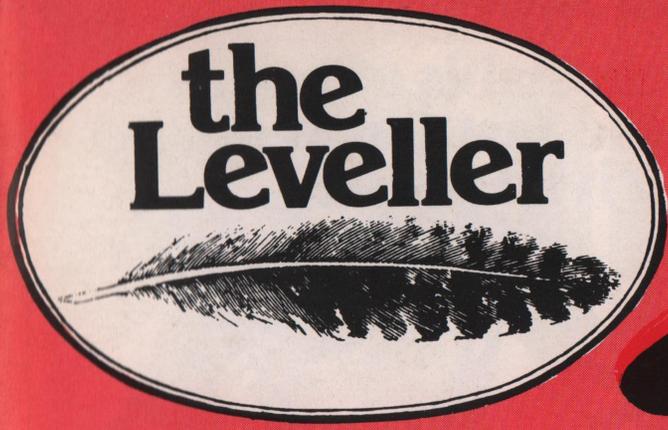


12,000
L



After the 4-minute warning

The battle for Africa
Ecomarxism



Male sexuality

I keep remembering what Kennedy said.
Nothing cures like a bullet in the head.

DEAD FINGERS TALK... STORM THE REALITY STUDIOS

DEAD FINGERS TALK

DEAD FINGERS TALK... STORM THE REALITY STUDIOS

Marilyn was a product & a gift from God.
Psychopaths on their paths
to conquer the world.

Work disease on the inside where decisions are made.
But watch out all you heroes you don't end up
just the same.

STORM THE REALITY STUDIOS



Find out what is really happening to homosexuals in this country & around the world . . .

GAY NEWS

TELLS ALL

WITH

* a comprehensive & readable news section;

* a lively & entertaining features section;

* a 4-page guide of gay venues & organisations;

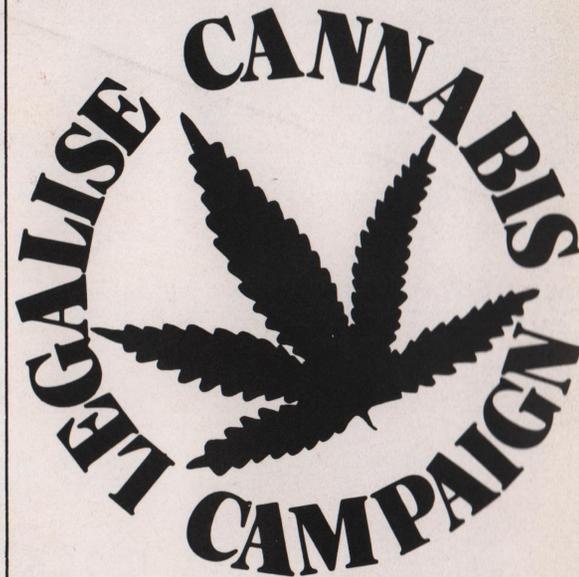
* film, theatre & book reviews;

* & topics of great interest to all gay men and women.

* IT'S FUN TOO!

30p fortnightly from many good news-agents. SPECIAL trial offer. Send £1 for 3-issue subscription to: Gay News (Dept TL), 1A Normand Gardens, Greyhound Road, London W14 9SB.

91,000 convictions for cannabis offences in the last ten years—a trivial issue?



Support the Campaign!

29 Old Bond Street | London W1X 3AB
01-289 3881



NEW LP **TREASONOUS THINKING**
available from
**VIRGIN RECORD SHOPS
AND BELT & BRACES**
22 VICARS ROAD, LONDON N.W.5
Tel: 01-267 6722
£3.50 (Incl. Post)



HEARD THE SOUND OF SOCIALISM?

Recorded cassettes of talks, documentaries, plays and music on subjects relevant to the struggle for socialism.

SONGS OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION: Seventeen songs from Portugal following the overthrow of fascism, with commentary relating each to the struggle for socialism. In Portuguese, with English translations. 64 minutes. £2.

THE FIRST CHINESE REVOLUTION: Nigel Harris on the tragedy of the 1920s, when the substitution by the Communist Party of party for class, of armed struggle for workers' power. Led to the destruction of the workers' movement in China. 73 minutes. £1.50.

RACISM AND THE BLUES: David Widgery on the roots of Blues singing, particularly that of Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday, in the slavery and oppression of blacks in the USA. 55 minutes. £1.50.

WHY RUSSIA ISN'T SOCIALIST: Duncan Hallas exposes the myth that repressive dictatorship is the inevitable consequence of the removal of capitalism, a myth that blocks the road to socialism in both East and West. 42 minutes, plus 34 minutes of discussion. £1.50.

All prices include postage.
 Send stamped, addressed envelope for full list.

SWRecordings

Socialist Worker Recordings, PO Box 82, London E2 9DS.

the struggle for his continent—p.17



NEWS

4-5 LETTERS
6-9 SEXUAL POLITICS

10-11 HOME DEFENCE COLLEGE
After the deluge—kiss your ass goodbye.

12-13 ECOLOGY
Why socialists should be friends of the earth too.

14-16 IRELAND
United Troops Out Movement—conference report; Brian Maguire—"suicide" theory collapsing; *Republican News* bust; Anarchists fitted up.

17-21 AFRICA
The great mineral rip off; Zaire—who's who in the Mobutu opposition; Tanzania—end of an illusion; What are the Cubans doing in Ethiopia?

22 LETTERS
23 DJs
World exclusive—interview with Charlie Gillett

24-25 UNIONS
Big business backs right wing pressure group, TRUEMID.

26-27 THE DISTRIBUTION BIZ
Why freedom of the press is a myth.

28 SECURITY INTERNATIONAL
More secrets paranoia—in Norway, Israel and the US.

29 NEWS
30 DEATH OF A BOY SOLDIER
Who's who at Richard Cecil's funeral.

31-34 AGITPROP
Including music and theatre listings.



IN CASE you didn't know, *The Leveller*, *Peace News* and the NUJ were found guilty of contempt, for naming Colonel B, and face fines totalling £1,200, plus substantial costs (around £4,000). Thanks to all those who already sent money—but please keep it coming—we've a long way to go.

APOLOGIES to those who were hoping to come to the benefit bop on June 16; unfortunately we had to cancel after being let down by two venues.

The Leveller AGM was held on June 3rd—send SAE for full report.

Typeset by Bread 'n Roses (TU) 01-485 4432 and Red Lion Setters (TU) 01-405 4498.
Printed by Feb Edge Litho Ltd, 3-4 The Oval, London E2.
Process camerawork: FI Litho, 01-359 8288.

This issue has been produced collectively by *The Leveller* working committee and published by Leveller Magazine Ltd, a registered friendly society.

155a Drummond St, London NW1.

Phone: 01-387 0176.

Trade distribution by Publications Distribution Co-operative, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1. Phone 01-251 4976. US Distribution by Carrier Pigeon, Boston, Mass.

Become a Leveller agent. Sell copies at 10p commission. Call and collect from the office. Cash in advance but money returned for unsold copies.

Letters

Not So Glad To Be Gay

It is a pity that Ian Walker didn't ask some of the gay people at the ANL/RAR concert in Victoria Park what we thought of the crowd's attitude to queer bashing before writing his article in *Leveller* 16, as he would have got a very different picture. Something like fifty skinheads surrounded the gay contingents during TRB's set, marching threateningly *en masse* through the middle of us, throwing abuse and Lucozade at us. Their attitude was pretty uncompromising as well.

It is not clear whether these men came for trouble or for the music, as their appearance (very short hair, military style clothing) was indistinguishable from many of the crowd who, though similarly attired, wore ANL or RAR badges.

Ian Walker's article contains in it many signs as to why this sort of aggression to members of the crowd (and it is not coincidental that it was gay men who were the object) is so possible. There has always been some sort of symbiotic relationship between rock music and machismo, and ANL/RAR have not challenged this. Phrases in the article like "The politics is right there in the music, alive and kicking out" (my emphasis), "having a bit of bottle" and "the confidence to say 'Up Yours' to their boss..." show that aggression and violence can uncritically and easily be allied both to rock music and to socialism. How are we to distinguish between the Nazis' use of Messerschmidts as weapons of war and The Clash's use of the same symbol as a backdrop? I fear the intention and attitude is the same—force and violence is OK if the end is right. Ian Walker gives us no indication that he sees anything problematic about the use of aggressive metaphors within rock music, and his own journalistic style perpetuates them.

The public presence of gay men poses a challenge to traditional macho ways of being a man, and it is not surprising that we should become the objects of abuse and ridicule at an event which, though in many ways purporting to support our cause (after all, a gay man headed the bill), is rife with the very sorts of feelings and ideas that are part of our oppression. Militaristic clothing and powerful music have been some signs of struggling movements engaged in overthrowing their oppression, but they are not the only ones. Men who reject traditional macho ways of dressing and behaving are also engaged in overcoming oppression, but because we don't exhibit the traditional signs of male struggle we are a threat. When people become attracted unquestioningly to the outward signs of struggle with little or no commitment to the underlying ideology, the result is a narrow political approach and the continued oppression of minority groups.

I intend no insult to RAR or ANL who are doing an excellent job which won't be helped by the sort of uncritical praise expressed by Ian Walker. And incidentally, the article was heavily critical of left groups. Yet it was a left group, the SWP, that acted as the catalyst for the formation of both organisations.

This article brings out the wider question of the direction *The Leveller* is taking. Increasingly whilst continuing to define itself as non-sectarian, it appears to be becoming non-political. Perhaps the Leveller collective needs to sit down and define a few basics; like their stand on major political issues, and certainly, at least, whether they think *The Leveller* is a revolutionary paper or not. And does *The Leveller* have a class analysis? Or is it happy to just be a radical examiner, whatever that may be? A little bit of hard soul-searching could prevent such vindictively anti-left activist pieces as Ian Walker's.

Christian Wolmar
London SW9

Derek J Cohen
London W6

Armed Struggle?

I'm interested in the extracts you published in *The Leveller* 15 from Bommi Baumann's book *How It All Began*, I'm particularly struck by your lead-in describing Baumann as being involved in urban guerilla groups, and adding that he now criticises armed struggle—though you neglect to publish anything which could be remotely construed as critical of armed struggle.

The first extract you published was the most useful, for it described—briefly—how some of the West German left and extra-parliamentary opposition (APO) became adherents of armed struggle. This meant, as your extract says, "giving up the whole broad open scene". This in turn meant a small faction adopting Third World rather than European tactics, and ignoring the consensus which has been arrived at by the broad left APO by the end of the 1960s, to adopt as its tactic for social change and progress to a (more) socialist society the long march through the institutions. While the APO and the urban guerillas both accepted the same analysis of West German society, there was a division in opinion as to how to act for the future.

Ten years later, the tactics of the long march can be seen to have failed and been confronted by the state and its power, a power which has come to be used more and more openly and indiscriminately since the early 1970s. However, this is neither a failing of the analysis nor of tactics, as the left see them today in West Germany. Rather it is seen as a direct result of the divisive policies advocated by the small 'armed struggle' adherents, who as they see themselves ever out-manoeuvred and out-argued by the remainder of the APO have retreated into ever more desperate acts of terrorism. The urban guerilla movement of the 1960s has devolved into a self-centred and destructive elite who have caused the state to intervene more and more in social and political affairs where the APO once held the initiative. Was it really necessary to initiate a decade of bombings and murders to convince the left of what it already knew—that the state has at its control a repressive system which it can be provoked into using?

The terrorists, as they have now become, in West Germany

are treated by the left in various, always critical ways. At a personal level, it has helped to create an atmosphere in West Germany where left-wingers are persecuted and even tortured, on the grounds that they may be terrorists. So by adopting leftist jargon and analyses, the terrorists have established an image which the media are happy to sustain, of all the left being in some way involved in their activities. The terrorists have come to see the political struggle in West Germany as existing only around them and the prison at Stammheim—no longer do they expect a society-wide need for action or persuasion, and if a worker is exploited, so much more fool him for not shooting his boss and rifling the till.

The Mescalero letter of last April, which *The Leveller* would do well to print, contains a far more useful and positive analysis of West Germany than all the writings of the RAF and the 2nd of June Movement. How, the letter asks, does the life of a fugitive have any political validity? On whose behalf are killings and bombings done? Who picks the victims? On which criteria? Have the terrorists asked the West German left and working class if they want a path to socialism paved with corpses? More fundamentally, the negative effects of the terrorists' activities will soon necessitate the question: does the West German working class want a path to socialism? The politics of assassination are not an alternative to capitalism; they are an equivalent, for both show the activists' lack of concern for the ordinary person and their contempt for those who don't share their assumptions.

Rather than seek to further any revolutionary cause, the terrorist groups in West Germany have acted like occupying forces and technocrats, cutting themselves off from the experiences and problems of the population. They have become obsessed with their psychological backlash against their own bourgeois backgrounds. That Baumann doesn't share this background, and that he was arrested before the final decay of the urban guerilla groups into arrogant terrorists, probably explains the usefulness of his reflections.

Blaine Stothard
London SW4



Letters

What About The Revolution

From the article in *The Leveller* 16 it would appear that the left is becoming concerned about its failure to bring Ireland to the forefront of British politics. Indeed it is so concerned that the IMG has appointed one full-time worker on Ireland, while the SWP is producing an Irish pamphlet, not to mention the fact that Tony Cliff made a speech on the subject recently.

This high level of activity has as its focus an attempt to unite the resources of the left. But the left's fragmentation is a symptom of failure, not a cause. Gerry Fitzpatrick says the differences are personal, not political. He is right. The left could unite around either UTOM or TOM; the contribution to the politics of the working class would in both cases be nil.

United or otherwise, the politics of the radical left avoids the difficulty of building a working class leadership. The role of the radical left, in Fitzpatrick's words, is to "put across a picture that the British worker can relate to". Since the working class is at present looking for reformist solutions to all its political problems, this can only mean a 'picture' that lends further credence to such views. The International Tribunal on Ireland is the latest example of this kind of politics. It is currently publicising facts about notorious features of Britain's 'presence' in Ireland in order to call on the labour movement to *modify* the rule of its 'own' state.

The entire history of the British labour movement is littered with the defeats and setbacks that it has suffered as a consequence of sentiments such as these. During the Second World War hundreds of thousands of British workers were massacred fighting for the survival of their 'own' ruling class. Today tens of thousands are accepting redundancies for the survival of this same imperialist power. Because it has not been led to fight for its own independent interests, the working class has also been incapable of giving solidarity to the struggle against the British state in Ireland.

On the few occasions that the British trade union movement has involved itself in Irish issues, it has always advocated 'progressive' colonial policies. For example, although it passed resolutions condemning certain barbaric incidents during the Tans' campaign of the 1920s, it simultaneously opposed the Irish railwaymen when they blacked British weapons of war. Similarly today many British trade unionists remain critical of the widespread brutality of the armed forces and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, but nevertheless give their support to a Bill of Rights, courtesy of Westminster. They do not oppose Britain's rule

in Ireland, but simply campaign for its domination to be more fair.

So long as the left has no political alternative to the rule of capital, it must inevitably 'relate to' this kind of campaign. Because the radical left is intent on adapting to the prejudices of the trade union movement, revolutionary politics simply appears as a dangerous luxury. This is why the radical left campaigns for movements against torture and imprisonment, but rarely for the immediate withdrawal of troops.

The radical left appears not to find the same obstacles to building a mass movement on the question of fascism as it does on Ireland. Yet Ireland and fascism are both of central importance to the working class and on both questions the politics of the radical left is reformist. The crucial difference is that by characterising the National Front as Nazi, and by implication as essentially un-British, the Anti Nazi League leaves the nationalism of the British working class unchallenged.

However much the radical left would like to obscure the question of the state by concentrating on its excesses, the role of the state is always thrown into sharp relief by the war in Ireland, where radical opposition threatens its very existence. Whether on Ireland or racism, the job of revolutionaries is to *oppose*, not 'relate to' the reformist politics of the labour movement. On Ireland, this means showing that torture and repression directly stem from the preservation of capitalist domination. It means showing that the struggle for self-determination in Ireland must be extended and supported as a vital component of the struggle against the British state in both countries. Sean Reed is not speaking for revolutionaries when he says that "it's impossible to build a mass anti-war movement when the imperialist army isn't suffering large casualties". The starting point for revolutionaries is class politics, not dead soldiers.

Irish Caucus
Revolutionary
Communist Tendency

Choose Your Targets

Of course the British left should work towards the reunification of Ireland, if only because the force of Irish idealism will not be directed towards anything except the removal of partition so long as this sore remains. But the only real suggestions to this end by correspondents to *The Leveller* range from unequivocal support for the Provisional IRA to a campaign to restore political status to IRA prisoners.

Without raising the level of debate to that between the Bolsheviks and Narodniks on the value or otherwise of resurrectionary terrorism, we can at least demand of those who support it that they kill the right people. How many senior British officers, ranking British politicians or members of the Royal Family have the Provos attacked? Their acts have been almost entirely against squaddies and other sections of the British working class. Whatever we may be told of burgeoning socialism within the Provisional movement, their overt politics can only be described as bourgeois nationalist at the most charitable.

Unless one accepts the doctrine of original sin, hardly a widespread belief in the British left, all criminality must be political or pathological. Can you expect a sometime supporter of *Up Against The Law* to turn round and campaign for the distinction between political and 'ordinary criminals' (whatever that may mean).

Maybe one should work for the completion of the Irish national bourgeois revolution by whatever seems the most likely method, in the hope that socialism may follow. Maybe one should campaign for political status for some prisoners as an initial attack on the whole concept of punitive imprisonment as a method of state control. But though this may be read as a form of self-criticism, such gradualism won't get me off my arse and into the streets.

Dick Morton
Cambridge

Orange Communists

Since your May issue contained five letters expressing the self-same viewpoint, perhaps I could take up some of your correspondence columns with quite the opposite view.

I'm referring of course to the controversy about John Lloyd of the British and Irish Communist Organisation's article on Ulster. Your numerous critics of that article should remind themselves what *The Leveller* is trying to do—to be a discussion forum for socialists. For Alastair Renwick to compare Lloyd with SPUC or Bruce Groves, to say that the subject of his venom is as bad as a racist just won't do. People like Catholic right-to-lifers or racial supremacists are completely different from socialists who don't happen to agree with the dogmas of Messrs Groves and Renwick. Groves event wants to go further and quotes Trotsky to the effect that those who don't do their utmost to support Irish nationalism ought to be killed! If anything should be kept out of socialist magazines it's incitement to settle disputes on the left by physical violence.

As for Lloyd's article itself, I thought he made out a good case a lot of the time—particularly about the conception that the Six Counties are populated by a majority who reject inclusion in a united Ireland. But your correspondent Napper Tandy is right when he notes how Lloyd says nothing about the democratic rights of the Ulster Catholics. Connected with that disturbing omission is Lloyd's strange claim that it is the Ulster working class's 'incurable materialism' that keeps them out of Ireland. It's not their cool and calculating comparison of the appalling backwardness of Ulster politics and civil society with conditions in the South that keeps them Unionist, but their commitment to and immersion in the politics of Northern Protestantism are far from attractive set of beliefs. What worries me about Lloyd and the British and Irish Communist Organisation is that in defending the rights of the Ulster Protestants, they have taken on the colouration of that community; that in resisting the undemocratic demands of the Green they have fallen into the attitudes of the Orange.

But still, thanks to *The Leveller* for an interesting and stimulating article. May you long remain a discussion magazine despite the bigots who try to censor you, those of the ruling class and of the left.

S Max

WEDGE

THE RADICAL CENTRE FOR COVENTRY

has now started a mail order service. We provide a wide range of radical, socialist and feminist books, pamphlets and journals.

We offer a fast efficient service and can order specialist books. Publishers in stock include Pathfinder, Merlin, Virago, Womens Press, Writers and Readers, Julian Friedmann, Ink Links, NLB, Lawrence and Wishart, and Pluto; also radical titles from RKP, Macmillan and Penguin.

Cheques and postal orders crossed payable to Wedge Co-operative, 13 High Street, Coventry, West Midlands. Phone 0203-25634.

Please add 20p for orders of £1 or under, plus 15p of each other £1 in value, for post and packing.

More
letters
page 22

When Michael Parkinson simpers "Do you think I'm a male chauvinist pig?" to a woman interviewee, he expects his audience to know what he means. Most men left of David Steel have got a fair idea that sexism (on the level of gender discrimination) is wrong. But although the concept is bandied about regularly, non-sexism has acquired little more than the status of late 70's etiquette. If you've sussed what's considered sound, do it conspicuously. If you haven't and can't check with a sister in struggle, you'd better keep your mouth shut.

A great deal of energy goes into knocking the sexism out of language. Language is seen to reflect and maintain an oppressive ideology — in its most crude form there are the well-worn examples of woman as food or animal: chick, crumpet etc. It's all good consciousness raising stuff, but in practice the analysis is turned on its head.

Rather than dealing with the "patriarchal attitudes" themselves, all that is needed is a knot in the hanky to remind you to say chairperson, and the change in language will double back and deal with the ideology. Much of the time you can almost hear the quotation marks that stand around the language change and the adjustments operate largely as a concessionary overlay for other people to note and appreciate. Most active feminist women have been able to integrate their politics with their language to the point where the changes are taken for granted, but there are still confusing contradictions: to say "fuck this" is ok, but to call somebody "cunt" isn't.

Of course it's far easier to pick someone up on their language if they already have an idea of its power. In the outside world it's almost embarrassing, because it appears to be a reduction of politics to an obsession with semantics, the bona fide feminist embarking wearily upon yet another reprimand. We all seem better at confronting the person with a good prognosis, and most women will feel that they can do little but bitterly ignore the man for whom there seems no hope.

To be on the end of that blatant and conventional sexism is to be treated as an invalid. Doors are opened, arms are taken seats are vacated. The new version, the one that takes care not to offend, paying respect to mysterious feminist sensibilities, is nothing more than an up-date of the double standard. There are certainly a few men who have got round to examining sexism outside the context of their relationships with women, and who are beginning to make sense of their own oppression rather than just jokily calling for "men's lib".

But by and large women are set up as the guardians of the new non-sexism. How often have feminists had to enlighten the men they're involved with as to what is/is not sexist? Once the WML seal of approval is bestowed on a certain word, or single aspect of a dilemma, the man can go ahead safe in the knowledge that he is visibly non-oppressive. After all, he is sufficiently sympathetic to ask in the first place.

If another man displays unforgivable sexism, the eyes of the rest will turn to the feminist woman, and wait for her to confront, graciously allowing it to be her problem with which she will deal autonomously (isn't that what the women's movement is about?): that's the most insidiously sexist attitude of all. It's her struggle, so let her get on with it.

Definitions of oppression or sexism are largely kept for the areas people experience as bad. Sexual attraction is mystified out of a political analysis, and because it is an

Manners maketh man

A brief guide to modern etiquette

YOU'RE REALLY FUCKED UP ABOUT THIS SEXIST THING, BABE....



experience that is more to do with guts than language, the usual non-sexist standards can't be applied. It's now considered unacceptable to sexually objectify, or to be seen as doing so.

If you fancy someone it would definitely be unsound to tell your friends about "this bird with stupendous tits" even though that may be what got you interested across the crowded room, trade union meeting or tube train. Sure, the fact that you fancied them need not mean that sexual objectification was the sum total of your involvement. But men, particularly heterosexual, don't appear to be trying to understand fancying, because they're not used to looking critically at things they enjoy.

There are women in the movement who believe that sexual preference of any kind may be unsound, and are trying to rid themselves of this. The idea is that you have sexual relationships with any or all of your friends, the criterion for who is a friend probably based on political alignment. So you don't fancy or objectify anyone — you are "selectively gay in the women's movement" or some equivalent euphemism. But no-one has a better idea of what makes you fancy someone as a result, and to try and eliminate sexual attraction is a strange way to understand it.

This isn't the only grey area. Self assertion and aggression are supposedly male attributes, and are criticised by women as manifestations of sexism or machismo. This leaves men little alternative but to "learn to cry" or dismiss the argument as unrealistic and inhibiting, on the basis that women can be like that too.

When a woman is assertive or confrontational many men will see themselves as politically sound by association. He can sit back quietly and enjoy seeing his woman lay it on the line, showing everyone that he's so non-sexist it doesn't bother him that she's more macho than he is. Of course there are some men who'll see this as a variation on the theme of hen-pecked husband, but there's always the possibility of a sneaking admiration for the man who must be together enough to handle a woman that strong.

But faced with a difficult feminist, men will all too often retreat into the "of course I am basically sexist", or even the "we are all sexist position. Delete sexism and insert racism and it's a remark likely to be made with such absolute impunity.

The definitions of macho, sexist, or masculine are treated as nothing more than theoretical or moral forces separate from real life, which can go on unchanged. Despite "women's issues" being elevated to the point where they have some relevance in the struggle, they are still regarded as separate problems which are dealt with superficially, mainly in the realm of language.

Masculinity has to have the nasty bits taken out of it, but there's no time for looking at the rest of it to see what else it may be about. Feminism is seen as humanising socialism, and at that level it's acceptable — rather like the good old "woman's touch".

Many socialist men, although they assure us that they believe that what we say is true, betray in their attitudes and behaviour that these are the kinds of things that will get sorted out only after capitalism has been destroyed. But etiquette is no substitute for personal politics, and sophisticated tokenism is no way to make a revolution.

Rose Shapiro

The great smell of Cosmo

Out of the smoking ruins of those shrines laid waste by feminism comes, in full-gloss, *Cosmopolitan Man* — 186 shiny pages for the modern man who feels kind of left behind by history. Launched in April, with a print-run of 250,000, *Cosmo Man* is edited by Deidre McSharry and published by Brian Braithwaite — the combo which produces that bourgeois response to women's liberation, *Cosmopolitan*.

"We're really going for the Cosmo girl's boyfriend," explains Braithwaite, "It's not a raw girlie sex magazine or a specialist leisure magazine. It's a magazine about being a man."

The truly revolutionary concept behind this brave new mag is that men have an emotional life too. They worry about fucking, work, their relationships with other men, and so on. While women have had the comforting tortures of the women's magazines' problem pages, poor men have had to soldier along facing their torments alone. Like a man in fact. The front-page editorial, "Why *Cosmopolitan Man*?" (you might well ask), states that "... after an estrangement which has become acute over the past few years, men now desire to be better friends. With women especially. One thing we certainly need is a new language: the language of felt experience. *Cosmopolitan Man* believes it to be a timely language."

So what language does the new *Cosmo Man* (target audience the 18-24 year-old ABC 1 male) speak? He is, like the UCCA form hopeful, a beast of catholic tastes: interested in cars, Raymond Chandler, cricket, fellatio, philosophy, holidays, motorbikes, clothes, cheese, theatre, film, books, pop music and of course women. The only article which comes within shouting distance of the lofty editorial aims is something on male friendship. Culled from interviews with five ordinary blokes, it does represent an attempt at the kind of personal writing you would hope to find in some male version of *Spare Rib*.

The rest is like a modish *Playboy* without the fleshy bits — flash artwork surrounding a boring mix of 5th form what's-it-all-about-then philosophy and back slapping stuff on, for example, The Likely Lads In The Motor

Trade, The Games Men Play, How A Suit Changed My Life... you get the general idea.

Not too much sign of a new male image either in the style of the advertising which consumes 54 (mostly) full colour pages. Fast Cars, Fast Horses And Fast Women Are One Thing. But No One Wants A Fast Watch, is the witticism on offer from the *Timex* copywriters. And the powerful new men's smell from Faberge bears the entirely appropriate shape and name, MACHO.

For certain species of men, women's mags provide a keyhole-peeping view of life inside the strange far-off land where the penisless wonders dwell. *Cosmo Man* aims to invert this, offer up to young women a picture of the Modern Man (His Loves And Hates, His Leisure Time Interests) and so, like *Cosmopolitan* a third of whose readers are men, this bold new money-making venture aims to sell to women as well. If you don't know what the Modern Man is like (and you don't at least have a passing knowledge of silly mid-ons, twin carbs, the offside rule, the straight glass/jug debate, etc) then you'll be left all alone at the end of those wily heterosexual binges where Modern People enjoy themselves and collect sleeping partners. *Cosmo Man* — Not For Men Only.

Cosmo Man predicts The Demise Of The Dirty Magazines on one of its front cover barkers and, a couple of ads aside, Mary Whitehouse herself could not see cause for moral panics at the pix on view inside.

"Any man... can peruse these pages without feeling the least bit crummy," is the proud editorial announcement. A tilt at the young man who is too self-conscious and ashamed to buy a porn mag from his local newsagent (but who might slip one under his *Guardian* when he thinks no one's looking at a train station magmart) and who certainly wouldn't be seen dead reading(?) it outside the double-locked privacy of his own stained sheets. *Cosmo Man* — The Mag You Can Read On The Bus.

The moral superiority, or non-crumminess, proclaimed by posers running *Cosmo Man* depends on the lunatic assumption that sexism is measured by volume of naked flesh. The porn empires may, or may not, be crumbling, but sexism is alive and kicking on each gleaming page of *Cosmo Man*. Ads and photofeatures alike — the usual soft-porn "fashion" spreads of the kind favoured by the *Sunday Times* colour comic — show rugged chin-jutting smoothies with young beautiful women dancing attendance. Often in the ads the women's faces are off-camera, but a manicured hand here, a shaved leg there, provide the necessary frisson.

At best, I suppose, the mag is some small advance on the meat displays which are "men's magazines". But the whole exercise is an interesting reminder of the professional ideologist's knack of absorbing new ideas — like challenges to orthodox sexual images — and deodorising them for incorporation within the same old repressive formula.

For just 50p men can gauge the level of their sexism with mathematical precision by filling in *Cosmo Man's* "How Sexist Are You?" quiz. Sample: "When you're shipwrecked which of these is the dram girl waiting for you on the desert island? A Diane Keaton B Diana Rigg C Farrah Fawcett-Majors D Charlotte Rampling." Rampling is apparently the least sexist choice.

Or if your brain was really hard up for something to do, you could always have a bash at the *Cosmo Man* comp. "Write a motorbike motto — you could win the Honda 400AT." Wow.

Ian Walker



Patriarchy, hierarchy & the left

With the celebration of the tenth anniversary of May 1968, the left press indulged in a bout of re-assessment of its successes and failures. What the organised left has had to face is that the analytical tools and political vocabulary it has previously relied upon is demonstrably inadequate. Nowhere is this truer than the area of sexual politics.

The Women's movement, as a necessary response to actual conditions of the struggle of women for liberation, has developed an analysis of patriarchy, and has deepened our understanding of the basis, techniques and significance of the oppression of women, from a position of independence — outside the vanguard organisations which had hitherto appropriated that kind of

responsibility for themselves alone.

There now exists an uneasy relationship between the women's movement and the left organisations. An analysis has been developed by the various tendencies of the Women's Liberation Movement — and a new vocabulary which has arisen to describe it. The analysis is not (as perhaps some of the male left complacently assumed) mere tools at the disposal of the left organisations — like so many spanners in a tool-kit. On the contrary it is an indictment of their ideological outlook and the strategic line of the vanguard socialist organisations themselves.

Until recently feminism was a struggle carried out by women with the acquiescence and perhaps moral support of "fair minded" men. They did their best to eradicate overt sexism from their speech and manner and accepted criticism when they failed in this duty. This passive attitude adopted by "non-chauvinist" men and by the predominantly male socialist organisations, is not, and never was, a sufficient response to the struggle of women for liberation.

What the Women's Liberation Movement is demanding is the recognition of the struggle against patriarchy as being a revolutionary struggle, and, therefore, the responsibility of all revolutionaries, male as well as female. Up until recently it was the women's movement that was exhorted to have a socialist consciousness. Now it is the male dominated socialist movement that must itself have a feminist consciousness.

The consequences of a change in outlook are more than just personal. For there is a widely held view in the Women's movement that the strategic concepts and organisational forms of the vanguard left are themselves inherently patriarchal. In the main the left organisations have conducted themselves on the basis of strategic principles formulated by Lenin and the CPSU.

One of the main principles of vanguard leadership is an organised and disciplined party. This party should be equipped with the correct strategic line and skilful in the tactics of political struggle. It should intervene at the head of the mass movement and guide it along the revolutionary path, while at every stage winning to its ranks the most class-conscious and advanced "elements". Concomitant with this is the form of organisation known as democratic centralism: The central leadership, after consultation with the lower bodies, decides on the correct line and issues directives for its implementation, which they then carry out.

These concepts are inherently authoritarian, and hierarchical. So obviously, the whole question of organisation needs the fullest discussion. But this need not prevent us from speculating. The methods used to seize state powers in, say, Russia in 1917, may also be held responsible for the rapid decay and subsequent degeneration of the soviet system in that country. The seizure of power, after all, is not the revolution, and what we want tomorrow we must lay the basis for today.

attempting to present a realistic, sympathetic view of the lives of three men who do love boys, in hopes of opening a sane exchange of information and opinions on the subject.

The reasons behind the prosecution again point to organised reactions against gay advances. Quebec lately added a "Gay rights" clause to its civil rights code, with a referendum on the same subject coming up soon in Ontario. Anti-gay attacks have

however been growing in the straight Canadian newspapers; a recent grisly murder was heavily linked with the gay community and again the attacks on homosexuals in schools have grown into a considerable reactionary groundswell.

Workers on "The Body Politic" are fighting back, hitting out at the police methods against them which included confiscating their files and subscription addresses.

In launching their appeal for public help, the newspaper declared: "You can support our struggle to free our press and free your records from the police. We are committing our energies, our talents, our time. And taking the risk of a fine or jail sentence."

Donations and messages of support to The Body Politic Free the Press Fund, and Cornish, King and Sachs, 111 Richmond St, West Suite 320, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5H 3N6

Gays under attack in America

GAY NEWS has of course felt the full brunt of a politically inspired reactionary law initiated by Mary Whitehouse, but it's not just in Britain the tide is turning back against the gay community.

In America several cities have lately reversed hard-fought-for amendments preventing discrimination against homosexuals in jobs and housing. Eugene, in Oregon joined Wichita, Kansas and St. Paul, Minnesota in throwing out the equal treatment laws; they were not particularly conservative cities, indeed they were amongst only 40 in the USA with such laws, few of which look now like they may stay in force.

Gays in America explain the country is shifting to the right, and indeed the strident belief of progressives' Enemy Number One, Anita Bryant, of the evils of homosexual teachers "corrupting the young" is spreading beyond her native Florida even to California, where a proposition is currently doing the rounds that the state should fire or refuse to hire identified homosexuals in schools.

In Toronto, Canada, a Gay Rights newspaper "The Body Politic" this month faces trial under obscenity laws for having published an article "Men Loving Boys Loving Men" in its December issue.

Known as a "responsible" paper of seven years standing, the article in question was



But what worked in 1917 is most obviously not working now. The women's movement and the non-aligned revolutionary left far outnumber the organised left. That would perhaps be proof of nothing were it not for the fact that many of the non-aligned were organised in left groups and have consciously chosen to be non-aligned subsequently. Also, unlike the thousands who left the CPGB in the 50s, today's non-aligned left are far from depoliticised or passive. One of the lessons of any review of the decade since 1968 is that the focus of revolutionary politics has moved away from the vanguard groups towards something much more like a broad movement of perhaps coordinated, independent initiatives.

This is happening, at least in part, because the content of the political activity in the vanguard organisations is often at a tangent to, or even irrelevant to, many crucial aspects of people's lives. Sexuality is the outstanding case in point.

This leads, of course, to the question of how one transforms one's self and one's political orientation to encompass the new awareness of the politics of sexuality. Many men who have, for example, joined men's groups have subsequently found it impossible to continue to work in left organisations. They then feel politically ineffective in terms of the class struggle.

There are no easy answers to this problem. On the theoretical/ideological level an undoubtedly long process has already been begun to incorporate an analysis of patriarchy

into the currency of political analysis. Just as we have learnt to use the analytical tools and vocabulary of Marxism and Leninism in our struggle against monopoly capitalism and imperialism, so we must learn to use the developing analytical tools of sexual politics in the first place to take up the struggle against patriarchy.

Terry Illott

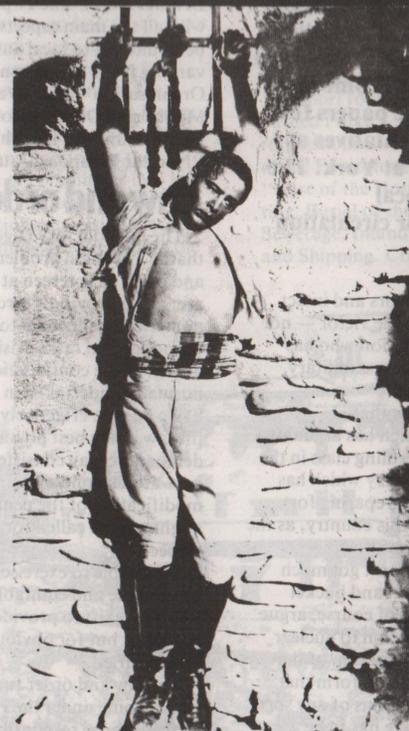


What is private?

The 1967 Sexual Offences Act, contrary to popular opinion did precious little for the male homosexual. Gay meeting places are still raided — mention of a sauna, say, in the pages of "Gay News" as a gay centre would almost certainly lead to a police raid and charges of running a disorderly house against the owners and staff.

The male homosexual over the age of 21 is indeed protected to a small degree by the Sexual Offences Act. But this protection does not go very far, and the words used which denote with whom and where gays may make love, are highly misleading.

In private means strictly that: three homosexuals who share a flat could be prosecuted if two of them made love in one bedroom whilst the third was in the flat — unless the bedroom in which the sexual act was taking place had a lock and thus, could not be entered without use of a key, by the third party.



Peter Burton

<p>1 SYLVIA KRISTEL EMMANUELLE 12.30 (Not Sun) 3.35 6.35 9.40 12.45 -PLUS- EMMANUELLE IN TOKYO Sun & Week 1.55 4.55 8.00 11.05</p>	<p>2 DAVID SULLIVAN Come Play with me MARY M... sexist FINISHIN... Prop. 11.45 (Not Sun) 1.25 4.45 8.00 Late show every night 11.05pm</p>	<p>3 NOW P...tain's sexy sur...ret it together... crap 'MOND 'ITH Let's Get Laid! -PLUS- SLUMBER PARTY X Prop. 11.50 (Not Sun) 1.30 4.40 7.50 Late show every night 11 pm</p>	<p>4 can't do-it-yourself call a plumber! ADVENTURES OF A PLUMBER'S MATE -PLUS- NADINE PERLE'S WEEKEND ORGY Prop. 12.30 (Not Sun) 2.00, 6.05, 8.05, Late show every night 11.05pm</p>	<p>5 EROTIC PLEASURES -PLUS- SWEET VIRGIN Prop. 12.05 (Not Sun) 1.25 2.45 5.25 8.10 Late show every night 10.10pm</p>
--	---	--	---	---



Heat treatment

There's an old joke involving official instructions to the population in the event of a nuclear war. It starts with a list of things to do, like whitewashing your windows and sticking sellotape on them to prevent flying glass. And it ends with the exhortation to crouch down with your head between your knees and "kiss your ass goodbye". British preparations for nuclear war appear to be roughly one level above that according to documents which have come into The Leveller's possession. They are the course papers for the annual seminar for local authority representatives at the Home Office run Home Defence College at York. The papers are not classified secret: instead the local councillors who attend are urged to keep their circulation restricted.

In the best British tradition of whistling in the dark to keep our spirits up, the papers detail a terrifying inability to deal with a nuclear attack on this country. Fire services, hospitals, water supplies, power supplies, communications, food and shelter would all be totally inadequate to deal with post-attack Britain. Law and order, notes the course introduction, would be one of the most urgent problems. As indeed it would.

With the faltering of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the emergency of what we are rapidly learning to call the "lukewarm war", and increasing pressure in the West for a build-up in the arms programme to deal with a perceived Soviet threat to Europe, there is growing pressure from the right for an up-dated Civil Defence programme. It has found its most sophisticated form in C. Bruce Sibley's recent glossy technicolour paperback entitled *Surviving Doomsday*, which argues that "when the holocaust comes, to its dreadful conclusion, the nation with the greatest

number of survivors and intact economy will be the victor — not necessarily the nation who has expended the greatest military effort".

It's no accident that Switzerland, which has arguably the most selfish ruling class in the world, is the country which has gone furthest in preparing for nuclear war. In this country, as the following extracts show, preparations haven't got much beyond the tin hat and bucket stage. Socialists, of course, argue that the best solution to nuclear war is the reorganisation of the world into a political form that doesn't need weapons of any sort. And the first stage has to be universal nuclear disarmament. But until that time, read on: And keep your fingers crossed.

The papers were prepared for the use of local councillors to enable them to: "identify the problems likely to confront a local authority in War and in peacetime emergencies so that they may take an active part in formulating local home defence policy." The specific set of seminars was

convened to deal with the threat of nuclear war — though the College itself has recently specialised in training its visitors to deal with internal subversion (see *The Leveller* No 2). The 21 papers deal with all the main aspects likely to be of interest to local authorities, varying from "Notes on Regional Organisation" and "Warning and Monitoring Organisations" to "Environmental Health" and a "Nuclear Weapons Data Sheet".

Law and order

The introductory Digest notes that: "The main problems of law and order as foreseen at present are: a) To provide a force numerically adequate to deal with the additional tasks arising in war as well as the continuation of those normally undertaken in peace. b) To be able effectively to keep the law in the best possible democratic way consistent with post-attack conditions. Some modification of the penal code might well be called for in this respect. c) To be able to exercise justice in a practicable and equitable way. Plans do exist to provide for these problems but for obvious reasons are classified."

The law and order functions would come under the Home Office, whose responsibilities in war are defined by the paper headed "Notes on Regional Organisation" as: "a) Public protection (including fallout shelters), warning and monitoring, and all other measures not a specific responsibility of other departments. b) Maintenance of law and order and the machinery of justice. c) Control of home defence operations."

But the Home Office itself would be decentralised along with the rest of central government in the build-up to a nuclear attack. It is not at all clear in the papers who exactly will pull the levers in the post-attack period. Those Home Office plans are apparently not available for locally-elected councillors to discuss.

In the paper headed "The Police Service in War" are listed additional things police will have to do in the enforcement of various regulations imposed by the Government under emergency legislation.

Number one on the list — way above such items as warning and advising the public — is: "Special measures to maintain internal security with particular emphasis concerning subversive or potentially subversive persons." Chief Constables or Inspectors of Constabulary have already been designated Regional Police Commanders. Their task would be to assume overall command of the police forces in their Region and to work downwards through a series of sub-regions and county organisations. "Police forces will require a considerable increase in manpower to enable them to carry out their war-time duties. Plans to augment their strength have been made and there will be a need for flexibility to balance manpower requirements before and after attack takes place." Mobile Police Support Units (PSUs) of 36 men would be formed.

While stressing that the "Armed Forces always act in support of the civil authorities on tasks given to them by those authorities", the Paper stresses that their "prime role is likely to be to assist in the maintenance of law and order".

Indeed, for any readers who thought that the services might help out with picking up bodies or assisting in running hospitals, An annex to the paper spells out the main tasks as "Preservation of Law and Order" and "Support for the police in the control of the public" — the difference between the two isn't immediately apparent.

The obsession with maintaining law and order becomes much clearer when examined in the light of the rest of the Papers and other information already established. The Regional Government system and the provision of shelters for a limited number of the rich and powerful would ensure that whoever was left of the working class would be extremely angry to emerge into the nuclear wasteland and find the old team still in control. By comparison, the anger of East Enders in the early stages of World War 2 provided with inadequate shelters would seem like a polite dispute at the factory gate.

For the documents make it clear that the emergency services would be totally unable to cope with the aftermath of a nuclear attack, that many of them would be simply withdrawn from the target areas, and that the plans envisage the wholesale writing-off of large sectors of the population in the big cities.

Fire service

"The total number of men available inclusive of the part-time service is unlikely to exceed 30-35,000 ... It is of interest to note that at its peak during World War 2, the National Fire Service had nearly half a million members.

"Therefore the role of the Fire Service in war would have to be one of self-preservation through any attack or post-attack period in

order to assist the nation in the survival and recovery periods."

The Paper then goes on to note that the Fire Service wouldn't even bother to try and put out fires in the attack area, and would only deal post-attack "in areas where the return is worthwhile and the survival of the Fire Service would not be prejudiced."

Hospitals

The paper suggests that it would "clearly be unsound to leave the full quota of skilled medical and nursing staff and all vital equipment in the centres of the likely target areas". That makes sense of course, but the Paper goes on to argue that it "would be unacceptable on the grounds of public morale, to carry out the present full scheme of hospital evacuation at a time when the Government was exhorting the public by every possible means to stay put. The credibility of the Government's advice would be gravely jeopardised."

They suggest a set of auxiliary hospitals with just one doctor and one nurse per hundred patients — plus volunteer support — and a team of Forward Medical Units whose task would be to classify those victims worth trying to save, and those who would be simply written off: the very seriously injured being "retained in the holding unit of the Forward Medical Aid Unit" — another law and order problem there probably.

The Papers go into much more grisly detail — the necessity to organise and make plans for compulsory billeting of the homeless and the Armed Forces; the control of information for public consumption by the insertion of committees into key points of the usual information-processing machines of government departments; the

worrying problem of what everybody who's left is going to eat and drink when everything around them has been contaminated; how to maintain a system of tele-communication when the main exchanges are in the centres of population ("At exchanges where operating staff are located, fallout protection is provided to protect a small number of operators. This protection consists of pre-fabricated blocks which can be erected around a few operating positions ...").

Assuming that anything's left at the end of the madness, there will be a government to make sure it's all under control. There's a neat table of what the responsibilities of the Central Government Departments will be which includes such items as:

"Department of Trade and Industry and Department of Energy: Control of electricity, gas and oil. Control of private industry. Overseas trade (what?) Civil Aviation." It's very clearly delineated and groups from the various Ministries meet from time to time to review their plans. But the bubble is pricked somewhat by a sentence tucked away in the Papers on Energy which reminds us: "For planning purposes, no reliance should be placed on a presumed availability of electric power during and immediately following a nuclear attack."

And hence, no water pumps, no sewerage disposal, no mines, no continuous processes in industry — no nothing.

The Ministry of Defence will, of course, have responsibility for "Support to the Civil Power by the Armed Force", while amongst the responsibilities of the Department of the Environment will come: "Care of the Homeless and Billeting. Burial of the dead. Water. Sewerage. Inland Transport. Ports and Shipping. Control of buildings

and civil engineering operations and materials. Emergency Construction Organisation."

It's obviously a tricky question, this one of the burial of the dead — or those who seem quite likely to die shortly. The Digest puts it tastefully: "the disposal of the dead should never take priority over, for example, arrangements for the provision of emergency accommodation for food or medical treatment for the living — and indeed, to be more precise, for those who showed signs of being likely to go on living for a reasonable time."

The Papers give some idea of the Plans for Decentralisation of Government — with ten regional centres in England and Wales, three in Scotland, and another one in Northern Ireland — and, notes the Digest with refreshing honesty: "Among the more important plans still not complete is that which provides for a system of government in war".

In fact, a Regional Commissioner has been appointed by Central Government in each region — "and he will be supported by a staff representing nearly all government departments, the police, fire service, armed forces and the public utilities ... Regional government would be established as soon as practicable after a strike (i.e. a nuclear one); but it could not, in general, be effective for some weeks after a nuclear attack".

So now we know why they're so worried about law and order. I've always had a pretty shrewd idea of what I'd do if the Four Minute warning ever happened. There is just a small likelihood the government might not catch up with events before we do. It's a very small ray of hope in an exceedingly gloomy document.

David Clark



Recycling Marxism

W G Hoskins, pioneer historian of the English landscape, was 70 in May. Chris Bullock argues that Hoskins's work suggests an approach to environment which could help to bring socialist and ecology movements together.

The ecology movement as we know it today grew up in the late sixties. In the US it was given a boost by the American defoliation of Vietnam; in Britain it carried on where CND left off. Ecological protest has gathered steam during the seventies, diversifying into attacks on whale killing, seal "culling", airport location, uranium mining and many more targets. Lately, particularly in France, ecological groups have also been treading the electoral path.

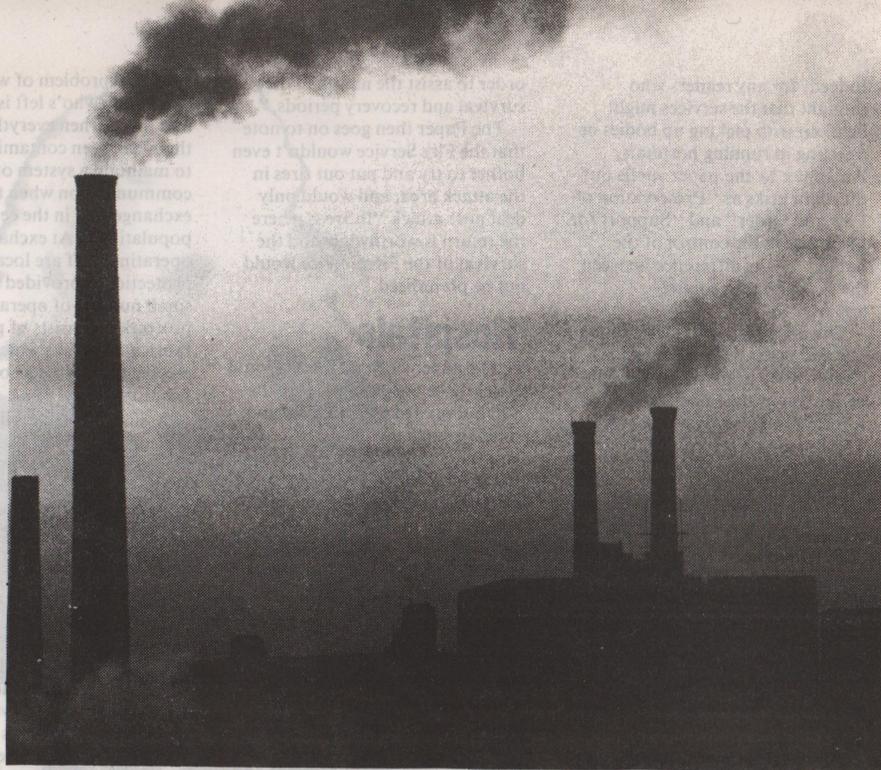
Some of these ecological campaigns have also been supported by left groups. But, in spite of local co-operation, the socialist and ecology movements have remained pretty much separate. And this is as true today as it ever was. No doubt the Friends of the Earth Windscale demo on April 28 and the Carnival Against Racism the next day shared some bodies, but some friends of mine who went to both said it felt like travelling between different planets.

Why is there this separation? The answer is that each movement can justifiably criticise the other for the way it generally goes about things. The main criticism from the ecology side is that the socialist and trade union movements, just like the capitalists, tend to see the earth just as a heap of raw materials ready to be exploited. All they'd like to see changed are the people doing the exploiting.

There's actually some truth in this view. Classic Marxism argued that the liberation of the proletariat would come through the intensification of the industrialisation process. And many Marxists believe that if the working class grabs as much as it can, capitalism'll come grinding to a halt. Marx himself had a notoriously low opinion of what he called the "idiocy" of rural life.

The main criticism from the socialist side is that the ecology movement seems to want to downplay, or ignore the part that class plays in damage to the environment.

Anyone listening to the speeches after the Windscale demonstration this April would have realised that whatever else was different in the ecology movement, this at least hadn't changed. Arthur Scargill apart (very much apart!) we had lots of stuff about unity against Windscale being more important than class, or politics. "We're not left, right or centre" someone was saying as I left for a pint.



This is just what William Hoskins set out to do in his pioneering classic, *The Making of the English Landscape*. Particularly fascinating is the way Hoskins relates field patterns, dwelling location and so on to the development of tools and sources of energy. For example, a plough with a fixed mouldboard is ideally suited to cultivate the narrow strips of land basic to the early collective, open-field system, while a flexible plough is the technical pre-condition to overturning this system.

Waterpower and windpower discourage the high density population, because they usually require sites at a distance from the more densely inhabited valley terrains. The development of steampower, on the other hand, allowed owners to put their factories as near to sites of raw material and already existing towns as they liked. The result was slums and the kind of desolate, industrial landscape you can still see in South Wales, the Potteries and elsewhere.

Another thread in Hoskins's book is the history of enclosures, the process by which the large open fields of Anglo-Saxon farming were divided up into the smaller, squarer fields we identify with the English countryside today.

His argument is that land was not only enclosed under the Enclosures Acts of the eighteenth century, as most people assume, but had been going on long before that. Devon, with its irregular fields and deep, winding lanes, reflects an earlier period of enclosure than the Midlands with its squarer fields, straighter roads and miles of hawthorn hedge.

I don't want to give the wrong impression by praising Hoskins's book, however. Although in his *Observer* birthday interview he calls himself a "radical", *The Making of the English Landscape* isn't a socialist book.

Why is the ecology movement generally so blind to the issue of class?

In my opinion, it comes from the way most people associated with the ecology movement see the relation between man and the environment. Technically, ecology means no more than the study of the relation between an organism and its environment. Actually though, most people in the movement see the human race, animals and the environment as making up a single organism (this is what eco-system really means), if any part of the organism gets too much, the whole thing suffers.

This view is, without doubt, partially true. As D H Lawrence and Wilhelm Reich have both pointed out, the more human beings feel separate from nature, the more they lose touch with the aspects of themselves that belong in nature, like the body, sexuality and so on, the more dead the world seems to them.

But human beings aren't part of nature in the way that trees are. They aren't because they, alone, change nature with a purpose in mind. And some of these purposes are better than others. We can't say a laburnum's better than a hawthorn because it produces yellow flowers rather than white ones; most of us would say that a worker who produces wealth for society is more usefully occupied than the capitalist who lives off that wealth. So ecologists are wrong about the world being an organism.

Socialists and ecologists need to come together at this time, because the environment we depend on can only be protected by insights from both movements. Ecologists like E F Schumacher are right in saying that the development of technology since 1945 makes the "more of the same" school of thought look increasingly stupid. Socialists, on the other hand, are right to argue that an all-class alliance is not the way to save the environment.

The failure of local co-operation to bring the socialist and ecology movements closer together reflects the

need to develop a way of seeing the environment acceptable to both. This way of seeing must, first, register the vital role the environment plays in our lives, and, second, study the environment, including the natural environment, not as something that's just 'there', but as something in which human production has almost always been involved.

This is very clear from his history of enclosures. He does point out the difference in attitude towards enclosures between Oliver Cromwell and the "government of landlords" that followed him. But landlords who booted tenants out to starve, turned peasant arable land into pasture, and built their country houses out of the stone from ruined villages are described as helping the natural decay of certain villages a little. Hoskins's ideal seems to be the benevolent landlord, and he waxes lyrical over such figures as the squire of Feldrigg in Norfolk who parcelled out his land as farms for his tenants, built public roads, and left some common land for the poor. He can't find many such figures, however, presumably because Tudor and Georgian squires were mainly a pretty evil lot.

There is no reason, though, why socialists shouldn't draw out the implications of the historical approach Hoskins provides and apply them to the present. If they did, they could make it clear to the ecology movement why, for example, the proposals of Lucas Aerospace workers threatened with redundancy for more ecologically viable products were rejected without a hearing. An obvious practical starting place for the Hoskins approach is the anti-nuclear campaign, where a study of the reasons behind location and environmental effect could be combined with a real class analysis of present and future profits from nuclear energy.

If socialists want to establish that destroying capitalism will be of benefit to the environment, however, their practice must offer evidence that socialism can do better. This means that socialists have to make support for campaigns like those of the Lucas Aerospace workers, or of the Australian building workers' union for "greenbans", central to their work. It means more pressure to create alternatives for those whose jobs would be threatened by the success of ecological campaigns. It means an emphasis on the egalitarian and workers' control traditions of socialism, as opposed to the consumptionist and Leninist-centralist traditions (though some of the Trotskyist groups have a reasonable record on environmental questions, if a rather opportunistic one).

The Making of the English Landscape is now 23 years old. It has been followed by a string of books developing its insights in more detail. Neither the Left nor the ecology movement seem at all interested in this kind of landscape history. Which is a pity, because such an interest might be the first step to a common movement.

DENMARK

All the dope on Christiania

CHRISTIANIA—the squatted freetown in Denmark provides a permanent home for almost 1,000 people.

In 1971 Christiania was left empty after being used as an army base since the 17th century. A civilian guard was mounted to keep people out, but it became obvious that the authorities were prepared to let it be vandalized rather than use it. By spring 1972 over 200 people had done enough conversion work to make the site habitable, and had enough support in the community to discourage the government from evicting them.

They were given permission to stay for three years, and were labelled a "social experiment". The community which developed has been described as an anarchist enclave. The eight-acre site is divided into eleven self-organised districts. There are few limitations apart from a ban on pushing hard drugs and receiving stolen goods. 'Self-determination and self-realization under responsibility' is the only positive working rule.

The Danish are unsure about Christiania, and when the social experiment's time ran out parliament decided to clear the site. Christianites called on their huge number of supporters to completely disrupt the country non-violently if any eviction was attempted.

The plans were published for everyone to see what was intended. A NATO general described them as "sound, extraordinarily intelligent and strategically worked out".

The legal moves to prevent the eviction continued, and although doomed to failure, gave time to consolidate support. In the end the courts handed the problem back to the government, which gave the settlement a two to three-year reprieve.

ASBESTOS

Playing the Cape blues

HEAVY LEGAL pressure from Cape Industries, the asbestos mining multi-national, to cover up its surveillance of political opponents, has stopped the production of a play on asbestos by Theatre Mobile, a small radical theatre group in Burnley, North East Lancashire.

The play, *To Whom It May Concern ... The Tragedy of a Northern Mill*, produced for performance in local halls, schools and working men's clubs, was to have opened in a village near Rochdale on June 1. But the group's paymasters, the Mid-Pennine Association for the Arts, called it off for a week pending legal advice on whether the play is likely to be actionable. It has now been delayed for another week.

Theatre Mobile have already tangled with Cape—in researching for the play, they were given a pile of PR bumph by the company which accidentally included a highly sensitive internal memorandum.

The document was headed "Background notes on the anti-asbestos lobby", and contained the names and political profiles of politicians and journalists who have been campaigning around the shocking levels of asbestosis deaths among former employees at Cape's now-disused mill at Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire.

On discovering the memo, Theatre Mobile copied it, and sent it back to Cape. That was

their mistake. The company did not contact them about the matter, but immediately took out a High Court injunction requiring the return of all copies and an undertaking that none of the contents would be divulged to anyone.

The group couldn't fight it; the Arts Association, worried at the likely cost of a High Court action, and regarding itself as arts benefactors (they channel £42,000 a year into Theatre Mobile—its only source of public funds to date) decided to empower its solicitors to agree to the injunction. All the terms were complied with—and Theatre Mobile was made to pay £200 towards Cape's costs.

Now the play doesn't even mention Cape: it's about a purely fictitious mill—but added at the end is a "free documentary lecture" about the record of asbestos companies, including Cape: their health and safety records and their international business tie-ups.

Included in the documentary were to be tape-recorded interviews with asbestosis sufferers who had worked at the Hebden Bridge mill, or been related to workers. For even wives who washed the clothes of asbestos workers have contracted the killer lung disease. So far 70 workers and relatives at Hebden Bridge have died, and local campaigners say that Cape has always been intransigent when met with compensation demands.

A report on the mill by the Ombudsman last year condemned management, asserting that there had been no proper health and safety measures for 20 years before the mill was sold off in 1970.

Cape Industries is the industrial arm of the Charter Consolidated Holdings group, itself part-owned by the mining giant, Anglo American, of South Africa.

It is only the documentary, presumably, that Cape might again start writ-throwing over. They have made no move yet, but they have said they will be sending someone to watch the play—if the Arts Association can summon the bottle to put it on. (For dates see Theatre listings.)

Meanwhile back in Hebden Bridge, the dreaded "anti-asbestos industry lobby" is engaged in fighting a bid by a local contractor to demolish the mill for a haulage depot/residential development. If this is not done very thoroughly and at great expense, it could release clouds of lethal blue asbestos dust into the atmosphere. To date planning permission has been refused by Calderdale District Council, though the planning committee is to reconsider the decision in secret session.

the mill at Hebden Bridge



NO WORRIES about Phase Four for Peter Pritchard, chairman of the Pritchard Services Industrial Cleaning Froup. The company's annual report shows his salary rising from £18,000 last year to £39,000 this. Pritchard is the biggest cleaning company in the UK and amongst its more lucrative contracts is the one for cleaning the terminals at Heathrow airport where Indian women are employed at pitiful rates of pay to sweep up after the rich and famous.



Tommy go home

"I was based in the Tactical Headquarters of the Royal Marine Commando in the New Lodge Area. My bedroom was next to the Intelligence questioning room. On lots of occasions I had to guard prisoners and I was able to witness the actual brutality in Northern Ireland.

"I remember going into a little area which was boarded off and called The Box. The screening of prisoners was done in this room. The first thing I noticed was the blood spattered all around the room...

"There was a picture in the Intelligence section of this bloke held up by two Marines and this bloke's head was literally smashed up. And there it was on the wall."

The speaker is Chris Byrne, a 23 year old student at Hull University who was in the Commandos and served a four month period in Northern Ireland. Byrne was

thrown out of the regiment following a court martial and three and a half months imprisonment in an army prison at Colchester.

He is one of four former soldiers interviewed in a new film produced by the United Troops Out Movement. Called "Home Soldier Home", its premier was the centrepiece of a conference held by UTOM in London on June 11. The film is a remarkable black and white documentary which cuts between the interviews and different images of Army life. The emphasis is on the use of the modern army in civil conflict — Northern Ireland, the dustmen's and firemen's strikes, Heathrow — and the class nature of its structure.

Particularly remarkable is that the former soldiers are prepared to risk the wrath of the security forces and the possibility of trial under the Official Secrets Act to bring home to the British public the way in which the army is now being used.

In a question and answer session, Byrne spoke of seeing the Commandos' Sniper File for their period in Belfast in 1972: one man alone had 17 'kills' to his credit. Byrne pointed up the contrast between this and the official line about warning potential victims under the Blue or Yellow Card systems. "Because of their secret positions, snipers can't operate the rules of the Blue and Yellow Cards. They could be 500 yards away. Why the hell do they continue to train them? They are just for bumping people off."

David Swingler, another of the men interviewed in the film, told the meeting of being posted to Strabane shortly after he had completed basic training: "I remember taking part in a mass arrest where the army would saturate an area and arrest everyone on sight. The first time I was involved was at a pub social just outside Strabane.

"The heavy blokes had gone into the

pub and virtually wrecked it. I saw a WRAC throwing a woman onto a barbed wire fence.

"A little skinhead was thrown into a wagon and the driver said: 'He just pissed in my wagon'. He was taken out and spreadeagled against the wall on his fingertips. After twenty minutes of that anybody begins to get cramp. A couple of blokes were standing around taunting him. One of them picked up a sandbag and put it on his shoulders and he collapsed. They made him get up again and carry two sandbags on his shoulders. It was disgusting: it was that sort of behaviour that made some squaddies crack up."

The conference itself centred on the role of the army and drew out lessons for the United Kingdom from previous campaigns in Malaya, Kenya and Northern Ireland. George Lennox, who was imprisoned in 1972 on a strange robbery charge after he had spoken to the press of his time as a cypher clerk in Aden, flew in specially from Sweden to address the meeting.

Again, he spoke of the appalling brutality dished out quite casually by the British Army: "So-called terrorists were taken into the interrogation centre. I was about a hundred yards away — we had a corporals' club to drink in. And we could hear them screaming, it was coming from the centre. And we'd just say, 'Oh, it's those fucking wogs again'. We'd see them getting dragged in and getting carried out."

If there was one overriding theme of the conference, it was that over the last ten or fifteen years the army's role has



changed profoundly from external aggression to internal security: the major lessons to be drawn concern the new role of the army and the security services in the metropolis.

"Before you go to Northern Ireland," Chris Byrne had told the meeting, "You get three months of internal security training. Then you get a month of debriefing when you get back. Therefore eight out of fifteen months is spent on internal security — on top of your basic training. It's something we should all think about."

Home Solider Home. Black and White. 45 minutes. Further details from UTOM, c/o 182 Upper Street, London N1.

'Suicide' in Belfast

ON MAY 10, Brian Maguire, a 27 year old shop steward at Strathearn Audio in Belfast's Andersonstown, was found hanged in his cell at Castlereagh Interrogation Centre. He had been arrested only 24 hours earlier, and had been "questioned" about the shooting of a detective, Millar McAllister (who had worked in Castlereagh) a week earlier.

According to the police, he had made a full "confession" to the effect that he had been forced to keep the murder weapon overnight in his house following the shooting. He then went to his cell, slept, woke up at 7am, rang the bell, asked to go to the toilet, went, returned to his cell at 7.10am and, apparently having nothing better to do, tore up his sheet and hanged himself from an air ventilator. When the officer returned at 7.30am with his breakfast, he was dead.

The RUC put out a hasty statement about his confession and announced that the whole business would be investigated by a senior police officer from England,

an Inspector Rawlinson. The police account has been greeted with disbelief and scepticism by anyone who has ever been in Castlereagh for the statutory seven days "interrogation".

In fact, the story falls down on practically every count.

First: the "confession". Brian Maguire was not a Provo, nor indeed a Provo sympathiser. He was not the kind of person that the Provos, who admitted shooting RUC man McAllister, would use. Moreover, the two men who carried out the shooting at the policeman's house in Lisburn made their escape by car. They had no need to dump the weapon in a strange house.

Brian Maguire's only recent political involvement had been as a member of TUCAR—Trade Union Campaign Against Repression. If the police account of his alleged "confession" were true, he would have been released within a couple of days and need not have feared a prison sentence if "acting under duress" as the police say they believe he was doing.

Secondly, the "suicide" itself. Take the sheet with which he is supposed to have hanged himself. Prisoners in Castlereagh are generally not even given a sheet but it does sometimes happen. They are, however, extremely tough, and very difficult to tear.

It would certainly take considerable

effort and necessitate a fair amount of noise—which would be heard by the officer whose job it is to patrol the short corridor and look in through the spyhole every five minutes. All those recently released from Castlereagh are unanimous that one just doesn't get twenty minutes surveillance-free.

Then there is the ventilator grille. This is made of light metal, about nine inches by six inches, with a very fine mesh. Paul Burns, who has frequently been taken to Castlereagh and beaten, and who gave evidence to the International Tribunal in Dublin last month, has, along with several others, testified that while it just might be possible to thread a thin strip of sheet out through the ventilator, it would be quite impossible to get one's fingers through the grille to pull the end of the sheet back through.

Moreover, the grilles are only held on to the wall with four small screws. All the men interviewed state categorically that they couldn't hold a man's weight. All in all, the "suicide" stinks.

What appears to have happened is that one of the interrogator's little games, the fake throttling, seems to have gone too far. Recently, "suspects" have made complaints to their doctors and lawyers that in addition to the systematic beatings, they had been subjected to being almost throttled by two police officers while being held over a chair. Both Paul Burns and Felim Hammill had passed out during this treatment.

Burns had been released but Hammill, a second year zoology student at Queens University in Belfast, is still in custody charged with murder—along with two people he doesn't even know. His case is not unusual. Three months ago, police at Castlereagh had told him that he "wouldn't sit his exams this summer" because he had had the temerity to pursue a claim against three officers who had beaten him prior to his release from Castlereagh.

Fact: Two of Castlereagh's most notorious "interrogation" experts, Ken French and Alastair Newell, have been released on bail. Their evidence had

helped sentence a young man named Lavelle to seven years. On appeal he had been acquitted after the judge stated that the only "evidence" against him was an alleged confession made to French and Newell after "appalling" RUC ill-treatment.

The DPP still refused to prosecute the RUC men and therefore Lavelle has taken out a personal summons against them. French and Newell were the two officers who "interrogated" Bernard O'Connor, the school-teacher who caused a furore last year by appearing on the *Tonight* programme and detailing to Keith Kyle how he had been tortured. His claim is still pending.

Republican News hit

Despite the arrest of 15 people concerned with its production, *Republican News*, the paper of Provisional Sinn Fein in Belfast, has not closed down. It stumbled in its production schedule for a couple of weeks but is now back up to its normal 20,000 print order — and it's as punchy and vociferous as ever.

Eleven defendants have been released on bail, including the printer, SDLP member Gary Kennedy. But four of the defendants are still inside, bail having been refused by a judge who insists on the connection between Sinn Fein and the Provisional IRA.

The paper's editorial content remains much the same as before: a second team had been put on "standby" months ago

Anarchists arrested

The vigour with which Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad is pursuing their investigation into an "anarchist terrorist gang", which hasn't even bombed anyone, provides a stark contrast with their laxity in pursuing the fascists responsible for over a hundred incidents of firebombings, beatings, and woundings up and down the country.

They have so succeeded in creating an atmosphere of mystery, intrigue and excitement around the forthcoming trial of Ronan Bennett, Iris Mills and Dafydd Ladd that it will be difficult to find a jury

Fact: On the day after Brian Maguire's funeral, RUC man Detective Sergeant Wesley Johnston went into the garage of his home in Lisburn and lay back to "listen to tapes"—for three hours—according to police. Later that night, hardly surprisingly, he was found dead from carbon monoxide poisoning. Foul play is not suspected. Suicide is! Johnston had recently been seconded to Castlereagh interrogation centre and a death notice appeared for him from "his colleagues at the Assistant Chief Constable's Office, RUC Castlereagh", in the *Belfast Newsletter* of May 16.

Fact: There are no plans as yet to rename Castlereagh the Ulrike Meinhof/Brian Maguire Remedial Home.

Dhearg Doom

in the event that such a raid should be carried out. It's believed that the Northern Ireland Office is prepared to harass the paper indefinitely, but doesn't want it to do underground where it would pose a more serious threat. Sales have actually climbed since the arrests.

An ad hoc committee has been set up in London to defend the paper. Petitions have been circulated, a model resolution prepared for trade union branches, and a poster parade was scheduled for the week while we're at the printers. On Wednesday June 7, a token occupation of the International Press Centre was staged and startled diners and drinkers showered with leaflets before an obviously fore-warned police force moved into to break it up.

A model motion condemning the raids and arrests has been circulated by this magazine to all the left press: so far, more than 15 have signed it.

**PUBLIC MEETING
DEFEND REPUBLICAN NEWS!**
Small Hall, Conway Hall.

Thursday June 22nd, 7.30pm
Speakers from: Socialist Challenge, Socialist Worker, Big Flame, The Leveller. Others to be announced.

that isn't already halfway convinced of their guilt before the trial begins.

Bennett and Mills were arrested in a London flat under the Prevention of Terrorism Act on Wednesday May 24. They were held incommunicado for two days before being charged with conspiracy to cause explosions and allowed access to their lawyer. The press had already had a hey-day with tales of "explosive substances", "armed gangs" and "anarchist terrorists" who may be connected with a series of bank robberies. And on the Friday night, the police issued a statement about a Fiat 124 complete with registration number, that they were eager to trace: the public were warned not to go near it.

The fact that it was found a week later, crashed over a cliff 200 yards from the house where released former "Angry Brigade" defendants Hilary Creek and John Barker now live has simply added to the mystery.

After two appearances at Marylebone Magistrates' Court during which security

was non-existent, police applied for the remand hearings to be held South of the River at Lambeth where there would be less of a security risk during the short drive from Brixton prison. And at the June 8 hearing, the whole panoply of security was in evidence: armed policemen, searches outside the court, twin police car escort back to jail. Everything, in fact, to convince a doubtful public that this was indeed a serious business.

Just how serious it may be was pressed home by Anti-Terrorist Squad Chief Superintendent Peter Bradbury—fighting to retain his much-reduced 30 person squad in the wake of organisational changes at the Yard—when he told the South London Magistrate that he was against bail for this "idealistic group of persons" not only because they might "take positive steps to overthrow society", but also because of mysterious new charges concerning bank robberies and firearms.

No charges yet, of course, but good for the psychological atmosphere. Bail was refused again, the defendants were again kept in handcuffs and this time they stayed silent—at previous hearings, they've protested from the dock about their handcuffs and their enforced solitary confinement. Instead, it was the lawyers' turn to protest: far from being allowed private interviews with their clients, they'd had to shout through a prison door in full hearing of police officers.

It's not the first time any of them have been through all this. Bennett came to England a couple of years ago after three years in Long Kesh. His conviction for murdering an RUC man during an armed bank robbery was overturned on appeal, but RUC men told him afterwards that he'd better keep off the streets of Belfast. He moved in with Iris in Huddersfield after she'd "adopted" him as her prisoner for the anarchist Black Cross relief organisation.

Last year, they were both held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Huddersfield. Iris was soon released, but Ronan was held for 19 days—most of it in solitary—before becoming one of the handful of people released without deportation by the Home Secretary after representation by an NCCL lawyer.

We can't comment on the charges or the evidence, obviously: but the overtones to the way in which the case has been brought and pursued are extremely alarming. If even one tenth of the effort that has been expended on Bennett, Mills and Ladd were devoted to catching the bombers and thugs who every week attack black people and premises, there might, just might, be an excuse for Superintendent Bradbury and his Anti-Terrorist Squad. Instead, anarchist and libertarian premises are raided, address books and photographs seized, people held in extended solitary confinement and lawyers can't even interview their clients in private. And there haven't even been any explosions.

THE BATTLE FOR AFRICA



THE GREAT AFRICAN MINERAL CHASE

IF YOU read the press, you'd think that Africa was simply a battleground for the super-powers. But African conflicts have African roots. Colonialism left different imprints on its various victim countries.

African responses have varied. The socialist and nationalist hopes of the early period of liberation have paled as the reality of neo-colonialism's strength has shown itself.

Leveller contributors examine:

- The scramble for Africa's minerals, which plays a large part in shaping the conflict;
- The creaking corruption of the Mobutu regime, which may be too much even for its western backers;
- Tanzania's shaky claims to socialism;
- The dilemma faced by the Cubans in Eritrea.

Governments and big business in the West are wetting themselves over the "strategic threat" to the supply of raw materials posed by the resurgence of nationalist and revolutionary forces in Africa. Innocent Africans are said to be in the grip of a sinister Soviet conspiracy to starve industry. Before long, we are told, supplies of copper, cobalt, chrome, and uranium could dwindle to a trickle, and the West held to ransom.

Business analysts in Europe and America have for some years also been warning of the political risk inherent in too great a dependence on minerals from Africa. Years of exploitation of cheap

labour and abundant, easily workable resources have begun to catch up with them. They have argued for more support for popular move-

ments, more generous payouts by the mines to governments, and an ideological offensive by Western governments to convince black Africa of imperialism's benevolence.

Behind the "strategic threat", however, lies a dilemma imperialism has made for itself. A world division of labour created during the nineteenth century means that it is still more profitable for mining companies to operate in Africa, or other relatively under-developed areas rather than say Canada or Australia.

But their activities continue to give African nationalists cogent arguments, hardly altered by nominal independence. Zambia, for example, was developed essentially for its copper, which at independence generated 90 per cent of gross national product. Yet today, with the cash price of copper wire bars at about £557 a tonne, Zambia's real earnings are less than in 1964.

What frightens the West's policy makers is that a disruption of mineral supplies is just what some mining companies want. While boardrooms are awash with crocodile tears shed over the "tragedy" of Zaire, the prospect of much higher copper prices is just what the finance director ordered. The companies argue that running down the world's copper stockpile of more than 1 million tons would also benefit copper exporting countries.

From being fierce opponents of a producer's cartel, the copper companies now wish they could emulate the nickel producers who have cut production to rig prices or "bring supply more in line with demand".

Although copper has attracted the attention, it is not the commodity which most worries governments. Zaire in fact accounted for only about 6.8 per cent of average world primary production in 1974-76, and has some 5.6 per cent of estimated world reserves. The figures for Zambia, not of course directly affected by the invasion of Shaba Province, are 9.5 per cent and 6.3 per cent respectively. The US and Canada are bigger producers (19.3 per cent and 10.5 per cent), while Chile, with 12.1 per cent of production and 18.4 per cent of reserves, is also in safe hands.

Of much greater concern to the West are cobalt, chrome and uranium. Cobalt is essential for making high temperature and magnetic metals, for example the alloys used in jet engines. It is very difficult to replace. Zaire

produced some 17,550 tons of the mineral in 1974, or about 71 per cent of the world total. Cobalt is a copper by-product, and about 85 per cent of Zaire's cobalt comes from the copper mines around Kolwezi, the centre of the recent fighting. Most of those mines are now out of action.

The price of cobalt has risen steadily in recent years as demand has grown faster than supply and stockpiles have been run down. Conspiracy theorists have found support in reports that the Russians bought cobalt heavily at the beginning of this year when the price was between \$6.5 and \$8 a pound. It is now about \$25 a pound.

Like cobalt, chrome is difficult to substitute for. Its main use is for making stainless steel. But the threat to chrome is less immediate. South Africa produces 26.4 per cent of the world's supply and controls no less than 63.2 per cent of reserves. Turkey and the Philippines, also well known progressive states, produce 7.8 per cent and 5.9 per cent each. But it is Rhodesia's 7.6 per cent which causes capitalists to lie awake at nights. Once it is turned into ferro-chrome, chrome's origin is impossible to detect, and a lot of Rhodesian chrome is smelted in South Africa. What will happen to that chrome when Rhodesia becomes Zimbabwe at the end of the year is anyone's guess.

The other important mineral is uranium of which Namibia is the largest producer. No accurate figures are available for Namibia's production separate from South Africa, although in 1976 the two together contributed about 12.1 per cent of world output. Their reserves are nearly 15 per cent of the total. French imperialism controls the 4.1 per cent of output from each of Niger and Gabon. But at Rossing in Namibia the biggest uranium mine in the world is starting to work towards its rated capacity of 5,000 tons a year. The British government has a long term supply contract with Rossing Uranium, which is controlled by the Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, for 1,500 tons, despite UN declarations that the resources of Namibia should only be developed with the agreement of its people.

Namibia highlights the dilemma in which imperialism is caught. Should RTZ and the British government hope that South Africa will not leave the territory? Or would negotiations with SWAPO, which has not stated its policy towards Rossing, be a



better safeguard?

But ironically, these minerals are not strategic. It is most unlikely that all supplies of cobalt will dry up. Stockpiles in the US, for instance, are at least 25,000 tons anyway. Moreover, imperialism has left most primary producing countries so reliant on its markets and technology for extraction that an independent Namibia, for example, would be hard pressed to find other customers. Even if severe shortages pushed prices sky high, the impact would be nothing like the oil price increases of 1973 and 1974. And as the mining companies keep telling us, the genius of capitalism is that if the price is sufficient they can find and

dig out anything anywhere.

That is the point. The instability of material supply under capitalism is not caused primarily by restless Africans but by the violent business cycle of the mining industry. The collapse in many poor countries' revenues is the direct consequence of mining companies rushing to invest in the early 1970s when prices were high. Now capitalism is in recession, none of them is interested in more mines and so the early 1980s could see another boom. Consumers will be ripped off, and primary producing countries locked again into the international capitalist market. But before then, thousands more Africans may die.

★ THE FNLC PROGRAMME ★

FOR THE first time in England, The Leveller reprints the programme of the FNLC taken from its communiques:

- * To regroup all national forces for liberation struggle against the fascist dictator in Kinshasa

- * To work for the reconstruction of national unity, a condition indispensable for achieving national independence and liberty for the Congolese people

- * To re-organise the army, the police, the administration and legal and education system so they will be of service to the people and respond to popular needs. For example,

to provide free schooling and health care

- * To build an independent national economy controlled by a democratic state. Private initiative, both national and foreign will be permitted to the extent that it contributes to the nation's socio-economic development

- * To guarantee equal opportunity to all without regard to sex, ethnic, tribal or regional origin or religion

- * To distribute land to poor peasants through agrarian reform

- * To achieve equality between men and women

- * To support the just freedom struggles of oppressed and exploited people throughout the world



ZAIRE: MOBUTU'S REGIME ON A SHORT FUSE

Behind his dark glasses, Mobutu Sese Seko must have a worried look in his eyes. This was the second invasion he has faced in Shaba and sporadic reports from other parts of this sprawling country indicate that discontent is growing. His own soldiers run away and he is only maintained by foreign troops. Russell Southwood tries to piece together who the opposition are and what they represent.

MOST PEOPLE promptly forgot the Congolese National Liberation Front (FNLC) when it slipped back across the border into Angola after last year's invasion of Shaba province. Nobody could quite believe that a group of supposed ex-Katangese mercenaries were actually planning to overthrow Mobutu and were using familiar marxist rhetoric about imperialism.

But the invasion was no flash in the pan. Earlier this year they destroyed military installations at Malanga, on the Dilolo-Kolwezi road, the main route from Angola to Kolwezi. Reinforcements sent were ambushed and heavy casualties inflicted. Other military operations had also been carried out including an explosives factory at Lillasi.

As a result of this activity, Mobutu stationed his crack troops on the main road from Angola to Kolwezi. They were neatly side-stepped by the second invasion attempt which came up through Zambia in the south of the province.

That this force and those who support it in Shaba province have been called separatists shows the wilful ignorance on the part of some commentators. Moise Tshombe, the politician who led the breakaway of Katanga ended his political career trying to rule the whole of Congo (as Zaire was then called) and no-one has put secession on the agenda since.

In October last year the FNLC joined with the other movement fighting in Zaire, the Parti Revolutionaire Populaire to set up a Supreme Council for Liberation to co-ordinate military actions.

Led by Laurent Kabila, the PRP has been waging a guerrilla struggle against Mobutu since 1969 in the eastern province of Kivu. Its heritage is the 1964 uprising in East Congo against the Western-backed central government and with this support it claims to control large areas of this mountainous region.

This group became known in the West when they kidnapped two American

students from Tanzania and demanded a ransom sum and arms. They were later released after £20,000 had been paid.

The agreement with the FNLC seems to have yielded some results. The attack on the town of Faradje in the north near Sudan a week after the invaders retreated was probably their work.

Further reports of resistance come from the Belgian group Comite Zaire who say that Mobutu's troops killed 2000 people in Badundu. This was a reprisal for the killing of a local chief in a dispute over wages paid to palm oil workers.

This resistance marks a watershed in African politics where for the first time there are three armed struggles (Zaire, Chad and Western Sahara) confronting France's seemingly unshakeable hold on the French-speaking countries.

Tied to France by economic pacts like the Lome agreement, countries like the Ivory Coast and Senegal are now being asked to provide more than just back-up for France's policing role. This comes from France finding herself logistically over-extended and facing a growing movement at home against foreign involvement of its troops.

By contrast, the former rulers of Zaire, the Belgians, are faced with a different dilemma. The largest mining company in Shaba—Union Miniere—is mainly Belgian-owned and has exerted great pressure to get the Benguela railway re-opened. To move copper out on the Zaire transport system is both expensive and slow.

The main obstacle to this plan is Mobutu's intransigence in relations with Angola. So the Belgians have tried to speed his departure.

At the last of a whole string of show trials of Mobutu's opponents, the military prosecutors claimed that a Belgian diplomat in Kinshasa played a crucial role in passing letters between the conspirators and their Belgian-based exile group, the Congo Rehabilitation Movement (MARC). The diplomat was

also alleged to have planned the coup strategy and ensured an escape route in event of failure.

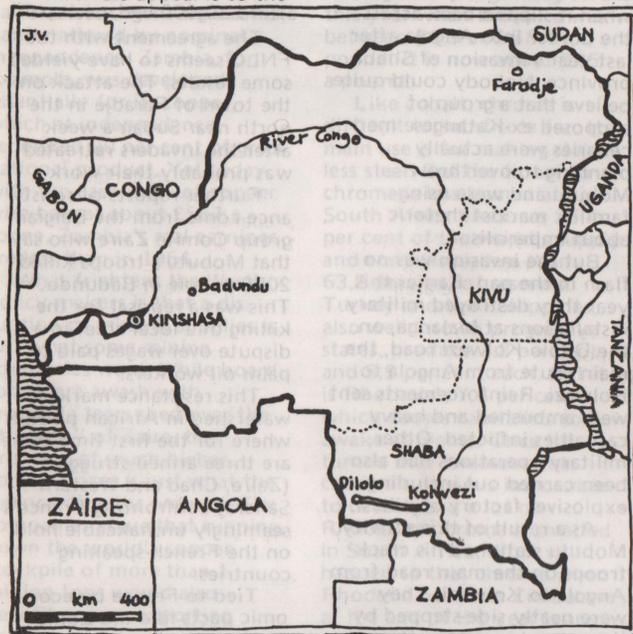
The plotters were said to want to replace Mobutu with MARC's leader Mungoya Mbenge, a former Governor in Shaba under the present regime. As most of the information seems to have been obtained by surveillance, the more imaginative details have been filled in by the Zaire secret police. But American and Belgian diplomats seem to have been in contact with the failed plotters before the coup.

MARC's appeal is to the

Zairean elite of the country. Its politics are non-marxist and it has engaged in heated polemics with the FNLC through the pages of its magazine, Miso Gau. MARC is also believed to be backed by Belgian financial interests.

The opposition is fragmented but its very presence must give hope that it will not be too many years before ex-Belgian police informer, Joseph Desiree Mobutu, will lose power.

Comite Zaire's address is St. Jacobsmarkt 82, Antwerpen 2000, Belgium.



★ ★ ★ ★ ★
ZAIRE GROUPS

WITH THE downfall of Mobutu in the offing there is no shortage of contenders for power in Europe amongst the Zairean exile community.

Jean Tshombe, son of Moise and leader of the small Belgian-based group, Congo Free Forces, was recently in the news with his claim of a revolt in Shaba. Despite claiming working relations with the FNLC, he managed to get the date wrong and had to deny the story.

Another notable exile figure is Antoine Gizenga, a former minister in the Lumumba government. His movement, FODILICO (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Kinshasa) is based in Geneva and claims support from the PRP.

A relative newcomer is Francois Lumumba, son of murdered prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, leader of the first post-independence government. He is involved in

his father's party, the Mouvement National Congolais, and recently wrote an article in the French third world magazine, Afrique-Asie, attacking Mobutu's dictatorship. The MNC's leader has just been thrown out of Belgium.

The most worrying of these hopefuls is Cleophalus Kamatatu Massamba, another ex-minister. He claims to be a socialist and shot to fame in 1971 with the publication of a book called La Grande Mystification de Congo-Kinshasa. It was banned in France under an almost unique law which forbids people to blaspheme about or denigrate a head of state. Under this law, Mobutu was able to bring an injunction to stop publication.

Kamatatu's group is called Front Socialiste Africaine. He is tipped as Belgium's candidate to replace Mobutu and has recently returned to Zaire, much to the surprise of his friends in Europe.



TANZANIA-THE SOCIALIST DREAM IS OVER

KICKING out Lonrho, attacking western actions over Zimbabwe: Tanzania's Julius Nyerere is trying hard to maintain his country's progressive image. Cheche Moja suggests that Tanzanian 'socialism' masks a less attractive reality.

At the beginning of March, students of the University of Dar es Salaam demonstrated against the 100 per cent wage increase MPs and ministers granted themselves. Their peaceful demonstration was broken up by the Field Force Unit (paramilitary police) with tear gas and clubs. Many of the students continued their demonstration outside the offices of the government-owned newspaper, *The Daily News*, where they were arrested. Over three hundred students were expelled from the university and escorted back to their home districts by police. By the end of May all but forty were allowed to return to the university provided they wrote a letter of apology to its vice-chancellor.

Over the last ten years Tanzania has often been seen as an alternative to the neo-colonial drift in most African countries. Nyerere's reputation has seemed almost untarnished. The policies of Ujamaa, an African socialism based not on class conflict but on the co-operation traditionally found in Africa, and Self-Reliance, have been spread as a new gospel. Unfortunately, true Ujamaa villages are as typical of Tanzania as the kibbutzim are of Israel.

The early populist ideology and its aims, enshrined in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and subsequent writings, have not been fulfilled. Tanzania is now receiving more aid than ever before. Seventy per cent of the development budget is now externally financed. All this aid comes from Western countries—Scandinavia, Britain, Germany, Canada and the USA (largely through the World Bank). The effect of this has been to reinforce the export-oriented structure of the economy. The production of cash crops such as cotton, coffee, cashew nuts and tobacco for consumption in Western countries has increased, and the production of basic food crops has declined.

The original Ujamaa villages policy produced little real change and gave way in 1973 to a programme of

'villagization', aided by the World Bank. Peasants were forcibly removed to non-existent villages. Old homes were destroyed and those who resisted were shot at by the militia. Villagization brought some benefit in terms of services such as shops, schools, health clinics and piped water. But the main effect has been to increase the power of the state, its 'experts' and entrepreneurs.

The state controls the buying and selling of crops, and creams off a large proportion of the final price. Prices paid to peasants for food crops have been going down, and there is massive unemployment in the countryside. As 95 per cent of the working population is involved in agriculture this is very serious.

'Decentralisation' planned by McKinseys, a US-based management consultants, has not led to a greater degree of decision-making at the local or even regional level. It has just added another layer of non-productive bureaucrats

For the small remaining industrial sector, there is little serious long term planning to set up a viable industrial base. Foreign aid has often introduced the wrong kind of factories, relying on heavy equipment that is difficult to maintain. One of the worst examples is a Canadian-financed automated bread factory which makes Tanzania more dependent on Canadian wheat.

Inflation is running at 20 to 30 per cent, and the minimum wages have remained at £19 per month since the beginning of 1975. The effect has been a real decline in the living standards. In protest workers have organised strikes and lockouts of managers. The official party policy, TANU Guidelines, published in 1971 called on workers to confront arrogant officials, and when in the following year groups of workers actually tried to put these words into practice, they were sacked and sent back to their home areas.

A few months ago, 1,000 workers were dismissed from Kiltex, a big textile mill, for going on strike for a few

hours. The government has made repeated calls for labour discipline and officials of the only trade union, NUTA, are appointed by the state.

So the state has slowly consolidated its managerial position in the economy, while real control still lies abroad. The party, TANU until last year and now merged with the ASP of Zanzibar to form the CCM or Revolutionary Party, originally had some kind of popular mass base but has now become just another branch of the state. The socialists in the party have been isolated and the right wing bureaucratic nationalists have taken control. There are still some people who sincerely believe in the socialist rhetoric, but generally it is used as a smoke-screen to hide the real issues.

Political repression has increased, and estimates suggest that there are over 1,000 political prisoners in Tanzania. But this figure also covers people held on corruption charges that could not be proven. Torture by the police and other agents of the state, especially in Zanzibar, have led to national scandals. The recent release of prisoners, while welcome, is largely a matter of enforced window dressing. It is unlikely to represent any real change in policy. The direction Tanzania is taking is often taken by default for lack of any clear decision; excesses only stop when there is wide protest.

In this situation, the student protests and demands, based as they are on Tanzania's official commitment to socialism, are very important. The expelled students were mainly ex-government and party officials who have had to give up a reasonable living wage for a small grant and very cramped accommodation. For once, the student demands have echoed the frustrations of the ordinary people, the villagers, the unemployed and the workers in the towns. The majority have now been allowed back because otherwise they could have become the focus of some real socialist opposition to the government and party.

The university has remained one of the few places in Tanzania where direct criticism of present policies could be developed and articulated. The strong-arm tactics used against students and others shocked many people but in the long run are more likely to give courage to those who want to rise in opposition and challenge the present order.



ETHIOPIA-DERGUE FALLS OUT WITH ITS CUBAN ALLIES

With the death of Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian empire began to disintegrate as its new military rulers—the Dergue—attempted to introduce socialism. The final straw for them was the war against Somalia in the Ogaden. They called in the Cubans and set off another wave of Western propaganda about the 'Soviet-Cuban threat'. Phil Kelly examines the biggest dilemma facing the Cubans. Should they fight in a war where both sides claim to be socialists?

The Cubans are so reluctant to get embroiled in the war in Eritrea in the same way as they fought in the Ogaden, that they may be losing some of what influence they had with Ethiopia's ruling military junta, the Dergue. The apparent failure of the Cuban attempt to set up a civilian 'mass party' to mobilise people behind the Dergue illustrates that Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam's regime is no-one's puppet. Although he has frequently described his regime as 'petty-bourgeois' and destined to be replaced by a more progressive social form, he has little time for the 'progressive' political groups which have supported his regime, and distrusts their leaders.

These political groups, the largest of which is the pro-Moscow Meison, learned their politics in the student and exile milieu of Europe and North America of the late sixties, returning when the army overthrew Haile Selassie in 1974.

So did the principal opposition group, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party. The EPRP has denounced the Dergue as 'fascist' ever since the overthrow of Selassie. Its militants and supporters were among the main victims of the Dergue's so-called 'red terror', which was at its height at the end of 1977 and the first two months of this year, but which has now, according to recent visitors, lost most of its previous ferocity.

The EPRP started the violence against the Dergue's supporters. The Dergue, aided by civilian militias created by the parties which support it, replied in kind. The EPRP killed perhaps 5,000; the Dergue and its supporters perhaps 15,000. Both sides agree that there is no political objection to terror; the question is whether bourgeois terror will win out over proletarian terror, and both sides claim to be implementing people's terror.

But the term proletariat is misleading in a country where there are less than 100,000

industrial workers. Indeed, the main part of the Dergue's political appeal—its land reform programme—has actually been aimed at the previously landless peasants. And there is no denying that the Dergue has started on real modernisation in what was one of Africa's most feudal countries.

Famine still exists—there have been reports of its reappearance in the area around the northern city of Wollo—but the Dergue's response has been to step up its aid to the region and not to mount a cover-up as the Selassie regime did. Despite



Ethiopian army on the march pic from Afrique-Asie

the 'red terror', fewer people have probably died at the hands of the Dergue than the Selassie regime allowed to starve each year.

The inability to solve the Eritrean conflict is in part due to Ethiopian internal politics. Any member of the Dergue who suggested concessions would, in the present atmosphere of revolutionary nationalism, lose their place on the Dergue or be shot by their fellow Dergue members. But Cuban advisers will not be seen leading the Ethiopian attack on Eritrean guerilla positions for several very good reasons.

The Cuban involvement in the war against the Somali invasion of the Ogaden was a much more justifiable affair internationally and internally. The Organisation for African Unity (OAU), of which Ethiopia is a member, was set up on the principle of accepting colonial borders,

and it was Somalia which transgressed this principle. Few Africans doubted this.

There seems also to be general consent that the Cuban-Soviet airlift which broke the sieges of Dire Dawa and Harar came after the Somali army was well bogged down. One journalist recently returned from Ethiopia told me that the Ethiopians would eventually have won anyway—though it would have taken much longer. The Cuban intervention was on the winning side, which it certainly would not be in Eritrea.

Western scares about the 'Cuban-Soviet threat to Africa' are meant for domestic consumption, much more than as a guide to real policy. The threat was certainly not so great that the US was prepared to lend any real aid to the Somalis. Massive permanent intervention by the Cubans or the US, on either side, would also run into the problem that the Somali army has been trained largely on Soviet equipment, the Ethiopians on American. It would take years for either side to convert.

The Eritreans are still divided, but after ten years of guerilla war, and because of the deep roots which the two liberation movements, the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) have created in their liberated areas, a strong desire for national independence makes the acceptance of any autonomy proposal unlikely.

At present the main ELF and EPLF support comes from the Arab world, mainly from the Saudis. And they have been refraining from escalating the weaponry at the guerillas' disposal—from small arms and portable rockets to artillery, for example.

But the Eritreans are not Saudi puppets. They have had Cuban support in the past. More recently the EPLF, the more left-wing of the Eritrean movements, has been allowed to reopen its office in South Yemen. The timing is hardly coincidental, as the South Yemenis have just withdrawn the troops they sent to fight in the Ogaden.

It serves the US well to stress the Cuban presence because it lends credibility to Western military efforts elsewhere, to protect the vicious and corrupt Mobutu regime, or the white minority governments which also guard Western interests in Southern Africa.



Letters

Censorship?

A sentence was cut from my article in your current issue. This referred to the so-called International Tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland as yet another evasion of political commitment by the British left by taking refuge in humanitarian concern. The sentence was short and therefore cannot have been cut for reasons of space.

I am surprised that *The Leveller* of all magazines should have resorted to censorship on Ireland although we are quite used to being cut and censored by left-wing papers who will only allow Irish organisations to say the things they want us to say. For those who, like myself, are fond of historical irony, there is a particular piquancy in the sight of these organisations coming to the 'defence' of *Republican News* when they have been censoring Republican views from their papers for years. I do hope that *The Leveller* is not going to join them, or has criticism of the International Tribunal become the left-wing equivalent of the sin against the Holy Spirit?

Jacqueline Kaye
Prisoners Aid Committee

The decision was made without proper discussion. We apologise.

Sectarianism*

I was amazed to read Myra Trevelyan's letter in April's *Leveller* accusing you of sectarianism because of your condemnation of the left parties.

What you are accused of sound to me as though it should be called anti-sectarianism, properly speaking, and as such is highly commendable. The socialist movement is after all a movement for greater independence, freedom and equality. The danger of sectarianism is that the sects, in putting their own bureaucratic interests first, seek to organise the working class in a fashion which completely negates these aims. The sin of sectarianism is not simply a matter of being in different sects, it is the crime of trying to take over control for your own outfit, suppressing all other initiatives.

Of these crimes IMG are abundantly guilty, along with all the other 'vanguards of the working class' from suburbia. Leaderist, elitist, vanguardist organisation is not what we need if we are to arrive at a democratic socialist society. To criticise those organisations is anti-sectarian, not sectarian. Keep it up.

John Roberts
Cardiff

Football

With regard to the article "Tackling Macho United" in June's *Leveller*, I thought it was a good article except for the last paragraph. To hold up the Olympics as an example against the World Cup is ridiculous. The Olympics too is "much more than a simple recreation... it [too] is a focus for national pride and a target for national aspiration". It, as much as the World Cup or Chinese sport, is a part of the achievement fetish of statism. The sort of sport there will be 'after the revolution' is the sort of sport you can see any summer's day in Kelvingrove Park—people, men, women, children, playing together; some with a ball, others with a frisbee, some jumping in the water fountain splashing each other, or whatever they feel like doing, together creating their own enjoyment.

One final point. The article mentions "the Chinese attitude to sport—summed up in the slogan friendship first, competition second...". This reminds me of the ancient Maoist proverb: "To control the masses, put slogans in command".

Brian Fleming
Glasgow

Dear Editor,
Please publish Sir Reginald's letter, it would make his day.
Thank you—Matron.

Write to: The Leveller
155a Drummond St
London NW1

Letters marked * have been cut

Materialism Still Rules OK?*

I suppose David March's *God's New Gear* article on the recent Mind and Body show (*The Leveller* 16) was pretty much what we've come to expect. It's very easy to run round an exhibition briefly, copy out bits of PR from loonies and capitalistically-inclined so-called mystics, and write an article round it. But does it represent an accurate view of the Festival itself, let alone this aspect of people's experience? I think not.

The Festival For Mind And Body has a lot of things wrong with it, this is undeniable. We can point without hesitation at many exhibitors who are the publicity end of a large, often US-based capitalistic 'consciousness industry' or at a bunch of total loonies like the Aetherius Society. But to suggest that these people comprise the total 'consciousness movement' is a typical oversimplification.

For some exhibitors at the Festival were neither loonies or capitalists, but ordinary people interested in making known certain areas of experience that don't fit in with class-based malevolent establishment views of technology.

Earth Energies is just one such area well represented at the Festival. Here we have a few people who have discovered something rather important: that ancient communities, in Britain and other parts of the world, were aware that certain forms of natural energy—probably Reich's 'Orgone' energy—contributed in quite a significant way to the fertility and growing potential of the land, and to human health. Harnessing this natural energy could, coupled with other energy sources like wind and the power of the sun, lead to the technological base for new non-exploitative social structures, if backed by a sound political awareness.

Whilst it is true that, in earlier cultures, this knowledge was closely tied in with what we'd now

call 'religion', it would be fairer and more constructive to conclude that 'religion' did not mean organised excuses for avoiding human rights on earth in favour of a better 'after-life', but a simple intuitive awareness of the way natural systems function, and how people can live in the world without trying to dominate everything, including each other. Hardly surprising, then, that such practices were driven underground by the organised, power-hungry Church.

Then there's alternative medicine: what better way to avoid doing damage to our bodies with drugs sold at massive profits by multinational industry? The techniques *do* work, in general, so why knock them, as conventional medicine does? And wholefood. Whilst it has become a new marketing ploy for advertisers, remember that apart from nourishing our bodies (which happens to be rather essential), wholefood has provided a sound co-operative base for new socio-political structures, particularly in the US.

It's true that what the 'metaphysical' movement lacks, in general, is a sound political base. All these new (and old) discoveries are without use unless they are taken in parallel with a political awareness. The danger is that we on the left will, by avoiding these areas, leave the field wide open for others of less freedom-orientated persuasion. It has been suggested that it was the left's inability to relate to the popular 'natural' movement in Germany between the wars—which had much in common with the present interest in metaphysics—that allowed the Fascists to move in and pick up massive support. And if the left once more refuses to admit to these areas of human experience and the movement is taken over once more—as is possible—it will only have itself to blame.

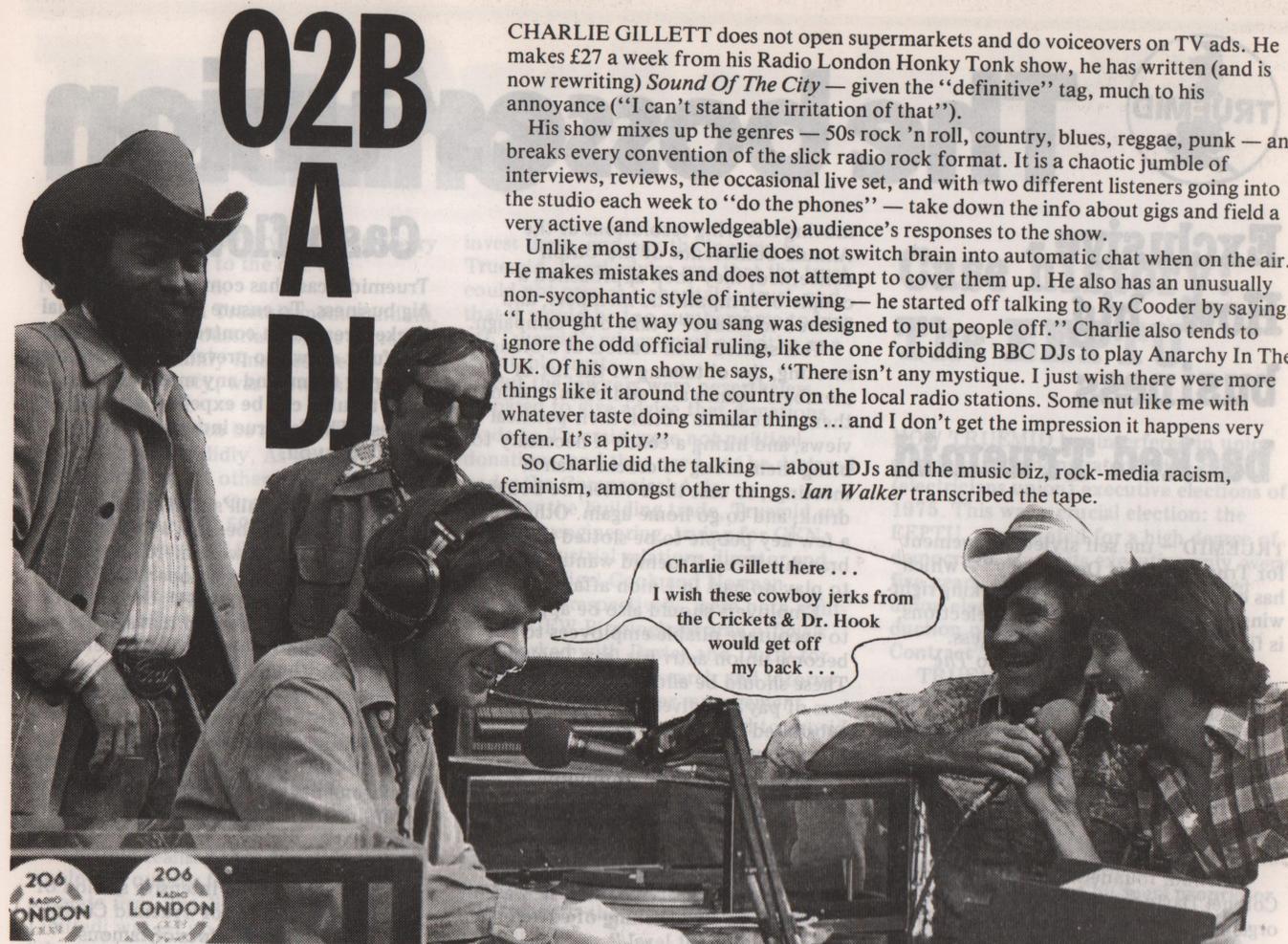
Richard Elen
London ECI

Abortion, God and Scotland

In her article on abortion and Scottish devolution (*The Leveller* 16) Carol Craig overestimates the power of the Roman Catholic Church and its adherents as a source of opposition to legal abortion in Scotland. Sixteen per cent of the population is not a high percentage and does not exceed the English nine per cent (also mostly working class) by much. But a point to make is that the leaders of the far larger Protestant Presbyterian Church are also strongly opposed to abortion. This is also the case in Northern Ireland, where both low-church Protestant and Catholic leaders are opposed to the introduction of the 1967 Act.

It is in England and Wales where the Catholics have built up a distinctive reputation for anti-abortionism, as compared with the milder but still hostile attitude of the Anglican Church, for example. In the other parts of the UK the Catholics should not be singled out as the only threat on this issue. But given the failure to turn

Tim Thompson
Bexhill-on-Sea



These days DJs have become bigger showbiz personalities than most of the artists whose records they play.

I have a very peculiar attitude... I think the DJ should be totally subordinate to the music, which is why I think I've never got on Radio 1.

So you've tried?

Yeah... given I've got this whatever position, I want more people to hear this music and then you can't avoid wanting to do it for more people. At Radio 1 they want the DJ to present himself as a personality and the music sort of contends with that.

Wanting to be on Radio 1 had nothing to do with wanting to be famous?

I don't think that can be quite true, but that's not the aim of it. I try and make this distinction with artists as well. I get really irritated with people who jump into music because they can see it's a way to get famous. For me, there's no authenticity in them. The ones I'm interested in are the ones who are doing it cos they just can't help it. They're just musicians, singers, or whatever. And particularly if I think they're not recognised properly. They're the people I go out to do what I can.

And you can do quite a lot.

Yeah, but as soon as they get on with Alan Freeman and the rest, it's a waste of time for me to go on playing the stuff. With The Darts it used to be good — one day they just came into the studio and did a set — but now they're on The Palladium. They don't need me and I suppose I don't need them.

What's your view of the development of the pop music station since the 60s?

Now it's all geared to the apathy of the listener. Radio has to reassure itself that people do

CHARLIE GILLETT does not open supermarkets and do voiceovers on TV ads. He makes £27 a week from his Radio London Honky Tonk show, he has written (and is now rewriting) *Sound Of The City* — given the "definitive" tag, much to his annoyance ("I can't stand the irritation of that").

His show mixes up the genres — 50s rock 'n roll, country, blues, reggae, punk — and breaks every convention of the slick radio rock format. It is a chaotic jumble of interviews, reviews, the occasional live set, and with two different listeners going into the studio each week to "do the phones" — take down the info about gigs and field a very active (and knowledgeable) audience's responses to the show.

Unlike most DJs, Charlie does not switch brain into automatic chat when on the air. He makes mistakes and does not attempt to cover them up. He also has an unusually non-sycophantic style of interviewing — he started off talking to Ry Cooder by saying, "I thought the way you sang was designed to put people off." Charlie also tends to ignore the odd official ruling, like the one forbidding BBC DJs to play Anarchy In The UK. Of his own show he says, "There isn't any mystique. I just wish there were more things like it around the country on the local radio stations. Some nut like me with whatever taste doing similar things... and I don't get the impression it happens very often. It's a pity."

So Charlie did the talking — about DJs and the music biz, rock-media racism, feminism, amongst other things. Ian Walker transcribed the tape.

actually buy what they play, so in conspiracy with the record companies will play a record for some weeks waiting for it to give a sign. Then if it hasn't given that sign in 6 weeks they think OK we've made a mistake, we'll take it off. Anybody listening to the radio all the time... must be a nightmare.

A radio playing music should be playing it for the people interested in music... whereas in the 60s the Yardbirds and the Who and everything were played as pop records now their equivalents are shuffled on to John Peel's show. Automatic Love by the Vibrators is in the Top 40 but is virtually unplayed on the radio. There's some records which the radio loves to play — mass radio play and no sales. The Vibrators are up there and how the hell?

Rock 'n roll journalists are liberals by and large, but the rock media is still covertly racist.

I wish Capital would play more reggae... they don't really acknowledge the tremendous Jamaican and West Indian culture and whatever there is in London. You could listen to Capital and just not realise that this is a very cosmopolitan city here.

I do think the media is very unconsciously prejudiced. NME and all those papers, I mean they consistently give a cover to some unheard-of new white group in a way that they just don't to black groups. But then again the black groups tend to veer towards showbiz. Hot Chocolate and the Real Thing are not singing about themselves very often.

So you make sure there is some racial/cultural balance in your show?

Sometimes I'm aware there's a lot of white ones and sometimes there's a lot of black ones. The only quota system I have on the show is that I make a point of playing five women's records every week... they're always the last gaps to fill

... the majority of women singers also tend to veer towards that showbiz thing.

Why did you introduce this quota system for women?

Somebody called in or wrote in, after the show had been going for a year and I think I'd just played two complete programmes without doing a record by a woman. What's going on here? I thought Jesus Christ...

Some feminists argue that rock 'n roll is inherently sexist — the aggressive rhythms, thumping bass — call it cock-rock.

I don't blame them. I often wonder what it is I like about 50s rock 'n roll. Guys like Jerry Lee Lewis were the forerunners of that very pro-male, women as servant-cum-I-don't know what. What I like is music with some kind of feminine element in it. Sham 69 I couldn't listen to. Graham Parker had a lot of that in him when he first started, but he's got too abrasive now.

When we were putting this band, The Oval Exiles, together we wanted a woman and we finally managed to get this woman keyboards player, who just wasn't the right style as it turned out... Good women musicians are very few and far between. We've had to surrender temporarily and we've got an all-bloke band. It's very bad.

I really liked that early punk band, the squatters band of a year or so ago.

The Derelicts?

That's it. I thought the lead singer, wow. Very good voice, casual non-sexist way of presenting herself, but that was attractive. It wasn't glam and it wasn't denying herself. Jam Today I liked a lot too the first time I saw them.

Catch Charlie Gillett on Sunday, 12.30 Radio London (206m. 94.9 VHF). Free plugs for all your gigs and benefits.



The bosses' union

Exclusive - How big business backed Truemid

TRUEMID — the self styled "Movement for True Industrial Democracy"— which has enjoyed some success in backing right-wing candidates in trade union elections, is financed entirely by big business.

Documents made available to *The Leveller* show that the City and big business were the only targets for Truemid's fundraising campaign, and that the organisation had considerable success with the same firms who cough up for Aims for Freedom and Enterprise, the National Association for Freedom, and other bosses' groups.

Truemid, founded three years ago by Colonel David Stirling and former AUEW organiser Syd Davies was conceived principally as a union election machine. Its aims are summed up in a November 1975 statement: "Management in both industry and commerce have a high stake in the fight: yet by their understanding of the rules of the game, they feel unable to enter the arena. This is nonsense. They have more right to be involved with the shaping of the unions than have the Communist Party or any extremist group. When all is said and done employer and trade union member are partners in work and have a close identity of interests."

Truemid published a detailed set of instructions on how to "take over" (their words) a union branch.

Identifying a branch which was

moving left-wing resolutions at the Annual Conference of the Union concerned, they then approached a couple of sympathetic members, and offered to finance a take-over campaign.

This started with leaflets at a branch meeting, the obtaining of the list of members' names and addresses, visiting them at home to obtain their political views, and hiring a coach if necessary to bring them along to crucial branch meetings, to cast their votes, be bought a drink, and to go home again. Other than a few key people to be slotted into branch offices, Truemid wants members to play no part in Union affairs.

Employers should also be approached, to encourage pliable employees to become union activists, say Truemid. These should be allowed time off without loss of pay and given free employer subsidised facilities to carry on their internal union politicking.

Similar tactics can be adopted in the election of shop stewards, using "our allies — lower management and moderate union officials. These two groups must be brought together to establish an 'identity of interest' which will result in a weakening of extremist influence at plant level."

But, say Truemid, such activity must commence "at boardroom level", "with so much at stake, management has a social obligation to help those who are fighting to restructure the unions as apolitical bodies."

Truemid intended to appoint district convenors who would act in liaison with local managements, keep them informed on trade union affairs, and organise regular contacts between workers and management.

All this was to be financed through donations from companies — 100 were thought enough to finance one district convenor.

elected after the Truemid campaign.

Famous CPSA reactionary Kate Losinska joined the Truemid Council at the same time. She then made an appeal to the Stock Exchange for funds for Truemid. Losinska has admitted Truemid gave money to her campaign, but claims it has been paid back.

Lawford and Co., as solicitors for the print union NATSOPA, had also been involved in channelling the proceeds from property sales that the *Sunday Times* has alleged had been stashed in Swiss bank accounts by former general secretary Richard (now Lord) Briginshaw. And the company acts as solicitors for the EEPTU.

If the Truemid donation was being channelled for another client, *The Leveller* would like to know who this was.

Cash flow

Truemid's cash has come entirely from big business. To ensure that the financial backers remain in control, the rules are carefully drawn to prevent members from changing them, and any member who gives trouble can be expelled without redress. That's "true industrial democracy" for you.

Winston Churchill's wartime aide-de-camp, John Ogier, became a key fundraiser. First targets were merchant banks and stock brokers, in an operation organised by Bryan Bassett, the Earl of Leicester's son-in-law and managing director of the Philip Hill Investment Trust. John Henderson, of Stock brokers Cazenove's, raised more than £10,000. But the City was intended to provide only "bridging finance". Truemid was to become "self supporting", with industrial managements in each district, of roughly a hundred firms, paying a "district convenor".

Ogier arranged an intensive session of fundraising lunches for Truemid Chairman Syd Davies, and lots of famous people passed the hat round. Three meetings with Sir Frank Taylor ensured Taylor Woodrow's support, and Sir Keith Joseph attended the lunch with him on March 1, 1977. Three meetings with representatives of Wates raised £15,000:

Davies ditched

Truemid's industrial relations practice — not so different from its theory, when you come to think of it — has been spotlighted by its being dragged to an industrial tribunal for unfair dismissal.

The plaintiff? Sydney Davies, co-founder and first chairman, who was sacked on July 19 last year. Theoretically, Davies "resigned" — but only after a lot of arm-twisting. When the case came up Truemid settled out-of-tribunal with £3,250 and a car.

Davies was one of a whole gang of right-wing AUEW officials in Birmingham, and the row that led to his sacking partly concerned the failure of the middle-class leaders in London to make good their pledges to provide sumptuous office premises for him in his Midland territory.

But more important was a row over the politics of Truemid's intervention in the AUEW, the union where it started. London wanted to support Terry Duffy for president, against Bob Wright. Davies knew Duffy, the Midland executive member, well, and also knew he was not fit to lead the country's second-biggest

machine

AUEW General Secretary candidate Terry Duffy came along to the one on November 17 1976.

According to a Truemid memorandum, British United Industrialists, the secretive group which mainly finances the Conservative Party, was "always safe for strong funding".

The City, first to be approached, coughed up splendidly. As well as Kleinwort Benson, other banks chipping in included Morgan Grenfell, £2,700; Baring Brothers, £2,592; Schoeder Wagg, £2,700; Hambros £2,620, and Barclays International £2,500. Stockbrokers among the donors were Mullens and Co., £1,080; Cazenoves, £432; Allen Harvey & Co., £1,080; Siggood Bishop, £432; Phillips and Drew £432; and Bain Dawes, £432. (These odd sums allow for the deduction of VAT at 8 percent).

Other contributors included Phoenix Assurance, headed by NAFF Chairman Lord De L'Isle, who gave £1,080, and far east traders John Swire for the same amount.

Truemid realised that direct donations would not qualify for tax relief. So a separate firm, Truline Publications Limited, was set up. This enables firms to take out a subscription to Truemid material, and to show it as a normal business expense — that is, paid out before tax rather than from profits after tax.

A trust, United Consultancy Trust, was set up to manage larger donations,

invest them, and pay the income to Truemid. Legal advice was that the trust could not pass as a charitable trust, and that it would be too cumbersome to hive off Truemid's educational activities as a charitable trust.

But the lawyers were nevertheless prepared to give advice that donations made to Truemid were not political donations, and thus need not be declared under the Companies' Acts.

After the building trade, Truemid set its cap at engineering, trying for GKN, whose industrial relations director and manager, Nigel Cook and Norman Cartwright respectively, were both right-wing AUEW Birmingham area officials, and worked with Davies and Duffy for IRIS — Industrial Research and Information Services, another management financed organisation intended to provide anti-left material.

Babcock and Wilcox, Fairfields, and even nationalised British Steel were approached. So were British Oxygen.

Success came with Bibby's, the Liverpool-based shipping and trading group, and with another Liverpool firm, Littlewood's, the pools and mail order company.

David Rowlands, Littlewood's personnel manager suggested that the personnel departments of larger firms in the North West could be asked if they would supply the names of "one or two influential shop stewards" to be approached.

Case history: The EEPTU

HOW TRUEMID has interfered in union elections is demonstrated in the EEPTU (electricians union) executive elections of 1975. This was a crucial election: the EEPTU, never noted for a high degree of democracy, elects its executive only every five years, and this was the first major union election after Labour's introduction of Phase One of the "Social Contract".

TRUEMID drew up a list of all candidates as a guide. Four of the right-wing candidates were described as "orthodox Labour Government supporters" who were "in acute danger". They were John Gaffney, Bernard Clarke, Eric Hammond and Bill Blair.

Who saw this list? One influential person, clearly, was right-wing former Labour MP and print business proprietor Woodrow Wyatt. In his column in the *Sunday Mirror* on November 23 1975, when the (postal) balloting was at its height, Wyatt listed the right-wing candidates and added: "In at least four of these seats the orthodox Labour government supporters are in acute danger."

The article also said, referring to the then recent AUEW elections: "The Communists and their allies complain that the Communist-supported candidates were defeated by a press campaign. What bilge!" What extraordinary bilge, from a person helping Truemid to run that very campaign.

A similar consistency of reasoning comes from EEPTU general secretary Frank Chappell. After two of his successful elections, in 1966 and 1976, he ran internal enquiries which found that left candidates had been supported by the Communist Party, against the union's rules.

The unsuccessful candidate in 1966 was Freddie Gore, chairman of the Heathrow Airport shop stewards committee. Gore was also a loser in the 1975 executive election. He says: "That was the dirtiest election I can remember. All the media were ganged up against us. I lost by 8,000 votes to 3,000. When I had fought Blair in 1970, I was beaten by only a few hundred. Of course the co-ordinated campaign against us had a terrific impact."

Frank Chappell attended a fund-raising lunch for Truemid on September 17 1976, with John Ogier and people from McAlpines the builders. Apparently it's against the union rules for left candidates to be supported by organisations outside the union, but OK for the right.



Writs

LAWFORD & CO., solicitors to the Civil and Public Servants Association, have threatened to sue *The Leveller* over the article on Truemid and the CPSA in the last issue. The company claims our suggestion that it was a backer of Truemid is libellous "because it implies that while acting for the CPSA it supported financially or otherwise an organisation which represented and was financed by employers".

We recognise that the £161.38 which Lawford and Co paid to Truemid on March 18 1977 could have been on behalf of a client. And we acknowledge that Lawford and Co only became solicitors for the CPSA in June 1977, being appointed by the right-wing executive

Why you can't buy

When there is no formal press censorship, there have to be other ways of ensuring that revolutionary material is either rendered harmless, or kept away from the mass of people who might make use of it. Many people are aware of the need to keep the press and broadcasting networks free from menacing facts or conclusions. Radical intellectuals like to concentrate on the ideological conditioning of media workers, just as media bosses like to construe often-irrelevant ideological motives in their trade union opponents.

Now ideology is a very fine thing, but without organisation it can lose its grip. Yet few people are bothered about the physical mechanisms through which material is filtered: the state-controlled retention of broadcasting in a few powerful hands... and the privately-controlled system of distributing newspapers and magazines.

Without access to readers and listeners, freedom of expression is not worth much. And while everyone pontificates on press freedom (for and against) the monopolists that control the wholesale periodical business are quietly and busily working to make sure it's meaningless.

The hated W H Smith, and the evil Scottish Calvinists, John Menzies, are up-front enough with their High Street doily emporia that happen also to market papers, books and mags.

But their real power lies behind the shop front. Together with the smaller Surridge Dawson (the Big Two and a Half) they control 57 per cent of newspaper and 61 per cent of magazine wholesaling in England and Wales. In Scotland Menzies (pronounced "Mingies") has 79 per cent of newspaper and 93 per cent of magazine wholesaling.

It is a complex and archaic system, periodical distribution. Papers and mags are despatched by publishers (nearly all in London) to a vast network of local wholesalers, who in turn take them round the newsagents. There are 410 of these wholesale "houses": the monopolists control 211 of them. Nationally, it doesn't look such a lot but what matters is that in many towns they have a complete monopoly.

There are 43 towns which are wholly controlled by W H Smith, 21 by Menzies, 20 by Surridge Dawson (plus others controlled by independents). But monopolisation extends even further, with the process known as "rationalisation".

Rationalisation, as anyone might guess, is not what it says. "Carve-up" is the term that seems to have eluded the trade, where there are competing wholesalers in an area, they draw boundaries and within them each, by the withdrawal of the others, takes all the trade. So far there have only been a handful of such agreements. But the wholesalers, armed now with the blessing of the Monopolies Commission, are keen to extend them, particularly in London, where there are dozens of wholesalers and distributors, and profits are the lowest in the country.

One such "rationalised" region is the West Midlands, now divided up between Smith and two local independents. And the Birmingham area, too, is one of those subject to a vertical monopoly covering the newsagents to which the wholesalers deliver. The *Birmingham Post and Mail* company, monopoly publishers of the only daily and weekly papers in the city, itself part-owned by the notorious Westminster Press group, wholly owns a huge chain of newsagents, Dillons, with 205 shops, two-thirds of them within the *Post and Mail* circulation area. Theoretically, management is completely autonomous, but a Dillons boss conceded: "There could be just the same conflicts of interest between the *Post and Mail* and us, as between wholesalers and retailers." Similar publisher-owned newsagent chains are festering in Liverpool, Wolverhampton, Bristol, Portsmouth, Peterborough, Bournemouth, and other towns.

These monopolists handle few alternative or left political publications. And when they do, it can limit the politics you can put in them. For a start, they insist on clearance from a libel lawyer. British law has a great regulator of radical publishing, that makes printers and publishers liable for damages, along with publishers.

Much has been made of *Socialist Challenge's* breakthrough in getting handled by Smith and Menzies. So far, a couple of minor changes have had to be made on the lawyer's insistence. If the lawyer blocked something really important, say *Socialist Challenge*, they would be prepared to lose a week's Smith sales (which are only around 300). But no-one can be sure that there isn't an insidious self-censorship at work, deep in the sub-conscious, all the time. The London alternative entertainments magazine *Time Out* has lost several weeks' sales through Smith, through the lawyers refusing approval. When left papers are taken, they somehow don't get displayed very prominently and sometimes they aren't displayed at all.

And Smith has, of course, unilaterally stopped handling *Gay News*, because its lawyers didn't like an article on paedophilia. It wasn't actionable: they just didn't like it.

The same thing has happened to *The Leveller*, not with Smith, but Surridge Dawson. At the end of last year *The Leveller's* distributors, the Publications Distribution Co-operative (PDC) came to a deal whereby local Surridge Dawson houses could handle *The Leveller*, *Undercurrents* and *Camerawork*, if local managers agreed. After two months *Undercurrents* ran a piece on home-grown dope. Surridge Dawson didn't like it. Again, there was no legal threat. But they cancelled the agreement, just like that, for all three papers.

Now if these monopolies were total, no-one would be able to buy left papers, or *Private Eye*, or radical comix and rock papers, or druggy papers, or porn for that matter, anywhere at all. Apart from the "respectable" high-circulation girlie mags, the traditional wholesalers won't handle much else. But alongside them has grown up a system that will.

Starting with *Private Eye* and the psychedelic papers of the sixties, there developed a network of what are called "distributors", which operate as an intermediate tertiary stage between publishers and wholesalers, taking copies from

The Leveller in Bury

publishers and delivering them to local wholesalers, or to certain retailers outside the traditional newsagencies, like radical bookshops. Theirs is a precarious existence, and dozens have gone down — even the business of the oldest and biggest, Moore Harness, has declined. Since the decline of the great alternative publishing boom of the sixties, *Oz*, *It* and so on, distributors become more dependent on porn, and now even that market is crashing.

The PDC is a distributor, committed to left titles, which means handling a vast range (100 periodicals, 500 books) of low-circulation material. By the monopolists' standards it couldn't be a viable business, and nor, by their standards will it ever be. But, even within capitalist systems, it is not impossible to distribute small-circulation radical material on the same basis as the capitalists' own filth.

In France, for instance, there is a state-sponsored operation, the NMPP, which, under law, has to handle any publication with a circulation of 6,000 or more. Now this doesn't work that well for the really small papers, some of whom print 6,000, just to get on the run, while selling far less. In Sweden — ah, Sweden, where everything dear to social democrats is so perfect — the state subsidised all publishers to help them distribute.

No-one's really advocated any such schemes for Britain, where the left parties dominate left paper production and can handle distribution through their own ranks, and the freax and independents have got their little distributors.

Certainly the Royal Commission on the Press, and now the Monopolies Commission, have blandly ignored any hint that the distribution monopolies splits press freedom from practice.

The Monopolies Commission report, indeed, ignored nearly everything, and concentrated on justifying the two restrictive practices set in the reference, which came from the Office of

Fair Trading. These concerned the practice of refusing to supply some new retailers with any publications, if existing businesses were likely to be undermined, and the participation in retailing by Smith and Menzies.

As a matter of fact, the first practice, of restricting the supply to certain newsagents, does protect capital's own minority publications, like *The Times* and *The Guardian*. A proliferation of newspaper selling points would help the down-market high circulation trash, which sell much more on "impulse", in non-newsagent outlets. If this business were creamed off, the specialist newsagents would lose some of their most lucrative business, and be unable to continue services like home delivery, which actually accounts for 80 per cent of the circulation of *The Times* and 75 per cent of *The Guardian*. But then those papers are important to capital; and it takes restrictive monopolies to protect the capitalist freedom of choice.

Real discrimination against radical expression in Britain isn't done through direct censorship or repression; for one thing, ideological control of the mass media is pretty safe. For another, repression is counter-productive. Left papers sued, or prosecuted, don't do badly out of it: look at the publicity for *The Leveller* and *Peace News*; bourgeois "news values" dictate that prosecutions have to be reported in the mass media, because they're good "stories", but the effect is to make people aware of radical voices, who weren't aware of them before.

No, it's done by the classical capitalist method: the allocation of resources. The economic reason why left papers will never sell 100,000 copies is that they will never have enough money to be able to get to the people who would buy them.

Tim Gopill

IDAF Publications — authoritative information on Southern Africa

- FORBIDDEN PASTURES, education 60p []**
under Apartheid
by Freda Troup (1976, 72pp illustrated)
"The book's prime strength is in its facts, dates and figures, incorporated in readable style." — *The Teacher*
- THE SUN WILL RISE 40p []**
edited by Mary Benson (revised edition 1976, 56pp illustrated)
The major court statements of imprisoned South African leaders.
- DIVIDE AND RULE 60p []**
by Barbara Rogers (1976, 88pp illustrated)
"The truth behind the policy of separate areas for the black majority is exposed in this paperback which should be read by all who seek to understand the ugly reality of apartheid." — *ASLEF Journal*
- A WINDOW ON SOWETO 80p []**
by Joyce Sikakane (1977, 80pp illustrated)
"The best book I have ever read about South Africa." — *Irish Times*
- THIS IS APARTHEID 20p []**
(1978, 34pp illustrated)
A pictorial introduction containing 50 photographs, a map and a concise yet comprehensive text.
- No 46—STEVE BIKO £1.50 []**
by Hilda Bernstein (1978, 156pp illustrated)
A full account of the inquest, which reveals the horrifying treatment accorded to South African political detainees.
- ZIMBABWE—THE FACTS ABOUT RHODESIA 60p []**
(1977, 76pp illustrated)
"This book is exactly what it says it is. Every subject is covered in detail, with authority, with clarity." — *Liberation*
- ZIMBABWE IN STRUGGLE £4.00 []**
An exhibition of 80 photographs displayed on 12 posters.
- AFRICAN WORKERS AND APARTHEID 50p []**
by David Davis (1978, 50pp)
"This closely-written booklet sets out the complex manner in which the net of the Bantu Labour system enmeshes the African worker." — *TASS News and Journal*
- FOCUS on Political Repression in Southern Africa**
Published 6 times a year, this news bulletin provides factual coverage of political trials and imprisonment, detentions, bannings and 'security' measures in the escalating conflict in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.
Subscriptions are for one calendar year. £3.00 []
(airmail) £5.00 []

If you would like one or more of the above publications, please complete the coupon and return to:
IDAF Publications, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1.
Please send me the titles ticked in boxes above.

I enclose remittance of

Name

Address



ABC worldwide

In three other countries trials have been staged, which bear uncanny resemblances to the Official Secrets Act trial of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell.

The defendants are political activists, state employees, and journalists. All faced charges similar to those brought against ABC — because they allegedly discussed matters relating to defence when they were not authorised to do so. Phil Kelly looks at the cases.

THE UNITED STATES

David Truong was a leading Vietnamese opponent of the US war in his country. His father, Truong Dinh Dzu, ran against President Thieu in South Vietnam's last elections in 1967 — he was later jailed by Thieu. David was well known as a source of accurate information about what was happening in South Vietnam.

He was arrested on January 31st this year along with Ronald Humphrey, an employee of the United States Information Agency. Both were convicted at the end of May of espionage, conspiracy and failing to register as agents of a foreign power — they both face life imprisonment.

Humphrey allegedly gave Truong classified government cables, mostly concerning US embassy assessments of reactions in South East Asian countries to current political events between May 1977 and their arrests. Truong passed these on to other Vietnamese who in turn passed them on to the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. According to evidence at the trial — from the Deputy Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency no less — the vital danger posed by the handing over of the cables was not the information they contained — routine economic and political information — but the fact that sources were identified. Diplomats from other countries, including Sweden and West Germany, were providing the Americans with information.

Thus the definition of "national security" was extended to cover any information in Government hands.

Ronald Humphrey's wife and children are Vietnamese and he wanted to help David Truong in his effort to speed reconciliation between their two countries, though there was never any question of a "deal" or exchange of documents for their release.

Truong was exposed by a woman who was a long standing agent of both the FBI and the CIA, who acted as one of his couriers. She was Dung My Krall, whose father had been a representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam in Moscow in the 60's. She was married to an American who worked for Naval Intelligence.

For some years both arms of the US secret police used Krall to spy on Vietnamese communities, both in the USA and in Europe. Her family ties gave her access to many places.

On being given the information by Truong she passed it to the FBI, who copied it before giving it back to her for transmission to the Vietnamese — apparently without any alterations or omissions — it was so unimportant.

This went on for eight months, during which time the FBI tapped David Truong's

phone, and later installed a bug in his flat. From this they found out that Truong was getting his information from "Ron", and then tailed Humphrey from Truong's flat to the USIA office, and later arranged for him to be watched by a video camera while at work — though he was not prevented from removing more information.

Solely on the evidence of an FBI officer, a grand jury formulated the charges against Truong and Humphrey. For good measure, they also named the Vietnamese ambassador to the United States, Dinh Ba Thi, whom Truong had met, and several Vietnamese based in Europe as unindicted co-conspirators. The Vietnamese diplomat was promptly declared persona non grata by the State Department, which later omitted to inform him that Truong's defence team had persuaded a judge to order that no action should be taken to make him leave the country. Dinh left, declaring the whole affair "a fabrication and a slander".

The political motives of the secret agencies in descending on Ronald Humphrey and David Truong need little imagining. A way of recovering some credibility after the revelations of their actions over the past few years; a warning to the Vietnamese community in the US that now their homeland is a communist country, they must sever contact with it; a warning to those in Government service who leak information that this will no longer be tolerated; an attempt by revanchists the security services to prevent "normalisation" of relations with Vietnam — in the same way that they prevented the normalisation of relations with Cuba and China because they hoped that they might eventually overthrow their revolutionary governments.

To the extent that any of these aims can be quantified, they have succeeded. Extensive FBI raids on American left-wingers and Vietnamese in the US followed the arrests of Truong and Humphrey. But Vietnamese were reluctant to discuss these fishing expeditions with defence lawyers.

As David Truong wrote from prison: "Although an individual case it symbolises the vendetta of the US Government against Americans and Vietnamese who opposed the war".

NORWAY

At the end of May, former Norwegian Army Major Svein Blindheim was sentenced to a suspended term of imprisonment. Two journalists and a researcher are still facing criminal charges, all for their activities in researching the secret use of their country as a base for US and NATO activities.

Blindheim was a member of the Norwegian forces which were trained by the CIA to infiltrate neutral Finland, and then the Soviet Union, in the 1950's. This has been widely published in various books on the CIA's activities. This was at the time that Norway was declaring to the world its relative neutrality and when the Norwegian parliament, and particularly the labour movement, had declared its reluctance to accede to the cold war in its full fury.

Blindheim was arrested because he and the researcher, Ivor Johannsen, talked to the two journalists about the secret use of Norway by the US. Johannsen had used mainly published sources to deduce that the number of defence

installations on Norwegian soil were too numerous to be of benefit to that country alone. In particular, they were clustered in the north of Norway, near the Soviet border, mainly in order to spy on the movements of Soviet nuclear submarines moving from the base at Murmansk. These bases were established despite the Norwegian Parliament and public being assured, time and time again, that no such facility would be created on their soil. While the Norwegian public thought that their country had adopted a relatively low profile stand within NATO, their politicians and secret services had colluded with the US to give Norway a front line importance.

The two journalists to whom Johannsen spoke, Jan Otto Hauge and Haakon Teigen, of the paper "Ny Tid" (New Times) were arrested. So Blindheim, with whom Johannsen had also spoken came forward, and was tried and sentenced.

ISRAEL

Panayiotis Paschalis and Hans Lebrecht were arrested in Israel in January. Paschalis is charged with having material which is damaging to Israel's national security, and with maintaining contacts with Palestinian organisations hostile to Israel. He is a Cypriot photo-journalist, who works for "Haravghi", the Cyprus Communist Party's daily paper, and also for Cyprus Television. He has met several times with members of various Palestinian organisations, both in Cyprus and allied countries.

The material which Paschalis is charged with possessing includes photographs, which he himself took of various public places in Israel. The prosecution alleged that these photographs, of the kind which could be taken by any tourist, could have been used by the Palestinian organisations to determine where to plant bombs.

The material which he is accused of collecting consists of documents such as the officially published "Statistical Abstract of Israel", available to anyone, and other government publications.

Hans Lebrecht, who fled to Israel from Nazi Germany in 1938, is a member of the central committee of the legal Israeli Communist Party, Rakah, and correspondent for communist papers in several western European countries. He is accused of aiding Paschalis by obtaining for him the publicly revealed information, and accompanying him as he took the photographs.

Lebrecht was released on bail earlier this year, but Paschalis has been in jail since the arrests. The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights commented: "The charges against Paschalis and Lebrecht involve the common professional courtesies and co-operation that exists between newspaper correspondents the world over, and especially between a visiting correspondent and a resident one."

All the above cases and ABC have one thing in common. The "crime" depends not on the secrecy of the information passed, not on the real danger to the nations concerned, but on the perception of the authorities of the combination of the information and the political leanings of those possessing it.

The attitudes of those possessing information become all important; we are witnessing the birth of international "thoughtcrime".

CARF

Correcting the comrades

WHEN THE first national anti-fascist conference for five years opened in London on June 3, people found themselves having to fight against sexism in the conference itself.

Women at the conference objected to the agenda, which gave too much time to male superstar speakers and the point was illustrated when Maurice Ludmer, editor of *Searchlight*, opposed them and proved how real men made speeches. They wanted workshop sessions so that everyone could get involved in discussions, but their alternative agenda was lost.

But the points were made later by speakers from Women Against Racism and Fascism, and the Gay Activist Alliance. The WARF speaker said she was reluctant to take the platform at all; she wanted to talk with people, not at them. Sexism, as well as racism, was at the core of fascism, and anti-racism had been pushed in the movement at the expense of feminism. The gay comrade criticised the "machismo play-acting" of anti-fascist men, and the dangerous attacks on Martin Webster for being gay.

He went on to claim that fascists do not divide the working class; rather, they organise around the divisions that already exist. He was answering assertions from Trotskyite group speakers that the only division in society was class.

There was also emphasis on understanding the roots of fascism in imperialism. Barney Moghtale, an exiled student from Soweto, called for international opposition to racism.

Of the "superstar" speakers, playwright David Edgar said anti-fascists had achieved much this year: taking to the streets had led to a big fall in fascist support, and it was the pushing of the anti-fascist committees over the last five years that had raised consciousness to the level now used by the Anti-Nazi League. The myth that "if we ignore them, they will go away" had been dispelled.

The conference decided to welcome and work with the ANL, to work towards a unified, democratic anti-fascist movement; to support black people in their struggle against racist and fascist oppression, on their own terms, and to support autonomous black groups; to oppose enforced sterilisation and abortion for black women, and to recognise sexism as an important component of fascism; and to elect a national co-ordinating committee from the conference.

Gerry Platt

PEACE PEOPLE

Punks meet Peace People

GREAT excitement there was the other weekend in Dublin. That travelling show, the Northern Ireland Peace People—yes they still exist—had taken a park in the south side of the city for a concert to persuade people to like each other.

It was drudging along, attracting all manner of religious loonies, with Mrs Betty Williams talking her usual irrelevancies, when what was described as a "punk band"—strenuous Leveller inquiries have not discovered its name—burst upon the scene and commandeered the stage.

The 600-odd people in the park were astonished as the band started shouting slogans around, threatened to burn down Leinster House (the Irish Parliament), threw Holy Water

into a nearby lake, burned the yellow Papal Vatican flag on the stage, and called ole Red Socks himself (*the Pope-Ed*) "a money-loving superstitious liar".

They certainly lived up with these eminently sensible suggestions and actions, but they were soon hassled away with an announcer declaring they were not part of the show, and that he certainly did not agree with burning the Vatican flag.

Mrs Williams remarked wittily; "God love them, they'll never be rock stars".

SHEFFIELD

Marxist lecturer faces the chop

A LECTURER at Sheffield University, Mike McColgan, is facing the sack for apparently not doing enough research work. What makes the case of particular interest is not just that for the first time ever "productivity requirements" are being applied to an academic job—but that McColgan is an active Marxist and the charges look distinctly manufactured.

He has been held at what is called the 'efficiency bar'—the point where lecturers are assessed on their abilities to teach and research—since 1971, and his salary has been accordingly held back. The University claim that McColgan has not obtained a higher research degree nor had two "scholarly" publications and indeed "has had an interval of some years since his last successful piece of research".

In fact since proceedings against McColgan began in earnest last December he has had two articles accepted for publication. But he also had a translation of some Political Writings by the Hungarian marxist philosopher Lukacs published in 1972. This work was dismissed by the university as a simple linguistic exercise.

"The case against me on research grounds just doesn't stand up, and there are so many other lecturers who have passed through the bar without doing as much research. The charge has got to be motivated by some kind of political malice," says McColgan.

McColgan has been very active in the campaign of overseas students against discriminating fees, a campaign which caused considerable annoyance to Sheffield University officials. He is very prominent in current anti-racist and anti-fascist campaigns in the university and the city.

Support in his fight has come from his union, ASTMS, who are bemused by a procedure that attempts to 'sack someone first and then ask questions after,' and from the majority of the students in the German department who are angry that McColgan's abilities as a well-respected teacher have been totally ignored.

POWELL AGAIN

Enoch sues the Stickies

ENOCH POWELL in his guise as a Northern Ireland Unionist MP has cut up rough against Des O'Hagan of Sinn Fein, the Workers' Party — the Official wing of the Republican Movement. Writs are flying through the Ulster air following a speech made by O'Hagan in which he made comparisons between Powell's anti-black speeches in Britain that created the atmosphere for racial violence and his anti-majority population words in Ireland which O'Hagan claimed equally set the scene for vicious

sectarian attacks.

O'Hagan further read out from Powell's writings of the past to paint an almost pro-Hitler fascist out of the sombre guru. Powell's solicitors have spluttered about the "extremely offensive, grossly defamatory and wholly unfounded allegations" they reckon O'Hagan made, and demanded a public apology.

This O'Hagan, currently elections officer for his party, has no intention of providing, and the Stickies intend fighting the case through the courts, setting up a defence fund in Britain through their offshoot Clann na Ehirann at 173 Lozells Road, Birmingham 19.

Usually a stickler for accuracy, Powell, or his solicitors, trod insensitively with their initial letter. It was sent to the Belfast offices of Provisional Sinn Fein. Nice one Enoch.

LIDDLE TOWERS

Death in police custody

MOST bizarre legal pairing of the month must have been Lord Gifford playing Number Two to QC Harry Woolf in the High Court application for a new inquest into the death of Liddle Towers. Woolf, who prosecuted ourselves and *Peace News*, was brought in by the DPP, while Gifford, who defended *Peace News*, was acting for the Defence Committee.

Meanwhile a Newcastle band, the Angelic Upstarts, has issued a single called 'Who killed Liddle Towers', a hard rocking number which spells out quite plainly that "the police killed Liddle Towers...beat him black and blue". Backed by "Police Oppression", the white label limited pressing of 1,000 copies sold out within a few days of going into the city's shops. Fact: according to Home Office statistics quoted in *Time Out*, 169 people have died in police custody over the last six years.



Carnival Against the Nazis 1978—The painting by East London artist Dan Jones of the day 80,000 people marched from Trafalgar Square to Victoria Park. The print is 22 inches deep and 15 inches wide.

£1 plus 20p postage from Carnival Print, Anti Nazi League, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2.

Death of a gun-toting



journalist - Many mourn

WHO CARES about the death of Lord Richard Cecil, 30 year old son of the Marquess of Salisbury, who was killed in Rhodesia in April? The people who turned up for his funeral and memorial services, a whole parade of the ruling class from which he came, and with whose interests he was so closely associated.

The dashing lord was shot dead by an unknown and unnamed African who lay flat in the grass and pulled the trigger from just seven yards on a white man in combat gear who came out of the bush, near the Mozambique border; he couldn't have known that the man he had just shot was the great, great grandson of the Third Marquess of Salisbury, the British Prime Minister who had given his name in 1890 to the capital of Rhodesia.

Cecil went to Rhodesia about two years ago as a "war correspondent" whose intimate contacts with the army and government allowed him to file informed stories for the *Times* and the *Telegraph*. He was supposedly working on a television documentary with freelance cameraman Nick Downey when he died. But he thought nothing of going into a war zone in camouflage gear and sometimes joining the fighting—the ultimate participating journalist.

From Eton and Oxford Cecil enrolled as an army cadet on a history and political philosophy course at Christ Church, he was rusticated after twice failing his preliminaries. He was commissioned into the Grenadier Guards and then into the Special Air Service, with whom he served in Northern Ireland.

He resigned from the Army because he wasn't allowed to torture suspects: he told a Belfast audience that: "I am advocating no more and no less than the methods used on hundreds of British Army officers in their resistance-to-interrogation training". He then stood as a Tory candidate, and following that failure took off for Rhodesia to become a propagandist for the white regime.

The funeral service took place on April 27 in one of the family seats at

Cranborne. The memorial service took place two weeks later at the Guards Chapel at Wellington Barracks. Among the hundreds who turned up for the services were:

His father and mother, the **Marquess and Marchioness of Salisbury**. The Marquess, an intimate friend of the Royal Family, has extensive business interests including two large farms in Rhodesia. A former Tory MP, he is now the President of the Monday Club and was a founder member of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society which, among other nefarious activities, pays the air-fares of former British soldiers wishing to serve in the Rhodesian Army.

Viscount Cranbourne, elder son of the Marquess and heir to his title and estates. He's 31 and married to the eldest daughter of **Colonel Bill Stirling**, Colonel David's brother and back-up man to Stirling's various mercenary exploits over the last 20 years.

Lord Paget of Northampton, the former Labour MP who was thrown out of the party for his uncompromising support of the Smith regime.

Leonard Thompson, official representative of the Rhodesian Government—at a funeral held in a country which isn't supposed to recognise the illegal regime.

Colonel David Stirling, founder of the Special Air Service, and provider of bodyguards for dubious rulers around the world.

Viscount Head of Throop. Former Colonel Commandant of the Special Air Service.

The Honourable James Ogilvy. Married to Princess Alexandra. "Businessman" and former director of sanctions-busting Lonrho. Ogilvy was burgled at his office at merchant bankers Samuel Montagu three years ago. The thief stole a file believed to contain embarrassing documents concerning Lonrho's sanction-busting activities. In charge of Fraud Squad enquiries into Lonrho at that time was Det. Chief Superintendent Kenneth Etheridge, now chief security adviser to Lonrho.

Viscount de L'Isle VC. Chairman of the Phoenix Assurance Company, former Tory MP and Junior Minister. Phoenix, which now has Sir Robert Mark on its board, has extensive interests in South Africa through Phoenix of South Africa and Century Insurance—which in turn owns the Rhodesian Century Insurance Company. Also chairman of the National Association for Freedom: one of their main supporters is Tate and Lyle which also has extensive sugar interests in Rhodesia.

Hugh Fraser MP. Former Tory Junior Minister for the Colonies and war-time SAS. Director of Sun Alliance Insurance—subsidiary: Protea Assurance of South Africa.

Lord and Lady Michael Fitzalan Howard, Marshall of the Diplomatic Corps at St. James' Palace. Background in the military—Palestine, Malaya, Egypt, NATO etc.—and in intelligence before coming home to command the Household Division—the Royal Family's own private army.

Mr and Mrs Julian Amery, Tory MP, former wartime SAS, South African 'hawk', who hosted Commons meeting recently for mercenary recruiter John Banks. Said of former RAF men flying with Rhodesian Air Force: "We have to be extremely careful before we stop volunteers going to fight abroad. Britain has a long and honourable tradition in this respect and the Labour Party used to be proud of such men."

Harold Macmillan and his son **Maurice Macmillan MP**, former SAS; **William Whitelaw MP**, Northern Ireland Secretary while Cecil was there; **Enoch Powell MP**.

The Hon. Michael Astor: Former editor of the *Observer*: when that paper received a story last year about a former SAS staff sergeant recruiting SAS men for Rhodesia, they not only spiked it, but gave the regiment a copy.

Stephen Hastings MP, another former war-time SAS and Tory right-wing back bencher, a profuse apologist for Rhodesia in the pages of the *Telegraph*. He was

joined by **Peregrine Worsthorne**, *Sunday Telegraph* columnist and NAFF council member.

And apart from **Sir Fitzroy-MacLean**, former SAS and former Tory MP; **Sir Brian Warren**, former SAS; and **Major R A Day**, who turned up with **Mrs Barbara Fellowes** of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society, the Regiment sent over their own official representative, **Captain Colyer**, to pay their last respects.

Lady Jane Wellesley, former friend of Prince Charles; **Lord Carrington**, former Tory Defence Minister; **Sir Charles Villiers** of the British Steel Corporation; **Lord Thorneycroft**, past chairman of the Conservatives; **Lord and Lady Harlech** and the **Duke and Duchess of Devonshire**.

Shortly after Cecil's death, the Rhodesian Foreign Minister, Pieter van der Byl eulogised that he was "one of the finest young men I have ever known. He had everything that made Britain great and built the British Empire."

Music

LAZY FASCIST

New anti-Nazi record by reggae group Phantom on Cool Ghoul Records (Music for the people by the people). From most reggae and punk shops. "If this song offends, then you are a fascist too!"

STAND TOGETHER

New songbook produced by the Hackney and Islington Music Workshop. Includes songs which take differing political positions—within the limits of socialism and feminism. The songs come from a number of different styles and traditions—pop, folk, reggae, punk. Among the songs in the book are: Buddy Can You Spare a Dime; Lewisham 1977; El Pueblo Unido Jamas Sera Vencido; Sing if you're Glad to be Gay; Close the gates. £1 from left bookshops.

OXY & THE MORONS

23rd June. Chat's Place, Chatsworth Rd, E5. Benefit for one-parent families.

ACME QUARTET

29th June—Band on the Wall, Swan St, Manchester. Also Gary Boyle/Kenny Shaw.
6th July—Bristol Musicians Co-op. Phone (0272) 559226 for information.
7th July—Beaford Centre, Beaford, Devon.

HACKNEY & ISLINGTON MUSIC WORKSHOP

The workshop is recommencing the monthly sing-songs on Friday June 23 at the Empress of Russia, 362 St John St, EC1 (Angel tube). 8pm. Admission free.

LONDON MUSICIANS COLLECTIVE

42 Gloucester Ave, London NW1.
23 June—Steve Beresford, David Toop, Peter Cusack, Terry Day + Derek Bailey.
24 June—As above but Fred Frith replaces Derek Bailey.
30 June—Both Hands Free (from Bristol).
2 July—LMC open general mtg. 2pm.

THE RESISTERS

1st July—SE1 Benefit (ring Waterloo Action Centre for details).

MIKE WESTBROOK BRASS BAND

4th-9th July. "Goose Sauce"—a musical cabaret. At the Open Space Theatre, Euston Rd, London NW1. 8pm.

BANDS AVAILABLE FOR BENEFITS

London
Charge—ring Dave, 800 4530.
Oxy + The Morons—ring Moggy, 249 3867.
Reading
Infra Red Helicopters—ring Ian, Crowthorne 4262, evenings and weekends.

LONDON CO-OP SINGERS CLUB

129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7. 01-263 1127/9
1st July Oliver Milligan, Sandra Kerr, Ron Elliott
8th July Peggy Seeger & Ewan MacColl
15th July Ewan MacColl & Peggy Seeger
22nd July Tam McCarthy, Sandra Kerr, Oliver Mulligan

WOMEN AND MUSIC

Saturday August 19, 2pm.
We want to set up a national women and music newsletter. Come, to join the collective, or to share your ideas, to the Women's Arts Alliance, off Albany St, London NW1 (tel 935 1841).
Creche. For further details contact: Rosie, 312b Westbourne Park Rd, W11, or call Alison or Terry, 485 2799.

The above listings were compiled with the help of *Musics* magazine and *Music for Socialism*. Socialist promoting gigs, RAR events, socialist musicians—let us have details of your next event for a free insertion by July 30.

Make Your Own . . .



Photo: Willy Guy

From eight on Friday 26th May to the dark hours of Wednesday 31st the Bristol Musicians Co-operative hosted a festival of people improvising music (or improvising musicians) from Luton, Leeds, Birmingham, London, Bristol and other places: a gathering large enough to be varied but small enough to be uncrowded. This six-day festival was titled (provocatively) 'Unpopular Music'.

Concerts in a first floor room of the Arts Centre in Kings Square and workshops, discussions, and general forming and reforming of playing groups in the large rooms and garden of Durham Park Free School. As Bank Holiday Monday morning became afternoon players went from house through

open sash windows to garden and back again. At one point while in one corner of the garden, a large group played various instruments including a double bass, flute and violin. I wandered into one of the empty rooms, sat down and soloed on a new (to me) drum set, sufficient in itself, facing water basins, Dr. Seuss books, kids' paintings, plastic blocks.

Picnic: At two or thereafter people headed for Durham Down, with an instrument apiece to encircle a tree and then walk outwards to the nearest edge of the common ('stop when you come to a road—or after 7½ minutes—then begin to walk back into the circle, playing the single instrument').

Talcott Belbin.

Improvised Music then is the music I-&I make ourselves, not another package of music (jazz? avant-garde? a hybrid?) about to take its place beside [File Under]: Rock, Reggae, Classical, for it is the category that is not packaged, in other words it is an activity not a commodity.

I play blues or rock or modern but I improvise music.

Another suggested name for this category is self-organised music, of which 'roots', punk, 'from the street', people's music, are only rhetorical synonyms. In a society where each (person, class, activity) has its place (everyone in their place) improvisation has no place except the next place, it is not a style for it styles endlessly.

In the selling/presentation of the music (it is already happening) places may (will?) be found for it (art, avant-garde, exotic) and the players become recognised, famous, packaged, but (the) music as it is played (when I-&I play, 'improvise', produce) breaks with this alienation—a break made with all of our present Way of Life. It breaks with it even if the player is playing only to the player (and not for that object of Revolution, the People).

It is the utopia beyond commodity exchange.

Bristol Musicians Co-op have produced a publication called *Unpopular Music* Price 50p (+15p&p) from BMC, 36 York Road, Montpelier, Bristol 6.

Agitprop

The *Leveller* intends to expand and improve the Agitprop section over the next few months, to make it an efficient national information service for the Left. In order to do this we need the co-operation of organisations who are holding events—protests, marches, festivals, conferences, benefits, public meetings, film shows etc etc. We also hope to be able to mention pamphlets, books, badges and posters relating to campaigns etc. Please send details of any such events or publications to *The Leveller* by July 3rd for inclusion in the next issue (preferably brief descriptions as below). Suitable small graphics, logos, cartoons to go with Agitprop entries would also be of great help.

BELFAST

Just Books, a new alternative bookshop in Belfast, will have more than just books. The collective plan an exhibition room, a library and more, but they need help. Contact them at Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast 1.

MANCHESTER

Manchester University Libertarian Socialists are planning a festival for October 14-15. For details: c/o 178 Waterloo Place, Manchester M13 9QQ.

PEOPLES NEWS SERVICE

is turning to print—more news and graphics—beginning No.150, July 4. Subscribe—PNS, 182 Upper St, London N1—or ask your local bookshop to stock it. Distributed by the PDC.

MAU MAU

A film of resistance to the British in Kenya. Benefit for the Free Ngugi Campaign, £2. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a writer, has been held in detention for 6 months already. Showing at 2pm Sun 16th July. Scala Cinema, nr. Goodge St. tube, London.

ADVERTISING

Feminists and Socialists who want to build a militant campaign against all aspects of commercial advertising, contact Vic at 01-699 1464.

RELEASE

POT

As part of the Legalise Cannabis Campaign, Release has published a pamphlet, 'Cannabis', which outlines the history, use and effects of the drug and the current legal situation. 15p (plus postage) from Release Publications Ltd, 1 Elgin Avenue, London W9.



POVERTY AND POWER

First issue out now with articles on Racism in NHS; Asian Women in Britain; Tobacco companies in the Third World; An Interview with the Eritrean Workers Association; Baby milk companies in the US; reviews and other news. 20p from bookshops or from War on Want, 467 Caledonian Road, London N7. Annual subscription £1.50 for 6 issues.

WOMEN V. NUKES

July 29 & 30

Women against Nuclear Power conference at Bradford University. Creche. Women and children must register before they come as there are a limited number of places. Cost—approx. £2. For registration details contact Sheryl Crown, 25 Northdale Rd, Frizinghall, Bradford 9, W Yorks.

IRELAND

All out to oppose recruitment to an army of occupation in the North of Ireland. There will be a poster display and distribution of appropriate leaflets (use ours or bring your own) outside the Earls Court Army Show on Saturday July 15. Please assemble at the Warwick Road entrance to Earls Court tube station at 12.00 noon. Supported by the All-London United Troops Out Movement and the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign.

DEATH SALES WEEK

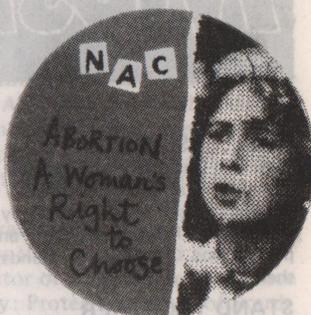
Campaign Against The Arms Trade is organising a week of action, 19-23 June to coincide with the British Army Equipment Exhibition at Aldershot. Activities include leafletting in Aldershot (Monday), and of companies and embassies of countries involved in the trade. Culminating in a demonstration, street theatre, leafletting at the Defence Sales Organisation, Soho Square, London. Details from CAAT, 5 Caledonian Rd, Kings Cross, London N1. Tel: (01-) 278 1976.

OUT OF THE GHETTO

My Youth in the East End: Communism and Fascism 1913-1939, by Joe Jacobs. Secretary of the Stepney branch of the CP at the time of 'Cable Street', later expelled, Joe became involved in the Trotskyist movement in the 60s and in revolutionary non-party politics in the 70s. His daughter and close friends took on the task of publishing the text Joe had been working on. This project is nearing completion and to help with the printing costs they are making a pre-publication offer on orders received before August. The reduced price is £1.75 including postage (for over 300 pages with photographs). Send to J Simon, 29 Troutbeck, Albany St, London NW1.

NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN

A new badge—"Abortion. A Woman's right to choose"—15p from National Abortion Campaign, 30 Camden Rd, London NW1.



LIBERTY HALL, LIVERPOOL

Every Sunday at 8pm at the Everyman Bistro, Hope Street. July 2—Experiences of Childcare, the joys and conflicts, ideals and reality. July 9—An Open Evening, all welcome. July 16—Liverpool: Fun City on the Dole. Are 'they' experimenting with population management in Liverpool? July 23—'Behind the Wire' Ireland 1974. The working class and the British Army in N.Ireland.

THIS IS APARTHEID

A pictorial introduction to South Africa for use in schools, colleges, and by the general public. 20p from International Defense and Aid Fund, 104 Newgate St, London EC1.

THE SPEAR OF THE NATION

Songs and Poems of National Liberation. A record by Mayibuye, the Cultural Unit of A.N.C. £4 inc. p&p from African National Congress, 28 Penton St, London N1.

PLEASE CAN I STOP BEING A TREE SOON?

How a group of men looked after 200 children at the 1977 WLM conference creche. This pamphlet, published by the Men's Free Press, offers logistical details for people who take on creche duty, and the thoughts and feelings of the men who did it in a big way. 40p from Publications Distribution Co-operative, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1 and better bookshops everywhere.

FREETOWN CHRISTIANIA

Introduces life in Christiania, Copenhagen. 50p from 'Self-Help Housing Resource Library', North London Polytechnic, 61 Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5.

KASSINGA

Support is desperately needed after the South African attack on the Namibian refugee camp in Kassinga. £10,000 must be raised by public collection by the end of July. Please send your contributions, large or small, to Namibia Support Committee (Kassinga Emergency Appeal), 21/25 Tabernacle Street, London E1. Cheques should be made payable to NSC Health Collective (Kassinga).

NATIONAL GAY SWITCHBOARDS CONFERENCE

An association may form, to be discussed at a further meeting in September. More information from Bristol Gay Switchboard: 0272-712621.

LONDON WORKERS GROUP

June 26, 8pm, Earl Russell pub, 2 St.Pancras Rd, NW1. Workers' Participation? A load of bullocks! Should we participate in the system or take over!

London Workers' Group Bulletin No.3. 12 pages—reports by postal and print workers. Articles about the Garners strike, Unemployment and working conditions. Free on request to independent militants, from Box W, 182 Upper St, London N1.

TOBACCO AND THE THIRD WORLD

Tomorrow's epidemic? An investigation of the impact the tobacco industry has had on the health and wealth of developing countries. £1.20 from War on Want, 467 Caledonian Road, London N7.

A DOCUMENT ON CHILE



Lloyds Bank

Photomontage by Peter Kennard, brought together with text by Ric Sissons at the Half Moon Gallery. Images of Chile before, during and after the Unidad Popular Government. Open—admission free—until July 5, Mon-Sat 11-6 at 27 Alie Street, London E1.

LESBIAN LINE (01-) 794 2942

Since last September, women have been able to ring up and be sure of speaking to another woman, for information or a chance to talk. Mon & Fri: 2-10pm Tues, Wed & Thurs: 7-10pm Or write, c/o BM Box 1514, London WC1V 6XX.

CARILA

Latin American Bookshop

BOOKS, MAGAZINES, NEWSPAPERS IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH

29 Islington Park St, London N1. Tel. 01-359-2270.

Nearest Tube: Highbury & Islington (Victoria Line)

JOB VACANCY

LAMBETH COMMUNITY LAW CENTRE

Worker required for Juvenile Unit to work in the field of juvenile rights including those at school. Emphasis on project and educational work. Lambeth-base person with relevant experience preferred. For job description and application form, write to Hilarie Clifford, Lambeth Community Law Centre, 506-508 Brixton Road, London SW9 8EN, or phone 733 4245. Closing date 30th June 1978.

Classifieds

BADGE DISTRIBUTORS: political, feminist, gay, ecological, music. We also make badges for political/community groups. Write to: York Community Bookshop, 73 Walmgate, York.

BROADSIDE Mobile Workers Theatre requires a versatile socialist actor and actress. Long term commitment. Write: 58 Holbein House, Holbein Place, London SW1 Tel. 01-450 6992/01-730 5396.

'Spur of the Moment', two-woman dance duo in "New Clear Energy", a dance documentary on nuclear energy + discussion 60p. Action Space Drill Hall, Chenies Street, London WC1. Thursday/Friday June 8/9, 1.15 pm. Part of dance/mime festival, and dance workshop related to the show, Friday 10.30 am.60p.

ASTROLOGER offers accurate personal birth chart and character analysis £6. To include 12-month or five-year future trends £9. Alternatively send for literature to: John Willmott, Knocklan, Bunessan, Mull, Argyll.

RED LADDER, a regionally based socialist theatre company run collectively, requires an administrator. Work ranges from office work, dealing with funding bodies, to speaking to people and at meetings about organising shows. Apply giving full details of political and work experience and reasons for wanting to join, to: Red Ladder Theatre Company, New Blackpool Lane, Cobden Ave, Leeds 12 5PB. Tel. 0532 792228.

SOCIALIST couple with 12 year old daughter wish to buy into, share rental on, communal house in London. Ring 0902 66815 (weekends only).

CANARY GIRLS and Stockpots. One woman's account of working class life in London from 1914 to 1939. "A triumph of description and a joy to read"—*Leveller*. Available from most left-wing bookshops. Signed copies from the author: Edith Hall, 1 Marlin Road, Luton LU4 0SH.

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.

I enclose £ for no. of issues.
Name
Address
Tel
Print your ad below in block capitals, one word in each box. Underline any words you require in caps.

7	
10	
13	
16	
19	
22	
25	
28	

Ms. H.H. of Newcastle, Staffs. writes: "There are a lot of things to cancel around here; church services, SPUC meetings, NF posters, petrol prices, Princess Anne's pregnancy—and on, and on."

CANCELLED

due to lack of popular support

You can get these stickers for just £1 for 150 (post paid) from MAAM, Box M, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1. Get some today!

THIS STICKER IS SUBVERSIVE !!

Theatre

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

Note: In the summer months most companies take a break for some weeks to rest and to rehearse new shows. They are back in full swing in the autumn.

COMMON STOCK

31 Fulham Palace Road, London SW1 (01-741 3086). Current show, *Muscles*, outdoor kids show based on stories the kids thought up themselves.

LONDON: July 1st. 2.30 White City Adventure Playground. 5.30 Fulham Palace Handicapped Playground.

LONDON: July 7th. 7.00 Kelmscott Gardens Tenants Association, W12.

LONDON: July 8th. 2.30 Arts Theatre, Newport Street, WC1. 5.00 The Penn Neighbourhood Festival, Freegrove Road, N7.

LONDON: July 9th. 2.30 Arts Theatre, Newport Street, WC1.

LONDON: July 11th. 2.00 Wormholt Library, W12.

LONDON: July 12th. 2.00 Charing Cross Hospital, Fulham.

LONDON: July 13th. 1.45 Fulham Palace Handicapped Playground.

LONDON: July 14th. 1.30 Addison School, W14. 5.00 The Harrow Club, Freston Road, W11.

LONDON: July 15th. 3.00 Whittington Park Festival, N19. 6.00 Bradmore Kids Workshop, W6.

LONDON: July 19th. 7.00 Ewen Hall, Wood Street, Barnet.

LONDON: July 20th. 2.15 Harwood School, SW6.

LONDON: July 21st. 2.30 Elizabeth Burgwin ESN School, W6.

LONDON: July 23rd. E1 Festival.

LONDON: July 24th-28th. Hammersmith Park, mornings and afternoons.

LONDON: July 31st. 10.00. Stop Gap Playscheme, SW3.

LONDON: August 1st. 11.00. Chelsea Adventure Playground, SW3.

COUNTERACT

27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1 (01-251 4977). On holiday and rehearsing. New shows, *Muck and Brass*, about ecology for touring in September, *Party Games*, about elections for touring in August. Also, *She Asked For It*, about rape and *Screwed*, about prisons, will be reappearing in the autumn.

COVENT GARDEN STREET THEATRE

1 Shelton Street, London WC1 (01-836 0617). Throughout the summer there will be shows, music and events at the Italian Garden, Central Market Piazza, Covent Garden. Lunchtimes 1-2. June 26th-30th. Zippo the Clown. July 3rd-7th. Riverside 5 Jazz Band.

July 10th-14th. Kaboodle perform *Klown Wars*.

July 17th-21st. THUD Theatre perform the *Black and White Mummies Show*.

July 24th-28th. Spur of the Moment, a dance duo, perform *New Clear Energy*.

July 31st-August 4th. London All Stars Steel Band

THEATREMOBILE (Burnley 29949).

Current show—*To Whom It May Concern—The Tragedy Of A Northern Mill*.

June 23rd-24th: Nelson and Colne College.

June 27th: Padiham Town Hall.

June 28th: Colne Road Methodist Church Hall, Burnley.

June 29th: Hapton Liberal Club.

June 30th: Cliviger Village Hall.

July 1st: Gracie Fields Theatre, Rochdale.

July 4th: Spinning Jenny, Accrington.

July 5th: Newton-in-Bowland Village Hall.

July 6th-8th: Oswaldtwistle Town Hall.

July 11th: Longridge Civic Centre.

July 12th: Whalley Adult Education Centre.

July 13th: Clitheroe Conservative Club.

July 14th: Chipping Village Hall.

July 14th: Chipping Village Hall.

MONSTROUS REGIMENT

190 Goswell Road, London EC1 (01-253 2172). Preparing for a new show in November, and a feminist cabaret on the lines of *Floorshow* for October.

FOCO NOVO

2 Nugent Terrace, London NW8 (01-289 3226). Holiday and rehearsing new show about Ireland for November.

COVENT GARDEN COMMUNITY THEATRE

1 Shelton Street, London WC1 (01-836 0617). Current show, *Fools Paradise*, a natural history of the fool.

LONDON: July 13th. Caxton House, 129 St John's Way, N19.

LONDON: July 14th. Jacksons Lane Community Centre, N6.

LONDON: July 20th. Tramshed, Woolwich New Road, SE18.

CAST

11c Cabell Street, London NW1 (01-402 6087). Current show, *Confessions of a Socialist*. From July until September having a break and rehearsing *What Happens Next?*, an anti-Nazi show set in the darkest hours of 1976 and relating, with dry humour, the problems encountered in one person's crusade against the Nazis.

AVON TOURING THEATRE

McArthur Warehouse, Gas Ferry Road, Bristol (0272 20247). Current shows, *Who Do You Think You Are?* about women in industry, and an updated version of *Measure for Measure*.

WARMINSTER: July 7th. Athenium Arts Centre. (*Who*).

BRISTOL: July 22nd. Afternoon—College Green Fair, evening—Worcester Gardens (a special one-off *Outdoor Show*).

RECREATION GROUND

(01-794 0957) Having tried all kinds of ways to get money out of the Arts Council and other institutions, the company is now looking for alternative sources of income. They may have to go part time until next year, doing one-off shows of their anti-fascist play, *A-F OK?*

SPECIAL HOLIDAY GUIDE

LAURIESTON; 11-18 August: Women's Arts Festival in Scotland, with films, theatre, dance, video, visual and performance arts, and so much more by women artists.

Women only—men allowed into day-time events, but not the big party. Sorry about that, fellas. Booking in advance please from Laurieston Hall, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland.

LONDON; 26 June-1 July: Roundhouse, Chalk Farm—Festival of New Music and Dance. This is all about combining dance and music in such a way as to accentuate the visual elements of performed music and to show the way contemporary choreography interprets modern music. Phew.

More info from amazing Rina Vergano at the Roundhouse.

BIRMINGHAM; 23-25 June: The annual Irish June Festival at Clock Lane, Solihull. Not overtly political, but all manner of Irish diversions, including an Open Air Concelebrated Mass on the Sunday, and one performer called Drowsy Maggie.

NORTH WEST SPANNER

The Drill Hall, Manchester Road, Mossley, Ashton-under-Lyme (061-881 7845). Current shows, *Safety First Or Last*, and *Out Of Control*.

BURY: June 23rd. 2.00 Boars Head, Ratlers (*Out*). 8.00

WALSALL: June 26th. BURY: June 23rd. 2.00 and 8.00 Boar's Head, Ratlers (*Out*).

WALSALL: June 26th. Education Development Centre, Wolverhampton Road (*Safety*).

TELFORD: June 27th. Elephant and Castle, Dawley (*Out*).

BIRMINGHAM: June 28th. UPW Social Club, Thorpe Street (*Out*).

COVENTRY: June 29th. 12.30 Chrysler Stoke Social Club (*Safety*)

SMETHWICK: June 29th. 8.00 Blue Gates (*Out*).

DUDLEY: June 30th. Smiling Man, Hall Street (*Out*).

LONDON: July 1st. North London Poly, NW5 (*Out*).

ALTRINCHAM: July 4th. Grange College (*Safety*).

MERSEYSIDE: July 8th. Burton Manor, Neston (*Out*).

SHEFFIELD: July 15th. Sorby Hall, University of Sheffield (*Out*).

7:84 (England)
31 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1 (01-253 4049). On holiday and rehearsing new show.

BELT AND BRACES
22 Vicars Road, London NW5 (01-485 2872). On holiday and rehearsing until September.

Free book offer

Ernest Callenbach

ECOTOPIA



A novel about ecology, people and politics in 1999

This month's freebie is a choice from recent Pluto Press titles: *Pulling a Fast One* by Roger Protz and *Ecotopia* by Ernest Callenbach.

Protz's book tells us what the six giant brewing companies have done to beer and to pubs. He analyses the companies and charts the course of the consumer revolt which was the Campaign for Real Ale. And in a supplement, *Beer Drinkers Handbook*, Protz provides a guide for real ale buffs.

Ecotopia is set in 1999. Will Weston, ace investigative reporter, is the first American to visit the breakaway state of Ecotopia, formerly a west coast state. Callenbach reconstructs social and personal relations in an attempt to work out what the future might look like. His book is in the anarchist and utopian tradition of William Morris.

Please make me a *Supporting/Ordinary* Subscriber.

I enclose a cheque for:

NAME

ADDRESS

BOOK CHOICE



What the brewers have done to your beer

Roger Protz

There are two kinds of subscription:

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

This democratic structure is one of the chief strengths of *The Leveller*. The extra subscription also gives us a secure financial basis and allows us to increase circulation and to make the magazine more effective.

Supporting Subscribers pay according to wages: those earning less than £2,500 pay £10; those earning more than that pay £20.

* **Ordinary Subscribers** pay £5 and receive a year's subscription. They do not own the magazine but are encouraged to contribute ideas and articles.

Institutional Subscriptions: £7.50
Foreign Subscriptions:
Ordinary Subscribers: 15 US dollars, or local equivalent.
Supporting Subscribers: 30 US dollars, or local equivalent.
Single copies abroad: Belgium-35 francs; Italy-70 lire; USA-1 dollar; France-5 francs; West Germany-3 deutschmarks; Denmark-4 krone; Canada-1 dollar; Sweden-4 krone.