to know how much this position is still a part of their thinking.

There are no easy answers. It seems to me now that either everyone has to do therapy all the time, or we have to discover and build on the other ways in which consciousness, character, and personal relationships are changed in the course of a life of anti-capitalist struggle.

5) The orthodox left has traditionally elevated "real" politics (meaning trade unions and strikes with a peppering of Third World) at the expense of "personal" politics. Red Therapy is part of a much wider movement on the left of people who reject this distinction between the personal and the political, because

of the wide areas of human experience it neglects. The Women's Liberation Movement was the vanguard of the assault on this definition of politics. The trouble is that this split between personal politics and "real" politics is fostered just as much by some of the "personal politics" groups such as Red Therapy and the Men's Movement, who create "personal politics" as a separate activity; the Women's Liberation Movement has on the whole been much more successful in combining questions of consciousness, relationships and personal life with agitation around related issues. This is not because we are superior people, but because we have undertaken political struggle on our own behalf, not as an activity separate from out own needs which we are driven by guilt to do for the benefit of other people. (It doesn't follow from this that all activities undertaken on our own behalf are necessarily "political".) Thus "personal politics" is

presented by both sides as being something qualitatively different to struggles around material issues. I think this is a mistake. Personal politics could mean taking up issues like the effects of assembly line production and shift-work, not only on the worker, but on her or his family; the relationship between emotional and economic dependence; between sexuality and machinery; between work discipline, family discipline, and social discipline; between baby battering and hospital procedure; between overtime and family life; between piece-work and senility; between EEC agricultural policy, diet and health.

Marina Lewycka

*This letter has been shortened.

Cop shot

As you say in your piece on surveillance in *The Leveller* 15, police photographers are always at work at political demonstrations. We've all had experience of the unlik-'y looking photographer ' ith police haircut and regulation boots who claims to be a freelance and yet appears to be suffering from a marked lack of "photo sense".

It seems to me that the idea of the police taking pictures of demonstrators at peaceful and legal demonstrations is one that could offend even the most upright and stalwart citizens: the idea of demonstrations being a basic political freedom in this country is fairly well ingrained.

At the moment, The Leveller and Peace News have their backs to the wall on the issue of state security and secrecy: whatever the result of the current proceedings, the Official Secrets Act is going to get a lot of publicity when the ABC trial starts in September. In short, it could be an opportune moment to try to organise some sort of campaign against-at leastroutine forms of police surveillance of legal and decent (not to say truthful and honest) political activity. Andy Curry Cambridge



"UNTIL THIS case, the general public, as far as I am aware, has been unaware of UK SIGINT activities. As a result of these proceedings the fact that SIGINT exists is no longer secret, but the details of its operations still are"- the infamous opinions of Col. Johnstone, served up as expert comment during the Aubrey-Berry-Campbell committal hearing. As a result of our prosecutions the fact that SIGINT exists is even less secret. The Leveller here presents a round up of British electronic spying, written entirely from public sources, to let you in on some of the details . . . and induce apoplexy among a whole alphabet of colonels.

SIGINT is "SIGNALS

INTELLIGENCE". Otherwise, electronic spying: listening to the transmissions of other people and using the information yourself. It provides the developed countries with the vast majority of their information about each other — eavesdropping on a world scale. "If it's broadcast, record it; if it's in code, break it", have been the precepts of this secret world since the start of World War II.

Modern SIGINT breaks down into ELINT, RADINT and COMINT.

ELINT means intercepting the electronic messages to satellites and weaponry-messages that aren't in words, but which tell a satellite, for example, to fly higher or lower, which alter a missile's course. Examining these can tell the interceptors a great deal about the nature of the military equipment deployed against them.

RADINT involves intercepting the signals from other people's radar installations, to see what frequencies they operate on, what they are designed to look for, and so on - again, helping to build a picture of the other side's equipment and activities.

But COMINT is the most important. That includes intercepting all transmitted messages, whether from a tank unit to its regiment, or from an Embassy to its Foreign Ministry. It is the source of 80 per cent of intelligence, and is most important for its application outside the purely military field. Intercepted diplomatic and business communications yield a vast

amount of information about the activities GCHQ is the British signatory to the of other countries. secret so-called UKUSA pact on To use this information, nations need intelligence sharing, which brought together the US and the UK with Canada and Australia. Other western powers have signed the pact since, but the Much is known about codebreaking. main intelligence sharing goes on between Its modern history starts with the Enigma GCHQ and the US National Security machine, the code-writing machine which Agency. In the trade, NSA is recognised the Nazis used. It's now quite well known as the technically superior agency, whereas GCHQ is said to be better at analysis—at reading the messages and deciding what they mean. Its main computer is an American IBM machine.

Fouges

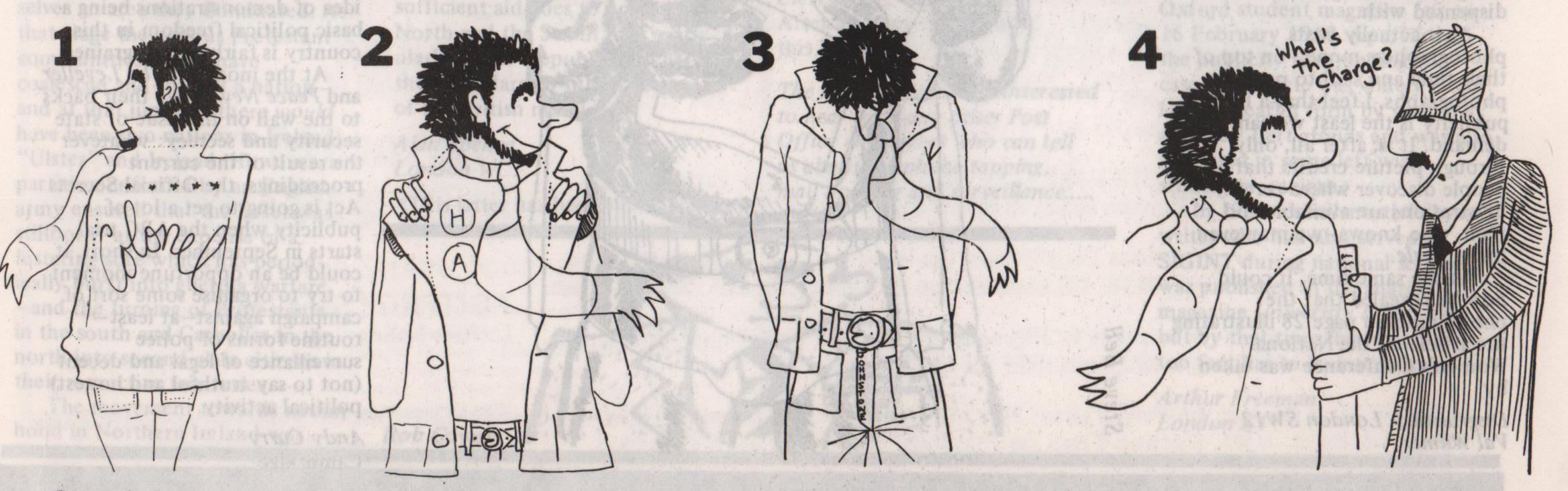
two things: some means of intercepting the message, and the ability to break the code it's written in.

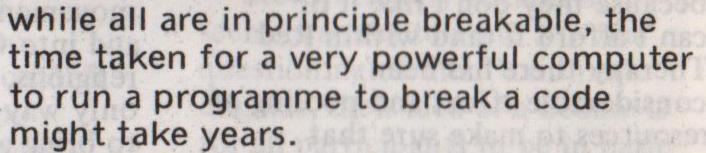
that British Intelligence obtained plans for the machine, and used it to build one of the first computers, called Colossus, designed to break the codes.

Breaking Enigma provided the Allies with a vast amount of information about Axis activities. Tactical-day-to-day battlefield—and strategic—long-term intentions could be anticipated. That's not just history, because the principle remains the same today. But as the simple Enigma machine required the massive Colossus computer to break it, so the more complicated electronic coding machine produced ever more powerful computers. In the United States, the National Security Agency (NSA), the message intercepting and codebreaking organisation has been in the forefront of computer research and design. Very little advanced computer work is without its codebreaking implications, and the integration of the US military with US capitalism is the most blatant "spin-off"

from the space programme or the Vietnam

The major problems now are time and money. Codes are now so complex that





Like the technology, the organisation grew out of the War. Analysis of the intercepted messages was done at the Government Code and Cipher School at Bletchley. After the war, the code-breaking activities were re-organised under the control of Government Communications Headquarters, (GCHQ) now based at Cheltenham.

But of course, Cheltenham doesn't

You can see SIGINT for yourself, or the outside of its buildings at any rate, on the politico-social event of the Spring Bank Holiday.

The Aubrey/Berry/Campbell **Defence Committee is organising** a march and Picket-Nic at Cheltenham, location of GCHQ, on Saturday May 27. The march assembles at noon, quite near the Cheltenham train station. Be there before 12 and you won't miss it. We will march past both the GCHQ offices, and end up with the pic-nic in a park right next door to one of them, with bands, stunts and so on.

actually listen in. That is done by the network of SIGINT stations around the world. And those who do the listening aren't civil servants, in the main, but the military. GCHQ, on an operational level, co-ordinates the activities of Army, Navy and Air Force SIGINT. There is a civilian listening organisation under GCHQ, the Composite Signals Organisation, CSO, which is apparently much smaller.

Army SIGINT is the responsibility of the Royal Corps of Signals. But not all of the Corps is devoted to SIGINT.

Most of the Regiments, Squadrons and troops of the Royal Corps of Signals are regular Army units. They are concerned with the present-day equivalent of running wires across battlefields and skidding motorbikes through shell-pocked lanes; though these days, it has a deal more to do with VHF and UHF radio and solid state telephone exchanges The detailed organisation of the Royal Corps of Signals is easy to work out from Wire, the magazine of the Royal Signals Association, available in many libraries.

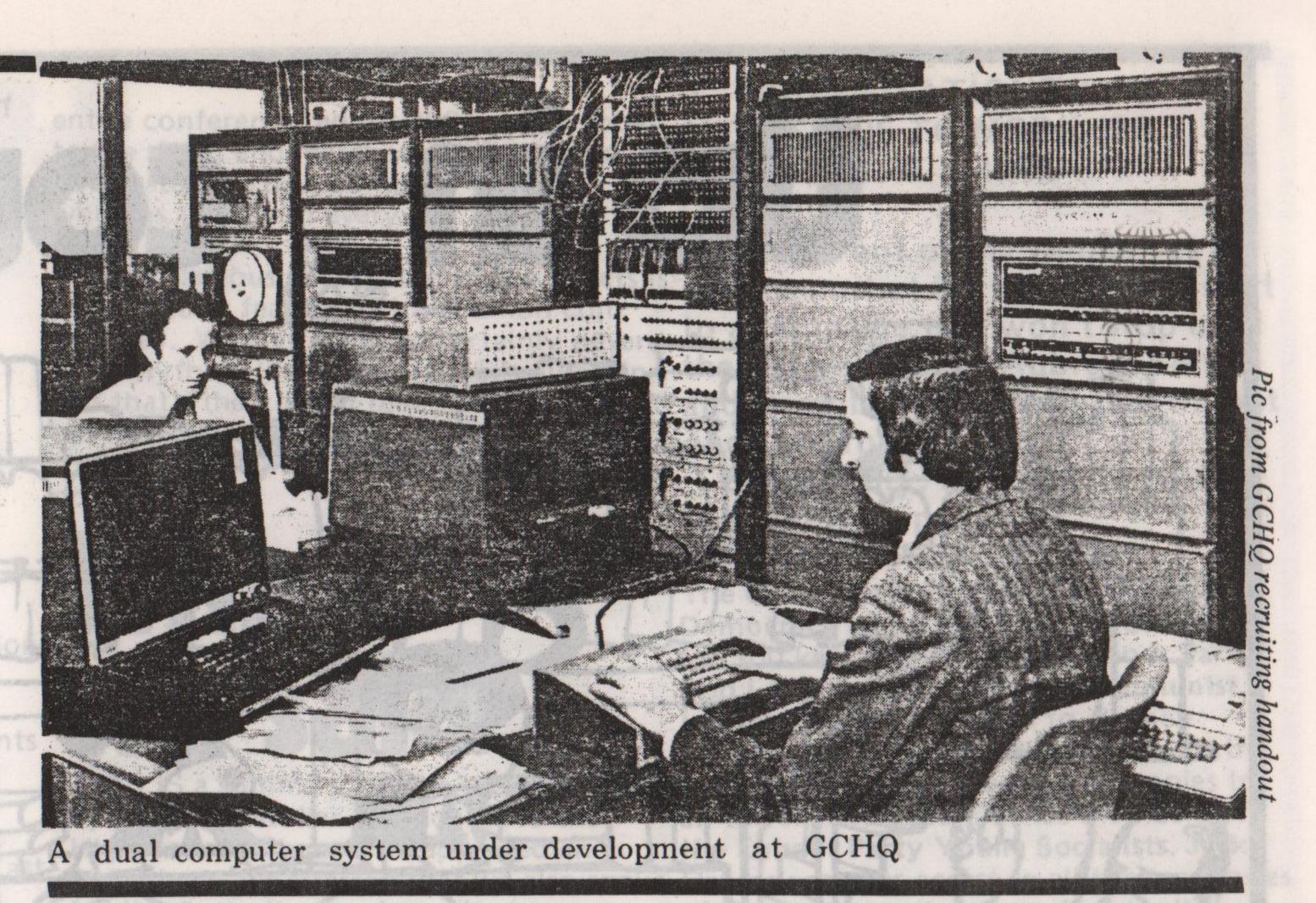
Most Signals regiments have clearlydefined functions, and even though the reports in Wire are about non-military activities, mention is often made of the military purpose of the units. For example, 10 Regiment is part of the London District of UK Land Forces. based at Hounslow. Men and women from this unit laid on and operated the links between the Army and the Civilian telephone network necessary to call out the "Green Goddesses" during the firemen's strike.

But an analysis of Wire leaves two regiments standing out among the sixtee. Signals regiments. They are 9 Regiment, based in Cyprus, and 13 Regiment, in West Germany. In addition, a number of independent Signals Squadrons similarly attract attention; as each Army Division will have a Signals Regiment, so each Regiment a Signals Squadron, and so on

What marks out the SIGINT units? All other units make some reference to their purpose ("Corps Rear HQ" or "Air Support", for example). Or they make reference to equipment, such as radios, portable telephone exchanges and so on which the Army normally uses. SIGINT units have abnormally high proportions of soldiers from other Army Units, and also RAF members and even US military personnel and civilians.

So close is the integration of other units into the SIGINT regiments that 3 Squadron of 9 Regiment is commanded by a major from the Intelligence corps,





this is a matter of regular practice. When command changed at the end of 1975, his successor was also an intelligence Corps man.

Other units which feature regularly are the Pioneer Corps, the Army's civil engineers- someone has to build the massive aerial constructions, after all, and the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers. As far as 9 Regiment is concerned, the clincher is that the commanding officer between 1972 and. 1974 was Col. H.A. Johnstone.

Officers, and technically qualified soldiers, are mainly promoted within 9 and 13 Regiments and the SIGINT oriented Signals Squadrons. In particular, soldiers with the designation "Supervisor-Radio" only go to and from these units, and never elsewhere.

9 Regiment is in Cyprus, at Ayios Nikolaos, right at the eastern end of Britain's bit of the island. Formerly the 2nd Special Wireless Regiment, 9 Regiment has been in Cyprus since the British withdrawal in a hurry from Palestine in 1948. The present Commanding Officer is Lt.-Col RK Ward.

13 Regiment was the 1st Special Wirewarrant officer from 9 Regiment has been less Regiment, and has been in Germany decorated for his work in the North. since the war. It is based at Mercury What do these soldier-spies do? They Barracks, Gluckstadt, very close to the listen to eastern bloc, neutral and friendly East German border in North Germany. countries' communications, decipher what The specialised nature of 13 Regiment they can, pass tactical information to the is made clear by a report from 3 Squadron, relevant army group, and pass strategic, its sub-unit in West Berlin: "To most regicommercial and diplomatic traffic, and anyments, being under field conditions is by no thing they can't decipher themselves, on to means unusual. However, we are a little GCHQ, which is supposed to pass it on to different, since all our work - operationalthe government. Supposed to. The soldiers Iv and administratively - is carried out from would probably justify their clandestine the comfort of our barracks." The kind of and, under international law, illegal - eavesmilitary operation which can be carried out dropping because it's protecting democracy; , but the political adviser to one Cabinet from barracks leaves little to the imagination, Minister, told at length of SIGINT capabililistening to Soviet and East German messages which fly over and around Berlin so thickly ties, looked open-mouthed and said: "None of this information is available in governthey must be almost visible. ment." Not to ministers who the security 13 Regiment also has a specialised troop, services don't trust, anyway. H Troop, at Dannenberg, in a part of West

Germany which projects several kilometres into the East; again, nice and close to the action.

13 Regiment was commanded until mid-1976 by Lt-Col John N Taylor. He was succeeded then by the present CO, Lt-Col Martin Pickard. Lt-Col Taylor appears not to have gone anywhere, though the Army List shows he is still on active service. It is probable he might have been the "Lt-Col A" that the prosecution were unwilling to bring as a witness against Aubrey

Berry and Campbell, no doubt because he is still involved in secret intelligence work. Certainly, his t st must be more secret's, whose Ministry of Defence than Joh department - DI 24 (Army) - figures quite often in the lists of promotions and appointments in Wire.

The independent Signals Squadrons give less intimation about their activities. They appear to be 223, 225 and 226 Squadrons, like 9 and 13 Regiments they all carry the designation "Radio" when mentioned in Wire, and are similarly reticent about their functions. 223 Squadron, based in Winchester, absorbed 224 Squadron in 1975.

At the time of that merger, 223 Squadron's Wire correspondent wrote: "Col 'The Don' H A Johnstone, godfather of our sponsor precinct in the Communications underworld, paid us a visit to assist the progress we were making with 'the offer we couldn't refuse'....We understand he was well pleased with what he saw, and that no-one is being measured for a concrete coffin."

And there is an eavesdropping unit in Northern Ireland, too. Their names have been in Wire, and pictures. At least one

Col Johnstone claimed that Aubrey, Berry and Campbell should go down because they talked of matters which could be of use to an enemy. Given that the KGB can read English, it seems unlikely that anything they could have said would have added much to what they could read in libraries.

The real enemy, for people like Johnstone, is the people of Britain. We have to be excluded, and that exclusion even goes for elected ministers. That is the level of the permanent cover-up.



On May 2 the Case of The Dummy Who Blurted Out His Name finally came to court: The High Court in the Strand. It was raining as the defendants, five from The Leveller, five from Peace News, and the National Union of Journalists, turned up to meet a heartening crowd of supporters, placards, friends and Sir Reginald Barker. What with the weather and the police pushing everybody back against the railings, the defendants were glad to plead a prior engagement and shoot inside for their confrontation with Widge. The heroes of the first days were undoubtedly those who maintained a continuous picket in the downpour.

Once inside, The Leveller defendants expressed a wish, politely of course, to sit together and hear the case against them. "Oh see, troublemakers", whinnied a gowned jobsworth who wanted to line up his law books along the defendants bench. As it turned out. three of the Peace News defendants were not allowed a place in the business end of the cour at all and had to squeeze in as best they could in the public seats. They were only here to take the rap, after all.

"Rise" shrieked the jobsworth, and the judges came in. Croom-Johnson (no relation); Stocker, who behaved throughout the case as if someone had whispered in his ear: "These are Jacobite rebels, M'lud, but you have to listen to the case before you hang 'em"; and Lord Chief Justice Widgery, looking like one of the Charity School headmasters who gave Dickens nightmares, and rumoured to be bright on the fine detail.... very much a lawyer's lawyer.

Harry Woolf, the Treasury Devil, (it doesn't actually mean that he is employed to do evil things on the government's behalf, it just works out that way) opened the case. He explained that he wasn't really asking for jail sentences, and that he wasn't

actually suggesting that we had "flouted a court ruling" as the charges said but he would like us to be treated as if we had.

THE SHOCK WITNESS

The reason for this remarkable waffle was Mr Pratt had filed an affidavit (sworn

a hero called Pratt who was Clerk of the Magistrates court at the original committal hearings in the Aubrey Berry Campbell Official Secrets case, whence flows, etc. etc. statement) to the effect that there was no order made forbidding publication of the witness' name, and the reason he was sure of this was that he clearly remembered advising them that they had no power to make such an order.

Was Harry dismayed by this? It was hard to say. He has one of those red eighteenth century faces over which flashes of understanding play like sunlight on a muddy winter landscape. Unfortunately the comprehension follows some five minutes behind the point, even when he's made it himself, so his expression is constantly out of sync with what is going on around him. "There is a narrow way of looking at this case," spluttered Harry, "and a wider way." This could be taken to mean that, although we were innocent (the narrow way), he thought there might be a way of making us appear to be guilty (the wider way). We were all equipped with a fanzine; some twelve dozen sheets of photocopied pages from the magazines, affidavits from the DPP, and a cutting from the Guardian. The fanzine Mark 3 was the one that was used throughout the case and referred to by the learned

gentlemen as the bundle: "Page 123 in your bundle, my lord".

Harry proceeded to read much of the bundle to the court, including the famous "slip of the tongue" where he named Colonel what's is name and made sure of the 6.00 news coverage.

Harry's case was roughly this: that although there might not have been any ruling - "I do not rely on the order m'lud" we ought to have guessed that the magistrate

intended there to be one and behaved accordingly. Furthermore, that we had repeated the offence and engaged in a "campaign" to thwart bluff, kind hearted Sam "this hurts me more than it limits freedom" Silkin, appearing in this production as The Interest of Justice.

He spent a lot of time trying to show that we were naughty lefties who disapproved of the ABC case and official definitions of National Interest. Since he need only have asked us to find that out this was rather a waste of time and is perhaps why Det. Sgt. Peter Fickling, Special Branch's postman in charge of delivering fanzines, fell asleep during the afternoon.

The important precedent was the Socialist Worker case where it was held to be contempt to name blackmail witnesses on the grounds that this would make other blackmail victims reluctant to come forward. We could never work out how this applied to a serving officer giving expert evidence, but it may just be that they are ashamed of talking about the work in public.

The judge in that case was Widge and appearing for the prosecution was - that's right – Harry Woolf. Widge had managed to extend the law on that occasion, and the double act went into the old routine confident that they could repeat the trick this time round.

The Leveller's brief, Stephen Sedley, gets a special mention in despatches for the way he demolished the logic of the Woolf case, and stood up to Widge's heckling of the defence lawyers ("Well carry on in your own way, then")

At the very end of the defence case Harry suddenly had a vision. Perhaps there would be an appeal and the case would go to the House of Lords. And, his brain ploughed on, he realised the official charges in the papers were not the ones he was trying to nail us on. They kept referring to an order, which really didn't seem to have been made.

So up he popped and asked permission to "amend the motion"; i.e. change the charges. Sam's comedy had finally turned into a farce.

IT WAS bringing the National Union of Journalists into the contempt of court prosecutions - something that few people expected the state to be stupid enough to do - that brought the Colonel B Affair to its strange climax.



This is what happened: after the prosecutions of The Leveller and Peace News were confirmed, several branches of the NUJ (of which all the five named Leveller defendants are members) decided to put down emergency resolutions for the union's Annual Delegate Meeting. Three of these, from London Freelance, Cambridge and East Northants Branches, included Johnstone's name.

When they got wind that the NUJ would be debating the matter and mentioning the dreaded name, Silkin and Hetherington, the Director of Public Prosecutions, who were of course meanwhile considering the adding of the NUJ paper the Journalist to the charge list, panicked. The DPP wrote to the union executive. that unless they gave an assurance that they would not debate the matter, the whole union would be done. Not even the NUJ executive caves in under threats like that

It ignored them, and our old friends, Special Branch sergeants Peter Fickling and Anthony Shaw, were sent up to the ADM, at Whitley Bay, Northumberland, to spend an uncomfortable couple of hours trying to serve summonses on the General Secretary, Ken Ashton, who declined to make himself available. Fickling and Shaw for their part declined to go into the conference hall to serve them, and eventually thrust the bulky documents on the reluctant Deputy GS, Charles Harkness.

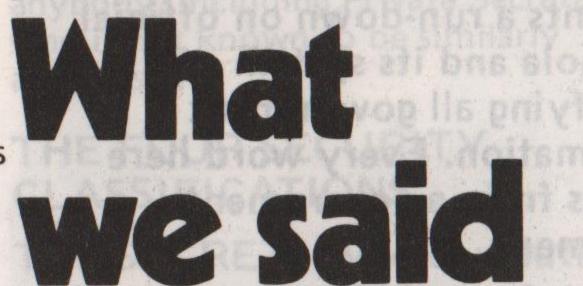
When the matter came up for debate, shortly afterwards, the motions including the name were in fact dropped (after an intervention from right-wing London Freelance delegate Bernard Levin, him that writes all that pious stuff about "democracy" in The Times. Speaking against his branch's original mandate, Levin tried to stop the matter being debated at all, and attacked the the Colonel his personal position was contempt defendants as "those who seek a spurious martyrdom". For his pains he was slapped down with a censure motion at the next branch meeting.).

But back in London, it was the attempt to interfere with the union's business that finally prompted the four MPs to name in the House. And that's when the shit hit the fan.

The NUJ conference was notable for another political event; after the debate on the Official Secrets Act prosecutions, the

entire conference, about 400 people, took to the street and marched to Whitley Bay police station, to accompany Crispin who has to sign on every day under his bail conditions.

We're not out of the woods yet by Spontaneous occupation of the streets is any means but it's been a great start not a regular feature of trade union conto a campaign that won't stop until ferences. Whitley Bay had certainly never the charges against Aubrey, Berry seen anything like it before, nor will again. and Campbell have been thrown out But that's the kind of reaction that Silkin has been setting himself up for, with the once and for all. spectacular ineptitude of all these Specifically, we'd like to thank prosecutions. the following people:-



The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy helped us with an address list for 500 key activists in the Labour Party. Bob Lentell and the Young Communist League circulated leaflets to all their regional secretaries for distribution to the THIS IS a summary of the speeches made branches. Andy Bevan sent out copies to all the executive committee members of ny the five Leveller defendants to the the Labour Party Young Socialists. Jack High Court. Though we appeared an individuals, we stressed that we also spoke Dromey gave us access to all the secretaries of Trades Councils grouped under the for the Collective (a phrase that gave South Eastern Trades Council secretariat. Lord Widgery some trouble). The Socialist Challenge inserted leaflets for us judges listened with a distant air; the in their London subscriber copies. political gulf between the Bench and Countless left bookshops were given our bench was unbridgeable. leaflets and posters by the Publications At one stage, one of us was told to Distribution Co-operative. The National address the Bench, not the body of the Union of School Students gave us copies court; he replied that he was more used of their mailing list and the SWP/Rank to addressing trade union meetings. He and File organisation did a mass mail-out was also told, when pulled up later, that for us too. Westminster Trades Council he was "not allowed" to disagree with gave leaflets out at a meeting for us, as the Lord Chief Justice. did NOISS and Anarchist Black Cross. At any rate, this is roughly what we The National Council for Civil Liberties passed a motion naming Colonel B long The Tottenham Magistrate had made before it was 'safe' to do so. To all of you, no order prohibiting the publicising of and particularly the ABC Defence Colonel B's name. We did so in the Committee who gave us so much back-up, public interest, as an antidote to the Thankyou.

excessive atmosphere of secrecy and threat to the national security that the state was trying to buikd up around ABC.

An anonymous expert witness in a Journalists in court cannot be ex-We wouldn't name blackmail or rape

contradiction in terms. No weight can be attached to what he says, if no-one knows who he is. In any case, anyone could easily find out, from what he said in evidence, exactly who he was. pected to divine what the court's intention might be. If no direction is given, they can use their own judgment. victim witnesses. But in the case of not at stake, but justice was. His anonymity was the kind of manoeuvre. by the state that The Leveller exists to expose, and we are glad that we have

brought the issue to public debate.



ORGANISATIONS WHO HELPED US TO MOBILISE BEFORE THE TRIAL

INDIVIDUALS AND **ORGANISATIONS WHO SENT US MOTIONS OF SUPPORT OR** FINANCIAL DONATIONS

Keep those motions and donations coming in - we've no idea how long this will eventually go on for, nor how much it's going to cost.

But to the following people, in no particular order, thankyou.

Oliver DAvies; Jenny Armitage; Pluto Press, EH Cookridge; Mrs.A.Wilson; John Tasker; Royal Arsenal Cooperative Society Political Committee; Aberystwyth Anarchist Group; Zoe Fairbarns; Lambeth Community Law Centre; Elain Elinson; 'Anon' of NALGO and Ilford Labour Party; Walthamstow Constituency Labour Party; Ken Loach; Mary Kaldor; Moira Wilson; Hammersmith Women's Aid and Women's Liberation Centre; RJ & F Costa; Alan, Tim, Carol and Anne at Rye Express; Martin Kettle of NCCL; Middlesex Poly Students Union; Undercurrents Magazine; Union Place Community and Resource Centre; Prisoner No.152853, HM Prison Gartree; Four anonymous West London social workers; Syd Sutters of the Richmond and Twickenham Trades Council; Tony Collins-NUSS/IMG; Irish Republican Socialist Party; Miles Tomalin -NUJ; Peter Jordan; Mark Lacey; Lorraine Murgatroyd; Sue Ward—Prospective Parliament

ary Labour Candidate, Newcastle North; E.Wilkins-Mold Labour Party; Haltemprice Labour Party Young Socialists; Socialist Union Internationalist, Doncaster; Revolutionary Communist Group; Mathias Fiernbork; Martin Berry; David Richardson; Nottingham Anarchist Group; Ian Williams; Graham Norwood of Swansea Labour Party; Ms Verema Ball; Edward Bond; Tom Robinson; Tyneside Socialist Centre; P.Cramner and John Hyman

And especial thanks for the support from London Freelance Branch of the NUJ-who backed us all the way despite every effort of Bernard Levin to persuade them otherwise.

The Leveller, together with Peace News and the Journalist, may well be done over by the state - we have been unable to hold this issue long enough to wait for the trial result - but we will still have achieved a lot, politically.

- ----

Leveller

For a start, there's the so-called constitutional crisis we caused. The issue into which our rulers managed to diffuse our challenge (the right of the press to report what's said in Parliament) may seem of little consequence, but for a short time they were really in a twist, and all kinds of contradictions were exposed.

Specifically, the hard time they had was for about 18 hours, from 4 pm on Thursday April 20, after Jo Richardson, Bob Kilroy Silk, Chris Price and **Ron Thomas named "Colonel H A** Johnstone" in the Commons; there followed the mass media broadcasting and the Director of Public Prosecutions' desperate attempts to stop it, and they didn't get themselves sorted out again until the Speaker's ruling at 10 am on the Friday; until then, the state did perceptibly wobble.

The DPP, Thomas Hetherington, may not have been in contempt of Parliament, but he was certainly, by his own rules, in contempt of court. Admittedly, this was in our case, which is presumably OK. But it was without doubt contempt for Hetherington to release to the press his letter to the NUJ, which stated that Johnstone had been named "contrary to the direction of the Chairman of the Magistrates, who stated that the witness' name should not be disclosed".

It's not just that that was a lie which even the prosecution counsel had to admit in thec trial - and a lie which Attorney General Sam Silkin : and one of his legal advisers compounded in sworn affidavits; even if it were true, it is still contempt to state publicly, before a trial, that the defendants are guilty.

So that's one fine contradiction to expose: when the Attorney General and his hirelings are prepared to lie on oath in an attempt to smear, prejudge and convict political opponents, the muchvaunted British traditions of justice and so on are shown to be worthless.

The other contradiction dragged out was in the way the state pursued its persecution of us while ignoring the wealthy commercial media that also published the name: this showed up our trial as a purely political prosecution, part of a vendetta carried out by Silkin on behalf of the security services.

The third thing we have been able to draw to people's attention is more important; thanks to the shit we have stirred, millions of people are now aware of the powerful role of the intelligence services in the frame-up of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell under the Official Secrets Act. And so is a greater awareness of the general function of these services (in particular of Signals Intelligence) growing in the national consciousness.

HOW DOES official secrecy actually work? In extracts from leaked government documents, themselves all classified, The Leveller here presents a run-down on official paranoia and its system of classifying all government information. Every word here comes from a government document.

Extracts from minutes of meeting of Establishments Officers, 19 July 1971:

THE SECURITY SERVICE is organised under the Official Committee on Security, which has subordinate to it the Personnel Security Committee and the Security Policy and Methods Committee. The Helsby Committee on Protective Security reported to the Official Committee on Security in July 1970, which sought the views of the meeting on the measures necessary to assess the reliability of staff who would have access to protected information.

The Communist Party has a fundamental interest in subverting the State, and constituted a thread to the security of protected information. Individual Trotskyists, Maoists or





anarchists might use protected information in such a way that would further their political aims or give such information publicity if they thought that this would embarrass or damage the reputation of the Government. Fascists may present a more minor danger.

NORMAL VETTING (NV) consists of a check with the Criminal Record Office to see if the person is or has been a member of a subversive organisation or has subversive associations. NV is carried out in a blanket way in Departments such as the Ministry of Defence which have a substantial volume of classified work, and in other Departments for specific sensitive spots and in cases of suspicion of unreliability. It is inadequate to spot those who lack subversive associations

but whose personal, political or other convictions lead them to disclose classified or protected information to further some cause; or those

motivated by financial gain, such as the photoprinter who was

STRAGES

alleged to have passed information to a relative employed by an insurance firm in the Vehicle and General Tribunal case.

SPECIAL VETTING (SV) involves enquiries directly of the person's non-official life. It cannot be made covertly, and open enquiries, except where classified information is involved, meet Staff Side opposition and other

> Don't look at this picture. The P.O. Tower is a protected building - and **Top Secret**



difficulties. Nevertheless, line managers can be instructed to look out especially for any signs of unreliability, and to find out what they can of the person's character and interests. The categories of people about whose reliability least is known, and who must be carefully observed, are new entrants, agency employees and staff on loan (if their previous personal file is not to hand). Extracts from Security Instructions (themselves Restricted [!])

SECURITY is the concern of everyone in the Government service. The greater part of the day-to-day business of Government Departments is secret or confidential in the broad sense and must not be divulged, except in the course of official duty. This fundamental rule was given legal sanction by the Official Secrets Acts 1911-1939.

The general aim of security is the protection of the nation's secrets. The most serious threat is espionage, including industrial and commercial espionage. The most formidable espionage attack comes from the Intelligence Services of the Communist countries, led and to some extent coordinated by the USSR. There is also the threat to secrecy posed by members of subversive organisations, of which the Communist Party is the most important, and subversive groups such as anarchists and Trotskyists. Official secrets may also be compromised by leakage. No Department is immune from attack, and no-one with access to classified information is too unimportant to be approached as a possible contact . . . Document and physical security has four

a. to prevent unauthorised access to classified information;

b. to deter and impede a spy who has authorised access;

c. to help in the subsequent detection and investigation of spying and other breaches of security;

d. to defend buildings, and to safeguard their occupants and contents.

The circulation of classified information must be limited to those who need it for the efficient performance of their duties. This is a fundamental principle of security and its observance is one of the most important safeguards we have ...

Heads of Divisions and supervisors are responsible within their own areas for the knowledge, competence and diligence of their staff in security matters-though they should not know more than they need to carry out their duties. Heads of Divisions and supervisors should notice any behaviour which might jeopardise security and report it at once to the Security Officer . . .

Almost invariably, the issue of classified papers to trade union and staff association officials will not be allowed .

To facilitate control, copy numbers are used for all Top Secret documents, and for all Secret documents where the number of copies is 20 or more . . .

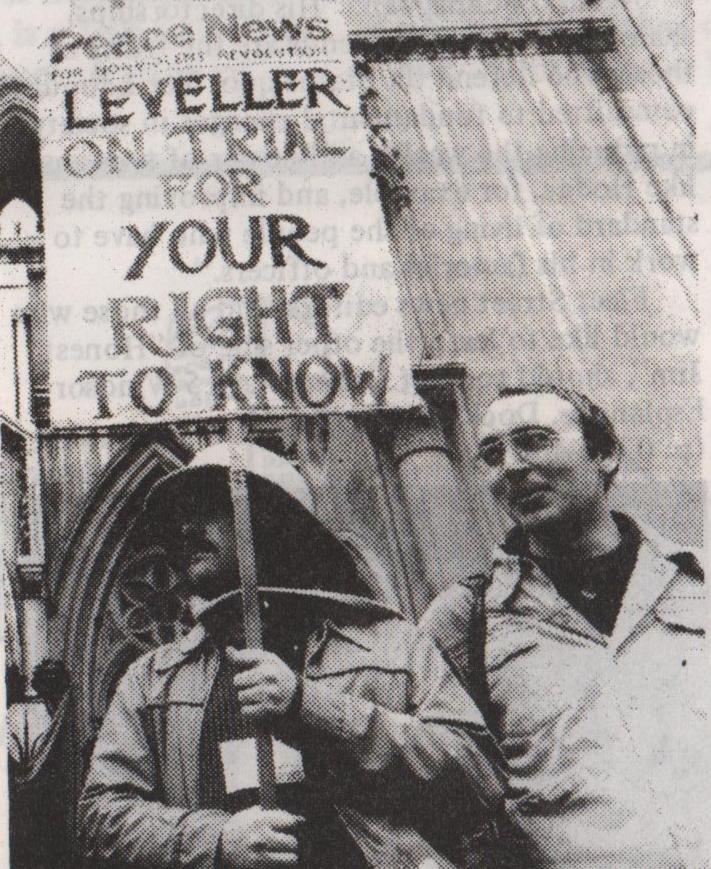
Papers with specially limited access: There are special rules (which are themselves Confidential) for the handling of certain papers relating to several

organisations and subjects. Such papers have a limited circulation, and staff who are authorised to have them receive guidance from Security . . . Sensitive matters should not be discussed with anybody, including Private Secretaries, who is not known to be similarly authorised.

THE FOUR SECURITY CLASSIFICATIONS

TOP SECRET: where unauthorised disclosure would cause exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

- Information relating to negotiations which, if disclosed to other parties, would prevent our achieving highly important national ends;
- 2. Higher defence policy and strategy; Plans for the defence of vital strategic areas, including details of major
- Critical information about major scientific and technical developments of defence interest;
- **Operational requirements for advanced** weapons systems and for the military use of space;
- . Information disclosure of which would endanger the stability of the pound, or the reserves, or the balance of payments;
- Major Governmental plans, e.g. Budget proposals, before their announcement;
- 8. Major plans for emergency and wartime arrangements;
- **Compilations of SECRET items which** become TOP SECRET because of the overall picture which is revealed.



- Nation:
- other Governments;

operations projected or in progress;

SECRET: where u authorised disclosure would cause serious injury to the interests of the

Papers on such matters as possible breaches of our Treaty obligations, highly embarrassing disagreements with friendly Governments, instructions likely to be repugnant to

- 2. Plans for the defence of non-strategic areas, including details of associated operations;
- 3. Information revealing the development and proposed use of new weapons and equipment, or projects to which new principles apply;
- 4. Vital military and civil defence information (if not TOP SECRET) relating to important defences, establishments and installations;
- 5. Adverse reports on general morale affecting major operations;
- 6. Proposals for new schemes of control, foreknowledge of which would prejudice their operation;
- 7. Major matters for future legislation, and the priorities of future legislative programmes;
- 8. Emergency measures planned in case of strikes in essential industries;
- 9. Proposed changes in Government administration;
- **10.Compilations of CONFIDENTIAL** items which become SECRET because of the overall picture which is revealed. e.g. Cabinet conclusions (but some **Cabinet conclusions are TOP** Secret).

CONFIDENTIAL: where

- unauthorised disclosure would be prejudicial to the interests of the Nation:
- 1. Routine political and intelligence reports;
- 2. Briefs and reports on negotiations with other countries;
- 3. Technical information and manuals concerning maintenance and inspection of certain weapons and equipment, and training in their use,
- Information about the design and development of weapons and equipment not of major operational significance;
- Certain protective security measures;
- 6. Government policy on fuel, subsidies, long-term investment and the balance of payments;
- Proposals for new schemes of control in fields such as Social Security, foreknowledge of which would prejudice their operation;
- 8. Minutes of Ministerial Committees (if not SECRET or TOP SECRETI
- 9. Compilations of RESTRICTE / items which become CONFIDENTIAL because of the overall picture revealed.
- **RESTRICTED:** where unauthorised disclosure would be undesirable in the interests of the Nation.

(The phrase "the interests of the Nation" should be interpreted broadly, to include not only defence, but also economic, political and commercial information, and also information requiring protection because its disclosure would lead to political embarrassment, hampering good government.)

- Cabinet memoranda (minimum);
- 2. Draft legislation (minimum);
- 3. Department books of instruction and training, and certain technical documents;
- 4. Routine Departmental instructions (e.g. on administration of Social Security payments), memoranda etc such as these instructions, which contain information which must not be published or communicated directly or indirectly, to the public without official authorisation.



Cardiff JIMTIXEC

THERE IS a political/corruption scandal as grave as the John Poulson-T. Dan Smith -Andrew Cunningham North East England affair and even the Jeremy Thorpe-Norman Scott business. This concerns no less than Prime Minister James Callaghan, fellow-Welsh MP and Speaker of the **Commons George Thomas, and Sir** Julian Hodge, who launched the **Commercial Bank of Wales**.

Fleet Street has known for a long time of the rumblings from Cardiff, but have kept their big guns spiked. If this is because the spadeworld seems daunting, then the excellent radical Welsh magazine Rebecca has solved that problem.

In its current Spring issue No. 10, there is even a special pullout Corruption Supplement which highlights what it calls "The Rape of Port Talbot", and "The Indiscreet Life of George Thomas"; the shadowy financial affairs of one Sidney Cuthbert Jenkins, the present Swansea City Council boss; and a seven-page "Jim'll Fix It" probe

The "Jim" referred to is of course our worthy Prime Minister. The probe is "The Secret Career of James Callaghan", and it's all there in Rebecca for our fearless crusading national press.

With Reginald Maudling not only escaping flak for his past entanglements with Poulson or the Real Estate Fund of America but also still getting libel money from newspapers that dare to hint at such links. And with Jeremy Thorpe only having unwise homosexual flings from the past to fend off and with not one word about his role in the London and County Securities Company emerging despite the current spate of indictments against its directors, perhaps it is hardly surprising that Callaghan's murky banking links in Wales do not see the light of

Rebecca, however, has relentlessly pursued the tale; its current Corruption Supplement traces Callaghan's career up through the ranks of the Labour Party and how his friendship flowered with Welsh merchant banker Julian Hodge

We see how between 1959 and 1964, Hodge jumped from being a small-time operator in the south of Wales into running the giant Hodge Group doing business on a national scale-a multi-millionaire whose every

commercial move was news.

Commercial Bank of Wales

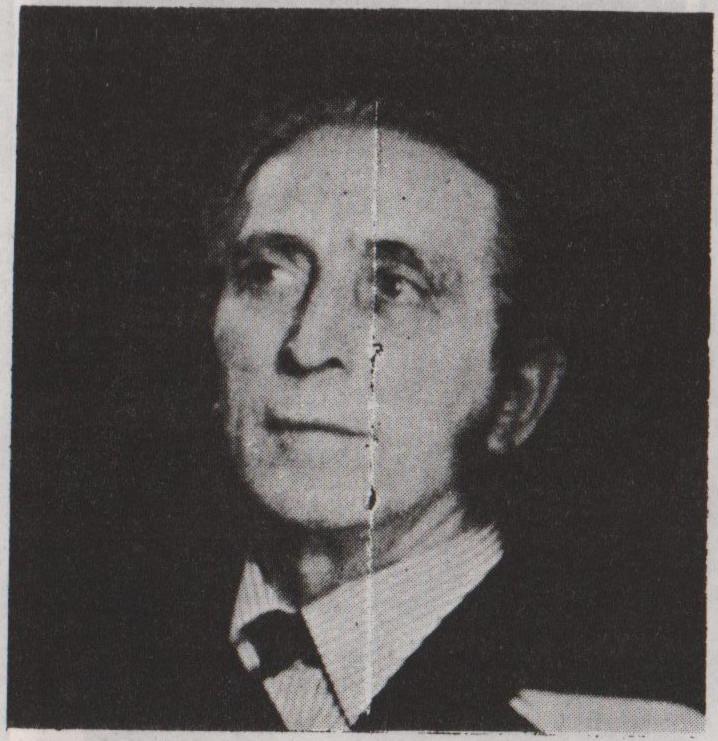
The same six-year period also saw Jim Callaghan leap from a party functionary into a big-time figure and hotly tipped for a major post in the inevitable Labour government that came in 1964.

In 1968, with the Bank of England opposed to any Welsh bank with a title that suggested equal status even if only in a regional context, Julian Hodge still managed to launch the Commercial Bank of Wales. This would not have been possible without the high-level political support of Callaghan, and to a lesser extent, George Thomas.

As Rebecca concluded: "The relationship Again on Callaghan: "His directorships,

between Callaghan and Hodge goes far beyond any previous Labour politician's links with big business. Not only was it long-standing, with mutual favours changing hands over a long period of time, but it also involved so many contradictions of accepted Labour beliefs." shareholdings and dividends are the fruits of those who defend the status quo. Yet Labour is committed to fundamental changes in society in reducing the wealth and power of tycoons like Hodge, for example, and improving the standard of living of the people who have to work in his factories and officers."

Fleet Street news editors, and all those who would like to learn the other side of "Honest Jim", should contact Rebecca at 15 Windsor Esplanade, Docks, Caerdydd, Cymru (p. 0222-40699).



His name is George Thomas, he is the speaker of the House of Commons and he is indiscreet.



Cornwall Tin-closer

Any politicians awake in Westminster last May 3 might have noticed a demonstration of workers protesting the threatened loss of their jobs. While this peaceful protest invoking the traditional rituals of lobbying MPs and Ministries was going on however, the people with the real power were telling the press that these workers had served their purpose and that the chances of saving their livelihoods were remote.

Within less than a month, two international mining companies-Consolidated Gold Fields (CGF), one of the world's biggest, and Cornwall Tin and Mining Ltd (CTM), a shadowy concern controlled by Swiss, Bermudan and US interests -had decided that a valley was to die. These companies announced the closure of two tin mines, Wheal Jane and Mount Wellington, which they own respectively in the Bissoe Valley near Truro, Cornwall.

Cornish tin mining is no longer the great industry it was. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cornwall supplied virtually all the world's tin. But the closure of Wheal Jane and Mount Wellington will throw more than 700 out of work, and possibly do fatal damage to the other inhabitants of the valley. It will also cut the Cornish tin industry in half, destroying an ancient source of work in an area which has 12 per cent unemployment.

Yet barely six years ago, these same companies moved into the valley amid trumpets of publicity about how they would revive local traditions and put Cornish tin mining back on its feet. Now CGF and CTM are weeping crocodile tears, assuring anybody idiot enough to listen of how aware they are of the social consequences of their action. But that was not, and never will be of the slightest concern to them. Their only interest was the price of tin. When the speculators pushed that down from over £7,000 a tonne at the end of last year to about £6,000 now, the mining companies decided the game was up.

Behind the wounded innocence of the mining companies is a record of rapaciousness and incompetence, which may cost a community its life, even though local miners had warned about imminent problems, they were ignored.

That was only to be expected from such companies. CGF's profits last year were £35.6m, of which about 45% came from the ruthless exploitation of black gold miners in South Africa. Its assets are a massive £404m, comprising mining operations in every part of the world, run from the London headquarters. The owners of CTM are not even in London. It is 51% controlled by Excomm Ltd, a Bermuda-based company with substantial Swiss backing. The other 49% is held by the misleadingly named Cornwall Tin and Mining Corporation of the US, in which yet another company, Prado Explorations Ltd. of Canada, has 51%.

Now these philanthropists are demanding help from the government. After sinking some £16m into the two ventures, including £3.2m of public funds, an "investment" which was in fact a gamble on the price of tin and the jobs of workers, they are calling on the state they deride to repair the damage. But the damage is probably irreparable, and while the workers of the Bissoe Valley face destitution, in the board rooms of London and Bermuda the next victim is being chosen for "development".

Emma Trevelyan

FEARING that Newcastle might become the post-coital version of Gretna Green, the House of Lords has rejected the provision for the proposed Scottish Assembly to legislate on abortion.

On the face of it, the Lords' decision seems reasonable enough. The 1967 Act applies to Britain as a whole. If the Assembly legislates on abortion then such a uniformity could be destroyed; thus creating the potential for a cross-border abortion traffic.

In reality, this post-Assembly abortion scenario is the case today The 1967 Act may apply throughout Britain but it does nothing to standardise the availability of abortion. The Catholic bias of the higher echelons of the medical profession in certain areas of Scotland combined with the virtual absence of private clinics means that an estimated 1,000 Scottish women travel south to get abortions.

Separate Scottish legislation on abortion would not, as the Lords claim, create abortion traffic but there is a strong possibility that it would increase it. Campaigns to outlaw abortion are usually spearheaded by the Catholic Church. As Scotland has a higher proportion (16%) of Catholics than England (9%), the legality of abortion seems more at risk north of the border.

The importance of Catholicism to abortion legislation is not as straightforward as it at first seems. The Catholic church may be totally opposed to abortion but there is little reason to believe that Catholic voters view it as an important election issue.

In Scotland, the electoral appeal of anti-abortion legislation has just been put to the test in the Garscadden by-election where approximately 35% of the electorate is Catholic. The anti-abortion group SPUC (Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child) conducted itself almost like a political party-canvassing, leafletting and even providing cars on election days.



As the Labour candidate had, of the three major parties, the most liberal views on abortion, the success of this campaign depended on SPUC's ability to divert the traditional Catholic Labour vote to either the Tories or the Scottish Nationalists. The convincing, if reduced Labour majority seems to indicate that on the whole SPUC's tactics failed.

Unfortunately, the anti-abortionists can find some consolation in the Garscadden campaign. Labour's Donald Dewar, a former supporter of the 1967 Act, announced he was in favour of some restrictions.

Dewar's apparent capitulation to SPUC pressure raises the issue of Catholicism to Scottish politics; it is not a question of the volume of its following but more the way in which it interacts with the Labour Party.

The Scottish Catholic voter, almost irrespective of social class, is a Labour voter The high concentration of



News

Catholics in West Central Scotland, Labour's traditional stronghold, means that they form part of the solid base of Labour's electoral support.

Consequently, the Labour Party is particularly sensitive, as in Garscadden, to the suggestion that it could alienate this indispensible support. Catholic activists ar well organised within the party.

In some areas, they have considerable influence over the selection of candidates. As the Labour Party has been dominant in Scottish politics since 1955, the Catholic church has thus been assured of a power base.

Within Britain as a whole, support for the liberalisation of abortion laws has come mainly from Labour MPs.

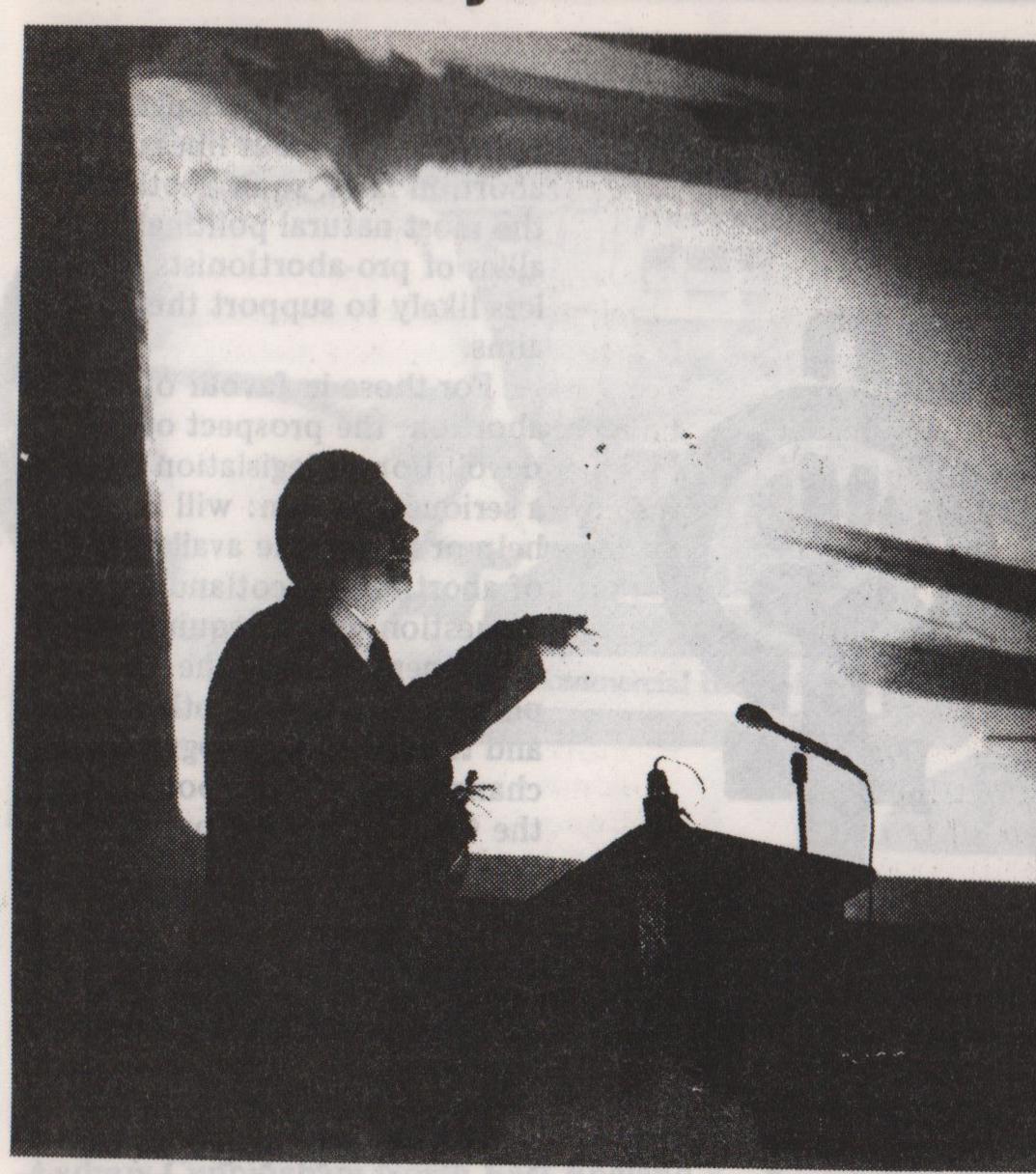
Fewer Scottish than English Labour MPs favour liberal abortion laws, so in Scotland the most natural political allies of pro-abortionists are less likely to support their aims.

For those in favour of abortion, the prospect of the devolution of legislation poses a serious question: will it help or hinder the availability of abortion in Scotland? It is a question which requires an assessment of both the political forces in Scotland and the scope for progressive change. Against the power of the Catholic church one must balance the fact that Scotland is a Labour-dominated and class-conscious society and thus potentially receptive to the argument that abortion is a class issue.

Without a great deal of pro-abortion propaganda, the chances are that devolution of abortion legislation will pose a serious threat to its legality. The harsh reality of this presents those who believe in devolution with a serious dilemma and a potential conflict in ideology.

Should the deletion of abortion from the powers of a Scottish Assembly be seen as a further attempt to restrict the right of Scottish people to decide the issues that affect their lives, or is it to be welcomed as the best way to protect the legality of abortion in Scotland? Carol Craig

`Mind and Body'



INCENSE and wholewheat bread, **'Close Encounters of the Fourth** Kind', and assorted mystical religions crammed into Olympia for the Festival of Mind and Body. Just what was the attraction and what did it all mean? The Leveller takes a look at the whole phenomenon.

A decade ago, as political radicalism developed along with dope culture, and rock music was felt as the carrier of a new consciousness, many people felt that the assumed division between personal liberation and political change could be resolved. That there could be a new kind of revolutionary politics, which combined recognition of the need for socialised relations of production with an understanding that changed personal relationships were not a bourgeois luxury, but a condition for making a revolution that avoided the horrors of the past.

What has happened? The Communist University of London and its SWP rival hold seminars distinguishable in content. but barely in form, from bourgeois gatherings. Radical Philosophy no longer even calls its conferences 'festivals', but names them as what they are. Little has changed, except that the chairs are arranged in circles, the catering is wholefood, and there are bops and agit-theatre performances. Outside the feminist movement interest in dance, in yoga, in personal therapy workshops has dissolved. A wider interest in personal responses to alienated industrialisation has persisted; but with little support from marxism it has become unpolitical, and has turned against reason and science.

We must all have met the person who replies to an objection with: 'If you ask me that question, then you can't possibly understand the way in which I see the world, and there's no point in me trying to convince you. You can't grasp what

X is all about until you start seeing the pain.

It is the achievement of ex-marketing consultant Graham Wilson to have realised that there is a vast and hardly tapped public for safe and non-political remedies to cultural alienation and emptiness. It is in the Festival for Mind and Body that all those components of the hippie consciousness, those dreams from dope filled rooms, those amazing ideas from Oz and International Times have found their home and their base. For nine days the National Hall at

to the poisons of the drug corporations, Olympia has been filled with the smell and that the economics of whole food of incense, the chant of mantras, the presented a way of politicising people. emblems of old religions and new cults, This position has it that there are some the queues of people waiting to have good things and some bad things about their souls displayed on the latest electronic marvel. The 'consciousness determine the balance. Only confusion liberating' pole of the old dichotomy has come to rest, and has drawn many weird specimens into its field of influence. One of its object, or point to the direction in of the best organised, most professional which it is moving. and most blatantly mad is the Aetherius Though many readers of The Leveller Society. This flying saucer cult regards may feel ambivalent about the message itself as the medium for 'Close Encounters . and overall meaning of the Festival, there of the Fourth Kind'-religious encounters. is no such confusion amongst its protag-Besides working energetically at onists. Here is Sir George Trevelyan, charging up 'prayer batteries', it campaigns writing about 'Operation Redemption' in to get 'Spiritual Healing officially accepted the Festival catalogue: "in these stands and the various

by the National Health Service', says the Reverend Ray Nielsen: 'From an It is helped in its tasks by such cosmic

economic point of view, Spiritual Healing is a very attractive proposition. Treatments are quick, equipment is minimal and no harmful or expensive drugs are used. And we can train people to be effective healers in just two days.' [emphasis in original] intelligences as 'Mars Sector Six' and 'The

...simple and religious solutions to complex problems

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world in a different way and stop chopping up living reality into your convenient logical categories'. 'X' can be many things: astrology; the mystic experience of oneness; the claim that if vegetables are incorrectly cut then they scream in

Master Aetherius' who dispatch a 'giant space craft from Mars, Satellite No.3, which comes into orbit of the Earth several times a year to pour forth its radiant energies to all who are working for peace on this planet'. (quotes from Aetherius Society pamphlets)

It is very easy to pick out such an example as this, but many will want to say: Much of the Festival is cranky, but there are many good things therealternative energy sources, whole foods, a campaign against battery farming, inflatables, hang-gliders; it's a mistake to reject the whole thing. A position like this was in fact taken in an article on the Festival in The Leveller of June last year. This pointed out that folk medicines and acupuncture offered a practical alternative the Festival and we must weight them and can result from this balancing act. Because it cannot indicate the cultural functioning

activities . . . The variety is almost bewildering and yet it all coheres into a single impulse. We are grasping at the great truth that life is a stupendous whole, that the living universe is shot through and through with energies that are of the nature of creative being and intelligence . . . that the universe is basically spiritual in

its nature, a great structure of Mind, that man is in core an eternal spiritual being. This thinking is a reversal of 19th century materialism."

In all class societies throughout history the ruling class has relied upon religion to comfort the suffering, confuse the rebellious and sanctify its own robbery and butchery as aspects of cosmic order. In all except our own. The scientific materialism of the once progressive bourgeoisie has undermined the old theocratic ideologies. The bourgeoisie has been content with science seeming to demonstrate that its own order is Natural. as a fair exchange for Godgiven [sic].

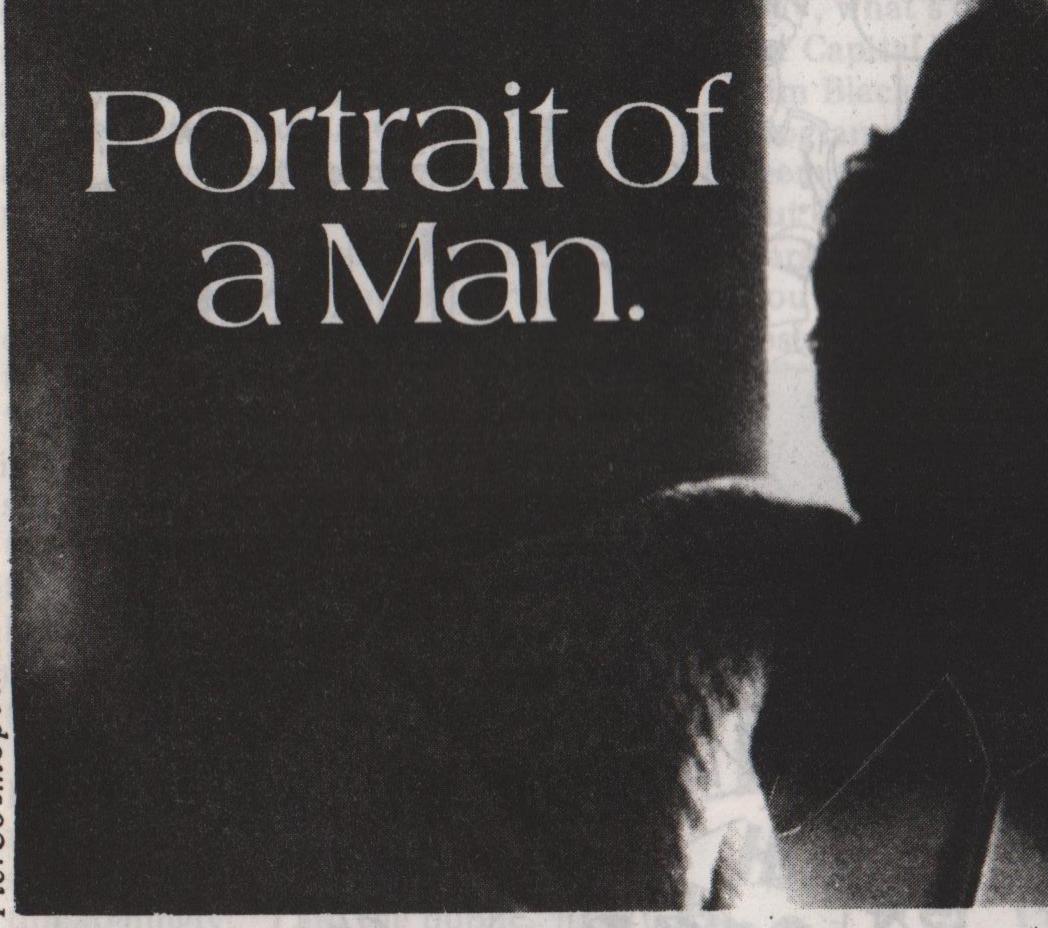
This worked well, as long as its society appeared as rational. But the irrationality at the core of capitalist production has now surfaced into permanent economic crisis, with intensifying cultural reverberations. Capitalism can no longer present its own success as the justification for its existence. It now needs another kind of justification. It needs that old time religion.

The ideologues of the Festival are quite clear what their target is: materialism. In their writings this is always '19th century materialism', 'crude materialism', as if this had never been the object of

a socialist criticism. To it they counterpose the doctrine that reality is essentially mental, that this is reflected in the primacy of mind over social being in persons, and that the 'new age' will re-unite the human with the natural in a revival of the ancient knowledge. The festival is the most organised expression so far of the revival of superstition and mysticism that could develop into a religious revival of vast size. As yet, the Left has hardly noticed this. The reactionaries are more alert. Bernard Levin, in The Times of 3rd May has an eulogy to the Festival, as the first sign of a new personal awareness of spirituality and purpose, in opposition to the arid and decadent materialism of official

thinking.

All contributors to the Festival promote the theocratic doctrine that human social relations are of the same kind and status as the relations between natural objects, especially the stars. The significance of astrology is that personal characteristics and social behaviour become invested with the apparent permanence and unchangeability of the stars. This, together with the 'sacred geometry' of the ley-line cultists proffers a picture in which, merely by looking at representations of the solar system, one



I HAD avoided men's groups over the last two years out of feelings of discomfort with the whole idea. On the one hand, the political impulse seemed to much like a response to exclusion from the women's liberation movement and on the other hand I was afraid of meeting with other men to discuss how one felt about being a man. But an All-London Men's Conference was definitely not to be missed. There was no way that people meeting seriously together for three or four years would not be coming up with some mighty interesting stuff in very sensitive areas. I wasn't disappointed.

At the opening plenary, I was unaccustomed to the use of the word men. Shouldn't we be saying persons? An interruption. The conference is too structured. "We're trying to break down structure and here we are just duplicating a rigid structure all over again." Mild groans. Suggestion. An anti-workshop, no agenda, no programme. Some ruffled feelings, brief discussion, Agreement. Many went to this, the reports were positive.

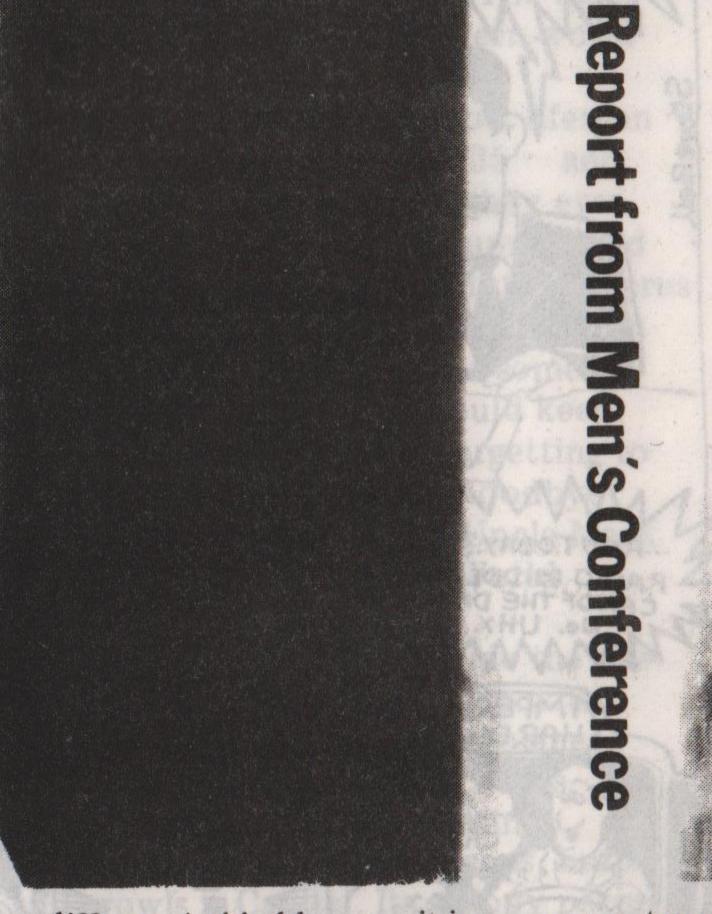
More announcements. Let's meet in small groups for half an hour to help break the ice. Agreed. An unexpected suggestion, would Jewish men like to meet together? Five of us would. Consciousness of and on the part of ethnic minorities is always a good thing. Informing many discussions was the overriding political issue. Is there or is there no a men's movement? The arguments were all against it. Men may be hurt by sexism but they are not oppressed by it. Men are not oppressed as men. Men may find it difficult to come to terms with or to reject the typical male role of having to lord it over women, particularly when they can be stigmatised for not being "real men". But this is a rather different position from that of women who are directly oppressed by men. It is women who are forced by the social, political, and economic power of patriarchy into a subservient position.

It is one thing to be forced to play a domineering social role, but it is quite another to be forced to be a second-class citizen and play a subservient social role. Women's fight is

sees the principles of human society. Their purpose is to show the present as eternal, by inscribing its principles into a spiritualised account of the universe.

The Festival offers simple and religious solutions to complex problems. It appeals by offering the comfort of thinking with ones childhood emotions of religiosity and belief in divine purpose. It offers amazing facts and phenomena as showing the need for a non-materialist understanding of the world. It urges that the deepest truths cannot be grasped by the conscious, logical approach, but only by the emotional one. This is not a harmless fad. Many people who are generally uninterested in astronomy are fascinated by Veilikovsky's claims; many who care nothing for ancient history are enthusiasts for the belief that the pyramids are the gift of people from space, indifference to botany is no hindrance to believing that plants can feel emotions and need talking to. There is one social theory that offers an explanation based on similar obscure 'facts', whose significance cannot be appreciated by the logical, intellectual thinker. That theory is National Socialism, with its doctrine of the Zionist world conspiracy.

David March



different in kind because it is women, not men, who are oppressed by patriarchy.

The traditional left has a lot to learn from men who have been meeting regularly with each other for the past three years. Many of the activists in men's groups have withdrawn from traditional left groups for all too familiar reasons: "The content of male politics on the left is inseparable from much of its style: authoritarianism, commandism, leadership fetishism-often undermining the genuine need for comradeship, for support, for learning and for mutual strengths that bring people into the left in the first place." (Achilles Heel Collective)

The style of work and the friendliness with which people at this conference handled differences was a welcome relief to the domineering attitudes and sectarian stridency that still too frequently characterises left politics.

Joe Schwarz



with the sound of muzak

THERE ARE some 50,000 DJs in Britain working in clubs, on the road, in supermarkets, boutiques, hospitals, factories, holiday camps, on local and national radio. Ian Walker talked to one of them, Graham Dene, who goes out to 800,000 listeners each morning on London's Capital Radio breakfast show. Dene, whose favourite colour is blue and who drives a Datsun with a stereo cassette, according to the personality-kit dished out by the PR, is the classic Mr Nice-Guy-Ideologist composite.

His brain a computer print-out of chatty drivel: the weather, showbiz gossip, unfunny jokes and 2000 ways to "talk up" a record. "People are bad tempered at that time of the morning and don't want to have to think too much so you help them along with the time checks, play some oldies, you know...." All so that we can step out to work Monday thru Friday with a smile on our face.

Graham Dene, along with four other Capital DJs (Peter Young, Nicky Horne, Adrian Love and Roger Scott), served his apprenticeship on the United Biscuits network. A company which has taken muzak-while-youwork, first used in WW2 munitions factories, to its logical conclusion.

"You had the biggest staff turnover rate in the country because the jobs were so boring," explained Graham, "They started putting DJs on the factory floor around 1970 and it evolved into a fully-fledged radio station."

"We were playing records for Rosie on the toffee go-gos...." How cosy. And this was the final solution to the tricky staff furnover problem? "Oh, yes. Turnover used to be 80% in 1970. After UBN the first check showed it had gone down to 25% after three months." Still doing the PR job for his old benefactors: the biscuit barons who wrote DJs into "human relations school" of managerial ideology textbooks.

Do you despise the public? Jan the PR, sitting in to oversee the interview, making sure young Graham didn't step out of line, looked at me I'm Graham threateningly. "I am the public," smiled Graham brightly. And then produced a straight run of three showbiz cliches: "Once you forget you're the same as everybody else you're finished....Never take the public for granted. You just do a job." Brains isn't his strong suit.

Who is the public? Who are you speaking at all those hours on the air? "Well, at Capital we're told that the 25 year-old housewife is the average listener," Graham turned towards Jan for confirmation from the "Capital Audience Research" dossier which they hawk around the advertisers. A curt nod was all he got.

When I asked if he ever made comments on items in the news he replied, "I did until we got a memo saying we weren't allowed to." And watchdog-censor Jan cut in with the classic PR sanitising job,"It was just an IBA guideline." So why did the IBA cut up so rough? "They don't cut up rough," she said primly, "It's just that they're very keen there should be a separation between programmes, commercials and information, that's all." Like the BBC distinction between news and comment this is of course a joke. Promos masquerading as info interviews with author of new book/ director of new film/financier of new cinema or club — is one of Capital's favourite forms of advertising. "Well thank you very much Simon Nobody. The book is published by Panther, costs £1.95 and will be at your

newsagent from Tuesday."

One of the hoariest myths in the biz is that DJs are arbiters of music taste. They play what their bosses tell them to play, what's on the playlist, compiled for Capital by the musical director, Tim Blackmore, and the director of programmes, Aiden Day. Graham didn't seem too sure what criteria they used, but Jan saved the day: "It's just their personal taste in music. They say once you start doing it any other way you're lost."

The Radio 1 playlist is compiled by committee and, like all playlists, is designed to produce what the public wants(although, records not on any playlist often make the Top 40 and ones on the playlist often bomb out). When Radio 1 Controller Derek Chinnery was asked what constitutes The Public, he said: "The guy banging the spanner on the factory floor in time with the music, and his wife at home doing the ironing with two kids around her knees."

di there!

Dene

We talked about the seamy underside



of the music biz and Jan got fidgety. Bribery? "I've never had an approach... obviously the pluggers come round..." And obviously Graham Dene isn't that stupid he'd tell me if he had.

I asked about hyping and was told about the wonderful new Gallup chart system which works out London's 40 best selling records each week. So it's unhypable? "In order to rig the present chart," Jan looked holier-than-thou, "you'd have to spend so much money it just wouldn't be worth it - £5-6000."

Who's she trying to kid? Hyping is endemic to the music biz, as most of those involved in it will freely admit. The addition of a computer here, a respectable opinion poll outfit there, is pure cosmetics. Technology doesn't solve problems produced by the internal economic logic of this, or any other, biz.

Graham "I'm just here to entertain the public" Dene, along with most DJs, likes to think of himself (Ann Nightingale and Susie Barnes are the only women DJs I know of) as a lifeline. The whole world is on the brink of suicide and he comes on with a joke, the weather and a golden oldie. The razor never slashes the wrist. Modern-world heroes.

But the heroes have a short lifespan there aren't too many over 35 --- and they quicken their death if they ever breach the deodorised vacuum around the station. A famous anecdote concerns one Uncle Mack who, after putting on "Puff The Magic Dragon" or some such other, said, "That should keep the little bastards quiet," forgetting to turn off his studio mike. "Goodbye children everywhere," and Uncle Mack was shifted to the Karachi World Service.

The DJs think they provide the one nice sound in cities which ring with unpleasant ones: traffic, aeroplanes, roadworks, conveyor belts, horns, electric typewriters, duplicating machines. Amidst all the bleeps, burps and growls is Capital. Its snappy pacing and zappy jingles (You Can Turn On The World With Capital Radio). reflecting the groovy swingingness of that London life which exists someplace outside your own daily routine.

Phone-ins, comps, swap-shops, "loveline" dedications("Just that I love him/her very much") and the endless opportunities to win T-shirts, badges, LPs, tickets to shows, are the paraphernalia which involves The Public in a sham dialogue. Make them feel part of something bigger and more meaningful.

OK That's all from me folks. Stay tuned to this page for part two of this zingy Leveller feature on DJs. Charlie Gillett, author of Sound of the City and non-playlist DJ on Radio London's Honky-Tonk show, speaks out in next month's fab ish. Fade-out.

WHEN Eric Clapton mumbled some racist crap at a Birmingham gig in August 1976 he could not have expected that the response to those remarks, Rock Against Racism, would some 20 months later crescendo into the highestdecibel rejection of racism and fascism ever to hit the UK. Ian Walker reports on the day Victoria Park turned dayglo, the Nazis stayed indoors, and the left realised that RAR had a whole lot more going for it than just a nice red and yellow badge.

Anti Nazi League lollipops still logjammed the route from Trafalgar Square to Victoria Park while Poly Styrene was ripping through the X-Ray Spex incitement to rebellion, "Oh Bondage 'Up Yours". Then Patrick Fitz-Gerald, punk poet from Bow, sang over an accoustic guitar, "I wanna Be Normal (On Second Thoughts, Forget It)", before a beer can came a bit too close and he waltzed off in a huff.

The Clash came on as a curtain went back on a black and white blow-up of a dive-bombing Messerschmidt. Joe Strummer, in yellow Brigade Rosse T-shirt stamped with the Red Army Fraction logo and a pair of jeans that used to be white, smiled: "For those of you from outside London who haven't heard...." Three guitars crashed hi-speed through the opening chords and "London's Burning" was sung so fast you couldn't jump up and down in time. No matter the PA was so bad it all sounded like a vacuum cleaner an inch from your ear.

Everyone was waiting for "White Riot" and there was a bit of a one on stage before we got it. A grabbing of microphones, followed by no sound. "They've cut us off," said Mick Jones, lead guitarist, open-mouthed. "They don't want us to play any more." The schedule was tight and The Clash had gone over time.

Jimmy Pursey, cockney hero and lead singer of the skinheads' band Sham 69, marched onstage and seized the mike. "OK. They said I could do one number. I'm doing it with The Clash. Power

on." No arguing with that. Pursey, Strummer and about 20,000 others sang along: "White riot, I wanna riot. White riot, a riot of my own."

Steel Pulse's reggae brought down the temperature - they did their current hit single "Ku Klux Klan". Johnny Rotten was rumoured to be backstage. People kept calling out his name, but he never showed. Paul Holborrow, ANL organiser, had a couple of minutes at the mike in his hour of glory. A kid next to me

First to agree to do Carnival,

winced: "I came here for the music.' first of the new wave to really lay it on the line, Tom Robinson was the last act of the afternoon.

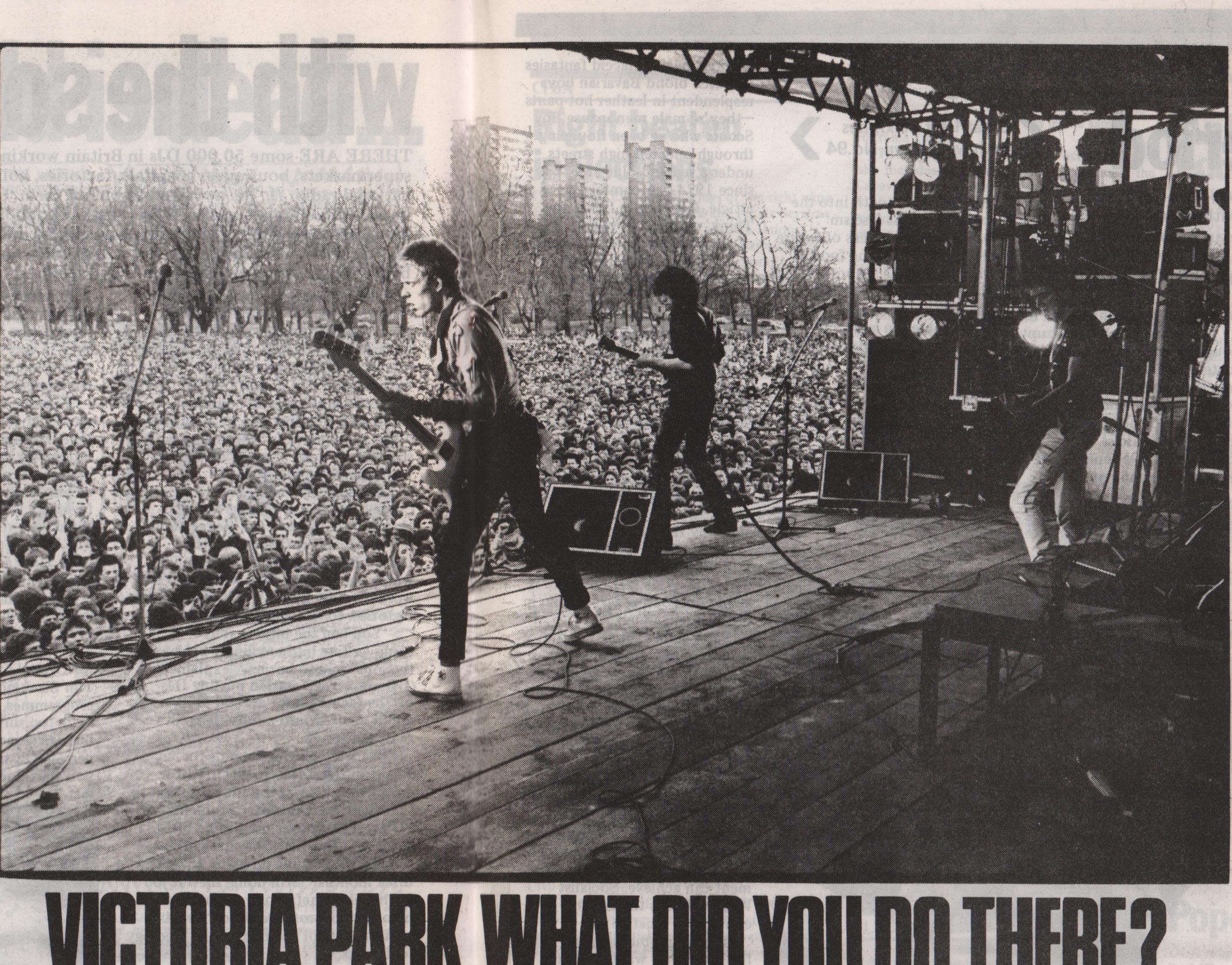
"You don't have to be black to like Bob Marley and you don't have to be gay to singalong with this song....but it helps." NF loyalists slumped in front of TVs all over the East End would have had to turn up the volume a little if they didn't want to know what 80,000 people thought of queerbashing.

For the finale Tom came back along with Jimmy Pursey, Steel Pulse, Mick Jones and 90 Degrees Inclusive. "They wanted us to go like that," said Jimmy, his forefingers pointed like beaks about to peck, "but we went like that," arms stretched upright and hands clasped over his head. 'A triumphant grin split his face in two.

"What are we going to do, The Israelites?" Jimmy asked the others. But Tom had written one specially for the day, "We have Got To Get It Together". Thousands of fists punched in the air in time when it got round to the chorus: "Black, White, Together Tonight."

But some people are never satisfied. "No politics at Carnival" was the puke-making headline in Newsline, daily organ of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Where were they looking for the politics? If they didn't see it in any of the bands or the 80,000 people, they could have tried looking in one of the dustbins where leaflets distributed by the Workers Socialist League were there for takers. This leaflet denounced the ANL. denounced Peter Hain (who's he anyway?) and denounced the petty bougeois reformism which had diseased the enterprise. The WSL issued a call for "workers defence squads" to replace the ANL. To be organised by who? The massed ranks of the WSL? Wakey, wakey. Tariq Ali, International Marx-

ist Group, said: "Lots of people will come along for RAR today and see that it should be Rock Against The Stock Exchange



ROCK

RACISM,

AGAINST

tomorrow." A sentiment which betrays a whole laundry list of Trotskyist assumptions about their relation to the outside world (all those undeveloped consciousnesses out there) and to rebel culture (like TRB, Steel Pulse, The Clash).

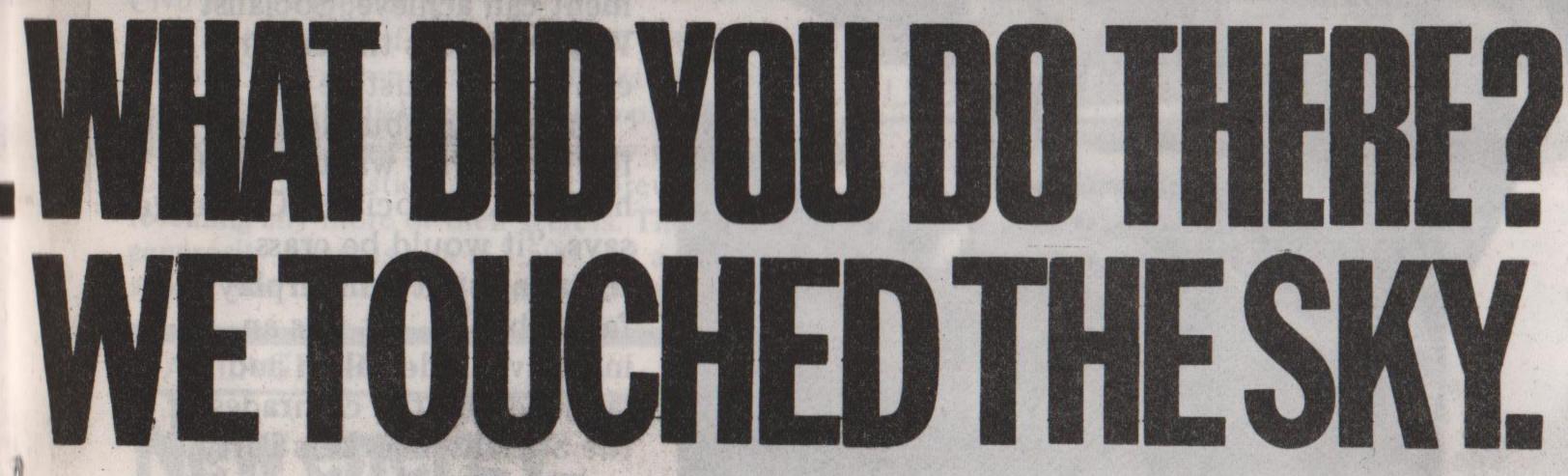
The outside world is a vast campus of potential students, and Tariq (or others similar) is the teacher. The students feel angry/oppressed/confused. The teacher explains why they feel like that and what they can do about it (Join The Party? Rock Against The Stock Exchange?) When the student has an idea, the teacher either gives it a tick

(it is "correct") or a cross (it is "incorrect". Must try harder). Never does it occur to our teacher that s/he may be able to learn a thing or two from our student rock fan (or performer).

Like about feeling, gut reactions, the imaginative power of socialist ideas (however "nascent", "crude" or "vulgar"). Like having a bit of bottle and a bit of style. Like laying yourself on the line.

When Marxists use rock 'n roll like a Trojan horse - you get a load of people along to a gig by getting a name band, then force them to sit through learned orations on the crisis of capital-

ism in between sets, wheeling in the Marxism which, at a prearranged signal, will leap out into everybody's consciousness then they deserve to bomb out. And that is the (pretty open) secret of RAR's success: noncondescension. Temporary Hoarding, the RAR fanzine, has style and doesn't assume that politics is some magic potion to be slipped covertly into rock 'n roll. It uses street language. (Unlike Socialist Challenge's pre-Carnival attempt to go punk hand-written headlines and cutouts, diagonal columns etc. with a text that was the authentic voice of youth: "It's a



pretty awful and depressing time for young people " More like a middle-class Tory sounding off over tea.)

The politics is right there in the music, alive and kicking out against the whole dungheap, if only you listen. The Clash and Tom Robinson do not, like the Maoist outfit People's Liberation Music, recycle slogans about the "oppressed peoples of the third world". They are more subversive than that. They've got soul. They touch raw nerves. They give people (not just kids, but you and me) the confidence to say, "Up Yours" to their boss, their teacher, their husband.

World-weary leftie readers will already be mentally hatching responses of the "I've seen it all before/Rebellion has become temporarily chic/And anyway rock 'n roll is controlled by capitalism so by definition nonprogressive" type. OK rock has always been rebellious. Elvis Presley, terrorist of American parenthood, becomes Elvis the GI, as sweet as apple pie. Likewise the Stones, the Who. You name it.

But the process isn't predetermined. And even when the rebel songs are forgotten and their singers are rebels no more, it is still good that those songs Dylan, The Who, The Animals in the 60s, the bands on view at Carnival right now - were sung at all.

And if rebels are chic it doesn't necessarily make them any less rebellious. You could argue that the British left (unlike sections of its European counterparts) has suffered from a lack, not a surfeit, of trendiness and style. (Oh, sorry, I forgot that style is determined by the capitalist mode of production ZZZZZZZ....)

Which brings me to the last straw leftoid I have built up to knock down - some of them exist in flesh and blood, you'd better believe it - that the music biz obeys the logic of the capitalist, etc, and is therefore of zilch use to lefties. Is Tom **Robinson singing "Up Against** The Wall" all part of some EMIengineered plot to take the umph out of radical songsters? Is the New Musical Express running the Carnival as its cover story some IPC conspiracy to defuse the revo potential of Rock Against Racism? Tell me another one. Before you disappear up your own argument.

Good luck to Rock Against Racism and its hard-as-nails fanzine Temporary Hoarding. We wish you well.



ACCORDING to Socialist Worker, "even god has joined the Anti-Nazi League." With or without divine guidance, any organisation that can mobilise 80,000 people is something new on the left. Dave Taylor looks at the phenomenal development of ANL and the problems it faces.

The Anti-Nazi League has done something unusual - it has proved that politics can be fun. Set up only six months ago, it has avoided the sectarianism characteristic of so many campaigns on the left.

Peter Hain, Paul Holborrow and Ernie Roberts mooted the idea in September 1977 and the present steering committee was elected in November that year. Now they face the prospect of the first conference - to be

held in late June or early July. Press officer Peter Hain says the aim is "not to thrash out a programme as such. We want to avoid left jargon-it must be an activists' conference."

Hain says, "they don't want to decorate it with bishops and the like, but want to broaden the movement and look at the wider issues."

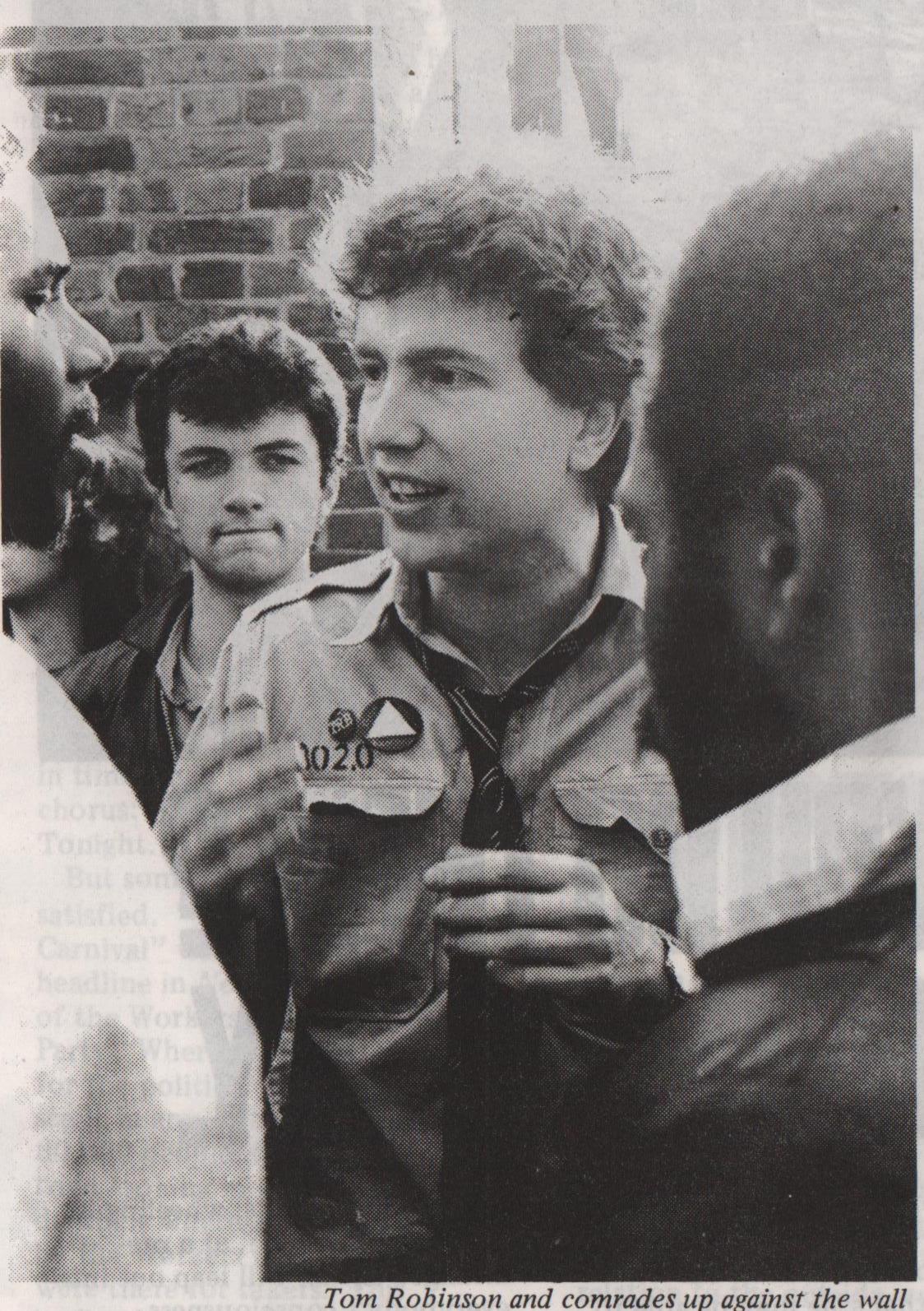
This they need to do. So far the ANL has been mainly an anti-National Front movement, and if it wishes to politicise the vast number of people it is capable of talking to it must examine the issues of immigration, racism, the role of the state and social democracy, in short, the political nature of the response.

Already it has over 160 local supporters groups and has \leq several union sponsorships including NUPE, ASLEF and Yorkshire NUM. It is trying to build a base for itself although there are differences of opinion within the movement about how it should do this.

The Socialist Workers Party are calling for factory branches but others from the steering committee, which includes 3 Labour MPs, prefer the idea of "supporters groups". Whatever they are called and wherever they are based the groups will need to concern themselves with local issues if the ANL is to consolidate.

The Anti-fascist, Anti-racist Co-ordinating Committee, a body which co-ordinates local groups originally expressed concern that the ANL might swamp local initiatives and there

was some resentment earlier in the year when the ANL set up groups where local ones already existed. According to Peter Hain the relationship between the two bodies is now "a cordial one". When I spoke to the All London Anti-fascist, Anti-racist **Co-ordinating Committee they** declined to comment.



establish a local base they then face the problem of taking the movement on politically with a steering committee that Tribunites and liberals.

The aim of the soccer groups If the ANL do manage to is to keep Nazi chants off the terraces, "we don't want [Spurs'] reputation disgraced by the Nazis", says the ANL leaflet. includes revolutionary socialists. In Socialist Worker, the SWP -which has thrown a lot of Will it commit itself to resources behind the campaign revolutionary politics? "I don't -could only offer the most banal sexist invective in its think so", says Hain, "it is not recent 7 page "Nazi Menace" capable of doing so and that is special: "Face to face, they're not its purpose. We are interested in mass unity and drawing fat, fortyish, wizened Nazi

Great Left headlines we have known No.94

working class youth into the struggle against fascism".

The planned areas of future development are the football terraces and the schools. SKAN. the paper of School Kids Against the Nazis is selling 8,000 copies an issue and several local school groups have been set up.

Tottenham Hotspur football ground has been heavily leafletted recently and a Spurs Supporters Against the Nazis group is planned. A flurry of activity, but the politics?

wankers having flaccid fantasies of butch blond Bavarian boys resplendent in leather hot-pants -they're male menopause Boy Scouts who've been flouncing through selected high streets under a red and blue swastika since 1974." A commissioned article, but even in 'What we Think' we get, "they are a lot of thugs and loonies."

If the left in and outside the ANL is going to confront fascism and racism it has to go beyond the politics of caricature. Rock Against Racism and the Carnival itself are part of a culture and language which relates to working class kidsthe patronising tone of the Spurs leaflet doesn't.

Unfortunately the majority of NF supporters aren't thugs and loonies but people with very real fears and prejudices which are exploited by the leadership and only feebly discouraged by social democrats. With the Tories taking the ground from under the NF's feet racialism is already becoming respectable in the Political arena.

Peter Hain claims that the Front are now on the defensive and that recruitment of young workers has dropped. The ANL must take a lot of the credit for this, but getting 80,000 people to a carnival is one thing, attacking the social and economic conditions that give rise to fascism is another.

The obvious mobilising potential of the ANL has forced the organised left to take stock of what a non-sectarian movement can achieve. Socialist Worker argues the coming conference must be one of "activists and builders and not for those who want to split hairs". And Socialist Challenge says, "it would be crass sectarianism to underplay the fact [that] . . . it was an initiative undertaken and launched by the comrades of 'the Socialist Workers Party."

The crunch will come after the conference and in the run up to the General Election. This is the main long term aim of the ANL. Could there be an amalgam of the ANL, Socialist Unity, Martin Shaw's International Socialist Alliance and others at the polls? Whatever the alignment of left forces the Carnival, RAR, and to a lesser extent the ANL have shown that tired old cliches are not the way to mobilise new sections of the working and middle class. And enjoyment not rhetoric is the meat of politics.

CPSA

Right beaten inelections

THE SINISTER manoeuvrings of the right wing 'Daylight' group in the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA) have received a serious setback. Their record whilst in a majority on the union's National Executive Committee has been one of sell-outs and witch-hunts (see The Leveller 7 & 11). When they attempted to have full time officer Terry Adams sacked for being "too enthusiastic" in carrying out his duties in relation to the Gibraltar dispute they sealed their fate. A massive campaign with full rank-and-file support from those sections of the union which Terry had responsibility for produced an incredible 173 motions to Annual Conference-forcing the NEC to reverse their decision to sack him.

A further nail was hammered into the right's coffin when on the eve of conference the Broad Left and Redder Tape (SWP) groups were able to reveal that they had in their possession final proof of what had been alleged for some time -that Daylight was financed by employer organisation TRUEMID-"the Movement for True Industrial Democracy". The documentary evidence revealed not only the links between Truemid and Daylight but also Truemid's financial backers. It came as little surprise that these included such well known enlightened, liberal firms as Barclays International, Taylor Woodrow and Littlewoods-the CPSA's lawyers Messrs Lawford and Co. were also revealed as backers of Truemid

The result of these revelations was the devastation of the right wing in the Presidentia Vice-Presidential and NEC elections. The notorious Kate Losinska (the former President of CPSA who took legal action to prevent 1976 Conference from discussing a motion of censure, on her) failed to be re-elected as a VP (this result was greeted, according to the Daily Telegraph, with "howls of triumph from left wing delegates, many of them with long hair and beards that owe nothing to the traditional Civil Service mould").

The exposing of the activities of TRUEMID within CPSA is important for all Trade Unionists especially in the light of Truemid's paying off of Sid Davies, their former secretary (sacked for daring to question policy), to prevent him revealing any more of their secrets. Their generosity towards him (£3,500 and a new car) shows that they have a lot more to hide.

GALLAGHER

New energy source for left

EDDIE GALLAGHER, convicted on the Dr. Herrema kidnap, may well be facing twenty years in the jug, but, what with his recent marriage to Dr. Rose Dugdale, things are looking up still further for him in a way that would make Ronnie Biggs squirm in Brazilian discomfort.

A major uranium hunt has got underway in Donegal-no, that's not an Irish joke-and a prime site for prospectors, just happens to be a 45-acre farm Gallagher bought from prison (we won't ask where his capital came from) near Finntown.

Rich uranium deposits are deemed to be underneath his rolling acres, and it is said a "handsome offer" was conveyed to Gallagher through intermediaries.

The farm is owned by the GDC Company, a title devised by his initial, that of Dr. Dugdale and of Marion Coyle who was in the same Herrema kidnap.

This company bought the 45 acres, which also includes fishing rights on Loughfin and the Lakeview Bar in Finntown, nearly a year ago for £22,000, mainly with the intention of setting up a co-operative fishing farm to provide a living for ten families.

But what of the uranium? Eddie wrote to friends on the outside saying he would rather leave any mineral wealth under the Donegal soil than "place it under the control of international bandits and war mongers in the EEC and America who would use it to pollute the earth and destroy defenceless human beings with their nuclear reactors and neutron bombs."

If only the GDC Co. could have bought the Windscale and Torness land as well in time.

OPERATION JULIE



FURTHER TO the police "Operation Julie" LSD bust the other month (see The Leveller 14), it seems that Richard Kemp, who got the heaviest sentence, had a statement to make from the dock, only his lawyers recommended he keep silent.

Whether such advice was desirable may not be for us to say, but as an extract shows, Mr Kemp had some stirring sentiments to offer. He would have said: "The present climate of opinion and law effectively forced me to make a choice between making LSD available without social controls, with the small risks inherent in this approach, or not making it

available at all.

"Believing as I did that the benefits are so widespread and so urgently necessary if we are to have any chance of solving the pressing problems of the modern world, I felt I had no choice but to adopt the course which has led me to the dock and your Lordship's judgement.'

ALDO MORO

Moro-growth industry

THE KIDNAPPING of Aldo Moro (and now his death) has led to at least one growth industry in Italy-personal security guards and anti-kidnap insurance policies.

Most of these policies are taken out with Lloyd's of London, and an unanticipated side-effect took place last month when Italian police raided the Milan offices of a leading insurance broker, impounding documents that showed hundreds of wealthy Italians had taken on Lloyd's policies worth more than £50 million.

Il Papa reckons transferring this loot into Some individual premiums totalled more American real estate and shares is a better bet, than £12 million a year and the broker in and that the USA will soon be the only place question, aware of the strict Italian laws on left on earth where Vatican investments can exporting capital, has wisely fled to Switzerland. survive and prosper, and still serve both God Not so nippy however were his Lloyd's and Mammon. clients, and now, not only do they face charges A Vatican document predicts that within on exporting their loot, but the tax authorities five years Western Europe will be under the have moved in on the same documents which influence of communism, and, no doubt under show that many Milan businessmen were filing another Pope, the Catholic Church will have to tax returns as if they were living just above the make a deal with Marxism while keeping its breadline. coffers well oiled in the last bastion of Tough on them, huh? capitalism.

AnIrish education

FLOYD PATTERSON

MAYBE FLOYD PATTERSON is not as dumb as the way he boxed. The ex-World Heavyweight Champ was recently on holiday

IShorts

with his family in Donegal, in the north-west of Ireland, and took his children across the border into the occupied Six Counties.

Why? He explained: "Because I wanted the kids to see a place in a country that was not free as opposed to one that is. To see men n carrying rifles, tommy-guns and hand grenades is frightening. I wanted the kids to experience that, and make them appreciate what they already have."

Not bad, Floyd, not bad. You did rather blow it though when you took them down to Dublin and into the notorious Special Criminal Court, where currently the long-drawn out IRSP train robbery trial is lumbering along.

Floyd told reporters he was in court to give his children an opportunity to see how the legal system worked in Ireland to help their education back in America.

We can only hope that Floyd pointed out the total absence of any jury, and for his children's sake, we hope also the time they were in court was not when defence barristers halted the trial to protest the fact that a judge had gone asleep.

Mr. Seamus Sorohan angrily pointed out that Judge O'Connor's head had "slowly begun to sink from an upright position down until his forehead rested on his papers on the bench". Furthermore, said Mr. Sorohan, efforts had been made by court clerks to attract the dozing Judge's attention by opening and banging heavy log books, by noisily opening and closing a door, and by coughing.

The trial, needless to say, continued undeterred. Now there's something for Floyd to tell the folks back home.

DEEP THROAT

Pope on the run

OUR religious correspondent writes: Pope Paul VI may well be sliding into his dotage or indeed may still be upset. His offer to swop places with Aldo Moro was not exactly snapped up by the Red Brigades, but he certainly shapes up over all that Vatican loot.

Leveller sources within the Catholic Rome HQ-who is the "Deep Throat" Cardinal?inform us that Paul Montini has shifted nearly five billion dollars of Church funds out of Italy and into the USA because he is convinced Italy will soon become a Communist country.

This plan was devised at a secret Vatican meeting between the Pope and financier Michele Sindona, following which the money-man was ordered to sell out the Church's controlling interest in the giant multinational company Societe Generale Immobiliare.





A REMARKABLE FILM is nearing completion. Called *Home Soldier Home*, it will be a central feature of the United Troops Out Movement's June 10 conference on the role of the Army in Northern Ireland. It's a 45 minute black and white documentary which includes interviews with former British soldiers talking about their experiences in the province, and it's bound to be political dynamite.

For it represents the start of a substantial flow of ex-squaddies prepared to come forward with their stories and face the official furore that it's bound to provoke. The soldiers talk quite openly of interrogationtraining - "They believe that you've got to know exactly what you've got to dish out and the best way to know is by receiving it yourself" - and the callous brutality meted out to Belfast catholics.

The conference, film and a forthcoming pamphlet are tangible evidence that UTOM is alive and kicking a year after the traumatic .conference which split the movement and left the two factions in bitter hostility. Confusingly both sides retained the Troops Out title, so we now have a TOM and a UTOM.

Paddy Prenderville, the TOM's press officer, argues that the movement was declining anyway because of the changing situation in Ireland : "The main impact was when the war was clearly seen to be a colonial war. It isn't any less so now. But that isn't the way it's seen in Britain."

The row had been simmering for ages and it came to a head at the conference held last summer in the General Picton pub in London. Den Connelly, convenor of the UTOM Steering Committee, agrees that TOM had been in a decline : "In the previous year, a lot of energy had gone into the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland, but very little else.

"At the Autumn 76 conference, the power of the basically independent people who constituted the officers was limited. It was meant to give more power to the branches and clip the wings of the leadership. It was an extremely unpleasant conference and very sectarian because it was the first time those people had lost anything.

"The next six months' meetings of the Steering Committee were erratic, and the last one was an ugly affair. The people who had been defeated were still officers but they took no part in what was going on, nor did they say when they were going to do. But they planed to call the next meeting suddenly and charge through a new constitution that would have done away with the branch structure."



The present elements of the UTOM group, which includes Big Flame, the International Marxist Group and a number of independent individuals and groups, then arranged a separate venue at the Northumberiand Arms pub and walked out of the General Picton conference to set up their own movement.

Prenderville denies this version of events and says that previous conferences had been dominated by unrepresentative groups of people who came along and made polemical speeches but never did any work : "What we demanded was that the delegates for conference sign up beforehand. We'd even had people coming along and saying that they hadn't done any work but they still wanted to be delegates. It wasn't democratic at all.

"But the real basis of the split was that those now in UTOM wanted an orientation towards the community - gays, students, women and so on - and we wanted a focus on the labour movement. Any claim about manouvreing at that conference is a smokescreen for real politics. It's tied in with Big Flame's. commitment to the IMG." Since the row, TOM has remained as a relatively small group - Prenderville refuses to release details of membership size which concentrates its attention on the forthcoming International Tribunal. This project, which has wide apparent support on the revolutionary left, will bring together a panel of famous names and a jury of labour movement delegates to hear details of British behaviour in Northern Ireland. It's scheduled to start in the Autumn and Prenderville describes TOM's main thrust as "building up the labour movement content of that Tribunal. UTOM isn't working towards it with nearly the same commitment as we are. Our main strength is a large network in the

The issue of Britain's continual involvement with and its administration of Northern Ireland has arguably been the main issue the left in this country has had to contend with over the past nine years.

The nearest to a mass demonstration is still the 20,000 plus who turned out in London's Whitehall for a protest organised by the Anti-Internment League in 1972 in the immediate wake of Derry's Bloody Sunday.

The Troops Out Movement started up in 1973 as another attempt to mobilise mass opinion in Britain, but there still has been nothing to rival that day in Whitehall. Why not?

The Leveller over the following six pages looks at aspects of the Northern Ireland issue from the British perspective. The attitudes of the major "human rights" bodies are examined, as are the way British newspapers report Ireland and the treatment of the nearly one hundred Irish Republican prisoners currently in British jails.

In the first article, *David Clark* looks at the Troops Out Movement since its angry split a year ago. At its height, TOM was an expression of co-operation between the revolutionary left organisations and the independent Irish activists, but these days does the British left even take Ireland seriously?

abour movement which looks to us because of the work we've already done." And Sean Reed - the nom de guerre of the controversial Irish journalist who's been at the centre of London-Irish politics since the formation of the Irish Workers' Group as a miniscule trotskyist tendency in the early sixties - argues that the battle to get motions of support through union branches is the most important task facing the movement. His analysis is interesting : "It's impossible to build a mass anti-war movement when the imperialist army isn't suffering large casualties. From 1974 onwards, there was a decline in the casualty rate and support for TOM fell too.'

Some of the activists then turned their attention to the 1976 Labour Movement Delegation to Northern Ireland, when 60 trades unionists visited North and South and reported back to their branches before producing a report : "The whole thing was much more important than some of the demonstrations even, because the delegates had to argue out what they'd seen over there with trades unionists over here."

Both Reed and Prenderville are particularly angry about the role of the IMG. Prenderville claims that Socialist Challenge and its forerunner, Red Weekly, refused to print four letters from them explaining their position. He also says that he's seen an IMG position paper accepted in summer 1977 which argues that : "the working class should not be the main

focus; it should be students and women. Big Flame were committed to that sort of approach anyway. But the IMG sought to evade their responsibilities to build a thrust into the working class."

The IMG's organiser, Ailean O'Callaghan,a former student whose appointment as a fulltimer with special responsibility for Ireland is an indication of the IMG's seriousness, rejects these accusations, arguing that the group wants a campaign based in local organisations rather than a London committee : "The main thing is the level of mass activity in the streets that people can identify with.

"The Tom wasn't able to come to terms with the downturn of the struggle in Ireland. That is now beginning an upturn, so there is a bigger potential. But the whole of TOM's history was one of increasing sectarianism culminating in the split."

The IMG, after a period of intense internal debate, supports the UTOM demands of Troops Out and Self-Determination, but they reserve the right to fight • within it for their own politics - including their "unconditional but critical support for the Provisional IRA. We defend them from British imperialism and their right to fight as they see fit." O'Callaghan supports the International Tribunal, but sees the long-term aim of building up UTOM as a mass movement. That process has started in a small way, with a growth of UTOM branches to 23 nationally and a conference planned for July to give it more shape and structure. But the organisation still lacks an overall sense of direction. A conference last winter in Sheffield set up the Steering Committee, but in the words of convenor Den Connelly, it meets : "irregularly because Big Flame and the IMG haven't really matched up to the task of seeing that it worked - in other words, giving UTOM a clearly worked-out structure.

"One of the things is that it's me that's up there. Being in Big Flame means that I have to do a series of other things and I've got the job by default really. There was a strong feeling of unity in July, and I was the most committed member of Big Flame who was in the London UTOM. The organisation has meanwhile wandered off in other directions."

Although Big Flame provided the alternative communications network that allowed UTOM to break succesfully from TOM, its own organisational capacities are limited by its size. Norma Hutcheson, a Big Flame member of the Women in Ireland group, argues that : "The English left hasn't been doing mass work anyway. We pointed it that way because we had some experience. But we had only just started to become aware of it." Within the comparatively small

world of organisers and activists dependant for their political support upon a mass movement, periods of inactivity and disinterest have led to some vicious faction fighting and highly personalised politics.

Gerry Fitzpatrick, secretary of the SWP's Irish sub-committee, put his finger on it when he commented that the split in TOM had : "no political basis. That fact represents the

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decline in being able to organise in the Irish community and the labour movement. It was due more to personalities than it was to political disagreement."

The SWP doesn't take sides in the TOM split, preferring instead to support initiatives from both groups. But the party stands accused by many activists of being simply disinterested unless there's recruiting to be done. Fitzpatrick doesn't accept that jibe, but does accept that the party hasn't given Ireland much prominence. He says that's changing, that a new pamphlet is due out soon, that the new importance is illustrated by the fact that Tony Cliff spoke on the subject recently. So he did, and Socialist Challenge mischievously reprinted it as a "contribution to the debate": it proved to be a largelyirrelevant call for unity against fascism in Britain which happened to start with a short section on Ireland in 1916. "We do take Ireland seriously," argues Fitzpatrick. "Look at every major initiative and we have responded quite decisively with money and organisational support. It's true that Socialist Worker doesn't sufficiently analyse the political background and developments. That's an old bogey within the SWP as well as outside. What it does do is to try and put across a picture that the British worker can relate to.'

The split is not just within the troops out camp. The Communist Party won't touch TOM and calls instead for a withdrawal to barracks and gradual removal of the British presence as a long-term aim. It works with its allies in Sinn Fein, the Workers' Party, in alliances for a 'better life for all', and it protests at excessive brutality by Army and RUC. But it hasn't thrown its full weight behind a united front since the collapse of the Anti-Internment League. And the Militant tendency, though it does have a long-run programme calling within the Labour Party for the eventual withdrawal of the troops, prefers to work towards a Trade Union Defence Force at present. While that demand has found little favour with the trade union leadership, their main political initiatives are based in the Northern Ireland Trade Union and Labour Coordinating Group, and support of their comrades in the Militant tendency inside the Irish Labour Party. Most of the Labour Party left want the troops out at some time, and often don't like the way they behave - Joan Maynard MP has spoken on Troops Out platforms but is not a member - but many are horrified by the possible consequences if they are withdrawn precipitously.

And some people, like John Lloyd in Leveller 14, hold a two-nations theory which flies in the face of what most of the left want.

There is, in other words, profound disagreement, confusion and inactivity amongst the comrades. If 300 prisoners were 'on the blanket' in Soweto jail, we wouldn't be able to move for demonstrations and solidarity meetings. If the entire editorial staff of a socialist newspaper in the Soviet Union were arrested, we'd all be besieging the Embassy long ago. But Ireland is different, for the longer the war goes on, the less inclined does the British left seem to be about organising itself on Irish activity. The apotheosis is the continuing split in TOM, but the roots of the malaise go deep. Specifically :

** The weight of history and ideology governing the labour movement's attitude towards Ireland. 300 years of colonial history and 50 years of seeing Ulster as part of the United Kingdom cannot easily be overcome. The opinion poll statistic that 60 per cent of the public want the troops out is an indication of the passive support that exists for the



demand. But few, particularly in the trade union leadership, are prepared to take it up.

** The changing nature of the struggle - from a civil rights struggle which everyone could support to a vicious nationalist war with some socialist overtones - hasn't made it easy for the British left to take sides with conviction.

** The British state response has included virtually unchallenged power to harass and break up organisational support, to imprison and deport political activists, and to demoralise large sections of their political base through police surveillance.

** Some of the tactics pursued in the nationalist struggle - particularly the pub and restaurant bombings and the essentially grim nature of urban guerilla warfare - have made it impossible to mobilise public opinion behind it.

** Finally, the twists and turns within Irish politics have their resonance in Britain. In an imperialist war, it's a symbiotic relationship between the battlefield and the metropolis : internment, deaths of civilians and Brits coming home in boxes gets them out on the streets : a new programme from Sinn Fein or a re-alignment within the Derry Labour Party doesn't. Particularly after ten years. Small wonder that many Irish socialists become cynically exasperated by the left's behaviour. Last Autumn, for instance, a Provisional IRA spokesperson sketched out for The Leveller the development of socialist ideas within the Provisionals. Asked about the role of the British left, he responded with an exasperated smile and said that : "Their solidarity seems

to depend upon how far away is the struggle they're supposed to be supporting."

And Jackie Kaye, secretary of the Prisoners' Aid Committee, spoke for many of the 150 people at a May meeting to publicise the struggle of republican prisoners when she said that the PAC would picket all organisations which wouldn't fight for the prisoners' rights. She went on to name Socialist Worker, the Morning Star, the National Council for Civil Liberties and "any other other organisations that think the question of Ireland can be swept down the drain."

She announced the calling of a July 9 demonstration for the prisoners and attacked those organisations which have : "capitalised on the question of Ireland but have not brought their people out onto the streets. If every organisation fully supported it, then there's no doubt it could be a massive demonstration on July 9. We don't want any more hot air or promises. We want straightforward practical support for our work."

June 10, July 9 and the subsequent development of the troops out movement will show whether anyone on the left was even listening any more.

LONDON-BASED journalists who report Northern Irish affairs whether for Irish or British organs frequently run across official attempts, both obvious and subtle, to interfere with their news-gathering process.

This can take the form of "old boy" contacts by sides may be analysed and understood." Northern Ireland Office (NIO) officials over his/her head British newspaper and television editors, and to their editor, or by an apparently unorganised smear especially Conor Cruise O'Brien of the Observer, please campaign against an individual journalist's reputation. take note.

As far as the National Union of Journalists is Here The Leveller offers four cases provided by a concerned, they at least at their delegate conference in senior and widely-respected Irish journalist on the Whitley Bay last month passed the following motion by pitfalls and problems reporters can face when working a two-thirds majority of the 330-odd eligible voters: on Northern Irish stories.

"This ADM notes the continuous failure of the media

CASE

TWO YEARS ago, an Irish reporter in London obtained information about psychological operations training (psyops) including courses on psychological warfare being run by the Ministry of Defence at Old Sarum in Wiltshire.

This information came from a high-ranking official source who minutes, a tap will be put on your phone to try and establish told the journalist that a small number of senior civil servants had who you are in contact with." become very concerned about the long-term implications of such Further information concerning the Old Sarum "psyops" unit training. Study of psychological warfare for use in Northern came lately when it was stated that some 262 civilian agents, Ireland was one thing-it had resulted in the setting up of a including policemen, and 1,858 Army officers had undergone the "dirty tricks" committee of military and civilian personnel in course by October 1972. Northern Ireland in the early '70s though this was disbanded by Documents listed in "War on the Mind" by Sunday Times Merlyn Rees after two or three fiascoes.

The result of this internal disagreement about the psyops courses, which instructed officials in the dissemination of black propaganda, use of false news and rumour in civil strife conditions, and crowd and population manipulation, was to decide to leak information to the press.

But in Britain the "D" Notice system prevented editors from Other specialists teaching at this secret two week course printing the story. As Irish newspapers are not affected by this included Keith Belbin of Coleman, Prentice and Varley, the top restriction system, an Irish journalist was given documents London ad agency who have handled the Tory party's publicity, confirming the courses were taking place. and R.M. "Bob" Farr, a psychologist and a former official of the But after making the information available, the source asked **British Psychological Society.**

CASE 2

AN EXPERIENCED journalist switched to a different serious planting the seed, of doubt in the editor's mind. London Sunday newspaper, bringing with him a reputation for The same smear tactic was used in the case of the "This Week" solid reporting of Northern Ireland. One of his new editors was programme which ran a series of three TV shows, one of which telephoned, for the first time, by a senior official at the Northern enraged the establishment because it showed beyond reasonable Ireland Office, and was invited to lunch. Over the steaks and red doubt that ill treatment of prisoners was taking place at a Belfast wine, the civil servant made his message clear. interrogation centre.

The journalist in question was considered "irresponsible" by those who had been trying "to keep the peace in Northern Ireland", and what he wrote was "not helpful" in circumstances where lives were at stake. A "misguided" reporter, perhaps he should be put on other stories. This approach by officialdom was rejected, but the civil servant could take some satisfaction in

CASE 3

THREE YEARS ago, a Foreign Office official seconded to the reliable news service, bush telegraph would take over and false Northern Ireland Office in Belfast chaired a seminar for Belfast rumours could not be countered. editors and reporters. They were asked not to state in future, But it suited the NIO strategists at the time for such killings to the religion of the (mostly Catholic) victims of sectarian be presented as part of a mindless campaign of random violence assassinations. The reason given was that this practice might conducted by the enemies of the state-giving the authorities provoke retaliation from the other side. This theory ignored the more public support in fighting terrorism, and presenting a fact that in such a small society as Northern Ireland the religious picture of virtuous officialdom struggling with evil gangsters. identity of assassination victims quickly becomes known, that The police in Northern Ireland went along with the theory people who live in dangerous areas were entitled in any event to that withholding religion would help, and as they are the primary source of news about killings there, very few newspapers now know who was being attacked, and that in the absence of a carry this relevant detail.

CASE 4

Another example of successful N10 manipulation came with the publication in 1976 of the European Commission report concluding that Britain had been guilty of torture in Northern Ireland. The day before the report was to be published, Merlyn Rees, then Northern Ireland Secretary of State, and his officials called several newspaper and TV editors into his Whitehall offices for drinks and a chat about what was likely to

come out in the report. As a result almost every British newspaper carried identical editorial leaders on the day of the report's publication-almost all faithfully repeating the Government view that Dublin was really being irresponsible to give the IRA such a propaganda victory. Only the Sun newspaper carried the message "All right, we did it and we shouldn't have".

NIO officials moves swiftly into action. In London and Belfast fellow journalists were told: "You know, those "This Week" chaps used to be all right but they've swallowed IRA propaganda and have got obsessed to the point of i "esponsibility." On one of the programmes a prison officer was interviewed: he was shot a few days later. NIO officials practically put the blame on the "This Week" team.

to provide an objective picture of the war in Northern Ireland. ADM therefore calls for an end to all censorship, suppression and distortion in this coverage, so that the background to the war and the views of all

the journalist if he intended "checking it out" with the Ministry of Defence. On being told that this would be routine procedure, the source said "OK, but don't phone me again from the moment you let it known you have this information, because within 20

journalist Peter Watson, show that Britain has been experimenting with psyops since 1952. In 1972, Lt.Col. B.R. Johnston-no relation to Colonel B-a man held to be currently Britain's foremost psyops expert, was lecturing at Old Sarum on "military information policy in low intensity operations"-mainly in Northern Ireland.



AMNESTY International (AI), with their Nobel Peace Prize, and the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL), which won much Irish support by not hesitating with its early opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act, are both organisations dedicated to the protection of basic human rights. AI has its headquarters in London and the NCCL is an English organisation.

Since 1968, both Tory and Labour governments have pursued a ruthless policy of military suppression, brutality, internment, torture and legal suppression against the nationalist population of the Six Counties of Ireland, and of sympathisers in England.

How have the two human rights bodies responded to the onslaught on the human rights of the Irish? Jacqueline Kaye, of the Prisoners Aid Committee, offers some cold answers.

investigated are:

1) The torture by forced feeding of nine Irish political prisoners as a result of which one prisoner, Michael Gaughan, was killed in 1974. The practice was condemned by the World Medical Association.

2) The torture of Irish prisoners to extract "confessions" which are

then produced against them as "evidence" at political show trials.

3) The holding of Frank Stagg for three years in solitary as a result of which he went on hunger strike and died.

4) The use of prison Rule 43 to hold Irish political prisoners in solitary for inordinate periods of time, up to two years and over in some cases.

5) The holding of Stephen Nordonne and other Republicans in Wakefield in a control unit in conditions of extreme sensory deprivation. 6) The use of inhuman and degrading anal searches and strip searches on Irish prisoners alone of all the prison population. 7) The appalling conditions endured currently by 330 prisoners in H Block Long Kesh.

In 1977, AI, along with the NCCL and the Howard League for Penal Reform, investigated an assault on six Irish prisoners in Albany which resulted in them all being severely injured. This "report" carried nothing more than a few anodyne suggestions as to how the prison regime might be improved. There was no follow up.

Amongst the things AI has not In December 1977, an AI team investigated the torture of suspects by RUC and army in the Six Counties. Not only has this report never been published, although a similar report into Gardai tortures was made public to coincide with Jack Lynch's London visit last September, but while in Ireland, Amnesty did not find time to see the degrading conditions in which prisoners in H Block are being held as a result of the withdrawal of political status.

> Indeed it was Amnesty "sponsor" Lord Gardiner who recommended the ending of political status, and Sir Harold Wilson, another AI sponsor, was the one who ordered it to end.

The NCCL formed a Northern Ireland sub-committee in 1973 which initially undertook some work both on the treatment of Irish prisoners in England and on internment. From 1974 onwards, the committee fell into the clutches of the Communist Party (CPGB) as a result of a policy pursued by its chairperson Jack Dromey and the then Northern Ireland officer of the NCCL, Catherine Scorer, herself a member of the CPGB.

The NCCL has adopted lock, stock and barrel the basically pro-British stance of the CPGB-the Better Life For All campaign (one of whose sponsors is Roy Mason), the Bill of Rights, and calls for greater British economic intervention in Ireland.

In doing this, they have abandoned any real concern with civil liberties and have, like AI, ignored the torture of



prisoners here and in Long Kesh. This has not however stopped them from using Ireland for collecting money from Irish emigrants.

Money was raised in the **USA for a Belfast office** which never opened and recently an appeal was made through the pages of the Irish Post for money to finance an "Irish desk". Donations were indeed made by the **Federation of Irish Societies.**

Not only has this desk never materialised but in April this year, the NCCL sacked its Northern Ireland officer, and created instead the post of "assistant" to the general secretary, Patricia Hewitt who is herself intending to stand as a Labour Party candidate for a London seat in the next general election. Ms Hewitt could hardly be expected to attack the policies and brutality of a government she hopes to join.

For English human rights groups, it seems that the Irish have fewer rights than others. Because of their fear and failures, political organisations have taken over this ground, and revolutionary organisations who might have been expected to give support to the fight against imperialism in Ireland have instead campaigned against "brutality". "repression", and the like. Adopting humanitarian postures, they avoid the issue of political commitment.

The Prisoners Aid Committee meanwhile has helped over 40 Irish political prisoners in England to bring their cases to the European Commission in Strasbourg, and Republicans in this country have stood almost alone in their principled opposition to any British rule in Ireland, brutal or otherwise. The cowardice of English groups, both political and libertarian, have given new meaning to the words "Sinn Fein"-ourselves alone.

THERE ARE over 90 prisoners in the jails of this country who defy ordinary categorisation but who pose unique problems to the authorities. They are the Irish Republican prisoners sentenced since the Old Bailey London bombings in March 1973.

These prisoners fight from within for the right to be categorised as "political prisoners", and not ordinary criminals. A British solicitor who has found himself acting for several such inmates since recoiling from the "justice" they received in British courts, here relates their background.

These prisoners are often described as members of the IRA but not all of them are. Some are serving sentences for offences they did not commit.

They are fighting to free their country from military occupation by British forces. They are people dedicated to ideals they believe in and for which they were prepared to fight and die, but the British Government has consistently characterised those involved in this struggle as paranoids, gangsters, gunmen and brutal murderers. They openly attack any suggestion that the views of those fighting for the freedom of their country should be aired.

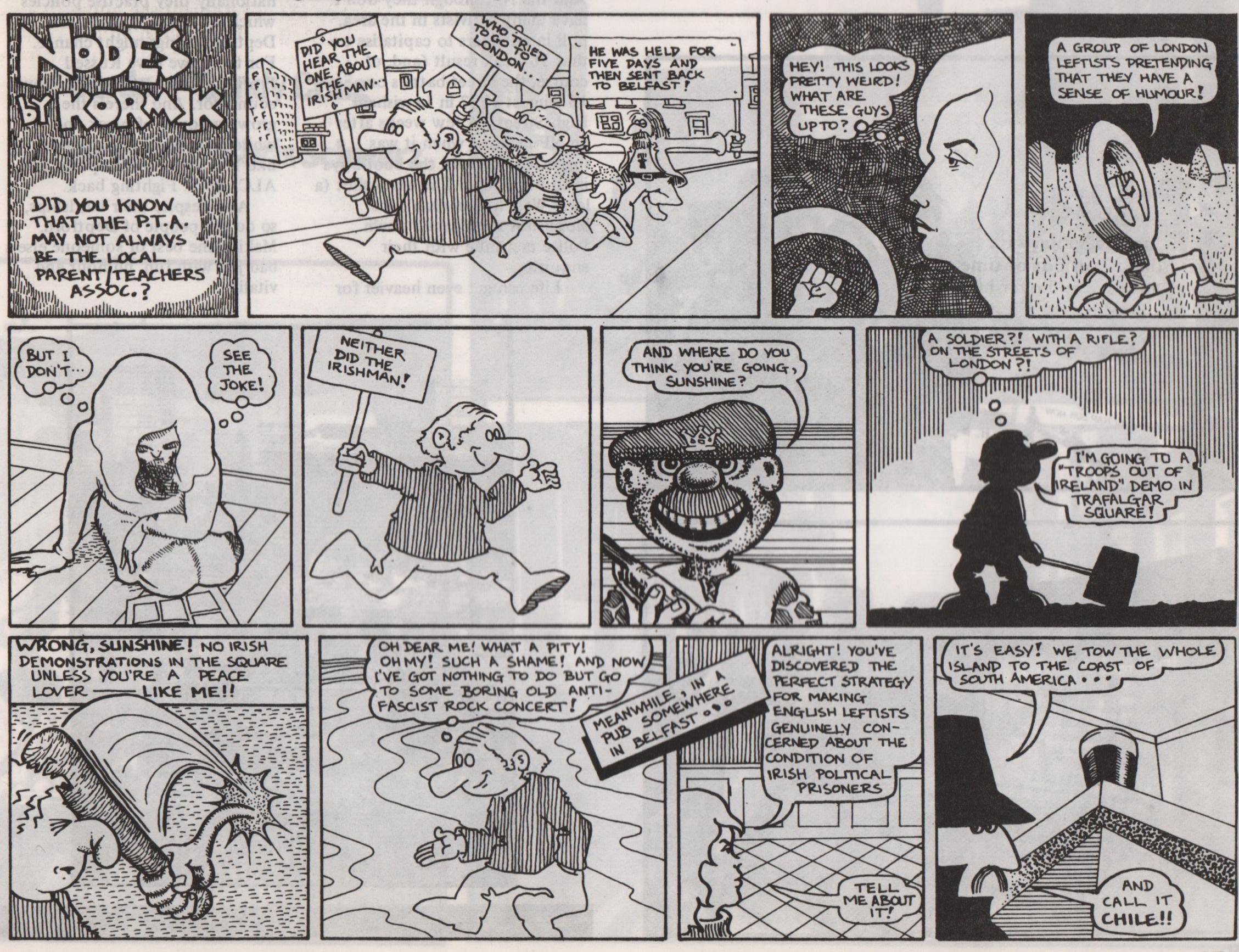
The Irish prisoners in British jails bear the full brunt of the evils of a system which regards them as 'terrorists'. They have ranged against them all the harassments which the system can bring to bear. Their families, most of whom live in Ireland, will be humiliated to try to isolate the prisoners from their close relatives. They are refused transfers to Northern Irish prisons

They are subjected to humiliating strip

searches before and after visits from their families; they are not allowed to correspond with anyone the State disapproves of, they are subject to greater punishments for disobeying the rules inside than are ordinary inmates; they cannot get visits in normal conditions because they are high-risk prisoners (even those doing sentences of five years or less); they are subject to frequent changes of cell and prison; their letters go missing as does money sent to them; their Christmas and birthday cards disappear or arrive after the event. They are the Special Category A prisoners-the elite of the highest security category.

They are not ordinary criminals; they are and always have been politically motivated and they therefore claim the right to political status. Despite British criticisms of the psychiatric abuses in the USSR and of such countries as Chile, Britain still itself uses Largactil and Chloral to control 'unmanageable' prisoners. Control units are secretly used in British prisons, and these techniques are still used in

"F" Wing of Wakefield Prison.



Britain is capable of keeping a person in solitary confinement for nearly two years. It is also capable of arguing before a public court that prisoners have no rights, only privileges. Taken to its logical conclusion, that view means prisoners do not even have the right to live.

Four Irish Republican prisoners have already died under this system-two on hunger strike, one was 'found dead in his cell', and one died from terminal cancer which the Home Office was apparently incapable of diagnosing earlier than a couple of weeks before he died, although he was too ill to leave his cell for many weeks before his death and the cancer took 18 months to kill him.

In recent protocols to the Geneva Convention, the right of guerillas to POW status was recognised. Such people in future are to be recognised as legitimate irregular combattants in war. Will Britain ratify these protocols? If they do then these people must be accorded Prisoner of War status. Even if they do not, the claim of these people now to that status is valid and consistent with the Geneva Convention.

IN concerned-statisticians' and social justice seekers' computerese, Deptford is "one of the decaying heartlands of London", a "deprived inner-urban area", with a "low record of employment initiative", "inadequate housing supply" and "high intra-racial tentions".

There are 2,716 male unemployed in Deptford. That's 15%, and the percentage is higher for West Indians. Over the last decade there's been a net decline in jobs of over 20%. And now the power station is closing down. Meanwhile, there's fights at the dole offices . . .

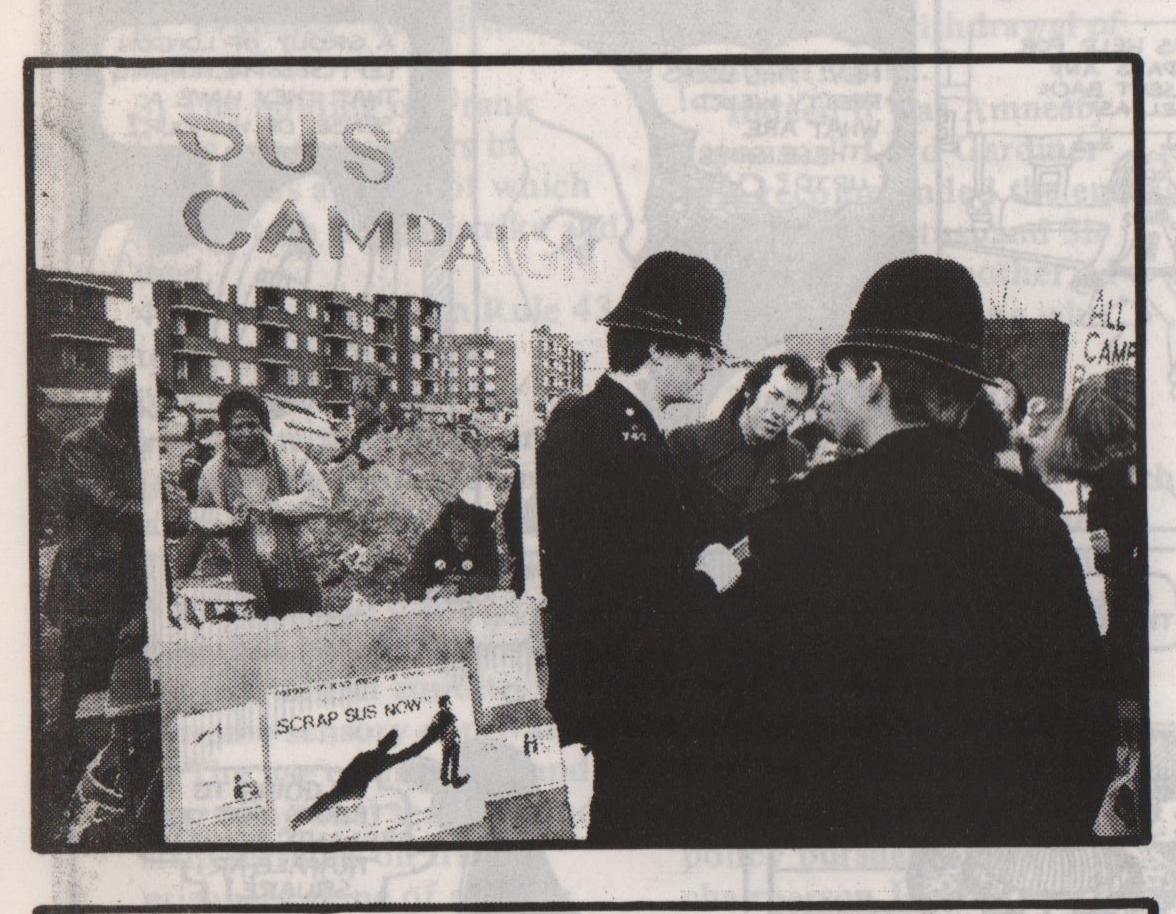
There's one of the largest doss houses in London in Deptford, Carrington House. A Victorian institution with turnstiles on the door, panda-cars carting back the dossers parked Sweeney-fashion outside, and 750 beds inside. Reporters and photographers not welcome. More dossers sleep in the disused Deptford Odeon

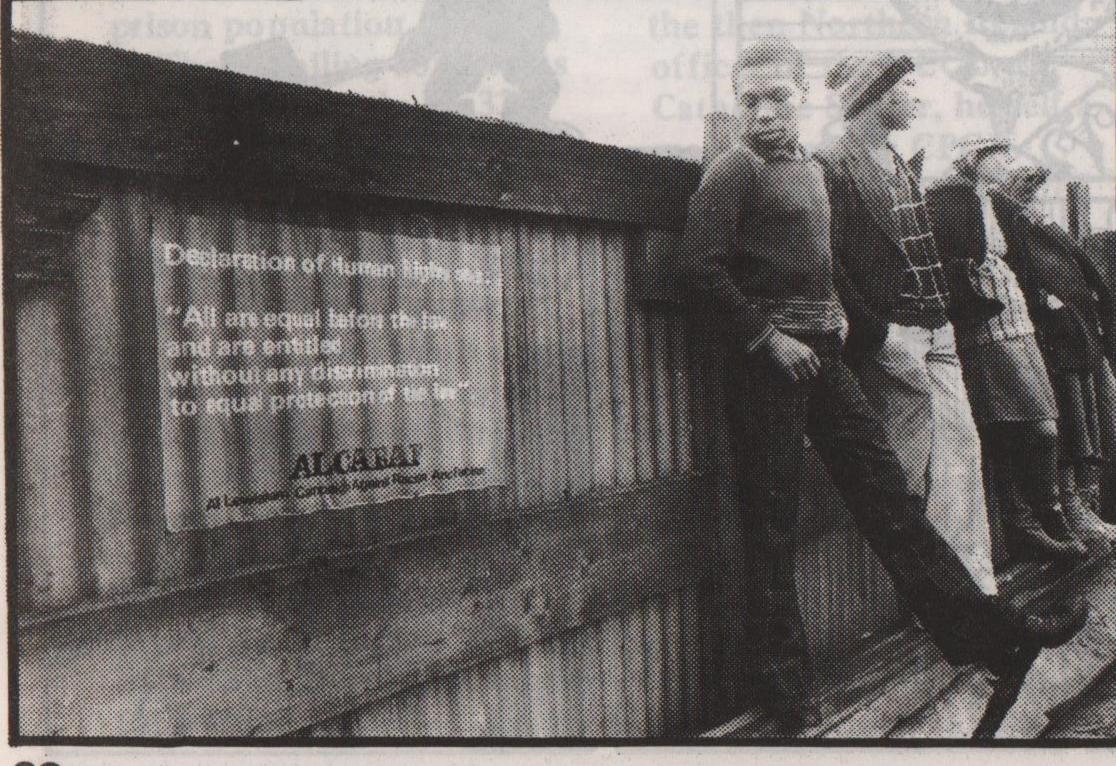
across the road. Gypsy caravans on bomb sites and waste-ground waiting for redevelopment down the road.

And cramped rows of austere Victorian "artisan" terracing, clumps of red-bricked century-old tonements, gaze blankly across rubbish tips at the huge, futuristically-planned and graffiti-scrawled, housing developments and a sky-line prickling with tower blocks. All: "neither good enough to promote happiness nor bad enough to produce hopelessness."

Yet, of course, with nowhere else to go, they defend what little they have. Students and other tenants on the Speedwell estate are about to be chucked out to make way for a new. housing complex. (Only, the * Labour Council haven't even put a provisional date on when this will be built.) Their flats are cramped, with little light, few services and without bathrooms. There are few lights on the external stairs. But it's somewhere to stay.

Of houses in Deptford, 80% are council-owned. Under 5% are







owner-occupied. Yet, the Tories campaign here on issues of Law and Order and "mugging". In neighbouring, middle-class Greenwich, where only about a third of the houses are council but where the percentage of blacks is much less, the Tories campaign on issues of "buying your own council house" and home improvement grants.

And race relations-how "good" are they? There's different measures: in the 1976 local council be-election the NF and National Party polled 44%. This was a freak result, but it resulted in the formation of ALCARAF (All Lewisham Campaign Against Racism And Fascism). Recently, they organised a Festival over three Saturdays which was attended by well over 5,000 people, black and white, all enjoying the stalls, theatre shows and the sounds.

On the other hand Deptford was one of the starting points for the "Stop Sus" campaign, because this is one of the worst areas for police harassment of black youth, where the police continually pull them in on "Sus" (suspicion). And the NF, though they don't have many activists in the area, pull in outsiders to capitalise on that 76 freak result (and, of course, the street-battles on 13 August 1977 in Lewisham High Street). A few weeks after an NF meeting when it was suggested "to send the boot-boys in to burn down The Moonshot (a local West Indian club), the Moonshot was burned down. Police continue with their enquiries.

Life can get even heavier for

West Indians and Asians. On 11 March an Asian student, Nyrup Reddi, was killed in a fight outside a party on the Speedwell Estate. He was killed by a gang of white youths. Witnesses from the party (who joined in the fight) state that Reddi was separated and taken around the corner by these white thugs. They are convinced this was a racial. murder. There is, of course, no report of this "mugging" in the press.

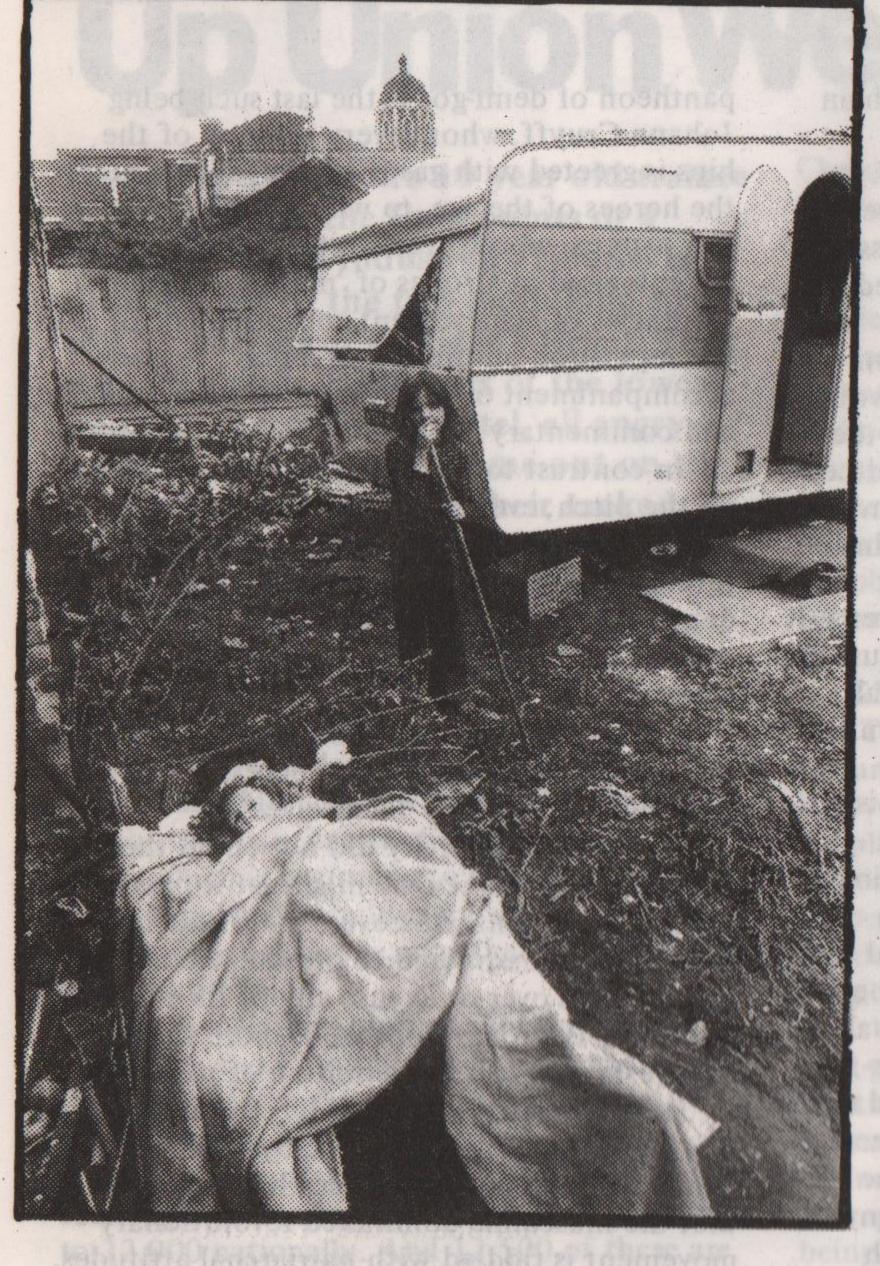
Down in Deptford the Tories are even more overtly racist than Thatcher: when ALCARAF asked all the political parties not to share any election platform with the NF, only the Tories didn't comply. They went further-and stated they would share their platform with the other parties, only if the NF were there.

And what about the Labour Party? They've been in charge of Deptford for decades. They've not provided any policies to halt the slide of unemployment and bad housing. (At the moment they're opposing the extension of the Fleet tube Line which might just bring back industry.) But while nationally they practise policies which are covertly racist, in Deptford things might change. For there, we have Russell Profitt, a black left-wing Labour councillor. And there's the growing power of black and white grass-roots organisations like The Stop Sus campaign and ALCARAF. Fighting back.

And despite their hardships, so do the people of Deptford. Making the best of someone else's bad job with fun, humour and vitality.



Deption



Sandy Craig words: pictures: Chris Schwarz









Tacking

THE POLITICS of class and sex are with us everywhere and everyday. Sport is no exception, and the World Cup (currently invading the consciousness of even those who are not interested in football) gives us the opportunity to examine the ideological content of sport in capitalist society. It is one of the greatest of sporting festivals, celebrating one of the most popular (and one of the most exclusively masculine) sports in the world.

More than just a game, football is both an opiate (in the same sense that Marx once described religion) and a machismo ritual. Its real meaning lies in its unspoken but powerful affirmation of the complacent and oppressive patriarchal view of the world that is shared by most men.

When Scotland kick off against Peru on -breaking out into shouts of abuse, encourage-Childlike enthusiasm, perfect ease of mind

June 3rd, Dad will be ensconced in his favourite armchair, glass of beer in hand, watching the game on telly, while everyone else must either keep completely quiet or go outside. Mum will interrupt him only to refill his glass or bring him sandwiches. He will watch with great concentration and some emotional involvement ment, advice and so on at frequent intervals. and complete identification-this is the association between men and football. It is certainly not just a game.

Consider the very scale of the promotion of the world cup, both the staging of it in Argentina (said to be costing £360m.) and the massive coverage of it in the mass media here. Weeks of preparation (profiles of individual stars, interviews with managers, studio discussions, replays of previous contests, and news of all the latest developments in team selection etc.) constitute the big build-up before the event itself is launched with great ceremony -heads of state being in attendance, much playing of anthems, processions etc.

As the brochure of West Nally, a marketing consultancy for sports authorities, expresses it: "It is much more than a simple recreation. In many countries it is a focus for national pride and a target for national aspiration". In a world of nations dominated by men, we can substitute 'masculine' for 'national' Just in case we don't get the message, it is

major themes of comp etitiveness, ambition, mastery, success and so on. A handful of players will be elevated to super-star status, and perhaps one or two to the

> WOMEN'S FOOTBALL **MUST BE BANNED.** Apart from the fact that they cannot play the game properly, it is highly dangerous for them.

crushingly driven home by the commentators, who use the beauty and grace of the game, as a cover for the

> John Ross Football magazine.

pantheon of demi-gods (the last such being Johann Cruyff, whose every shimmy of the hips is greeted with gasps of awe). These are the heroes of the age, to whose example every boy aspires, whose even quite ordinary moves are eulogised as strokes of 'midfield mastery' -miracles of achievement encapsulated for endless repetition on the action replay, to the accompaniment of obsequious 'expert' analysis and commentary.

In contrast to the individualism so admired on the pitch, every commentator, manager or footballer who appears on the television will reveal a tell-tale total conformity and lack of depth. There won't be a woman in sight and a nauseating cameraderie will engulf all concerned.

Is it so bad that men should have outlets to fantasise about glory and success? Aren't they allowed to enjoy themselves?

Perhaps if patriarchy did not entail the oppression of women we might let it pass without comment. However, the whole institution is oppressive and to placate, encourage, ignore, gloss over or excuse any of its manifestations is wrong. Football is more than a manifestation, it is a celebration of patriarchy.

How seriously we on the left should take this question is brought home by what the women's liberation movement has taught us: that the masculine-dominated revolutionary movement is riddled with patriarchal attitudes. These are not limited to the simple sexism of 'seeing women as objects'-which is about as far as the popular notion of male chauvinism goes-but include such deeply ingrained masculine attitudes as universal authority (a man's home is his castle), ambition/competition/ achievement (the cults of success, stardom, hero worship, the preoccupation with worldly recognition etc.), possession/jealousy (in particular of wife, home and car), self-containment/pride/isolation (the lonely hunter), and all those nuances of posture which we describe as machismo.

Consequently, the left remains, generally speaking, oppressive towards women-no small deficiency in a movement that wants to change the world

The irony is that the institution of patriarchy not only oppresses women, but also represses men themselves, and it is in the excitement, spectacle and sensual pleasure of the sport that men find the promise of release

-they feel more free to express themselves (hence the emotional involvement). Thus is built up the pathetic vicious circle-repression finds release in football, football feeds macho, macho reinforces the root of repression, patriarchy.

Furthermore, patriarchy is one of the most powerful impediments to real social change. To encourage it is not only to reinforce the oppression of women, but to shore up capitalism and imperialism.

Will there be football "after the revolution"? Of course, and I look forward to it. Sport doesn't have to be as twisted as it is, and not all sports are as twisted as football. A comparison between the World Cup and the Olympics, which are in the main devoid of macho hysteria, illustrates the point. Perhaps the Chinese attitude to sport-summed up in the slogan friendship first, competition second -gives some indication of the way things could develop. Terry Ilott.

Hotel Strikers Show Up Union Weakness

The sad spectacle of a 19 year old trainee chef explaining the finer points of a ratatouille to an Industrial Tribunal is all that's left of the two week long strike of 112 workers at Claridge's Hotel. They were all young, occupants of the lowest grades at the top-class hotel, all angry and all keen enough to come out on the picket line in support of their sacked steward, Richard Elvidge. They were representative of a new mood that's beginning to sweep through Britain's appallingly-paid hotel and catering industry.

But they were let down badly by the General and Municipal Workers 'Union. And it's not the first time that's happened in a union which is beginning to get a reputation in the hotel and catering industry for pulling its members out and leaving them to starve into lonely submission.

The last National Industrial Conference for Hotels and Catering was held by the GMWU in March this year. The delegates heard that since the launching of a special recruiting campaign in April 1977, hotel and catering membership had risen by 70 per cent to 22,000 nationally. And 12,500 of these are concentrated in London, the centre of the hotel and tourist industry.

The Regional Organiser for the rapidlygrowing London area is Jerry Tilston. He told the conference of the problems in dealing with the notorious Trust Houses Forte: "The best way to deal with them is a quick punch on the nose by a short sharp strike and return to work before any damage could be done to the members. This had had the effect in one recent dispute of doubling the membership". Fine, fighting words. But the reality is

different. It was Tilston who pulled the

It was Tilston who pulled the workers out

Claridge's people out and then left them there for two weeks without any strike pay before they collapsed from a simple lack of money. at a leisure centre in Basildon Essex in the winter of 1976 and left them shivering on the picket line over Christmas with no strike pay and no support until they collapsed - some losing tied cottages in the process.

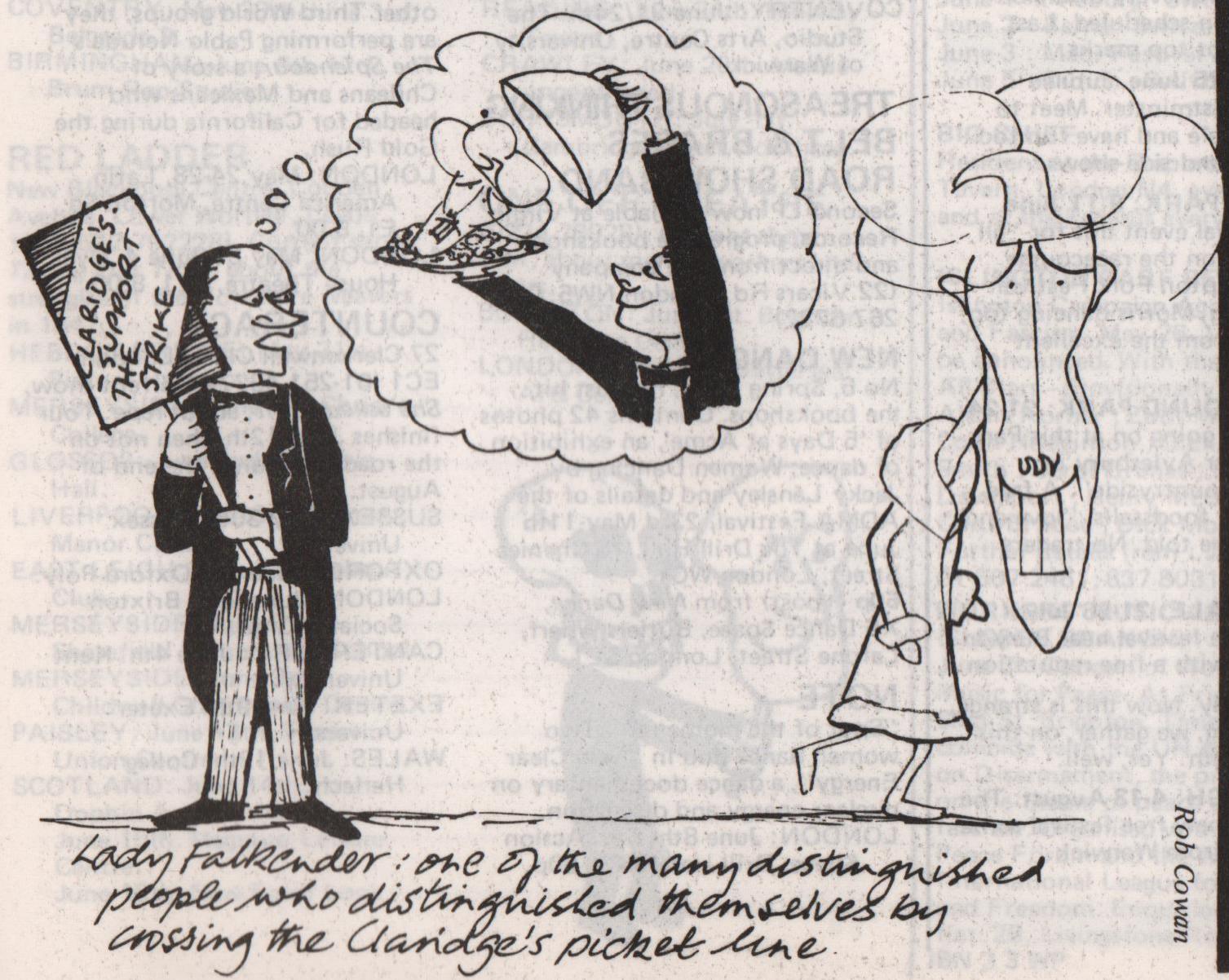
And it was Tilston who pulled the workers out at the London Metropole Hotel in October 1977 and left them there until former Regional Secretary Ted Romp told them to go back or lump it.

GMWU General Secretary David Basnett and TUC General Secretary Len Murray called for union support in the Claridges dispute. But it never turned up: drivers continued to deliver supplies across the picket line; the ruling class of course crossed the picket line for their 30 per cent cheaper service; and the pickets got demoralised by the lack of money and tangible support.

It's not all Tilston's fault of course - he isn't getting the backing from higher up for fighting tactics from a union with no stomach for anything more pugnacious than an Industrial Tribunal. He describes trying to improve conditions in the industry as being like "an assault course", but thinks that Claridges was important in "getting publicity for the union."

Of course it's an assault course - it's a highly profitable industry run by some of the most rapacious companies in the world. The past twelve months have seen an unprecedented outburst of militancy from a workforce that used to be thought of as beyond hope in the class struggle. Many of them are now considering whether the GMWU is the right union to help them at all.

David Clark





NORTHERN IRELAND gauleiter Roy Mason this month honoured the longestablished tradition of suppressing political opposition to British rule in Ireland by launching a massive British Army/RUC operation against **Provisional Sinn Fein and its paper** Republican News.

The News That Fits Thenetis

In an early morning raid, 330 RUC members backed up by units of the Parachute Regiment confiscated 30,000 copies of a special News supplement on the now infamous Long Kesh H Blocks (see Leveller 15) from Sinn Fein headquarters on the Falls Road.

At the same time, other raids in the city resulted in the arrest and detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 15 prominent Sinn Fein members and RN journalists. Also hauled in was RN's printer, Gary Kennedy, a member of the SDLP, and a French photographer Alain Frillet, who works for the leftwing daily Liberation.

After being held in the notorious Castlereagh interrogation centre for seven days, twelve of the 15 appeared in court to face an array of charges including membership of the IRA and the extraordinary and unheard-of offence of establishing, running and aiding "Kangaroo Courts". Among those charged with 'membership' is Frillet, who has earned a footnote in history by being the only French person ever accused of belonging to the IRA, and Gary Kennedy whose SDLP colleagues have been remarkably silent concerning his arrest.

It is the "Kangaroo Court" ch: ges however that are the most disturbing, and this use of an obscure interpretation of criminal law has led most observers to believe that Mason is determined to outlaw Provisional Sinn Fein if not "de jure" then at least "de facto"

Behind all the legal manoeuvring lies the fear of Mason and his military henchmen that the recent and growing campaign against conditions in the H Blocks and for the reintroduction of political status will blossom into a general resurgence of the struggle against the British presence.

RN has since brought out an emergency edition accusing Mason of "panic" and defiantly stating "We will print on"; it seems however that the 15 arrested face several months in custody before trial.

Anger is meanwhile building up over the 'suicide' of 27 year old Brian Maguire, who was found dead in his cell at the notorious Castlereagh early on 10 May.

RUC said Maguire was discovered hanging by a strip of bed sheeting from a ventilator grille, but it will take more than the

"independent" police inquiry now under way to persuade Republicans that the West German way of dealing with political prisoners has not come to Northern Ireland.

Ed Moloney

CPECIAL HOLIDAN GUIDE WANNA make trouble while you're having fun this summer? Wanna revive those balmy festival days of the late 1960s? It's all here: The Leveller offers its unique guide to how you can shape up all summer long.

The following is a listing of festivals, carnivals, political fun-events, demonstrations, protests, you name it, around which to base your diary these coming months. Sounds like fun huh! This list comprises excitements at home and in exotic foreign parts.

We hope to continue this feature in the next issue, Lord Widgery permitting, so please rush any available events, dates and places to our office. In the meantime, keep clear of Cooks and **Thompson's Holidays until** you've studied our guide.



All and a set of the set

PARIS: 27-28 May. Fete Rouge anything goes at this weekend of diverse events organised by the French section of the Fourth International. Much recommended by those in the know.

PARIS: 9-10 Sept. L'Humanite, the newspaper of the French Communist Party is behind this event. No-one who is anyone on the French left would even think of missing this wide-ranging gathering. The PCF are also prompting smaller scale events around this time at other major French cities and towns.

LA ROCHELLE: 21-27 May. Invention sociale et ecologie urbaine. A week on the west coast of France, discussing all manner of social issues interspersed with side-shows and parties. Information from CDIJ, 14 rue des Gentilshommes, La Rochelle.

ITALY: Tricky one this. L'Unita, paper of the Italian Communist Party, are hosting a string of political festivals around the country, with Rome, Milan, and Turin definitely slated, all through the summer. Good eating too, we're told. More info please.

PORTUGAL: 8-10 Sept. Lisbon. Avante, paper of the Portuguese Communist Party, with a lot of time to make up for, are promoting this one.

PORTUGAL: 2-8 July. Lisbon. The Lisbon Libertarian Week starts out with what they call "Picnic and Confraternisation" and it has an Anarchist leaning. Sounds like fun. Further info from Claude Moreira, c/o Freedom 84b Whitechapel High St, Angel Alley, London E1.

HOLLAND: 14-16 July. The Hague. Not so much political, but 30 Hours solid of "live" jazz by over 300 musicians in the Northsea Jazz Festival.

CLWYD RUTHIN: 1-10 June. A new one this on a site ten miles from the town centre, in the north-west of Wales for freaks of all ages. A free festival.

STONEHENGE: 16-25 June. The witty midsummer mystic event. Bring your own druid costumes.

CAPENHURST: 24 June. Seven miles from Chester, where the demo will assemble to march on the Atomic Energy Enrichment Plant, where they enrich uranium for Brazil



G. Sayfrid

LONDON: 18 June. Alexandra Palace, Wood Green. Our very own Communist Party are having its "People's Festival" this day at Ally Pally with every diversion under the sun scheduled. Last year's one got top marks. LONDON: 25 June. Jubilee Gardens, Westminster. Meet to save the Whale and have fun too with music and side-shows.

KEMPTON PARK: 9-11 June. A commercial event this for "all the family" on the racecourse for the Kempton Folk Festival. Clog dancing, Morris dancing too, and music from the excellent Chieftains.

STONE GROUND PARK: 21-24 July. It's all going on at this Park at Stone near Aylesbury in "beautiful countryside". A free festival with foodstalls, "love and music", we're told. No traders please.

DEEPLY VALE: 21-26 July. Another free festival near Bury in Lancashire with a fine reputation.

A 46: 21 July. Now this is strange. Gong playing, we gather, on this road near Bath. Yes, well.

STONELEIGH: 4-13 August. The launch of a new free festival some seven miles from Warwick.

Theatre

The dates given are only those that 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 on their itinerary.

AVON TOURING THEATRE

McArthur Warehouse, Gas Ferry Rd, Bristol. (0272 20247). Current shows, Who do you think you are, about a woman in a traditionally male industry, and Measure for Measure, an updated version of the Shakespeare, about feminists in Italy. (Avon, having had the decision to withdraw their local authority grant overturned, would like to thank all their supporters.) BRISTOL: June 2nd, Inkworks

Community Centre (Who). WESTBURY (Wilts): June 21st. Westbury Youth Club (Who)

CHIPPENHAM: June 23rd. Chippenham Youth Club (Who), BRISTOL: June 28/29/30th.

Folk House (Measure).

BELT AND BRACES 22 Vicars Rd, London NW5 (01-267 6722). Current shows, Mrs Colly Pepper, about the aged, A Day in the Life of the World a multinational spectacular, and Band Show.

- PETERBOROUGH: June 2nd and 7th. Key theatre, Embankment Rd. (A Day)
- LONDON: June 10th. TOM benefit, Acklam Hall, Acklam Rd, W11. (Band)
- LONDON: June 11th. Half Moon Theatre, Alie St, E1. (Band)
- EDINBURGH: June 13/17th. Venue unconfirmed (Colly) LEIGH: June 14th. Leigh Festival,
- Leigh Library. (Band) **COVENTRY: June 19th. DHSS**

Conference. (Colly) COVENTRY: June 21/24th. The Studio, Arts Centre, University of Warwick.

TREASONOUS THINKING BELT & BRACES ROAD SHOW BAND

Second LP now available at Virgin Records, progressive bookshops and direct from the company. (22 Vicars Rd, London NW5.01-267 6722)

NEW DANCE

No 6, Spring 1978, has just hit the bookshops. Contains 42 photos of '5 Days at Acme', an exhibition of dance; Women Dancing by Jacky Lansley and details of the ADMA Festival, 23rd May-11th June at The Drill Hall, 16 Chenies Street, London WC1. 50p (+post) from New Dance,

X6 Dance Space, Butlers Wharf, Lafone Street, London SE1.

NOTE

"Spur of the moment" - Two women dance duo in "New Clear Energy", a dance documentary on nuclear energy and discussion. LONDON: June 8th, 9th. Action Space, Drill Hall, WC1. 60p.

COMMON STOCK

31 Fulham Palace Rd, London SW1. (01-741 3086). Rehearsing, Muscles, an open air entertainment for kids and adults. Touring in July.

FOCO NOVO

2 Nugent Terrace, London NW8. (01-289 3226). Current show, On the Out, by Tunde Ikoli.

WEST MIDLANDS: From May 29th

LONDON: June 5th. Jackson's Lane Community Centre. LONDON: June 6th. Albany,

Deptford. LONDON: June 7th. St.Mary's

Centre, Ladywell, SE13. LONDON: June 8th. Battersea Arts Centre.

LONDON: June 9th. Hoxton Hall.

GAY SWEATSHOP

10 Marius Mansions, Marius Rd, London SW17. (01-673 5992). Current show, What the Hell is She Doing Here?, a new women's show.

NORWICH: May 27th. Arts Centre.

COLCHESTER: May 30th. Essex University.

LONDON: June 9th. Camden NALGO Womens Group. LONDON: June 11th. Camden

Womens Centre. Women only. LONDON: June 15th, for three

weeks. Action Space, Drill Hall.

MONSTROUS REGIMENT

190 Goswell Rd, London EC1. (01-253 2172). Current show, Floorshow, a feminist cabaret. LONDON: June 19th. Conway

Hall, 7.30pm. Benefit for the company and last performance of this show.

TOCAD

The Theatre of Contemporary Arabic Drama, TOCAD, has performed 7 plays during the past two years, all by Egyptian/Palestinian/Libyan authors looking at Arab life from a socialist perspective, in the face of enormous problems including repeated refusals from the Arts Council to give financial assistance. Now, working with other Third World groups, they are performing Pablo Neruda's The Splendour, a story of Chileans and Mexicans who headed for California during the Gold Rush. LONDON: May 24-28, Latin

America Centre, Morton Sq., E1, 8.00.

LONDON: May 31-June 4, Oval House Theatre, SE1, 8.00.

COUNTERACT

27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1 (01-251 4977). Current show, She asked for it, about rape. Tour finishes June 12th, then not on the road again until the end of August.

SUSSEX: May 30th. Sussex University.

OXFORD: June 1st. Oxford Poly. LONDON: June 2nd. Brixton Socialist Club.

CANTERBURY: June 4th. Kent University.

EXETER: June 9th. Exeter University.

WALES: June 12th. Colleg Harlech.

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NORTHWESTSPANNER

The Drill Hall, Manchester Rd, Mossley, Ashton-u-Lyme. (061-881 7845). Current shows, Safety First or Last, about health and safety at work, and, Out of Control, about Nuclear Power. ALTRINCHAM: May 23rd. Grange College (Safety)

- SHEFFIELD: June 5th. Transport House, Hartshead. (Safety)
- LEEDS: June 6th-a.m. Swarthemore Centre. (Safety) BRADFORD: June 6th-p.m.
- Queens Hall. (Out of Control) SCUNTHORPE: June 7th-a.m. Central Community Centre,
- Lindum St. (Safety) DONCASTER: June 7th-p.m. Doncaster Trades Club. (Safety)
- LEEDS: June 8th. Royal Park School, Royal Park Rd. (Out of Control)
- SKIPTON: June 9th. Johnson and Johnson social club, Gargrave. (Safety)
- SHEFFIELD: June 10th, 1pm. Hurlfield Adult Education Centre. (Out of Control)
- ULVERSTON: June 10th, 8pm **Coronation Hall Supper** Rooms. (Out of Control)
- WEST MIDLANDS: June 26th-30th. Tour, including Birmingham, Smethwick, Telford and Dudley. Venues to be confirmed.

RECREATION GROUND (01-794 0957) Hoping to tour new show in September, but badly need to raise funds after the with

drawal of Arts Council grant.

SIDEWALK

(01-837 0275). Currently touring Holland, the company is set to do an under-5's show in Islington, Merton and Morden, then moving on to prepare a summer show for older kids at Parks and adventure playgrounds.

WRITERS' THEATRE COMPANY

Birmingham Arts Lab, Holt St, B7. (021-359 4192). Current show, Tissue, about a woman who has undergone a mastectomy operation.

COVENTRY: May 29th-June 3rd. Belgrade 2.

BIRMINGHAM: June 6th-17th Brum Rep Studio.

RED LADDER

New Blackpool Centre, Cobden Avenue, Lower Wortley, Leeds 12. (0532 792228). Current show, Taking Our Time, about the struggles of the Yorkshire weavers in 1842. **HEBDON BRIDGE: May 31st.** Picture House.

- MERSEYSIDE: June 1st. Christ's College.
- GLOSSOP: June 2nd. Victoria Hall
- LIVERPOOL: June 3rd. Burton Manor College.
- EAST LEIGH: June 6th. Labour Club.
- MERSEYSIDE: June 8th. Sharefield Community School. MERSEYSIDE: June 9th.
- Childwell Community Centre. PAISLEY: June 13th. Trades
- Union Centre. SCOTLAND: June 14th: Dophin Arts Centre.
- June 15th. Magnum Leisure Centre.
- June 16th. New Farm Lock.

BITE

- (01-609 3834). Current shows, Gast, about immigrant workers and Grunwicks.
- HULL: May 29th. University Students Union (Gast).
- HULL: May 30th. University Students Union (Grunwicks).
- DURHAM: June 1st. Neville's Cross College of Higher Education (Gast).
- LANCASTER: June 2nd. Huffield Theatre Studio, Bailrigg (Gast) SHEFFIELD: June 5. University.
- (Gast). SHEFFIELD: June 6th. University (Grunwicks)

BROADSIDE

58 Holbein House, Holbein Place, London SW1 (01-450 6992). Current shows, Apartheid: the British Connection, We Have the Power of the Winds, about the defeat of Fascism in Portugal, Divide and Rule Brittania, short anti-racist play, The Working Womens Charter Show, and, Now You See It-Now You Don't, about inflation and the cuts. June 3rd. CARAF conference Venue unconfirmed. (Divide and Rule)

- MANSFIELD: June 10th. Notting ham Miners Gala. Venue
- unconfirmed. (Divide and Rule EAST MIDLANDS: June 11th onwards. Short tour yet to be arranged.

CAST

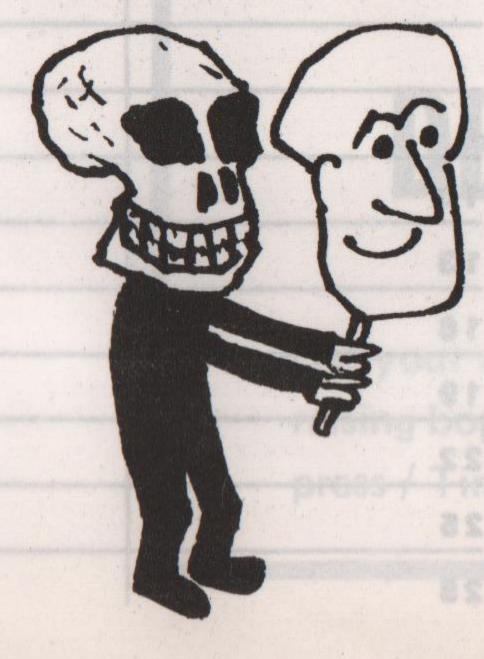
11c Cabbell St, London NW1 (01-402 6087). Current show, Confessions of a Socialist. EDINBURGH: June 10th. Heriot

- Watt Student Centre. **DUNFERMLINE: June 12th**
- Venue unconfirmed. **ABERDEEN: June 13th. Venue** unconfirmed.
- **INVERNESS:** June 14th. Venue unconfirmed.
- ALLOA: June 15th. Venue unconfirmed.
- GLASGOW: June 16/17th. Venue unconfirmed.
- **BASINGSTOKE:** June 21st. Basingstoke Poly.
- SLOUGH: June 22nd. Venue unconfirmed. LONDON: June 23rd. Brixton
- Socialist Club. READING: June 24th. Railway
- Tavern. **CRAWLEY: June 29th. Venue**
- unconfirmed PORTSMOUTH: July 1st.
- Cambridge Hotel, Southsea.

ONE OFF THEATRE (0274 78928). Current show, Men, about men as workers and lovers.

BRIGHTON: June 1st. Brighton Resource Centre. LONDON: June 9th. Battersea

Arts Centre.



Music

LEON ROSSELSON May 21 : Southend Folk Club May 27: Guildhall, Newcastle REDBRASS

- June 2 : Builth Wells
- June 3 : Harlech
- June 6 : Chapter, Cardiff June 7
- June 8 : Glamorgan Poly
- June 9 : Torrington Plough
- June 10 : Taunton
- June 11 : Exeter Festival

LIVE MUSIC FOR THE PRICE OF A DISCO

June 1 : Big Chief at North London Poly, Ladbroke House

June 15 : Dire Tribe & Resistance at Middx Poly, Trent Park

EXTENDED SERIES/CONTEMPO-RARY ARTS'

Organised by the Public House Bookshop and Roger Ely.

Details - Brighton 28357 May 23 : Max Eastley and Hugh Davies (M)

May 24 : Eric Mottram and Paul Evans (P)

May 25 : Peter Lemesurier (L) May 29 : Indian Banquet and

Johnny Rondo Trio (M)

May 30 : Evan Parker and

Dave Roberts (M)

May 31 : Lee Harwood and Harry Guest (P)

June 1 : Paul Rutherford/ Barry Guy and Pete Cusak/David Troop/ Terry Day /Steve Beresford.

June 5 : John Kieffer June 7: Ian Sinclair and Tony

Lopez (P) June 8 : Gary Todd/Roger Turner

and Rose English (M)

June 13: Richard Cupidi (L)

June 14 : Allen Fisher and Roger Ely (P)

June 15 : Richard Cupidi (part 2)

P=Poetry ; L=Lecture, M=Music.

ROY BAILEY (*With Leon Rosselson)

May 22 : White House Folk Club, Beverley

May 25 : Dun Cow Folk Club, Daventry.

May 27 : Newcastle *

June 1 - Frieburg - Swtizerland June 2 : Berne - Switzerland *

June 3 : Maur Festival - ditto *

June 5 : Zurich - Switzerland *

BIG CHIEF

Resident at the Stapleton Hall Tavern, London N4. every Monday and at the Pegasus every Saturday.

ISLINGTON CARF BENEFIT

Islington Campaign Against Racism and Fascism May 26. Venue to be announced. With the CARF All-Stars - provisionally featuring Alexis Korner ; Zoot Money , Colin Hodginson ; Dick Heckstall-Smith ; Carol Grimes ; Bob Davenport ; Henry McCullough Chris Briscoe; Dick Morrissey. Further details from : Jean on 01 607 2461; 837 8031.

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION (SUSSEX BRANCH)

June 3 : Concert of Words and Music for Peace. At Friends Centre, Ship St. Brighton. Timed to coincide with the UN special session on Disarmament, the programme is on the theme of peace and antifascism. Organised with the Brighton Peace Forum and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Enquiries : Basement flat. 28, Livingstone Road, Hove. IBN 33WP

BRIXTON SOCIALIST CLUB Friday Evenings at the Canterbury, Canterbury Crescent. (Behind Brixton Police Station). Music. poetry, films etc. Enquiries 01 622 4118, 733 4561 LONDON MUSICIAN'S CO-OP

May 26 : John Russell/John Solomon Duo. May 27 : Ian Hinchcliffe/Roger Ely

Steve Beresford. Environment and Performance.

May 28 : John Russell/Roger Smith June 4: LMC Monthly meeting.2pm. June 5 - June 7 : Evan Parker and Andrea Centazzo JAM TODAY

Feminist Women's group are looking for a reed player. Call: Alison 01 485 2799

BRISTOL MUSICIANS CO-OPERATIVE

"Unpopular Music" - a festival involving musicians from Musicians Collectives and Co-ops around the

country. Workshops, discussions and performances. Topics include: "The organisation of Collectives"

and "The Political Implications of Improvised Music". Participants include: Both Hnads Free, Otherways, Leo Smith, Garry Todd/ Roger Turner, Chamberpot, hearistic music, Evans All-Weather Orchestra, Larry Stabbins, Ron Caines. Contact Ian Mentner, 36 York Road, Montpelier, Bristol 6 for more information. The festival runs from May 26 to May 31. Events are at the Arnolfini, Bristol Arts Centre, etc. The Leveller Collective is offering a prize to anyone who can come up with a better entry for our future

Pseuds Corner feature. LONDON MUSICIANS COLLECTIVE 42 Gloucester Ave, London NW1, Sunday June 4, 2 pm. Annual

General Meeting. MUSICS MAGAZINE OPEN MEETING. Sunday June 11 Open to all. 2pm at 42, Gloucester Avenue. NW 1.

MUSICIANS' COOPERATIVES AND COLLECTIVES BRISTOL. 36, York Road, Bristol. Tel. 559226 MANCHESTER. Dick Witts. Top Flat. 6, Kingston Road, East Didsbury, Manchester 20. Tel 061 434 6340 BURY. Information from : Trevor Wishart c/o NW Arts. 52, King Street. M/c 2 LONDON. 42, Gloucester Abe, London NW 1 Tel 01 794 5197 GLASGOW. (Proposed) Francis Cairns. 303, Drumoyne Road, Glasgow. G 51 4 DB. Tel. 041 145 3167 BIRMINGHAM. c/o Jan Steele, Birmingham Arts Lab. 11, Gosta Green. B/ham B 4 7 ER. Tel. 021 359 4192 LEEDS. Paul Buckton. 35, **Richmond Mount**, Headingley, Leeds 6 (Musician's Collective). or : Tim Myers. 90, Spencer

Place, Leeds 7 (Musician's Cooperative) CARDIFF. Barry Edgar Pilcher. 47, Arran Street. Routh Park. Cardiff CF 2 3 HT.

The above listings were compiled with the help of 'Musics' magazine and Music for Socialism. Socialists promoting gigs, RAR events, socialist musicians - let us have details of your next event for a free insertion by June 5.

Agitprop

IRISH FREE PRESS NEWS SHEET

FREE THE PRISONERS-FREE THE PEOPLE. May issue includes articles about the notorious H Block in Long Kesh, The **Republican News bust and Irish** prisoners in English jails. For further details write to 52 Broadway, Belfast BT12 6AS.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM No.2

It contains articles on: youth culture and youth politics; a woman's right to choose, the autonomous organisation of blacks, the personal and the political; Trotskyism and the IS tradition; the politics of food. 40p from bookshops or from: **Big Flame Publications**, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1 (add 10p postage). Subscription: £2 for 4 issues.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY

'Discrimination', 'Maintenance', 'Sex Snoopers', 'Secret Codes', 'Low Wages & the Guaranteed Minimum Income' etc. Contact your local Claimants Union for this pamphlet. Price 50p, or 30p for claimants. Contact: Smash the Cohabitation Rule Campaign, c/o North London Claimants Union, 5 Mackenzie Rd, London N7.

REVOLUTIONARY **COMMUNIST PAPERS** Special Issue on Ireland (May 1978). 18 page analysis of 'British Imperialism and the Irish Crisis' by Mary Masters and Phil Murphy.

Published by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, 50p + 15p postage for a single issue or £2.50 subscription for 4 papers. BM RCT, LONDON WC1V 6XX.

SEXUALITY AND **FERTILITY CONTROL**

May 30, 8pm. Discussion meeting on sexuality and fertility control: what are the implications of a woman's right to choose?

Room S101a, St Clements Building, LSE, Houghton Street, London WC2.

For further details, contact National Abortion Campaign, 01-485 4303.

ABORTION AND THE TRADE UNIONS June 6, 7.30pm.

Open meeting to plan the trade union Conference on abortion (November 25). All welcome Room S100, St Clements Building, LSE, Houghton Street, London WC2. For further details, contact National Abortion Campaign, 01-485 4303.

ARGENTINA

As a reminder of the horrors of Argentina, a London march on Thursday 1 June is designed to coincide with the opening of the World Cup. It is part of a week of action on Argentine and focuses on women. Relatives of people who have disappeared or been kidnapped by the military junta's armed gangs meet every Thursday night for a silent vigil outside government buildings in Buenos Aires, the only form of protest left to them. Last December, 25 of these women and two French nuns also "disappeared". Assemble 2pm at Westminster for march to the Argentine Naval Commission in Victoria.

UNITED TROOPS OUT **MOVEMENT CONFERENCE** Saturday June 10.

9.45 to 5, Acklam Hall, Acklam Road, London W11 (Ladbroke Grove tube, or buses 15, 52, 295) Entrance £1 (non-earners 50p).

Free Rudolf Bahro

Rudolf Bahro, member of the East German Communist Party (SED), is the author of the book "The Alternative. A Critique of Socialism as it actually Exists". Following its publication, by the West German Trade Unions, Bahro was arrested on a charge of "espionage". He has been in jail since August 1977 and is threatened with a long prison sentence. RUDOLF BAHRO MUST BE RELEASED Rudolf Bahro has been a communist since he

joined the party at the age of 17 in 1952. His book is an important work of Marxist theory. His only "crime" is that he dared to publicly criticise the political system in the German Democratic Republic from a Marxist standpoint.

We appeal to all socialists and communists to take up Bahro's case and

- send letters of protest and resolutions from trade unions and political organisations to the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, 34 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8QB. - send messages of support and financial contributions to The Rudolf Bahro Defence Committee, c/o G. Minnerup, 14 Folkestone Road, Copner, Portsmouth, Hants.

Quintin Hoare Tarig Ali Jan Kavan Dr. J. Riordan Ken Coates

John Saville Roger Bromley Roger Thomas Margaret Vallance

Tamara Deutscher Michael Hamburger

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation National Organisation of Labour Students

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARMS TRADE

At the British Army Equipment Exhibition, a display of military hardware designed for foreign buyers, starting on June 19. CAAT is planning a series of events to coincide with the exhibition at Aldershot. Further details in the current (late May) Newsletter or from CAAT, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1. Tel. 01-278 1976.

LEGALISE CANNABIS CAMPAIGN

Launching meeting, Central Hall, Westminster, Saturday 3 June, 2pm. For details write to Legalise Cannabis Campaign, 29 Old Bond Street, London W1 or phone Tim Maylon, Bob Nightingale or Vicky Fisher on 01-289 3881.

MARXISM TODAY

May Issue out now, price 35p. 1968-A Retrospect by Eric

CLASSIFIEDS

DAY WORKSHOP organised by the Socialist Environment and **Resources Association. Introduct**ory session on socialism and the environment. Workshops on action on energy, socially useful work etc. At Waterloo Action Centre, 14 Baylis Rd, London SE1. On Sat June 24th 12.30am-4.30pm. Write to SERA, 9 Poland St, W1 for details.

ASTROLOGICAL Birth Chart and Character Analysis send £5. Including future trends/potentials £8. Send birth details, alternatively ask for free price list and literature John Wilmott, Knocklan, Bunessan Mull, Argyll.

VISITING EDINBURGH? Sit. chat, read or buy feminist and socialist literature at the First of May bookshop, 45 Niddry St. (off High St) Edinburgh 1.031-537-1348. Open 12-6pm.

CONCRETE AND POETRY. Great Georges Community Cultural Project (The Blackie) Hobsbaum, Jean Ellenstein on May-June 68 in France, Jon Bloomfield on the Prague Spring, **David Triesman on Cultural Conflict and Political Advance in** Britain.

NATO RULES OK? CND Pamphlet by John Cox and Dan Smith. Price 30p. Demolishes the myth that NATO keeps the peace by deterring the Soviet Union from attacking us. Get hold of a copy from The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 29 Great James St, from bookshops or from a friend or comrade. It should be read.

WORKERS FILM ASSOCIATION

Holds regular preview film show-discussions on Friday evenings at 7.30. Please ring for details about the films to be screened and discussed. WFA, 38 Dartmouth Park Road, London NW5. 01-267 0547.

offers hard interesting work to men/women 16+. Rebuilding the Blackie alongside trained builders (skilled work and labouring), and work on cultural activities (games, workshops, events). Some admin

... housekeeping. Accommodation provided, and food if staying a month or longer. Small wage negotiable after 6 months. GREAT GEORGES PROJECT, GREAT GEORGE STREET, LIVERPOOL 1. Tel. 051-709 5109.

RECYCLED PAPERS and personal letterhead service. Domestic and commercial papers and envelopes. Also Conservation Society comprehensive environmental book service. For details of any of the above, please send a large SAE to: Conservation Books (L), 228 London Rd, Reading, Berkshire, RG6 1AH.

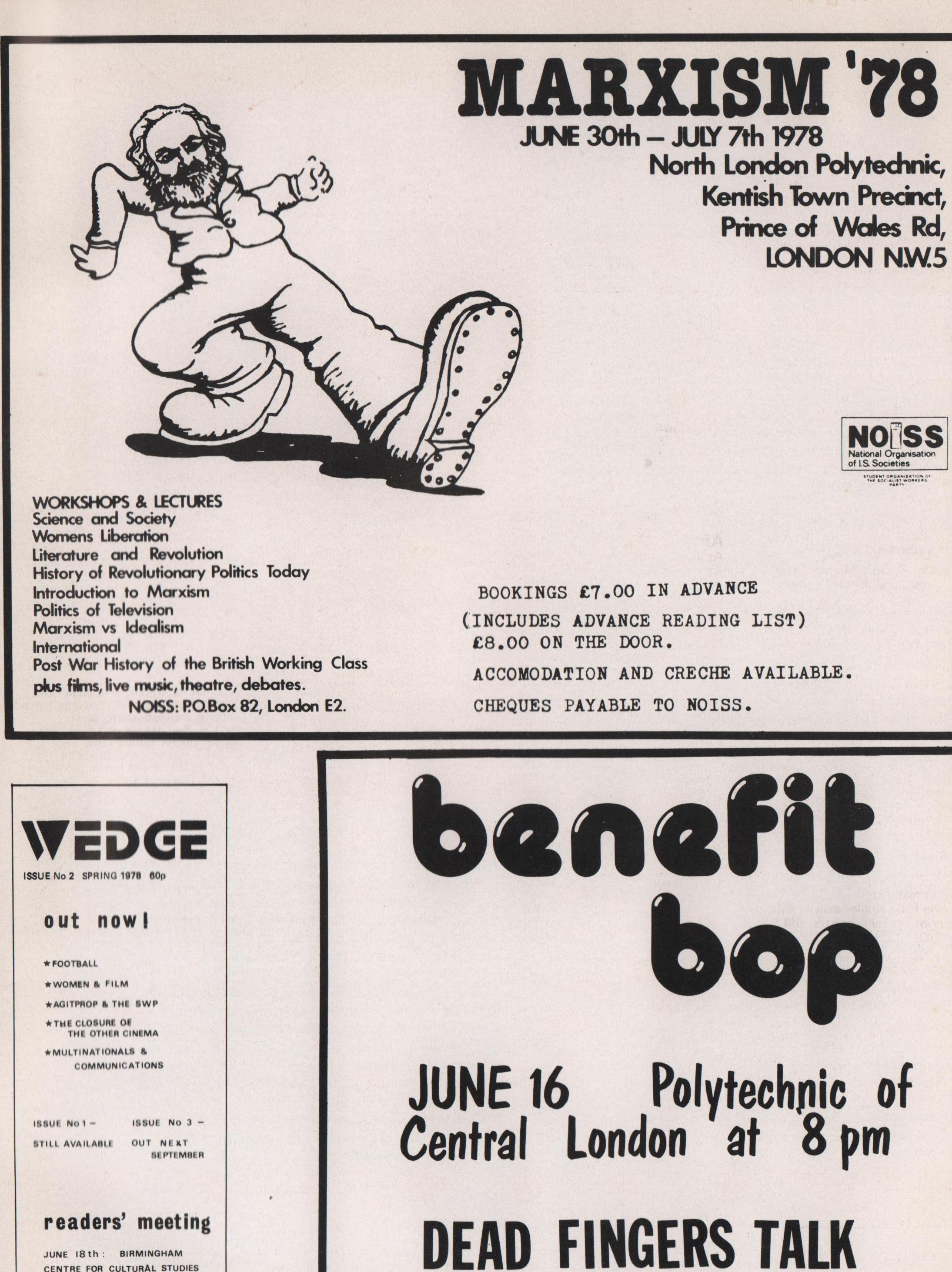
BROADSIDE Mobile Workers Theatre requires versatile musician (male/female, acting ability an advantage), also versatile actor. Both full time. Long term commitment. Both must be Socialists. Write 58 Holbein House, Holbein Place, SW1. Phone 01-450 6992/ 730 5396.

Rates: 2p a word. Up to 10 words free for subscribers per issue. Payment: Ads must be prepaid by cheque or PO. Make payable to THE LEVELLER MAGAZINE LTD. Send to: Leveller Classified, 155a Drummond Street, London NW1. Conditions. The Leveller reserves the right to refuse any classified ads.

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Wedge address, editorial and distribution: 44 Ecc les Road, SE11 Telephone: 01-965 1184

Get your arse into gear for the grand Leveller / Peace News fund raising bop. Other name bands still to be confirmed. Watch left press / Time Out / music press for details.