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Tom Robinson at Carnival One. A scene from Newsreel's new anti-racist film,

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has just been published. The title was suggested to the author by that of a lecture given by Bernard Shaw, way back in the '90s to fellow Fabians, on the Impossibilities of Anarchism. The volume comprises thirty political articles grouped under four main headings - or Impossibilities: [1] Labour Party "Socialism" [2] Bevanism: or the Power Struggle [3] The Trades Unions: or the Dog that Wags the Labour Party Tail [4] The Means: Elections and Votecatching.

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Young Palestinians living under Israeli occupation - see pages 20 -23.

Cover illustration and other woodcuts (pp24-25) from The Patriots Progress by Henry Williamson, courtesy of Macdonald and Jane's Ltd, Publishers. CLASSIFIEDS

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Law-doggery

A LETTER to put your reporting of the case of the 6 anarchists on conspiracy and other charges in some sort of context. The coverage given so far has contained virtually no political analysis of what's going on, but has instead treated the case as a sort of sensational news item. Considering that the bourgeois and authoritarian left press (Socialist Worker, Socialist Challenge, Morning Star etc) have just ignored the case, it's all the more important that papers giving a reasonable coverage come to some understanding of the implications to the left in general arising from it.

Even calling it the "Persons Unknown case" degrades it. The support group took that name – it has nothing to do with the six defendants – to show that if, as the Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) claims, their crime is to be idealists who want to overthrow society or authority, then we're with them all the way.

These 6 people have been picked out for very special treatment – why?

The Leveller and the gutter press have both managed to remain equivocal about the issue of "guilt" and "innocence" in the context of police talk of explosions, terrorists, Baader Meinhof connection etc – all totally unsubstantiated. The point is not the legalistic one about guilt or otherwise. That's their terms. In terms of the left, these comrades are being treated to her majesty's attention – not in isolation but as part of a pattern of increasing political repression.

There's not space here to argue it fully, but there is a growing package of laws, squads, activities etc, that add up to a real threat to all of us, not just the anarchists. The conspiracy laws, The Prevention of Terrorism Act, Suppression of Terrorism Act, the recent European Convention on Terrorism, the Special Branch, the ATS – all political realities that we have to begin effectively organising against or face the consequences.

The case is not unconnected to what is going on elsewhere in Europe, in particular what has happened in Germany over the past few years. Nor unconnected with the ABC trial, the arrest of Anna Puttick (Astrid Proll), the generally heightened activities of the "political police", and the well-reported statements of David McNee.

The idea isn't to get you paranoid, but we better start fighting back now. Hopefully the support group for these 6 anarchists can not only support them, but be a part of setting that going. So less sensationalism about bombs and terrorists and armed police, and more political understanding and anger.

Persons Unknown support group, Box 123, 182 Upper Street, London N.1.

Prickly

The feature contained in your "Back Pages" concerning "The Generateon Game" made an interesting and valid point.

However, am I alone in finding the summary of a male gay as being someone who's "into other men's pricks" distinctly odd? I think that if one were to apply the equivalent phrase to heterosexuality it would be regarded as offensive despite the ironic undertones.

K C Craig Manchester

Three wise monkeys

MALCOLM CALDWELL is always good reading on South East Asia and his piece in your November issue is useful and informative. However he achieves the somewhat astonishing feat of writing a long article on the Vietnam-Kampuchea problems without once mentioning the Kampuchea government's extensive massacres of its own citizens.

I remember some years back being very moved by Caldwell's der inciations of the Indonesian massacres of the mid-60s and his contempt for the West's disinterest, which he rightly saw as implicitly racialist. We don't know how many people were killed in Indonesia or in Kampuchea, but it seems likely that the latter was bigger in per capita, if not in absolute, terms.

Now it is Caldwell's turn to emulate the three wise monkeys. He thinks we should tilt to Kampuchea in its dispute with Vietnam because "we have to be sensitive and responsive to the position of the guerillas now in armed struggle, and their number one priority points more and more unmistakeably to sympathy with Kampuchea".

This is rubbish. The number one priority is to find a government which is sensitive and responsive to the interests of its own people. The struggle is a means to that end. not an end in itself. Our attitude to Vietnam and Kampuchea should be mainly determined by what they are doing within their own frontiers. *Henry Brownrigg* London SW6 Ding-dong Bell

WHAT ON EARTH was all the agonizing in aid of? What stereotyped one-dimensional cartoon female ever said "Listen, you little turd" and bit the hand that proposed to feed her? And wouldn't we all have said "Well ... I don't know ..." if offered

£25 by a doorstep adman? Right on Steve; perhaps they'll print your next cartoon in the issue you complete it for. Rosy Leigh, Coventry

Talking-shop

IT IS FITTING that Ian Walker began his article on the forthcoming elections with a quote from George Bernard Shaw for his article (as well as the editorial introduction to the "interviews" with Ali, Ramelson and Holland) showed about as much political incisiveness as that thankfully-deceased bourgeois satirist possessed. The article was written with the complacent detachment of a trendier Auberon Waugh and would have been better off in Private Eye or even the Sunday Telegraph

The gist of Walker's clever-clever irony seemed to be that it doesn't matter who wins the elections ("... Meanwhile the new (or old) rulers are getting on with what we are told is 'the business of good government'... Life, rather miraculously, goes on much as before.")

For whom will life "go on much as before" if the Tories are elected? For Ian Walker, perhaps, but not for me and the other $1\frac{1}{2}$ million unemployed, who will all find our job prospects considerably worsened; nor for the hundreds of thousands of working men and women in "uncompetitive or over-manned enterprises" whom Thatcher and Joseph's monetarist policies would squeeze and rationalised out onto the dole queue, swelling our numbers to 2, 3, or even 5 million; nor would life be the same for the "immigrant" (*ie* coloured)

population, nor for the thousands of women who will seek abortions, etc, etc.

After the Tory Party conference can it be seriously held that "on basic economic strategy the Labour government and the Tory Party are of one mind"? And is it so sure that a newly-elected Labour majority – under pressure from a growing, through still muted, rank-and-file militancy in the unions—would reproduce the same reactionary policies that Callaghan's government has implemented?

That is certainly a possibility, but that is no reason for the left to stand by in an ironic detachment; rather we should struggle to pressurise the Labour and TU leaders into legislating and implementing progressive measures.

Quoting one of Marx's more silly (or at least short-sighted) generalisations, Ian Walker claims that parliament in simply a managing committee for the bourgeoisie. If this is so, why was that bourgeoisie (civil servants, media, bankers, etc.) so worried during the February-October 1974 Labour administration when many in the Labour Party were struggling for the implementation of the radical 1973 Manifesto? If the Labour left made a grave mistake in underestimating the need for the Benn/Holland proposals to be backed up with mass extra-parliamentary pressure, then the "revolutionary" left made an equally grave error in refusing to set up grass-roots campaigns to explain and agitate for those left proposals.

Parliament and general elections are not simply a sham which all "true revolutionaries" can afford to ignore or dismiss as a "game"; they constitute a crucial arena of political struggle in which certain limited advances can be won if co-ordinated with militant mass extra-parliamentary struggle.

The virtue of The Leveller has been that it has raised a number of crucial issues which the traditional organised left has tended to leave aside as "unpolitical". But beyond raising these issues, it is unclear to me what The Leveller has achieved in terms of advancing campaigns about them, or explaining them to anyone but their own "non-aligned revolutionary left". The great danger for The Leveller is that it may collapse into a talking-shop excelling in clever-clever irony, but weak in directed political action and engagement in the transformation of existing institutions and ideologies. I find "revolutionaries" who are sussed out on all the left/ alternative issues but are not actually doing anything no less frustrating than those within the organised left who dogmatically refuse to consider "alternative" issues as of anything but minor, secondary importance. Love,

Simon Reynell Sheffield

No nukes is good nukes

I FIND the attack on the antinuclear movement in the November issue both insulting and grossly ill considered Although I agree that there are grave contradictions in the arguments of the environmentalists (particularly over the problem of so called terrorism), the contradictions in the article are even graver. If the state constitutes the worst form of terrorism, do we allow it to develop a technology that will only strengthen its grip by increasing our dependence on it? No, we need sources of energy that can be controlled at a local level, not divorced from the understanding of the people, this is certainly not nuclear technology.

The list of Third World States developing nuclear power include most of the fascist dictatorships. Iran, Brazil, Argentina, Pakistan. and Zaire amongst them. Can anyone imagine these states developing this technology for the greater benefit of their people? It is only the institutionalized terrorists who control them who will gain through a consolidation of their highly centralized power When one looks at who supplies the technology, it is the so-called developed states such as France and West Germany, intent on creating new neo-colonialist empires; consider the example of West German interests in Shaba. Also South Africa is rapidly developing a nuclear capability from a civilian energy source; I am certain they do not have particularly peaceful intentions toward their neighbours.

The article also implies that all the people of the world should be brought up to levels of energy consumption of Northern Europe and the USA. The writer does not seem to think that people outside Northern Europe and America might not want to reach the same heights of degenerate mass consumerism. We live in overdeveloped states; equity can only come about by reducing our use of energy. It would be scientifically impossible to bring the rest of the world up to our levels.

Quigley also implies that the nuclear industry is a safe industry This is the image it likes to portray, yet we do not know what the long term effects of low level radiation will be. One can quote the US Atomic Energy Commissions attempt to cover up the failure of the safety mechanisms of the light water reactor. They had intended to build a thousand of these; if the anti-nuclear lobby had not been so well informed the problem of melt-down might have been far more real, and of course we do not know what successful cover-ups have taken place.

The discussion of alternative sources of energy was farcical. How can they be developed to perfection when the money available for research and development does not amount to a fraction of the billions spent on subsidizing the nuclear power industry, which is still nowhere near perfection, and has yet to show any return after 30 years?

The purile attacks on Friends of the Earth destroy any lingering threads of credibility that remain and are too pathetic to answer. I do not claim to have a great understanding of the complexities



of the nuclear power question, but what I do know is that I have viewed its implications over a number of years against my fundamental socialist beliefs and found them to be completely incompatible, leading to a massive increase in neo-colonialism in the Third World and an entrenchment of monopoly and state capitalism in the "developed". *Richard Trengrouse Birmingham*

JIM QUIGLEY ("Tilting at Windmills") seems overanxious to rehash the propaganda put out by BNFL and the UKAEA.

His cavalier treatment of safety is breathtaking. If a major accident were to occur it would take more than a little "mopping up" to deal with the tens of thousands of subsequent deaths.

He also apparently accepts the conventional wisdom that increased energy production leads to increased growth, whereas it is becoming clear that this depends entirely on the type of technology used to produce and use energy. The introduction of more efficient technology in industry has meant that less energy is required per unit output. With the right type of investment we could increase output further without increasing energy demand: indeed it may fall. And that does not mean frugality -that and unemployment are more likely to be the outcome if we opt for the very capital intensive nuclear option, which will starve investment in other industrial sectors and the public services, while creating fewer jobs than would be created if investment were directed to the more labour intensive and efficient options, such as combined heat and power and energy conservation.

Similarly for the third world: the last thing they need is a technology which will make them more technically and financially dependent on the west. Renewable alternative (e.g. solar) would be much more relevant for many third world countries—and also for the UK.

But Quigley dismisses alternative "renewable" technologies out of hand, referring to the technical difficulties—and yet, strangely, seems to believe that the technologist will be able to solve the surely much more daunting problems of nuclear safety, waste storage and so on.

Finally, he says that the campaign against nuclear power is not relevant for socialism. Surely any technology that continues the trend towards centralisation enables multinational conglomerates to dominate fuel supplies, outflanks coal miners and undermines hard won trade union rights on the grounds of "security" and does all this in order to maintain "civilisation as we know it" deserve a little more critical treatment. Dave Elliot Milton Keynes

Welshing on socialism

ROBERT GRIFFITHS always writes from his Welsh heart. Me and my ilk are "self proclaimed Leninists" (of the SWP), "arrogant English settlers" and, my favourite, from another Griffiths article, "deracinated intellectuals from the home counties". That may be the way to implement his desire to cooperate with all socialists but a more serious defect is his wishful thinking about Plaid Cymru: "a social democracy as yet untainted by betrayal and uncorrupted by its small taste of power'

In the last few weeks the Plaid majority on Rhymney Valley Council have prosecuted an eviction for rent arrears which (had we not intervened) would have dumped children in care in a clear attempt to bust the Homeless Persons Act. The eviction was carried out as a deliberate deterrent to rising rent arrears. The Homeless Persons Act is cited by Plaid as *causing* the rent arrears thus fostering the myth of the Act as a dodgers Charter.

Plaid councillors on the Taff-Ely Council sided with the Labour majority against a militant protest by Rhydfelin tenants against enormous electric heating costs in their council houses. During the debate, and before our protest occupation, the eleven Plaid members were literally indistinguishable from the Labour councillors.

I look forward to the day when good socialist Griffiths writes in the name of Plaid Cymru and not in his "personal capacity". Bob Dumbleton, South Wales Housing Action

ROBERT GRIFFITHS obv.ously lives in and writes of South Wales. (The Leveller 19, "Welsh Socialism"), because his talk of a "socialist" Plaid Cymru with a "growing Marxist wing" that will "challenge the design of capitalism" would cause apoplexy among the teacher/shopkeeper middle class elite that form the nucleus of PC support up here. It's difficult enough to get them to recognise the promises made in the 74 Manifesto, (worker participation, worker control. nationalisation). Honestly Mr G Dafydd Wigley, our MP, (and formerly an industrial economist, whatever that is), would blanch at reading your article.

Plaid support up here is based on one thing – the language, and any thing that puts the language first has their support, regardless of what other measure is sacrificed. Politics, if it comes any where, is very much bottom of the list and socialist politics in particular would be the first to go to the wall and no regrets.

It's a grim picture up here and I hope Mr G can do something to influence the situation in favour of what he writes, but it's going to be a long struggle and I wish him well.

Enclosed is a cutting from our local paper, the Caernarfon and Denbigh Herald, reporting the local Labour Party candidate. I sent it for two reasons. One, to show that our Labour man reads The Leveller (there's hope yet!) and two, he quotes a national press report of Plaid's attempts to link with a Fascist group. I hope this is not one of the "socially progressive National and regional movements of which Mr G writes.

Explanations Mr G please. Derek Smith, Gwynedd.

thinking. extreme In it, Mr Griffiths, in a personal capacity. the Nationalist week, by Labour candidate said that there was a Growing prospective Labour candidate said that there was a entry itself was from entry itself was Speaking at a contstituency a. "On the other hand", t that it was only a few Hughes continued, months ago that a report ap committee the ideological elements said us of an attempt by Plad Cymru Hughes written by Rothe extremist a to forge links with 'Volksunie', Griffiths, a research o European ith the Nationalist party, but hished in a left-wing of a that an article, rather nasty see Derek Smith's letter Fascist group" and published in a terown magazine, "The Leveller", was a worrying example of current a

Ongoing situationism

MORE of anarchism and situationism!

Not because we have something to learn from them by a (liberal) "dialogue", but because they ask questions of marxism (and if you like, social democracy) that the latter has not adequately answered by not including them in its practice; questions of behaviour, psychology, and the production of culture.

If these are neglected (in the ways that they are NOT neglected by anarchism and situationism) the triumphant alternative could be a new Stalinism.

That's all folks. Frankie Sauvage London

State Repression EUROGODS DOSE as anti-terrorists

UNDER THE COVER of "fighting terrorism", the police forces of the nine Common Market countries are being welded into an effecient secret police apparatus combining the resources and expertise of national police forces and security services. In various countries, including the UK, the law is being changed to allow them to get on with it. Phil Kelly reports.

Within the EEC, things have moved very fast over the past three years. In December 1975 in Paris, the Prime Ministers of the Nine agreed to co-operate in anti-terrorist moves. The suggestion seems to have come from Harold Wilson, but it had been preceded by a great deal of pressure from West Germany. The framework for this, on a political level, was to be regular meetings of the nine Interior Ministers, which began in June 1976. Developments were set in train which moved on apace when Britain occupied the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in the first half of 1977; this meant that Merlyn Rees, fresh from his experience in northern Ireland, chaired the meetings.

The basic decision taken by the Interior Ministers was to



allow the police, security services, and civil servants to get on with it without disturbance from elected politicians. The professionals decided on four areas of direct agency-to-agency discussion: information exchange on terrorism and ways of dealing with terrorist incidents; specialist working groups to establish common procedures in such areas as forensic science, computers, and communications equipment; exchange of * personnel between countries; and examination of co-operation over necessary measures for civil aviation to make it "terrorist-proof".

Merlyn Rees told parliament in November 1977 that there were "constant discussions and exchange of information". In the same month, the directors of the police academies of the major EEC countries met at the Police College at Bramshill to discuss training techniques for anti-terrorist activities. The following month, an Anglo-German agreement made available specialists from the SAS and the West German GSG-9 unit, the unit of the para-military border police which carried out the Mogadishu rescue, for training other countries' forces in antiterrorist moves. The SAS and members of various West German security organisations participated in the highly unsuccessful hunt for kidnapped Italian politician Aldo Moro.

However, Rees and his junior minister at the Home Office, Lord Harris (formerly Roy Jenkins' press officer) have on several occasions admitted that co-operation now extends well beyond terrorist groups. In June 1977, Rees told the Commons that the information exchange would cover "terrorist and subversive" groups. This definition he redefinited further in November last year to include the activities of "known and potential terrorist and subversive groups". Several attempts have been made by MPs to elicit whether legal political organisations like trade unions and socialist groups are "potentially subversive groups". Rees has responded, effectively, by saying that he may not know much about politics, but he knows a terrorist when he sees one, and he makes the decisions.

Judging from the practice of the British agencies involved,

political activity, she was branded a "terrorist" and imprisoned for three years in solitary confinement – including 4¹/₂ months in the white, silent "sensory depriva-

befriended know her as a vulnerknown by everyone as a capable and practical person who gave and gained strength and solidarity out

held as a top priority prisoner in women in a men's prison, where all association is monitored. She

the Special Branch and MI5, any socialist is likely to find her or himself included within the scope of the information exchange. "Subverson" as used by Rees on the orders of the Home Office civil servants, covers any kind of opposition to the status quo which aims at fundamental social change or challenges the existing order, by whatever means.

The continuing exchange of information and personnel between the European security services is designed to overcome the national differences which might be a barrier to effective communication, in the same way in which the regular Army-Police manoeuvres at Heathrow are designed to allow police at all levels to familiarise themselves with operations jointly carried out by the Army. The desired situation is where a Special Branch officer can lift the phone in London and speak directly to an agent of the German Federal Criminal Office in Wiesbaden, and is familiar with the sort of information and assistance which other agencies can provide.

Co-operation also serves to refine techniques. The West Germans were probably over-reliant on computers for checking on their subversives. Their major error was to input too much information, which led to an unselective output. A shake-up in the Federal Criminal Office in October, after it was revealed that agents had failed to arrest three prominent suspected terrorists, has resulted in a move to something closer to the British system of selective surveillance, and the blending of police officers and a greater use of informants.

The legal framework for this co-operation is now in force: the European Convention on Terrorism, which has been signed by seventeen of the nineteen nations of the council of Europe - most western european nations with the exception of Malta and Ireland. In essence, it denies that certain violent acts can ever have political justification. It requires that all the signing nations should either bring to trial or extradite offenders alleged to have been involved with aircraft hi-jacking; kidnapping, or the use of automatic weapons. The convention provides for a second category of offences, including violence only directed at property such as sit-ins, in which the signing

advisers alone and is constantly under the surveillance of two women warders. She is moved from cell to cell and searched frequently.

With all this, and the media's fixation with her supposed past association with the so-called Baader-Meinhof group, it seems hardly possible for her to get a fair hearing – a suspicion that is confirmed by the theatrical paraphernalia of armed police, TV cameras and roof-top snipers which surround the court at Bow Street.

Helga Einsels, governess of Frankfurt prison at the time Astrid was held there, said on the Tonight TV programme that Astrid was clearly no longer connected with any terrorist circles, had only been on the edge of them anyway, and should be allowed to stay in Britain: an attitude which contrasts sharply with the approach of Rudolph Russell, the West German government's representative at the extradition hearings, who opposed her application for bail. He said she is connected with a "tightly knit group" who could help her flee to the Middle East or South America. This is nothing but fantasy.

Despite Russell's allegations, Astrid did not in fact "escape" from West Germany, but left several months after being released from custody on the grounds

of ill health (an independent medical specialist gave evidence at the time that she was on the point of complete circulatory collapse which could be fatal).

In fact Astrid had good legal grounds for opposing extradition because her marriage to a British citizen gives her the automatic right to British citizenship. However, an Order in Council was rushed through on October 2nd to amend the Extradition Treaty This now reads, the British Government "shall not be obliged to surrender" one of its own citizens, thus making it a matter of discretion.

The general paranoia that has surrounded the case has made it difficult for the Friends of Astrid Proll (FAP) to find an office or meeting place that would be prepared to have us. But we can be contacted at: FAP, c/o PO Box 174, Whitechapel Post Office, Whitechapel Road, London E1.

Uemonstrate

FAP have organised pickets outside Bow Street Magistrate's Court, London WC1, at 10am each Tuesday. There is an exhibition and posters available and FAP can also provide speakers for meetings. A demonstration is being planned. If you want to start your own support group please contact FAP first.

state could, if it wished, ignore the provisions of the Conven tion.

When the Convention was enacted into British law, as the Suppression of Terrorism Act, which came into force in October this year, this second category was collapsed into the most serious category. Other countries have enacted the provisions with qualifying clauses and references to the need for actions to be in accord with basic constitutional guarantees of human and civil rights. The Act represents a significant break in the British tradition of granting asylum to political offenders. It has also meant that provisions of other agreements, such as that of the Anglo-German extradition treaty, have been modified to fit in with it. This is the significance of the Order in Council in October which changed the law to allow the Government to decide if it wishes to extradite a British citizen accused of terrorist activities in another country. This is in line with the convention's requirements.

The Convention, and the Suppression of Terrorism Act, provide the legal framework for the practice of the security services. When a French court found that West German lawyer Klaus Croissant had a case to answer on charges of organising terrorism, the security services spirited him over the border without waiting for an appeal. Philip Agee received similar treatment from the French without even a court hearing, and the Dutch admitted that there had been cooperation between their security service and the British when Agee was thrown out of Holland. All this required no Conventions or new laws. The practice of co-operation is long established, and is daily more refined. The legal changes are merely the cosmetic to cover the ugly reality. By political decisions, the security services and police forces of Europe have been told to get on with the task of hunting down the left and the politicians will turn a blind eye and remove the obstacles which lie in their path.

(Much of the above information comes from State Research which is available from 9 Poland Street, London W1 at £3 for a year's subscription, six issues.)

Police delays on Persons Unknown

THE POLICE case against the six. anarchists accused of conspiring to cause explosions is now proceeding so slowly that even the Magistrate has started asking them when they think they'll be ready. So desperate have police become to find supporting evidence that they have taken to breaking into the vans of members of the support committee in a desperate seach for names and addresses.

It's nearly six months since the original arrests of Ronan Bennett and Iris Mills yet it's doubtful if committal proceedings will start much before December. And after that it will be several months before, the trial – estimates now put it at somewhere near September '79. And that will have meant 18 months as a Category A prisoner for those unfortunate enough to have their bail applications turned down.

At the remand hearing at Lambeth Magistrates Court on November 2, Magistrate David Prys-Jones asked police whether they "were getting any nearer to fixing a final date for the commital?" On hearing that the

papers were with the Director of Public Prosecutions, he commented that the remands "seem to have been going on for rather a long time".

A week earlier Iris Mills had at last been granted bail after five months in the all-male Brixton prison. Bail conditions were stringent - night-time curfew and $\pounds 10,000$ in sureties – yet the sum of police evidence arrayed against her seems weak for so much hard work by the Anti-Terrorist Squad. It still apparently amounts to two cans of weedkiller and allegedly stolen air pistol and target rifle: other items, made much of in earlier remands, amounted to perfectly ordinary bags of domestic flour and sugar.

The raids and harassment of support committee members, which stopped at the end of July, seem to have started up again. One support committee member was followed by police after he left a recent meeting: while he went in for a coffee at a friend's house, the van was broken into and pages of addresses torn out of his diary. Evidently the police still haven't got enough to go on.

Ford strike UK workers are cheapest in Europe

WORKERS WITH Ford UK are always being told that their laziness and strike-happiness are jeopardising the whole operation. Bill Ridgers shows that the truth is that Ford is profiting handsomely from cheap labour in Britain.

NO DOUBT the present strike has sent Henry Ford II stomping around his luxurious office in Dearborn, Michigan, threatening to close down the whole damn operation. That was his attitude during the last dispute at Fords seven years ago. He flew in to call everything made in Britain "junk" and promised that he would not invest another cent here.

Ford never pulled out. In fact it's now clear that Ford wasn't that worried about its U.K. operations. Confidential company records, now in the possession of Counter Information Services, reveal that around 1970, in spite of the publicity, Ford's U.K. workers were considered by the company to be no less productive than their European counterparts.

All the strong talk and the continuous defamation of the U.K. worker appears little more than a smokescreen for the build up of Ford operations across Europe. Now with government's begging for Ford's favours and the U.K. car worker the lowest paid in Europe, everyone's a loser except for the Ford Motor Company. Ford U.K. has been the springboard for a huge multi-national expansion. It's no accident that Ford, the

"most global of global corporations" should have been the quickest to spot the opportunities involved in the Europe-wide manufacture of vehicles. A European market meant European production — a safer spread of operations, dual sourcing, huge economies of scale and the opportunity to play one workforce or one government off against another.

In 1968 Ford Werke in Germany was a small unprofitable operation. In France there was nothing. By 1974 Ford's operations in Germany and France were thriving, highly profitable operations, and a massive investment was taking place in Spain. The British press blamed U.K. workers for the loss of this investment.

In fact there is considerable evidence to show that Ford of Europe was built up on the back of the success of Ford's U.K. The Transit, for example, was and is one of Ford's most successful ranges. It was developed and originally built only in the U.K. It sold everywhere. Ford decided to assemble it in Germany as well. The benefits to Ford Werke were considerable as they did not have to meet the cost of research and development, the lines had





IT SEEMS the government, upset by the success of the striking Firemen in claiming social security, was determined it wouldn't happen again.

In the Fords strike, Dagenham workers were instructed not to go to their local DHSS offices, but instead to send all claims by post to 5, Elthorne Rd, London N19.

This is a building previously unused by the DHSS. And though the setting up of special assessment centres (ostensibly to take the strain off local offices) has been practised before, 5 Elthorne Road is unusual because of the effective barricade of silence which surrounds it. Strikers who have turned up there have not been admitted; phone calls are not answered.

This means single childless claimants can't get the "emergency payments" they may well be legally entitled to, only married men with families will

receive anything.

Though this is obviously a well planned political move by the government - to lower strikers' morale - little or no action has been taken against it by the Dagenham Strike Committee. No-one on the left seems prepared to meet it with the kind of collective action they would use against other forms of victimisation. No Strike Claims Sub-committee has been set up - though various

Claimants' Unions have offered their support.

It is obviously difficult to get a group of strikers together to present a mass claim at a local DHSS office (which refuse to handle claims). In a vast plant like Dagenham, most workers do not live (or know if they live) in the same area as their workmates. But there's no other way this new DHSS tactic will be reversed.

been already planned and all production difficulties had been sorted out. Even the cost of tooling up was shared by the U.K. Similar benefits accrued to Ford of Germany with the Cortina (Taunus) in 1970. Four years later, production of the Granada and Capri were shifted lock, stock and barrel to Germany. The growth was meteoric and in little more than half a decade Ford of Europe was established.

With none of the restrictions imposed on national car companies, Ford was free to invest across Europe. Huge markets could be serviced most profitably by production at one or two sources. The new automated technology demanded high volume production — the more Ford could produce from one machine the lower the unit cost.

It now makes no sense to talk of Ford U.K. in isolation from its European context. All the policy making management decisions, admits U.K. chairman, Sir Terence Beckett, are taken in a European framework: "European integration of production and management programmes is absolutely fundamental to Ford in this country."

Europeanisation has found its best expression in the Fiesta, the first all new, all-European car, designed, engineered and produced for a single continental market. The car is made in quantities which allows the full utilisation of equipment. The Valencia plant in Spain was set up specifically to build Fiestas -250,000 a year, plus 400,000 engines to go in the cars assembled at Dagenham and Saarlouis. A single plant in Bordeaux assembles the front wheel drive axles and gear boxes. A beefed up version of the Fiesta goes to the States, perhaps the first step in a programme of global production. "World integration will certainly happen" says the U.K. chairman, "a lot quicker than at one time seemed likely".

Profits generated in Britain have been withdrawn as cash and equipment. The press and politicians' display of recrimination has played right into Ford's hands. Even the U.K. car workers could be forgiven for thinking that they had thrown away their jobs.

Ford would be the last to correct this impression. Those whacking profits say more about integration than words ever will. But as long as threats work, Henry Ford and his cohorts will use them.

Inside the company, a different picture emerges. The documents give a detailed breakdown of production costs on cars produced throughout Ford-Europe. Taking into account stoppages, productivity differences, wage differences and so on, labour costs in the U.K. for each car produced are lower than anywhere else in Europe. For example, labour costs on a Fiesta assembled and sold in Britain are \$374, while for the same car produced in Germany they are \$488. A similar picture emerges for the Escort and the Cortina. In spite of the notorious reputation of Ford's U.K. workers, Labour costs per car produced are actually less.

Ford actually forfeits \$800 on each Cortina made in Germany that it imports to the U.K. When you know that Ford imports one third of the vehicles that it sells in the U.K., you have some indication of the price Henry Ford is willing to pay for European wide production. It's a very different picture of Ford U.K. to the one you find in the press.

Surveillance How they really tap your phone

IF YOU HEAR clicking on your phone, it doesn't mean it's tapped. In a reply to our article on phonetapping (Leveller 15), an anonymous PO worker tells us how it's really done.

SECURITY chiefs must be splitting their sides with laughter at Dorothy Jones' article on phone tapping. In an age of micro-electronic surveillance it reads like a WW2 comic strip fantasy. Or was it naivety? Fellow GPO 'tecs may have seen the funny side except—some of us are as concerned about this invasion of privacy as you are.

Telephone tapping is no longer done at local exchange level; the exchange technicians might know a friend is under surveilance, and tell him. Men with headphones hiding behind the telephone exchange went out with the last war; they simply aren't necessary today.

Telephone calls are now routed from the automatic exchanges (PAX) onto the national microwave link network, a series of towers whose giant parabolic aerials transmit thousands of telephone calls simultaneously to any part of the country. The GPO Tower is a part of this link. Over long distances your calls do not travel along wires but are transmitted on a series of narrow radio beams. Also along the same beams

PO Tower near High Wycombe

are carried defence, early warning, and telemetry data to be intercepted and decoded at points along the transmission path.

It seems likely, then, that without local GPO knowledge at engineers' level, certain calls from the many thousands being transmitted can be intercepted by the special surveillance centres, believed to be at Chelsea Barracks in London, and Menwith Hill, Harrogate in the North. The call could be handed to GCHQ Cheltenham (or Chicksands USAF security analysts).

The monitoring of a phone does not involve several people listening as tapes will record while speech activates the tape, many hours of call time can be coded onto one tape. A surveillance operator can select passages from several calls.

The idea of connecting a light bulb across the phone line and lifting the receiver to see if it is tapped is fantasy, it has no basis in telephone principles. What will it prove? The bulb impedance will offer a line loop to the 1st pre-selector in the exchange. Replacing it with the bulk connected will do nothing else at all.

The biggest myth held by people who do not understand telephony is that clicks and burrs on the line (known as squeaks and farts in the trade) means the line is being tapped. Modern surveillance techniques are far too advanced to actually make an audible connection with the line.

What are the clicks? Your call is passing across hundreds of relays and selector contacts, which collect dust particles and oxidisation from the atmosphere. This causes minute breaks in electrical continuity-the familiar clicks. A large force of engineers are employed on exchange maintenance cleaning and replacing contacts. Maintenance on a selector, while a call is going through, plays havoc with the line.

Telephone operators would never ring a phone and say "sorry wrong number" to check if you are available

before tapping the line. All the Birmingham exchanges I worked at are "gossip shops", full of local girls and no security or intelligence officer would operate within a hundred miles of them.

If your phone has been "bugged" internally (as opposed to tapped elsewhere) it may be by an intelligence officer posing as a GPO engineer, but more likely by a private security organisation. These "bugs" are less than 1/4 inch square and come from America. A colleague found one in the phone of a chemical company research lab. They are almost impossible to find without a Field Effect Signal Meter. Also they do not affect the line supply voltage. There is a regulator circuit in the phone to hold the line voltage constant (see circuits). This should dispell your light bulb fantasy.

Induction coils and infinity transmitters are old hat. Electronics has come a long way since then. An idea that you could use the test call back number followed by your own number to see if the phone is tapped is mythology too. With modern electronics there is no way of finding out.

As for your phone at the

The GPO Tower in Birmingham





office taking a long time for dialing tone, on old over-loaded exchanges—and that means most-there will be times when the first pre-selector levels will be engaged and the selectors must "hunt" 2nd and 3rd levels, etc., until it finds a free line, and can give you a dial tone. Nothing sinister about that!

How can modern surveillance eavesdrop your office then? They may well be in a vehicle parked a mile or so away with a laser focussed on the window (it's invisible), which will pick up even a wrist watch ticking inside the room. Your voice frequency is absorbed by dust particles and glass molecules, which modulates the beam, and room conversation is recorded inside the vehicle.

So that nothing is missed coded messages coming in by phone for instance, GCHQ at Cheltenham could collate and decipher your telephone calls from any part of the country via an interception station.

I am sorry but you seem to have got it wrong in your last article, even the local police can't be trusted with phone tapping, let alone ordinary GPO staff. What's more some of them read magazines like The Leveller!

EGA Eviction

More than 20 people, including three families, were evicted by bailiffs from the Elizabeth Garret Anderson Maternity Home in London in November 6. In a statement he carried with him in the raid, A.J. Davison, the South Camden Health District services manager, said that the buildings had suffered from vandalism and the families would be rehoused. But, when asked if he could point to an example of vandalism. Mr Davison could only claim that the lead had been stolen

from the roof. The squatters said an attempt had been made by others to steal the lead but the squatters had repulsed them.

No accomodation was provided for the single squatters. The squat began three years ago. The building is an outlying part of the hospital the women's movement has fought to keep open.

The Health Authority wants to develop the site in conjunction with a housing association, no doubt at rents the squatters could not afford.



of prisons, and thousands upon thousands of laws, but there is no social order, no social peace. GEORGE JACKSON

THE POST-WAR high prison population of around 43,000 is made up of a few hundred violent villains, murderers and so on — and thousands of misfits, drunks, young tearaways, druggies and dissidents, perverts and petty thieves. The problems these people face, inside and out - humiliation, brutality, and just getting generally pushed around - are lightyears away from the kind of 'problems' perceived by the Home Secretary in setting up his 'wide-ranging' enquiry.

Under pressure from the Prison Officers Association and the Governors, Rees has agreed to this way of acceding to their demands, and in a few months/ years time we'll have a report setting out how higher pay for screws and more and more expensive, tightersecurity nicks will solve all the problems.

Well, it might not work. In the past couple of years some prisoners have started to organise their rebellions against prison repression. Rees' solutions won't stop them. There will be prison riots that get out of hand, and he'll have to send the troops in, and people will get killed, and . . . Mr Rees, former Northern Ireland secretary, might just get the feeling he's been there before.

In this series of articles, The Leveller starts an examination of what we see as the real problems. The articles, produced in co-operation with activists in PROP, the National Prisoners Movement, will be followed up in future issues.

We start with an account of the state of prisoners' rebellion since the Hull riot by Mike Jenkins of PROP. We look at the use of psychotropic drugs, the source of the riot at Gartree in October, and examine the increasingly powerful role of the medical officer as the liquid cosh takes over from the wooden one. We compare the cushy life of the middle-class con in the open nick; and Mike Fitzgerald of the Open University shows how prison education isn't what it's cracked up to be.

SHOUTTFROM THE ROOFIOP

THE RIOT at Hull prison in August/September 1976, demonstrated just how powerful a force prisoners can be when struggling together. The Prison Authorities discovered that the role of victim was one that prisoners would not always play. The carefully constructed apparatus designed to cajole and intimidate cons into quietly accepting their fate was smashed in moments

Many would argue that those few days meant nothing, proved nothing and changed nothing. But they did. The prisoners only gave up their positions after assurances that certain matters would be investigated. (That the Prison Authorities never admitted publicly that they were responsible does not matter since no-one would really expect them to.) The Army had to be called into restore confidence and add strength to the totally demoralised and beaten screws. Prisoners read in their files the lies that the Prison Authorities have to resort to in order to justify their degrading role in depriving them of their freedom.

In beating up and abusing prisoners after the riot the screws showed the extent of their own impotence and fear at what had happened.

The prisoners were systematically stripped, beaten, degraded, made to drink a concoction of tea and urine, smeared and splattered with food, made to sleep in cells without mattresses and blankets and inches deep in piss, refused the use of the toilet, segregated for as long as 18 months afterwards and relieved of as much as 810 days remission (the equivalent of a 4 year sentence passed by a court). They were dispersed around the country's prisons, so all the screws got their share of the action and families found it difficult to visit.

There were inquiries afterwards since the British are good at those.

A local MP, John Prescott, investigated how such an event could have appened without showing any understanding of imprisonment and the role of prisons. He simply compared the official statistics under different governors and reached the conclusion that a change in the governor had been responsible. There were recommendations, for instance: . the reconstruction of the Hull prison roof should not be with material such as slates which can be easily used as missiles" and "... the government should reconsider its policy on public expenditure cuts as related to the effect on prison accommodation". In other words, "Let's have more prisons and make them riotproof."

The Home Office had their own inquiry conducted by an ex-prison governor. He approached both screws and cons to give evidence but the latter were warned that any accusations against an officer would be "investigated" and if found to be "false" would be dealt with as an offence. So, if you said you were beaten up by a screw but couldh't prove it (and other prisoners are not acceptable witnesses) then you would lose even

more remission. The objectivity of this three months before his appeal against inquiry was clear in its report: the conviction for the Guildford bombings. smashing of the cells by the prisoners is (See The Leveller 8). described as an "orgy of destruction" while Jake Prescott, jailed for allegedly being the brutalisation of the prisoners by the part of the so-called "Angry Brigade" screws is described as "an excess of zeal". conspiracy and one of the better known PROP held a public inquiry in London. Hull prisoners, has suffered similar con-Evidence was invited from everyone but ditions in nearly all the prisons he has was only forthcoming from prisoners, been shuttled through since the riot (and their families and a number of people that numbers nine). attached to the prison such as social These special cells are closely modelled workers and teachers. The inquiry on the actual control unit cells though revealed the horrific brutality, pinpointed they are not housed in a special, totally the causes of the riot and gave a proper self-contained block but are a separate and impartial airing to what had taken part of the already established segregation place. The fact that the Prison Authorities block. They are small, painted white and and the screws refused to present their without furniture. There is just a concrete side of the story at a public inquiry shows platform for a bed and a fixed seat; how much they had to hide. The Home bedding is only allowed in at night and Office, through threats, stifled any contact with other prisoners is prevented. coverage by the national press. The The cons exercise singly for just half an respectable national papers attended hour and meals are delivered, cold, on a throughout but nothing appeared. tray, to the door. There was also a policy investigation, Hull was a victory for another reason focussed on the brutality by the screws and not on the riot itself, and for once it too. It provided the first, most effective was taken seriously. It led to 12 screws challenge to the Boards of Visitors as a and one Assistant Governor being comquasi-judicial body answerable to no-one. (see last issue). mitted for trial, but after the charade of Hull was the first physically violent the Birmingham trial where all the screws and destructive demonstration against the were acquitted, it would not be surprising reactionary attitude of prison authorities. if none of them were found guilty.

But what if they are? They will be no more than scapegoats for the prison authorities, who will argue that it was the excesses of a few overzealous officers that led to more than 200 prisoners being



beaten up, and not the institutional brutality of the system.

It doesn't end there. The success of the Hull riot and the introduction of Irish Prisoners of War into English jails has led to the Home Office reintroducing control unit techniques without using the emotive title. Control Units were to have been set up in Wormwood Scrubs and Wakefield in 1974 but following the opening of Wakefield, a public campaign led to their closure. Since Hull and the induction of the Irish, special sections of ordinary segregation blocks have been constructed and control unit techniques are being practised to break prisoners. A prisoner named Tony Keegan was put in one at Durham prison. Brendan Dowd was placed in one in Strangeways Prison for

It was not caused by overcrowding (every prisoner had his own cell) or lack of spending, or any of the other malaises that Rees' enquiry is going to probe. And it won't be the last.



Doctor Death" was the cry of prisoners in B Wing during the occupation of Gartree Prison, Leicestershire, early in October. "Death" is the soubriquet of Doctor Peter Smith, the prison's chief medical officer.

It always takes a while for information to come out of prisons, but it's now possible to piece together what happened at Gartree (see The Leveller 20).

Michael Blake, a 23-yearold lifer, had arrived from Winson Green local prison in

The medical officer rules in top security prisons as mind bending drugs take over from beatings as the main instrument of control. Tim Gopsill describes what happened at Gartree, and lists the main drugs used.

his native Birmingham, eight weeks before. By all accounts Blake is a cheerful kind of person, and it was the change in his demeanour brought on by Smith's "treatment" that precipitated the occupation. As a newcomer, Blake

didn't know the first rule of life in Gartree: you don't report sick. Prisoners who



THE PSYCHOTROPIC drugs used so widely in the dispersal prisons are known as phenylazines; their main use is in mental hospitals, for treating schizophrenia. Their acceptability in this context is a matter of debate among psychiatrists, but their properties of relaxing muscles, numbing reactions, and general debilitation are recognised as useful.

Unless nearly three-quarters

of inmates in dispersal prisons

are schizophrenics (by whatever definition) there could be no medical justification for the use of phenylazines. The Home Office have now been forced to admit-following leaks of the confidential Prison Medical Journal to the pressthat the drugs are used purely for control.

The drug concerned in the Prison Medical Journal article was depixol, manufactured by the Danish company, Lundbeck. Its advantage is its



report sick are troublemakers, and Smith treats them as such.

Blake had a stomach ache and sought treatment, which was to be straightjacketed and given a massive dose of Phentazine, which reduced him to a state of shuffling apathy.

There is something else

long-lasting effect. One injection can subdue a body for three or four weeks.

Other main phenylazines are Chlorpromazine (brand name Largactyl, made by May and Baker, of Dagenham), perphenazine (brand name Phentazine, made by Allen and Hanbury), and Sterazine, made by the US firm, Smith Klein and French. Administration is normally in syrup-injections are only used when prisoners refuse.

about Michael Blake that hasn't been reported in the straight press: he is black. Two hundred and thirty : mostly-white prisoners combined to fight for a black. As Geoff Coggan of PROP says: "It's laudable that journalists should not mention the colour of a person unless it's relevant, but somehow I have the feeling that if Blake had thumped a warder, the fact that he was black would suddenly have become relevant."

In their first statement on October 5, the Home Office said Blake had tried to commit suicide. There is a special category of prisoners considered likely to commit suicide (category F) and it's a handy explanation when things go wrong. According to Home Office statistics, eleven men committed suicide in prison in 1977, and five died from "non-natural causes". One ex-con reckons that "two or three people" a year are beaten to death in prison, though proof is always impossible to establish.

At any rate, they said that Blake was found "with a wet towel round his neck" - as if you could strangle yourself with one. And Blake told his father, sister, and solicitor, who visited him shortly afterwards, that he wasn't even in his cell when the drugs were administered (orally). He laughed when his father (a Pastor with the Seraphim and Cherubim Church in Birmingham) told him the suicide story. No-one believes it. And incidentally, while his family were allowed to visit him, a psychiatrist lined up by them was not.

At any rate, the prisoners' protest ended when Blake was restored from the custody of the Doctor, back to his cell. That might mystify some people.

But it's a reflection of life in a long-term nick. Full of prisoners doing four years and above, it has its own social dynamics. Faced with long stretches, the cons have little to lose. Authority knows this, so it allows them concessions - more associations, more

and longer visits, and less time banged up, than in local nicks. The hold that the screws

maintain is the threat of the withdrawal of these concessions - long periods in segregation, regulation visits (one a month for half an hour) and letters (one a week).

So the long-termers in Gartree felt Blake was safer with them, in the cells, than in the prison hospital. That says a lot for Doctor Peter Smith.



PRISONERS who get into trouble are always told: You have broken the rules but we aren't going to tell you what the rules are. Just another form of repression. For the regulations, set out in the Prison Governors Handbook, and the Prison Standing Orders, both updated by frequent Circular Instructions, are classified and protected by the Official Secrets Act. A copy of the Governors Handbook and the Standing Orders has come into The Leveller's eager hands. The following extracts show how screws are supposed to "control violent prisoners" — and how the practice differs from the theory.

TO START with drugs: the Gartree occupation has shown how important the medical officer is in enforcing discipline. The Home Office have always said drugs are only used to relieve the anxieties of depressed prisoners. Section 3E (1) of the Governors Handbook, however, provides for the "supervision" of prisoners by the MO:

... where both the governor and medical officer consider that a particular prisoner segregated under Rule 43 or temporarily confined under Rule 45 would benefit from the supervision of a full-time medical officer, an application for the prisoner's transfer should be made to Head Office.

Medical officers are then supposed to

investigate the causes of a prisoner's disruptive and anti-social behaviour and, if this is thought to require medical or psychiatric treatment, to treat it accordingly.

I remember a con in Albany telling me how he had been held down by screws in the segregation unit while a medical officer injected him with drugs which put him to sleep. They did that to him for a week and then prescribed other drugs to ensure he stayed catatonic and harmless. There are now many well-documented cases of forcible drugging.

The prison medical officer has always been an essential ally in the crushing of resistance. Section 3E (5) states that

The medical officer will examine any prisoner who has been injured during the efforts of staff to control him, and will made a written report on the prisoner's condition.

Amazingly, prisoners don't seem to sustain any injuries when restrained by staff in the traditional manner of beating (with staves and fists) and kicking. Even Steven Smith, the prisoner beaten to death in Wormwood Scrubs in 1974, was not found by the medical officer to have any appearance of injuries consistent with beating by a stick with nails in.

Mediaeval restraints are still weapons in the prison armoury. The Handbook spells out the conditions under which may be used iron cuffs (leather for women), handcuffs, ankle straps and straitjackets. As a "last resort" the screws can use judo or staves-the prison names for truncheons, which warders always carry. Section 3E (4) (2a):

Staves will not be used when two or more officers are dealing with a single unarmed prisoner, except on the order of the senior officer present . . . Where direct supervision by the senior officer was not possible . . . each officer would be entitled to use his discretion...

The Handbook also says, in Section 3E (10):

A prisoner will be temporarily released from mechanical restraint to attend calls of nature, unless the medical officer considers that release would be dangerous.

What happens if the all-powerful MO considers it would be dangerous?

For the implications of the official secrecy that permeates the whole prison system, see Prison Secrets by Stan Cohen and Laurie Taylor, published by NCCL and RAP, £1.25.

IF CRISPIN Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell

had been jailed under the **Official Secrets Act, they** would have faced special restrictions inside. The Governors Handbook states that all OSA prisoners are automatically classified in Category A—the top security classification.

It is unknown for Category A prisoners to get parole, so they'd have had to serve their full terms.

In education, Section 45 stipulates:

No category A prisoner convicted of an offence under the Official Secrets Act will be allowed to take a course in a foreign language. Approval for a correspondence course

in any other subject (Handbook's italics) must be obtained from Section 4 of P3 Division (of the Home Office).

No Category A prisoners at all can take courses in radio or television servicing, electronics or allied subjects. (Section 44). Neither will they be encouraged to pursue these as a hobby. They may have battery-operated radios -but not VHF sets.

They may pursue modelmaking as a hobby—at the Governor's discretion, and he is told to bear in mind that papier mache, clay and similar malleable substances have been used to manufacture items or simulate cell bars or mortar with very serious risks to security.

Prisoners



JOHN STONEHOUSE's happiest moments in Blunderton Prison were spent, according to one con who was in there with him, "strolling round the spacious gardens, picking roses, for Sheila (Buckley)'s visits."

Gardens? Roses? In prison? And Blundeston isn't even an open prison; it's what is called a "lenient regime prison", or as cons call it, "a lovely nick". Like open prisons. it's ostensible purpose is to house minor offenders, and long-term prisoners in the final stages of their sentences, to acclimatise them to a more relaxed regime, to fit them for the outside world.

But they serve another important function: to give middle class prisoners an easy time. If you're a villain, you blast a hole in a bank vault, and remove £10,000, you get ten years in a nasty local or dispersal nick. If you happen to be the manager of that bank, and by smart bookkeeping, you salt away £10,000 in some indetectable investment, you get two years in a nice nick where you can tot.up.the interest in relative peace.

"Blundeston was full of bank managers, blackmailers, solicitors, foreigners on drugsmuggling charges", says our informant. "There were plenty of educational oppor-

Prison isn't hell for everyone. If you're lucky and middle class enough to get into and open prison, life can really be quite bearable. Tim Gopsill tells why.

tunities — the foreigners, for instance, had English language courses. I never heard of anyone being beaten by the screws (yes, we did call them screws - they didn't mind) in the year I was there, nor of any forced administering of drugs.

"In fact the only violence I remember was when they sent one of the Scotland Yard porn squad officers, one of the bent cops, one of Virgo's squad. One old con, ending a long sentence, poured his pisspot over him. The authorities were so upset they had to move the cop to another prison quickly.

When Sheila visited John, it must have been quite a cosy little scene. "The visits were two hours on Saturday afternoons. You didn't have to talk through screens or anything. There is a cafeteria where you sit at the tables, and women from some local voluntary organisation bring you tea and little cakes. There's no-one in earshot, no warders can hear you.

"Altogether, I would say it was more like a holiday camp. The atmosphere was so relaxed. The governor treated us like grown-ups, capable of



disciplining ourselves, not needing stern discipline." Accommodation is in either single cells or dormitories. "Most cons seemed to prefer the dormitories, because you can watch television until late at night." There are workshops, of course, where manual work has to be done. "I don't remember ever seeing John (Stonehouse) in there, though I do remember seeing him once on domestic duty sweeping a corridor."

Britain's prison system being so barbaric, these vestiges of strict regime remain. We've still got a way to go before we reach the civilised treatment afforded in the US to the Watergate coverers-up, for instance, who had champagne in the ice box, quadrophonic sound systems, fast cars and wall-to-wall carpeting for their brief incarcerations.

But we're still hard on people like Wally Virgo, the former Scotland Yard Obscene Pubs chief who didn't amass an estimated £60,000 from pornographers in return for allowing their trade to flourish (including £14,000 in one pay-off,



which would have been a record, had it been received). For the agonising period leading up to his appeal, Virgo was in Leyhill Open Prison, near Wootton-Under-Edge, Glos. Set in sylvan surroundings, Leyhill has a reputation as the softest nick in the land.

There, a warder has told The Leveller, Virgo was made to do soul-destroying office work. He had to exercise with the dregs of society.

People not like himself: the warder says that in his experience it's "unheard of" for long term cons like Virgo, who had got twelve years, to start his bird in an open nick. The Home Office's own statistics confirm this: of the 305 men in prison in 1977 doing terms of between 10 and 15 years, only five were in the lowest security range, Category D, suitable for open prisons.

"The ones who come here straight from court are men who haven't paid maintenance for their kids and such... not considered cons in the proper sense", the screw explains.

As it turned out, of course, Virgo was coming to the end of his sentence — though noone was to know when he started. Virgo and his lawyers were amazed when he got off on appeal. The rest of his gang didn't.

On Virgo's "responsible duties" in the administration offices, the screw says: "As in all prisons, certain people are given certain privileges"

There are nine open prisons for men, housing around ten per cent of the 33,000 male adult prisoners in England and Wales. The decision that a con is "gauged suitable for an open environment" is made by Department P4 at the Home Office.

Crimes against life and property are harshly dealt with. But isn't fraud a crime against property? Cannabis possession and alcoholism are no threat to anybody or anything — but people convicted of the former go to local nicks, which are also bulging with old alcies (2,000 imprisoned last year).

People whose crimes don't really offend conventional morality, like frauds and corruption, who are educated and articulate and have good contacts, just happen usually to be middle class.

Open prisons aren't just a bed of roses. There is confinement, loss of freedom, forced work. But if everyone in prison is unequal, then some are less unequal than others.



A prisoner's access to educational courses inside is used by prison authorities as a disciplinary weapon. Mike Fitzgerald, a tutor with the Open University who has several students in jail, explains.

JOHN NIGHTINGALE is one of 128 prisoners registered to study courses with the Open University in 1978. The Home Office makes much of its relationship with the OU, which is the "highlight" of its educational provision in prisons. Officially, prisoners taking OU courses are provided with special facilities to enable them to study. But beneath the rhetoric of encouragement and support lies the all too familiar tale of official discretion and abuse. John Nightingale's experiences in the past year provide a clear illustration of the more cynical uses of education as a method of discipline and control.

In 1977, John had been taking his first course, the Social Sciences foundation course, at Parkhurst. In September, a few weeks before the examination, he was "ghosted" to Wandsworth, and all his course material was confiscated. Later, it was explained that he was "suspected of taking part in subversive activities". He was refused permission to sit the examination, and held in solitary confinement. At the end of October, the course material was suddenly returned, and he was told to prepare himself for a special exam in mid-November. During this time, he was denied access to tutorials and broadcasts, important components of OU courses. Despite this harassment, John passed the course.

For his second year, he had registered to study the new 'Social Work, Community Work and Society' course. In early December 1977, he was told he would be allowed access to course materials, but would not be allowed to submit any written work for assessment. Given that the OU is based partly on continual assessment, and partly on exams, this effectively prohibited him from working towards a degree.

Following pressure on the Home Office, John was eventually moved from Wandsworth to Chelmsford, a prison with OU facilities. He was allowed to begin the course. After the fire at Chelmsford, he was sent to Strangeways in Manchester, without his course material. Despite repeated requests, he was unable to find out if he would be allowed to continue his studies. In the meantime, he fell further behind with the continual assessment.

The OU Regional Office in Manchester tried to arrange to see him, and sort out tutorials. Manchester is not on the list of prisons which offer OU-courses. The course fees were due, and at first the Home Office refused to pay them, though later it did. Only then was John officially recognised as an OU student.-

At Strangeways, John lived and worked in a cell with two other people, and was allowed no extra facilities for

studying. The one tutorial which he was finally allowed was conducted in the presence of a prison officer. In June, he was transferred again, to

Maidstone, which has a reputation as a "good" nick for studying, and the educational welfare department there is cc comparatively well organised. John settled down to get on with the course. He was allowed to register for full-time study. In September, he was taken off full-time study, again a few weeks before the exam and told to go to work assembling plastic coat hangers. He refused, and lost seven days remission.

John Nightingale's case illustrates the contradictions inherent in the liberal educational reforms within prisons.

On the one hand, he, and others, have undoubtedly benefitted from having access to the OU. Most importantly, it has provided an opportunity for those individuals serving long sentences to escape from some of the more brutalizin features of their imprisonment.

On the other hand, higher educationa provision is quite clearly an important weapon in the armoury of the prison authorities. This is true of all education inside.



Following the PROP demonstrations of 1972, refused access to educational facilities was used as a means of disciplining people who had taken part. One prisoner had his essays "censored" by prison staff, and was told to choose between using his one letter a week to correspond either with his family or with his tutor.

The discretionary powers of prison officials is paramount in education. Individual prison governors, for example, can and do determine who is to be allowed to study which courses, and with what facilities. Access to tutorials and broadcasts varies enormously.

Courses with home experiment kits are forbidden — for security reasons. Whilst the "threat to security" argument might be used for some science courses, it is more difficult to understand in the case of "Introduction to Psychology". The home experiment kit for this course consists of a digital timer, prismatic lenses and goggles — and is officially judged a serious threat to the electronic locking devices of the prisons.

Some courses can be taken by some prisoners, but not by others, in the same institution. The decision rests with the governor, and cannot be challenged. Education is a privilege to be earned, " and not a right.

A number of people in the OU are genuinely concerned about the abuse of courses inside, and would like to see the OU withdraw from its agreement with the Prison Department unless certain criteria were met. These would include the establishment of the right of prisoners to apply directly to the OU, and not to be filtered through the Prison Department. In the meantime, John Nightingale prepares for his exam without the certain knowledge that he will actually be allowed to sit it.

Secrets trial Judge says: Stop demonstators

AS THE CASE against Aubrey, Berry and Campbell crumbled away at the edges, Judge Mars-Jones used his presiding powers to save such face as the prosecution authorities have got left.

BY THROWING out the jury at opportune times he was able to prevent publication of the discussion of things like jury vetting, the anonymity of witnesses, the oppressive use of the Official Secrets Acts against political dissidents-and the whole politics of the case. Publication of these would not have prejudiced the trial, in the proper sense-for they did not directly concern the charges or evidence against A, B and C.

On the first day of the second trial (see The Leveller issues 19 and 20), Berry's mouthpiece Stuart Shields QC registered an "unqualified objection to the selection of a jury from a panel which has been subjected to a secret and I would submit unconstitutional process" of security vetting. All three defence QCs had objected to the process,

Levering out

THE INCREDIBLE big-unionboss manocuverings in the Civil and Public Services Association have shown the right wing at their most aggressive and anti-democratic - and at the same time, more proof has come out of their ties with Truemid, the bosses' fifth column within union ranks.

By skilful application of the CPSA's rule 14 (that in executive elections votes cast by branches that are not in accordance with their mandate are invalid) the "modente" president Len Lever last month sacked the CP Vice President Peter Coltman (and the entire executive) and declared elected/appointed the notorious Kate Losinska, who had received fewer votes than Coltman in the election.

Anyone who sees the hand of Truemid behind all this (see The Leveller issues 16 and 17) will be interested to learn that a circular letter sent to supporters of the "moderate" faction's newsletter, Daylight, shows that Daylight operates openly from Truemid's address - where work several former CPSA officials. Signatory J.White was formerly chair-

admitted by the state in the first trial, and the crown counsel John Leonard responded with: "It is an obvious precaution to have a check of some kind on the jury to see whether there is any indication as to whether that person is likely to reveal information". (Leonard talks like that.) He added that as a result of the vetting he would not be challenging any of the panel. The result of the discussion was that the jurors were all asked by the judge whether they handled secret information in their work, and one man did, so out went he.

While none of this could be published, the Attorney General Sam Silkin published a statemen in the middle of the trial justifying vetting. In court, Lord Hutchinson, for Campbell, said the statement was "one-sided and most prejudicial". And Leonard,

person of the union's Ministry of Defence section. Two other officials, John Whale and Martin Humphries have joined Truemid in the last six months, to work

It would be even more interesting to know how these bureaucrats are being paid, since Matthews told The Times in March: "We never have enough money to last us six months ahead." The same Times article estimated that Truemid had received £180,000 from big business in 1975-7, and quoted Losinska saying that "if the moderate group in the CPSA had financial help from Truemid, it had been limited to small temporary loans which had all been paid back". Six weeks earlier she had denied that their moderate band had received any money from outside sources, and six weeks afterwards the National Moderate Group chairman Charles Elliott told the CPSA conference that Daylight was subsidised by Truemid.



poor sod, who has spent four weeks trying to shore up an increasingly hopeless case, revealed "I have done my own research on this and I have established that the Attorney-General's chambers knew nothing about this ruling" (that nothing on the subject should be said publicly). And the DPP, his own boss, had no knowledge of Silkin's statement

The Judge: "There seems to be a lack of liaison between those instructing this court". He can say that again. With the dropping of the charge against Campbell of collecting information, and with the dropping of the Section One charges (14 years) against all of them, and with the "committing a preparatory act" charge against Aubrey more or less conceded by the prosecution, the impression in the courtroom is of a botched-up attempt to persecute honest radicals that is simply falling apart at the seams.

But this impression has been prevented from publication. So were the arguments against calling the mysterious Mr C, with his evidence, Leonard announced, to be heard completely in camera. Defence lawyers pointed out that it would be impossible to test the authenticity of such an expert witness, and that the atmosphere of secrecy being generated was highly prejudicial. After this the crown--who had put up the famous Colonel Johnstone (as

predicted in The Leveller, under his real name), to say the same as Mr C would- decided they could do without him. Not a word in the press.

After arguments on the Section One charges, Mars-Jones dropped a mighty hint to Silkin: "The Attorney-General can start a prosecution. He can also stop it." In reply to Leonard's argument that the use of the section should be extended beyond the present limits of espionage and sabotage, to cover publication, or the intention to publish, Mars-Jones said: "It is an important point of law and has ramifications far beyond this court. It seems to me a very oppressive section designed to meet a very particular case. Any attempt to extend it ought to be something I ought to resist if possible"

Towards the end of the trial the Judge kicked out the jury to hear a complaint that the defendants, in defiance of his instruction, had spoken to some of their supporters on the picket line outside. A, B and C had been told by him several times not to talk to the press, or anyone else, about the case, or they'd lose their bail. This time he said: "I am determined to stop the communication between the defendants and the demonstrators outside this court, as I am determined to stop the demonstrators." Unreported.

MacLean's law

I BECAME another victim of British justice last Friday, after a trial lasting 21/2 days at **Highbury Corner Police Court** in front of the the notorious magistrate Ian MacLean.

I was one of four antifascists arrested near Brick Lane on July 30. We were walking along Bethnal Green Road with about 25 other comrades towards Brick Lane after painting out racist slogans in the area when we suffered a two-pronged attack. Our first assailant was a solitary nazi who objected violently to being called a fascist after he had hurled a long stream of racist abuse in our direction. I tried to drag him off just as our wonderful police arrived on the scene - a whole Special Patrol Group van full of them. The SPG proceeded to break up the 'fight' in the only way they know how - throwing punches in all directions and arresting any anti-racists they could lay hands on.

In court they alleged that all four defendants were seen throwing punches and one

went as far as to claim that the four of us had gone forward to attack the fascist. I was able to prove that I was carrying a large carrier bag all the time, contradicting police evidence that I had been lashing out with both fists, but MacLean had no difficulty in totally ignoring this and most other evidence put forward by the defence. He was able to dismiss the case against one of the defendants because the arresting officer's evidence was uncorroborated his witnessing officer was 'unfortunately' involved in an accident on the way to court. This gave him the opportunity to appear reasonable while taking full advantage of his prejudices on the other three of us. We each received two month prison sentences suspended for two years and the privilege of contributing to the costs of the prosecution's frame-up. Even the one who had his case dismissed had to pay his own costs.

Donations should be sent to the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee, 245 Mare St, London E8. (This has been set up to coordinate the defence of all those arrested in Brick Lane.)

Martyn Jenkins, Leveller Collective.

The Boy Looked at Johnny. The obituary of rock and roll. Julie Burchill and Tony Parsons. Pluto Press £1.25.

THERE IS a theory currently fashionable among both X-generation teenagers and the organised left, that almost nothing happened between the mid sixties and mid seventies. The left were there, characteristically arriving late and even then looking in the wrong direction, too busy not dropping out to know. And those born since 1960 simply weren't and couldn't. The unlikely detente between these two groups, resulting from their reciprocal need for sixties amnesia, was precipitated by the tumescent eruption of punk. And has brought us, among other things, RAR and ANL, and now The Boy Looked at Johnny.

Remember punk? When Cambridge graduates you knew to have made such deep entry into IMG (or there abouts) and anyway were at least 26, suddenly sported vaseline tipped spikecuts over night? That was 1977. Julie Burchill and Tony Parsons' punk obituary is about 1976, when, for a few brief weeks, punk afficionados pogoed with wet pants in Oxford and Neal Street basements, and **Rick Wakeman and the establishment** shit theirs.

Burchill and Parsons are, respectively, feted teenage and umpteenage journalists on New Musical Express, a music paper which may have had recent upmarket restyling but is IPC's nonetheless. They reveal themselves as not just casual proponents, but fully paid up subscribers of wipe-out-the-sixties-at-all-costs masonry, as the whole pre-X-generation decade is abruptly shredded with spite and cynicism in the book's first thirty pages.

What follows is a frame by frame account of how Malcolm McLaren masterminded the Sex Pistols to their highest nadir, and a blow by blow account of punk's instant decline and fall. By carrying over their twin demolition techniques

manst ane

coke, acid and even marijuana ('prolonged smoking causes great obesity') are summarily given capital sentences on counts of GBH while killer speed emerges from this kangaroo of kangaroo courts Written in a style whose debts to eighties, because it is an 'essentially prole-Few readers will be able to resist reading this book in one go. But it isn't the ultimate punk read, however much it may be a contender. Ultimately it reads like New Musical Express on a good week, which is what it is, though that can be very good indeed. Apres punk, who needs

of taking at face value everything, and mistaking primemovers for movements everywhere, the authors come inadvertently close to vapourising 1976 too. sulphate and French adjective I judge to unscathed to be the cheap thrill of the be about equal, The Boy Looked at Johnny has the mesmerising readability tarian drug'. of a skinhead adventure novel from the pulp paperback vending machine on Liverpool Street station. In a schizophrenic collage that veers between brilliant dexedrine-supercharged new journalism and shrill cut-price bitchiness, ever lapsing into overladen tautology, Burchill and Parsons chainsaw their way I trends?

CREATIVE USE OF WHITE SPACE

through what has already become new wave establishment, in their bid to establish their own Top Ten heroes of the hour, (Polystyrene, Jonathan Richman, Joan Jett, Tom Robinson....), viciously settling several musicbiz scores on the way.

Politically however The Boy Looked at Johnny is less strong. The feminist orientation confined to the section titled 'Girls' should belong to the whole book. Neither is there much confrontation with punk's belligerent radical apoliticism, fronted as it was by both anarchist and Nazi posturing.

Politics come across instead in shrill obsolescent cliches about class, and engagement as a sort of ideological optional-extra that can be injected into music and makes it all the better.

But where The Boy Looked at Johnny really hits rock bottom is in its section on drugs. In a piece of squealing that would even make my mum smile, smack,

Martin Gingell

"But of course rock and roll contributes to and effects real and significant changes in society. It changes the length of people's hair, the width of their trousers and what kind of shoes and jackets they wear."



I CAN SEE it, a nightmare become reality. Anti-authoritarian five year olds risking their lives on the roads as they wander home to empty houses, where all they can do is gaze at the telly or peruse their unmarried mother's boyfriend's hard porn. "The Family" is in crisis. One of capitalism's longest running successes is no longer packing them in like it used to.

want to be (NB that's not the same as where they belong . . . well, not quite). Muriel Brown, a well-meaning woman who must have been quite distressed by the reactionary scenario sketched out over the rest of the day, stressed the diversity of family set-ups. She wants families to form local associations to put grass roots pressure on Government, so as effectively to demand the housing, education, and leisure facilities they need. She's also quite keen on an "official commission to consider the impact of policies on the family and make recommendations." Neither of the speakers mentioned the cuts, or contraception. Abortion was referred to by Whitfield as one of the "sombre social indicators".

Then we were graced by five minute speechettes from "a parent" and "a young person". The parent lady was doing alright despite the crisis — she had a part-time job, collectively owned washing machine, and was a local councillor. And "the young person"? She read out a jolly nice composition, in an attempt to communicate the quintessential qualities of the family: F is for friendship, A is for attention, M is for maturity, and so on. Not really the type to piss in phone boxes or bash up OAPs, she embodied the conference's hope for the next generation.

Don't worry – this doesn't mean a 1984-type Ministry of the Family. Patrick Jenkin, Tory spokesperson for Social Services, manufactured similar platitudes to David Ennals, who whistlestopped into the conference hall later in the day. The family ought to be encouraged, prospective parents should be taught what to do, and the National Childrens Home is doing a very good job, but we don't want Government intervening in "some of the most intimate and sensitive aspects of our lives". In other words, no money, apart from the occasional handout to volunteer schemes which come cheaper than State responsibility for child care or geriatric provision.

But the star of the show, the one who got in the papers, was C James Anderton, Chief Constable of Manchester. "We must force parents, as far as it is reasonably possible, to face up to their personal responsibilities and penalise them in some way if they don't. But how can we instil a proper sense of duty when morality is a dirty word, when authority in every form is attacked on all sides?" He told sensational (and largely irrelevant) stories abour children locked alone in a squalid flat with a dead dog in the back room; a toddler out alone at 3 am. while its hooker mum attends to a customer in the back of a car. "Feckless, drink sodden and dirty parents . . . hedonistic parents with laissez-faire attitudes towards divorce, sex, abortion and morality . . . parents who are fickle and ambivalent." What Anderton wants is for "ardent and morally courageous leaders" (meaning him) to "stand up and be counted". Considering that he appears to think most of these forms of behaviour are hereditary, he would perhaps prefer to sterilise all those diseased elements that can only reproduce themselves. The majority of the audience loved it. One brave feminist from National Women's Aid tried her best and spoke a couple of times over the day, but there was little chance of subverting or getting the support of such an alliance. A few perplexed liberals tried to keep their end up - Muriel Brown pointed out that young people are sometimes antiauthoritarian because they have seriously thought out moral objections to those in power, and that these differences of opinion deserve respect. Anderton, still glistening with pride at his reception, didn't even bother to reply. The conference ended in confusion. Someone proposed a resolution deploring the DHSS for endorsing the practice of giving contraceptives to under-16s without their parents' consent, removing "the right of parents to be responsible for the sexual and moral welfare of their children." Just as a vote was about to be taken, a voice shouted that there had been no discussion and no time given to an

an opposing speaker. So it was dropped.

ideological con into which any old right

goers who had hoped for guidance to

help them with the problems they face

in their working lives left disappointed.

They felt it had been a waste of time,

perhaps not understanding the implica-

tions of the continual talk of morality

Others will return to their jobs

armed with new wisdom. There's

happy family where Daddy doesn't

Rose Shapiro

an answer to everything in the

batter Mummy and valium is a

drug other people take.

and discipline.

wing idea can be injected. The conference

the conference was not about prac-

ticalities, or education; it was an

But who needs resolutions? After all,

Vandalism, feminism, and terrorism are rife.

But now the people in charge have at last determined to stop the collapse of our way of life, even crossing party lines to do so. At the Family Life Conference, held in London at the end of October, our social guardians joined together to present the one that could run and run, the one we've all been waiting for ... The Backlash.

The conference was organised by the National Children's Home, which has collaborated with BBCTV on a Parenthood Education series starting in '79. They are also producing a manual on parenthood, and plan to set up "Family Advice Centres" throughout the country. Over 400 people attended, representing various organisations: the Union of Catholic Mothers, Pre-school Playgroups, local authority social services, nuns, scouts, Festival of Light, Responsible Society, and Mary Whitehouse, who didn't say a word. She didn't need to, as there were plenty of people bursting to say it all for her.

The day was kicked off with speeches from an educationalist (Prof Richard Whitfield from Aston University), and a

sociologist (Dr Muriel Brown from LSE) A gentle lead-in: things are gong pretty badly wrong, what with the imminent collapse of the education system, unemployment and violent crime. We can't get things right until "the basic unit of contemporary society" has been educated into pulling itself back together. Whitfield also pointed out that tax laws discriminate against women who don't want to go out to work (which he reckons are the majority of mummies) and all these women in the workforce are really going to bump up the unemployment figures if we don't get them back where they





IN 1946, two years before the war which was to establish the State of Israel, Golda Myerson (Golda Meir) was asked: "If the Jews as a minority had the same privileges as those you are promising the Arabs as a minority, would you be satisfied?" "No sir", she replied, "for there must be one place in the world where Jews are not a minority."

By no means do all Jews agree; many are anti-zionist, and a lot of the six million Jews living in the USA, for example, prefer to express such sentiments yet continue to live in the style to which they are accustomed.

The persecution of Jews, culminating in Hitler's extermination programme, gave the zionist movement the emotional justification and the political sympathy to take land in Palestine to form a 'Jewish State'. The gut-seizing fear of a possible repetition of such persecution, among Jews, and the guilt ridden association among non-Jews, have legitimised the continued existence of Israel. So it is that millions of American and British Jews among others will aid Israel financially and politically (although never going to live there) as a form of racial insurance policy.

Deliberately the 'Holocaust' figures prominently in Israeli propaganda, a potent symbolic horror with which to brush off external criticism as anti-semitism or to label internal opposition to zionism as high treason.

This popular rationalisation, combined with heavy media censorship within Israel and powerful zionist lobbies outside, has effectively blinded objective appraisal of the means by which zionists have been achieving their ends.

The mostly European (Ashkenazi) Jews who founded Israel have sought to manufacture a distinct Euro/Israeli culture wildly different from the traditions of the area. This elementary chauvinism brought problems with the zionist stimulated influx of Jews from neighbouring countries, i.e. Jews steeped in Middle Eastern culture, and has led to the development of divisive racist attitudes amongst Jews themselves.

A.Hoder, a non-zionist Israeli writing on this theme, says: "Terms like Oriental Jews and Sephardi Jews, used to describe all the non-Ashkenazi Jews, are not only misleading but suggest a consciousness of communal unity which does not exist in fact. What does exist is a rigidly strict hierarchy of communities with the Ashkenazi Jews at the summit. The socalled gap between the Ashkenazim and the rest multiplies as you go down the list and it is not just economic, but also political and cultural. Sociological research conducted periodically among school-age children in Israel has shown that until about 1969 children preferred playmates from their own THIS OUTS ABS

Zionism — the ideology of Jewish nationalism.

community, but in recent years the results have changed radically; from 80 to 95 per cent of children in all non-Ashkenazi communities prefer Ashkenazi children as playmates. The results are particularly unambiguous when they are required to choose from photographs of children of varying skin tones, or of 'European profiles' as opposed to semitic profiles. It is hardly surprising therefore that the term 'black' has become common currency as an epithet in street brawls as well as schools and more so in schools that are predominantly non-Ashkenazi."*

Similar attitudes are commonly expressed in areas such as housing, employment and education. "I don't want to live in that area, there are too many Morroccans, it would be difficult for us and bad for the children's education".

The aggressive zionist policy of making Israel a comfortable 'homeland' for the entire population of world Jewry (at present about 15 million) logically took zionism into the practice and celebration of racial nationalism with necessary expansionist intentions.

This is embodied in perhaps the most pernicious legislation implemented by the zionist Government, the Israel Nationality law (1952), incorporating Israel's Law of Return (1950). This confers citizenship on Jews born or living in the country before establishment of the State. Jews who come after that date will be citizens from the day of their arrival and those born in Israel after 1948 from their date of birth. This is not so for non-Jews — and first and foremost the native Palestinian Arabs.

Contrary to the automatic right to citizenship enjoyed by all Jews, Palestinian Arabs have only been able to become citizens of their own homeland by meeting stringent criteria which many either cannot or will not accept.

This means that a born and bred New York Jew or an English Jew from Manchester has, under Israeli protection, the right to settle and develop land in Israel and the territories at present under Israeli military occupation. The rights of indigenous Arabs in all Israeli-administered territory are secondary to the interests of any Jew from any part of the world by virtue of 'ethnic' definition. This is racism, and at what expense? The denial to many Arabs of their self-determination is the negation of Jewish culture and history.

The real lesson of the Holocaust is the need to end racism . . . this is the only solution.

Tony Nicholls

RESULTS OF THE 1967 WAR



POPULATION FIGURES

- 1914 85,000 Jews in Palestine.
- 1922 11% of Palestine population Jewish.
- 1943 Jewish Agency estimate 539,000 Jews in Palestine out of a total population of 1,676,571. i.e. Jews were only 31.5% of the population.
- 1947/8 Jews held under various forms of ownership only 8% of the land of Palestine.
- 1948 14th May: State of Israel declared. Immediately recognised by USSR then by USA a few days later.
- 1977 Population of Israel 3½ million of which 600,000 are Arabs. i.e. nearly 3 million Jews. Jews in Israel can be defined further into two broad groups: (1) Ashkenazi, i.e. Jews from European origin and traditions. (2) Oriental, i.e. Jews mostly from middle east and African cultures.

ISRAEL'S GOVERNMENT

Israel's Parliament is called the Knesset. It has 120 members elected by proportional representation. Apart from a few individuals, alliances are formed amongst various groups to form ruling or opposing co-allitions.

LIKUD 43 seats Begin's party. Two members of a small party merged after the elections making Likud's effective seats 45.

LABOUR ALIGNMENT 32 seats A co-alition of social democratic groups such as Mapai, Israel's previous Govt. majority, also Mapam and Ahdut H'Aavoda.

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE 15 seats This group has split into two factions since being elected. One side holds 7 the other 8 seats. NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY 12 seats This group aligns itself and supports Likud on the condition that it controls the administration of education and interior affairs.

DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY 5 seats This group comprises the Israeli Communist Party and The Black Panthers, amongst others.

AGUDAH 4 seats Another religious group.

SHELI BLOCK 2 seats Left wing zionists.

The following each have one Knesset representative:— Independent Liberals, Movement for Civil Rights, United Arab List, Aguda Workers, F.Sharon.

IN AUGUST, Israeli police and soldiers raided a Bedouin encampment outside the Israeli port of Eilat. Others simultaneously rounded up about 500 of the 2,000 Arabs working on the construction of new hotels and port facilities, their wives and families. Those without work permits were held; the rest were loaded onto trucks, driven twenty miles into the desert, and dumped. Meanwhile, the tents and shanties in the encampment were razed to the ground, and

some were burned. The authorities claimed that the Bedouin had encamped illegally too near Eilat, and that a camp was to be built for them further away from the town. The similarity with South Africa's treatment of blacks squatting in white areas is glaringly obvious. Over the past eleven years Jewish Israeli businesses have come to rely on Palestinian Arab workers, and the ideology of Israel as an exclusively Jewish state has required that Arabs be confined away from Jewish areas. An apartheid solution is coming into effect, with the support of Zionists of all sorts, and since Camp David, with the backing of the Carter administration.

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from the territories conquered by Israel in 1967 have been forced to work in Israel itself. Those from Gaza never had much work under Egyptian rule anyway. But West Bank Palestinians are being forced out by Zignist expansion on their lands. Settlements have caused the uprooting of villages, the destruction of farms and . orchards. This process will continue apace, Israeli Premier Menachem Begin has promised, when a peace treaty with Egypt is signed. The alternative to jobs on the destroyed Arab farms might be industrial investment. But the Israeli authorities have gone out of their way to prevent expatriate

Palestinians from investing in Gaza and the West Bank, because the money is coming from sources "sympathetic to the PLO".

A whole sector of small businesses in the Jewish Israeli economy has come to rely on Palestinian labour. After a recent TV programme, Israeli newspapers have "discovered" a process which is eleven years old. Numerous articles have appeared on the "slave markets" which can be seen each day in the early hours of the morning at many road junctions near Gaza and the West Bank.

Crowds of Arabs gather waiting for the trucks and vans which will take them to work in farms and factories, shops and market stalls, and even private houses. The arrangements are made for them by Arab sub-contractors, called "Ra'is". They make the arrangements with the employers which include kibbutzim - so-called collective farms — and moshavim, commercial farms. Many kibbutzim are now devoted to light industry, much of it ancillary to military production: one kibbutz, attached to the opposition Labour Party, makes the Chilean Army's helmets, for example, and Israel is now an important exporter of barbed wire, available in electrified and plain versions.

Typically, a man can earn up to 70 Israeli pounds - two pounds sterling – a day, in a country where the cost of living is about the same as Britain. Children, whose work is doubly illegal, earn perhaps half of that. Many work in construction, others perform dirty jobs that Israelis will no longer do - their role identical with that of Third World workers in all advanced capitalist economies. So many are now employed that it is common to admit that on Islamic holidays, Tel Aviv stops - or at least noticeably slows down.

This has given many Israelies the joys of being bosses for the first time, and

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they are enjoying the fruits of a situation which South African whites have known for years. The leading Israeli human rights campaigner, Dr. Israel Shahak, describes this as a "slave society" — and as in all slave societies, Israeli Jews are given to Hebraicising even the names of their Palestinian workers — Salman to Solomon, for example.

The illegal workers are at the bottom of a hierarchy of Palestinian Arabs, all of whom are socially inferior in status to Jewish Israelis. Least badly treated are the half million or so Palestinians who remained behind after the war of 1948, and received Israeli citizenship. Legally, they must be paid the same as Israelis for the same work. But as they are allowed only in the most menial jobs, their pay is effectively lower. And although they pay the same taxes as Jewish workers, the Government discriminates against the villages where Arabs live: on average, only one-tenth of the money per capita is paid out for services in Arab villages as in Jewish villages. Many Arab villages therefore lack basic facilities such as water and electricity. Arabs are barred from membership of Israel's only trade union, the Histadrut.

"Israeli" Arabs are still treated as a security risk by the Government. One reason given for the building of Jewish villages in in occupied West Bank, close to the Israeli border, was the presence of a large number of Arab villages just inside Israel, regarded as a security risk.

Below Arabs with Israeli citizenship come the 40 to 50 thousand legal workers from the occupied territories. They are taken on through

Palestinian Arabs in Israeli occupied Jerusalem

Employment offices in the West Bank and Gaza. The role of these offices in exploiting Palestinians has been recognised by the frequent bomb attacks directed at them by the Palestinian resistance.

The "legal" workers also receive, theoretically, the same wages as Israelis in similar jobs. But they are paid not by the employer direct; rather, through the office of the local military governor. Labour discipline can thus be militarily enforced on those who stay away from work in response to calls for protest strikes from the PLO. Illness and absence from work must be accompanied by a note from a doctor acceptable to the military governor. Although the "legal" workers suffer the deduction of the same taxes and social security payments as other workers, not a penny of this money has been spent on them. All of it has been paid into an account at the Bank of Israel.

Not surprisingly, many Palestinians are forced into illegal work. Estimates of their number vary. The nearest to an 'official' figure is 100,000, according to the Bank of Israel. But it is widely accepted that Israel's black market economy transactions which are never openly declared to the authorities, to avoid taxes and other regulations employs most of the workers. The statistics are thus pretty meaningless.

The police commander of the Tel Aviv region estimated recently that about 70,000 Palestinians worked in that area alone. As Tel Aviv has about one-third of the Jewish Israeli population, Dr. Shahak estimates that there are

probably between 200,000 and 250,000 "illegal" Palestinian workers.

Little effort is made to police this. Government officials make a point of arriving at the pickup points after 6 a.m., when all the Arabs have long since disappeared. In the fields, Labour Ministry officials can be seen coming miles away. Workers, especially the children, can be hidden.

Occasionally, a police swoop rounds up a handful of Arabs. They spend the night in jail, and are fined perhaps three or four hundred Israeli pounds. Their employers may be fined five or six hundred. pounds — the relative impact of the punishment is clear.

Arabs from the occupied territories are forbidden to remain within the borders of Israel between 1 a.m. and 3 a.m., because they must be prevented from settling there. Like black South Africans they have to return to their "own" towns. For many, this is impossible. So especially at harvest time, they sleep in the fields. In the Tel Aviv area, a modus vivendi has been arrived at between the police and the employers of Arab labour. The Arabs are allowed to remain, so long as they are locked up by their employers after dark. This led to an incident where Arab workers perished in a fire at the working and sleeping.

Such is the importance of this illegal labour to sectors of the Israeli economy that Dr. Shahak feels that the law will either be changed, or will continue to be widely ignored. He has described the treatment meted out to Palestinians as "simply the continuation and the extension of the 'normal' policies of Zionism, of the

'normality' present in the State of Israel — which is a normal racism''.

The desire to regulate this situation comes from Israel. The small business sector which employs the Palestininans is the political base of Menachem Begin's Herut Party. For them, a Palestinian bantustan, preferably policed by Jordan and Egypt, would be ideal. Cheap labour would continue to flood into Israel, and this new prosperity for Premier Begin's' political base would no doubt pay off in votes. At the same time, Palestinians would be prevented from settling, and Israel could remain a Jewish state. "Left" Zionists also find this acceptable. Many liberal journalists have had pangs of conscience about the condition of Palestinian workers in Israel, and the feeling that their condition could be made the responsibility of a Palestinian statelet is attractive.

If this solution — now backed by the Carter administration — ever comes to pass, then cheap labour in abundance will be available for Israel.

The sector of Israeli society which is benefiting from the exploitation of Arab labour is the private sector of small businesses. The bulk of the Israeli economy, though, continues to depend on the state, particularly the massive military industry and its consequent electronics and engineering spin-offs. This sector is largely dependent on the unique feature of the Israeli economy — the only one in the world in which the largest single item in the gross national product is unilateral transfers — what other people give it. The largest donor is the US Government, which provided \$1.8 billion last year. Israel wants \$2.4 billion this year. The world Zionist movement provides even more — figures are not released. There seems no reason why the two sectors should not continue to function alongside each other.

The division of the Palestinians - into those in exile, those with Israeli citizenship, "legal" and "illegal" workers in Israel, and those in the occupied territories, has created problems for the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. The lack of attention for the plight of Palestinians working in Israel is in part because the PLO has officially discouraged this kind of work. In the new situation created by US peace plan, this may change. But like everything in the Middle East, prediction would be unwise.

Phil Kelly



A Ghosen Few

HEROIC ARMIES defending the chosen people against the Arab hordes, acres of shining Jaffas where the desert used to be, Begin and Sadat averting a Third World War at Camp David. Images of Israel are produced every other day, but they don't give a real picture of what it's like to live there. Rose Shapiro and Tony Nicholls talked to someone who lives there, about Israeli society. Antizionists in Israel risk losing their jobs and being ostracised by friends and relations, as well as harassment by the authorities, so she just called herself Judith.

She was born in this country 28 years ago. Her parents are zionists, and during her teens Judith was involved in the British zionist youth movement, spending many of her holidays in Israel. Whilst at university she was active in the women's movement and left politics. She has lived in Israel since 1976, and is married to an Israeli.

Army Service

Men can't get out of it. It's unacceptable to try to avoid it, not only socially but when you go for jobs afterwards. You see job ads which say 'men after army service' which means no Arabs for a start (Arabs cannot serve in the Israeli army) but it also means anyone who has been exempted, for example a person with a history of psychiatric treatment.

Women all have to do basic training for a short time, and after that they are shunted off into sitting down jobs. A lot of them get married before they're called up in order to avoid army service.

Women in Israel

They are very accepting of their situation. They feel equal because of army service, and because they work full time. Nursery provision is good, and most women with young children have childminders, and consider it's worth spending almost all of their salary on getting somebody in for the first few years so that they can stay in their jobs. The overwhelming female stereotype is very American – washing machines, kitchen gadgets and smart clothes.

Abortion and Contractption

Israel has always been progressive on abortion, and since the 1950s it's been possible to get abortions for psychological reasons. The Government is now trying to remove the social clause. The pressure to do this comes from the religious parties, although there isn't anything against abortion in Jewish law. But Begin wants to maintain his coalition with those parties. The problem is what it's always been — a feeling that we've got to have lots of babies and fill our country with Jews, and breed soldiers. That the reason why there has been no campaign to promote contraception, although it is freely available in theory.

Feminism + zionism

Abortion is the central issue of the women's movement at the moment. But most of the women see feminism as compatible with zionism. They don't see their feminism as political, so don't question these larger issues.

Military culture

In Israel 'The Soldier' is the guy next door or your husband. The army permeates the whole of society. It defines what you are afterwards. If you've been a pilot you're made . . . if you've been a cook you've got problems. Men are under enormous pressure to be tough he-men, if you've been a paratrooper you're really something.

There has been a huge increase in the number of gun licences issued. And the Chief of Staff has decided that all soldiers should carry guns, even those who are engineers or working in offices.

The occupied territory

In '67 we conquered this huge bit of land with a vast number of Arab people in it. We've got to have military governors because Arabs are seen as a security risk. It's seen as essentially temporary, even if it takes 30 years to solve the problem of Palestinians on the West Bank. We can't give them the vote because they're not in our country. It's seen as ''yes, we are a democracy internally, and we'll solve the problems of the Left Bank and Gaza later''.

Zionists don't understand that their role makes them oppressors. The Hebrew terms that are used illustrate people's political positions: the left calls it conquered or occupied territory, and the official government line is that it's administered territory. The religious groups and the right wingers call it Judea and Samaria, using the biblical names to show that we have a historic right to be there. I don't know if they want to move the Arabs out, or do what's happened in Galillee, where they've built development towns, and encourage people to live in them in order to redress the Arab/Jewish balance. Now it's about half and half.

The problem is that there used to be thousands of Jewish refugees, but the only people who are coming in now are the Russians, who are being let out bit by bit. But the people from Western Europe and the US, where most of the Jews in the world live, are the ones that Israel really wants to catch. And they are not going to uproot themselves in any numbers.

The kibbutzim

The kibbutz thing is very special, isolated and elitist. People come for a while from all over the world, and from Germany in particular – a whole guilt trip. What the volunteers don't realise is that the kibbutz is the elite of society. They produce more army officers, pilots and paratroopers than any other walk of life. Although kibbutzim make up only about 2% of the population they are very wealthy and influential.

Living in Israel

I'm such a weirdo in that situation. I'm married to a man who was born there, and whose family has lived there for a long time. He is quite an established person. He also has mad ideas, but he looks normal. People either treat me as someone's wife or as a foreigner.

If anybody in Israel says critical things about the Government they are considered to be anti-semitic. People don't distinguish at all between anti-zionism and anti-semitism, or between Arabs and anti-semites.

I feel very confused about living in Israel. I can't imagine staying there for the rest of my life. full marching order with rifle, etc., etc. Some of them who had fallen in shell-holes and were double-weighted with water threw away clips of cartridges; others were so tired—for they had had little sleep or rest while in the line—that they dropped their private sand-bags of coke,



WHEN VICTOR SILVESTER died this summer, his account of how, as a 17-year old, he had taken part in official executions at Etaples base in France in 1917, was allowed to be published.

In his own words: "We marched to a quarry outside Etaples at first dawn. The victim was brought out from a shed and led struggling to a chair to which he was then bound and a white handkerchief placed over his heart as our target area. .

"... Some of the men, unable to face the ordeal, had got themselves drunk overnight. They could not have aimed straight if they tried, and contrary to popular beliefe all 12 rifles were loaded.

"... I aimed blindly and when the gunsmoke had cleared away we were further horrified to see that, although wounded, the intended victim was still alive. Still blindfolded, he was attempting to make a run for it still strapped to his chair. The blood was running freely from a chest wound. An officer stepped forward to put the finishing touch with a revolver held to the poor man's temple. We learned later that in fact the victim had been suffering from shell-shock, a condition not recognised by the army in 1917... I took part in four more such dawn horrors.

'... At the end of two weeks I was sent away from Etaples and all its horrors to the Italian front. The simple business of being twice wounded there was less than the mental scars that remained with me all my life."

For sixty years the king of strict tempo carried his grisly secret around, locked up in his head.

The man who collected that memory is William Allison. He was researching a book, The Monocled Mutineer, which is a biography of Private Percy Toplis, an enigmatic conman who seems to have been one of the leaders of the Etaples mutiny, and who died in 1920 in a mysterious shoot out near Penrith in Cumberland in which the Secret Service seem to have been involved, as well as the

WHEN working class military conscripts mutiny, they are fighting not just the officer class but a discipline that has been drummed into them from the first minutes of conscription.

Nowhere will military authorities publicise revolts from within the ranks of the armed forces. Even the dozens of massive mutinies in the British Army during the first world war have never been properly written about. But this year a handful of books and pamphlets have appeared, letting a little light onto episodes of the greatest shame for the British ruling class. Nigel Thomas has been researching them.



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Stepping out of line

police and a posse of armed young local gentry.

The mutiny at Etaples began a month after Silvester took part in the execution, on Sunday September 9. The flashpoint came when a Red Cap (military policeman), Private Reeve, took out his gun and began shooting during a row with an Australian soldier. A Corporal Wood of the Gordon Highlanders, who was standing on the other side of the road from the incident, was killed.

That evening more than 1,000 men broke out of the camp and marched through the town. They broke into a cafe and dragged out two Red Caps who were hiding there. The Base Commandant's office was stormed and he too was dragged out and paraded round the streets. Some officers were stoned as they tried to make their way back to the safety of their billets, but on the whole officers who didn't attempt to interfere were left alone. The main target of the mutineers anger was the Red Caps, along with the Canaries, the permanent instructors at the base.

There were more demonstrations the next day, and angry meetings took place in the town. The rebels were to hold the town square until Wednesday. Inside the camp the situation was less clear. Some officers managed to keep control and isolate their battalions from the riot. But in other areas discipline collapsed completely. The police huts were stormed and smashed or set on fire. Some Red Caps were thrown out of first floor windows, others were beaten.

While the chain of command passed frantic requests for cavalry to put down the mutiny (officially classified as a "disturbance") the troops continued a series of regular demonstrations. On Tuesday the 11th, 300 again broke out of camp and marched to Paris Plage. The next day all troops were confined to camp, but at 3.00pm 1,000 broke out and marched again to Paris Plage. On Wednesday evening the first of the

reinforcements arrived. About 800 men of the Honourable Artillery Company. The next morning the General Headquarters sent word that they were

despatching two full battalions of infantry, and that an entire brigade of cavalry was being held in readiness. They were not needed. With the arrival of the HAC the mutiny was over. What really brought it to an end is not known. In some accounts it seems to have petered out as the officers gradually regained control, but Allinson says that

before the reinforcements arrived the Base Commandant had been presented with a list of demands and that they were conceded. What is certain is that' conditions at Etaples did improve directly after the mutiny.

All news of the mutiny was kept from the British press and even the War Cabinet was not told the truth about Etaples. Records are unreliable (the appropriate entries in the regimental records of the 1st Battalion Royal Welsh Fusiliers for instance, appear to have been retyped at later date); some documents are still being destroyed. Some 21/2 tons of medica records were burnt three years ago and researchers have found strange gaps or new restrictions of access in the Public **Records Office.** Records of any executions that followed the suppression of the mutiny are kept secret "in the interests of the families concerned".

The official figures say that 335 men were executed abroad for military offences. Many people flatly disbelieved them. Besides, they don't include summary execution by officers on the spot. Much of the true story of the Etaples mutiny was buried a few days later as only the army can. Most of the men involved went up the line to join the battle at Passchendaele Ridge which began eight days later. A minority survived.

Although it was not the largest mutiny of the years 1917-1919, nor the most violent, Etaples has remained of particular significance in the folk myth of the British Army, however quiet it has been kept in the official histories. Even today, British officers think of Etaples as the awful example of that officer's nightmare, the day the men won't take orders.

Etaples was the base camp through which thousands of troops were to be processed for Haig's Passchendaele offensive. He already knew that the French army was on the verge of collapse. Many units were refusing to fight. One unit happened in his unit (all volunteers) in marched on Paris and was only stopped by a machine gun ambush. In the

Champagne district ten thousand Russian allies had declared their own Bolshevik revolution and set up soviets. It took the French army three days to batter them into defeat with heavy artillery. Etaples must have looked to Haig as if the British army might go the same way - and that meant the inevitable loss of the war. Yet in fine Staff tradition, he told the British cabinet about neither the troubles the French were facing, nor the threatening situation at Etaples base.

The immediate causes of the mutiny away under guard, and the others never are clear. Etaples was the largest collection heard of them again. But Ramsden was of Infantry Base Depots in France, also removed, and the conditions of the processing more than a million men rest improved. through to the front between June 1915 When the war was over, the greatest and the mutiny, yet conditions were rash of mutinies in the British army broke deplorable. Many men were still billeted out -- the demob mutinies -- whose single in tents and facilities were minimal. But demand was to get back to civilian life as the main grievance was the brutal treatsoon as possible. During a general strike ment handed out by the Canaries and of Egyptian civilians in Alexandria in Red Caps.

1919, the British army mutinied, and for Under the guise of training - which several days they ran the camps themeven troops who had already been to the selves. One soldier kept a diary, and he front had to undergo - they instituted a recalls how remarkable it seemed to them reign of terror. Wilfred Owen described that, without any orders from officers or "an incomprehensible look which a man senior NCOs, life continued just as will never see in England, though wars smoothly as when they were taking shall be in England; nor can it be seen in orders. No-one at all seems to have been any battle. But only in Etaples. It was not punished in this case. despair, or terror, it was more terrible There were hundreds of mutinies than terror, for it was a blindfold look, during this period, and they have this in and without expression, like a dead common: they were not against the fact rabbit's."

Crucial to an army's success is its as well as some politically-minded soldiers in 1919, it was obvious that this sort of self assertion by the common soldier came perilously close to the beginning of revolutionary activity. The mutinies tended to be motivated by a complaint against the soldiers' immediate command, and the army response, with British troops (they used much harder methods This is the reason for the brutality of against foreigners in the labour battalions) was to make a minimal example of the ringleaders and then grant the demands. What this means, although the army have always tried to hide the fact, is that it is a commonplace for British soldiers to take direct action to improve their conditions. And that the army has been forced to learn to live with it. When William Allinson's book about the Etaples mutiny came out, Jack de Etaples was not unique. The popular Manio said on radio that he had never heard of a mutiny in the Second World War. Immediately a former guardsman, Ernest Haines, wrote to the News of the World with his story – again hushed up until now -- of how the First Battalion of the Grenadier Guards mutinied in Swanage in 1941 for eight days. They won their claim and nobody was disciplined. One question that remains is whether mutinies are still going on in the British army; there are rumours of mutinies in

willingness to stand its ground. In this they distinguish between an army and a mob. The training of the army is designed primarily to turn recruits into that unnatural thing, the member of an army who does what he's told for the "good" of the greater number, against all his instincts for personal survival. the regime at Etaples. It was systematic. By 1917 conscripts were being sent to fight after only three weeks training. The Canaries attempted to dehumanise them into soldiers in a concentrated span of time. Finally the men revolted. The army probably punished the ringleaders, but they also improved the conditions. It compares well with a desperate form of industrial action, and it was effective. image of a mutiny, fostered with considerable care, is of a rare and catastrophic event. In fact mutinies are common in the British Army, particularly during periods of conscription. There is obviously no record of the thousands of times that troops, either singly or in groups, refused an order in battle. There is never likely to be. The officer assessed the situation, either shot the offenders, or bullied, cajoled and sometimes carried them over the top into the machine gun bullets, or sometimes let them get away Belfast, and an unconfirmed report with it.

Other spontaneous mutinies seem to refused to embark for a tour of duty occur all at once, with no-one aware of without being given 48 hour passes all how. A private Briggs tells of one which round. As always, though, what is really happening inside the army rarely gets out London before they had even been to to the real world. France. When the recruits were marched around the West End as part of the recruiting drive Sergeant Major Ramsden. having brought them back from one * Much of the information in this article was march, decided to take them for another. supplied by Guff Putkowski of the University They were tired, hungry and sullen on of Essex, or was taken from Mutiny At Etaples Base In 1917 by Douglas Gill and Gloden Dallas that march, but they did what they were (Past and Present No 69). The Monocled told. "Suddenly, and I still don't know Mutineer by William Allison and John Fairley is how it happened, we all seemed to published by Quartet. The Face Of Battle, decide, as if by a properly taken (Penguin) by John Keegan, a lecturer in War resolution, to refuse to do any more drill Studies at Sandhurst, is a remarkable study of until we had rested and fed." ordinary soldiers' reactions to the conditions of The three oldest soldiers were taken battle.

of war, although to the High Command,

recently that a battalion of paratroops

- women only". All set for a groovy night out, NAC supporters turned up at the Waterloo Action Centre on the evening of 28th October. By 9.30 the party was over, five women arrested and £100's worth of beer and wine seized by the police.

In the stylish tradition of **Operation Julie the cops had** sent two policewomen posing as feminists to suss out the scene. To describe them might be a little unsisterly. so it will suffice to say that they paid the claimants' rate for the night, strode into the hall and had a drink.

Within 45 minutes tha hall was crawling with uniformed policemen. "This is what is commonly known as a raid", giggled Inspector Smart, as his inferiors separated women into small groups to ask who had organised the event and for more names and addresses. Some women wouldn't give any information. Others



tried to get an agreement on All a jolly good laugh for the what to do from everyone there Old Bill, having this bunch of but there wasn't time. filthy lezzos with posh voices Five women were picked in the interview room.

magistrates is the last straw. from the gathering, either for Four of the women were What with the police coming getting stroppy (ie. remarking then released. One remained down hard on Reclaiming the that a full beer barrel had been in custody, and was then Night, and the NAC bust all marked down as empty on the taken off to Kilburn Police in one week, you don't have police inventory), or for Station on suspicion of to be a paranoid delusionist asking sensible questions (what deception. She was later released to think that the police have are you raiding us for ?). on £100 bail, although no now decided to come down The five were bundled into charge was made, and when heavy on the women's she returned to Kilburn later movement, particularly when in the week the whole thing gay women might be involved. was dropped. Apparently "We're sick of these bloody Kennington had come up women's things and we're with incriminating information going to shut them all down" without a licence. The police on their computer which was the reported comment of Kilburn wasn't able to one of the raiders. duplicate.

a black maria, and taken for questioning at Kennington cop shop. Once there, they were told that they were to be charged with selling liquor went on to ask all sorts of questions - all, as one might expect, highly relevant to the offence. "Are you all queer...... why do you have women-only dances..... what's wrong with men ?"



MALE POLICE violently broke up a demonstration in Soho on October 31 of 200 feminists protesting against male violence and pornography. They used such force as to suggest a police plan to crack down on feminist direct action, which is reaching a stage where authority can no longer dismiss it as a joke.

Reclaim the Night is a movement about women wanting the freedom to walk the streets at night without fear of violence rape or harassment. It stresses the connection between pornography, sexual degredation and the violence of the streets.

The demo by the London feminists was part of an internationally organised action and its target was Soho. It was Hallowe'en and women gathered in

Leicester Square at 10pm dressed in witches' hats and masks and carrying torches; they moved carnival-style through Piccadilly and through the deserted back streets of Soho until they arrived at the first hard porn joint, the New Swedish Cinema Club in Brewer Street. Here they came to a halt, shouting anti-porn slogans, sticking stickers like "Male violence is political control over women" on the door; some women went inside and began to remove the notice advertising the club's "services". At this point there were very few police around; some followed the women inside and, to the protests of the feminists outside, held one of them there.

(Thinks: Would this treatment have been meted out to Mary Whitehouse and her crew? Hardly).



Women picketing the New Swedish Cinema Club ...

A woman's right to booze

No-one knows who will be finally charged on the alleged licensing transgression, or what kind of fine can be expected. For NAC it is a financial dis-

aster - they have debts enough as it is, and chucking money away into the laps of the

So once again it's the asking for money bit - rush your donations to the National Abortion Campaign, 374 Gray's Inn Rd., London WC1. Rose Shapiro

Suddenly many more police appeared and started wading into the crowd of women gathered outside. Various individuals were picked on and attacked; one got hit so hard on the head with a truncheon that she was covered in blood and needed several stitches. Several others had to be treated for injuries. A woman on crutches was knocked down.... the stories of brutality from eyewitnesses are numerous. One described it as "horrifying.... women were being knocked flying, bodies trampled on the ground".

Many women carried on marching to the Strand but sixteen were arrested and taken in a van first to Vine Street, then to Saville Row station. Police abuse ranged from verbal insults - "poxy slags" was just one little endearment to, it is alleged, physical violence doled out to the less cooperative. They got moral support from other women gathered outside the station; all apart from one (who spent the night in the cells) were released in the early hours of the morning.

Of the 16 arrested, 4 were charged with assault, 1 with bodily harm and the rest with threatening behaviour. They've decided to plead not guilty, are being represented by a feminist lawyer and their case has been remanded until 17 January.

Meanwhile a Reclaim the Night Defence Committee has been set up to build a defence campaign, to raise funds and, not least, to escalate the movement against male violence. Any woman interested in helping, or who has any useful evidence, should contact: A Woman's Place, 42 Earlham Street, London WC2. Cherrill Hicks

Late night sex The Golherne Pavement

FOR GAY MEN who like picking each other up in pubs, the Colherne in London's Earls Court is uniquely attractive. Although said to be the most profitable pub in England, prices are reasonable. There are hardly any seats in the barn-like bars to encourage aimless socialising. And when it closes, those patrons who haven't struck it lucky gather on the pavement outside for a final cruise.

On a Friday or Saturday night especially, the pavement is crowded. Perhaps a few hundred will come out of the pub, or turn up on foot or in cars during the couple of hours after closing time to see who they can pull. Wharfdale Street round the back of the pub and a fifty yard stretch of the Brompton Road becomes a clearing house for the night's sexual deals.

Not surprisingly, this extraordinary scene has attracted a good deal of attention from local residents and police. Some are horrified by the sight of gay men getting off with each other. Others are upset by the noise, obstruction and people pissing on their doorsteps. All have become involved with the gay men in a confrontation sometimes dubbed "the battle for the Colherne pavement."

Police tactics are less severe than they could be. Undermanning in the Metropolitan Police means that they can only patrol the area every ten minutes or so. And in "moving on" a large gathering of people late at night, they are only treating the cruisers as they would anybody else. Violence and arrests are rare because most people do what they are told.

The more adventurous question the right of the police to order them about. But more often the battle between the gay men and the boys in blue is a silent ritual. The police arrive: the gay men, believing themselves to be in the wrong, move off. The police go: the men gather again in smaller numbers, feeling brave, hoping something is left for them to pick up.

The police of course could nick the lot any time they wanted. But, with this sanction in reserve, they play a cleverer game of gentle harassment. They don't see themselves as "queer bashers", but simply as impartial agents of the law. And they know that most of the men are every bit as concerned as they are to keep but for those who aren't it must be tough. the peace, protect democracy, honour the Queen and cherish family life.

The police also know, as did the concentration camp SS, that an oppressed group is likely to turn against itself. Standing back from the fray they have watched the centre of the battle shift inside the gay community. Some Colherne regulars got up a petition to the local Tory MP, asking the police to crack down on other gay men who circle the block in cars. And Gay News itself last month published an article supporting the police.

In his column, broadcaster Robin Houston offered the view that "in their determination to keep the Colherne pavement clear, free and quiet after eleven o'clock at night," the police "cannot be challenged. Their insistence has the strength of reason behind it." He went on to denounce the gay men as "pathetic" for being there in the first



place.

Both of these views are quite common On the face of it, it's quite reasonable to point out the problems gay men bring to the area around the Colherne and other pubs - problems the police are paid to solve. Perhaps Houston is right to ask: "why should the most tender of human relationships need to be bartered for and begged for and borrowed on the dark streets at night?"

But who needs to be defensive? Despite their profitability, there are far too few gay pubs and clubs in London. Those pubs that are gay close at the same stupidly early time as straight pubs and most clubs are expensive. The other popular, free, cruising spot, Hampstead Heath, is miles away in North London. For most who go to the Colherne, there is no handy alternative.

The local residents must of course be considered. Some are only too happy when a man leans against their gatepost, Maybe they should move away, live by a motorway or in the flightpath of Concorde, or emigrate to a cardboard box in Hong Kong. Better still, they could get up a petition demanding the Albert Hall be opened as a free gay club.

But they won't because they don't like gay men, in their street or anybody else's. What bugs them is not just the noise, but the fact that outside their house is a group of men intent on picking up other men and having sex with them, rejecting marriage, monogamy and usually even love. If the police win the battle for the Colherne pavement, the heterosexual residents will get a double pleasure.

How it helps anybody to criticise "impersonal sex" as pathetic is difficult to say. There are of course many gay people like Houston who disapprove of sex outside some sort of lasting relationship. But that they will side with the force of law to suppress it is the most frightening thing about the Colherne battle.

Self-oppression, foisted on gay people by a hostile society, is what gives victory to the police in Earls Court and everywhere. It springs from an acceptance by gay people that what they do is wrong and that all they need demand is tolerance. And it shows itself wherever gay people knuckle under to the diktats of bourgeois heterosexuals.

It is self-oppression that leaves the gay men outside the Colherne vulnerable and divided. They want to be there, but accept the scorn of the passing public. They know their lives are at odds with the society around them, but strive to 'conform'. Everything that is positive is distorted to oppress.

Attacks on the gay community from outside can be fought off. But the fight ·against self-oppression means dumping an ideology with a strong hold on gay people. And it means proclaiming the right to be different - to be glad to be gay. One Colherne regular said he was making a small start: "If we are blocking the pavement, they can fucking walk round." Brian Deer

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ASK FOR PRODUCTION PRICE LIST

ON AUGUST 9 1967, Kenneth Halliwell beat his lover to death with a hammer and then killed himself with twenty-two Nembutals. They were found by police in the small Islington bedsit Halliwell had bought for them in 1959. Halliwell lay naked on the floor. Joe Orton was in bed. covered in blood with his head smashed in. It was front page news.

Kenneth Halliwell was an ordinary kind of bloke. He was a writer and an artist, but never received any widespread public recognition. Joe Orton was famous. His stage plays, especially Entertaining Mr. Sloane and Loot, had established him as the undisputed rising star of the British theatre. For fifteen years they lived and worked together.

There is something peculiarly British about scandal. And dark speculation about other people's relationships is the most popular form of voyeurism. So heterosexual American drama critic John Lahr's biography of Orton, Prick Up Your Ears, is bound to be fascinating.

Prick Up Your Ears is at heart one up from a whodunnit? -awhydidydoit? Lahr's explanation is straightforward. Orton was the good guy, Halliwell the bad guy. They were both writers and hence in competition. Halliwell had never come to terms with the sudden death of his mother when he was 11 and was therefore emotionally fucked-up. Orton's success aggravated Halliwell's sense of failure. So the bad guy killed the good guy in a final attempt to get even, and then killed himself because he was suicidal anyway.

People old enough to recall newspaper reports of the killings tell me Halliwell has fared pretty well at the hands of John Lahr. To be sure, Lahr has made a real effort to understand the man and to render Orton's death intelligible. But when it comes to the crunch, Lahr is like the rest of us in being limited by his own analysis and predilections.

Orton wanted to shock people. His plays were as outrageous to middle-class attitudes and morality as the Lord Chamberlain's blue pencil would allow. Loot, which won the Evening Standard's 1966 best play award, centres on the corpse of Mrs. McLeavy which has a glass eye and is stripped naked and hidden (in the original script, on its head) in a cupboard.

This kind of goings-on in a play was bad enough for some people. But the punch comes not in the farce, but in the portrayal of gay people. Much as some tried, it was impossible for Orton's audiences to ignore the fact the Hal and Dennis are lovers in Loot, or that in Entertaining Mr. Sloane Sloane is getting it together with Kath and Ed.

Homosexual characters on stage were nothing new. But Orton confronted the public with images of gay people which cut right across accepted and oppressive stereotypes. Nowhere is the limp-wristed fop in Orton's plays. His men were masculine and aggressive, threatening the audience with their sexuality. They challenged all the comfortable assumptions about what gay men are like.

In his plays and in his life, Orton was committed to the image of the 'real man homosexual' - contrasting not only with popular ideas, but also with the self-image of many homosexual men. Even today many assume, like Quentin Crisp in The Naked Civil Servant, that a gay man is not a 'real man'. But for Orton, there was no sell-out on gender.

But what does it mean to be a man? In the mid-sixties this was an unasked question. For Orton, masculinity had a lot to do with his leather jacket and his preference for fucking and having his cock sucked. In his diary he

Thetragic affairof Kenneth and John

boasts of these activities, but found anything else rather embarrassing. As he wrote in May 1967:

"So we had sex, or at least I lay and allowed him to fuck me and thought as his prick shot in and he kissed my neck, back and shoulders, that it was a most unappetising position for an internationally known playwright to be in.'

Orton's macho personality inevitably brought problems with Halliwell, who had much the same approach to life. In their early years together, Halliwell's greater maturity, literary skill and wealth allowed him the dominant role in their relationship. Orton, seven years younger and achieving less immediate success, was willing to be led.

But fifteen years is a long time for two men to be lovers. And in due course the balance shifted. Orton broke out of his dependent role and began to assert his own power and dominance. And as he gained confidence, success,

recognition, Halliwell lost all of these. By the time of their death, their relationship had completely reversed.

Lahr sees Halliwell as a man embittered by his own failure and his lover's success – a man driven by envy to murder and suicide. But Orton had some hang-ups of his own, as he wrote only six weeks before their deaths:

"I was constantly sneering at him (Halliwell) for only wanting to be masturbated while I was 'virile' in fucking boys."

Orton's direct attacks on Halliwell's masculinity were compounded by the role Halliwell found himself playing in Orton's public life. Most of Orton's associates saw Halliwell as a useless appendage to a talented playwright. He was sometimes derided as Orton's "wife" and was increasingly forced to play that role. And, living in Orton's shadow, his own talents went unrecognised.

Of course if Halliwell had really been Orton's wife it would have been expected that she should stay at home, do the washing and cooking, and to support her husband in his career. But Halliwell had grown up with none of these expectations. He was, like Orton, a man and an artist. And on August 9th 1967 he achieved fame in his ultimate bid to prove it.

It would be easy for us, like John Lahr, to neatly dismiss Halliwell as the stereotypical funny-but-tragic homosexual figure. And we could feel comfortable with Lahr's final verdict that "Orton died from his shortsighted and indecisive loyalty to a friend." But, if we do, we have merely been entertained by this brilliantly constructed biography. Like the true voyeur we have not got involved.

We might do better to consider the position of two gay men living together in England through the fifties and sixties. Their relationship was either condemned or unrecognised by the world around them. Any practical expression of their sexuality was punishable by imprisonment. Sexual politics, the women's movement and gay liberation were concepts that did not exist as we understand them.

For Halliwell and Orton there were no books, friends, parents or community from which they could learn about their sexuality. Isolated in their Islington bedsit, they clung together to work it out for themselves as best they could. In their lives and in Orton's plays, they rejected oppressive homosexual images and fought back against the society which created them. But in the end, that society won. And behind a million net curtains, the killers of Halliwell and Orton still wag their fingers.

Prick Up Your Ears by John Lahr is published by Allen Lane, price £5.95.

Brian Deer

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Theatre Listings

DRAMATIC PROSPECTS

News first of a beezer award scheme for "promising" playwrights, directors or designers. The 1978 George Devine Award, set up in memory of the Royal Court Theatre's Artistic Director from 1956-65, is worth a juicy £1500. Ten people are on the judging panel which includes such as Caryl Churchill and Snoo Wilson.

Now boys and girls, what do you have to do for this lolly? Well, you have to communicate with one Christine Smith at her nice Primrose Hill flat-23 Ainger Road, London NW3 (01-722 3188) -and tell her why you think you should have the award and what

you have done to date. Playwrights should submit two copies of the work they want considered-don't forget your SAE-and designers should send a portfolio of their work, while directors should make known which of their productions the panel could see by 31st March 1979.

The Award will be presented in Spring 1979, and all applications must be in by 31st January 1979.

For those underawed by the Arts Council's role in the dramatic arts, there is born a new magazine that should prove interesting. The Independant Theatre Council (ITC) is planning a quarterly journal which will contain information on its own workings and on all matters of interest, as well as providing a forum for the exchange of views on all topics indeed relating to ITC's area of work.

Their pilot issue looks at news from Equity, the Arts Council, the training of Arts Administrators, and useful services to the theatre world, plus details of a proposed new mailing list.

Contributions and letters should be sent to The Editor, 104 Kingsgate Road, London NW6, while it's the Treasurer who wants £1.20 (inc. p&p) annual subs at ITC, 66 Myddleton Square, London EC1.

WHAT HAPPENED

I AM AFRAID the statement in your October issue concerning the reason why the Yorkshire Arts Association did not support CAST's tour of "What Happens Next" is incorrect.

I wish to make it clear that no reference was made in the application to the Anti Nazi League, The National Front or any political organisation whatsoever and that censorship played no part in its rejection.

It is also completely untrue that this Association has in your words: "recanted and is much embarrassed by the episode." We are however much

concerned by the way in which your Journal has accepted and published a version of the rejection without bothering to verify the facts with this Association. We are sure you have no wish to misrepresent the truth and will therefore publish this statement of the facts with a prominence equal to that of the original report. Antony Kearny/Drama Officer

BELT AND BRACES 22 Vicars Road, London NW5. (01-267 6722)

Yorkshire Arts Association

The Red Rock Show stays on the road till just before Xmasgood political fun with music off their second LP "The Right to Work".

MANCHESTER: 23 Nov. Greenbank Labour Club, 140 Trafford Road. PRESTON: 25 Nov. Students Union Flyde Road Preston Polytechnic. MANCHESTER: 26 Nov. People's Festival at Bellevue Hyde Road. BARNSLEY: 28 Nov Community Centre, Holt Park, Leeds 16. DONCASTER: 30 Nov. First aid community centre, 46a Broxholle Lane (and 1 Dec.). SHEFFIELD: 2 Dec. HULL: 4 Dec. Hull University. SUNDERLAND: 6 Dec. Sunderland Polytechnic. LEICESTER: 7 Dec. Leicester University. HATFIELD: 14 Dec. Hatfield Polytechnic, Herts. LEICESTER: 17 Dec. Leicester Phoenix Theatre.

FOCO NOVO

2 Nugent Terrace, London NW8. 01-289 3226.

Foco Novo are trucking around with "The Free Fall" by

LABOUR'S GOOD FOR BRITAIN

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Colin Mortimer, which is, we are told, about the dividing line between belief and obsession: about the ambition of parents for their children and the conflict and adjustment that occurs when those children begin to fulfil their own needs; and probably about some other things too. COLCHESTER: 13/14 Nov. Essex University Theatre. SWINDON: 16/17/18 Nov.

Wyvern Theatre. GRAVESEND: 22 Nov. Gravesend Arts Centre. BIRMINGHAM: 23/24/25 Nov. Aston University Theatre. BRACKNELL: 30 Nov/01/02 Dec. South Hill Park Arts Centre. LONDON: 04-23 Dec. ICA, The Mall.

GAY SWEATSHOP

274 Upper Street, London N1. 01-226 6143.

Kudos all the way for their Iceberg, a fast-moving musical offering, concerning personal gay responses to the creeping fascism of these times. In December, they're taking the show to Germany and the Netherlands. **PRESTON: 15 Nov. Preston** Polytechnic. LANCASTER: 16 Nov. Lancaster University. MANCHESTER: 17 Nov. Manchester Polytechnic. LIVER POOL: 18 Nov. Venue to be announced. COVENTRY: 20 Nov. Lanchester Polytechnic Coventry GLASGOW: 22/23 Nov. Star Club Glasgow. KEELE: 25 Nov. Keele University.

HALF MOON THEATRE 27 Alie Street, London E1. 01-480 6727.

The Half Moon are presenting two plays as part of the current 'The Seventies Meet the Twenties' German Festival of Arts from the 1920s. Brecht's Arturo Ui, which is the old maestro showing what he thinks of Hitler and fascism, runs till Novemeber 18, followed by The Machine Wreckers by Ernst Toller, a revolutionary work of its time written while Toller was in the jug for his support of the 1918 Bavarian Soviet, which deals with the



Nottingham Luddite rebellion of 1815. This play runs from 27 Nov. to 23rd December.

NATIONAL DIVERSION (ex-Roadgang Theatre) 13 Swinburne Street, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear. 0632-775615/6.

A socialist/feminist theatre collective based on Tyneside which now has ready its first fulllength play *The Enemy Within*, written by Grazyna Monvic. This play is set in Berlin from 1932-45 through the rise and fall of Nazism, focussing on the related fortunes of three women.

It shows the collective's belief that feminism has a vital role to play in the defeat of fascism, and that the analysis of fascism has a vital role for feminism.

The play is now available for booking in the North-East prior to a national tour in February. More info from the above address.

NORTH WEST SPANNER The Drill Hall, Manchester Road, Mossley, Ashton-u-Lyme. 061-881 7845.

Spanner zeros in on the Peugeot takeover of Chrysler UK with a zappy surreal comedy that explores the dilemmas and conflicts facing Birdman, Mole Hammer, and Ferry who face the final closure of their factory. Called Partisans its playing at: SUTTON IN ASHFIELD: 20 Nov, Sutton Library. NOTTINGHAM: 21st Nov, Drama Studio, Trent Poly; 24th Nov, Students Union, Nottm. Univ. PRESTON: 25 Nov. Poly. MANCHESTER: 26th Nov; Bellevue; 6th Dec, Hilton Hse, Hilton St.; 11th Dec, Francis Shaw Social Club, Corbet St.

LOUGHBOROUGH UNIVERSITY 23rd Nov, and MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY Medical School, 29th Nov, with their anti-nuke show, Safety first or last.

RED LADDER New Blackpool Centre, Cobden Ave, Lower Wortley, Leeds 12. 0532-792228.

Red Ladder have their latest play Where There's Brass ... on an extensive tour of Yorkshire right up till Xmas. HALIFAX: 12 Nov. Polish Club, Bedford St. BRADFORD: 17 Nov. Communal Hall, Bradford University. BARNSLEY: 21 Nov. Mark Bretton W.M.C. DONCASTER: 25 Nov. First Aid Centre, Doncaster. LEEDS: 01 Dec. Leeds Trades Club. STOCKSBRIDGE: 02 Dec. Stocksbridge Miners Welfare Hall. PUDSEY: 09 Dec. Priestthorpe Youth Centre. LEEDS: 12 Dec. Brudenell School, Leeds 6. HEBDEN BRIDGE: 15 Dec. Venue to be confirmed. BRIGHOUSE: 16 Dec. Brighouse Labour Club.



01-794 0957.

Fun guaranteed with the Company's How the Vote was Won which presents a programme of original Edwardian suffragette plays and songs plus an 'optional' discussion to follow. Information and bookings please to Louise at the above address and phone. GLASGOW: 13-19 Nov. STIRLING/EDINBURGH: 20-26 Nov. YORKSHIRE: 27 Nov-03 Dec. LONDON: 04 Dec onwards.

WOMEN'S PROJECT '78 Oval House Theatre, 54 Kennington Oval, London SE11. 01-735 2786.

Confinement is a play dealing with four women in the nick. Based on true events, it traces these women's lives inside and all the business of drugs, overcrowding, health facilities, you name it, which that entails. This play is at the Oval (no, not the cricket ground) until 3 December, and was written by Kate Phelps, codevised by Nancy Diuguid.

Also at the Oval Theatre, late nights on Friday, Saturday and Sunday until 3 Dec, are the Sadistas who, it says here, use music, dance and any form of mayhem that helps to prize open the packaging of present day myths about men as men and women as women.

7.84 THEATRE COMPANY 01-253 4049.

John Arden and Margeretta D'Arcy's new play Vandaleur's Folly is said to be marvellous. It deals with a well-meaning Anglo-Irish landlord 150 years ago in Co.Clare, who tried to turn his lands into a self-supporting co-operative. Harmless sounding, but in the context of the time and the place, it evoked the lot from Irish nationalists to outraged Protestantism, slave-trading, assassinations, and shades of the French Revolution.

Back Pages

The Ardens use this littleknown episode from Irish history to arouse and entertain through the 7.84 in their special way. Still no news however, of performances of their rewritten *Bally*gombeen Bequest, now called A Little Grey Home in the West, and purged of the content that burdened the Ardens in a fouryear libel lawsuit. This is a real shame.

OXFORD: 14-18 Nov. Oxford Playhouse. BELFAST: 21-25 Nov. Queen's University, Belfast. LIVERPOOL: 26 Nov-02 Dec. Various venues around the city. CHELTENHAM: 05 Dec. LEEDS: 07 Dec. Leeds University. BRADFORD: 07 Dec.

And now for some music details. The London Co-operative Society Education Department who organise the Singers Club every Saturday night at 7.45 in the The Bull and Mouth, 31 Bloomsbury Way, London WC1, are presenting Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger on 18 and 25 November.

The Birmingham Arts Lab have a full music programme for November and December at their centre in Holt Street, Brum (021-359 4192). They are holding regular Jazz and Rock and Guitar Workshops in Aston, Saturday afternoon concerts in the Holt Street bar, evening concerts at various venues, and then some, covering the whole range of modern music.

Agitprop

TRIBUNAL SETBACK

The work of the British left on Northern Ireland has received a most serious jolt following four key officers resigning from the International Tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland, which now seems in dire straights.

This whole area obviously requires careful and reasoned examination but for the while, we'll just look at this letter and its likely consequences. For a start it is a highly detailed missive naming the names and making many serious accusations against certain individuals and political factions.

The Tribunal was supposed to hold its preliminary hearing in London this November with a 32 distinguished body of judges to consider material the Tribunal had gathered and to serve notice on the British Government and news information of the major work it intended undertaking early in the new year.

This session has now been postponed till at least February, and the delay seems to have proved the final straw for the four founder members now out in the cold.

The Tribunal had built up an impressive range of sponsors in Britain and Ireland, the USA, Canada, Europe and Africa, but now each of these sponsors will be receiving the bitter resignation letter which will hardly endear the cause to them. The letter concluded: "There needs to be serious commitment on a large scale from forces genuinely concerned to make the project a success. It is the absence of this commitment which has permitted the growth within the Planning Committee of a parasitic and destructive caucus, and which has forced us out of activity as officers."

Whether the bitter tone and content of this resignation letter means the Tribunal, inspired by the various Russell Inquiries, is now a still-born project, remains to be seen.

ONE TOM AGAIN

Against the background of the self-dissolution of the **Troops Out Movement** (TOM), the **United Troops Out Movement** (UTOM) held a fruitful annual London meeting on the 21-22 October weekend, but encountered the repetitious problem that is (understandably) making it more and more difficult to persuade people to come across from Ireland.

One of the main speakers was Belfastman Joe Edwards, an executive committee member of the Trade Union Committee Against Repression (TUCAR).

PROVO MISCHIEF

Sure enough he was detained at Stranraer the Sunday night under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and held until the Friday when he was served with an Exclusion Order back to Belfast. This means he cannot return to Britain, a very real restriction that unsettles many other Irish activists. A week of pickets and demonstrations by UTOM helped gather publicity for the arrest, but it is yet another indication of how the PTA is used to smash free speech by any dissident on the subject of Ireland.

As for UTOM themselves, their conference showed their nation-wide range of branches has doubled since the split last year with TOM, and they were further encouraged by the warm reception their delegate received at last month's Ard Fheis of Provisional Sinn Fein in Dublin.

Amongst their forthcoming activities are an all-night vigil on December 10th in Trafalgar Square (the use of which they will be denied under the charming "unwritten ban" the Environment Department operate on the Square where Ireland is concerned) This vigil is to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.

UTOM are also pleased at the reception their excellent British Soldiers Speak Out on Ireland pamphlet has received, and indeed their film *Home Soldier Home* which is travelling the land. More information on both of these from their new address of Box no 20, 2a St Pauls Road, London N.1 or 021-643 9209.

BANGING THE DRUMM

The Provisional Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (AGM) last month in Dublin brought forth no new policies or declarations but mainly thundering re-commitments to their stated aims. One intervention from the floor however was rather lively.

A veteran delegate from Kerry opined that large British landowners in Ireland should be given twenty-four hours to pack their bags and leave or be "strung up from the nearest electricity pole"

He received a tremendous round of applause for this suggestion, and in reply, Jimmy Drumm, Belfast Husband of the murdered Maire Drumm, commented: "Perhaps we should refer it to another branch of our organisation". One wonders what he could mean by this.

MORE SECRETS BLOWN

ANOTHER HOLE in the wall of state secrecy has been drilled, with the revelation that the Sub-Regional Control for the Northern Region (Northumberland, Durham, Tyne & Wear, Cleveland) is located at Albermarle Barracks, Ouston Airfield, grid reference 084692 on O.S. map 88.

The north-east sector of the Committee Against State Secrecy observed a veritable hive of activity around this site on 18th October, during the "Operation Scrum Half" national military exercises.

Soldiers were all over the place, with top brass from the three forces apparently discussing plans for a "real emergency", and the communications equipment was being operated by TAVR personnel belonging to AFHQ1, 64 Squadron, 38 Signals Regiment, based in Sheffield.

The Ouston centre has apparently come into operation fairly recently, taking over from the Durham city base, probably at the police HQ at Aykley Heads.

THIS MUST STOP

THREE MORE County Councils are introducing Parliamentary Bills that would make it an offence to organise a procession or demonstration without giving seven days notice to the police and local authorities with full details.



The Councils are Cheshire, Merseyside and West Midlands. The aim is to increase police powers over demonstrations – especially in those instances when an immediate response is required to undesirable happenings.

It is only a short step before the laws are changed to require "permission" for a demonstration to be held at all. The Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law (CACTL, c/o 35 Wellington St., London WC2 (01-289 3877), is urging people to contact their MPs, local councils, Labour Party branches and the Home Secretary his very self, to protest this latest encroachment on liberty.

XMAS SEASON

NOW THEN, where were we. Ah yes, a day conference looms under the dab hand of one Jack Dromey who knows all there is to know about Understanding the Local Economy and the Development of Alternative Economic Strategies.

Just the thing for the Xmas season, and it all happens on Sat. 2nd December. Advance booking a must from the London Employment Development Project, London Council of Social Service, 68 Charlton Street, NW1. (388 0241).

KENYA

CASTING OUR EYES onto the African continent, we observe Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan writer of such as *Petals of Blood*, is still being held in detention, despite hopes of a post-Kenyatta thaw.

On Saturday 25 November, a one-day conference, with optional meal, will be held at the Africa Centre, King Street in Covent Garden, on the present situation in Kenya and on Ngugi's writings, a conference with speakers such as Moltens and Mitchell.

DUTCH COURAGE

In the Netherlands, the case of the 182 Moroccans who were admitted three years ago then told they were illegal immigrants who would be expelled, still continues with much uncertainty. The 182 have taken refuge in an Amsterdam Catholic Church where they intend remaining on hunger strike if necessary, until the Dutch Government deliver a favourable decision.

Many lawyers, trade unions, politicos, youth organisers and the like, are involved, and support should be expressed straight to the church itself: De Duif, Prinsengracht 756, Amsterdam.

DUTCH SQUAT

ANOTHER DUTCH struggle continues. In spite of relative prosperity, there is still a major housing shortage in Amsterdam, and some 10,000 squatters, organised in neighbourhood action groups, are fighting back and encountering the seamy violent side of property owning firms.

British capital in the shape of firms like Equity and Law, Slater Walker and Trust Houses, is heavily involved and the Dutch comrades, many of whom raided the British Embassy in protest at the London Huntley Street evictions, would appreciate help from here. Please write nasty letters for a start to Equity and Law, Korfe Voorhout 20, Denhaag, Nederland.

ARMY MUTINIES

Mutinies: 1917-1920 covering the whole area of hushed up British Army "incidents" from that period, if your appetite has been whetted by the Etaples story within this issue. Copies are 50p with some fine illustrations, and publishers are Solidarity, c/o 34 Cowley Road, Oxford, or c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6.

IRELAND AND NATO

The Future of Irish Neutrality is a strong argument for Ireland maintaining its current non-aligned status. Available from DAWN, 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6.

And the latest smokin' issue of An Weryn, the radical cornish mag, continues to chronicle the woes of that much-dumped on county. 10p from 23 Basset Street Redruth (217084).

BAD NUKES

Keeping up their energetic campaign against nukes, the **Windscale Appeal coalition** have found themselves badly out of pocket. The barristers they hired to present their case at the drawnout Windscale Inquiry last year have submitted bills, as is their endearing wont, for £14,252.30. Many Appealers are seriously in debt over this, and any financial help should be rushed to The Windscale Appeal Fund, c/o Nuclear Information Network, 29 Great James Street, London WC2.

Still on nukes, the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM) was tickled pink by the replies it received to its questionnaires sent to all candidates in the recent Scottish bye-election. The eventual Labour victor, Mr Home Robertson, merely came out with a statement from an aide who replied wittily: "These questions are too difficult to answer in a day. We are very busy you know." SCRAM are wondering whether the gentleman has worked anything out yet, or

has worked anything out yet, or whether he's still too busy sorting out the perks of the Westminster gravy-train. PLUTO WERE the first with the Big Red Diary, but now other left organisations are bringing out diaries. There are three principal runners for 1979: the BRD itself (on nuclear energy), and two newcomers: the Spare Rib Diary, celebrating ten years of the women's movement, and planned as a continuing publication; and Zed Press's Pan Africa Diary, also planned as an annual.

JOUI

diar.

All three follow the BRD formula: introductory political material, contact addresses, and historical events and other information slipped into the diary pages on the appropriate days. All three cost £1.50.

It must be admitted this is an awkward format. As diaries, for carrying around and writing dates and phone numbers in, they're not as efficient as those nasty little leather- or plastic-bound Smiths jobs. As reference books – well, one would buy a reference book. But the *BRD* has been so successful, there are clearly thousands of people to whom the hybrid appeals.

The BRD is not quite up to past standards. The introductory material has to cover such a vast range that it ends up in a sweeping, generalised, sensational style like Socialist Worker's. In the diary section, there is only one information item a week – which does leave the days clear for writing in.

Zed and Spare Rib have put lots of information in the day spaces. Spare Rib having the trendiest design (big chunky lettering and thick black lines) colours many days bright red which looks nice enough, but you need a juicy black felt tip to write on them. The diary has a good comprehensive contact list of women's organisations.

The Zed diary is all black and white, with small print in which is conveyed an absolutely staggering amount of information. There's 27 pages of introduction, facts on every African country – trade, finance, imperialist military bases and political domination – a long bibliography, and an African

health section with advice on first aid and caring for children, particularly the starving. At the end of each week there's a "Did you know?" feature with startling facts. And there are five extra two-page spreads within the diary section on African political issues.

An old gripe about the BRD has been its flimsy binding, and size too big for the pocket. It looks the same this year. The Spare Rib Diary is similarly bound, and threatens to disintegrate by June, but is even bigger in page size. It fits a handbag, but does everyone carry one?

The Pan Africa Diary is smaller and handier. It is more firmly bound. It seems by far the best buy – though, of course, most people will want the diary whose subject most closely covers the field of their political activity and interest.

The Zed diary doesn't have the smart design or laid-back style of the others – but it does have the smartest single line: on the second page, the message to anyone who finds the diary, if it's been lost, is, before you send it back - read it.

Prison secrets

by Laurie Taylor and Stan Cohen

'Prison Secrets is an extensive critique of the impact of the Official Secrets Act upon the prison system. Not an academic study, but a campaigning document, it operates on two levels. On the one hand, it reveals a system of secrecy in the prisons which is "gross and indefensible." On the other, it emphasises how the Official Secrets Act imposes on every aspect of prison life. Cohen and Taylor describe the extensive apparatus which preserves secrecy about the prisons.' Mike Fitzgerald, New Society.

Published by the National Council for Civil Liberties and Radical Alternatives to Prison. £1.25 Available from NCCL, 186 Kings Cross Road,

London WC1.

IS SURREALISM DEAD? 25 year old writer is keen to contact any one interested in transforming mental as well as physical life. Robert West, 75 Woodlands Avenue, Emsworth, Hants.

HELP Scotsman offers services free in return training in joinery, electrical building, plumbing. Any skill craft. Will help any selfemployed anywhere. DIY, hard-up handyman, desperate person. Fred Conn, 8 Thistle Place, Aberdeen, Scotland.

CHEAPEST air tickets to all places plus car and house insurance at low rates. Comrades welcome to make enquiries. Sunflower, 1-3 Grasmere Avenue Slough, Bucks. Ring Slough 20915 anytime.

FRANZ FANON, Soweto and American Black thought by Lou Turner and John Allan. 60p (inc p&p). Also Marx's Capital and today's global crisis by Raya Dunayevskaya. £1. Both from News and Letters Publications, Box NL, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

JAIL JOURNAL bi-monthly magazine of the Prisoners' Rights Organisation. Articles and news items on conditions in Irish prisons. Details of action being taken to combat injustice in the courts, police stations and jails. The Prisoners Rights Organisation was founded in 1973 and campaigns for radical changes in Irish penal and criminal justice system Subscriptions: £1.50 for six issues. Airmail £3. PRO, 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH 1979 CALENDER. An eco-theme every month, on 100% recycled paper. Only 50p (+10p p&p) From MKFOE, 9 Warren Bank, Simpson Milton Keynes.

PAGAN New Year cards with traditional carols restored to pre-Christian words. Set of six 75p. Norman Iles, 381 Marine Road, Morecambe, Lancs.

SOLIDARITY 6 NOW OUT! Crisis illusions, miniturisation, sexual revolution betrayed, France 1968 enigma. Libertarian socialist. FREE from 23 Solar Court, Etchingham Park Road, London N3 2DZ.

CITY POLITICS: Community Action and the Local State. Weekend event 2-3 Dec. Workshops, film, local people discuss local problems. Details: Leeds Communist Party, 5 Westminster Buildings, New York Street, Leeds 2.

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

COPS GAZETTE names MPs, police officers and lawyers who aid and abet crime. Please send sae and donation for your copy to its editor J Bardwaj, 35 Ascot Road, Luton, Beds, (Committee for Prevention of Police State parliamentary candidate, Luton East).

ROOM IN FLAT OR BEDSIT wanted urgently in Camden/ Islington area. Ring: 01-732 2119 - Ian Walker.

PDC is a distribution collective of small radical publishers (books, pamphlets and periodicals). We are looking for 2 or 3 energetic people to join the London and Northern collectives (non-hierarchical, wage parity, etc.) The work ranges from parcel packing and book keeping to dealing with publishers and selling to shops. MUST be able to drive, know something about publishing, or distribution, or magazines or something relevant and be sympathetic to our publishers. Wages work out at £9 net per long 9 hrs + day working 3-5 days per week. Unemployed people preferred also someone with accounts experience. Apply in writing giving details to PDC (Jobs) 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1R.OAT.

Banner Theatre Company, Birmingham, have recently been awarded a revenue grant by West Midlands Arts, and now employ a full-time coordinator. Their current tour programme includes Dr. Healey's Casebook which was commissioned by the National Union of Public Employees, is a show about the effect of spending cuts on our Welfare State. The Great Divide is a play about racialism and the dangers of Fascism.

Banner Theatre have very strong links with the labour movement and have written shows for NUPE, NALGO, UCATT, as well as Chile Solidarity and the Indian Workers Association.

For further details of performances, bookings etc. contact, Bernard O'Donnell 021-328 4446.



NEWS FROM NEASDEN

A CATALOGUE OF NEW RADICAL PUBLICATIONS

NEWS FROM NEASDEN

'Books, pamphlets, reports etc are listed under various subject headings from sexual politics to theory and history. Each entry includes a short des-criptive annotation with full bibliographic information. Mailed free to bookshops, and financed by radical publishers, the service is non-critical. Nevertheless, it is a help for any library collecting materials not likely to be found elsewhere.' Bill Katz, Library Journal.

News from Neasden started in August '75 and is now mailed to 870 bookshops (300 UK, 400 North America, 120 Australia and New Zealand, 50 Europe). Since February '77 we have included some 'real' reviews which have encouraged subscriptions and bookshop sales. We have increased our coverage of shops outside the UK and received more titles from publishers outside the UK and we hope this will continue.

LIBRARY SUBSCRIPTION

A grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation has allowed us to mail a sample copy of the Spring '78 issue to major public and university libraries (2,000 on Bowker's list for the USA and 2,500 on the IBIS list outside the

We are offering a subscription to run from June '78 to June '79. It will include a copy of our address list of bookshops and publishers to be published in June or soon after; three issues of News from Neasden, published in August '78, November '78 and February '79; an index by author and title to the three issues, together with a listing of titles by subject area, to be published soon after the February '79 issue. Libraries subscribing during the year will receive the back issues already published during that subscription year. Future subscriptions will also run from June to June. The subscription is £5 or \$10.

MICROFICHE/MICROFILM

The grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation will allow us to offer a microfiche/microfilm of the first nine issues of News from Neasden, so that libraries subscribing now will have the complete run. It is published with an index by author and title, together with a listing of titles by subject area. The microfiche costs $\frac{5}{10}$ a set, the microfilm $\frac{10}{20}$ a set, post free. The microfilm is available in a VSMF cassette. Other cassettes and cartridges may be available but the price may vary.

We will send a sample copy to librarians reading this who have not already received one.

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Sembene Ousmane and The Dispossessed by Ursula Leguin

The Bookmarx Club is now an established method for socialists to get the best of new socialist books at a big discount - and delivered to your door. In past guarters members have received books by such well known writers as Alexandra Kollontai, John MacLean, and Leon Trotsky. Indispensable books of reference such as Your Rights at Work and The Political Police in Britain, and have been introduced to little known classics such as Second Class Citizen by Buchi Emecheta God's Bits of Wood by

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LIST A

Marxism and the Party by Molyneux

How to build the revolutionary party? and how t ke it relate to the workers? Vital questions fo all Marxists. Molyneux draws together for the first time the writings of key Marxists on the

Our Flag Stays Red by Phil Piratin (1.50)

A new reprint of this exciting classic of the battle against fascism on the streets of East London before the war, written by a veteran of Cable

LIST C

The Politics of Nuclear Power ed. Dave Elliott. (1.95).

The first book on this subject to address itself to trade unionists, and consider the effects of the nuclear industry on jobs, TU rights and health and safety. Who really pays for Nukes-and who

Crash of '79 by Paul Erdman (95p) wittiest political/financial thriller to appear in a long time'

LIST E

Finding a Voice: Asian Women in Britain by Amrit Wilson (2.50) By using extended interviews and a minimum of editorial comment, Amrit Wilson presents a

powerful but perceptive picture of British Society from the point of view of Asian women. Fathers and Daughters by Kathy Porter (1.00)

An absorbing account of the Russian women revolutionaries who were active in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Limited edition paper of this book previously only available in a £6 hardback.

LIST B

The Mandate of Heaven, Marx & Mao in Modern China by Nigel Harris (2.50)

China's revolution and transformation to a superpower is a modern legend, but how did the transformation come about? How do peasants and workers there really live? And if Mao was right why was Marx wrong? Nigel Harris' long awaited book

Ireland Unfree Steve Berry (75) Might be subtitled Ireland-a marxist analysisa really excellent introduction to the cause of and (socialist) solution to the problems of the rish people

LIST D

Cwmardy by Lewis Jones (1.95) A classic documentary novel, newly reprinted, of the militant pre-first-war days in a mining community in the Rhonda. Masters of the Dew by Jacques

Roumain (1.20).

Manuel returns from Cuba to his home village Haiti to find his family divided and stricken drought. He uses his experience of politic awareness and solidarity from abroad to solve their problems. A political fable written in 1944.

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