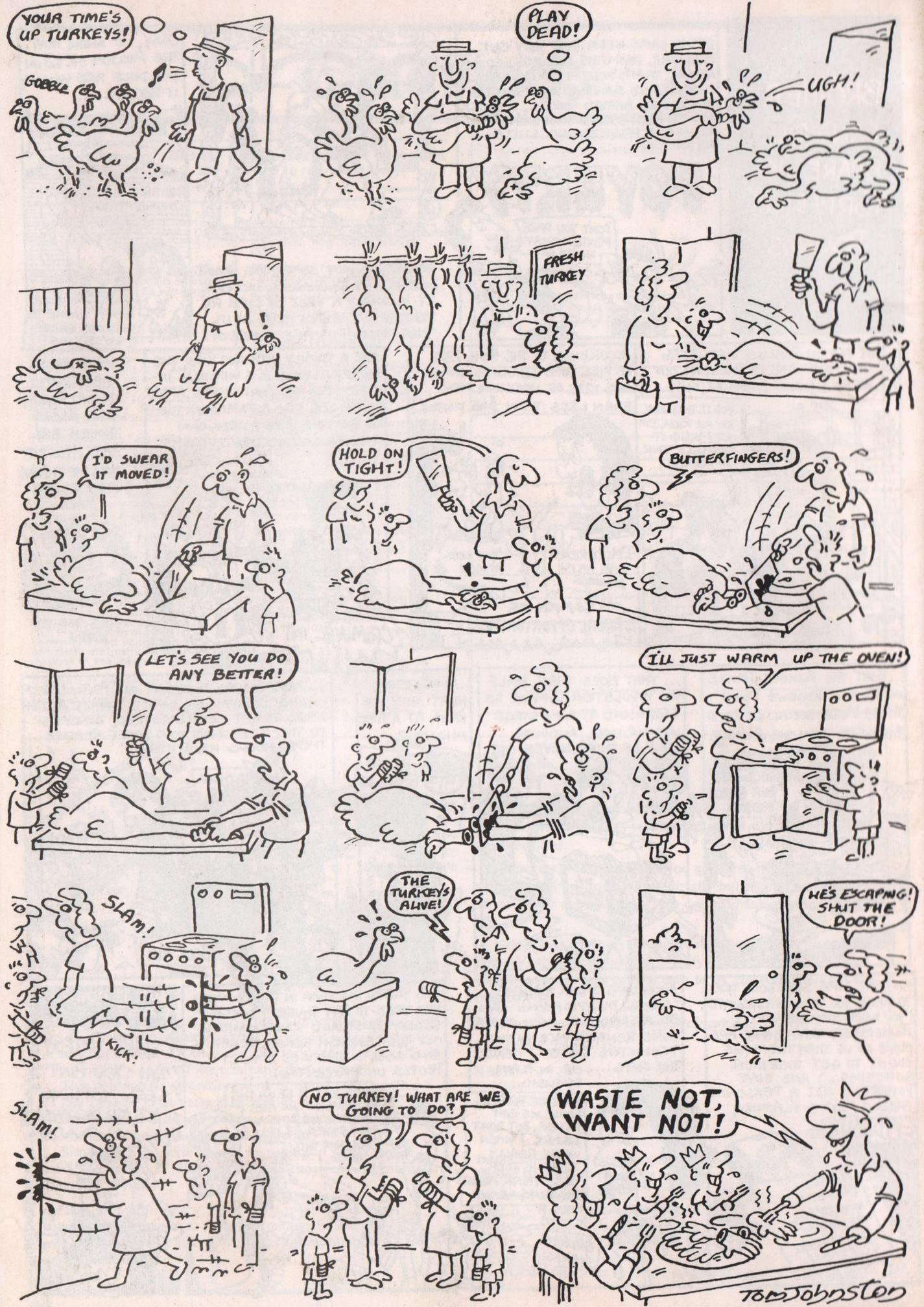


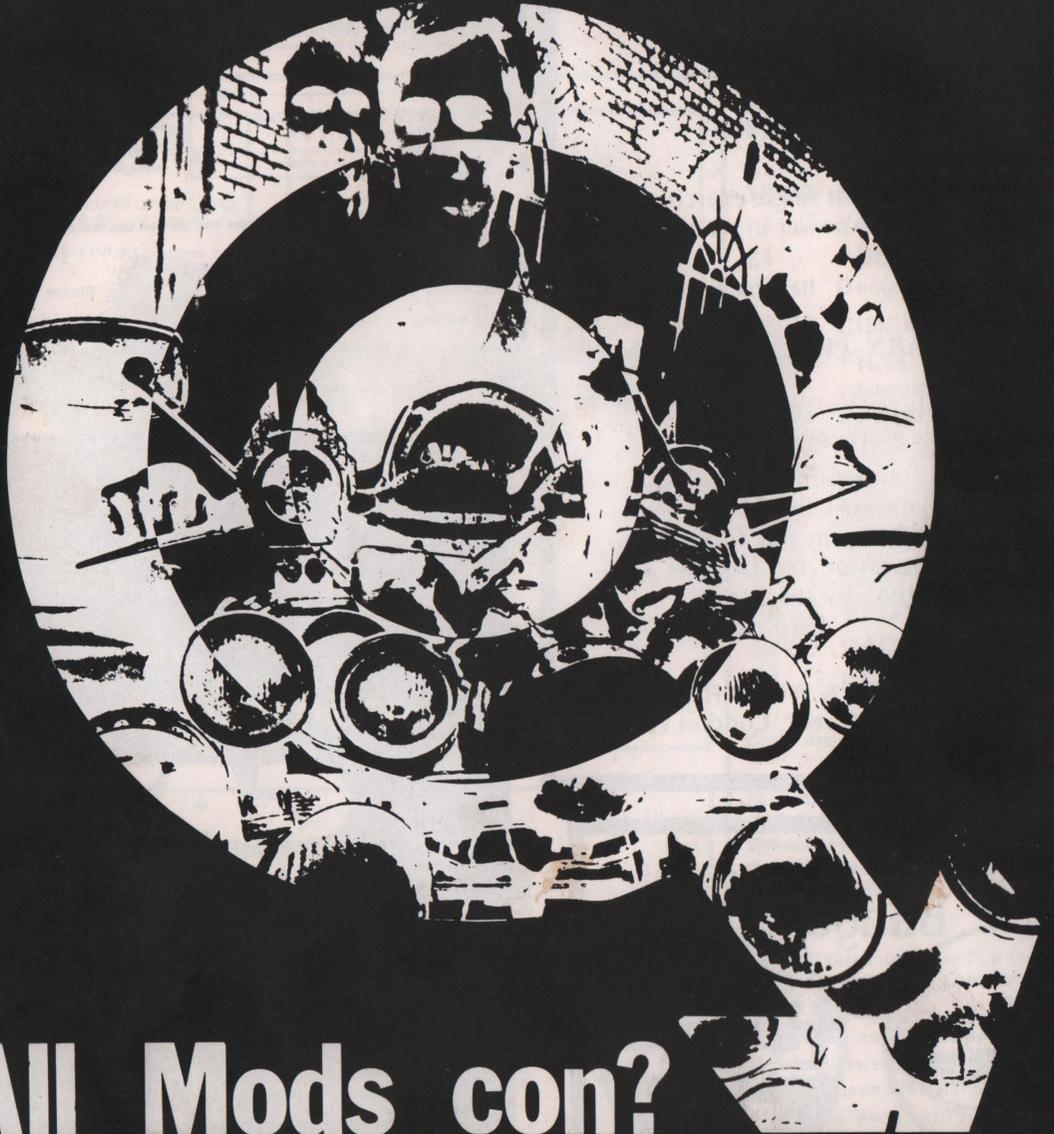
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# the Leveller

No 34 Jan '80 40p

The Blunt case for treason  
New facts on Blair Peach  
Apocalypse Now and How



## All Mods con?

"We don't believe in politics, we just hate Margaret Thatcher."

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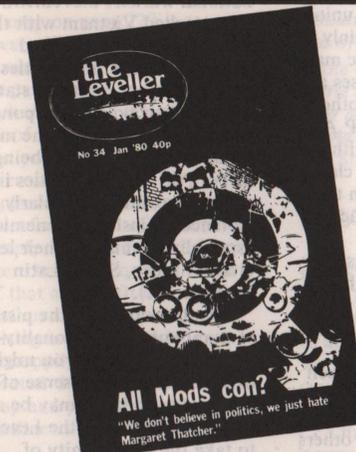
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**JANUARY 1980**

**INSIDE:**

  
the Leveller  
No 34 Jan '80 40p  
All Mods con?  
"We don't believe in politics, we just hate Margaret Thatcher."  
Are you a la mod? Or are you perplexed by this term two-tone? Puzzled by the antics of young people today? Do you long for that feature that article entitled "The Politics of Mod"? Turn now to pages 18-19;

**THE OUTSIDER** AA  
A cause he believed in, but did not understand. In a country he loved, but did not know.  
  
"Apocalypse Now" might refer to its advance publicity, but they tried to keep quiet about "The Outsider". We've seen them both — pages 24-25.

  
A rough winter is ahead under Thatcher, and the left is getting geared up.—the CP and Big Flame sort themselves out. Pages 26-27.

  
We don't care too much about the Queen having a mole in her garden. We do care about why Blunt did what he did. See pages 10-11.

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# Letters

Letters marked \* have been cut.

## TAKE THE SHAME

WE WISH to dissociate ourselves from your version of our piece about working in a health collective ("Theory into Medical Practice", *Leveller* 33), because it misrepresents us. We were speechless with fury when we read it. By ignoring our explicit requests, callously disregarding the results of our care and effort and failing to inform us of the changes you made, you displayed a complete lack of respect for people engaged in another area of the same struggle to which you claim commitment. Or was it merely sloppy journalism?

Our specific complaints are:

1. You revealed where we are, when we had specifically asked you not to: our article deliberately referred only to "an inner city area" because we have no desire to advertise.
  - a. We are working to build a collective which can tackle the problems of primary health care for an ordinary local community, not appealing just to a trendy-left elite and creating an alternative enclave. (We are anxious *not* to attract a disproportionate number of *Leveller* readers to our list.)
  - b. Identification of the practice might lay us open to a charge of advertising by the General Medical Council.
2. The ways in which you shortened our contribution gave a totally distorted emphasis to our work:
  - a. You labelled people by their names and jobs. But, as members of a collective, we didn't want to be singled out by name (and therefore didn't sign the pieces) and each writer had already explained their job in terms we found appropriate.
  - b. You entirely left out an essential contribution by a patient. Don't you think they're important.
  - c. You cut the piece about the management collective in a way which made it bland and almost meaningless - the writer had explained the specific constraints on true patient control in general practice, but you left that bit out.
  - d. Having agreed enthusiastically to our suggestion of photographs to illustrate our work, and knowing that we'd had them taken specially, you didn't

print any of the excellent pictures we offered you. The result was that over half the space was taken up by people labelled doctors, talking about their view of their work. That isn't what we're about, it isn't what health care is about and it isn't the impression that our version of the article would have given.

3. You had agreed to discuss any changes with us - but you didn't even inform us of them. After we gave you the copy, our only communication was a telephone conversation when one of you told one of us that you'd print the whole thing as it stood.

It took us four years to agree to allow anyone to print anything about us - because we felt we couldn't trust the "straight" press. We changed our minds when you offered us space to describe, discuss and illustrate our work. Now we know we can't trust you either.

*The Health Collective*

## WOMEN'S STREET THEATRE

WE ARE COMPILING an anthology of Women's Street Theatre since the sixties, and wondered if any readers who had ever been, (or are still), involved in street theatre could help us.

We envisage a book documenting the histories of some theatre groups plus extracts from scripts and personal comments representing the wide variety of productions and events in the last nineteen years.

It is important to document at least part of the huge amount of material which as yet goes unrecorded. Therefore we are interested in any information at all; the essence of street theatre is that almost anyone can get involved, and we would be as pleased to receive plays scrawled on the back of cigarette packets as lengthy productions, and are especially keen to receive personal reminiscences, or photographs. The book will concentrate on women's work but will also include some material from mixed groups concerned with the issues of the women's movement.

We will, of course, acknowledge all sources, though as we are receiving no funds for this we can offer no payment, only the satisfaction of seeing your work and experiences in print!

We hope to raise funds for Brighton Women's Arts Alliance and other women's art groups through this publication.

*Julia Darling and Jan Clements,  
3a Westhill Road,  
Brighton*

## HEAVILY MALE VOICES

I WAS REALLY disappointed to read in the article by Rose Shapiro on the TUC abortion demo (*Leveller* 33) the ridiculous comment "I too was pretty fed up with heavily male trade union atmosphere engendered mainly by the irritating and oppressive male voice (the kind that addresses a room full of women as 'brothers') barking messages over the P.A."

I too am pretty fed up with this sort of attitude to working class men which I come across in the women's movement. Did the bloke address us all as "brothers"? No. So what is her complaint? She didn't like his voice!

Perhaps the more refined tones of a soft spoken middle class woman or man would have been more to Rose Shapiro's liking, but it would certainly not have gone down well with many others on the demo.

Can we please confine our criticisms of men to what they actually do or say. If we start imputing motives to their vocal cords paranoia is really setting in.

*Pauline Bryan,  
Leeds*

## TROTSKY TRAGEDY

ACCOMPANYING your centenary 'joke' piece on Trotsky ('We Lift the Coffin Lid on Trotsky', *Leveller* 33), you had a cartoon depicting a seance with Trotsky in which he could not hear 'because I've got this bleeding ice-pick in my ear'. I found this cartoon disgusting, not because of its 'tastelessness', nor because it knocks Trotsky, but because of the complete lack of political understanding and political perspective that it reflects: a lack of awareness of the real tragedy of Trotsky's death and, more importantly, of what that death stands for.

Trotsky is probably the most well-known of Stalin's victims, but, strange to say, he was not the only one. The counter-revolution in the USSR and the strangulation of the world workers' movement that were carried out by the bureaucracy headed by Stalin directly claimed the lives of millions of peasants, workers and revolutionaries. Is it really necessary to point out the tragedy of this, not only of the loss of the lives of those women and men but also of its catastrophic effects on world politics for the last half century? The death of Trotsky, precisely because he was Stalin's most famous opponent, has come to be a symbol, a reminder, of that holocaust. There is simply nothing in this to joke about.

Perhaps for you all this is past history? Perhaps you cannot understand that these events had a crucial influence on the world as it is today? OK: but you might at least consider that the very same violence that killed Trotsky is being practised *today* all over the world.

The Communist Parties whose uninterrupted line of descent is from Stalin (and which in most cases acknowledge that descent) *today* murder their opponents, their opponents being anyone who stands in the way of their dominance of the international workers movement. China has attacked Vietnam with this aim; Vietnam has attacked Kampuchea. Stalinist parties in control of post-capitalist states murder their political opponents as a matter of routine, the most notable recent example being that of Pol Pot. Stalinist parties in the capitalist countries regularly use violence against their 'enemies', especially enemies to their left (Italy, France, Spain, Latin America...).

By all means take the piss out of pompous and 'personality-cult' Trotskyism (though you might find someone with a sense of humour to do it). It may be asking too much to expect the *Leveller* to take the opportunity of Trotsky's centenary to print a debate on his ideas: your journal seems to have an insular and sectarian tendency, which sees it as more important to knock a few Trot sects than to debate issues of world politics. But you should at least restrain your dilettante impulses when it comes to a tragic and serious subject: the continuing bloodbath of Stalinism.

*Jamie Gough  
London WC1.*

## ABOUT GENDER

BOB MELLORS has a notion that 'evolution' is synonymous with 'progress'. This is not the case: in the course of evolution many species achieved a stable form only to die out when they were unable to adjust to a changing environment. He doesn't appear to understand neotony either: it's about breeding not mating. If neotony occurred in human beings, it would simply mean that children would start to have babies.

What has this got to do with gender ambiguous people? The 'key concept' in evolution is the ability to reproduce successfully - gender ambiguous people take part in the evolutionary process by passing on their genes.

Bob Mellors feels that gay people have a biological role in the development of the species - indeed he wants to be part of an evolutionary vanguard. But the idea of fulfilling biological roles is one the left is supposed to reject.

*Chris Stretch  
London*

## BLANK MAPS

ONE OF THE problems of publishing a book like *Beneath the City Streets* is that when relatively ordinary things go wrong, spectators are inclined to spot a conspiracy.

In the interests of factual reporting the explanation of the

# Letters

blank map on page 229 is as follows:

A whole series of maps were prepared using an overlay technique. At a late stage of proof-reading, it appeared that our printers had lost the Microwave overlay. We replaced it but did not ask to see a further set of proofs simply to avoid further delay, there had been quite enough of that as a result of the various anxieties and threats arising around the ABC case. Unhappily, our printers treated the overlay as a fresh map and printed the blank outline as a separate item.

I do hope that this sounds plausible. Perhaps in return for asking you and your readers to believe it, Peter Laurie and I will refrain from seeing anything sinister in your map which appears to place Pimlico to the North East of London and has a mysterious location referred to as "Eys" floating somewhere on a direct line between Kelvedon Hatch and Martlesham Heath.

*Peter Sommer  
Non-Fiction Editor  
Granada Publishing*

*Collective note: No sinister conspiracy was suggested, just editing cock-ups. We even lost "Sibleys" from our own definitive map, as you correctly point out. Swaffham, in Norfolk, failed to get its label too.*

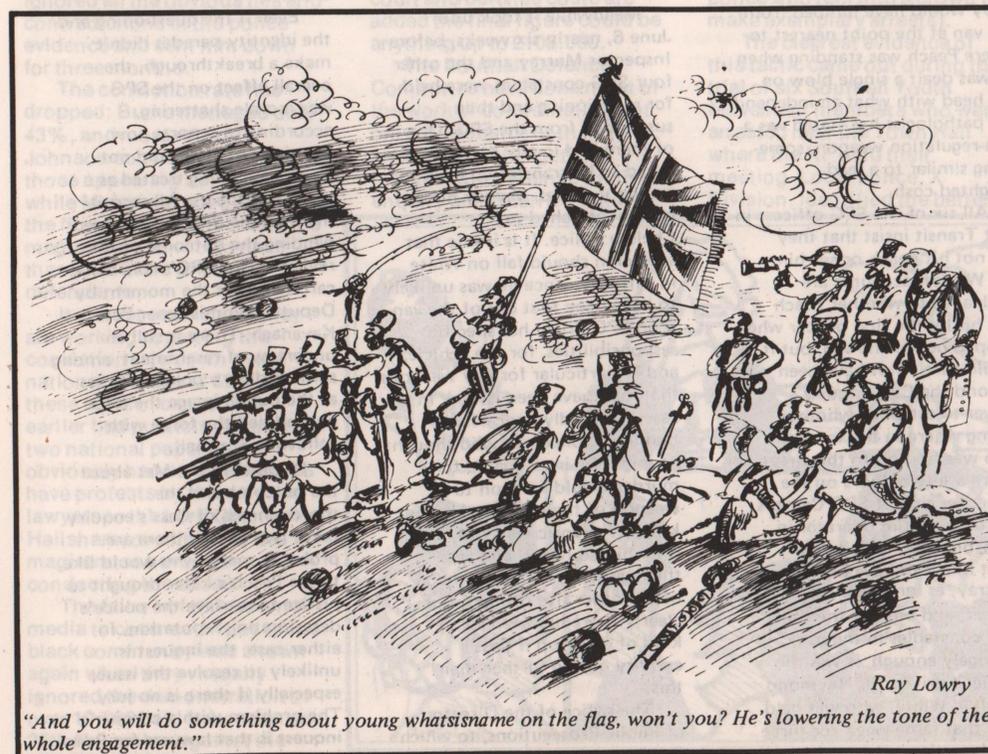
*Still, "Pimlico" Post Office Tower, at Kings Langley,*

*shouldn't be confused with the area of Kensington and Chelsea of the same name, as Messrs. Laurie and Sommer should know. After all, it's indexed in the second edition of Beneath the City Streets.*

## ANARCHY IN THE UK

QUESTION: IS ANARCHY (a) a Greek Airline (b) absence of government (c) what you wake up to after a Leninist party (d) a dirty word in independent socialist circles (e) a revolutionary magazine (f) self-confessed 'Chinese CP Chairman' Hua's proclaimed 'enemy' (g) all of the above? @nswr: (g)

Jimmy Pursey's proposed 'strike' is useless as Cr@ss put it: '... after the horse has bolted'. But, is Cr@ss's pacificism merely anti-militarism? A lot of @anarchists in the past (the USSR, Italy, Germany, Spain and Hungary this century) and the present use self-defence, attack not only Authority but also Authoritarians! Their insights are commendable though the NF & BM are run by doddering old fools... and deluded nuts with money and uniforms to slop around the macho unemployed and bored workers. The Mod versus Rocker 're-run' fights seem as divisive of yer workas and at a neat profit to the bosses who market such rubbish and the pseudo journalists who ever so sincerely interpret the 'fashions' for us...



*"And you will do something about young whatsisname on the flag, won't you? He's lowering the tone of the whole engagement."*

And what of the cops, screws and private police who as a boover Law and Order shock troop pale all these other skirmishes. After all it's only the protection of the State's goons that saves these NF and BM public appearances from the apathy or angry disgust of locals and passers-by.

Will RAR & RAS ever advance to RA the State or specifically RA the Police, RARPrisons? Even the RARecruitment seems to have been braked by the 'don't tar us with the same brush we are different, better' Statists of the ANL and SWP! The TARA and UDA types would soon go down if the RUC and British Barmy weren't protecting them!

What about RA the Cuts to bring together local groups and to raise funds for closing hospitals, and public utilities? Ah but that might undercut the State, Parliamentarians and Trade Union 'leaders'; not whitewash the bloody Labour Party (with new improved Lefty enzyme Benn and friends) which started the Cuts.

If the NF or BM yobboes tried to bust up such community self-defence organising, they would quickly be reduced to hit and run tactics to which would surely follow reprisals to their homes and hangouts. This situation has occurred in Italy with the MSI cafes, cars, fund-raisers and 'hit-men' and rapists coming under proletarian justice. This 'violence' is very distasteful to the left trying to woo the bourgeoisie and a share of State power but of some satisfaction to the comrades in prison and the sufferers of industrial 'accidents' and right wing intimidation.

Organisation based on co-operation and not co-ercion is @narchy, the third alternative to fascism or State communism and the capitalist chaos of the present world.

Come back Guy Fawkes, all is forgiven.  
*ML. Berneri Lambeth*

## SOGAT'S WHAT'S WRONG

TIM GOPSILL's article on the Labour Press in the September *Leveller* has already come under attack from a number of contributors, but there is another aspect of it which also needs correction.

I most certainly did not say: 'I would have had to use the paper (the SOGAT Journal) for educational purposes, to raise women's issues to educate the men.' What I said was that I would have liked to have done so in the particular case under discussion.

Gopsill's sloppy reporting therefore reverses my views. Since I took over as editor I have in fact consistently tried to use the SOGAT Journal to raise broader social and political issues, including women's issues. If one particular approach is blocked, for any reason, the obvious thing to do is find other ways of dealing with an issue, and this is what I have done.

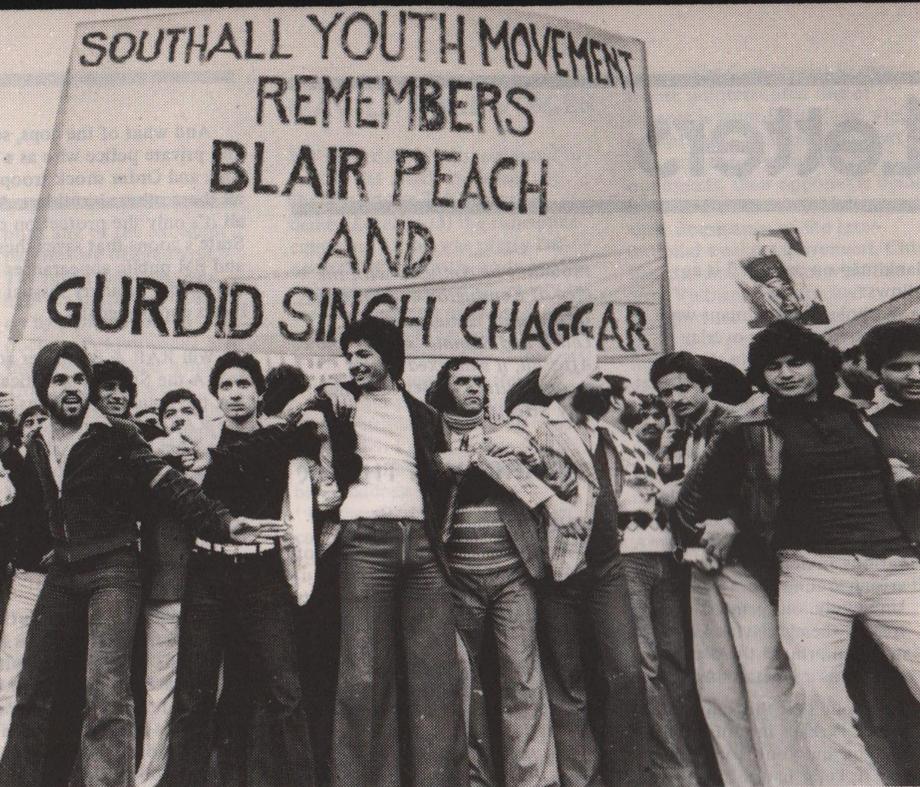
The question of 'democratising' trade union journals is a very interesting and important one. What a pity Tim Gopsill does not seem to have the ability or the understanding to address himself to it properly.

*John Jennings  
Editor, SOGAT Journal*

*Collective note: We readily accept that John Jennings has used the SOGAT Journal to raise serious political and social issues, including women's issues. If the report inadvertently implied the opposite we apologise.*

*We inadvertently left out the address of The Paraguay Committee for Human Rights when they wrote in Leveller 32 saying they would provide info for people interested in that country. The address is 15 Burford Gardens, Palmers Green, London N13 4LR.*

*AN APOLOGY is in order for two inaccuracies in our article 'Magistrates Unknown' (Leveller 32). The wages of stipendiary magistrates are paid from the Consolidated Fund, not by the Metropolitan Police Receiver, as we stated. Kenneth James Cooke did not try any Southall cases at Barnet Magistrates Court. The stipendiary in question was Harold James Cook. The conviction figures we gave were correct, but the biographical information refers to Cooke. Sorry for the confusion...*



# Six names out of the blue

The inquest on Blair Peach re-opens soon, but will it identify his killer? THE LEVELLER looks at the evidence

THE CORONER'S INQUEST into the death of Blair Peach, the Anti-Nazi League member clubbed to death during the demonstration against the National Front in Southall on April 23, was due to open, without a jury, at Hammersmith Town Hall on December 10. It may now be postponed for a time following an appeal by lawyers for Peach's family against the High Court decision not to allow a jury to sit.

Although lawyers and the press are still being denied access to Scotland Yard's official report into Peach's death, conducted by Commander Cass of the Yard's Complaints Investigation Bureau (CIB 2) new information as come to *The Leveller's* attention which implies that prime suspicion for Peach's murder has narrowed down to six police officers. The six officers in question were all, at the time, members of the Metropolitan Police Special Patrol Group stationed at Barnes, the SPG headquarters in Middlesex. (There are six SPG units each of 33 officers, in the Met SPG all stationed at strategic points throughout the city.) Witness accounts suggest that it was Ford Transit SPG Carrier from No. 1 Unit which pulled off Southall Broadway and parked at the bottom of Beechcroft Ave immediately before Peach was killed that evening. At almost the same time, around 8.30p.m., a second Transit from No. 3 Unit SPG, (based at

Leytonstone), came to a halt at the top of Beechcroft Ave., just off the Broadway.

The SPG officers said to be in No. 1 Unit van were: Inspector Murray, in charge of the Unit, driver PC Raymond White and four police constables, Freestone, Lake, Richardson and Scottow. Two more officers from the same van had already gone off to deal with two demonstrators arrested earlier. They would have jumped from the van at the point nearest to where Peach was standing when he was dealt a single blow on the head with what an independent pathologist has stated was a non-regulation weapon, something similar to a lead-weighted cosh.

All six of the SPG officers in that Transit insist that they did not hit Peach or see him hit. Witness accounts are unclear as to whether Peach was hit by the first officer who jumped out of the van, but it would surely not have been beyond the Cass enquiry's power to establish who was sitting where in the van and who was first on to the street. There are two doors on the passenger side of SPG Carriers, one of the radio operator in the front seat, in this case most likely to have been Murray, as senior-ranking officer, and one for the other four constables in the back. Strangely enough, it was the Carrier's driver, PC Raymond 'Chalky' White, who was held later that same week for three days' continuous questioning by

Cass and the enquiry team. His locker at Barnes SPG HQ was opened and in it was found a spring-loaded non-regulation cosh, a 'souvenir' from a private visit White had made to New York. Also in White's locker was a driving licence which had been reported stolen. He was suspended from duty for having the cosh and the license and it looks likely that he will be dismissed from the Met.

Meanwhile it took until June 6, nearly six weeks, before Inspector Murray and the other four SPG constables were held for questioning and then suspended from the SPG. One of them had in any case already asked to be transferred back to ordinary duties. Murray himself is now attached to Chelsea police. It is ironic that suspicion should fall on White in this way, since he was unlikely to have been first out of the van — an SPG driver has specific responsibilities, for the vehicle, and in particular for any weapons that may have been issued. In any case, it's hardly conceivable that any policeman who thought he might be investigated for murder would hang on to a weapon of the kind used in the killing. Forensic tests did clear his 'souvenir' and also the regulation-issue truncheon of the other five officers, but clearly there has been some kind of cover-up if Cass's enquiry got no further than this.

The office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, to which Cass's report was submitted,

are said to be concerned about their inability to prosecute Peach's killer. They also feel that a 'conspiracy' to pervert the course of justice' charge wouldn't stick. When all six officers were put on separate identity parades during June and July, none of the witnesses (both civilian and police) were able to identify a single one as the man who dealt the fatal blow.

Even if the questioning and the identity parades didn't make a breakthrough, the overall effect on the SPG was morale-shattering, according to reports now filtering out. They did not appreciate being treated as murder suspects. All recruitment to the SPG was stopped pending the outcome of the review of the SPG's role being carried out at the moment by Deputy Commissioner Peter Kavanagh. There is still an undertow of resentment among some ordinary police officers at the public image the SPG has saddled the force with following Southall.

Disquiet in the Met about the outcome and the thoroughness of Cass's enquiry takes two forms: there are probably many who would like to see Peach's killer brought to justice to retrieve the police's deteriorating reputation. In either case, the inquest is unlikely to resolve the issue, especially if there is no jury. The problem with a coroner's inquest is that lawyers for Peach Peach's family won't be able to

see statements made to Cass's enquiry beforehand, as they would in an ordinary trial. That means they will be less able to ask the kind of searching questions that might reveal any inconsistencies in police evidence. The inquest witness list does not distinguish any SPG officers though the names of those said to be the main suspects appear there along with some forty others.

While all this has been going on, an interesting diversion has surfaced in the shape of a telephone call to Southall Rights in October 11. The anonymous caller claimed

to have been on holiday in Greece during the summer, where he overheard two former Metropolitan policemen bragging that they had killed Peach. They had resigned from 'Q' District's Willesden division in June, Scotland Yard subsequently confirmed that the officers in question were Philip Dyer and Mark 'Stavos' Richards, and said that they were being questioned by Cass's team. It is unlikely they will be called to the inquest, since they were not on duty in Southall on April 23.

There are growing official police claims that the campaign

backing the hunt for Peach's killer and for the disbanding of the SPG is a 'left-wing witch-hunt'. In the light of other police and Home Office opinion the claim may have a certain logical charm for people like James Jardine of the Police Federation.

Commissioner David McNee has been stressing during his time in London that major demonstrations cost a lot of money and overstretch police resources dangerously. The Tories have promised a review of the Public Order Act (1936) — that is hardly likely to suggest reduced restrictions on demos. Though the review of the SPG's role is not

expected to be complete until early in the New Year, there are rumours that an expansion of the SPG may be recommended, rather than reduction or disbandment.

A bigger SPG would certainly help Whitelaw as things get worse for the Tories. Given the current climate of distrust over police actions in Liverpool, Glasgow and Newcastle and the feeling that Operation Countryman is unearthing considerable corruption in the Met and the City of London police, even a public enquiry into the death of Blair Peach may prove insufficient in the end. And we're still a long way from a public enquiry.

# The Southall cases grind on

THE TWO POLICE witnesses had contradicted each other and had also admitted comparing notes outside the court room. But they both agreed that they had seen Ian Robinson outside 6 Parkview Road Southall on the 23rd April with two bricks in his hands. He had thrown the brick in his right hand at them first and then transferred the other from his left hand to his right hand before throwing that also.

Unfortunately for the prosecution, the defendant was left handed. The magistrate, Mr Meier, was particularly interested to know that when Ian Robinson played cricket he bowled with his left arm. The case against the defendant was finally dismissed. He was lucky that his case had not been tried earlier because some of the previous magistrates, who have spent two weeks each at Barnet Court, might well have ignored all the obvious lies and contradictions in the police evidence and sent him down for three months.

The conviction rate has dropped: Burke managed only 43%, and more recently Johnson convicted 64% of those appearing before him, while Meier managed 43%. In the first weeks of the trials, the magistrates convicted more than four-fifths of the defendants.

It almost seems as if they are working at getting the conviction rate down to the national average of 52% in these sorts of cases. The earlier bad publicity in one or two national papers had obviously had some effect, as have protests by the defence lawyers to the Lord Chancellor, Hailsham, over the way the magistrates have been conducting the cases.

The failure of the national media to cover activities of the black community was shown again when they virtually ignored the demonstration of over 10,000 held in London on 25th November against the new Tory immigration and

nationality acts. The demonstration had been called by the three Indian Workers Associations and by many other black groups and had shown a united front with the ANL, Labour Party and CP against state racism. The only coverage in the *Guardian* for instance showed a photo of Tony Benn speaking, not one of the black leaders.

The Southall Defence and Campaign Committees were also active on the march, drawing attention to the continuing trials of the 342 people arrested during the murderous police riot in Southall on 23rd April. The trials are likely to last well into January and with many of the more serious cases still to come the number of those sent to prison will go well over the present thirteen. The fines at the beginning of December totalled £12,000 and this is likely to double. When the court and defence costs are added the final figure could be anything up to £100,000.

The Southall Defence Committee have done most of the work of co-ordinating not only the defence of those arrested but also getting together the evidence for the enquiry being carried out by

the NCCL into the role of the police. For example, they have been investigating the movements of the SPG on the day of the anti-NF demonstration. Curiously the SPG have not been coming forward as arresting officers at the trials in Barnet even in the cases of those arrested at 6 Park View Rd, where the SPG were doing the majority of the work of beating up people and smashing equipment (see *Leveller* No 27).

Given the certain involvement of the SPG in the murder of Blair Peach, they do not want their names coming out in court. Another thing that seems to be clear is that D Division, which covers the Marylebone and Paddington areas where there is a high proportion of black people, has provided the largest number of arresting officers. They have also been involved in "snatch squads" (small wedges of police who ram into a crowd to make exemplary arrests).

The clearest evidence of this tactic came out during the trial of six Southall Youth Movement members who were arrested near the Town Hall where the NF held their meeting. Local police, X Division, identified the better

known SYM members and then the snatch squads moved in. The question of whether police in D Division have been given specific training in this tactic, frequently used in Northern Ireland, remains unanswered. Scotland Yard's unhelpful reply was 'how many more special squads are we going to be accused of having?'

For their pains the members of the Southall Defence Committee are being regularly harassed by the police. Almost every day one or other of them is stopped by the police not only in Southall but even as far away as in the centre of London, where one of them was staying with a friend.

The Southall Rights offices where they operate from has also been broken into five or six times. In a few cases things like gas heaters have either been smashed or stolen but in other cases only files have either been moved or disappeared. The police have not done very much. They have done even less about attacks on the Ealing Community Relations Council offices in Ealing and Acton, and the Bogle L'Ouverture Bookshop (a black community bookshop) in West Ealing. The windows of the *Ealing Gazette* have also been broken although their pathetic coverage of the Southall trials can hardly be the cause of this attack.

Further details of the trials and the background to the police attack on the Southall community are available from

Southall Defence Committee, 54 High Street, Southall, Middlesex (tel. 01-571 4920)

Speakers can be arranged for meetings through them. They would like to appeal again for funds and to ask people to send cards and messages of support to those who have already been sent to prison for daring to stand up against fascist groups and state racism.



THE POLICEMAN WHO FORGOT HIS LINES  
with acknowledgements to A.M. Bateman

# Banking can stunt growth

## What will the maximum Minimum Lending Rate mean for us?

YOU ALWAYS KNOW when something more grisly than usual is happening to capitalism. They tell us it's good for us. And so it is with record interest rates. Yes, the propaganda machine says, a lot of innocent borrowers will be penalised. Yes, firms may go bust or have to cut back, throwing more workers onto the lengthening dole queues. Prices will rise, 'in the short term.' But when it's all over, we'll feel better — and capitalism will be saved again.

Let's forget for the moment about the cant of sacrifice. Let's instead ask the old subversive question: Who benefits? The answer is far more important and complicated than we are led to expect. Behind the regime of high interest rates and tight controls on government spending and the money supply lies a shift of great political importance. What we are seeing is the final triumph of finance capital over industrial capital, the resolution of a long drawn out struggle for supremacy between rival sections of the ruling class.

High interest rates are not an 'act of god.' They are deliberate policy, set with specific class objectives. Monetarists believe that inflation, the main disease which capitalism currently inflicts on workers, is caused by the money supply rising faster than the output of goods and services (see *The Leveller* 22). One major component of money supply is credit (borrowing), to individuals, companies and the government (the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement). If credit rises too fast, so does the money supply, and in its turn inflation.

There is no doubt that borrowing has been heavy. Last year industry (the corporate sector) borrowed £5,881 million, of which £2,896 million was from banks. Then in the first six months of this year its borrowings were £5,549 million, with the banks supplying £3,197 million. Individuals (the personal sector) raised £6,700 million in 1978, while in the first

half of this year they borrowed £3,500 million. Nor has the government been left out of the fun. After falling significantly to £5,954 million in 1977, the PSBR rose to £8,338 million last year, and this year was £4,870 million in the first six months.

Government borrowing can be controlled by the government cutting its own (public) spending. Since the PSBR is simply the gap between what the government expects to raise in taxes and what it is committed to spend, closing that gap means closing hospitals, schools, cutting the real social wage, and all the other attacks on workers. But individual and corporate spending and borrowing are not so easily controlled. The government just does not have such immediate sway over these sectors. So it is forced to use the relatively blunt instrument of interest rates. While the government can at least select the cuts it makes in its own services, within a total target, it cannot determine by how much individuals or particular companies cut spending. It can only estimate from experience (The Treasury model) how people and firms will behave on aggregate.

Interest rates are set by the Bank of England acting on a combination of financial and political pressures. The Bank set the Minimum Lending Rate (MLR), which is what it charges other big banks for funds lent to them. These funds filter through the financial system, at each stage a few per centage points being tacked on by the immediate lender.

Normally MLR is set by a market formula, the prime determinant of which is the rate the government has to offer the City slickers to borrow money from them. But if the government feels that some pressing need, such as dampening spending by making credit expensive, is serviced by raising interest rates, then it can usually persuade or bully the Bank into adopting its point of view.

This is what happened on

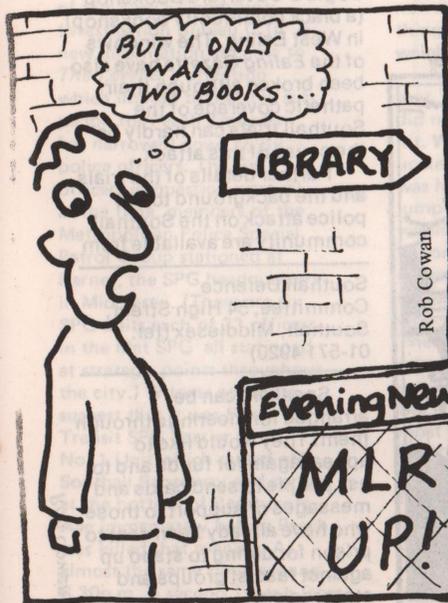
16 November when MLR was raised to a record 17 per cent. There was no question of trying to increase industrial output to meet demand and so maintain employment. The ideology of *laissez-faire*, as expressed by monetarism precludes governments from intervening in industry, not least in wage bargaining. So the only alternative is to use the financial mechanism — lower taxes for the rich in the name of 'incentives' and higher interest rates for everybody.

At the same time, the government has abolished exchange controls. This means, among other things, that the City is free to recover its traditional function as the channel by which the British rentier class invests its savings abroad. No misplaced patriotism for these Tories, just the logic of pure commercialism.

The combination of exchange freedom and high interest rates attracts funds from all over the world to the City, which can lend them on profitably. Moreover, as the debt burden on the personal and corporate sectors mounts because of usurious interest rates, finance capital gains the upper hand over industry. For several years the corporate sector has suffered from a net flow of funds to the financial sector. That trend will now accelerate, accompanied by a rapidly increasing number of bankruptcies, falling production and rising unemployment.

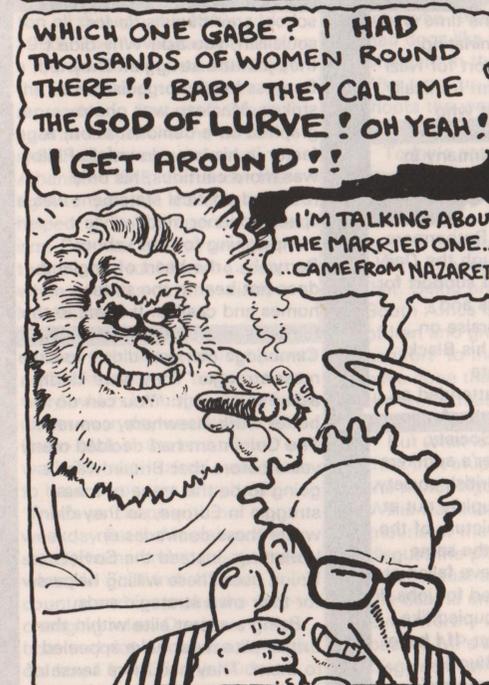
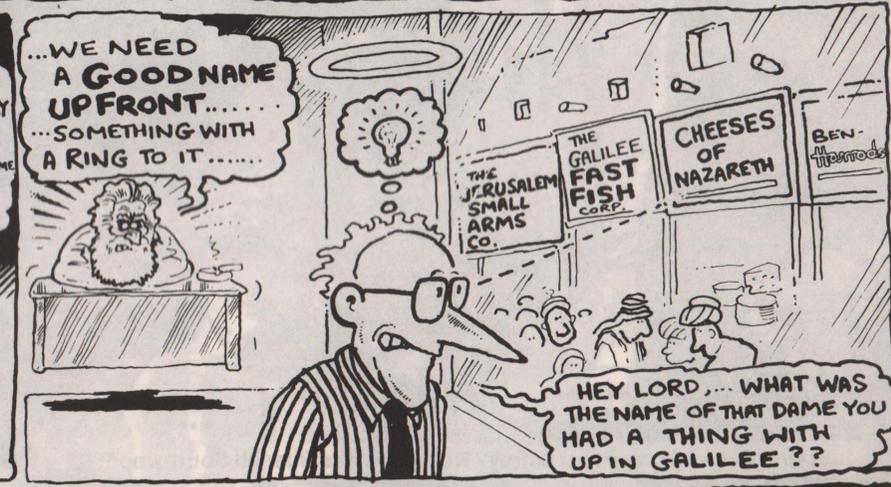
Mrs Thatcher and her gang have decided cold-bloodedly to sacrifice industry and jobs to the needs of finance and 'sound money'. They have resolved conclusively to establish the primacy of the City in economic policy-making. That primacy means putting the creation of paper or financial assets before the creation of real or manufactured ones. It means rule by bankers, with the blessing of Number 10 Downing Street. Record interest rates are good for them, but not for us.

Michael Prest



THE GREATEST CONCEPT EVER FORMULATED....

ZERO B.C.... AND IN HIS JERUSALEM FRONT OFFICE LORD GOD ALMIGHTY IS DISSATISFIED WITH HIS CORPORATE IMAGE:



# Moles: Digging for Victory



Just who did Anthony Blunt betray? Not us, writes Russell Southwood.

FROM THE TIMELESS cloisters of Cambridge, Burgess, Philby, Maclean, Blunt and many others looked out on a depressing world. There was massive unemployment, the rise of fascism at home and in Europe, and little sign of change on the horizon. In one town alone — Jarrow — over 80 per cent of the working population was unemployed. There was, as one of the spies' Cambridge set wrote: "... a real sense of moral shock ... as it became clear that nothing effective was to be done about unemployment in this country ... a good part of the blame (for their 'treachery') lies with the 'the Establishment' of which they were so much a part that their disgust with it was intensely personal ... so much under their own skins."

Parliamentary socialism couldn't hope to achieve anything with a National Government in power. The fascist movement was far stronger and had wider support than its successor, the National Front. In Europe, 'Chile' was happening on their own

doorstep. Philby was in Austria when the Heimwehr and local nazis shelled workers' flats, the pride of 'red' Vienna. He married a woman who helped refugees escape the subsequent round-ups of socialists.

Italy and Germany fell quickly to fascism. To the admiring eyes of Surrey suburbanites, Hitler and Mussolini were the men who made the trains run on time and got big roads built. The bombed town of Guernica, devastated by German bombers flying for Franco during the Spanish civil war, was seen by news reporter Philby while working under cover on the nationalist side. Anyone who was half-awake could see the signals.

Meanwhile in sleepy England, the fellow-travellers of fascism watched sympathetically while the European 'peace' (as this fairly violent period was known) fell apart. The King (later the Duke of Windsor) was forced to abdicate in 1936 because of his marriage to divorcée Mrs Simpson. One rumour, which

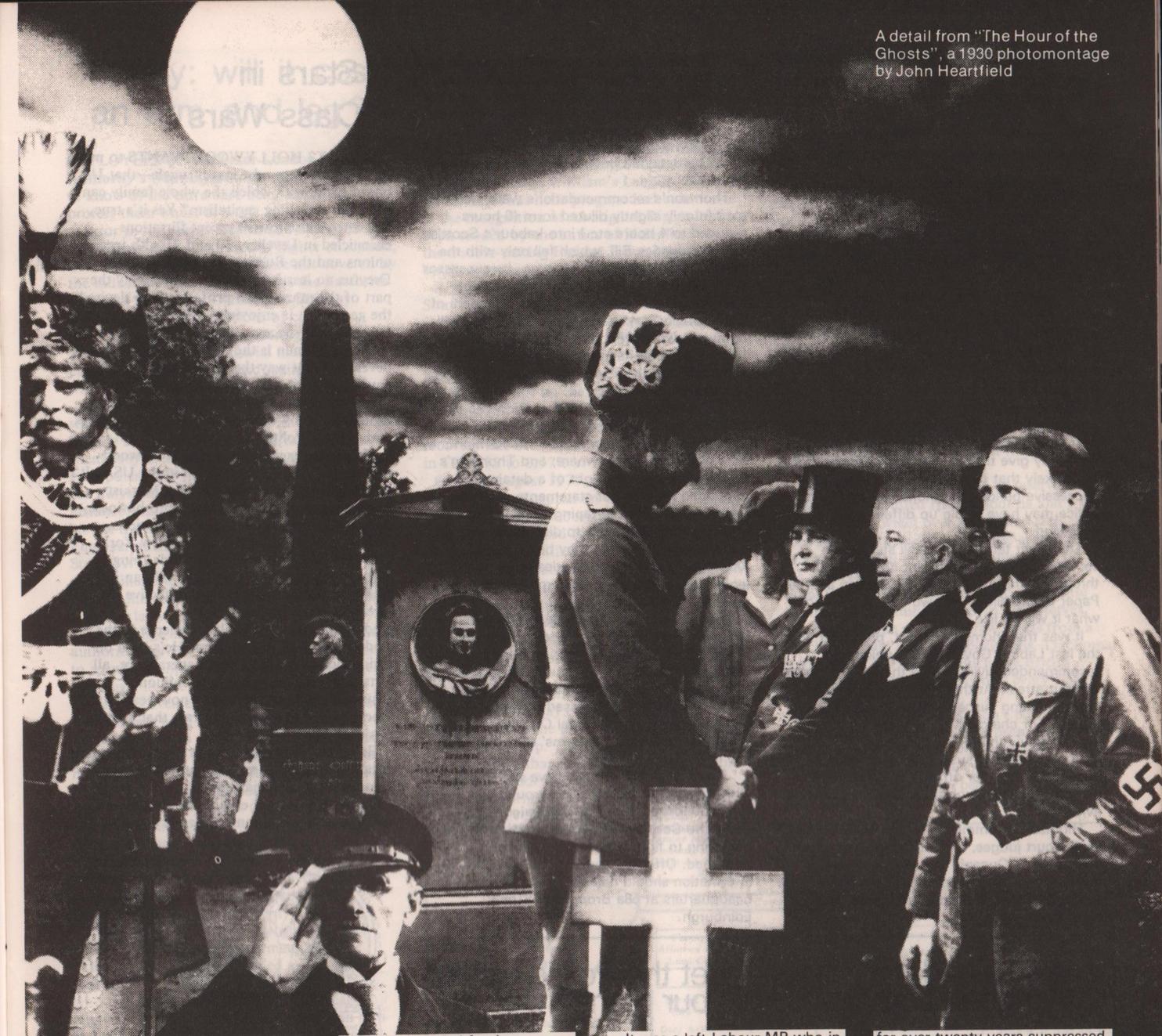
was widespread at the time was that Hitler had incriminating evidence of his support for Nazi Germany and fascism. Ironically, it was Anthony Blunt who collected this evidence from recently-occupied Germany in 1945.

Press baron Lord Rothermere fed his readers through the *Daily Mail* a regular diet of support for Hitler's achievements and garnished fulsome praise on Oswald Mosely and his Black-shirts; 'this up-to-date movement'. Philby attended an enormous dinner of the Anglo-German Friendship Society, which attracted Hitler's admirers from the cream of British society. Their faces gawp stupidly out at the camera from a picture of the occasion: these are the same crowd who would have fallen at Hitler's feet and asked for jobs if Britain had been occupied like France during the war. If I have to choose, I prefer Blunt's conscience to Rothermere's patriotism.

But what did these public

school communists do for socialism, you ask. Why didn't they join the struggle? They did. Burgess helped organise rent strikes. Maclean was photographed on a demonstration; a factor in his later downfall. Philby was more cautious, his only recorded political statement was a speech opener made while campaigning for the Labour Party: "... the heart of England does not beat in the stately homes and castles. It beats in the factories and on the farms.' The Cambridge marxists didn't forsake mass struggle. They were kindly asked to leave it. 'You can do better work elsewhere, comrade.' The Comintern had decided many years before that Britain wasn't going to be the arena of mass struggle in Europe, so they didn't waste these comrades on leafletting. Instead the Soviet Union used these willing helpers for their own strategic ends.

Being a secret elite within the British elite must have appealed to them. They had more sense of purpose than the pragmatic appeasers and the people who said 'Yes, yes, yes' to Washing-



ton all through the 1940s and 1950s. Their every action became a moral balancing act. Balance the moral weight of Soviet repression in Eastern Europe against events like the British-executed secret invasion of Albania in 1948. Surrender the right to question the strategy you helped; global democratic centralism. But Kim Philby must know that it's not socialism he sees when he looks out the window of his dacha.

Even normally moderate papers are calling Blunt a 'traitor', a word which I thought passed out of our everyday vocabulary with Radio Malt at the end of the 'cold war'. To be a 'traitor', you have to have a country to uphold. 'That's us chaps with our weekday flat in Mayfair and a stately home and a shoot somewhere in Scotland. It's our country and we make the ever-changing rules. Don't rock the boat and don't squeeze my pips, old boy.' In 1936, the loudest patriots were puffing the achievements of Hitler or hoping for an alliance with Hitler. Those on the

right who resisted fascism were mad dogs like Churchill, the man who sent in the Black and Tans. Why team up with him? He shoots the working class.

Today's patriotism is in the same fine tradition. Giving military information and supplies to white Rhodesians in rebellion against the Queen. There are plenty of people who have done that. Being on the payroll of South Africa or the former Shah of Iran and giving 'aid and comfort' to them. Lords and MPs have done that without a hint of the word treason.

But what is more disgusting than that stupid word 'traitor,' is the moral bigotry. Labour MP Willie Hamilton, Republican tribune of the people, spat out in disgust the phrase 'men with homosexual tendencies' during the debate on the Blunt affair. Even worthy left trade-union backed MPs spoke with thinly disguised contempt of the homosexuality of Anthony Blunt. What a lot of anal-retentive prigs the English are.

It was a left Labour MP who in the Leveller's early days got upset at swearing in the magazine. He probably doesn't talk about sex in front of the children and fucks in the missionary position. And it was the House of Commons who derided lesbian MP Maureen Colquhoun.

The official cover for all this bigotry is that gays are easily blackmailed. Sadly, this is probably more likely to be true in a society which can't admit that being gay is a natural sexual choice. Behind the official reason is the widely-held prejudice that homosexuals are somehow cursed with a character defect. They tell more lies than those honest hets (Some of my best friends are ...) and are more susceptible to the tug of friendship over loyalty to country. Being gay in a world of moral bigotry and hypocrisy, (even on the left in the 1930s) bound this group of spies together as closely as their commitment to communism.

Pity poor Donald Maclean who

for over twenty years suppressed his homosexuality, keeping it buried deep down inside until his nervous breakdown at the end of his spying days. How many other gay civil servants are out there in communterland posing as 'faithful husbands' and 'romantic bachelors'? All those potential sexual moles. How many people keep quiet about it in our own, dear, old Labour Party? Former ministers among them.

Today's moles are everywhere. Those with a chip on their shoulder, those who don't like their bosses, closet socialists in high places. They no longer have to turn to Moscow. They can spy for the general public. Let them know what's happening in the corridors of power. Burrow quietly for the collapse of a decaying system. Official Secrets Act or not, we welcome with open arms the whistle-blowers, the spies for peace, those who just can't resist passing a photocopied document and the anonymous phone-caller. Everyone a spy for change.

A detail from "The Hour of the Ghosts", a 1930 photomontage by John Heartfield

# Shorts

## Weighting the Scottish scales

**THE SCOTTISH CRIMINAL Justice Act will, if it becomes law, mean a massive extension of police powers and an erosion of civil liberties. Paul Littlewood looks at the proposals.**

The Bill will enable the police to hold 'detainees' without arrest and without permitting them to contact a solicitor; to search and fingerprint; and to hold witnesses until they give their names and addresses. It is quite likely that detainees will be liable to successive periods of detention - although the police may have to dig up different grounds for suspicion.

The exact terms of the Bill still remain secret - the Tories are intent on rushing it through without the public discussion a Green Paper would allow. But we have a good idea what it will be like.

It was the Thomson Report, produced under the last Labour Government, which first recommended giving police the right to detain without arrest. At that time, complaints of false arrest (holding suspects without formally arresting or charging them) were becoming increasingly common. In one case, in 1973, a motorist who was suspected of an offence was detained until other officers could confirm the offence - even though there was no admissible evidence.

Thomson's committee, which included two High Court judges, a sheriff, a JP, two senior policemen, a Queen's Counsel, and various legal experts, was keen to save the police such embarrassment. (Solving 'difficulties' was the phrase they used.)

## A little under exaggeration

YOU KNOW HOW the police and the media always exaggerate the value of any big drugs haul they make? The latest example was the finding of the hidden Operation Julie LSD last September when £500,000 worth of acid escalated dizzily to £15 million at the height of the press hysteria. Well here's a strange example of the reverse happening.

On July 2nd a quarter of a pound of heroin seized in a police raid was stolen from a locked safe at Hammersmith police station in West London. The Complaints Investigation Bureau is looking into the matter but police sources say it was a matter of carelessness rather than criminal intent. Reporting the incident four months later, the *Sun*, never a paper to hang back in the exaggeration stakes, told its readers that the heroin was 'worth nearly £10,000'. Wrong, Mr Plod. At current street prices of £20 a grain, unadulterated, the haul was worth more like £35,000. Needless to say, it's still missing....



They recommended that detainees could be held for up to six hours before being arrested or released; that they could be prevented from speaking to a solicitor; that police could search the body and baggage of the detainee, and fingerprint without consent; and that witnesses could be detained until their names had been 'verified'.

Thomson's recommendations were incorporated in only slightly diluted form (6 hours reduced to 4 hours etc.) into Labour's Scottish Criminal Justice Bill, which fell only with the collapse of the Callaghan regime. Its successor is now about to introduce a similar Bill - although, if we are to go by the comments of the Scottish Tory law 'n order brigade, it will be much worse: Nicholas Fairbairn found the Labour Bill 'half-hearted'; and Malcolm Rifkind promised that the Tories would be 'more ambitious'.

The maximum period of detention will almost certainly be lengthened; rights to inform a solicitor may well be withdrawn; detention may take place almost anywhere; and Thomson's few safeguards - the right of a detainee to be cautioned if his or her statements are to be used in evidence; the taping of all interrogations; the right to discuss interrogations with a sheriff - may be scrapped. And judging by Labour's earlier desire for such legislation, it is likely to become law very quickly indeed.

The Bill, originated from demands from different sides to tidy up certain 'technical irregularities' in Scottish law, but it is now changed from an attempt at reform to a chance to legalise what the police have been doing all along. Once the Bill is passed it will pre-empt the discussions of the Royal Commission currently considering 'reforms' of the criminal law in England and Wales.

Rumours about the Bill have stirred a wide range of individuals and groups in Scotland into action. The Campaign to Stop the Scottish Criminal Justice Bill is preparing to fight it from the moment it's published. Offers of support and requests for information should be sent to the Campaign's headquarters at 58a Broughton Street, Edinburgh.

## Let the Police watch your plant

THE POLICE have prepared a special form to allow employers in the construction industry to prepare information to be put into the police National Computer.

The form is kept by employers, and enables them to give the police information about stolen building plant in a form suitable to be put into the computer's stolen property index. The computer has a special section for storing information about building plant.

The National Federation of Building Trades Employers (NFBTE) says that the building industry is the only one with this sort of special arrangement with the police. The link between the two was reported recently by Labour Research Department.

According to the building industry's security service, CONSEC, the forms have to be kept by employers because of the changeable nature of construction equipment, which can be mobile one day and fixed on-site the next.

CONSEC was set up in 1972, the year of the building workers' strike, with (according to the NFBTE) "Home Office support". It is staffed (again, information from the NFBTE) by former senior Scotland Yard officers, and, they say, "it covers all aspects of security - from general site security and tool and plant protection to internal fraud and industrial espionage".

## Stars in Class Wars

WHAAAT? HOLLYWOOD WANTS to make a film based around Class Struggle - that US board game with which the whole family can have fun smashing capitalism? Yes it's true, and after Tinseltown's recent flirtations chronicled in *Levellers* 30 and 31 with trades unions and the Russian Revolution, Richard Dreyfus no less is being lined up to play the part of the marxist US professor who devised the game that is enjoying an old capitalist-style international success.

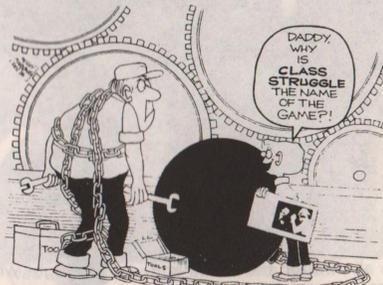
Bertell Ollman is the prof, a marxist who developed that way thru the 60s in Vietnam enveloped USA and whose academic career has been slowed down by his declared beliefs, though he's now well established in New York University's Politics Department.

He's quite excited about the Hollywood notion. "It could only happen in the USA. It'll be along the lines of the tale of a Marxist business man. Y'know he goes into business, does well, unearths all the contradictions, delivers a Marxist lecture to the New York Chamber of Commerce, that kinda thing".

It sounds pretty whacky, but Ollman insists the real point is finding a new effective way of spreading the socialist message to a predominantly non-socialist audience in the modern home of materialism. He's been on nationwide radio, TV, newspapers there, all sorts, and estimating some 50 million unsuspecting Americans have now heard his "message", he exclaims: "I rate that a coup, don't you?"

He adds: "The game has proved an occasion to talk about socialism - it's an interesting if unusual form of socialism."

On the Hollywood end of things, Ollman is involved as a consultant. He adds quickly: "I



don't have the final say, I know it's a calculated risk, and I've no great faith in Hollywood". But he thinks the people producing and scripting the film are Good Eggs, and he takes the line of thought that films like *Norma Rae* and *Blue Collar* might not be perfect but they do have a socialist content and get points over to movie-audiences who would otherwise have gone without. This theory he applies to his own celluloid endeavours.

Ollman was briefly in London last month after a barnstorm of Italy, France and Spain to promote *Class Struggle*. It's available again in the UK, through distributors PDC, at the profit-motive inspired price of £7.

So what is the game then? It's a mix of "class and skill" - you can end up as a worker, capitalist, small shop-keeper, student, agricultural worker, and then you set about making it to the centre of the board. If the capitalist lands on the square marked nuclear holocaust, apart from kissing your ass goodbye, the game is over. It's a cult in the USA with newsletters, and conventions, the whole works.

As for that film, what will it be called then, huh? "*Class Wars*", "*Close Encounters of a Marxist Kind*"? Hmmm, we shall see.

## Safety: will it cost an arm and leg?

EMPLOYEES OF the Inner London Education Authority's five polytechnics will be fascinated to know of the extra care being taken to protect them whilst at work.

Prior to the recent **Health and Safety at Work** legislation, institutes of higher education, i.e., universities and polys, were not covered by the industrial safety laws such as the **Factories Acts and the Shops, Offices and Railway Premises Act**. Large sections of college facilities, especially in engineering faculties, were equipped with industrial machinery and plant that was operated and maintained without any specific safety requirements.

In practice, this meant that technicians and students used machine tools without guards and failsafe devices; often working in dustladen, chemically or biologically contaminated and even potentially radioactive environments. At the **Polytechnic of Central London**, for instance, staff and students using the radiology lab. in the lower basement of the School of Engineering and Science in New Cavendish Street, W.1., for years, risked serious contamination, until the discovery of a design fault in the ventilation system. Until the change in safety laws, it had never been inspected.

The change in the law has resulted in college authorities having to find large sums of money to spend on improving existing equipment and buildings, in line with the new legislation. These improvements are on such a large scale that colleges have been unable to find the necessary finance within their current annual block grants and have applied to their various managing authorities for additional grants.

The ILEA, however, has informed the directors of its five polys that, owing to the Tory Governments cuts in public spending, there is no money available. This put the polys in an embarrassing position. They are legally obliged to bring their facilities within the requirements of the new regulations or, alternatively, close them down.

The ILEA has, cynically, rushed to their rescue. A promise has been made that the ILEA will pay any fines levied against individual polytechnics for failure to comply with the safety laws. This will be a great comfort to the next technician to lose an arm or a leg in an unguarded milling machine.

## I.R.A. Not beat yet

43 BRITISH SOLDIERS and UDR men have been killed in Northern Ireland so far this year, the highest total since 1973. A further 232 soldiers and members of the RUC and UDR have been injured, while there were over 200 attacks in the summer period alone. But the total number of shooting incidents declined over the year - reflecting the downturn in sectarian feuding - and the number of explosions was also low. There were 393 explosions, lower than any previous year except 1977 when there was a shortage of explosives. This year's explosions have used an estimated 8,400 lbs of explosives - compared with 5,443 lbs in 1978 and 2,839 lbs in 1977.

The statistics were given out in a little-noticed Parliamentary answer recently and reported in *An Phoblact/Republican News*. They clearly demonstrate the development in IRA tactics away from civilian targets and towards the security forces, confirming clearly the forces' own assessment that the IRA are by no means beaten.

## Aborigines with no reservations

AUSTRALIAN POLITICS have taken a disastrous right-wing turn ever since the fiasco that threw Gough Whitlam's Labour Party out on its ear. What little progress had been made in the recognition of Aboriginal Rights has been eroded by the antics of Malcolm Fraser, the double-talking Federal Prime Minister, and by the various state governments.

Fraser made a speech on the evils of Southern African racism at the Lusaka Commonwealth Conference, but is himself guilty of racist behaviour. Aboriginal Land Rights legislation has been cut down, delayed, ignored by the various state governments without any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to protect Aboriginal interests. In fact the Federal Budget spent on Aboriginal recovery has been steadily falling - from 0.90% in 1974/75 to 0.57% in 1978/79.

On 22 August 1979, the Aboriginal people set up a tented capital on Capital Hill, Canberra for their National Aboriginal Government. And they recognised that without international pressure, the situation would deteriorate further, so the National Aboriginal Liberation Front sent two blackfellas, as they call themselves, Tommy Smith and Bindi Williams, to set up an Aboriginal Information Centre in London. At present, the Centre operates from Box 19, 136 Kingsland High Street, E8, for lack of a base.

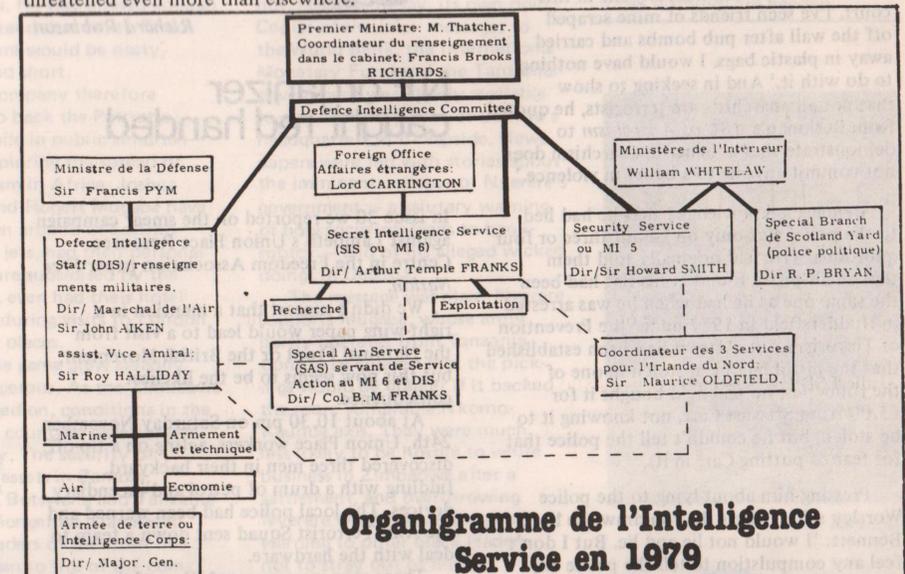
Their first action was to picket Queensland House, on Saturday, December 1, in co-operation with the recently-formed Queensland Solidarity Group. The choice of Queensland House, rather than the Australian High Commission, was made because Queensland is a racist state, where Aboriginal survival is threatened even more than elsewhere.

Because of uranium and bauxite mining interests (in which Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen's wife, Queensland governor Sir Colin Hannah and Sir Gordon Chalk, ex-Liberal leader, all have shares). Aboriginal Land Rights are ignored, and tribal Aborigines are threatened with genocide. Bjelke-Petersen has been severely criticised in a new report from the Office of Community Relations, compiled by ex-Whitlam Minister Al Grassby. Bjelke actually sent his Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Charles Porter, to London to counter adverse publicity with a 'We're good to the blacks' speech. Hence the Queensland House picket.

The situation in Queensland for workers is not much better. Demonstrations have been banned since September 1977. Strike leaders have been jailed for leading strikes. Recent legislation stipulates that if the Queensland Government declares any service "an essential service", striking by workers is illegal. Trade Union strike funds are also illegal, and some Aborigines are being paid less than half the minimum wage.

The power white managers of reserves (now being recruited from Rhodesia and South Africa) wield over Aboriginal residents goes so far that any hire-purchase agreement by an Aboriginal must be countersigned by the manager. He controls their funds, can expel them from the reserves and can refuse permission of family visitors to the reserves. Recently, Bjelke also withdrew funds from a Trachoma team treating Aborigines. Trachoma is a blinding eye disease which the British brought to Australia, and two in every five Aborigines suffer from it.

The Aboriginal Information Centre needs all the support it can get. It is prepared to supply information/interviews/speakers concerning both negative and positive developments among Aboriginal people. Funds are low, so financial assistance is welcome.



## Organigramme de l'Intelligence Service en 1979

The Leveller didn't need the Blunt case to point the finger at Britain's intelligence services, but we were rather taken with this helpful little diagram of inter-relationships spotted recently, by our foreign language service.

Several familiar names here, of course, and some not-so-familiar updates just for the record. There's the new Director-General of MI5 Sir Howard Smith, until early 1978 British Ambassador to Moscow, now happily accommodated at HQ in 1-4 Curzon Street. Down at Century House, MI6 has a new Director-

General, Arthur Temple-Franks, following the departure to pastures new of former director Sir Maurice Oldfield.

Defence Intelligence bosses Air Marshal John Aiken and Vice Admiral Roy Halliday may not exactly be household names either, but the MoD keeps on turning out suitable material like Major-General James Gow of the Army Intelligence Corps.

So now you know. Brush up your French and all this can be yours.

# Shorts

## Persons Unknown; looks like a bleak Christmas

THE 'ANARCHIST CONSPIRACY' case at the Old Bailey is nearing completion. The defendants have all been in the witness box with the exception of Stewart Carr, who pleaded guilty and is refusing to recognise the court — and as we went to press the defence lawyers were coming to the end of their summing up. But it will probably be at least a week after we come out before there's a verdict since Judge King-Hamilton has already told the court that it will take him about five days to go through the evidence. (The case is already into its twelfth week).

Ronan Bennett defended himself, first making a statement from the prisoner's box, then going to the witness stand to make a fuller presentation and face cross-examination from Michael Worsley, the prosecutor. While Worsley was content for his junior to cross-examine Iris Mills — he made few dents in her story — he reserved Bennett for himself, attacking him with all the subtlety of a runaway tank.

Bennett told the court that he was absolutely opposed to terrorism: 'I've seen more terrorism than anyone in this court. I've seen friends of mine scraped off the wall after pub bombs and carried away in plastic bags. I would have nothing to do with it.' And in seeking to show that not all anarchists are terrorists, he quoted from Berkman's *ABC of Anarchism* to demonstrate that a 'belief in anarchism does not commit anyone to a belief in violence.'

Bennett acknowledged that he had lied to the police but only on 'about three or four questions.' (He had originally told them that an air-pistol found at his flat had been the same one as he had when he was arrested in Huddersfield in 1977 under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. After it had been established that the pistol had been stolen in one of the robberies, he said he'd bought it for £5.00 from Stewart Carr, not knowing it to be stolen, but he couldn't tell the police that for fear of putting Carr in it).

Pressing him about lying to the police Worsley said: 'Where do you draw the line?' Bennett: 'I would not lie and lie. But I don't feel any compulsion to tell the police anything.' .... Worsley: 'Instead of taking refuge in silence, you chose to lie?' Bennett: 'Only on three or four questions, mostly about Jacqueline Anne Summers (the name on a driving licence found at their flat which Iris had used to hire cars). I did it to save Iris.'

Worsley: 'So you would lie to save Iris?' Bennett: 'Yes. And my family and friends.'

Worsley: 'Would you lie to save yourself?' Bennett: 'In certain circumstances, yes.'

Summing up for Iris Mills, barrister Geoff Robertson put forward ten points which he called 'gaps in the prosecution jigsaw', the 'most yawning' of them being that Iris was never identified on any

of the robberies. In particular he stressed that although the 'car hire ladies' had all picked her out on the identity parades — 'you can't doubt that she has a Roman nose, it is a distinctive face' — the victims of robberies had not identified her. In addition to the ten gaps he also put forward a further twenty points where the evidence didn't quite match up to the allegations.

Assuming that the case is finished by Christmas and that none of the vetted jury take the opportunity of the end of the case as an appropriate occasion for showing their disgust by walking out before they sit down to discuss their verdict, we should know the result before the next issue. In that case we will present a full report of the affair.



Richard Robinson

## N.F. organizer caught red handed

In issue 30 we reported on the smear campaign against Lambeth's Union Place Resource Centre in the Freedom Association paper *Free Nation*.

We didn't suggest that a mention in a right-wing paper would lead to a visit from the National Front or the British Movement, but this now seems to be the likeliest consequence.

At about 10.30 pm on Saturday November 24th, Union Place workers, acting on a tip-off, discovered three men in their backyard, fiddling with a drum of petrol and incendiary devices. The local police had been warned and the Anti-Terrorist Squad sent down a team to deal with the hardware.

Three men were arrested. One of them, by the name of Matthews, was clearly identified in Union Place official photographs of the affair. He is a South London organiser for the NF.

He and the two others were remanded on £500 bail at Camberwell Magistrates Court the following Tuesday on charges of criminal damage.

They were also charged under the Public Order Act for offences connected with an affray at Lambeth Town Hall two weeks previously. On that occasion four SWP members at an anti-cuts meeting had to go to hospital.

Luckily, no-one at Union Place was hurt, but the lesson is there for anyone on the left to learn.

## Juveniles subject to police surveillance

THE GRANGE Estate in Grimsby, Humberside, has been since September the subject of an interesting little project in localised surveillance. The education and social services are co-operating over a twelve-month trial period with the probation service, the local magistrates' committee and Humberside police in an experiment to try and curb juvenile crime on the estate. If the experiment is a success it will be used on other target estates in the Humberside police area.

The various departments involved will pool their resources and information on juvenile offenders who come to the police's notice for the first time. But it won't only be those juveniles 'prone to acts of anti-social behaviour or apprehended for criminal offences'.

The Grange Estate Juvenile Project will also collect information about younger brothers, sisters and friends of juvenile offenders. And who has offered to collate all this intelligence for future reference? Why, Humberside police naturally. It is piously suggested that this will instil in 'problem families' '... a greater respect amongst the young for the agencies of law and order'. The information will, of course, remain confidential, like all that other stuff the police collects.

Under the scheme, Humberside Social Services will provide background reports on problem families and consider possible 'intermediate remedial treatment'. The probation service chips in with its information on problem children. The education service provides further details on target children, though the scheme will take care to 'avoid embarrassment by the indelicate use of such information'.

Police visit the homes of families, as well as all schools in the neighbourhood. Collective out-of-school activities, particularly during school holidays, will be encouraged under the scheme. Parent-Teacher Associations and Tenants' Associations are being consulted.

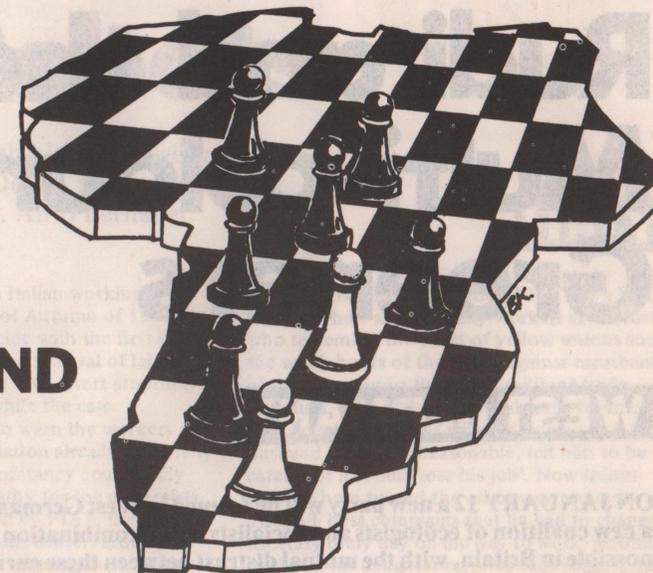
But the sting of the Grange Estate Juvenile Project is in the tail. A certain amount of publicity is accepted, but '... over-publicity may give a distorted view not only of the scheme's intent but of the results achieved. It is therefore not considered desirable to launch the scheme by any orchestrated press campaign'.

The police will keep and monitor all statistics from the scheme and a detailed analysis will be produced when it ends on 31st August 1980. Let's hope they get it right.

## Know your Beebperson Know your Cop

THE NEXT TIME you see someone filming a demonstration who looks like a policeperson and claims to work for the BBC, ask them their staff number. If they are BBC employees, they'll remember it immediately — you can't survive inside the Corporation without knowing it off by heart. The number will be five or six digits followed by a letter.

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## WHATEVER THE outcome of the Zimbabwe negotiations at Lancaster House one group which is not even a part of the talks is determined to be on the winning side. That group, writes Charles Windsor, is Lonrho.

LONRHO LTD (it stands for London and Rhodesia) is not just one of our more ruthless muscled companies. It is also a major political force in Africa. At the beginning of November its managing director and chief executive, the thuggish Roland 'Tiny' Rowland, decided the company should flex its political muscles. Alarmed by the possibility that the Patriotic Front might come to power in Zimbabwe, a plot was hatched to split the Front by toppling President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, the most militant leader of the front line states.

East and central Africa are vital to Lonrho. A vast trading, manufacturing and plantation conglomerate, with assets in 1978 of nearly £500 million, Lonrho made pre-tax profits of £93.6m. last year. Two-thirds of those profits came from Africa, although the continent accounts for only one-third of total turnover.

Africa is therefore immensely profitable. Low wages, a relatively unorganised workforce, and rising prices for raw materials and foodstuffs — the mainstay of Lonrho's business — have turned Lonrho into one of the most spectacularly aggressive companies based in London. Only 10 years ago profits were only £12.8m.

The company parades itself as a model of capitalism, a pointer to how free enterprise can transform Africa, in the interests of both Lonrho and the West. But probably more than any other company, Lonrho's success — and

Mr Rowland's private fortune — depend on political manipulation.

The attempt to topple Nyerere is only the latest — though possibly the most serious — episode in almost two decades of bribery, coercion and skulduggery, mainly directed at black African leaders. Mr Rowland realised early in Lonrho's life that business success in Africa would depend on remaining favourably placed with the new nationalist politicians. He was shrewd enough to understand that white Rhodesia's future would be nasty, brutish and short.

This company therefore decided to back the Patriotic Front, while in public simultaneously deploring the spread of communism in Africa. Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe have been flown around in Lonrho executive jets, had their personal expenditure subsidised by the company, even had their hotel bills paid during visits to London and other places.

But the game grew steadily more dangerous. As the Zimbabwe war dragged on, conditions in the front line countries deteriorated alarmingly. The security of Lonrho's assets in Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Tanzania could no longer be guaranteed. Worse, leaders of the front line states began to tire of the company's incessant machinations. In particular, Rowland's 'good friend' Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia, started to rate the damage to his country as more important than making Africa safe for Lonrho.

So on 6 November the *Daily Telegraph*, whose rentier readers have always been loyal supporters of Rowland-style capitalism, published a scoop from its Nairobi correspondent, saying that Lonrho had written to aid agencies and national governments asking them to cut off assistance to Tanzania.

The pretext was that in June

1978 Tanzania had confiscated Lonrho assets worth about £33 million. In September this year a law was passed depriving Lonrho of compensation. This, the company wailed, was contrary to international law and, moreover, was bad for business. A company whose existence has depended on the most systematic and devious exploitation of half a continent was suddenly the aggrieved victim.

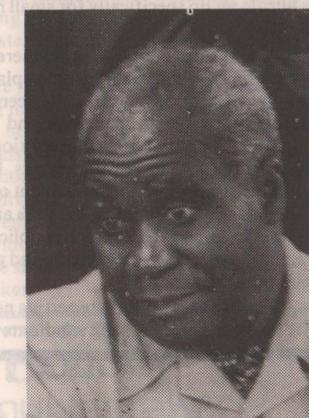
The *Telegraph's* scoop was not, needless to say, its own doing. Copies of the telex messages to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Tanzanian government were freely available to any hack enquiring at Lonrho's headquarters in Cheapside. Newspapers were fed with stories about the imminent collapse of Nyerere's government — a salutary warning of how socialism leads to bankruptcy — and of his alleged wicked doings in Uganda.

The message was plain. Nyerere supports Mugabe, whose army partly operates from Tanzania. Lonrho calculated that the pickings would be greater if it backed the more vulnerable Nkomo-Kaunda axis. They were much less likely to be hostile to white business in Zimbabwe after a settlement, and overthrowing Nyerere would serve as a ghastly warning to other black leaders not to stray out of line.

Equally compelling, the Tanzanian business was lost. The risk in attacking the one leader whose efforts to advance socialism in Africa are unquestionable was therefore negligible. And in the medium term, the Zambian and Zimbabwe assets were likely to be much more profitable because of booming metal prices and the potential for mineral development in Zimbabwe, so long delayed officially by sanctions.

So independence for Zimbabwe, under any probable government, will leave that country more rather than less

exposed to the workings of capitalism's most rapacious predators. Lonrho is determined to stay in business in Africa, even if it has to subvert every government it encounters. For every warning the company issues against the dangers of creeping communism, the people of Africa should be alerted to the perils of corrupt capitalism. But a new kind of leadership may be needed in black Africa before those warnings are heeded.



Kaunda



Mugabe

# Rudi and the Multi-coloured Greeners

## WEST GERMANY

ON JANUARY 12 a new party will be formed in West Germany: the Green Party, a new coalition of ecologists and socialists. It's a combination that hasn't been possible in Britain, with the mutual distrust between these currents of thought that were brought out when Energy 2000 held its big conference in November, when left political groups formed their organisation and Friends of the Earth stayed away. The same tensions were there at the conference in Offenbach that decided to set up the Green Party, but they were overcome as it was agreed to let the Left take part in the fastest-growing political movement in West Germany. John Verner reports.

The conference brought together 2000 people from different groups and election platforms formed over the last few years, from the Left, the Centre and even some ecology-dissidents from the Right. Rudi Dutschke, student leader of the 60s, was there and also Rudolf Bahro, recently arrived from East Germany.

Many people agree that the new Green Party will have every chance to jump the 5% hurdle and get its first MPs (only when a party has more than 5% of the vote does it get its proportion of MPs — a hurdle set up specifically for small radical parties).

Over the last couple of years there have been a large number of different ecology platforms. In municipal elections so-called "Green" (mainly left-of-centre liberal groupings) and "multi-coloured" (left-wing) election platforms have scored with increasing success. In the October elections to the parliament of Bremen a "green" platform got just over 5% and 4 seats (West Germany is a Federal Republic with 8 regional and 2 civic parliaments and governments plus the central one.)

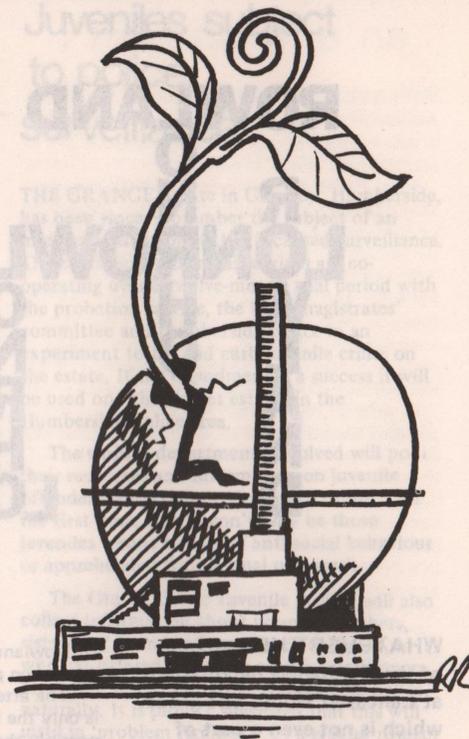
The big three parties are getting nervous. Even the threat of the right wing candidate Franz Josef

Strauss and his CDU/CSU benefitting from a split in the left/liberal vote might not frighten potential green voters. "Strauss or Schmidt — who cares? Why not elect ourselves" was one of the green slogans.

The only recipe the coalition parties SPD and FDP (the Liberals) have so far come up with is the age-old one of discrediting the new movement as communist. The SPD leadership decided to stop the friendly talks that had gone on until now and to go for confrontation — a decision not popular with many members.

The political orientation of the Greens is indeed not clear and was one of the hottest issues at the conference. The clever sentence of one of the speakers "we are neither right nor left — we're at the front" has many interpretations. Three quarters of the Greens say they're in the middle. A motion to forbid double membership, aimed at the supporters of the "multi-coloured" platforms most of whom are members of left parties or groups, was narrowly defeated.

Happy about this victory some lefties reverted to familiar tactics. Rudi Dutschke, in a hard, breathless speech, accused them of undemocratic behaviour and said that through their insistence



on dogmatic positions they isolated themselves, demanding in fact a red party with green trappings. Just as at the recent Critique conference in London, Dutschke filled the hall with applause, protest and shouts — Red Rudi has turned into a formidable opponent for the dogmatic left.

The conference decided that the main principles should be ecological, social, community-democratic, and non-violent. How ill-defined the theoretical basis and how big the desire for a programme became evident when Rudolf Bahro was greeted with enthusiastic applause and was the only speaker in the open session given more than three minutes.

He started off by re-affirming the importance of an ecological view of the world: "There will be no general emancipation if we first destroy the world." The new party of human emancipation needs all forces, all traditions and movements, Christians and disillusioned Social Democrats, Anti-Nukes and conservationists, because that's the only way to a psychological break-through. But Bahro clearly had his reservations too: "A spanner in the works is not a programme."

## USA

# The Tribes' Nuclear Reservations

RADIATION-INDUCED cancer is the gravest problem facing American Indians today — two thirds of the uranium in the U.S. is situated on Indian Reservations. American Indians Winona La Duke and Herb Blatchford recently toured Europe to publicize the Indians' situation and gain allies for AIM, the American Indian Movement. In a talk at the Women's Arts Alliance in London, Winona described the Indians' fight against uranium mining and the general oppression that led up to it.

One of the few sources of work for Indians on reservations is mining uranium or coal. 25 out of a test group of 100 Indians who started mining uranium in the 1940's have now died of radiation-induced lung cancer, and 24 more are

dying of it. The cancer is called radiation-induced because it comes from drinking radioactive water at the bottom of the mine shafts and breathing irradiated air. The miners are not the only ones ill with cancer; their wives are developing skin cancer from touching them, and some of the children have leukaemia, which is very rare among Indian children. Neither Kerr McGee, the corporation that employed the men, nor the U.S. Government is willing to take responsibility for this cancer epidemic.

An accident much worse than that at 3 Mile Island occurred on July 16 of this year: a hundred million gallons of radioactive mill tailings were spilled near a reservation in New Mexico. The Indians affected were poorly informed and unlike

Harrisburg no-one was evacuated. The tailings are now trailing radioactive material along the Colorado River down to the Gulf of Mexico.

AIM, the American Indian Movement wants to establish a self-governed Lakota Nation within US borders. This nation would prohibit uranium mining and ban multinationals from operating on its territory.

The members of AIM view the nuclear industry as only one aspect of a centralized militarized government controlled by a few men. They want to fight nuclear power as part of the general oppression of all Americans.

But most American anti-nuclear groups have a "single-issue" approach to nuclear power. Their tactics are piecemeal, centred on individual

# Sacked by Robots

'SIR' MICHAEL Edwardes can't claim any great first with his new drive to smash the unions in BL. In Italy, FIAT have sacked 61 Derico Robinsonis, and just as in Britain, the unions are letting it all happen. Alfio Bernabei reports.

## ITALY

AS A MEMBER of the Trilateral Commission which was set up by Rockefeller and Brzezinski in the early seventies to protect the interests of multinational capital, the head of FIAT has decided to play his role in the restoration of law and order in Italy and 'lead' other industrialists to do the same. The collective sacking of 61 workers accused of 'failing to observe the principles of coexistence at the place of work' is said to have taken the Trade Unions by surprise. But the speed with which the Unions have handed the hot potato to the judiciary and the subsequent pass-it-on-procedure between judges, FIAT and the Unions seems to be aimed primarily at diluting the responsibility and avoid possible recriminations against one specific section.

At first the Court rejected FIAT's decision because of lack of evidence and ordered the reinstatement of the workers. FIAT sent in the 'proofs' and this time the Court ruled that the dismissal was fair in the case of a dozen workers while recommending that the others should be re-instated. FIAT again refused and the case continues with the Unions now embracing the Worker's Statute, Law 300 which among other things, is intended to prevent control of workers' activity at a distance and also looks into wrongful dismissals.

The example of FIAT has already been taken up, as expected by Alfa Romeo and other large factories. The Italian government, including the Communist Party, have clearly welcomed a decision which opens the shop floor to scrutiny by the judiciary and makes workers' files virtually available to the public, when this is in the interest of the management. Referring to both trade unions and the parties, a FIAT executive stated: 'They should be happy if we help them to get rid of extremists.' Still, in view of the present situation, decisions of this sort cannot be taken lightly and the mayor of Turin, a Communist, has asked and obtained an extra 2,000 policemen.

FIAT's show of strength, which ironically celebrates the tenth anniversary of one of the

most turbulent years in Italian working-class history, the so-called Hot Autumn of 1969, has been timed to coincide with the first stage of the negotiations for the renewal of labour contracts. The objective is to divert attention from the negotiations while the case as a whole is intended to warn the workers not to exacerbate a situation already extremely delicate. An excess of militancy could easily be interpreted as sympathy for the extremists.

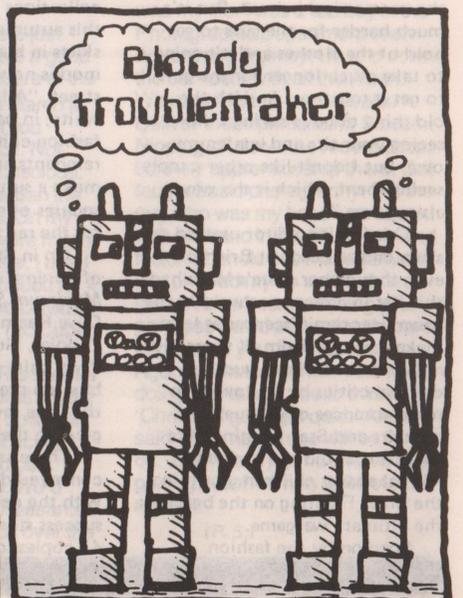
The strategy adopted by FIAT, the government and the trade unions centers around a 'moral choice' aimed at splitting the workers into two categories: the good workers and the bad workers. FIAT began to draw the line in March 1978 when some workers went around the nine pressing plants at Mirafiori collecting signatures for a petition against the Red Brigades. The Mirafiori plants are notorious for their record of labour unrest. The 8,800 workers in this section are mainly unskilled or semi-skilled and the conditions at work are said to be so bad that every year between 30 and 40% of the workers ask to be transferred to other departments.

It is among these workers that political activists of the extreme left have concentrated their efforts since the early sixties. Leaflets signed by the Red Brigades have also been found in dressing rooms, toilets and canteens with impressive regularity. Although half the workers are said to have signed the petition this has not put an end to violence. During 1979 fires were started in four sections of the plants and many cars have been destroyed. There have been attacks against the homes of some executives, three people have been shot in the legs and one has been murdered. FIAT must have decided the petitions against terrorism were not enough and that there was enough evidence to embark on a nationwide campaign of intimidation under the guise of a moral crusade. Together with the dismissal of the 61 workers FIAT has announced that for the time being recruitment will stop throughout the 150 plants in order to avoid 'infiltration' and to restore a 'normal climate' in the factories.

In matters of intimidation FIAT has a long history. There are still many workers at Mirafiori who remember the years of yellow unions and the witch hunts of the fifties against members of the Communist Party and militant trade unionists. 'The little chiefs and some foremen used to telephone our wives at home — your husband is being unreasonable, tell him to be careful or he could lose his job'. Now things seem to have turned the other way around. A FIAT boss complains that he had to change itinerary every day on the way to work. Another says that his daughter receives calls suggesting that her father should stop bothering workers.

One thing is certain. There is a new type of worker in Turin. In the fifties FIAT conducted its recruitment policy as a typical multinational corporation exploiting a cheap labour force from the Third World. With the advantage that in Italy the Third World was only 12 hours away by train. 'FIAT had painted Turin as a dreamland in order to attract us' — says one worker — 'and continued to look like a dream even after I hit my head against the ceiling to greet my brother. He was living in a cellar and the ceiling was so low that one couldn't walk straight'. Workers and their families were living in appalling conditions. La Stampa the newspaper owned by FIAT, with typical cynicism started a regular column called 'The Problems of our Immigrants'. It was a mixture of sociology and folklore with husbands killing wives, young girls resorting to prostitution and youngsters treading the dangerous path of crime.

Now the new worker at FIAT is likely to be a young man in his twenties, born in Turin, and with a history of political struggle of the last ten years. This worker is closer to Professor Negri's notion of 'social worker' than many people might want to think and FIAT is facing a big problem. 'But we are not engaging in purges anymore' — says one executive reassuringly — 'we simply work on the conscience of the workers.'



1965: Pete Townshend destroys property on a stage draped with a giant union jack: this is like flying the flag upside down. 1979: Lloyd Johnson's window display in his shop at the hip (World's) End of Kings Road has a shiny red Lambretta draped with white and blue sta-prest. The union jack, in 1979, is a fascist symbol. The red white and blue chic is the perfect accessory to the white power sticker the young lads wear on their parkas down at the Bridgehouse in the East End of a Friday night.

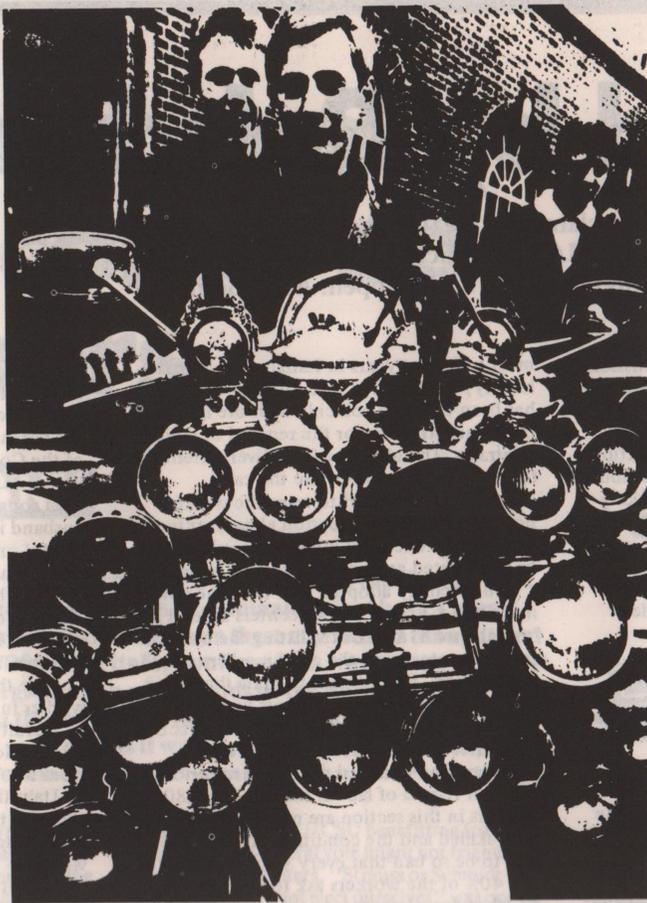
Mod is white historical romance. It is the disco before the pollution of minorities. It is the high street before the smell of Asian food. It is instead the smell of pease pudding and the public baths where the whites come out whiter (this is the scenery of Quadrophenia). It is the land of hope and glory before the advent of feminist social workers, gay pop stars and black footballers. It is the glorious proletarian past to be recreated in the fascist vision of tomorrow.

How did we trip from ripped 'n torn to neat 'n tidy, from punk to mod? From avant garde to retrograde, subversion to incorporation? Punk was an art movement, produced writers and artists as well as musicians, and opposed to patriotism (God Save The Queen), sexism (Oh, Bondage), careerism (no future), worship (no heroes) and force-fed mass culture (Holiday In The Sun, Alternative TV). Mod offers consumerism (shiny suits, shiny scooters) and narcissism ("Look sharp, know what I mean?") and regular bundles in bars and clubs and on beaches at Bank Holidays.

Spectators of pugilism, mod girls also fit on the back seat of a scooter. How many mod bands have women in them? What do the girls wear? "PVC mini skirts", says a fashion editor of my acquaintance. "Things we used to call op art, like cutaway shouldered mini dresses and cut-out keyholes. Ski-pants and jumpers, the geometrical haircut. But it's much harder for the girls to get hold of the clothes and it's going to take much longer for the girls to get it together. And it's the old thing of guys saying I like seeing your tits and legs on my own, but I don't like other people seeing them, which is the way it always was."

This fashion editor used to sleep on the beach at Brighton even though her mate's Mum had this flat in a regency square in the town. Her reminiscences at least make a change from all those old male mods earning a buck as cultural critics by wallowing in remembrances of brogues and mohairs and Stax of things like that. It is as tedious and sentimental as war children glorifying the Blitz. Fighting on the beaches: the ultimate wargame.

Sped on by the fashion



# Mod

**Red Saunders' first political involvement was through mod, David Widgery has some thoughts on the new mod, and so does Ian Walker. Nigel Fountain shlepped round the country doing interviews.**

collections in London and Paris this autumn, which all had mini skirts in black and white PVC, mod is now on racks in the high street. "A lot of stuff, black and white, in panels", says the fashion editor, "made from cheap remnants and offcuts. You can make a suit out of four odd squares of material". Mod is *fab* for the rag trade.

Up in Stamford Hill at the HQ of minimalist magazine design, *Maximum Speed*, the mod fanzine, Clive Reams is wearing Hush Puppies, blue socks, blue Fred Perry shirt, mohair jacket and blue sta-prest. "Today is my blue day", he says. Who does feel great in these troubled times?

These sartorial details were conveyed down the phone, along with the details of this publishing success story which began with 45 copies lovingly Xeroxed in

February of this year. At first *Maximum Speed* was a PR organ for a band Clive and his mates were running, called Back to Zero, but then it just grew and grew and is now exported to such places as Australia, USA, Sweden. A French translation, *Fleche*, is distributed in Belgium.

Clive Reams says that the original mod bands were the Chords, Purple Hearts, Back to Zero and Secret Affair, and that the current vogue bands, Madness, Specials and Selecter, "are basically skinhead bands. Ska is skinhead music". And skins do not like mods. Clive would not go to a Madness gig, "total BM skinheads".

At first, mod was not particularly violent, but Quadrophenia breathed a new hate into the movement: the historical enemy, rockers. The bastards,

the fucking... slash, thud, crunch and then you feel better. "Now mod is really violent", says Clive. "I saw some poor geezer going down the road in a bomber jacket, he drove a Honda 125 or something, and he was really done over... In the last issue we've written about the effects of Quadrophenia, which although it was a very good film... I interrupt, say it was shit, and he replies it was a good documentary. "Anyway, it wasn't a good thing to show to kids who are very influenced by it."

There is a split in mod between the north and south: northern mods are into northern soul, say that "London mods are just posers". Clive says that *Maximum Speed* once printed a letter from a group calling themselves the London Front, "It was a movement of people who believed London was the most superior place and that London mods were better than northern mods. After that one letter it said, "Maximum Speed = National Front" outside the Hope and Anchor. It was a real small reference. Any political statement and we'd get crucified."

So Clive claims to be apolitical, restates the fashionable view that all extremists are fascists. "The SWP smashed up a Secret Affair gig I went to in Sheffield. The difference between them and the National Front is the same as the difference between the British Movement and the National Front — nothing."

He sees the union jack as a mod sticker not a fascist symbol, "This patriotic side, I don't see it. The union jack is just because Townshend wore a union jack jacket. I mean you got black mods."

But not many?

"No. But Furdie in Quadrophenia opened the way for black geezers." Furdie was the bit-part black in the pork-pie hat. He provided the dark tone necessary in the film poster of '79, up against the wall, black and whites for 60s minimalist design.

Well-used to denying allegations of fascism, Clive is less familiar with the view that mod is macho. "I, er, don't think you can say that. It started off as 99% male. Most mods were ex-skinheads and that is totally male. But the start of all youth movements is predominantly male because blokes tend to get into things quicker. Also it was easy for the blokes to get hold of the clothes and the girls couldn't and the bands have changed now and it's easier for girls to dance to. It's not so easy for a girl to dance to the Purple Hearts, but if you can dance you can dance to soul and if you can dance to soul you can dance to ska. I was up in Manchester on Wednesday and all the girls there were mod girls."

Why did Clive get into mod?



"Original philosophy was that, yeah, we're new, we're the first. The idea was to be smarter than the next man and better than you were. It was smarter than punk and something that belonged to you for a while, a little revolution for a few people. But now a kid



I was so disappointed with the racism in 'Quadrophenia' because it just wasn't like that. All that stuff about the blacks off the banana boat. It was the other way round on the original Mod scene. Like I first got onto Blue Beat through a black bloke who was a despatch rider in our office. I was cool because of him. If a black GI would say 'Hey man, alright' in the club you'd fall over yourself as you sweated it out in your Madras jacket. 'Cos the Flamingo was 110 degrees. But you could never take your jacket off. Never.

See we were all new. Just out of school. And you head was full with a straight middle of the road type racist, imperialist type education. More or less Britannia Rules the Waves. And suddenly it wasn't on. You suddenly thought twice. And black music was the first thing that had hit you. And you weren't supposed to be friendly with

THE NEW MODS are in some ways a backlash against punk; neat, white, danceable. After missing the boat so completely in the early days of punk, the first stirrings of New Mod in January 1979 was deluged with sociologists and rag trade merchants. You could almost hear a sigh of relief at Take Six that suits and ties (the original bondage garment) were back, even if the real mods bought them all at Oxfam Shops.

As a philosophy, New Mod has very little to say except a kind of egocentricism which it states at great length. Ian Page is a fair trumpeter but intellectually he makes John Lydon look like Walter Benjamin. *Maximum Speed* certainly hasn't got the audacity of *Sniffing Glue*. And the New Mod bands (who certainly haven't been hyped by the business) aren't exactly the most devastatingly original of musics.

Still, every new youth culture is important not just as a marketing ploy but a way ideas and attitudes are worked out. The music business, now in a major economic crisis, doesn't want new bands and new ideas but product which can be marketed in millions of units. So every genuine new culture is part of a guerilla war in the entertainment industry. New Mods have elevated the originals to stylistic deities and taken the sheer elan of the Mod explosion in the era of affluence as a disguise for the new depression. (D.W.)

buys a parka, it's just a trend." Clive doesn't wear his parka any more, he's getting a sheepskin jacket for Xmas.

The mods who think they are ultra-hip are already wearing a later period of mod style: high buttoned Victorian jackets and



Blacks. So you were. Because anything you weren't supposed to do, you did. Rather than that you were seriously friendly, you did it first of all because it was Cool. But then out of that came a very solid anti-racist feeling. That's why I'm anti-racist. It stems from the early Mod days.

But our political consciousness was very weird. I was a West End Mod because I lived in Paddington. I remember going home after the all-nighters through Marble Arch pissing in the litter boxes and drinking up their milk bottles. And if any figure of authority like a Park Attendant came up had a go, you'd say 'They're still dying in Vietnam man. Its alright.' In the days when no one used to hardly know about the war in Vietnam. I don't know what it meant. It was just something we started to say. And we used to say things like 'Gas house Baby'. It was the Youth

rectangular shades, as worn by the Byrds. There is already a movement to Carnaby Street peacock, paisley-print modes, and after that you arrive at hippie. What will be the Next Big Thing Clive?

"Ask lots of silly mods and



Rebellion I suppose. You weren't supposed to be popping pills, so you did that too. But we thought CND were just dirty beatniks. You'd have a good time down Trafalgar Square at the end of the Aldermaston March to 'check out the birds'. But you wouldn't go on the March. Not unless you were very conscious. But we used to wear the Ban the Bomb badge. Very cool. On my Beatle jacket. But you were much more interested in clothes. I used to be a real dresser. I queued for 4 hours outside Anello and Davide in Drury Lane to get my red Cuban heeled boots. Superb. We never had wheels. The scooterer people were more suburbs. Every now and again we'd go down this Mod Mecca called The Orchid Ballroom Purley. They'd be a million scooters outside. We'd think 'What a Bunch of Peasants'. 'Quadrophenia' was a bit over the

they'll say flower power, peace and love. But I can't see that. Mod is really violent and now you got teds, rockabillies and rockers. At the Bank Holiday we thought the skinheads were going to fight the mods, but it ended up that the mods and skinheads stuck together and fought the teds. Youth is really violent, well I can see the flower power, but not the peace and love. Sex and violence yes. Peace and love no."

My fashion consultant tells me that, yes, flower power and hippie was on show at the London and Paris jamborees and that, yes, it will soon be in the high street. It will be the form of hippie without the content — though it is said in fashion circles that the 70s was the decade of the body, the 80s will be the decade of the mind. Forward to the flower power razor gangs.

Post-punk, this is all kind of depressing. This magazine puts mod on the cover to flog a few extra copies (thereby introducing some of the kiddiewinks to marxism) and because we think it somehow Important and we



top on the suits as well. But as regards the job, 'Quadrophenia' was my life. I was a tea boy in the Photographic Department of an Advertising Agency. Up and down the corridors with all the Award Winning Adverts on the walls. Deliver these prints to Mr Slocum. Nipping off down the record shop. I did my apprenticeship there. Got taught basic photography. But the guy who was my boss was caught with his hand in the till. So low and fucking behold this management guy phoned my up and suddenly said 'We've been watching your progress David and we're prepared to promote you. You can be Agency Photographer.' And I was doing mental arithmetic thinking 'Christ, I'll get eight quid.' And he said 'Your new wage will be £8 4s 6d.' But what they must have been getting out of me was £500 of work a week.

(R.S.)

should therefore have Something To Say about it. We want mods to be dissidents in knife-edge creases, dredge up some anti-Thatcher quote for that cover, but really we know they are more interested in pulling power than workers' power. We want to make important-sounding statements about the corruption of street culture into consumerism, just to show we've still got all our ideological marbles. (What the fuck can we do?)

We dream about the council estates shaking to the rhythms of Madness and then we read the news stories about blood and glass and hospitals, the Boreham Wood mods have beaten up the Stevenage mods. We want to think the kids are alright, even if they might just now be saying they're fascists. We want to be loved by those kids, not derided as wimps and social workers (but of course we know fascism has always stressed manhood and valour). I want never gets.

Conspiracy theory, considered as passe as bondage trousers by the seminar-sodden students of Althusser, has some life left in it yet sunbeams. The youth culture is the safety valve. Let's have surfers fighting heroin addicts in the downtown benefit disco for the astronaut asbestos mob who were ripped up by the flower power razor gangs. Let's have a permanent war of the working classes. The Glasgow experiment worked: ship the bastards out to housing projects on the dark side of town and let them kill each other, protect the law-abiders with barbed wire and machine-gun emplacements. Three cheers for the classless society. Hip, hip.

Grandad was a ted, Dad was a punk, grandson is a space cowboy. But what the fuck? It's the movement of generations from Clearasil to Philisan. (I.W.)



**Eddy Guy 21 Poplar London**  
I've been a mod for a couple of months. I became one because of all the rows I had with my parents. They didn't like the striped hair. My dad told me that if I didn't, I'd get thrown out. I flogged all my punk gear and got some Sta-Prests off my Dad. I had no choice. I'd have been bunged out of the house.

**Derek Read 18 Peckham (punk), Pat Marc 19 Clapham (skin), Ray Chataway (rude boy) Clapham.**  
Derek: Punk gets boring.  
Pat: Only posers make it boring.

Derek: You can't get a decent job without purple hair.  
Ray: You can't get a decent job with purple hair.  
Ray: You can't get a decent job without purple hair.  
Derek: Skins and punks are OK. Mods have nowhere to live so they buy a parka.  
Pat: I believe in punk. I would vote Labour.  
Derek: Speak for yourself. You wait till Southend. No one mentions the skins but we cause all the bother.

Ray: The police are so fucking stupid. If they'd just leave us alone. All the frouble starts when Old Bill arrives. I was just walking along and they pull me over. So I say I'm doing my shopping. So Old Bill says 'If I see you round here in 20 minutes, I'll book you.' So I say 'That's great. Is everyone on for just 20 minutes?'

**Royston Edwardes 22 Hastings**

If you are a mod today, you have to go to Oxfam or pay £70 a go. Or posers Mods can go to Carnaby St. Half the people on it are ex-punks. We'll find out who are the True Mods after the 'Quodrophenia' boom. The original Mods didn't look back. We just follow their religion.

**Ben Jones 20 Sevenoaks**  
I go to pubs and discos. I look forward to the next scooter run. You can't see a punk going to a wedding or funeral. Mods have to be 17 which cuts out the kids. The Northern mods are married with moustaches and kids. Mod won't die because you can't beat a smart person can you?

**Karen Cole 15 Stevenage**  
We don't beleive in politics. We just hate Margaret Thatcher.

**Mark Brough 20 Yorkshire**  
When it started up here it was totally to do with scooters. In '76 you could near enough say

that every scooter kid in the North was a Northern Soul fanatic. It was an underground scene, unheard of in the South. To be a Northern Soul fan was to be something different. We organised a run to Brighton to try and bring North and South together and to try and get Mods without scooters there and Mods with scooters. It turned out a bit of rivalry sprang up. They thought we wore stupid clothes and no good because we didn't follow the new mod bands. Sixties soul is what I listen to and funk, Wilson Picket, Otis Reading, a lot of Tamla Motown.

**Vic and Jez of The Killermeters from Huddersfield**

Vic: We've been going since January but we've had no press because we're from Yorkshire. Down there they spring up and say they are Mods but I don't think they are. I think they are just punk bands with suits on.  
Jez: You can't sit down and play stuff from the Sixties because we've progressed from the Sixties, haven't we? Money isn't worth what it was then is it?

Vic: The scooters are part of the image. Kids like to belong to something. Everybody's your brother. They like riding round the town. Posing mainly. They like Huddersfield because we've got a ring road and they can go round all day long. Further North there are lots of little scooter clubs. Scarborough is the biggest. At Scarborough they all parked on the pier and the fishermen were trying to get out of the boats, and were kicking the biks over.  
Jez: And the mods ran after them threw fish at them  
Vic: It was Mods v. Fishermen

**Fred Dawson 19 Birmingham**  
Conform? Life is easier isn't it? You can go to work. Work in a bank or an office and if you've got short hair, a suit and a tie you're alright. Your're doing what you want to do but you are managing to do it with authority looking at you and accepting you. But they don't know you were running about at night smashed out of your head. A lot of kids in suits are just as balmy as guys with long hair running about town. It's easier to live in society.

**Barry 28 Crewe**  
I'm Number One in the Jaguar Scooter Club. You wear these baggy Parkas and people think on the surface he's a scruff. Then you take your Parka off and you've got a jacket underneath, little smart jacket

and shirt. Mods dress in modern clothes. A Mod is someone who likes to dress smart and go where they want when they want. The Teds wash their hair and then put lard on it. How can you make out that's dressing smart?

**Ritchie Andrews 27 Rhyl**

The youth of today? They don't appreciate good music. Tammi Terrell? They've never heard of it. They are rising up and hitting people. Pale imitations. Haven't seen anyone in a decent suit. The most important Mod thing was attitude. Standing in the dole queue in such a way as others would say 'What's that bastard?' Now I've got a Lotus Cortina. To me its the best car ever made.

**Barry Waite 18 Pudsey**  
At the moment it's a funny going on. No-one knows who is fucking who.

**Joanna Wallace 19 Rochester**  
Some people who dress Sixties-style get it completely wrong. See people were changing so fast in the Sixties. But now you get girls with '62 low heel stilettos, '67 mini skirts and a '65 top. They look wrong. Off. I've nothing against it but I just wish they wouldn't call themselves Mods.

**Jane Berry 16 Colchester**  
I was absolutely appalled by the police at Rhyl. Some were absolutely marvellous. But some were just bloody minded, ignorant people who love bossing about the 'little boys'. One cop came up to one member of a scooter club and said 'Move your scooter'. So the copper just thwacked him round the head and put him straight in the van. We all stood there speechless. This copper was totally officious and thought he was the answer to the world's problems. Whereas the Brighton police were wonderful. They were walking about admiring the scooters

**Sally Player 19 Edmonton**  
The NF types are a load of hypocrites. Listening to ska and Blue beat and then turning round and say they hate blacks. I can't understand them. The BM and NF come to concerts where people are performing songs that were originally made big by black performers and do Seig Heil and Movment Movement. I just can't see why they've paid money at the door just to do that...

## "COMMON KNOWLEDGE" is bad news

Rose Shapiro reports on a dangerous piece of anonymous advice.

WOMEN'S HEALTH and self-help groups have been a part of the feminist movement since its beginning. In countries where abortion is either totally illegal or difficult to obtain, feminists have attempted to provide a safe, non profit-making alternative to the dangers, humiliation, and exploitation of the backstreet abortionist. In Britain, the abortion campaign has been appalled by a recent anonymous circular sent during November to feminist groups and to the network of National Abortion Campaign groups. It proposes a method used by illegal abortionists in the past, and which carries with it enormous risks to women's lives, health, and future fertility.

The ten duplicated pages are headed "COMMON KNOWLEDGE", and describe how to perform an abortion using a soap and water mixture which is pumped into the uterus with an enema syringe. It is claimed that the woman will abort after about eight hours. If at that time she is either in pain or worried about what is happening, she should present herself at a hospital casualty department for a D&C (dilation and curettage — scraping of the uterus) saying that she is spontaneously miscarrying. "Your work is now done," says *Common Knowledge* "Over to the NHS!"

Despite their claims that this is a safe method, with no risks of death or infection, the reality is likely to be completely the opposite. Even when performed by a doctor who has had practical experience of anatomy, internal examinations and operations, the method is very dangerous. Air could be accidentally forced into the uterus (which could result in embolism and death); soap can pass into blood cells causing poisoning; and both the cervix and uterus could be permanently damaged. There's no suggestion that the person performing the abortion should wear sterile 'Over to the NHS!' gloves, and just hand-washing is thought to be enough. Other important sterilization procedures are not followed. Even the D&C should be avoided where possible — one of the reasons why the abortion campaign has always pressed for early abortion using the vacuum aspiration method.

The method itself could be extremely painful, and the proposed use of mild painkillers and tranquillisers would do little to ease this. It could take far longer than eight hours before the abortion began, and the suggested repetition of the procedure if it doesn't work the first time compounds all the risks mentioned above. There are also a number of tests which need to be done before performing an operation, such as blood tests for rhesus factor, and the document makes no mention of these.

There seems to be little practical concern for the emotional welfare of the woman — just an assessment of whether she really does want an abortion, and plenty of concern that there is no risk of subsequent arrest or prosecution. Given that *Common Knowledge* claims that this method has to be performed between 12

and 14 weeks of pregnancy, and the nature and risks of the method itself, the whole procedure involves unavoidable mental and physical trauma.

Despite the occasional bursts of feminist-type language from the document — "We must organise ourselves to free some women from this colonization of our bodies" meaning the enforced pregnancies that the Corrie Bill may bring — the whole proposal is an anathema to the commitments and concerns of the women's health movement and the abortion campaign. Another leaflet, detailing the dangers of the soap and water method was immediately circulated by a group involved in women's health, and *Spare Rib* have published a warning in their current issue.

But no-one has been able to discover what and who *Common Knowledge* is. Whoever it was obtained access to the NAC mailing list, as well a lists of addresses of other organisations in the women's movement. Everyone who has received it has been horrified, not only by the method itself, but by the kind of publicity that could be given if the media thought it had something to do with NAC. Messages have been left for *Common Knowledge* through the London feminist network and in Rising Free bookshop, asking them to get in contact so that their document can be

discussed, but no-one has come forward.

Theories about its origins vary — it could be from misguided and inexperienced people who think that they are contributing in some way to the campaign against the Corrie Bill, or that it's a sophisticated ploy by anti-abortionists who hope to discredit NAC and the women's movement. It is true that this kind of tactic has been used by fascist groups in Britain, but not one used by anti-abortion groups here so far. It could certainly be used as a very effective smear if picked up by SPUC or LIFE, and possession of the document would possibly result in prosecution if it was found in a police raid.

In common with NAC, and all the groups in the women's movement who have seen it, The Leveller suggests that if you have received *Common Knowledge* you immediately destroy it. And if those who were involved in its production are reading this article we hope you will stop making these kind of interventions. They could damage the campaign against restrictive legislation, and hamper the women's health movement.

No woman should have to risk her life and health in this way, and the enforced use of methods like this is precisely what NAC means when it says "No return to backstreet abortion".

## Battered wife loses appeal

**JUNE GREIG, a battered woman from Edinburgh who retaliated against her violent husband and killed him, was sent back to prison on the 21st November to serve the rest of her 6 year sentence after three appeal court judges ruled against her appeal, writes Joanna Blythman.**

June's case, which has become a test case for Scotland's treatment of battered women, has exposed the backward and reactionary nature of the Scottish Judiciary, even in comparison with England and Wales where women in similar cases have been given non-custodial sentences.

In the face of a massive campaign calling for her release and almost unbelievable public support (a local radio phone-in on whether or not she should be released showed that 189 people were for her and only 24 against), the judges thundered from the court that they thought that June was lucky to have been given such a 'lenient' sentence in the first place, endorsed the 'deterrent' aspect of her sentence, and ranted against the Free June Greig Campaign, who were out in force both inside and outside the court for trying to influence their decision.

Their job, they insisted, was to dispense 'even-handed' justice, and this they had done. The sooner those 'misguided' people who were trying to influence the court were 'disillusioned', the better.

The judges' decision betrayed their complete

lack of understanding of the position of someone like June Greig, a working class woman who was regularly assaulted and abused in her home, with very few alternatives open to her. But then it's hard for rich, powerful old men to imagine what it's like living in a working-class ghetto, where not only yourself, but everyone that you know is battered, and to understand the fear that can lead a woman to take desperate measures, usually suicide, to escape from violence.

The refusal of the appeal has been a setback for the June Greig campaign. But people are still outraged by June's treatment in the courts, and they are trying to channel the support they've had from women's groups, trade unions, a variety of pressure groups and MPs into a wider campaign. This will demand that much greater support be given to battered women, including more protection when they need it, more sympathetic treatment in the courts when they are driven to desperation, and changes in the law.

The Appeal Court judges were clearly trying to deter pressure groups who might challenge their judgements, their integrity and their wisdom. They were promptly attacked for this by the Scottish Council for Civil Liberties.

Perhaps the Scottish legal establishment is beginning to realise that battered women cannot just be collectively ticked off when they have the nerve to disagree — and that they won't just go away. They won't.



A scene from 'Taught To Be Girls'.

# COW FLICKS

**COW FILMS** is a feminist film distribution collective, the first of its kind in this country. The six women who set it up, all film makers, first met in a film discussion group called Cinesisters. Cherrill Hicks talked to three of the group - Audrey, Caroline and Melanie - about the project.

FILMS THAT aren't going to get seen at the local movie palace in Burnley or Bude struggle for a showing on the tiny 'independent cinema' network. Typically either avant garde or political, they may be lucky to get half a dozen showings in their lifetime. Despite the current vogue, modest as it is, for films made by or about women, it is an area no less restrictive and manipulative of women's self expression than any other. The same groups that now distribute feminist films, for example, are also handling sexist material or showing films in a sexist context.

'We went to see films at the ICA about rape and beforehand there were very racist and sexist ads. There was no attempt, no understanding...films were being distributed without any worry about what could undermine their politics.'

'Feminist films are political, they're not like structuralist or avant garde films...they belong to a political movement and need to be seen other than in independent cinema. They need to be seen in women's organisations, trade unions and community groups. We didn't feel they were being distributed widely enough.'

And most feminist film makers, like themselves, would prefer to be handled by a group such as theirs rather than an organisation 'over there'. 'We want a different emphasis - basing ourselves in the women's movement as opposed to the film world.'

Cow has eight films on its list; films that 'speak from the position of a woman and/or seek to disrupt the social, political and economic domination of women by men'.

Caroline says their films fall into two areas. 'Some have a fairly direct feminist content where it's quite clear what's being talked about - films on sexism in schools, or *Linda beyond the expected*; and other films which are not directly 'this is a film about' but are feminist in the whole way they work. The way in which they were produced, the crewing and the content and the form are involved in feminist politics.' She

quotes Jan Worth's *Taking a Part* as an example.

I have an image of alternative films: bad sound, jerky camera, shown in cold halls with a projector that never seems to be running quite right and no-one knowing how to fix it. That might be acceptable on the student circuit, but how does it go down with people more used to the smooth consumer process of film going?

'Well, we wouldn't rule out films because they didn't look professional in terms of what you see on TV, but yes, it is a problem', Caroline replies.

But Melanie thinks it's often the people involved in film who are most critical of 'amateurishness'. What upsets the audiences more than the lack of polished technique is if the projector breaks down or there's dirt on the film.

Feminist films have been bracketed with the art films from avant garde film makers. 'What bothered us,' said Audrey - 'was that feminist films were being seen as a genre...like you'd have a week of avant garde, then a week of feminist films and so on.'

Caroline: 'The avant garde sees the work of challenging conventional cinema as political - without any kind of differentiation between what they're challenging. Challenging form for its own sake, like art, and trying to do something politically - all that seems to have been collapsed together.'

'Current theory argues that avant garde is different from dominant cinema and to a certain extent it is; it's not like the Odeon. But it has a whole history, a particular history of all cinema'.

Audrey again: 'Ruby Rich at Edinburgh summed it up nicely when she said dominant cinema is the cinema of the fathers, avant garde is the cinema of the sons...both are male...art history is as male as Hollywood. Feminist film and avant garde cinema really come out of different traditions, one's coming out of the women's movement - hopefully

- and the other's coming out of art history. One thing they have in common is that they're both very much part of independent cinema, they're both struggling, but their audience can be seen as very different.'

But the group do want to open up a dialogue with women coming from the avant garde. Melanie: 'I can respect where they're coming from and the films they're making but we don't find them that accessible.'

There is an argument that the big commercial films, like *Girlfriends*, are more useful than alternative cinema because they're seen by a mass audience.

'I'm not sure whether they are seen by a mass audience,' says Caroline. '*Girlfriends* hasn't been on the Odeon or ABC circuit to small towns. Our films are going out to trade unions and women's groups and the information will reach a hell of a lot of people.'

'Commercial cinema knows there's a market there, but distribution and production is still so male controlled that the women they choose are actually safe. They don't produce politically dangerous films. There's this male structure choosing those women as our feminist film makers, and throwing them back to us.'

Christina Perincioli's next film is going to be about nuclear energy. Does this mean feminist film makers are starting to make films not directly concerned with feminist issues?

Audrey: 'You can look at a film like *Harlan County* - a film about a strike in a mining town - there's no doubt it was directed by a woman with a very large contingent of women on the crew. I don't think you'd have got the coverage of women in that struggle otherwise. It has a lot of feminist content.'

'We don't see feminism the way the left want to see it - women's issues. I see feminism as a whole way of seeing the world and understanding what kind of change is needed.'

Cow wants to see discussion of feminist film opened up 'within the context of the women's movement', so that women have the

space to decide what they want. At present, the labelling process is done outside the movement.

The group were recently invited to participate in a weekend of women's films at a place called Cinema City in Norwich. Organised by women's groups in the city, it was an event devoted to women's as opposed to specifically feminist film.

In the context of films from the forties about strong women and BFI funded films like *Rapunzel*, they did a three hour session of films meant for a teenage audience. They were pleased with the response.

'We didn't have a teenage audience but there were lots of teachers and they asked all sorts of questions. Among the things they wanted to know was whether we thought feminist films could be made by men, and we said no (laughter). They could see the films were putting across ideas kids wouldn't be used to and asked if we ever got any hostility. I said no, but when I've shown them in schools the teachers are right there!'

They're hoping that women film makers, including themselves, will go along with films when they're shown, to talk to the audience, see how they respond, see what does and doesn't work. 'One of the problems with film makers is that they never meet their audience because in between the film maker and the audience is the distributor'.

Melanie describes the times she has taken her film to mixed youth clubs: 'very often the boys will say, "oh this is rubbish... I'm not going to marry a woman if she doesn't make my breakfast. I'll kick her out and get some one else"'. And the girls just keep very quiet and look at them. If you show to a mixed audience, that's OK, but the discussions have to be separate because otherwise the girls just don't say anything. And the separate discussions are very good. The girls are really strong and say yes, yes, we know!'

The group says in its leaflet that it wants provisions for separate discussions after showings, but there's nothing they can do to make sure it happens. Audrey: 'I think the same thing applies to trade unions. I won't say lots of things in a mixed group for lots of reasons - I feel too uncomfortable or it's inappropriate. Whenever men are there and you're talking about women it's very strange because you're talking about them as if they weren't there - you can't say "we". And the way you talk about things, a lot of your own struggles and pain are to do with men because that's where the power is.'

They don't yet have any films for women only audiences, but they expect they will distribute some. 'Not because we're separatists - I know Cinemien [a Dutch feminist film distribution group] are having that thrown at them because they choose to remain autonomous - but, say with female nudity - if women were there it would be titillating to men but might be quite important to women to show things like around body image and so on. It's an understanding of just how women develop consciousness and the difference of perception between men and women.'

So far the response from some women film makers has been very encouraging, despite the considerable act of faith involved in entrusting your films to a new outfit. Feminists they think, will see the need for an autonomous distribution group. But they don't have exclusive rights on most of their films.

Caroline: 'Most people in this country don't sign exclusive rights. There's already quite a lot of duplication going on - several of the films we have, the Other Cinema has as well. But Cinemien try to get exclusive rights on all of their films because they don't have all that much money like other groups for publicity and so on, so to keep feminist distribution going, you obviously have to get as many bookings as you can.'

Audrey: 'We are giving the same contract as everyone else - it's a typical contract, 60% to the film maker and 40% to the distributor but I think we really have to prove ourselves before we can expect a lot of women to give us exclusive rights. It's nice if they do, but if they don't we totally understand.'

And their plans for the future? 'At the moment we want to get what we've talked about going, and the films we've got known widely... the fact that we exist and people know who to get in touch with - to get all that working really well.'

They're building up contacts in Germany, Holland and the States. Cinemien is organising a festival/conference in Amsterdam next summer around feminist film and Cow are helping to organise it from their end.

Melanie: 'In Europe they've got lots of women's cafes and pubs... I'd like to see a women's cinema with facilities for meeting women, a restaurant and a pub.'

So why is Britain lagging behind? 'They've got more money. Just in terms of film distribution, Cinemien gets an immense grant from the government. There's no comparison with here.'

Cow have just got their first grant 'from a benevolent feminist', and have applied for all

the state handouts. They feel they have a fair chance of getting some money from organisations concerned with education and sex discrimination.

'I guess they won't give us the money unless we sound like the something that fits into their description of people they give grants to, but it won't change what we're doing.'

'All we can do is generate a certain consciousness, a different understanding, or validate women in their struggles and push that struggle forward. Some films are made by women which we think are maybe not militantly feminist, but speak either consciously or unconsciously very much from the position of women, others are made with a more conscious political content. All we can do is look at a film and ask, is it accessible enough to distribute?'

## Cow filmist

*The Power of Men is the Patience of Women* by Christina Perincioli, West Germany 1978. On loan for three months. 78 minutes, colour, subtitled. 'The first time that the socially taboo theme of violence within marriage from a woman's perspective has become the subject of a feature film.'

*Marion's Story* by Nicci Crowther, UK 1976. Black & white, ten minutes. One woman's struggle against violence in marriage.

*Token Gesture* by Micheline Lancot, Canada 1978. Animated film about the social reformists and the WLM.

*Taught to be Girls* by Melanie Chait/Mari Peacock. 15 minutes, colour. Girls in school get together to challenge the old stereotypes. Primarily for schoolgirls.

*Linda beyond the expected* by Audrey Summerhill, 11 minutes, colour. Centred around a working class woman, Linda, who lives on her own with her two daughters. For a teenage audience 'and those women not yet involved in the movement'.

*I never promised you a happy ending* by Maggie Sellers, 9 minutes, colour. 'Explores the conventional notions behind romantic love. It questions the viability of marriage as a career... raises possible alternative lifestyles for discussion'. For young people 15-20 years.

*Daughter Rite* by Michelle Citron, USA 1979, 50 minutes, colour.

'Explores mother/daughter and sibling relationships from the perspective of the daughters... looks at the emotional contradictions... in the nuclear family'.

*Taking a Part* by Jan Worth UK 1979, 50 minutes, colour. The experience of two women who have been involved in prostitution.

Cow can be contacted at 20 Trederwen Road, London E8.

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Waiting for filming to begin.

# Apocalypse Now

IT'S BEEN Four years in the making, it's cost more than 30 million dollars, and even before it's opened we know it's a 'major statement'. Is it really? Has Hollywood genuinely come to terms with a major political event? Read on ....

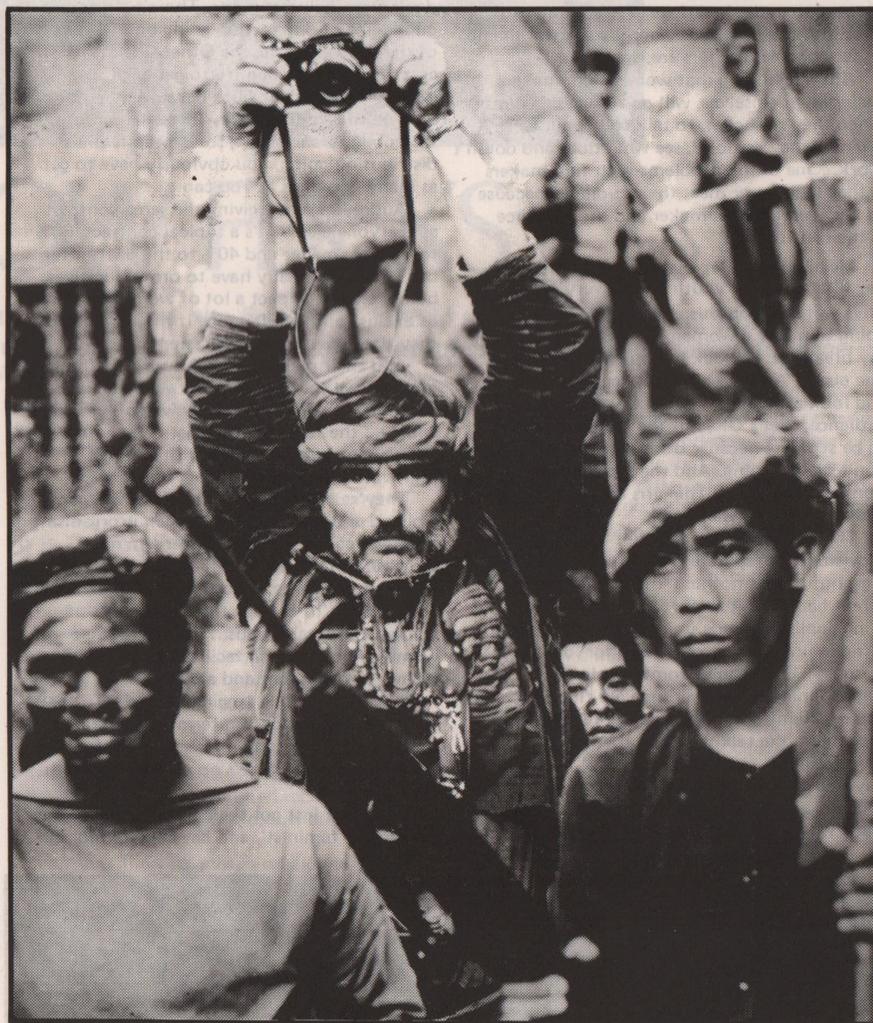
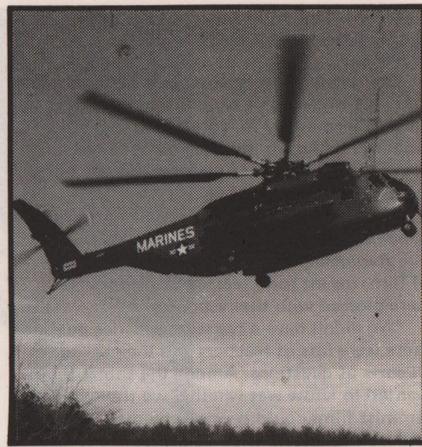
AFTER SEEING *Apocalypse Now* in Moscow, a North Vietnamese delegation told Coppola that while the recreating of the atmosphere was fine they would have been happier if the film had shown more Vietnamese people in it. A Western audience will realize however that the film is not really about Vietnam and that apart from being inspired by Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (set in Congo), Coppola follows a discourse on Western culture which was started by Godard in *Weekend* and continued in an entirely different vein with John Boorman's *Deliverance*. The French motorway and the American river were a simple metaphor for the difficult and desperate moving ahead in the middle of a cultural crisis of horrific proportions.

I have no doubt that the best introduction to *Apocalypse Now* is Frank Kitson's book *Bunch of Five*, particularly the chapters referring to the destruction of thousands of Kenyans by an inspired Officer and the reference to the human mind as a territory that can be conquered, in a military style. And since the film in the version I saw, dispenses with titles and credits, let me suggest, as substitutes, the pictures of Mrs Carter kissing starving children in Cambodia and that of Kissing smiling broadly before the overthrow of president Allende in Chile.

'We live in a state of total immorality', says Jean Braudillard 'our culture far from producing sense, destroys it'. But it's more than just that. A faint squeak of the trumpet can be heard when we try and explain what kind of culture permits us to remain primarily concerned about our standard of living while 12,000 people die of hunger every day. Are we condemned to think and live in a state of unreality, a kind of permanent madness? Could it be more realistic to see Mrs Carter killing a child in Cambodia, as many were killed by Americans, then kissing one?

In *Apocalypse Now* the search for the real self and a new morality extends to the objective reality of violence in personal and political life. Coppola agrees that one of the main themes of the film deals with the uncertain area between a soldier's mission (or a politician's mission) and a war criminal. The search for Colonel Kurtz, destined to a top post, close to the White House until he begins to move towards the 'heart of darkness', is the leit-motif of the journey on the river undertaken by Captain Willard. As his companions succumb one by one to physical and mental fatigue, for Willard the search becomes one for the self, irresistibly drawn towards some kind of revelation, which is precisely the meaning of the word 'apocalypse'.

There is no doubt that in the film this revelation has to do with a part of the self, artificially separated by a certain type of culture from the rest of human faculties, being restor-



ed in its proper place and requiring its own legitimacy. The new morality which seems to emerge from the 'revelation' recognizes that the objective existence of violence must be accepted both in the sphere of the personal and the political.

In the version shown at Cannes, which is also Coppola's favourite, Captain Willard installs himself on the island after the killing of Kurtz. This ending juxtaposes the killing of the bull in the ancient Ifugao ritual as shown in the film, with Oedipus killing his father and his acceptance of darkness and light, the self as a unit. The other two versions are less convincing but this should not prevent anyone from reconsidering at the end of the film, a couple of lines from a communiqué quoted in a book called *Hitler's Children*.

Alfio Bernabei

'The attack against the Headquarters of American Forces in Heidelberg (West Germany) follows a statement by the Pentagon in which it is claimed that after the latest bombing in Vietnam, *not a single target* remains North of the 17th Parallel. During the last seven weeks the US Military Air Force has dropped more bombs in Vietnam than during the Second World War in both Japan and West Germany'. It has been said that the American publishers of *Hitler's Children* paid a huge amount of money 'to secure the title'. They found it very meaningful and were confident that any book bearing such a title would sell. *Apocalypse Now* is also selling well as a film, and the title is also meaningful, even without Kissing and others in the credits.

APOCALYPSE NOW is two-thirds thrillville and one-third banal rubbish. The break comes after ninety minutes, when Coppola decides he's had enough of making a war film and decides to tackle the mystery of human existence.

The film comprises Coppola's translation into Vietnam War terms of two works of literature — Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and Frazer's *Golden Bough*. The Conrad bit works, the Frazer bit doesn't. The journey into the unknown depths of the jungle comes off as brilliantly for Coppola's hero as it does for Conrad's. It makes you realise how far the *Deerhunter* was *not* a film about Vietnam, and is also (I think) the first film to recognise the full photogenic potential of the helicopter as a weapon of war.

But when we get to the serious bit ('the point') and Coppola changes horses in mid-stream to sit aside the *Golden Bough*, the whole thing takes a nosedive into shit. There is no way that by standing around half-naked spouting T.S.Eliot, Marlon Brando is enacting some eternal life/death ritual at the baseline of human existence. Conrad never touches his Kurtz, leaves him sick, floating, ghostly.

Coppola disposes Brando with the sensitivity of a buffalo and the moral delicacy of a hammerhead shark. It's a worst-ever performance from Probably The Greatest Actor In The World, out-trashed in the film overall only by Dennis Hopper as a 'crazy hippy photographer'. (Though Hopper may claim in mitigation that his role-model, Tim Page, had lost half his brain by this stage and therefore *was* crazy.)

The nearest thing to 'a message' in the mess is that if you're all-American enough, even the nuttiest of natives will come to love you. There are supposedly two different endings kicking around in which different permutations of people get killed, but I think when you've watched that far it doesn't really make any difference.

Robbie Cottrell



# THE OUTSIDER

A LONE beggar stumbles aimlessly across the broken landscape; small fires flicker intermittently amongst the remains of what were once homes and workplaces, the smoke drifting lazily up into the grey skies. A caption appears on the screen — 'Belfast 1973'.

So this is Belfast, scene of the newsreels, home of the shock-horror stories, where an oppressed population led by a few courageous freedom-fighters struggle to liberate themselves from the dying ogre of British imperialism/the brave lads strain to preserve our great democracy against murderous madmen.

Brit bastards/bloody terrorists: you pay your money, read your propaganda and make your choice. Well yes, this is Belfast — the Short Strand area, to be precise — but, as anyone who has lived there knows, much of this destruction was not caused just by the war but by the City Council's redevelopment (sic) schemes — but then that kind of information wouldn't make good cinema would it?

Those first shots of Belfast set the tone for Tony Luraschi's debut film *The Outsider*. He is prepared — nay, anxious — to use every myth, every populist sensationalist image he can glean from the news reports, but ask him to analyse the problem, to even discuss the reasons for the war, and he shies away.

The plot concerns a young American, Michael Flaherty, who arrives in Ireland to join the IRA. The Provos sign him up because of his Vietnam experience, and despite his ignorance ('Who are the UDR? Who are the UFF?'), but soon decide he'd make great propaganda if apparently killed by the British. The British Army meanwhile, reach a similar conclusion — if he is killed by the Provos, the publicity would cause the IRA's American funds to dry up.

THE OUTSIDER had a long and tortured path to its current minimal cinematic outlet. Made in Dublin after a refusal to allow filming in Belfast itself, the film was finished 18 months ago. The Ministry of Defence had a private screening, declared it could proceed, and it was scheduled for a discreet premiere among the London Film Festival offerings.

Lord Mountbatten's death, and more specifically the injuries received in the same bomb blast by Lord Bradbourne, a senior member of the British Film Institute, made the Festival nervous, and it was dropped. The official excuse was that it was thought 'not good enough'.

One of the prominent Irish actors in the film got so biffed at its non-appearance that last summer he phoned the distributors CIC to ask why. He was told its contents made it difficult for them — 'a hot potato'. The actor hinted he had chums in the press whom he might tip off, and within hours a call came from the European head of Paramount Films, making a disguised threat that the actor had better keep mum or future film work might be jeopardised.

The British media gets pretty pathetic when anything 'awkward' about Ireland gets made, but if *The Outsider* was OK for the Ministry of Defence, what then was all the fuss about?

Jeremy Nicholl

David Brazil

BUILD UNITY  
DEFEAT  
TORY ATTACKS

Conferences

"Inner Party Democracy" — "The Need for a Socialist Alternative" — bourgeois affairs you see on TV, but the conferences where real and Communist Party conferences, and examines how they take a look at the latest developments

# Keeping a Small Flame

Half way through Year Zero of the new Tory Ice Age and the left is still numbed and waiting for the working class organisation to use their strength to fight back. The left of the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party together with other left groups have just begun to think through new strategies.

It may seem strange to focus attention on an organisation the size of Big Flame (about 200 members). But it's important because of all the groups around it seems to be one of the few that is still trying to learn from the libertarian lessons of the sixties and seventies.

Big Flame (BF) began as a rank and file grouping in Liverpool in 1971. Not tied to any particular ideological persuasion, it had greater freedom to respond to new ideas and the changing economic and political climate than most other groups on the left, who were fighting for the historical mantle of Lenin, Trotsky, Mao or even Keir Hardie. In 1974 it went nationwide and groups were set up in London, Manchester, Leeds and other major cities. In 1975 various groups and individuals came together for a national conference and the process of clarifying their theory and practice began. Since then the organisation has spread and Liverpool is no longer the main base for BF although the paper is still produced there. In 1977 they also began to produce a theoretical journal called *Revolutionary Socialism*.

In November, Big Flame held its fourth National conference at a country house near Leeds owned by ICOM (Industrial Common Ownership Movement). About 100 members (plus a few observers) attended for two intense days of discussion and decision making. It was surprisingly formal, but the conference had been preceded by three months of debate and exchange of papers, and there were workshops for last minute discussions which led to some motions being amended or withdrawn, to allow for further discussion.

Much of the discussion sounded like that of any other revolutionary socialist group; all the major issues came up. For instance, while continuing to work in the ANL, they felt it was important to shift the emphasis to more general anti-racist work and support for black groups. The differences between BF and other groups came out most clearly in discussions on the cuts campaign, industrial work and socialist alternatives. With the increased militancy of the Labour Party and other sections of the traditional left, it would be easy to accept a series of defensive actions which would in the end be divisive and reformist. Big Flame should take a more open and offensive approach, emphasising the feminist and community perspective in the fightback. Politically, work cannot be separated from other areas of life.

On the question of reformism and socialist alternatives there seemed to be some tension between different tendencies. While reformism is a general

ideological position that believes that capitalism can be reformed largely through the present political institutions, it is necessary for revolutionary socialists to support demands for reforms that lead to the strengthening of the autonomous movement of working people whether they are in industry, at home or in the community. Workers plans like that produced by the Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards Combine Committee and socialist alternatives in services, housing and community organisation should be supported but only provided that they did not lead to participation and incorporation within the capitalist system. The problem of how we move from the present society to a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism is not answered by calls for the building of a vanguard party. It should also be possible in the development of the revolutionary movement to "prefigure" the social relations and institutions that we want under socialism.

On the final day there was also extensive discussion of the constitution and membership. Big Flame does not see itself as a party or even the embryo of one but still felt that a socialist revolution required the formation of a revolutionary party. A good deal more activity and discussion was necessary before the nature of that revolutionary party was clear and would inevitably be related to the forms of repression developed by the capitalist state.

Roger Andersen

## ★★ PAPERS ★★

LET A THOUSAND papers roll! With or without the backing of the TUC's new alternative press strategy (see *The Leveller* 31) there's a rush of new left papers coming out. Labour movement money, as well as resolutions, is being channelled into the NUJ's *Nottingham News*, and into what looks like the most promising local initiative: the *East End News*, a projected weekly paper for East London, started on the initiative of radical local journalists who've been through a long struggle with the anti-union monopolists that now control all the straight press in the area. But it has the support of Trades Councils and a wide range of East End political and community groups.

The ill-starred equivalent in Humberside, the *Hull News*, which started in October with too little money and too little politics (see *The Leveller* 30 and 31) has collapsed. The Trades Council managed to raise only £1,800 towards the target of £25,000. They had to either chuck it in or launch it and hope for the best. They did the second, managed two issues only. They're still trying to raise the money to pay the print bill for the second.

Next in the Labour movement: *Women in Action*, a paper for women in the unions, starting in January. The initiative came from Working Women's Charter, from a decision taken at the 1978 conference. It'll

phrases that rang loud at this autumn's Party conferences. Not the politics were on the agenda. The Leveller went along to the Big Flame have responded to the challenge of Thatcherism. And, below, we in the left and alternative press.

# Burning in a Tory Ice Age

NOTHING CHANGES in the Communist Party. The much-vaunted internal changes that dominated debate for two years before the Congress in November were swept aside by the party machine. All the alternative proposals put up by 'libertarian' members of the Inner Party Democracy (IPD) inquiry were defeated. All the 'recommended candidates' in the election for the Executive Committee got on.

But the bureaucrats' victory doesn't mean a united party. The reformers — 'right-wingers' to the Stalinists, or, to the workers, 'the frilly left' — have come out of their uncomfortable coalition with the leadership and are now a more coherent opposition.

And the issues they stand for — non-industrial politics, things like feminism, opposition to nuclear power, community politics — these went under to an affirmation of a stronger industrial strategy.

The CPGB like all CP's has a democratic centralist structure, a legacy of Leninism. This means that congresses are the supreme bodies of the party. They form general policy and elect an **Executive Committee** (EC) which runs the party between the biennial Congresses. The EC elects from itself the **Political Committee**, which includes the top officers such as the General Secretary and the National Organizer, and meets weekly to carry out the day to day running of the Party. In other countries the PC is called the central committee.

In many ways the Congress just endorses the decisions taken by the PC and EC. If the PC and EC went seriously against the wishes of the membership they could get defeated at congress, but it would mean waiting till the

next Congress, and because of the procedure of Congress the EC would have an advantage in any attack on it or more probably any resolution it disagreed with. The structure also means that a minority get a rough deal. But a disruptive element at Congress can cause more trouble than its size credits, without though achieving anything. Democratic centralism favours the status quo.

Congress procedure is complex, and you need to be well sussed to know what is going on and how it works. Most of the work is carried on in committees. That is where the power lies, and they are dominated by the EC. All are chaired by EC. All are chaired by EC members.

The **Congress Arrangements Committee** (CAC) decides on the numbers of speakers, how long they can speak for, and when they can speak.

The **Resolutions Preparations Committee** (RPC) deals with all the resolutions submitted by branches, the districts and the EC, composites resolutions and amendments to the main resolutions submitted by the EC, and recommends to Congress which resolutions should be passed.

Compositing amendments can change the originals fundamentally, and therefore is very important.

The **Election Preparation Committee** has the sole task of drawing up a recommended list for the EC from those nominated for election.

Added to these there are usually more committees for specific issues; this year it was the **Inner Party Democracy Committee** (IPDC). At the 1977 congress, due to pressure from the militant anti-Stalinists and the advocates of new politics, it was decided to set up an **Inner Party Democracy Commission**. Congress said the majority of the commission were not to be full-timers or members of the EC. There were 16 members, five of them from the EC. It made a final report to the EC in May. Branches drafted amendments for Congress. In July *Comment* (the CP's fortnightly) began to publish discussion on IPD. The IPD **Committee** function at Congress was to go through all the amendments, make composites, and recommend amendments. Delegates are allowed to argue their case in the committees. Anyone who is sussed will spend most of their time going into committees, if they can get in, just breaking for the votes. The speeches and debates are more like set piece plays, which do not affect anyone's ideas. Delegates views are usually set before they get there, and the battle becomes not one of ideas but of who has the most delegates behind them. This means that the outcome of the Congress holds no real surprises.

At Congress the EC sits on a stage in front of the main body of congress. Despite the fact that the EC retires at the beginning of congress, EC members are still given the right to be at congress as consultative delegates. (In France and other countries the members of the EC are members until they retire or die.)

This is what those into new politics (Reformers) were out to change. The IPD Commission went some way to agreeing to their demands, but six reformist members felt the need to go further: they called for open

discussion of politics within the party; full information and accountability; collective national leadership; and changes in the method of electing the leadership. In an addition to the final report they set out the proposals. They also stated that they felt it was wrong that discussion had not been open to the whole of the Party from the beginning of the commission's work.

The alternative proposals were defeated with almost contemptuous speed. The Congress proceeded to go on to pass all the recommendations of the committees, including in the EC elections all the 42 on the recommended list. But these included 14 new members, some from the reforming lobby. There remains the hope that they might inject some life into the party because it surely needs it.

Adam Thompson



The new executive committee

- \*ASHTON, Jack
- \*ATKIN, Jacqueline
- \*BANK, ...
- \*BARR, ...
- \*BOLT, ...
- \*BRENN, ...
- \*CART, ...
- \*CHAT, ...
- \*COHE, ...
- \*COOK, ...
- \*COST, ...

Communist Party of



Debate

# BIG FLAME

## Workers' plans



DEFEAT  
TORY ATTACK

# Sometime we will understand

THERE'S A SMALL graveyard alongside St. Margaret's church in Bodelwyddan, near Rhyl in north Wales. It contains a rather striking arrangement of simple white tombstones in four rows standing over the graves of 83 Canadian soldiers.

The tombstones with their maple-leaf motifs stand mute witnesses to an 'outbreak of influenza' during the winter of 1918-1919, which swept through a 'de-mob' camp set up at nearby Kinmel Park for Canadian troops on their way home for the exhausting battlefields of World War 1, waiting their turn for a Montreal-bound ship from Liverpool.

It seems moving from the casual passer-by, almost a part of Wales that is forever Canada. Yet a closer examination of one row starts off a suspicion that bitterly distorts the serenity of the graveyard. 19 men in this row are grouped tightly together, yet their deaths from 'flu, according to the inscriptions, were spread over a period from 18 Jan 1918 to 6 April 1919. On the tombstone of Corporal Joseph Young, there is an inscription: 'Sometime, sometime, we will understand.'

Young's anonymous colleague did not mean the medical mysteries of the 'flu bug - he was giving voice to an apparently hopeless wish that the world would sometime know the real truth of what happened at Kinmel Park. The official records of the time, and newspaper reports in such organs as *The Times*, tell stories of a 'riot in Canadian

camp' that left five killed, including one VC 'trampled to death', 20 injured, questions in Parliament, official investigations, controversial inquests, and a Whitehall 'doctoring' of the records.

The five killed figure amongst the 83 in St. Margaret's but that leaves 78 others, their deaths down officially to 'flu. British people these days, what with Anthony Blunt et al, are only too aware of establishment 'cover-ups', and it has taken diligent research work into military records in recent years to unearth aspects of the people's history of 1914-1918, and particularly those steamy times after Ten Days That Shook The World in Russia.

This research has centered around the many mutinies that happened in Britain or with British soldiers in Europe, mainly after demobilisation but also in resistance to attempts by the British military establishment to continue the fighting, despite four years of European carnage, against the Bolsheviks. We looked at mutinies in *Levellor 21*, and amongst recent populist research is a *Solidarity* pamphlet by Dave Lamb called *Mutinies: 1917-1920*, which is highly recommended. Lamb looks carefully at Kinmel Park, and pushes public knowledge along that road to answering Cpl. Young's friend's poignant wish.

Conditions were rough at Kinmel Park in 1918. Morale was not helped by the apparently endless delay in getting a ship, with authorities blaming 'striking dockworkers'. Back in Canada things were not much better: severe unemployment and wage cuts heightened suspicions amongst the weary Canadians in north Wales that their delay had a political motivation.

A meeting was held on 4 March '19 in Kinmel, electing a strike committee with a young Russian emigré called Tarasevich chosen to start off a protest demonstration. This 'Russian connection' prompted the media to raise a 'Bolshevik scare' in reporting the outcome. It was over the next day, at least five killed, and the official 'cover-up' process well under way.

Records of the Coroner's Inquest are available, but no more - the Canadian Army's Court of Inquiry into the events produced a detailed report that was soon labelled 'Confidential' and not made available to the Coroner, and the St. Margaret's burial record for the period is said to have spent a little time at the War Office.



The coroner's jury was obliged to return an open verdict.

One undisputable fact is that 75 soldiers were arrested after the mutiny (some reports say 78). A large section of the 83 Canadian graves have March 1919 inscribed as date of death. There are overwhelming suspicions that the bulk of these graves are not filled with men who 'died from influenza' but who were summarily and discreetly executed by Army authorities. We may never know. The Army covered its official tracks pretty well.

Amongst that March 1919 group of graves are the five men killed during the mutiny itself. How they died indicates clearly the Army's opinion of them. The Russian had his guts ripped out with a bayonet by 'persons unknown' before he was even arrested, and Cpl Young had his head split by another bayonet.

Many Canadian soldiers who could have given evidence found that an Atlantic-bound ship suddenly became available between the mutiny and the inquest, and were whisked back

home. The coroner, alarmed at lack of co-operation from Canadian authorities, hinted the soldiers had been murdered, and seem to disbelieve official accounts that the protesting men had fired first.

Lamb argues they did not, and that they made a fatal mistake in not commandeering the camp's arms store, which officers were able to control themselves and thereby to turn firearms onto the angry soldiers.

Maybe it is still not too late for a Canadian soldier at Kinmel in March 1919 to come forward and publicise the true story. For the while, the memorial marking the Canadian section of the graveyard has an inscription reading: 'This memorial was erected by their comrades. Their name liveth for evermore'.

As Lamb remarked, this is a 'strange epitaph for the victims of an influenza epidemic, with only a marginal impact on the local civilian population.' Yes some day people will understand... and do the necessary.

David Brazil

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# Reviews

## When Britain invaded Russia

IN THESE BLUNT DAYS, it's fairly rum that another tale has emerged about an Englishman who didn't quite play with a straight bat as far as Russia's concerned. Again, it's taken a while for the info to emerge but in 1918 one Douglas Young was Our Man in Archangel, the northern sea-port admittedly a minor consular outpost in British Empire terms. Yet the actions of Young propelled himself, the Foreign Office, and the Bolshevik Revolution into a cover-up of major proportions concerning the arrogant British attempt to bugger up the establishment of the world's first officially socialist state.

Archangel was the port through which the Whitehall mandarins tried to shove their already war-weary cannon-fodder to take on the Red Army, and Young suddenly found his customary daily work diet of drunken sailors' fights, the issuing of visas, and smoothing the path of timber exports changed for ever. In short, Young spoke out against the British military intervention, and in public at that, and of course if you're a FO wallah, you just don't do such a thing. Not that Young was a closet bolshe - far from it, but he thought what his government was seedily trying to do was such Bad Form, he couldn't just turn a blind eye.

The full story has now been chronicled in *The Consul Who Rebelled* by Andrew Rothstein, himself an ex-Morning Star journalist, who was allowed to study Young's papers after his death in 1967 which, allied to previously untouched Foreign Office records, enabled him to spell out what he terms the 'history of one of the most disgraceful episodes any government has initiated'.

Young was a thoroughly normaloid middle-class professional young man apparently destined to a steady if unspectacular career in the diplomatic service. He shifted around till he ended up at Archangel in 1915 - as unimpressed as were most of his class at events stirring in St. Petersburg and Moscow, but at least more clued in on the spirit amongst the population there. He even remarked: 'I hate Bolshevism - a product of reaction working upon national war-weariness and popular discontent.'

Young cottoned on to his masters' plans for Russia and wrote messages consistently advising against military intervention, both because of how impractical that would be and because of the inherent arrogance it implied. He was asked to co-operate with official deception, statements were issued in his

name that came not from him, and his assurances to the Archangel Soviet were cynically countermanded.

Against the background of a British post-war election in 1918, with Labour campaigning on a 'Hands Off Russia' platform - and indeed with that general war-weariness and resistance to continuing the fight against the Bolsheviks which has led some commentators to suggest British troops' reluctance was as important a factor as any in ensuring the Soviet success - Young responded in *The Times* to reported comments by a British bonehead War Lord, Admiral Kemp.

Young described the anti-Soviet propaganda as 'high-handed' then soon afterwards had a remarkable long article published in the leftish *Daily Herald*. There he accused HMG of a 'dirty, double game with the Soviet Government' and he accused the unnamed Kemp of 'acting toward the Russian population in their own country as despotically as any Tsar'. Questions were soon asked in high places about Young's suitability as Our Man. He gave an official explanation to the Foreign Office in March 1919 in which he accused them of 'methods which were not in accord with true and honest



dealing', adding he placed 'truth before tradition'. The mandarins muttered not good enough, so he wrote to Lloyd George as a 'private citizen'. The floodgates opened, and Lord Curzon gave Young the heave-ho, and no pension rights either. A re-employment request in 1921 was turned down.

A change of government, and Young was re-instated in 1924 by Ramsey McDonald, but at a salary rate meant as a calculated snub in that sphere where such things matter. He spent the rest of his diplomatic life staying in line and refusing to publish his side of the story as one condition of his reinstatement was that he kept mum. At the age of 84 he had a heart attack and prepared his papers in perfect order for a historian. He died though keeping his allegiance to a Government and a system that for one brief year he publicly deplored because it wasn't cricket.

When Britain Invaded Soviet Russia: *The Consul Who Rebelled* by Andrew Rothstein. Journeyman Press £2.25.

## Black seeds: sowing changes

SINCE THE END of the Second World War London has had a significant presence of Third World people: immigrants, students, refugees, exiles, and artists. Some have been demoralised by their experience here, but many more have 'girded their loins' in their encounters with British racism. London, in the process, has become a base for periodicals giving expression to black ideas and experiences.

Apart from *West Indian Weekly*, and a host of daily and weekly newspapers in English and Asian languages, catering mainly to the black communities, magazines like *Race Today*, *Race & Class*, and *The Black Liberator*, have offered political perspectives through which to see the world. Then, two years ago, two Pakistani artists launched *Black Phoenix*. This journal has concentrated on articles analysing the form, content and relevance of contemporary Afro/Asian art and culture, in Britain and in the Third World.

It is now going through some changes - involving a bigger group of people in production, and hoping to extend its 2,000 sales per issue.

*Root*, a glossy monthly, based on the Afro-American *Ebony*, climbed on the back of all these in November 1979. Unfortunately, its first issue looks like a black mirror image of trendy British mags.

In January 1980, London-based black publishing will take its next major step. *Black Seeds*, edited by the exiled Ethiopian writer, Alem Mezgebe, is projected as an *international* monthly.

While its emphasis is Pan-African, *Black Seeds* aims to cover views on the history, culture, and artistic achievements of all Third World peoples. The 15,000 copies of its pilot issue, funded by Africans, will be distributed not so much in Britain, as in the African continent, Latin America, the West Indies and India. Established Third World writers and



artists have shown willing to contribute to its pages, but the editor is more anxious to present new talent.

The pilot issue contains articles ranging from 'Yoruba Opera' and 'Food - its functions in African society' to poems by the Aboriginal Australian poet Jack Davis and David M. Diop, from Senegal, among others; book reviews on technology in the Third World, Nelson Mandela's speeches; African and Asian proverbs; a short story by the West Indian writer Angela Bailey in patois.

A quote from Kwame Nkrumah sums up *Black Seeds'* objectives: 'We feel that there is much the world can learn from those of us who belong to what we might term the pre-technological societies. There are values which we must not sacrifice unheedingly in pursuit of material progress...'

*Black Seeds*, 43 Bedford Row, London WC1 4LP. (Phone: 01-242 0171).

PLUTO PRESS is looking for outside editors to enrich its current range and to extend into related fields. Candidates need to share a general socialist commitment, be alert to changing currents in intellectual and political life, confident in dealing with people and scripts, and able to write simply. Editors would work on a commission basis. Contact Michael Kidron, Pluto Press, 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8 LH 01-722 0141.

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## peace news

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— is an independent paper produced collectively as a forum for readers' contributions. We are nonviolent anarchists—working to undo all relationships of authority and dominance (sexual, racial, economic, military...) without treating anyone as expendable in that struggle or as closed to change. The paper aims to be a tool for people making change in—taking control of—their own lives as much as for resistance to the institutions of power.

It consistently covers sexual politics, opposition to militarism and secrecy, personal growth, racism, building alternatives, opposition to nukes—and a lot more.

**Peace News** 20p fortnightly. Subs £7.00 a year, trial 5 issues £1 from: **8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.**



**Green City Wholefoods**

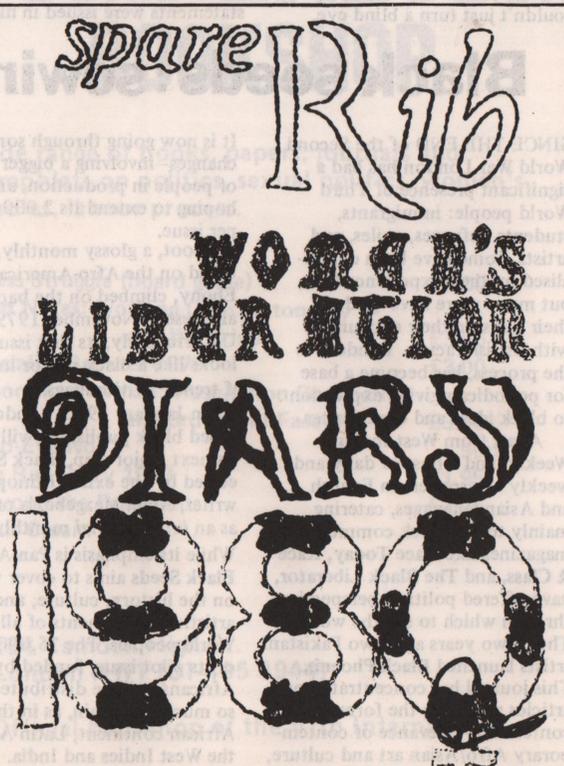
**MEMBERS WANTED**

Green City is an economically fast growing collective wholesaling wholefood in Scotland. It consists of 8 people (5 women & 3 men). Our policy is to provide realistically priced quality foodstuffs organically grown where possible. We are committed to the collective as a basis for an alternative society. We all earn £35 per week before tax, but we hope to raise wages soon. We work hard and sometimes long hours, but we feel this is counter-balanced by the fact that each one of us is in control of their own work situation. We already manufacture flour and this year we intend expanding manufacturing. Our aim is not profit but to provide more jobs, a decent living wage for all members, and a workplace where things like childcare are included in daily work. We need members. We need people with commitment and responsibility. Working knowledge of the food industry is not important, but an interest in food politics is. So is an interest in working co-operatively — and that includes fighting all forms of oppression (e.g. sexism). At present our need is for people who will do some driving as our deliveries grow weekly. But we do hope to be increasing our membership frequently. We will consider every application with care. If you have been looking for an alternative work situation and think you have something to offer us please apply. 26 Earl Haig Rd., Hillington, Glasgow G52 4JU. Tel:— 041 882 9463.

Last year we produced our first *Spare Rib* Diary... we've asked women to tell us what they liked and disliked about it and for suggestions for the 1980 Diary. Out soon, using the original suffragette colours of green and violet, it contains many original drawings, cartoons and photographs by women, accompanied by relevant and witty feminist quotations from the last 200 years! It also includes a huge listing of feminist groups and useful contacts for easy reference.

New additions this year: a special calendar for easy calculation of your menstrual cycle, indexed note pages, 1979 and 1981 calendars, size 4x6 inches.

It's a card cover, laminated 184 page book, costing £2 from good bookshops. Also available direct from *Spare Rib* at £2 incl. postage: *Spare Rib*, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1R 0AT.



Everything you learnt at school...  
The Coming Age - 35p  
**The spiritual - feminist alternative**  
40 St John St. Oxford, 1.  
... chuck it down the drain.

**BULLETIN ON SOCIAL POLICY** Issue 4 of this socialist publication now available. Subscriptions £2 (£1 low waged). 89, Mitchell St., Rochdale, Lancashire OL12 6SH.



**HUNT SABOTEURS ASSOCIATION** — undertakes non-violent direct action against all forms of bloodsports throughout Britain. Membership £1. Active and non-active members welcome. Full Details (SAE) from H.S.A. P.O. Box 19, Tonbridge, Kent.

'What did you learn in school today, dear little girl of mine?' Sheffield Women and Education Group Conference is looking at the role of girls and women in education. Saturday 19th January, 10am-5pm at Sheffield University Students Union, West Weston Bank. Speakers: Rosemary DEEM, Ann Marie WOLPE. Workshops, film, creche, food, accommodation available. £1.50 waged, 50p unwaged. For further details and registration contact Jenny Kavanagh, 29 Parkers Rd., Sheffield 10.

**OVAL HOUSE**  
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CANTEEN serving wholesome food open Mon-Sat 6.30pm Sun 1-3pm & 6.30pm.



**sun power ecology centre**  
books :: crafts  
"Going Solar"  
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**NORWICH: Freewheel Community Bookshop**, now open, 56 St. Benedicts Street. We stock pamphlets/badges/books on feminism, socialism, Anarchism, Anti-Imperialism, Pacifism, ecology, non-sexist children's books, radical fiction. 10-6, Monday-Saturday (late evening Friday).

The amazing Radical Christmas cards by the notorious Steve Bell from Black Rose Press. Get them at your local left/alternative bookshop — 30p inc. VAT for a set of 4 different designs (distributed by Full Time Distribution)



01 274 5181

## Ireland Socialist Review

An independent journal of research and analysis on the class struggle in Ireland.  
NUMBER 6 — WINTER 1979-80 — OUT NOW  
Articles include:— The Ireland Debate at the Labour Party's Conference; Ireland in the World Economy; plus reviews.  
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## MAMA COCA

If you think that drug use will never be a political issue, MAMA COCA will change your mind.

£3.95 Available from bookshops or direct from HFP +65p postage  
Hassle Free Press BCM Box 311  
London WC1V 6XX

# Back Pages

## MAGS & PAPERS

Peoples News Service, the fortnightly news bulletin that prints the news that's "ignored or distorted in the conventional press", has taken a break to institute a large scale re-organisation. They plan to be back early in the New Year with a bigger and better bulletin.

They're also considering the possibility of setting up a graphics service, to supply cartoons and illustrations to alternative and community papers. They'd like to hear from anyone interested in writing for them - especially anyone with specialist knowledge of areas like housing, law, and social security.

People's News Service is at Oxford House, Derbyshire Street, London E2. Telephone 01-739 4568.

Happy birthday to Rochdale Alternative Press, which is becoming something of a grand old person in the world of community papers. They've just celebrated their eighth anniversary.

The NCCL intends to produce bi-monthly editions of the **Prevention of Terrorism Newsletter**. They would like to receive letters on any aspect of the PTA, and want especially to hear from anyone who's been held or excluded under the act. The next issue is out in February: NCCL's address is 186 King's Cross Road, London WC1.



Issue no. 4 of Big Flame's magazine **Revolutionary Socialism**, has just come out. More readable than most theoretical party journals, this issue concentrates on three themes, Daily Life, Health, and Local Organising. The magazine reflects much of the feel of **Beyond The Fragments** (which has just been republished) and emphasises that we must live our politics now, stressing autonomy and organising around our own oppression as women, workers, tenants, claimants, or whatever, and rejecting elitism. It's available from Big Flame, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1. Price 50p.

## CARTOONS



The cartoon above, and those on the facing page, come from **Sour Cream**, the first ever collection of feminist cartoons in this country. It's been put together by Liz Mackie, Jo Nesbitt, Christine Roche and Lesley Ruda, and it's a selection of their work over the last seven years. In **Sour Cream**, they each have twelve pages to show their cartoons. It costs £1.75, from all good (lefty) bookshops, as the saying goes.

Still on cartoons, **The Mystery of Achnagoulash**, by Graham Murdoch and Dave Smith, tells how the intrepid one-legged private eye I. Beaver learns to stop worrying about dead people and makes friends with a three-hundred year old cannibal. Everyone lives happily ever after. Well, almost everyone. That comes from Aberdeen People's Press, 163 King Street, Aberdeen, at 80p (inc p&p).

The third issue of **Intervention**, the non-sectarian academic journal of Marxist studies, discusses various of the ideas of the Belgian theoretician Ernest Mandel, including his work on the permanent arms economy and on anthropological theory. It's good value at £1.20 (inc p&p) for 70 pages, from 60, Loughborough Road, London SW9. In future, the Intervention Collective is hoping to bring the journal out three times a year.

## CALENDARS



At last - an ideologically sound calendar! Keep the struggle hanging on your kitchen wall in the shape of the **Fightback Calendar**. It's a page to every month, with pics of recent anti-cuts demos etc. £1.17 (inc. p&p) from Fightback, 30, Camden Road, London NW1.

## CAMPAIGNS

We're lamentably backward in our anti-nuke movement compared to most other European countries, and so it's good to see the pamphlet **Who Needs Nuclear Power?**, a useful contribution to the Anti-Nuclear Campaign produced by Students Against Nuclear Energy.

It's informative and interesting, with plenty of good graphics and cartoons. Of particular value are the tales of bungling ineptitude. For example, we have five Advanced Gas Cooled Reactors, none of which has been working for longer than four months at any time. According to Prof. David Henderson of University College, London, they constitute 'one of the worst civil investment decisions in the history of mankind'.

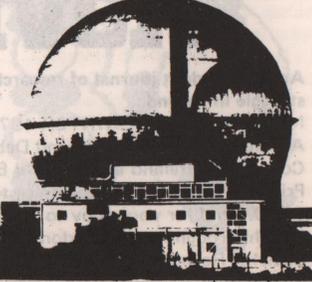


And they demonstrate convincingly, in a section on civil liberties, that the development of nuclear power is quite simply incompatible with a democratic society.



On January 26th, the **All-London Anti-Nuclear Alliance** are organising a march along the North London Line, to protest against the regular transport of dangerous radioactive waste.

For more details about the pamphlet and the march, contact **SANE, 9, Poland Street, London W1.**



## PAMPHLETS

**Public information**, produced by the London Labour Library, which opened in November, is a directory of information sources for unionists and pressure groups. All human life is here, from the Department of Trade and the City Business Library to the Bristol Resource Centre and Publications Distribution Cooperative.

The idea is to provide a useful list of organisations and libraries who can help you find out; the 106 entries include information on what each covers, and how to get in touch with them. It doesn't suffer from the usual union chauvinism either - women's organisations are included - nor is it especially biased towards London. 50p plus 11p postage from London Labour Library, Brabant Road, London N22.

Meanwhile, the Labour Research Department has produced another of its excellent guides to the law at work. This one is on **Unfair Dismissal**. It points out that the law on unfair dismissal 'only provides partial protection against dismissals', and of course the law fails to protect workers who need it most. The pamphlet includes a step-by-step guide to preparing an unfair dismissal case. 61p (inc. p&p) from LRD, 78, Blackfriars Road, London SE1.

# Back Pages

## CAMPAIGNS

**JAIL**, the campaign against the identification laws, is about to broaden its scope, to include research into the use of 'verbal admissions' in criminal cases. The change involves a change of name. They're to be known as the **Criminal Research and Action Group (CRAG)**.

All the same, they intend to continue their work monitoring cases which involve identification evidence, and lobbying for reform. They've just produced a report, **Identification Evidence**, which includes the evidence **JAIL** presented to the Royal Commission On Criminal Procedure in March.

The report, by Martin Walker and Bernadette Brittain, covers the history of identification procedure, and goes on to look in more detail at a number of identification cases. There's also a couple of sections on police practice, and the way it's likely to increase the chances of wrongful identification.

**JAIL** say the report is the outcome of two years' work; it's available from them at 271 Upper Street, London N1, price £1 plus 25p postage.



The **Demonstration Defence Unit** is a network of people who volunteer to 'service' a demonstration. It was set up last year by legal workers concerned at the growing number - and apparent randomness - of arrests on anti-racist and other demonstrations, and volunteers work with local law centres, telling demonstrators about their rights if arrested and co-ordinating witness statements.

So far they've been on hand to give advice at a wide range of events, including the Huntley Street squatters' eviction, carnivals, and last November's Reclaim the Night march through Soho when several women got arrested. Most of the present helpers are qualified barristers and solicitors.

The unit aims for the rapid release of those arrested, and also helps establish defence committees. Members produce a quarterly news magazine outlining details of campaigns etc. Anyone organising an event in the London area and in need of some legal presence may contact the DDU on 01-289 3876.

The alternative technology centre, **CAITS**, is appealing for £5,000 to develop a low-technology road-rail bus. It's one of the projects that was proposed by the Lucas shop stewards in their alternative corporate plan for the company, and it combines the advantages of both road and rail. If developed, it could prove very useful in third-world countries, where the cost of building a large amount of railway track is prohibitive.

They're appealing for funds, rather than going to more usual sources of capital, because they want to keep control of the way the vehicle is developed, rather than letting it pass to a company. Donations should be sent to **CAITS (Road-Rail Fund)**, North East London Polytechnic, Dagenham, Essex.

## BOOKS

If our feature on mods makes you want to find out more about them, one place you could look is in a book called **Mods!** It's been produced by Pete Townsend's Eel Pie Publishing company, in a fairly shameless attempt to make a rapid buck out of nostalgia, but for all that it gives a pretty good, if entirely uncritical view of sixties mod.

The book consists almost entirely of photos, dug out of newspaper archives including those of the **Hairdressers Journal**. For a movement dedicated single-mindedly to the idea of looking neat, that's about all you need.



... a thoughtful child, even from her youth...

## CONFERENCES

The Department of Extra-Mural Studies at London University is organising a **Science and Society History Workshop**, to be held next February in London. The idea is to bring together scientists, historians and trade unionists to discuss science, technology and ideology.

Workshop topics include 'Technology and the workplace', 'Office work', 'Computer and management control', and 'The politics of work hazards'. The workshop is being held on 23rd and 24th February, it costs £3 (£2 if you're unwaged) and further details are available from Room 265, London University Extra Mural, 26 Russell Square, London WC1.

## TELEVISION

**Welsh 4th Channel: The Only Answer** is a restatement of the Welsh Language Society's ten year old policy that programmes in Welsh should be broadcast on the fourth channel. It's a proposal that has been government policy since 1974, when the then Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, accepted recommendations made by the Crawford Committee on Television Reception.

He established a Working Party (what else?) to look at the technical and financial problems; that reported in July 1978, when the government published a White Paper which declared its



intention to bring the new Welsh language service into operation by October 1982.

It was a commitment that was backed by the Conservatives at the last election, in their manifesto for Wales, which stated "We are anxious to see Welsh broadcasting starting on the Fourth Channel as soon as possible".

So why a new pamphlet? Well, in July 1979 Harlech TV decided it didn't like the idea too much, and in September the government changed its mind. The Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, announced that the government thought it would be a better idea if the Welsh programmes were broadcast on two channels.

(Under the old proposal, both BBC and ITV would contribute programmes to the Welsh speaking channel, which would be controlled by the Independent Broadcasting Authority.) It's no surprise to learn that Harlech supports the change.

As the Welsh Language Society says, the view that Welsh language programmes should be broadcast on the 4th channel represents a consensus. It's a policy the WLS has secured public support for; and it's been backed by the Broadcasting Authorities and successive governments.

If the Tories are now about to change their mind, partly, it seems, because of a change of heart by the commercial Harlech TV company, representative democracy is seen to be a sham. You might as well blow up broadcasting installations.

London Weekend Television is treating some of its minorities a little better. **Babylon** is the collective name for a series of six programmes, about and for young blacks, to be screened at lunch-time on every Sunday until the end of December (London area). Topics include politics, education, music and the family.

But didn't some blacks think that LWT was part of Babylon? Yes, says producer Michael Attwell. 'There were some blacks who were very hesitant about co-operating with what they saw as a white organisation, and made that very clear when we talked to them. But we didn't get any hostility.'

Since work started on **Babylon**, LWT has set up a permanent Minorities Unit, to make programmes for blacks, gays, and young people - groups who the company's executives have decided are excluded from normal television coverage.

## RADIO

With the IBA lining up new commercial radio stations like they're going out of style, a number of people are collaborating to provide an information and advice service to anyone who's thinking of making an application to run a community-based or non-profit making station.

Bids like this should be encouraged by the recent success of the community controlled group which won the franchise for the Cardiff station.

They'll provide advice on all the things you need to know to prepare a successful bid, including the sort of background information the IBA needs to know, technical details, and raising capital.

Joe Simpson, Media Development Officer at CSV (01-278 6601) and Peter Lewis, of the community communications group (01-278 9082) will deal with general enquiries, and Simon Partridge, of the Broadcasting Rights And Information Project (263-6692) is the person to contact with more specific enquiries.



