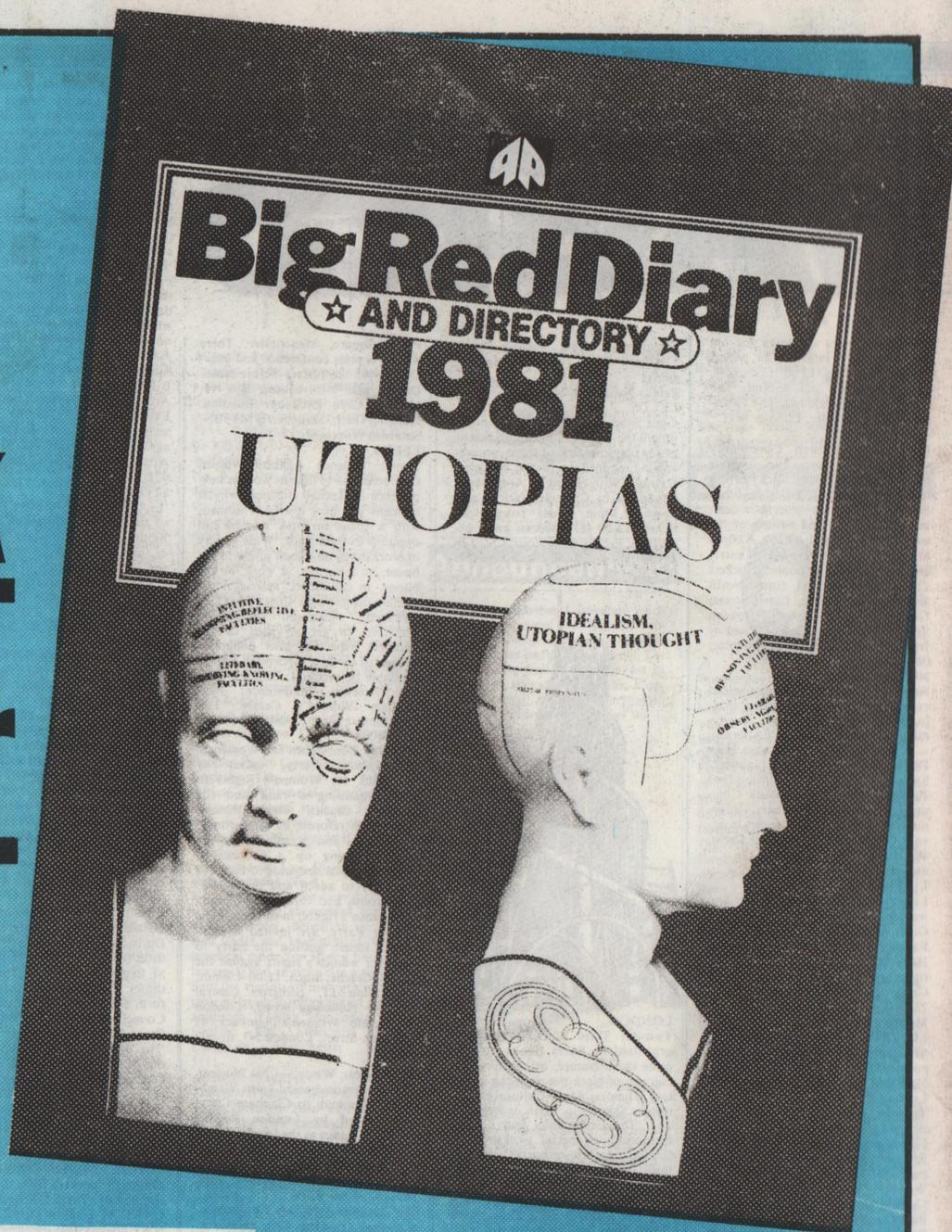


**Free  
book  
offer**



IF YOU take out a year's subscription to the magazine we will send you, completely free, a copy of the *Big Red Diary 1981*. Now on sale in the shops at £2, the Diary includes a Red Directory, a description of Britain under the Tories, and hundreds of quotes and graphics on Utopian thought across the ages.

An Ordinary Subscription costs £10 for a year, and that includes the Diary.

A six month subscription costs £6, but you don't get the Diary.

A Supporting Subscription — which gives us a healthy subsidy, and you the right to come and vote at the AGM — costs £20. And, of course, you'll get the diary too.

Institutional Subscriptions (for trades unions, public libraries, small companies and state bodies) cost £15 for a year, and you don't get the Diary.



Make cheques, POs out to : Leveller (1979) Ltd.

I enclose a cheque/PO for .....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

I wish to be : 12 month/6 month Subscriber.  
I wish to be a Supporting Subscriber.

Send to: 57, Caledonian Road, London, N1.

# the Leveller

FORTNIGHTLY

No.44

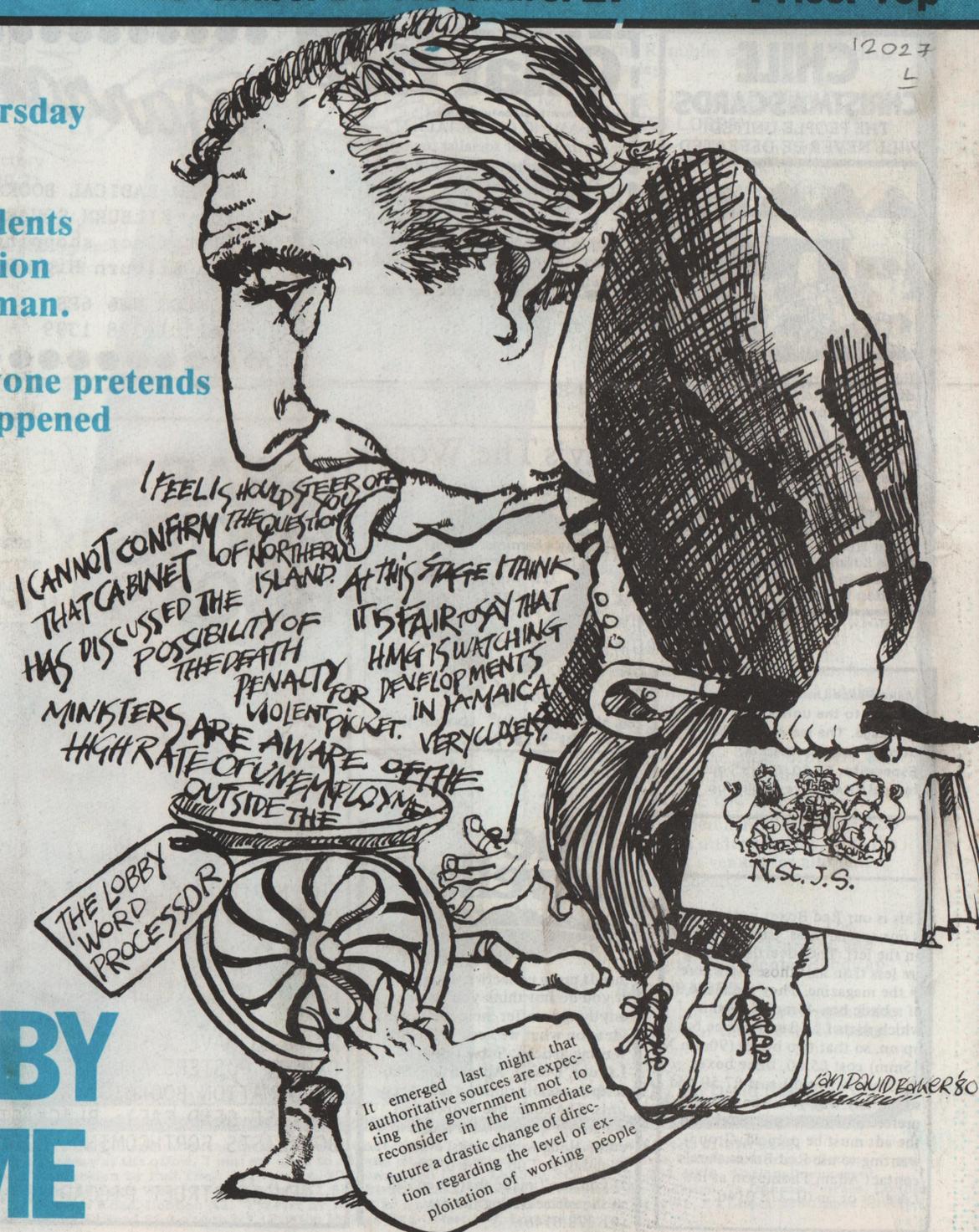
November 14 - November 27

Price: 40p

Every Thursday at 4.15pm political correspondents take dictation from this man.

Then everyone pretends it never happened

## THE LOBBY GAME



# RED BOXES

## Balham Food &

BALHAM FOOD & BOOK CO-OP  
2-16 Culmore Cross, London S.W.12.  
Telephone 01-673 0946.  
S.W. London's  
Radical Book &  
Wholefood Shop.  
We are a workers co-operative.  
Open: Mon, Tues, Thurs, Fri. 9.30-6.30.  
Sat. 9.30-5.30.  
Closed all day Wednesday.



## Book Co-op Ltd

### CHILE CHRISTMAS CARDS

THE PEOPLE UNITED  
WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED



Full colour reproductions of 8 different patchwork tapestries made by women in the shanty towns of Chile. No printed message—suitable for Christmas or any greeting. Explanatory note on the back of card explains design.  
Set of eight different cards with envelopes £1.50 post free.  
Order from:  
Chile Solidarity Campaign  
129 Seven Sisters Road  
London N7 7QG

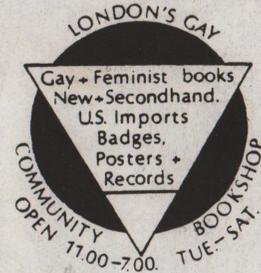
Make Peace Universal with Esperanto the universal language. The learn-at-home book — Step by Step in Esperanto, £3.80. From your radical/alternative bookshop.

This is our Red Boxes page, which is our special rates page for groups on the left. The advertising rates are less than half those elsewhere in the magazine. They are made up of a basic box 45mm X 34mm which costs £2.50 and can be built up on, so that two boxes (90mm X 45mm) cost £5.00, three boxes (135mm X 34mm) cost £7.50 and so on, any way you want them. We prefer camera-ready artwork and the ads must be prepaid. Group wanting to use Red Boxes should contact Adam Thompson at the *Leveller* or on 01 278 0146.

## Chartist

SOCIALIST CHARTER BI-MONTHLY JOURNAL  
"DREAMING OF SOCIALISM"  
\* Pathology of socialist organization.  
\* Rock against Thatcher interview.  
\* Drugs and the Left.  
\* Politics of Death — Exit.  
\* Monitor, Observations, Reviews.  
32pp/65p by post/£3 yearly sub. from:  
Chartist Publications, 170 Wandsworth Road, London SW8.

## Gay's The Word



66, Marchmont St. London WC1.  
— 01 278 7654 —

## the Leveller

needs more collective members, if you do not think you've got anything to offer, here are some ideas on what we need help with: Writing articles, Sub-editing, Layout, Design, Advertising, Subscriptions, Distribution and Accounts. The collective is open and we accept anyone who wants to come along to meetings, every Tuesday at 7.00 in the office. If you can't make that, then call at the office during the day. (01 278 0146).

## Marram

A NEW RADICAL BOOKSHOP  
101, KILBURN SQUARE,  
(1st floor shopping precinct  
in Kilburn High Road)

LONDON NW6 6PS  
tel: 01-328 1399

## GRASS ROOTS BOOKS

MANCHESTER'S ALTERNATIVE BOOKSHOP.

THE NORTH WEST'S LARGEST SELECTION OF BOOKS AND PAPERS ON POLITICS, SEXUAL POLITICS, THE THIRD WORLD, AND ALL THE OTHER TOPICS DEAR TO THE HEARTS AND BRAINS OF LEVELLER READERS.

WE ALSO HAVE A SELECTION OF BADGES, CARDS, POSTERS AND RECORDS. COMMUNITY INFORMATION BOOKLIST AVAILABLE ON REQUEST (PLEASE SEND SAE): BLACK STUDIES AND GAY BOOKLISTS FORTHCOMING. BOOKSTALLS SUPPLIED

1 NEWTON STREET PICCADILLY, MANCHESTER 1

# the Leveller

No 44

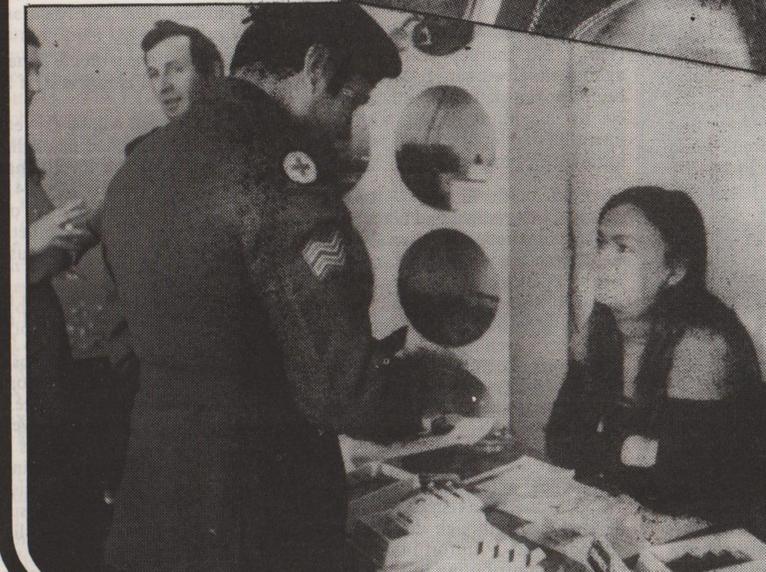
# Inside



Above: Reagan's victory for whom? Pages 20-21

Centre: What do Donald McCullin's photographs mean? Pages 18-19

Below: Subversive sale of contraceptives in the Irish Republic, threatened by new law. Page 11



Derek Speirs (Report)

- 4-9 **FORTNIGHT**  
*The Leveller's* round-up of 14 days of news
- 10 **LETTERS**  
Responses favourable and, sometimes, otherwise, plus... Bonzo hears His Master's Voice
- 11 **THE IRISH RIGHT TO CHOOSE**  
A new Family Planning Act for the Republic which is worse than useless
- 12-14 **THE PARLIAMENTARY PRESS LOBBY**  
They won't let us in, but we know what they get up to
- 15 **ITALY'S 'ARMED PARTY'**  
'Insurrectionists' fill the prisons to bursting point
- 16 **NUCLEAR BRITAIN**
- 17 From submarine bases to waste dumps, reactors to railway sidings; *The Leveller* presents the topography of death in a two-page pull-out map
- 18-19 **WAR PHOTOGRAPHY**  
Devoid of political and historical context, Donald McCullin's acclaimed photographs shock but seldom explain
- 20-21 **AMERICAN ELECTIONS**  
How Carter's preoccupation with self ditched the West Coast liberal democrats, and why he lost so badly
- 22 **JAMAICA**  
Why Manley went so badly wrong
- 23-24 **MUSIC**  
British jazz: few men, even fewer women. Plus album and singles reviews
- 25 **FILM REVIEWS**  
Babylon, The Blues Brothers, and The Foggy Horror Show
- 26-27 **THEATRE ON THE MOVE**  
Miners, Merchants and Sweatshop dynasties under scrutiny; plus the fortnight's venues for alternative touring theatre
- 28 **BOOKS**  
Three reviews on nukes; The British Economic Disaster, and The Politics of Mental Handicap
- 30-31 **BACK PAGES**  
Agitlisting of events all round the country for the next two weeks.

Cover design by Ian David Baker

Published by Leveller Magazine (1979) Ltd and produced by the Leveller Collective, 57 Caledonian Rd, London N1, tel: 01-278 0146. Collective meetings held every Tuesday at the office, 7 pm, are open to all, and all contributions — articles, pictures, cartoons, stories or letters — are welcome. National bookshop distribution by Full Time Distribution, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1, tel: 01-251 4976. National newsagent distribution by Moore Harness Ltd, 50 Eagle Wharf Road, London N1, tel: 01-251 9224. Process camerawork by Redesign, 7a Duncan Terrace, London N1, and Community Press, 2a St Pauls Road, London N1. Typeset by Bread 'n' Roses, 30 Camden Road, London NW1, F I Litho, 328 Upper Street, London N1, and Workers Action, 98 Gifford St, London N1. Printed by East End Offset Ltd, London E2.

## 'Surprising' support for hunger strikers

THE LEVEL of popular support for the H Block hunger strikers has surprised everyone, not least the Provisional Republican movement. The 15,000 people who turned out for the 26 October march in Belfast made it the largest demonstration of republican support seen in Northern Ireland since the early seventies. Anger over Humphrey Atkins' handling of the civilian clothes 'concession' brought out people who had not been seen on the streets since the days of the civil rights marches — including priests and rank and file members of the SDLP and Republican Clubs.

The immediate result has been the springing up of dozens of new Hunger Strike Action Groups throughout Ireland. Dead or dormant Relatives Action Committees have found new life, and new groups of trades unionists and young people against H Block have been formed. "It's bigger than anything for a very long time," said a Provisional Sinn Feiner.

The Provisionals were careful to distance themselves from the hunger strikers' action from the beginning, prophesying that it was bound to fail. They have left the organising of the support campaign up to the National H Blocks Committee, made up of prisoners' relatives, independents like Bernadette MacAliskey, IRSP and Peoples' Democracy members, as well as Provisional Sinn Fein representatives.

After a slow start — largely because it too was taken aback by the strength of catholic grass roots reaction in the North — the Committee has mapped out an almost-daily timetable of occupations, pickets and demonstrations, North and South of the border, to culminate in a mass lobby of Dublin Parliament on November 22 and a march to the British embassy on December 6.

By that time the men in the H Blocks will have gone 40 days without food; death usually comes some time after 60 days. Committee members make little secret of their hope that by then the mood in Dublin will be similar to that after Bloody Sunday in 1972, when angry crowds burned the old embassy.

Inside the blocks the prison authorities are digging in for a long wait. They have already sealed off one wing of H3 and moved the seven hunger strikers to isolation cells there. Tommy McKearney from Tyrone is reported to be the weakest of the seven. His physical



A weary protester at last weekend's fast and vigil at Downing Street

condition has been poor ever since he was badly beaten in Castlereagh in 1977. But there is little doubt in republican areas that all seven men will go through with their fast in pursuit of the prisoners' five demands. And it is no coincidence that the prisoners include both the top Provisional, Brendan Hughes, and the top IRSP man, John Nixon at present in the H Block.

Meanwhile in Belfast there are signs that the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force are using the excuse of the H Block mobilisation to carry out a campaign of sectarian attacks. Sources close to the UDA have already said they were responsible for the killing of Ronny Bunting and Noel Little last month. Over the past two weeks the attacks have become more indiscriminate; four people — a 72 year old woman at an H Block picket, a catholic manager and a house painter in North Belfast, a butcher's shop manager in the White Rock Road — have been wounded in overtly sectarian shootings.

## Terror laws

ANNE BOYLE and Rose McAllister, the two Northern Ireland women held by the state under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (last issue) were deported from the "United Kingdom" to the "United Kingdom" after seven and five days respectively.

Even as they were "excluded" back to the North, the farce of *habeas corpus* hearings was still going on in the High Court. Applications for writs had been three times adjourned — and everyone knew anyway that they wouldn't succeed.

Seven days is the longest the PTA allows detention without



charge. No charges were brought against either woman. It has always been a police tactic to detain people for the maximum period, with no intention of charging them, just for harassment purposes.

Rose McAllister, former prisoner in Armagh, had taken part in the "blanket" protest at Downing St over the weekend, in support of the H Blocks prisoners and the Armagh women, and was picked up at Heathrow on her way home.

Every evening during their detention, Rochester Row nick, near Victoria, was noisily picketed by women, and their chants were heard in the cells.

Meanwhile, in the High Court, the games were going on. Lord Justice Donaldson remarked in one hearing that although the week in custody was "unfortunate", it could be contributing to the cause of liberty. And when it emerged on October 31 that the women had already been deported, he dismiss-

● Photographer Jeremy Nicholl took this picture of Irish women demonstrating at Downing Street in support of the H Blocks men and the Armagh women two weeks ago. Left, in the picture, is Rose McAllister, and when she was held at Heathrow he offered it to the *London Evening Standard*. The night newsdesk hack there hadn't heard anything about the story, but his ears pricked up when told a woman had been arrested. "Is she good-looking?" he enquired. Nicholl pointed out that was irrelevant. The hack persisted: "How old is she?" When told, he exclaimed: "About forty? Bit old to be a terrorist isn't she?" Nicholl did not sell the *Standard* his picture.

ed the applications with the remark that the matter was now out of his hands.

The PTA itself will be six years old next week — pushed through in the aftermath of the Birmingham bombings of November 21 1974. It has just been made clear by Tony Benn, a member of the Cabinet at the time, that it was never discussed there.

Benn told *The Leveller* that the bombings were discussed, and the need for emergency legislation, but not the detailed proposals themselves. "The Act was railroaded through by the Home Office."

"From 1974 to 1979 I several times tried to raise discussions on Northern Ireland in Cabinet, without success. The bi-partisan policy, together with the absurd rule of collective responsibility, and the fact that everything was handled by the Northern Ireland committee, which I wasn't appointed to, meant that it was impossible."

Jeremy Nicholl

## Newsh time

BBC LOCAL radio station Radio Merseyside recently had to cut short an interview with Merseyside's Chief Constable Ken Oxford

Oxford arrived at the station to do a long 'personality' interview on Radio Merseyside's chat-and-music afternoon show. But the interview had to be cut short after less than a quarter of an hour — and that included two records — because the Chief Constable was incomprehensible.

Merseyside Police includes the notorious Huyton-based K Division, which was connected with the death of labourer Jimmy Kelly. On the day of the interview, four Officers from K Division had been suspended as a result of inquiries into Kelly's death. Allegations of corruption in the forces A Division are also said to be being investigated.

As he left the station, Mr Oxford — recently praised by Manchester Chief Constable James Anderton in a Sunday paper article — was asked if he'd come by car. 'I can't remember', he replied. 'But I'm sure the walk will do me good.'

## Front room CIA

AFTER the success many years ago of the television series "The FBI" the Americans are working on another TV public relations exercise: "The CIA".

The show is to be centred around a handsome young male officer, his female assistant and a male electronics expert. Plans for the show were formulated five years ago but dropped due to the Congressional investigation into the CIA's role in the Chilean coup.

Now, however, Scott Siegler, Vice President of CBS (the company making the show) says "America is moving to the right. Americans will become more tolerant of the US protecting its interests abroad." Larry Thompson, executive producer of the show, promises "The CIA" will project its characters as being "American citizens with families and a job to do, just like you and me."

Thompson was quick to point out that the show will have to be OK'd by the intelligence agency (like "The FBI"), and claims that it won't be "a whitewash". But the series will be overseen by the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO), which will provide 'technical assistance'. The AFIO is made up of ex-military and CIA officers. PMS/LNS

## Class lessons

THE ASHES of the notorious Gould report on "Marxist penetration of Higher Education" have been raked up again. Common Cause Publications has just produced a 102-page survey of "Left-wing plans for transforming education".



The Gould report, by Professor Julius Gould of Nottingham University, backed by cash from the CIA-funded Institute for the Study of Conflict, was savaged by academics. No doubt trying to learn from those "mistakes", the new survey studiously tries to avoid any comment.

Instead it produces lists of policy statements and potted histories on a range of groups and individuals involved in "subverting" education. From the Labour Party to the International Marxist Group, from Paul Foot to David Widgery — all get the treatment.

For example we are told that Widgery submitted a paper on Aldermaston to a Ruskin History Workshop or that Alex Kitson and Professor Ralph Miliband of Leeds University are both members of the Communist Party's library advisory board.

Common Cause is pretty cagey about its operation based in Fleet, Hampshire. It is dedicated to stopping anything that might "lead to the establishment of totalitarianism". The survey was produced because left-wing groups were apparently "exploiting the educational system" to get at the younger generation.

The gaff is blown on page 56, when the writers admit their method of quoting from articles was chosen "not to expose ourselves to criticisms similar to those levelled against Gould". If readers remember, a pamphlet produced by the Campaign for Academic Freedom and Democracy labelled that report tendentious and shoddy. Not so easy to dismiss this one, but just as sinister.

## Fascists march

THE HARD-LINE Nazis of the British Movement (BM) will be marching on November 23 — the third time in recent weeks.

They claim to expect a higher turn-out on this occasion than the meagre couple of hundred they managed previously, as this is a national mobilisation for their members, of which they claim 2-3,000.

The BM plan to march in London, from Hyde Park to Pad-

dington, and a counter-demo has been called for the same day, assembling at Ladbroke Grove tube station, 12 noon.

The organisers point out that large numbers are needed to oppose the Nazis as the police have successfully herded previous counter-demos into obscure corners until the Nazis have completed their march.

For transport details ring 01-274 3951.

## Troops banned

SOUTH YORKSHIRE has become the first county to ban the armed forces from recruiting in its streets. The ruling Labour group has decided to limit the use of the shopping precincts to such healthy activities as morris-dancing, political meetings, and brass band music.

The decision (covering Rotherham, Barnsley, Doncaster and Sheffield) can only further inflame the Tory hatred of the county that is now reaching xenophobic proportions.

Unemployment is around 10 per cent in Yorkshire's "fourth riding", and the forces have been quick to take advantage. County Councillor John Cornwell says: "We are anxious that at a time of high unemployment people should not be beguiled into the services by false glamour." Doncaster's army recruiting office has reported a 100 per cent rise in applicants over the last year. Troops have of course been used in strikes and are up to their elbows in "counter-subversion" training.

But banning displays from shopping precincts is not enough. Sheffield Labour Party has already considered banning the services from the annual Sheffield Show. This year it was overwhelmed by blank-firing squaddies, navy film shows, tanks, aeroplanes, lorries, and guns for children to play with.

The next step must be a ban on recruiting in schools. Careers officers in Sheffield have already seduced 76 school-leavers into joining up in the last six months alone — four more than in the whole of the previous year. The District Labour Party has discussed instructing the Education Authority to discontinue its invitations to the armed forces. No decision has so far been announced, but one is expected before long.

It's enough to make the Tories wonder fleetingly whether they shouldn't forget Northern Ireland, and occupy South Yorkshire instead.

John Field

## Patriotic game

INFORMATION OFFICERS in British Embassies abroad have recently been circulated with a memo about the film 'The Patriot Game' by the Foreign Overseas Information Department. Sent out last March, it says the film "discredits the Army by including, out of context, scenes of action and violence in which British soldiers are involved".

The memo goes on to note that "The United Troops Out Movement (OID background brief October 1979) has helped in publicising the film in Britain... any awards would undoubtedly enhance a production which is damaging and highly critical of HMG."

Readers who've seen the film, which was issued in 1979 but hasn't, of course, been shown on the major circuits, will know that it's a powerful indictment of the British Army's presence in Northern Ireland.

But what is the Overseas Information Department, and what does it do? A Foreign Office spokesperson told us that it is: "concerned with the provision of guidance and background briefing on matters of general concern affecting Government policies". Ah, just so. And to



Poor Mrs Thatcher! Hung from a lamp-post by Brixton squatters, she swung in the breeze for days until she got wet, started to rot and had to be given a decent burial...

whom does it provide that guidance? "I'm afraid I can't go beyond that."

So, what was the paper on UTOM that they issued last October? "Formal and informal backgrounds on a wide range of subjects are prepared for posts abroad by the OID. We are not in the business of confirming or denying individual papers." Thanks for your help.



## Plastic death

FIGURES RELEASED recently from the Ministry of Defence show that the plastic bullets in regular use by the British army in Northern Ireland are four times as likely to cause death as the old rubber bullets.

After the death of Michael Donnelly last August, the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science wrote to Francis Pym, Minister of Defence, calling on him to withdraw plastic bullets and to institute a full enquiry into their use and characteristics.

A reply from Dr. Robert Taylor of the MoD ('principle of minimum force', 'only when necessary to save lives' and so on) says that 13,000 plastic bullets have been used since 1974 but that the Ministry has only received three claims involving accidental deaths.

BSSRS point out that four times as many of the rubber bullets — 55,834 — were fired between 1970 and '75, and that these also caused three deaths, suggesting a considerably higher mortality rate.

But BSSRS are not suggesting a return to the rubber bullets. A report from a group of Belfast surgeons on 90 patients in the early seventies showed 35 fractures to bones in the head, seven cases of lung damage and cases of injury to the lower spleen, intestine, liver, legs and arms. Two people were blinded in both eyes, seven suffered complete loss of vision in one eye. 17 others suffered less severe eye damage.

The standard plastic bullet is a PVC cylinder 4 inches long and an inch and a half in diameter. It weighs five ounces and has an

operational range of 36-72 yards. Its muzzle velocity of around 160 miles an hour is roughly double that achieved by the fastest fast bowler.

BSSRS spokesperson Jonathan Rosenhead told the *Leveller* that they intend to "continue our efforts to alert the labour movement and the public to the danger of these weapons, and to get them withdrawn from Northern Ireland".

Dr Taylor says in his letter that the bullets have been subjected to 'exhaustive tests at MoD laboratories', but the results have never been published for independent examination.

## Still secret

ONE OF the seven "secret" American nuclear weapons arsenals based in the UK has been getting a great deal of local publicity of late — much to the annoyance of US military brass.

Labour Party supporters in Bodmin, Cornwall, let the cat out of the bag when they sent press releases to local media calling for the closure of the United States Naval Aviation Weapons Facility at RAF St Mawgan, near Newquay.

The base houses nuclear anti-submarine depth charges, similar to those at Machrihanish on the west coast of Scotland.

"I have absolutely nothing to say about British politics," said base commander Lieutenant Jim Abbott, "but isn't the Labour Party that one which is trying to pick a new leader at the moment?"

## Well set up

MUCH DECORATED National Front official Nigel Hedger could be forced to quit his job as a housing officer with North Cornwall District Council following a scandal over the way he found a home for a 19-year-old mother — and then moved in with her.

Reports prepared by Hedger, who claims to have been awarded the NF's "Gold Star" and once been in the "Top 40" of the NF hierarchy, were instrumental in getting Lesley Yeo a council home. Ms Yeo had been "homeless" for sometime and was entitled to a council home in any case.

But reactionary councillors were outraged — mainly because Nigel had left his wife and five children in order to move in with Ms Yeo — and his resignation is expected to go before the next committee.

## Lord left out

ONE MAN, amongst several, heaving a huge sigh of relief at the strange ending to the saga of Lord Kagan's arrest and non-trial is Rowland Dennis Guy Winn, Fourth Baron of St Oswald. For Lord St Oswald, High Tory, NAFF Council member and former Euro MP, was chairman of Crabtree

Denim, the English end of the Ganex King's scheme to amass a tax free nest egg in Switzerland. Yet neither the good Lord, nor his company, were named in the charge at Leeds Crown Court last week.

Crabtree Denim was bought up by Kagan from the Official Receiver, its only assets a lot of denim. St Oswald, Lord-in-waiting to the Queen, former soldier, friend of fascist Spain, chairman of mid-Yorkshire Conservative Association — you know the sort — was installed as the chairman to give Kagan's scheme a respectable face.

Crabtree sold its denim to Cellofoam, a Kagan company supposedly disposing of faulty textiles, and to Kagan Textiles itself, which then sold it on again to Denim Continental SA, a Panamanian company whose ownership was untraceable but was, in fact, Lord Kagan. The profits were not



declared for tax but were shifted to a healthy Swiss bank account.

Kagan conveniently pleaded guilty once he had been brought back, thus saving himself a taxing session in the box, which might well have included difficult questions about his relationship with Harold Wilson, Eric Miller and half a dozen equally nasty pieces of work.

Announcing that "the common purpose was the amassing of private tax free funds", Justice Smith announced that the public interest had been served, and recorded Not Guilty verdicts on Lady Kagan and the others named on the charge sheet. Lord Kagan comes up for sentence on November 24, but is unlikely to do a long stretch. Lord St Oswald meanwhile sits in his baronial hall with a contented grin on his face.

## French deaths

ON OCTOBER 19, Djouai Ben Mohammed, 17, was shot in the head by a member of the CRS, the French riot police. He is the sixth young Algerian to be killed this year by the French police.

Ben Mohammed was on his way home with three friends after a football match. As they entered the predominantly Algerian Quartier Nord of Marseilles, their car was flagged down by a CRS unit, part of a saturation operation in the district. Their identity and vehicle

papers were examined, and the driver asked to "open the boot". As he did this, he was warned by a 'fat cop' to "Watch yourself, I'm trigger-happy tonight."

Back in his seat he was told to drive on. He heard a shot. He says he thought it was a blank. In fact, the same 'fat cop', a certain Paul Tallefer, had stuck his automatic pistol through the open back window and fired into his friend's face at a range of nine inches.

The circumstances of this last killing do not diverge from the pattern of police murders this year. Four of them have been point-blank shots into cars. The police accounts make dismal reading: in one case "a conjunction of unhappy circumstances", in another "mistaken identity". Thierry Delhaye, neatly shot in the heart was "forcing a barrier". More simply, 20 year old Marine's murder was "a mistake". Another victim "made the officer nervous".

The inquests into these deaths have either been inconclusive, or just not held. The same delaying tactics as were used on the Blair Peach inquest have put off the hearing of a case in Strasbourg since January. In Marseilles last week the Police Commissioner said "the hypothesis of accident stands". So, presumably does the policy of routine murder. *PNS*

## Private wealth

CHILEAN refugees and supporters mounted a picket at the London Hilton Hotel on November 7, protesting at a conference on "New Business Opportunities in Chile".

They drew attention to the repression of the Pinochet regime and the strength and unity of the opposition — a point not only political but economic, since the attractions of Chile for western investment is supposedly based on the existence of a pliant and cowed labour force.

The conference was chaired by Viscount "Son of Monty" Montgomery, who led a delegation of the London Chamber of Commerce to Chile earlier this year.

The "good investment" line is still being pursued, however, by US capital. David Rockefeller, head of the Chase Manhattan Bank, was in Chile at the time of the London conference, opening a branch of his Bank. Rockefeller said he had "confidence in the government.... I would like to state that we want to encourage investment in this country."

Pinochet, he said, was a "strong man who has no difficulty in governing. Our own new president," he went on about his close collaborator Reagan, "will be more realistic and balanced in respect of relations" with Chile.

Pinochet himself had been one of the first rulers to welcome Reagan's election in effusive terms. He pledged the support of the Chilean government and people (!) to the new presidency, to preserve "the values of our civilisation".

## Scots councillors in dark on nuclear plans

LOTHIAN REGION'S war-mongers were thwarted last month in their attempts to involve hand-picked Regional Council employees in the home defence exercise 'Operation Square Leg'. The Region's ruling Labour group argued that neither staff nor property belonging to the Region should be used for the exercise, which simulated a nuclear attack with three bombs dropping on Edinburgh — one on the airport at Turnhouse, one on the naval dockyard at Rosyth and one right in the centre of the city.

The Regional Councillors were told that the exercise was part of NATO's Crusader exercises only hours before it was due to commence, but documents given to *The Leveller* show that arrangements for the Regional Council's involvement in Square Leg had been drawn up by mid July. These plans were made without consultation with elected councillors by a committee known as "Lothian Region

Home Defence Planning Group" and it is clear that councillors would not be 'briefed' before the exercise had taken place.

The documents reveal even more alarming plans that are being made at regional and district levels in Scotland. In Edinburgh, the local IBA licenced radio station — Radio Forth — has been approached with a view to it taking on a role as the local wartime broadcasting station. However, because of the difficulties of securing Radio Forth's premises against a possible takeover by subversives or the effects of a blast, the wartime station's studios will operate from the comparatively secure basement of one of the Region's underground shelters at Alderston House (19 miles east of the city centre).

Discussions have taken place between Colonel Cameron (Lothian Region's Emergency Planning Officer), Mr Cowan (Lothian Region's Depute Director of Administration) and Mr Findlay (Radio Forth's Managing Director) on how assistance might be given by the station in such an emergency. News of this came as a surprise to the Forth NUJ Chapel who had not been told of any such preparations. A Home Office Circular (ES 2/75) suggests that the services of such journalists would not be required and refers instead to a 'nucleus of suitable broadcasting staff'. A further meeting has taken place with Colonel Cameron and the Independent Broadcasting Authority in Glasgow, where Radio Clyde will provide a similar service for the Strathclyde Region. Clyde's Managing Director Alec Dickson is a week-end soldier and took an active part in Operation Crusader.

The Region is about to launch its own 'Community Survival Guide' which will be circulated to Community Councils and voluntary organisations such as the WRVS. This publication shows how advanced preparations are being made for local control centres, emergency feeding centres and information centres. The time spent by the Region's officials on home defence planning has escalated: the Social Work Department now has its own committee to discuss such preparations and the Region has a 'Siting Board' to find locations suitable for the local centres described in the 'Community Survival Guide'. *Jon Side*

## Slimey grave

AT THE LAST meeting of the General Services Committee of Ealing Borough Council some strange information seeped out. An architect's report stated that whenever there was heavy rainfall, sewage drains overflowed and caused flooding of certain deep



Alice, the Under-Sheriff and his posse

basements below a school building site.

Recently the basements were upgraded to a Regional Seat of Government but cuts in local spending have put the big shots in jeopardy — they will be floating about in radioactive sewage, when you and I are in need of cadaver disposal teams. Even Tarzan Heseltine will not be able to turn down the request for central government funds on this occasion — after all he might be allocated to Southall himself when the BIG CRUNCH comes. Maybe he'd enjoy eating his own shit.

## Empty the bath

ALISTAIR BLACK, Under Sheriff of Greater London, had a proposal to make to Alice Davies, 76 year old resident of Fulham. With all his mustered charm, his greying hair drooping boyishly over his concerned brow, he wondered whether it was not time that they got going. He had come to evict Alice and the other occupiers of Fulham baths. Black had promised to enforce the possession order granted to Hammersmith Council "in a peaceful and gentlemanly manner at an agreed time" — 3.30 on 5th November.

Earlier in the day, many of the people who had worked to save the baths from being closed collected together for a drink. Someone said that the atmosphere was like a wake and the corpse of a fine amenity lay around them. One swimming pool was clean and filled with water, ready for the heating to be turned on. Peter McKenzie, the ex-stoker at the baths, was there and he explained that all that was needed was a Satchwell control unit and then the pool, slipper baths and laundry could be in use again.

What had gone wrong? "If only we had 40 people like Alice, we'd have won." "If only the staff had held out together...." "Well, you've got to be realistic." "As for that bastard manager — he seemed

allright...." The sad stories of people being split and set against each other seeped out. The local unions and residents' groups had not got themselves together for fear of victimisation. Dragging out an occupation for over a year with the major-burden on one person may have showed individual courage but not collective strength.

When the Sheriff came, with cameras whirring, notepads flickering and microphones up noses, a moment was frozen. "Let's get going then. Will all of you leave now." One supporter turned to Black and asked for assurances that the baths would not be touched until the court hearings were completed. "I know nothing of the future of the baths. I am here to see that you all move out."

## Prison protest

FORTY WOMEN, members of Women Against Imperialism and Women and Ireland groups in the North of England, picketed Durham jail on 1 November to draw attention to the five women imprisoned there in connection with 'terrorist' offences. The picket called for political status for two Republican sisters, Ann and Eileen Gillespie, and for their return to Ireland to serve their sentences.

Three other women are victims of framed trials and convictions. Judith Ward was convicted in November 1974 for the M62 coach bombings. Carole Richardson in October 1975 for the Guildford pub bombs explosions, and Annie Maguire in March 1976 for possession of explosives. All received hefty sentences and have spent most of their time in Durham, which has maximum security status for women.

Judith Ward was convicted mainly on the basis of confessions, which she denied in court. She had an alibi but this was disregarded. Forensic evidence produced was questioned by a former Home Office scientist. She was given twelve



Laurie Evans

life sentences; the longest ever passed in an English court at that time.

Carole Richardson was sentenced solely on the basis of a confession made after several days without sleep. She too had an alibi, but her witness was intimidated into backing down. She was seventeen on conviction and was ordered to be detained 'at Her Majesty's Pleasure'. Later, in 1977, in open court, responsibility for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings was claimed by the Balcombe Street Four, but Carole's appeal was later turned down, the appeal court judge saying that the Balcombe Street people must have lied.

Anne Maguire was convicted along with the rest of her family on a charge of possession of explosives. The only evidence was a positive finding of nitroglycerine on a pair of her gloves. No mass of explosives was ever found, and the scientist who devised the test has since expressed grave doubts about its use as confirmatory evidence. Her appeal also failed, and she was even called an 'IRA bomber' by one of the appeal court judges, which not even the prosecution in her trial had tried to allege.

Annie Maguire has spent most of her sentence in Durham. She is the only prisoner to receive closed visits, which means two warders sit with the prisoner and stop any conversation they find unacceptable. Repeated requests for a transfer to a prison nearer relatives have all been refused. The only time she has ever left Durham is for one day in hospital in March, after a nine day hunger strike. After a campaign by the British media which protested at visits between 'IRA bombers', she and her husband Paddy, who was also convicted, are now allowed to see each other only once every six months for an annual total of four hours.

Annie Maguire's mentally retarded brother was picked up by the army in Belfast two weeks ago, just before the scheduled Durham picket. The family believe it is just one more round in the general harassment they have suffered over the years.

## PLA gauleiters

"HENRY the Eighth had a field day topping aristos. But it was unheard of for him to top the common man. That was the religious ones doing it behind his back. I'm not an anarchist, but just look at the way the aristocracy took the land off the common people, and look at the power it gives them."

Mike Read is a treasure hunter and amateur historian. He's working the foreshore in front of the Royal Naval College in Greenwich, searching for the site of some wooden steps from Tudor times.

He's got strong views about the River Thames, the police and the Port of London Authority. The PLA is the bosses organisation and better known for taking on the dockers and seamen. But they're also responsible for issuing licences to dig the foreshore — at £9.00 a year. "It says you can only use a trowel and there will be no digging; you realise you've been had over again."

He used to make a living at it, working with other men by London Bridge, but the River Police threw them off six months ago.

"All of them, men who'd been digging their lives out, who'd worked hard, they all got slung off. The PLA's a self-appointed authority, they're Gauleiters over the river, with the right to veto another man's living. They should let a man get on with it as long as he's responsible. I've met men on the river who used to be thieves and



David Clark

now they're trying to make an honest living digging."

Out on the river, a police patrol boat slowed down and looked at us before zooming off upstream. "They'll be back," Mike said. "They won't leave you alone. Make sure you stress that I always fill the hole in when I've finished with it...."

to offer greater privacy from investigation to the owners of small firms than from the avowed intent to save money on paperwork. Such proposals confirm trade unionists' and activists' beliefs that the government is "effectively undermining the (Companies) Act's intention of extending public and business protection against insolvent, bogus and fraudulent companies" (TUCRIC 1980).

Trade unionists would find it harder to trace the financial state of their employers or to investigate closure. Individuals with particular complaints about companies would also be badly affected. John Nott, Secretary of State for Trade, thinks that you learn more from "bumping into your bank manager at the golf club". But for those not on the golf club circuit, these proposals mean that already fairly inaccessible information (Companies House does not run a postal service) will become even more difficult to find.

PNS/Leeds TUCRIC

## Torness trial

ON THURSDAY 20th November four people arrested during the May anti-nuclear action at Torness are pleading 'not guilty' to 'Attempting to Rescue a Prisoner' and 'Breach of the Peace' at the Sheriff Court, Haddington in East Lothian.

In May the two hundred anti-nuclear activists attempting to occupy the Torness nuclear reactor construction site were met by a 1984-style operation involving around 800 police officers. The police arrested 27 demonstrators. The majority of arrests occurred after a black round float with attached string 'fuse' and bearing the painted word BOMB soared gracefully over the site's main gate. The police charged to arrest the thrower. Many went to his aid, and in the ensuing mêlée the police punched and kicked demonstrators and dragged nineteen away. Those arrested were held for two nights in an Edinburgh police station and only a spirited campaign in the cells won some improvements in bad conditions and gained an earlier release.

Two of the May arrestees have already been tried. On Friday 26th September Tim Horrell was arrested in his home town of Reading, after the police had asked him to come in to the police station 'for a chat'. He was flown north and held in Dalkeith Police HQ over the week-end. The police alleged that he had failed to answer a summons relating to his May arrest. In fact he had never received a summons — and he had informed the police of his current address a month before he was arrested. On 29th September Tim was found guilty of 'Attempting to Rescue a Prisoner' and fined £50. In court Tim's lawyer accused the police of 'flagrant maladministration' — neither the Procurator Fiscal nor the police could offer any explanation for Tim's kidnapping.

tors if they are not British.

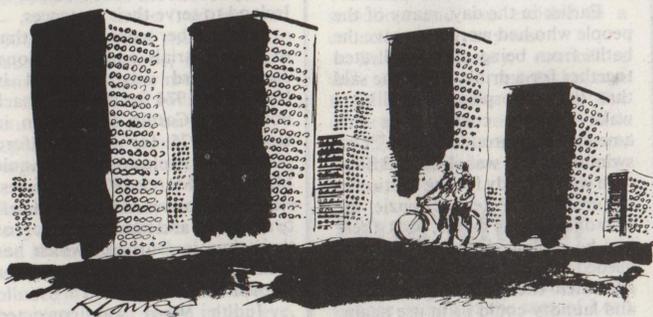
2) The Registry of Business Names would be abolished. This means initial research into a company will be severely hampered. Abolishing the veto on names will leave the field wide open for fraudsters to pass themselves off as reputable companies by using well known brand names.

3) Replacing the On Demand Public Search Service with one based on 24 hours notice. This will restrict investigation of limited companies, with searches taking days rather than hours as at present.

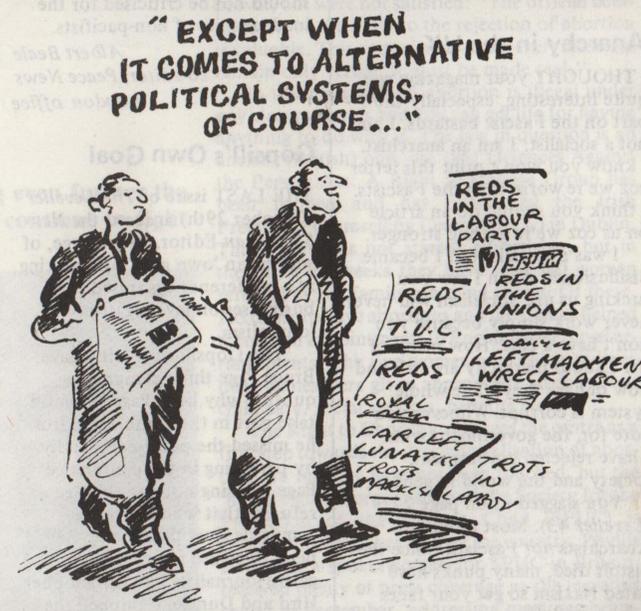
4) Company file maintenance will be stopped. New original documents will not be added to the company file; only microfiche copies will be available for inspection. Microfiche records are often of poor quality and have incomplete information.

Cuts have already begun. The computer which sends out warning letters to businesses who have not filed their annual reports was switched off in September 1979 and the staff transferred to other departments.

Under the proposed changes in the amount of information filed, the majority of Britain's limited liability companies will find their reporting obligations considerably reduced. This move seems to be more from a governmental desire



"They're the latest Ministry of Defence, insult to the intelligence. High rise fallout shelters."



On 15th October Jonathan Walsh was found 'not proven' at Haddington District Court on a charge of 'Breach of the Peace'. In court the police witnesses were clearly shown to be lying to cover up an assault on a demonstrator by a police Inspector.

Jonathan described how he had protested to the Police Inspector about the officer kicking a demonstrator in the ribs as he was being dragged away. The Inspector immediately ordered Jonathan's arrest, and he and a Police Constable seized hold of Jonathan.

PCs Eadie and Hunter claimed that the defendant had been shouting and swearing and linking arms with other demonstrators and so they had arrested him. Both claimed that no Inspector had been involved at any stage. Jonathan's lawyer then produced a photo which both PCs agreed showed Jonathan being arrested — by Constable Eadie and an unnamed Police Inspector! The Constables were unable to offer any explanation for this total contradiction of their evidence.

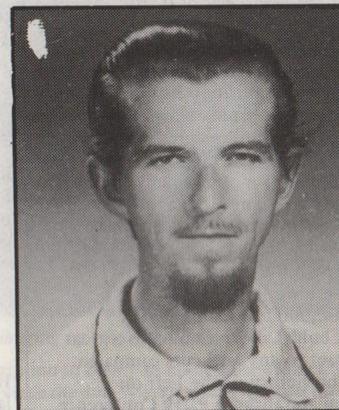
After both trials leaflets were distributed in Haddington denouncing the police kidnapping of Tim Horrell, describing the May arrests, and advocating direct action to resist state oppression and stop nuclear power. Two more May arrestees have received summonses and are still awaiting trial dates.

Torness Public Parks Dept.

## Matthew's end

THE DOCTOR of Matthew O'Hara, the diabetic Hackney man who died in May after spending time in Pentonville prison has added his support to the campaign for an investigation into what happened to Matthew at Pentonville.

In a letter to the support group, Dr Smith confirms that the notes at



Matthew O'Hara

the Royal Northern Hospital say that Matthew was vomiting and spitting blood thirty six hours before his admission; the hospital must have been told this by the prison authorities, who had given him no medical treatment.

Dr Smith says: "On the facts as given to me, I would find it difficult to believe he was not neglected, even working on the charitable assumption that he successfully concealed the fact that he was diabetic from all the medical authorities that he came into contact with."

## Astrid's appeal

NEXT WEEK the Divisional Court faces the delicate task of standing gracefully on its head when it delivers its judgement on Astrid Proll. Astrid has applied to establish that she is a British citizen by marriage, and thus free to enter the country whenever she wishes. She was returned to Germany in June 1979 after a protracted campaign against Merlyn Rees' decision to deport her. Last October she was brought to court in

Frankfurt and sentenced to five and a half years' imprisonment, but the German court ruled that she had served sufficient time on remand to count as a full sentence and she was released shortly afterwards.

In March this year she attempted to come to Britain, but was turned away by the authorities at Folkestone: her lawyers have since applied for a judicial review to the Queen's Bench, arguing that her 'bad behaviour' is not sufficient grounds for denying her citizenship. For she was married to a British citizen in January 1975, and the couple stayed together until at least August 1975: although her husband subsequently took off for India, that should not mean that she thus loses her citizenship rights. What the Divisional Court, who have reserved their judgement for ten days, will probably do is to work out some legal gobbledygook



Astrid: will she not come back again?

to keep her out of the country without appearing to be trampling all over the rights of every foreign woman married to a British husband.

## Branch chief

AT THE end of October it was announced that Colin Hewett is to become head of the Metropolitan Police's 450-strong Special Branch. Unusually, Hewett has been a uniform man and not a detective, having worked his way up over 30 years to command the Met's 'C' Division, covering London's West End. From there, last year, he moved to head the Complaints Investigations Branch (CIB-1), and then, earlier this year, to become Deputy Assistant Commissioner (Administration) in the Yard's 'A' Branch, dealing exclusively with uniform police business.

Uniformed bobbies taking over posts in 'C' Branch, which includes the SB and all detection work, was a policy from Robert Mark's much-vaunted 'clean-up campaign' against CID corruption. Don't say they're going to 'clean up' the SPECIAL Branch.

UNEMPLOYED? Quite sure you really want a job? Perhaps you should follow the advice of a certain Job Centre in Islington, North London, and: "Lower your sights a little, take a menial job for a few months until you can get the one you really want."

This splendid advice was delivered to a *Leveller* reader recently, who contacted us to express amazement, astonishment and general surprise that it should be offered to someone who seeks employment as a HOSPITAL PORTER.

# Letters

## Anarchy in the UK

I THOUGHT your magazine was quite interesting, especially the part on the Fascist bastards. I am not a socialist. I am an anarchist. I know you won't print this letter coz we're worse than the Fascists. I think you should do an article on us coz we're getting stronger.

I was a socialist but I became disillusioned when I saw you fucking us up. Socialism will never work simply because you don't have a clue. How many of the Labour hierarchy are sir's and how old are they? The whole system is corrupt. Whoever you vote for, the government wins. I have rejected government, society and the world in general.

You slagged us on page 22 (Leveller 43). Most punks are Anarchists not Fascists. Since the Pistols died, many punks have hated Nazism so get your facts right.

Hello to Elaine, Sock, Penny and Dee.

Flash Gordon,  
(A Glasgow Anarchist)

## Angry Pacifists

TIM GOPSILL's report of an SWP organiser at the big nuclear disarmament rally made me groan.

"They've dragged out every pacifist under the sun, but where are the left?" says the SWP organiser to your reporter. Well, if the SWP had been to the planning meetings before the rally, they'd know that one of the main bones of contention was precisely the lack of pacifist and revolutionary anarcho-pacifist input to the rally.

Let's get it straight:— calling for "disarmament", in its illogical current meaning of adjusting the levels of weaponry, or of simply getting rid of one particular sort, is not the same as pacifism. Most of the speakers at the rally were not pacifists.

I'm not trying to knock CND — they're not making a bad job

of doing what they want to do. But pacifists, which CND are not, should not be criticised for the inadequacies of non-pacifists.

Albert Beale  
co-editor, Peace News  
London office

## Gopsill's Own Goal

THE LAST issue of *The Leveller* (October 29th) accused the *New Statesman* Editor, Bruce Page, of scoring an 'own goal' by speaking at a conference organised for businesses on investigative journalism.

Tim Gopsill very fairly gave Bruce Page three paragraphs quoting why he — Page — would take part in the conference. But he missed the point completely — by partaking in the conference Page is losing nothing. If Page refused, that would give the companies just the excuse they need to refuse to give investigative journalists like Christopher Hird and Duncan Campbell the essential public information that goes to make up the jig-saw of a good piece of investigative journalism.

As someone who spent the summer researching for Duncan Campbell, Christopher Hird — and Bruce Page, I feel that it is unfair to give the impression that the *New Statesman's* reputation as a radical paper relies on probes by investigative reporters rather than 'obscure' editorials by the editor. The editor causes and guides the investigations. The *Statesman's* reputation rests on its willingness to enter into debate with the Establishment. It knows it will win.

David Poysier

## Why the Quotes?

THANK YOU for my first Leveller. I look forward to future issues.

I was, however, angered by a reference in your C30 — C60 — C90 DIY! article to 'illegal' taping. Why the quotes? The practice is illegal, no matter how

widespread it has become, doubtless as a result of large commercial interests controlling the market and the price of commercially produced cassettes.

Cassette copying does take the bread from the mouths of professional musicians, who are fighting to make the public realise that music to listen to is not an automatic right, but a commodity to be paid for like any other. A self confessed socialist radical publication like yourselves should be supporting the musicians, not condoning, or even half condoning, a practise which can, and is, leading to genuine hardship.

P. Lawman  
Higham Ferrers  
Northants

## No Choice Left

THE LEVELLER (No. 43) yet again presents the choice for revolutionary socialists with regard to the Labour Party as a simple dichotomy; either we immerse ourselves in the Party, or we steer clear of it. It's obviously farcical for Rachel Lever to argue that the Party is 'the mainstream labour movement, organising 12 million working people', when most of the 12 million are tied to it only via their trade union bureaucracy. But equally, it's very arrogant of Hilary Wainwright to dismiss the party as largely irrelevant. Had it won the Election in May 1979 there would probably now be 300,000 less unemployed. A bold Labour Council is a great asset to any anti-cuts campaign. The victory of the Left on unilateralism at Party Conference was a great propaganda coup for the peace movement.

To be an active member of the Labour Party you don't have to bury yourself in it. Party membership costs £3. To be active on the GMC of a constituency party requires around 2 evenings a month, and confers an increasing number of important democratic rights

within the party. Such activism is not a way of life; it simply represents an excellent rate of return for a very small input.

Dick Wiles, St Edmund  
Hall, Oxford.

## Praise Indeed

I received the first of the new-style issues this morning — very good, especially the article on Fascists in Britain.

Keep up the good work. I, and I'm sure many like me, really appreciate a non-sectarian left paper — one's seen so many rise and fall: *7 Days* (national and Scottish versions), *Dundee Free Press*, *Aberdeen People's Press* and lately the *Dundee Standard*. *The Leveller* seems a more hopeful venture, with 42 issues behind it.

Best of luck!

Forbes Browne,  
Broughty Ferry,  
Dundee.

SORRY TO have been such a coward and waiting to see the first fortnightly Leveller before sending in my sub. Anyway I think it is fantastic and here is my £10.

You ask us to say what we don't like about the mag. Well I don't like your ink, particularly on the cover. I have to wash my hands every time I read it as it is so smudgy.

Lynne Sheridon  
Allerton  
Bradford

HEY YOU Swines, congratulations on your first fortnightly issue. But how about folding it once down the middle before mailing it instead of twice, so the thing is actually readable at coffee time, hey?

Yours a bourgeois elitist who likes the easy life,

John Freeman,  
Editor, Scan,  
Lancaster University Students  
Union

# No loophole in God's law

The new Family Planning Act in Southern Ireland is restricting even further the availability of contraceptives, and women in North and South continue to fight anti-abortion laws. Chris Stretch reports.



Susan Triesman

Flouting the law in Dundalk - distributing contraceptives on Nov. 1st

IMAGINE HAVING to get a prescription to buy a packet of Durex and having to convince the doctor you were married before s/he would prescribe. And then being turned away at the chemist's because the person behind the counter felt contraception was morally wrong.

This is the kind of scenario envisaged by the Hierarchy of the Irish Catholic Church and provided for by the new Family Planning Act which came into force in Southern Ireland on November 1st. The Act makes the distribution of contraceptives legal for the first time in Ireland — which may sound like progress. It's not, because the distribution of non-medical contraceptives such as condoms and the cap is only legal if you have a doctor's prescription and if they are needed for 'bona fide' family planning which, in Ireland, means within the family.

Since 1973, Family Planning Clinics had been able to exploit a contradiction in the law because of a High Court ruling that (married) people had the right to use contraceptives. So Family Planning Clinics were able to sell condoms without prescription. Now, people have no legal right of access except through doctors and chemists who can, in law, refuse them because of a 'conscience clause' allowing people who think contraception is morally wrong to withhold cooperation.

The Church has made it quite clear that it expects everyone to withhold cooperation, that there is no such thing as bona fide family planning and that anything other than the 'natural method' is against 'God's law.' The Hierarchy issued a long statement, which was quite uncompromising: "... doctors and pharmacists and also Health Board personnel who are called upon

to implement the Act, will be confronted with the serious moral question of whether they may in conscience cooperate in making contraception available even within the terms of the Act."

There is of course progressive opposition to the new law. The day it came into force, there was a day long rally at Trinity College Dublin with music, films, exhibitions and discussions to promote the demand of Contraception Access for All. It was organised by the Contraception Action Programme and the two major Student Unions. And Durex were being sold, without prescriptions, at the Dandelion market stall and the Well Woman Clinic. Those selling were risking a £500 fine or 6 months' imprisonment for first offences. They weren't touched and it's unlikely that such a case would be brought to court.

But the Act is having a very disruptive effect on supplies. All suppliers have to have a licence to import, which specifies type of contraceptive, brand etc. and as nobody was granted a licence until October 31st, there is a real shortage at the moment. In the last week of October, there was a rush of panic buying, and the price has more than doubled. Importers are only allowed to sell to chemists.

All Family Planning Clinics (some of which have been operating for eight years) must now apply for a licence to the Ministry of Health. Well Woman clinic, the most upfront feminist one, and the only one to advertise, has taken a stand against the law and is refusing to apply for a licence. They have had a flood of new customers as a result of the publicity about the new Act, but their supplier, Family Planning Services, has not yet been granted a licence to import.

There is a section in the Act which excludes abortion. The Hierarchy noted this with approval, but were not satisfied: "The official commitment of the State to the rejection of abortion is valuable. This commitment, however, must not remain only verbal; it must be made real."

In southern Ireland abortion is illegal under any circumstances and you can get life for having anything to do with it. The law in question is an ancient (British) one, the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act. A Right to Choose Group has been formed and has established the Irish Pregnancy Counselling Centre (IPCC) in Dublin. The Centre has not started advertising, but in their first six weeks they have seen 300 women referred by the family planning clinics. Of these, 295 chose to have abortions and the Centre helped them with appointments in England and travel arrangements. The five women who chose to have their babies were given appropriate advice about child care, social services, benefits etc.

The Right to Choose group sees the centre as a first step towards the decriminalisation of abortion. So far they have not been touched, but the 'moral right' is organising and the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) is establishing branches all over the country. Phyllis Bowman, a spokeswoman for SPUC in Britain, received plenty of press coverage as she travelled round in September, addressing meetings, bringing out her shock horror pictures of fetuses. Anti-abortion articles and letters in the press have a favourite line — pro-abortion lobbyists are compared to Nazi advocates of extermination camps.

Meanwhile, in Northern Ireland, which was specifically excluded from the British Abortion Act of 1967, the Northern Ireland Abortion Campaign is discussing the failures of the Act while at the same time pressing for its implementation in Northern Ireland as a first step towards catering for the needs of women there.

The situation in Northern Ireland is rather like it was in England, Scotland and Wales before the 1967 Act came into force. There are no private abortion clinics and even rape victims have been refused abortions on the National Health. The Ulster Pregnancy Advisory Association, however, gives advice to women who are worried about their pregnancies, and if an abortion is what the woman wants, she is referred to one of the British advisory services and travels to England for a private abortion.

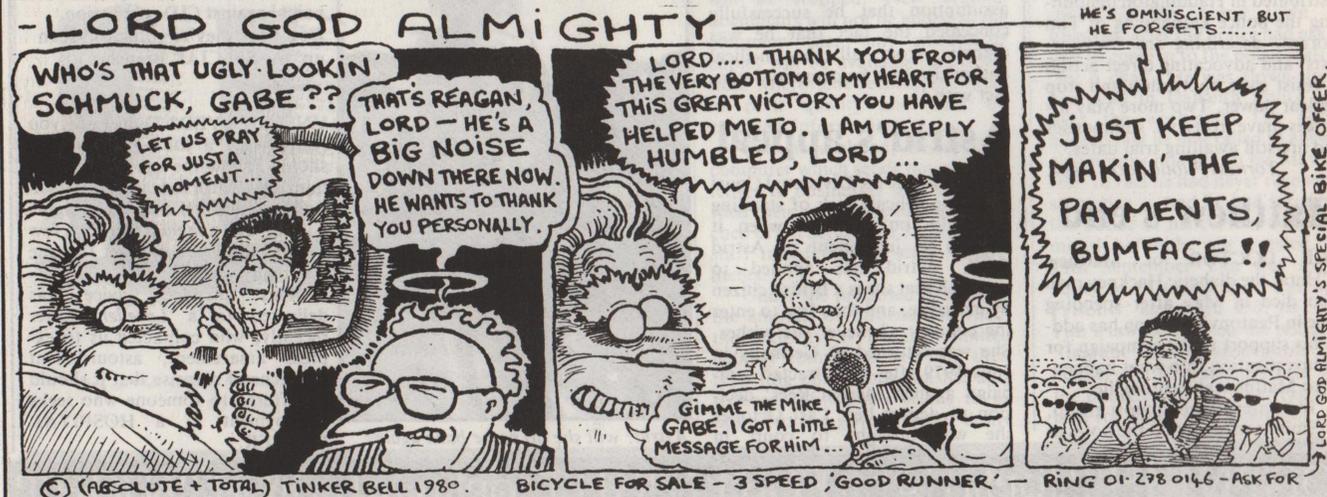
NIAC's demand for implementation of the 1967 Act is hardly one which republican women can be expected to support in public. At the annual Sinn Fein conference (1st and 2nd Nov), a suggestion made in a document on women's rights produced by the Women's Commission, that "abortion might be acceptable or excusable" was rejected. But republican women and other working class catholic women do, nonetheless, travel to England for abortions, usually in great secrecy and mental anguish.

Abortion is obviously one issue on which all the women's groups work together when they meet once a month as Women in Unity. On November 1st they met in Newry, near the border. They crossed over into Dundalk to protest against the new law in the south by setting up an exhibition and distributing condoms to the passers-by. They received a very favourable response.

These sisters, in the North and the South, face implacable, virulent opposition and since the Pope's visit, there has been a resurgence of religious pressure to confess to using contraception. If you want to offer them support, the following addresses will be useful:

Contraception Action Programme/Right to Choose, 3 Belvedere Place, Dublin 1, tel 787801.

Northern Ireland Abortion Campaign, c/o Women's Centre, 16-18 Donegall St, Belfast 1.





57 Caledonian Road, London N1. Telephone 01-278 0146

## Mr St John Stevas addresses political meetings that do not take place

AT four fifteen every Thursday afternoon Norman St. John Stevas, who is Leader of the House of Commons, clambers up to a small room in a turret of the Palace of Westminster. There he meets the assembled Parliamentary Lobby Journalists, collectively referred to, when at all, as The Lobby, to give them a weekly briefing.

Half an hour later Michael Foot staggers up to the room as Leader of the Opposition and does his stuff.

The Lobby meeting is chaired by Gordon Jackson, a political correspondent for regional papers in the Thomson Group. The hacks ask harmless questions and St John Stevas responds in a strange language that does not include, for instance, words like 'no' or 'yes'; instead he says: 'I would tend to steer you away from that avenue of speculation', or, 'I think it would be fair to assume that you are on the right lines.'

Such a statement is eagerly grasped at. For at this particular press conference, which is what it is, the journalists don't actually know what it's about. The subject at hand is usually 'What happened at today's Cabinet meeting?', since the Cabinet has indeed met that very morning. But no-



Mr Norman St John Stevas

one would ask such a question. People would stare, and St John Stevas would exercise his (reportedly) famous wit.

The journalists aren't told what happened. They aren't even told what was on the Cabinet agenda. They have to grope through a mist of mystification, and if they aren't sure what the answers mean, they have to make collective deductions, or go off and find someone who can be more helpful.

## Confidential details of the procedures of the Parliamentary Lobby conferences are revealed

by our Political Correspondent

IT SOUNDS like a diseased fantasy of life in the heart of the state, with its blankets of secrecy and gentlemanly agreement, a world away from real politics.

It is a fantasy. These meetings do not take place. It says so in the rules:

*Members of the Lobby are under an obligation to keep secret the fact that such meetings are held. ... Do not talk about Lobby meetings BEFORE or AFTER they are held, especially in the presence of those not entitled to attend them. If outsiders appear to know something of the arrangements made by the Lobby, do not confirm their conjectures, or assume that, as they appear to know so much, they may safely be told the rest.*

This is from the Lobby Rules, a booklet, headed 'Private and Confidential', which probably wouldn't exist either, except that several sightings have been reported. Its rules, or guidelines, are not enforced, not just because there is no machinery for doing so, but for a better reason: no-one ever breaks them.

They have therefore virtually passed into disuse; they were drawn up after the last war and have not been updated for some time; they are not really needed. Lobby

secretary John Desborough mirrored a query about them with another: 'What rules?', and he probably wasn't just playing the game. 'Oh, those...'

No-one has been drummed out of the Lobby in Desborough's memory. And who would do it, were some atrocity to be committed? 'Er, well, I don't know. I suppose we could set up a Star Chamber and dress up in wigs...'

The authority for the Lobby isn't itself or the committee it 'elects' — there has been no contest for the annual switch of chairmanship since the *Morning Star's* Peter Zinkin was opposed, but still won, in 1968 — but the House of Commons itself. The Speaker, through his sidekick the Serjeant at Arms, keep the list of the now 120-odd members, and could exert discipline through the Select Committee on Privileges.

BUT back to the briefings — not just the Thursday ones, but those every day at Downing Street, conducted by the Prime Minister's Chief Press Officer, Bernard Ingham, and those given by ministers to announce papers, policies and things. They might as well not take place for all the public reads about them.

For the whole basis of lobby reporting is

## PARLIAMENT

*Shedding light on the Lobby*

### Rules are said to be ridiculous

SOME MORE of the Lobby's ridiculous rules. Don't be fooled if you think they look daft; they have reason...

**It is the Lobby correspondent's primary duty to protect his informants, and care must be taken not to reveal anything that could lead to their identification...**

**Remember always that you hold a responsible office, and that Ministers, Members and officials have a right to rely on your discretion.**

**Do not make political or debating points at Lobby meetings.**

**Do not 'see' anything in the Members' Lobby, or in any of the private rooms or corridors... It has always been the rule that incidents, pleasant or otherwise, should be treated as private if they happen in those parts of the building to which Lobby correspondents have access because their names are on the Lobby list... Do not run after a Minister or Private Member.**

**Do not crowd together in the Lobby so as to be conspicuous. Do not crowd around the Vote Office when an important document is expected.**

**Do not use a notebook, or, as a rule, make notes when in private conversation, in the Members' Lobby.**

This rule is now frequently broken.

based on one principle, of non-attributability. The journalists must never say who said what is reported. Never.

The rationale, according to the rules again, is this:

*'Ministers and MPs talk more freely under the rule of anonymity ... The Lobby's machinery cannot operate effectively unless the courtesy and co-operation shown by Ministers and officials are reciprocated'*

### Non-attributability is crucial concept

Everybody subscribes to this nonsense, though some correspondents may chafe at the petty restrictions. Ministers and officials don't talk freely precisely because they don't have to. The system is to shield them from any sort of rigorous enquiry. It suits the press because it makes life very cushy for the correspondents, and their editors and proprietors can direct the drivel they run out into any political channel they choose without anyone knowing the difference. It suits the state because subversive journalism is absolutely impossible. It suits everyone except the readers and viewers

Continued on page 13



## Meetings of the Lobby are said not to happen

Continued from page 12

— but they're not told enough even to realise.

In a line, it is one of the marvels of British democracy.

And as with others, its eccentricity is its insurance. While people may deride the illusion, reality, as always, is otherwise. Beware: idiots at work; they might not know what they are doing, but their masters do.

There is another reason why the briefings might as well not take place: nothing of consequence is said at them. They are, in Bagehot's language, the 'dignified part' of the Lobby constitution.

Things confided by ministers non-attributably are often repeated by them, virtually verbatim, on TV shortly afterwards. But their real confidences, their leaks and inside stories, are granted only to the few senior hacks of their close acquaintance. So the real work of enquiring journalism, and there is some of it about, takes place in just the same way as it does everywhere else — through good contacts.

Sometimes there are exclusives. What they are worth is another question, and the next one is: what is the rest worth, and the answer to that is: nothing at all.

Investigation is always into the trivia of politics: personalities and splits, with the former manipulated to produce the latter the paper wants. It is Adam Raphael on his knees in a corridor with his ear to the keyhole of a minister's room, painstakingly re-creating a Cabinet meeting because it's the only way to penetrate the blanket and find out what's been going on.

There are the leaks; not so much the documents, about which such a tremendous hoo-hah is raised, but the words in ears. Ninety per cent come from the Prime Ministers, and most others from senior ministers. In all the excitement of the scoop, the working journalist might lose

sight of the fact that he or she — for there are four women in the Lobby now — is simply being used as a mouthpiece.

But the Lobby is not even used for the really heavy jobs. If it is a question of the whole press having to be pulled into line, then the Fleet Street editors themselves are summoned to Downing Street. It happened over the Agee/Hosenball deportations of 1976-7, and another Downing Street special, called by Wilson, served neatly to illustrate how subservient the Lobby can be.



'Sir' Haold Wilson

It was during the great Sterling crisis of July 1966. Wilson saw he would have to shore up the collapse, so he called in financial editors for a pep talk. The pound? Never been stronger. Recovery just around the corner, and so on. The briefing was on Lobby terms. Among the gathering was a number of European correspondents, Germans and Swiss, so important for Sterling. Now these men, not in the Lobby, weren't bound by the rules. Their conclusion on Wilson's harangue was that he was clearly out of his mind, and their stories implied that the British economy was being directed by lunatics.

The result was an intensification of the slide, and, a week later, devaluation of Sterling. Served Wilson right, but the moral of the tale is this: the British hacks printed every word that Wilson wanted.

There is another Lobby rule, that you must not leave a briefing before it finishes. One reason is to prevent correspondents rushing out with news, before the others, should something interesting happen. But there is another reason: misapprehensions can be allayed, shall we say, with further mystification.

There was an occasion in March 1979, when Thatcher as opposition leader was talking on the Thursday afternoon following her 'World in Action' interview on Britain being 'swamped' by aliens. She led the hacks to believe that she was in favour of repatriation of some immigrants. A sensation. One correspondent left the meeting before it finished, not to steal a scoop, but for another appointment, and he relayed the story as he had heard it. It was the only one to appear. Now why? Because Thatcher's personal press officer, Derek Howe, had broken out in a cold sweat over the gaffe, and put out a statement 'correcting the impression' that had been given. Repatriation was not going to be Tory policy. And all the other hacks kept quiet.

## Labour right is heavily supported

THE Lobby services whoever is in power, which means it is a mouthpiece for the far right of the Labour Party. Obviously, it goes for Benn all the time. In fact, the correspondents very rarely even talk to him, which is not understood to trouble him greatly. (That is non-attributability in action, folks.)

Like an undercover regiment, they were beautifully used by Wilson, again, to wreck Benn's ministry at the Department of Industry after taking power in 1974. For three months industrial policy was covered by Industrial Correspondents, a different breed of hack that breathes real air. They wrote about the policies, manifesto policies, that Benn was trying to implement. Wilson decided it had to stop, this relatively fair reporting. So he took Industry over into the Lobby, and the stories changed dramatically. Now they were all about Labour splits, Benn's insubordination and so on.

Quite apart from their motivation, and what they are fed, the Lobby correspondents didn't know anything about industry. They don't know about anything except Parliamentary procedure and the political maxim that right is right and left is wrong. Yet Green and White Papers, Commission and Committee Reports, Bills and statements, from all departments, embracing the whole range of state activity, are rep-

Continued on page 14



### Confidential details of the procedures of the Parliamentary Lobby are revealed

Continued from page 13

orted, first, by them.

They will get covered by specialist correspondents later, but the first crucial stories that go out are by people qualified by their very ignorance to fit the material into the narrow political jacket in which readers must receive them. What do they know of economics? That wage rises are the cause of inflation; that state spending has to be cut; that workers must be sacked for industry to prosper. About education? That standards are falling because of comprehensivisation. About defence? That the Reds have lots more tanks than us.

They don't even know much about MPs — except about their personal lives, which *thankfully* they're not allowed to print. None of the MPs who've been disgraced because of corruption have ever been exposed by Lobby correspondents. There are dozens of meetings taking place at Westminster, called by MPs, in committee rooms, every day. The Lobby correspondents won't even cover them. Papers that want coverage have to send a reporter from outside. Right-wing Labour MPs who host South African or other reactionary business leaders are never picked up. They could bring in General Pinochet and the Lobby wouldn't know.

Neither does the Lobby attempt to police corruption among own members. It writes stories about MPs declaring their interests, but Lobby correspondents don't have to. There is said to be a fantastic amount of work done on the side by these journalists — a product, largely, of the restriction on numbers combined with the huge demand



## COURT CIRCULAR

### Formal dress required

Not written in any rules is what lobby correspondents should wear. As in all clubs, it's understood. So the men always wear suits and ties, at a time when even most outside hacks don't. And the women — well, recently it's been kind of agreed from somewhere that they can wear trousers. But no jeans. Sources indicate the distinction has yet to be tested.

for information from outside.

Only accredited correspondents from daily or Sunday papers, broadcasting media, or agencies are allowed in, plus a select few weeklies (the *New Statesman* pulled out when Bruce Page became editor as a symbolic gesture), and *The Leveiler's* application, a *wholly* serious one, has been turned down. But there are thousands of publications, not to mention PR consultancies and big institutions, that want Parliamentary information, and are prepared to pay for it. So most correspondents write columns in trade magazines, and some are said to supply information — tip-offs and advance copies of reports — to PR and other companies. Such practices would be highly serious breaches of the rules — even, if the rules are supposed not to exist, of standard journalistic practice.

Yet there is no investigation, no check on how many copies of CFRs (Confidential Final Revises, the embargoed form in which documents are issued) are taken from the Lobby Cupboard at the back of the Press Gallery. There are complaints from time to time that too many copies disappear rather too quickly. Where do they go? Better not enquire.

One example was the launch of the Annan Report on the future of broadcasting. Dozens of copies were in companies' hands — and share prices were affected — before release.

MPs particularly complain about this, since *they* don't get them; only the Lobby, and correspondents are forbidden to mention them to anyone, or go to anyone for reaction, before the embargoed time of release.

As well as the accredited staff journalists, there is a freelance agency in the Lobby, called Newpoint, which serves regional ITV companies and a host of publications. Directors Robin Page and Philip Marshall deny emphatically that they supply material to any but media companies.

## Grand delusions may be real

THE LOBBY is a rotten system in both senses — it is a poor conveyor of news, and it stinks. It lies at the heart of the whole system of state control of information and opinion. High on the agenda, with scrapping the Official Secrets Acts, should be opening up this closed shop.

The final irony is this: one former correspondent, John Whale of the *Sunday Times*, has written: 'It may be no more than the mechanics of political life, but lobby men have a delightful sense of being in on the marrow of it.' They are self-important people, and in addition to the obvious comforts of the job — everyone gets the same story, they don't have to go digging for it, and you can't get bollocked for missing it — they like to think they're playing a constructive role in the affairs of state, hanging around in bars or the corridors of the House, being buttered up by the mighty, being in the know.

Of course this is rubbish. But in protecting governments from enquiry, and serving as a cipher for our rulers to mislead us, they are really playing a more important role for the state than they could ever dream of.

### Non-attributability is required

## Lobby images

HOW TO read your daily paper, if you can stand it... *The Leveiler's* lobby correspondent-in-exile provides this glossary.

With all sources having to be protected, the lobby hacks use code words, which aren't explained, and sound very authoritative, but can have quite specific meanings. This is who they are:

<b>Ministers</b>	Generally, a minister I happen to have spoken to, but it can mean just a minister's chief press officer.
<b>Government circles/Government sources</b>	Government press officers
<b>Authoritative government circles/sources</b>	Bernard Ingham (Thatcher's chief press officer)
<b>Officials</b>	Whitehall press officers
<b>Aides</b>	Whitehall press officers of a higher grade, who may have spoken with ministers; or Parliamentary Private Secretaries — MPs who act as dogsbodies for ministers.
<b>Observers</b>	other journalists in the Lobby
<b>MPs</b>	one MP
<b>Many MPs</b>	two MPs
<b>MPs believe/expect</b>	other journalists, but could just be an MP
<b>It is expected</b>	other newspapers have said it and you can't actually substantiate it. Alternatively, a press officer may have been asked and been unable to substantiate it either, but given a general nod and wink that it isn't totally wrong.
<b>It is known/can be confidently expected</b>	other journalists have said it, and officials or sources have confirmed it non-attributably
<b>Other useful phrases:</b>	
<b>Labour split</b>	difference of opinion among Labour MPs
<b>Difference of opinion among Tory MPs</b>	Tory split
<b>Labour rebels</b>	Members worried about the way things are going
<b>Concern among Tory MPs</b>	Tory rebels

There is a high level of collaboration among lobby journalists. The press gallery, offices and bars are buzzing with 'What's the line on this one then?'s and agreements on the answer.

# Italy: After Gramsci, Negri?

Political trials will become a feature of Italy's everyday life for a decade to come unless the state finds a political solution to the 'Armed Party'. New prime minister Forlani's centre-left coalition, sworn in last month, hasn't got one, argues *Alfio Bernabei*, and amongst the victims of Italy's anti-'terrorist' laws is former sociology professor at Padua University, Antonio Negri, who may become as much a martyr figure as Gramsci was in Mussolini's time.

MORE THAN 1,500 people are now in jail in Italy suspected or accused of having been involved in 'acts of insurrection against the State'. The term 'insurrection' was dramatically revived with a new package of emergency measures which came into force at the beginning of the year in yet another attempt to curb the wave of political violence. By this time the left was already referring collectively to the eleven specially built top security prisons where some of the most prominent members of clandestine organisations are being detained as 'the Bastille'.

It is symptomatic of the whole situation that within 24 hours of the new government being installed (the 40th in post war Italy and yet another centre-left coalition formed this time by Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Republicans) prime minister Forlani was greeted with alarming news from two very familiar quarters. A huge financial scandal involving government officials and a prison riot. The fortified walls of the NUORO 'super-penitenziaris' — the Italian equivalent of Stammheim — were blown up as about 50 prisoners tried to escape.

How the inmates managed to collect so much explosive remains a mystery. But in a similar incident in Northern Italy the prison authorities admitted that the 'terrorists' had probably found sympathisers among the warders.



Antonio Negri, pictured above, is still inside.

People seem to be utterly confused about a growing prison population which appears to represent a whole spectrum of Italian society: a vast assortment of people aged between 20 and 50 coming from all walks of life — lawyers, architects, factory workers, housewives, students, journalists — mostly 'citizens above suspicion' till their names were mentioned in the Press.

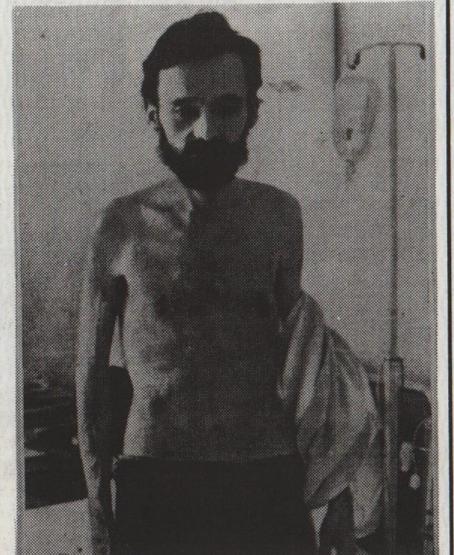
Special cases only serve to illustrate the general bewilderment felt by Italians when they open their morning papers. A nearly octogenarian lady from Genoa declares 'Yes, I am the one who rented the flat to those nice boys of the Red Brigades'. Signor Morandini, a leading film critic, tells a colleague 'My son had no secrets from me. A number of Fiat workers are being questioned by the Police. Marco Donat-Cattin, the son of the ex-undersecretary of the Christian Democratic Party is on the wanted list, accused of belonging to Prima Linea (Front Line) a clandestine organisation.

Such is the abundance of photographs of those arrested or sought by the Police that the authorities have given up attempts to re-touch their features to make them look truculent or bestial. Newspapers and magazines print them as they come, sometimes with the wrong name under the wrong picture. Lawyers protest, infuriated prisoners reprimand the editors: 'You have printed my photograph next to that of Peci (a so-called 'terrorist penitente' who sang to the police). Will you please take notice that I do not wish to see my face used in this way. Nor do I want my picture to be published side by side with that filthy bastard!'

The government and the police are not amused. No sooner do they proclaim to have located a 'covo' (hideout) than they come across a 'colonna'. The announcement that a 'base' has been found is followed by a leaflet celebrating the birth of a new 'brigata'.

It is in every sense the language of guerrilla warfare and if the government estimate of 100,000 sympathizers of the armed party is anything to go by, the most turbulent decade in the country's history since the second world war will almost certainly be followed by a decade during which political trials will become a daily occurrence not only for the accused, but for thousands and thousands of relatives and friends touched in one way or another by this extraordinary outburst of political activity.

According to newspaper reports, the phenomenon is already attracting a new type of tourist described as profoundly interested in left wing politics and predominantly female, coming from as far away as Australia. The Italian authorities would be quite happy to do without too many observers. Much to their embarrassment some of those held in prison since the first major swoops of April and December 1979 are attracting too much attention already. A case in point is that of Antonio Negri who used to teach



Oreste Scalzone, one of the leaders of *Autonomia Operaia Organizzata*, who was arrested with Negri in April 1979, has been moved to hospital...

sociology at Padua University and belongs to a political current which originated in the late fifties out of the early dissent with the orthodox Communist Party.

Comparisons have already been made between his arrest and that of Gramsci in the early twenties and the slogan is going round "After Gramsci, Negri". Nobody yet knows when he will be put on trial, his stature as left-wing theoretician and philosopher is gaining wider national and international recognition. In Italy his books have become best sellers among students on the Left and several popular publications such as *Panorama* and *Espresso* welcome his 'prison letters'.

This kind of respect and interest for a person who was still very recently accused of having taken part in the kidnapping and assassination of Aldo Moro and of belonging to the Armed Party (the first accusation has since been withdrawn but the second is still being allowed to circulate) was causing enough problems for the government without an international dimension being added to it. Articles discussing his theories have appeared in 'very respectable' publications such as *Le Monde Diplomatique* and *The New York Review of Books*.

Seminars on Negri have been held at several universities in America and in Paris, where he taught for some years, a committee has been set up denouncing his continuing detention without trial. Felix Guattari, chief coordinator of the Paris-based CISI (Information Committee on the Italian Situation) declares: 'We must protect the right to free expression, including the freedom to write on questions concerning political violence, without being accused of terrorist activities'.

**POWER STATIONS:** Earliest reactors were Magnox type, named after the magnesium oxide cladding on the uranium fuel rods. First two, Calder Hall (1956) and Chapelcross (1959) were built mainly to produce plutonium and tritium for the weapons programme. The Central Electricity Generating Board has eight Magnox twin-reactor stations and the South of Scotland board has one. In 1969 output was cut by about 25% to reduce corrosion. More recently, several have been shut down because of cracks.

Advanced Gas Cooled Reactors use enriched uranium and are cooled by carbon dioxide. Prototype opened at Windscale in 1962. Dungeness B started in 1965 and still not finished because of technical problems. Five others started and two of them finished (about three years late and 50% overspent). In 1973 CEBG chairman described the AGRs as "a catastrophe we must not repeat". Since then two more have been ordered.

**CONSTRUCTION SITES:** Three out of the four are at least six years behind schedule. Estimated cost of Torness recently jumped 40%.

**POSSIBLE POWER STATIONS:** Heysham B likely to go ahead but Portskeewett may have been abandoned. Likely sites for the first pressurised water reactor are Sizewell, Dungeness and Hinkley Point.

**EXPERIMENTAL REACTORS:** Mostly air-cooled. Largest sites are Winfrith Heath, Harwell and Aldermaston. Universities, companies and the Royal Navy also have research reactors and large nuclear laboratories. Amersham produces isotopes for medical and industrial use. Fast breeder reactors make plutonium (main ingredient of nuclear weapons) from Uranium 238. Working prototype at Dounreay.

Pressurised water reactors: Used in nuclear submarines. Only land-based ones in Britain at present are for submarine training and research, at Greenwich and Dounreay. After the near catastrophe at the PWR power station at Harrisburg, USA, in 1979, the government announced an extensive programme for PWRs in this country.

**SUBMARINE BASES AND DOCKS:** Royal Navy has 16 submarines powered by PWRs (four of them with polaris nuclear missiles) based at Faslane — but they often call elsewhere. US Navy has 10 Polaris and four Poseidon nuclear submarines based at Holy Loch. Royal Navy also has nuclear depth charges for use by helicopters.

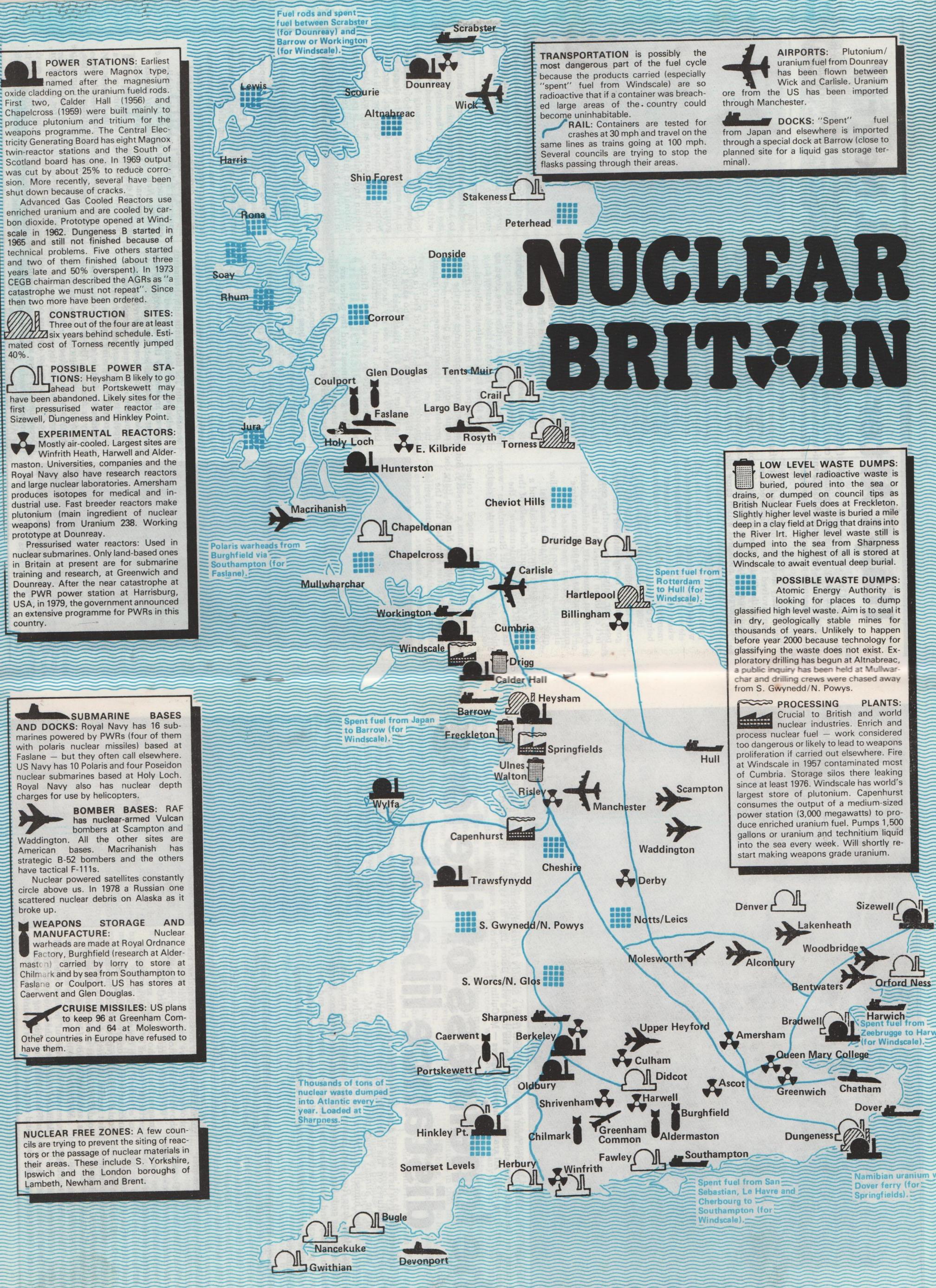
**BOMBER BASES:** RAF has nuclear-armed Vulcan bombers at Scampton and Waddington. All the other sites are American bases. Macrihanish has strategic B-52 bombers and the others have tactical F-111s.

Nuclear powered satellites constantly circle above us. In 1978 a Russian one scattered nuclear debris on Alaska as it broke up.

**WEAPONS STORAGE AND MANUFACTURE:** Nuclear warheads are made at Royal Ordnance Factory, Burghfield (research at Aldermaston) carried by lorry to store at Chilmark and by sea from Southampton to Faslane or Coulport. US has stores at Caerwent and Glen Douglas.

**CRUISE MISSILES:** US plans to keep 96 at Greenham Common and 64 at Molesworth. Other countries in Europe have refused to have them.

**NUCLEAR FREE ZONES:** A few councils are trying to prevent the siting of reactors or the passage of nuclear materials in their areas. These include S. Yorkshire, Ipswich and the London boroughs of Lambeth, Newham and Brent.



**TRANSPORTATION** is possibly the most dangerous part of the fuel cycle because the products carried (especially "spent" fuel from Windscale) are so radioactive that if a container was breached large areas of the country could become uninhabitable.

**RAIL:** Containers are tested for crashes at 30 mph and travel on the same lines as trains going at 100 mph. Several councils are trying to stop the flasks passing through their areas.

**AIRPORTS:** Plutonium/uranium fuel from Dounreay has been flown between Wick and Carlisle. Uranium ore from the US has been imported through Manchester.

**DOCKS:** "Spent" fuel from Japan and elsewhere is imported through a special dock at Barrow (close to planned site for a liquid gas storage terminal).

# NUCLEAR BRITAIN

**LOW LEVEL WASTE DUMPS:** Lowest level radioactive waste is buried, poured into the sea or drains, or dumped on council tips as British Nuclear Fuels does at Freckleton. Slightly higher level waste is buried a mile deep in a clay field at Drigg that drains into the River Ir. Higher level waste still is dumped into the sea from Sharpness docks, and the highest of all is stored at Windscale to await eventual deep burial.

**POSSIBLE WASTE DUMPS:** Atomic Energy Authority is looking for places to dump glassified high level waste. Aim is to seal it in dry, geologically stable mines for thousands of years. Unlikely to happen before year 2000 because technology for glassifying the waste does not exist. Exploratory drilling has begun at Altnabreac, a public inquiry has been held at Mullwharchar and drilling crews were chased away from S. Gwynedd/N. Powys.

**PROCESSING PLANTS:** Crucial to British and world nuclear industries. Enrich and process nuclear fuel — work considered too dangerous or likely to lead to weapons proliferation if carried out elsewhere. Fire at Windscale in 1957 contaminated most of Cumbria. Storage silos there leaking since at least 1976. Windscale has world's largest store of plutonium. Capenhurst consumes the output of a medium-sized power station (3,000 megawatts) to produce enriched uranium fuel. Pumps 1,500 gallons of uranium and technetium liquid into the sea every week. Will shortly restart making weapons grade uranium.

Thousands of tons of nuclear waste dumped into Atlantic every year. Loaded at Sharpness.

Spent fuel from Japan to Barrow (for Windscale).

Spent fuel from Rotterdam to Hull (for Windscale).

Spent fuel from Zeebrugge to Harwich (for Windscale).

Spent fuel from San Sebastian, Le Havre and Cherbourg to Southampton (for Windscale).

Namibian uranium via Dover ferry (for Springfields).

Right: a dead baby lies in that part of the compound at Heleucha where the 'dead body squad' daily leaves the corpses until the local rickshaw boys can be persuaded to take them to be burnt in the Government ghats. It is not uncommon to see dead babies thrown on rubbish dumps in similar refugee camps. Far right: an ox-cart had travelled a mile down the road from the Pakistan border, axle-deep in thick mud, but could make no progress beyond Basawar Pur because of the reeking crowds on foot. This man had been forced to abandon the cart and was himself carrying his dying wife the last three miles to Heleucha hospital.



Above, two pages of McCullin pictures from Bangladesh, taken from a *Sunday Times* supplement. On the left a dead baby lies in a refugee camp, on the right a man staggers to hospital with his dying wife. Below right in a typically timeless McCullin picture a woman sits with her dying child. All are sad, hopeless figures — McCullin never offers any reasons *why*.

# The loneliness of the long distance liberal

THE *Sunday* supplements give us a weekly dose of glossy photojournalism — pictures of poverty and features on 'the state of Britain today' between the adverts. Most famous of the *Sunday Times* photographers is Donald McCullin, who once described himself as a 'war a year man' covering twelve wars in so many years. Here, *Jane Root* and *Laurie Evans* investigate the real meaning of McCullin's moving and familiar pictures of Vietnam, the Lebanon, Bangladesh and Britain. They find that behind them there lurks a suspicious and unpalatable set of political ideas — far from demanding that something is done about the misery he shows, McCullin's photographs actually suggest that things can never be changed.

THAT MOST people no longer consider soldiering a heroic occupation is due in part to the work of war photographers. It is odd then, that these bystanders at war have become glamorous heroes themselves. The relentless self-publicist Tim Page became the star of Michael Herr's book *Dispatches*, and the model for the Dennis Hopper figure in *Apocalypse Now*. Then there is Donald McCullin, who claims to be 'stricken with guilt at my own success', but who nevertheless has become something of a cult-figure. His status as a seer of the age has been confirmed this week by a major exhibition of his photographs at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, complete with a reverential catalogue introduced by John LeCarre.

The interest in McCullin, if not the idolatry, is timely. There is no doubting McCullin's talent, or his rare ability to instantly select the best composition. People at the exhibition can often be

heard describing his grotesque photographs of suffering and anguish as 'beautiful' for this reason. More importantly however, as *Sunday Times* photographer he helped to construct most of our images of what war and famine look like. The 'realism' of films and books is measured against his photographs — we assume that what is shown in his photographs is the truth. We usually forget that McCullin's images, like all photographs, are particular versions of the world, selected as 'effective' both consciously and unconsciously from everything that could be photographed. Such choices are not neutral aesthetic decisions, but loaded statements about what the world is, and what it should be like.

McCullin's photography has a limited repertoire of 'powerful' images: the small damaged child, wretched mothers with half-dead children, squatting destitutes and corpses. They are his universal

shorthand for all suffering everywhere — flood, hurricane, napalm bombing, and genocide are all illustrated by the same symbolic photographs. In McCullin's books there are no captions, and Saigon, Belfast, Consett, Biafra and Cyprus follow each other without distinction. The implication is that all pain is caused in the same random and neutral way, the result of some universal and uncontrollable evil.

This is not true. The Vietnam war was not a natural disaster. It was planned by men in clean white shirts in Washington, who aimed for maximum efficiency. Napalm does not fall like rain — it first must be carefully loaded into planes. Even a quick look at the Pentagon Papers will show that Vietnam was not 'the war that nobody wanted'. They simply hadn't counted on losing.

The politics and history of each atrocity is stripped away by McCullin until we are left with the 'pity' of it all. It is close-ups of pot bellied, wide eyed children that we remember about Biafra; close-ups which encourage us to think of it as a famine beyond human control, rather than a war supported by the British government.

When it comes to photographing Britain, McCullin's limited subject range becomes even more evident. The North is presented as a land of soot, poverty, ignorance and hopeless depression, complete with throwbacks to Bill



The alternative: Philip Jones Griffiths, also from a *Sunday Times* supplement shows the causes of horror — a group of pilots gets ready to board their planes. They never see the faces of their victims.

Brandt's '30s pictures. Both essays on Bradford and Consett were met with great local opposition and claims of blatant misrepresentation.

Most of McCullin's war photographs are either of people by themselves or in family groups, particularly often showing an exclusive relationship between mother and child. He is always concerned with the individual caught in the unpleasant situation, with the unhealthiness of war at a personal level. Agony becomes a private concern, locked away from the political cause of anguish, as attention is drawn to the 'special grief of a single family'. At the same time as we are told that there is no difference between

torture and 'accident', we are pushed towards the liberal myth of individuality — that the small differences between us as people are more important than the unity of people weighed down by a common oppression.

McCullin's initial decision to show the victims of war rather than action filled heroism was a good one, and one which compelled many people to really think about the morality of events like the Vietnam war for the first time. But at the same time as the *Sunday* supplements show us the horror of pain, they prevent our qualms from being translated into action by emphasising hopelessness and inevitability.

One supplement cover with a woman and child, posed in a way reminiscent of Madonna and child, was titled 'Bangladesh — Land Beyond Comfort'. This is touching but wrong. Bangladesh — and any other country — can be 'comforted' by a world-wide redistribution of wealth. The twentieth century version of 'the poor are always with us' is 'the Third World will always be hungry', and this is what McCullin tells us.

McCullin's photographs are almost the direct opposite of socialist photographic practice, which demands action rather than inferring that the world is unchangeable.

But their point of view is underscored by the way in which newspapers and magazines choose to use the images. For example, a French publication used a McCullin photograph of an old man standing with a child. They are covered in blood and confront a soldier with a bayonet. The *Sunday Times*, in contrast, chose a more passive picture taken minutes later, of the man crouched down, unresisting. It excludes the soldier — the reason for their plight.

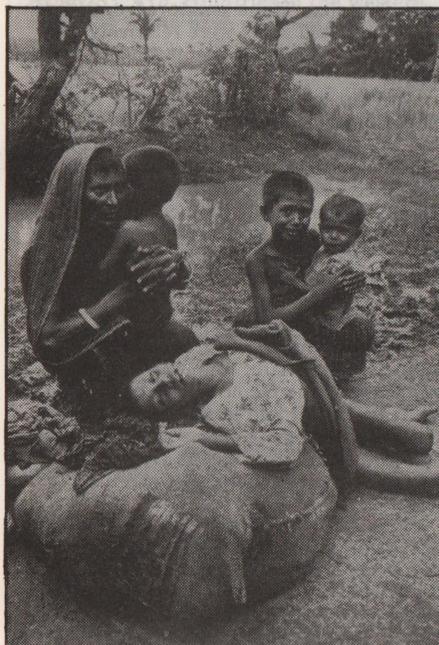
Many of McCullin's photographs are of mutilated and decomposing dead bodies. These quiet and almost painterly corpses are in many ways the definitive McCullin pictures in that they are terrible and shocking, but also inert, without history, and do not challenge anything except by being there.

McCullin has written of his great 'reverence' for the dead. He told Le Carre that he could 'never warm to the Vietnamese because of the way they treat their dead'. Such statements seem both jarringly other-worldly and oddly Victorian in the circumstances, hinting at an attitude which instinctively measures all cultures against middle-class European priorities.

It would be seriously wrong to accuse McCullin of not wanting suffering to cease. But he is hamstrung by his lack of political commitment. His photographs are always incomplete. They leave out the reasons why the Americans were in Vietnam and why the Palestinians and Christians were killing each other in Beirut. He *feels* that war is wrong but does not know why it is.

Such naivety must be compared to Philip Jones Griffiths' pictures in *Vietnam Inc*. These are much stronger because they demonstrate why war is wrong, placing sweating military commanders next to mutilated children.

McCullin tells us that a dead baby is a dead baby and of course on one level this is true. But if we look at photographs of them which do not suggest why they died, or compel us to take action to save them, then we are merely gratifying an unpleasant liberal urge to grasp at just how awful things can be, without trying to change them. Such attitudes come dangerously close to a respectable voyeurism.



# Bonzo goes to Washington



Carter's early concession of defeat occurred before many West Coast voters had reached the polls; his indifference to anything but his own re-election may have cost liberal senators their seats. *Ros Davidson* in Berkeley suggests voters' disillusion, media exploitation and vested interests as other factors in the de-liberalization of Congress.

IT WAS all over at 7 p.m. on election night on the West Coast. The mood in the downtown bar in Oakland was subdued. On the four foot high TV screen in the corner a wave of blue was sweeping across the map of America, as one state after another fell to Reagan. A large man perched on a bar stool turned to the screen, raised his arm in mock victory, and yelled 'Bonzo goes to Washington'.

Jimmy Carter, minutes before conceded his defeat on national television. Almost two hours before that, a major TV network had called Reagan the likely winner. Because of the three hour difference between east and west time zones, Carter's concession came over an hour before tens of thousands of voters in California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska and Hawaii could reach the polls after work.

In Berkeley, just to the north, 2000 people took to the streets, chanting: 'Get Bonzo off the bus!' and 'The end is near'. They marched to the People's park where in 1969, the then governor Reagan of California called in the National Guard in a bloody climax in the battle to 'clean up the mess in Berkeley!' One man was killed and another blinded.

The crowd was hushed as local political satirist, Stoney Burke spoke. 'Nearly 12 years ago in this park, Ronald Reagan challenged the city of Berkeley. We take up this challenge tonight'. Clenched fists were raised as Reagan was burnt in effigy.

The next day, 1,000 gathered for an anti-Reagan rally on Berkeley campus. The weather was grey and dismal as a local council member spoke of George Bush: 'When the CIA get into the White House', she said, 'we must watch what happens in the Third World.' The crowd, some wearing tee-shirts emblazoned with 'Ronald Reagan is the death of America, chanted, '2, 4, 6, 8. We know who to assassinate'. By the end of the day, the campus police had arrested 54 people for occupying campus buildings.

The 1980 presidential elections have left many here shell-shocked. Carter's defeat was no surprise, but few expected so many liberal Democratic Senators, such as George McGovern: South Dakota, the traditional Democratic coalition of Birch Bayh: Indiana, or Frank Church.

For those still attached to the old liberalism of the Democratic Party, the hope for a Ted Kennedy campaign in 1984 will now be distant. His support in the Senate has been severely eroded, and

the traditional Democratic coalition of trade unionists, minorities and low income people has split as never before between the two major parties.

The two largest of the third parties suffered huge setbacks. The Citizens' Party, incorporating progressive elements of the peace and environment movements, only gained a quarter of a per cent of the votes. The Libertarian Party, which advocates the minimum of government regulation, even for big business, and is generally supported by the more affluent voters gained one per cent of the vote. However, both parties said that the election had established them as permanent elements of the political scene. John Anderson, the independent candidate, finished a poor third with only seven per cent of the vote.

The impact of the TV networks on the voting in the West served to highlight the absurdity of the media-oriented process. And Carter's final blow to the voters in the West was another indication of his single-minded drive for re-election for his early concession probably cost several liberal Democrats their seats in both state and national races. After his announcement voting reportedly dropped by half at some polling stations.

Ron Dellums, the black member of Congress re-elected to Berkeley and North Oakland is one of the most progressive politicians in Washington D.C. Dellums, who refused to endorse Carter, had some harsh words for the way the West was won: 'I think the networks' profit motive really went against the democratic process in the West', he said. 'Carter conceding before the polls closed says he was only for where he was at — he had no concern for the issues still being voted for in California.'

Issues such as solar energy funding, smaller juries for civil courts and smoking in public places were on the California ballot, along with the national and state elections.

The force that prevented re-election of most of the liberal senators was not so much a right wing landslide, but the product of well heeled targeting. Among those designated for defeat last spring by the National Conservative Group were Bayh, Church and McGovern. In America there are two senators per state, regardless of its size. These senators from sparsely populated areas were relatively easy and cheap targets for media smear campaigns.

A deep seated disillusionment with electoral politics was an aid to Reagan and the Republicans. Only 51 per cent of the electorate voted, the lowest turnout since 1948. It is likely that the traditionally Democratic blue collar workers figured disproportionately amongst those who stayed at home. Since 1964 the proportion of blue collar workers voting has fallen off more rapidly than that of the population as a whole.

However surprising Reagan's huge victory might seem, some saw it clearly and early at the Democratic convention in August. Left and labour leaders saw Carter as having abandoned what Kennedy had called the 'soul' of the Democratic Party for the expediency of electoral politics.

Ron Dellums predicted the out-come: 'He is going to lose if he is hard-headed and arrogant,' he said out of exasperation, for Carter refused to budge on issues such as draft registration and the open convention. 'The problem won't be solved by

moving to the right'.

Bella Abzug, a former member of Congress and eminent women's rights activist agreed: 'He is not listening, he is not getting the message, if he doesn't change he is going to lose.'

Amidst the circus of tumbling balloons, plastic peanuts, delegates, journalists and hangers-on in Madison Square Gardens a group of 150 — 200 delegates had filed out just before Carter's acceptance speech. These 'Democrats with a conscience' were led by William Winpisingar, who had called Carter a pre-ordained loser, said: 'Some of us don't always like the misery of choosing between the lesser of two evils.'

The walkout, hardly-noticed as the lights were unexpectedly dimmed for a frivolous unexplored by the Carter, was an attempt by some labour and progressive groups to shift the Democratic party to the left, to the needs of the working people.

But Dellums issued a clear warning at the convention: 'I think Ronald Reagan and George Bush are incredibly terrifying people.... Reagan is a Neanderthal man.'

Has the stage now been cleared for an active political movement, representing workers, women, and minorities? Dellums, during his election eve rally, pointed to a clear way forward: 'It's time to stand up with all the other niggers, red, black, yellow and white and force red-neck America to move to the left.'



## Majority rejects evil of two lessers

America's apparent endorsement of monetarism and reactionary policies was given by only a fraction of the population. *Sue Greenberg* assesses the potential of alternative political movements.

ALMOST ALL countries in the western capitalist world have witnessed a renaissance in conservative ideology, and the large margin of victory won by Ronald Reagan in the US elections has given many British observers a strong feeling of deja-vu. But before we slide into a gloomy despondency about the triumph of reaction, caution should rear its head.

A few months ago I heard a speech by Jack Anderson, the influential Washington columnist who came to international prominence through exposing the Watergate cover-up. Anderson is well-respected in many quarters for his integrity and knowledge, and so his opinions, addressed to millions of newspaper readers, carry enormous weight. Wearing a subtly patriotic dark blue suit, red tie and white shirt, Anderson spoke of his duty to report what was happening in the White House.

'Jimmy Carter is a very decent human being. He desperately wants to be a good President: he's a nice man, he would make a very fine neighbor. He tries very hard, goes through stacks of paper... but doesn't seem to understand what's in the papers... Jimmy Carter is

the worst President I've ever seen, and he is surrounded by people who don't know better.'

Anderson went on to explain why, and his arguments have cropped up time and time again in the arguments used by Reagan's supporters. He complained that Carter completely ignored the advice of professionals and experts, relying instead on his wife, daughter Amy, and a bunch of bright but naive 'country slickers' from Georgia. This fault was compounded by Carter's firm belief that he was 'on the same wavelength as God'.

Anderson did a powerful and amusing hatchet job on Carter — and it wasn't difficult. He was inept for sending Southern hack Hamilton Jordan to delicate negotiations with Iran, for sending fifth string Mohammed Ali to Africa to support the Olympic Boycott, for sending Chip Carter to Saudi Arabia to smooth oil difficulties. He was inept for believing that the way to fight inflation was to raise interest rates to a record high. He was inept for letting the Shah into the US in the first place, against expert advice that it would lead to Iranian retaliation, and then for letting the Iranians get away with it for so long. He was inept for contradicting himself on foreign policy, confusing his own Chief of Staff, not making it clear where the line was drawn.

'By backing down to prevent a renewal of the Cold War, Carter has caused the renewal of the Cold War', insisted the white-haired oracle. 'There was a time when we were so powerful that it didn't matter who the President was — for eight years (Nixon) we didn't have one! But that time is past.'

At the same time, US monetarism has a different note from the English variety. This is epitomised by the comment of one Democrat businessman turned Republican — who assured me that the problem with Thatcher's policies was that they were tainted with increases in VAT! Carter's strategy was to blame the unions and Federal over-regulation. But Reagan's policies are monetarism pure and simple, and contain a large amount of populism. Of course it's not your fault, poor old working people! It's the fault of Big Government and the Federal Reserve. Pure monetarism doesn't allow wage-push as an explanation of inflation. Thatcher has managed to combine both positions, and is now being disowned by her American mentors.

Reagan's technique is well illustrated by a caucus held in New York by the Jewish Community Relations Council — an umbrella organisation representing a constituency which has until recently been the stalwart of liberalism and in some sectors of radicalism. Three senior Reagan advisors — Edwin Meece, chief of staff, Richard Allen, senior foreign policy advisor, and Allen Greenspan, economic spokesperson — came to 'answer your hottest questions'.

In the domestic arena, they managed to stress Reagan's liberal credentials — by saying that his efficiency in welfare management had left more money for those who 'really' deserved it, and by partially disowning the christian fundamentalists who have, amongst other things, given succor to neo-nazism. But the hottest questions were about Israel, to which the American Jewish community usually pledges wholehearted support.

'Carter is seen as letting us down,'

said a lady next to me. 'I'm an intelligent voter, I've always crossed party lines on particularly important issues. I won't just vote Democratic no matter what.' Allen won their hearts by underlining that: 'anything that would undermine Israel would bring Reagan's firm opposition', and that he wanted to create an international atmosphere in which 'the PLO would be branded as outlaws'.

Does all this mean that the election results indicate no important shift in the political mood? It would be a real mistake to think that this was just another reactionary President, as bad as all the rest. The question being asked amongst the American left is whether the growing visibility of conservative ideology is coming from above or below.

'Ever since World War Two and even before, Americans used to grow up knowing that they would do better than their parents', a union-organiser friend told me, 'but now they know they're going to do worse. That's the change.' This feeling of losing America's golden touch is echoed in foreign encounters — the economic recession makes people more disposed to hearing about 'defending our interests abroad'. But instead of heralding a return to the golden ages of the 50's, intervention now might mean nuclear war.

Michael Clare, a fellow of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington DC, gave an outline of military thinking at a Boston teach-in organised by a coalition group 'Mobilization for Survival'. 'Our leaders are preparing for war... never since World War Two has there been so far reaching a militarization in the capital.' The official explanation is the 'public outrage' caused by the Iran hostages but he traced this development to at least two years before the fall of the Shah.

In the final days of Vietnam, there was a split between two factions in foreign policy, the 'prossians' and the 'traders'; the former Cold War intellectuals, and the latter supporters of Multinationals who wanted to promote detente. For four years after Vietnam, the traders dominated foreign policy, resting their influence on the 'surrogated doctrine', which left police work to other people such as the Shah. When this policy began to unravel with the Shah's fall, the cold-war faction gained confidence.

The draft was being used to drum up patriotism, but people had to develop a new anti-war movement, said Clare, counter the argument that military spending created jobs, show that increased arms will diminish rather than increase US power in the long run, expose the risks of nuclear war, and the costs of cuts in social spending. 'We must make it impossible,' said feminist Pat Simon at the same teach-in, 'to commit ourselves again to war with our eyes closed.'

The range of activity is so large, however, and the future so uncertain, that it is impossible to sum up the entire American left and dismiss its every effort. The anti-draft movement in particular may point to a new mass campaign starting at a higher level than the struggles of the 60's. And it's still true that Americans are more alienated than ever before from the 'evil of two lessers', and might be won over to radical alternatives. The arguments that the mass of Americans have moved to the right just isn't convincing. Things could go either way. Time will tell if Reagan represents the winning side.

# Jamaica: US landslide

The Jamaican election result was the heaviest defeat for the left in the Caribbean for years. The right-wing, pro-US Jamaica Labour Party has won a landslide victory of 51 seats to the Peoples National Party's nine, with 57 per cent of the votes to the PNP's 43 per cent. *Andy Wier*, who was recently in Jamaica as a guest of the PNP, examines what happened to the experiment in democratic socialism.



Andy Wier

Above: On the road to democratic socialism — a change of direction indicated  
Below: Manley — did he overestimate their support?

It was the latest in a series of setbacks in the region, the result of successes by resurgent conservative political parties backed heavily by the USA in a counter-offensive against the left, begun after the revolutionary victories in Grenada and Nicaragua. American money has been flowing freely in Caribbean elections this year, and so similar were several of the election campaigns, that three Caribbean right wing parties even used the same electoral slogan — 'Ain't no stopping us now'. With Jamaica in the hands of friends of Reagan, Cuba's isolation is reinforced, Grenada stands virtually friendless, and there is widespread despondency among progressives elsewhere. But it would be a mistake to blame US money, the CIA and the banks solely for the defeat of the PNP. The reasons are more complex.

In 1972 the PNP was elected to power after ten years in which social inequalities and divisions were getting worse. That year coincided with the onset of significant economic decline. Oil prices shot up and a general recession got under way in the capitalist world which punished Jamaica severely in the old tradition of third world economies distorted by colonialism.

While noting this trend the PNP was not to be deflected from a massive programme of social reform. Prime Minister Michael Manley emulated the welfare states of western social-democratic governments, and the measures similarly came from the top downwards. The party declared itself 'democratic socialist' in 1974. By 1976 the government could point to a massive literacy campaign, free education, land reform, abolition of illegitimacy, introduction of unprecedented worker's and women's rights, and a massive increase in the taxes paid by the companies mining bauxite. With the universal phrase that is now immortalised in Jamaica, "Social barriers bruk down", a grateful electorate swept the PNP back to power in 1976 with a landslide of almost exactly the same size as the current JLP margin, 56 per cent to 44 per cent.

'Democratic socialism', in spite of the distinction the PNP patiently drew between it and communism, scared the middle classes profoundly, especially as the JLP was blowing the anti-communist trumpet. Migration of middle class people had turned into a flood, they exported vast



quantities of capital, and business activity slowed to a snail's pace. A full scale destabilisation campaign inspired by the CIA was under way in 1976, but it was defeated by the imposition of a State of Emergency.

By now, the coalition of elements opposing the PNP was clear. There were American lending institutions, the JLP, the local business elite represented by the Private Sector Organisation and the Jamaica Manufacturers' Association, the biggest newspapers in Jamaica, the *Gleaner* and *Star*, and the IMF team itself.

The PNP's term thus started badly. The day after the election victory there was zero foreign exchange in the central bank and the IMF would soon have to be called in. After zig-zagging, rejecting the IMF and then accepting it, the government agreed to an IMF three-year Extended Fund Facility programme in 1977. This was the turning point for the PNP and probably the largest factor in its electoral defeat last week.

With the IMF measures the pace of social reform slackened off, unemployment rose, inflation strode ahead of wages, public spending was slashed, nationalisations halted, and profits of at

least 20 per cent guaranteed by the government to the private sector. These effects did not all come at once and the IMF/PNP relationship was never a smooth one. At times the government could call the tune, but more often the PNP leadership was at the mercy of the IMF in its determination to implement its version of economic recovery by devaluation, cuts in public spending and stimulating the private sector to create export-led growth.

So matters proceeded until March this year when a leftward-swinging PNP rejected renewed demands from the IMF for spending cuts more drastic than anything yet contemplated. 11,000 public workers would have had to be sacked. The PNP told the IMF to pack their bags and unveiled an 'alternative self-reliant economic path', for recovery without the IMF. The government had observed all the IMF structures for over a year, but 'seals of approval', guaranteed profits and the cuts did not lead to the promised economic recovery.

PNP's strategy for the recent election was to blame the IMF for the ills of the economy, US intervention for the bloody mess of party politicking, and the local bourgeoisie for sabotage. The CIA revelations had a momentous impact in 1976, but in 1980 the external factors were thought of as excuses by the Jamaican electorate. The people did not feel, as in 1976, that an embattled PNP was an embattled Jamaica, though that belief was behind the conviction of every PNP member I spoke to that victory would be their's. Some even predicted a PNP landslide, so confident were they of the people's gratefulness for the recent social advances, and understanding of international politics. They overestimated the level of political sophistication reached by the country's poor.

The few seats that the PNP did win last week were mostly in the poorest and most heavily attacked urban Kingston areas, where PNP organisation is extremely tight — they were organising community self-defence as well as a poll. Manley's government was interested in providing progress for the people, but not using them as agents of their own progress. The powerful left of the PNP will now be starting a controversy with the right in the party. Some will say the party was too slow with progress, others that left-wing policies inevitably mean electoral defeat. The shape of that debate will frame the confrontation between the government and the PNP in the years to come.

The JLP will face many of the same problems as the PNP, though on the economy it may be able to blame the PNP more successfully than the PNP tried to blame the IMF. Apart from the obvious foreign policy changes that are to take place, all else is a mystery, since the JLP will have a testing term of office. An example of its problems will be how to control wage increases that are put by the biggest trade union centre on the island, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union. The BITU was extremely active in the past few years, but its General Secretary is now Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Hugh Shearen. Any overt submission to the government's demands will benefit the rival trade union centre, the National Workers Union, which is affiliated to the PNP. Such conflicts show that the road towards capitalist prosperity will be no easier than the road to 'democratic socialism'.

## Music

BRITISH JAZZ has been in a bad way for as long as anyone can remember. The constraints of a business which classifies jazz with rock and pop, not with 'serious' music, and to which the sweetest sound is the tinkle of cash registers, press in on an isolated, introverted underworld. New talent — of which there is no shortage — faces a grim struggle against not only the music business but also the few who do manage to scrape a living from jazz, who guard their precarious privileges very jealously.

Commitment to jazz can involve tremendous sacrifices. British musicians do not face the grim struggle imposed on black musicians in America. The pressures on them are more subtle, less nakedly destructive, but they combine to produce strange attitudes; sometimes a bitter and narrow view of the world which goes against the liberation of the music itself. Some players, reacting to the way they feel the world ignores them, take refuge in an extreme artistic purism.

Tony Moore is a bass player living in Oxford who lives his life in order to annexe new musical territory, rejecting established styles of jazz as irrelevant. When we asked him what he thought of Chris Hunter, who plays in a more accessible style, his reply typifies this kind of purism: 'Why listen to that? A poor man's Dave Sanbourn. Why write about him?'

Immediately striking is the sexism of the jazz world: the almost total absence of women players and the sexist attitudes which many musicians express. *The Leveller* asked Chris Hunter whether he thought it was important that more women should play jazz: 'I feel it's more important that more people who feel they should do it should do it. I can't separate men from women'. He blames very early education for the dearth of female jazz musicians. 'I actually know of a case where the head-mistress of a girls' school wouldn't let them play clarinet because she thought it distorted their lips. Unless you get the grounding, get the basic skills together, you haven't got a chance of being a jazz musician anyway. You've got to start getting it together from your early teens.'

But the problem is more complex. Many girls do learn instruments from early childhood, and there is no instrument which cannot be adapted to jazz. There are several examples of top flight musicians who couldn't play a note till they were 20. Women are subtly discouraged and sometimes actively blocked from getting into jazz by sexism in the music and society which assumes all art is male. Jackie Bernar expressed some of the problems:



FRANCIS BOYLE

'Chris's record has given me the first chance to actually put down on a record what my voice is capable of doing. I could have been working every night for the last two years but I've been out of work because I don't want to sing all the shit that's about. I've been really depressed by the commercial music world and I've not been doing much practice.'

The commercial world leaves just a very few 'established' ways of getting into the jazz world. One is the National Youth Jazz Orchestra (NYJO), but as both Chris and Jackie say, that demands discipline and conformity. Jackie was sacked after 5 months: told to concentrate on classical music after Bill Ashton, the Director, failed to adapt the parts to suit her voice as he had promised. Chris left shortly afterwards, tired of the limitations of the music which he described as 'Rehashed fifties bebop stuff.' — in other words a more commercial form of jazz.

Even the jazz world's own organisations, like the Jazz Centre Society, are not free from the distortions which the situation imposes. A small clique of musicians, who play in each other's bands, dominates the scene, making it almost impossible for newcomers to break in. In the media, Ronnie Scott's is presented as the greatest jazz club in the world. But its policy of only putting on the big names from America and cabaret singers backed by a tiny clique of local musicians make it worse than useless for most British jazz players.

Chris left Car Park (a commercial band) to concentrate on more creative music, and he described how money meant compromise: 'Car Park's songwriter is an incredible pianist — I use him in my band. The songs he was writing

when we first had the band together are incredible and the songs he's writing now have been scaled down and tailor made for the A&R man.

As Jackie put it: 'It's only possible not to compromise as long as you don't give a damn about earning much money.' For Chris Hunter, 'The state of the record industry at the moment is exactly what the record industry deserves. The fact that it's declining. The way they've treated music and undermined and debased it when they tried to make a lot of money out of it. People are making their own tapes now. They realise they don't have to buy this bit of plastic shit.'

David Rose, Chris Stretch

## Album reviews

**CHRIS HUNTER: Early Days (Original Records ORA 104)**

SAX PLAYERS have a very intimate relationship with their instrument. They must use not only their fingers but their throats, lungs, lips and mouths: a long session can be physically exhausting. In Chris Hunter's music this feeling of intimacy comes across to the listener in music of tremendous emotional range and impact.

The mere existence of this album is a considerable achievement. For a young musician to have directed every stage of his first record under his own name, using other musicians of his own choice independently of the British jazz establishment cliques is no mean feat. The sleeve of this album is an almost exact replica of 'The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan' and in these terms the picture of Chris and Jackie Bernar has a more than visual links with the early

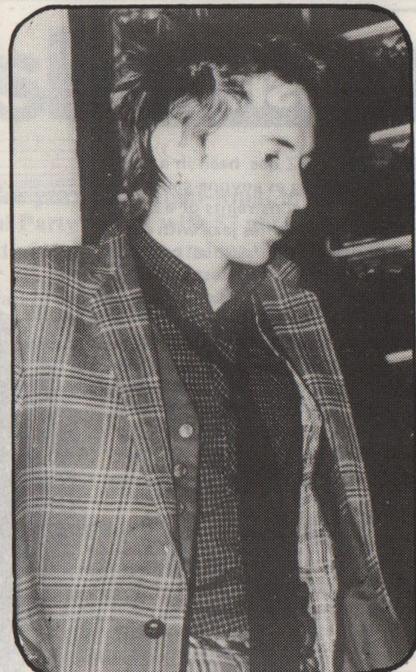
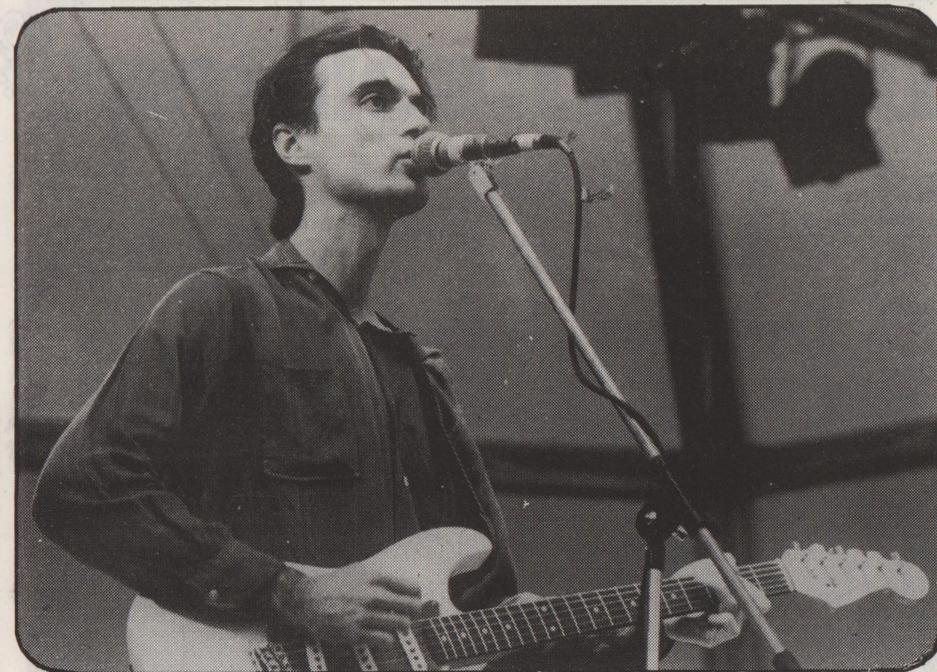
Dylan of socio-cultural protest. How far Hunter will be able to maintain his own direction is anyone's guess, and like the title says it's Early Days yet. But he has made a fine start.

Technically the album is impeccable; Chris Hunter's command of tenor, alto and soprano saxophones is absolute, and the rest of the band fully live up to him. But the success of this recording goes far beyond mere accuracy. Every track hums and throbs with wild, uninhibited musical happiness.

The record is full of tunes, something which can't always be said about some of the sterner offerings of British jazz persons. 'Forty Two' by Robin Smith is a particularly moving track which well repays repeated listening. Jacki Benar's vocals providing a quietly thrilling background to a sax solo that soars to joyful heights. On the preceding track Jacki is featured prominently in a multi-tracked 'Vocal Fanfare' which demonstrates her great musical range, sensitivity and power. The jazz world has always denied acceptance of female singers who choose to operate outside the confines of the Ella Fitzgerald/Cleo Laine type cosy cabaret style, but on this showing at least Jacki Benar deserves to succeed in her own right.

It says on the cover that 'absolutely no varispeed techniques were used on this recording.' This is a genuine product all right. It deliberately eschews gimmicks, and tricks and makes no innovations except those those that are necessary to the final result. That result needs no introduction or apology: it's simply music of a very high order indeed.

David Rose



Sheila Rock



Babylon 2 Spark (Brian Bovell) and Beefy (Trevor Laird) threaten Ronnie.

Byrne and Lydon: the public image of Talking Heads and the talking head of Public Image. Photogeny defeats democracy in this week's pics.

## Album reviews

### TALKING HEADS: Remain in Light (Sire)

*I'm walking a line - just barely enough to be living -*

'Houses in Motion'

THE WORLD of David Byrne is an extreme one, populated with characters continually close to the edge (Psycho Killer), dislocated from their environment ('Cities', 'More Songs About Buildings...'), unable to relate to that *line* which defines a conventional bourgeois relationship to the world. ('The Good Thing') Those who can't ('Found a Job') or won't ('The Big Country') follow this line — it crops up as a metaphor in so many of Byrne's songs — either flip out ('Animals') or fight ('Life During Wartime'). It's a *real* world.

On this fourth album from Talking Heads, these concerns are still evident. The flipped are *digging to the centre of the Earth* in 'Houses in Motion' and diving to *the bottom of the ocean* in 'Once in a Lifetime'... way adrift from consensus reality. The character in 'Crosseyed and Painless' reflects that *Facts are simple and facts are straight / Facts all come with points of view / Facts won't do what you want them to / Facts just twist the truth around.*

Those who fight do so with an unusual directness. Contrast the subtle irony of 'Don't Worry About the Government' from '77' with 'Listening Wind' here. Mojique, an abstract Third World Everyperson, calmly *plants devices in the free trade zone* to drive away the Americans. The 'Govern-

ment Man' in 'Born Under Punches' can only assert himself hysterically.

While most of the songs are delivered in classic schizoid fashion, there's a shift in emphasis... more detachment, a move from the first person to the third, vocals mixed further in the background. 'Seen and not Seen' is a monologue recited calmly behind the music which I can't imagine on any other Talking Heads album. There's also a creeping mysticism... the least said about which the better. A future direction? I hope not.

But only your body's *really* gonna tell you about this album... Ever since 'Found a Job' on 'More Songs' they've been creeping closer to the disco floor. 'Remain in Light' further explores territory mapped out on 'I Zimbra'. An African influence... complex polyrhythmic layers of instrumentation, underpinned by sensuous bass and percussion, augmented by various guest musicians and overlaid with long chanted choruses. Whatever else is said about this album, it differs from most other 'intelligent' music in one vital aspect: you can dance to it. And if all you out there in Leveerland don't think that's important... why, then think again.

Dave Rimmer

### PUBLIC IMAGE LTD: Paris au Printemps (Virgin)

ON THE FACE of it, a live album is an odd artefact for Public Image to produce. They've never been noted for exhaustive touring schedules, are not at all, in fact, A Live Band.

The departure of bassist Wobble and drummer Atkins (currently working with PiL in the studio, but on a strictly session basis) leaves only the nucleus of the PiL corporation: Lydon, Levene and Jeanette

Lee. For the foreseeable future, live gigs seem unlikely. Meanwhile, this is the last of the old PiL, but it's a disappointment...

The cover's a grotesque depiction of the band by Lydon. As the session was recorded in Paris earlier this year (in the Spring, natch) the band have put all the sleeve notes in French, including the song titles: 'Attack' becomes 'Attaque', 'Theme' becomes 'Thème', (getting the hang of this?), 'Careering' becomes, er... 'Précipite-mment'.

So much for the packaging, the goodies in the chocolate box comprise seven tracks: three from 'First Edition', four from 'Metal Box'. To their credit, PiL have avoided the obvious tracks, and there are no singles here. *Malheureusement*, in all cases the titles are the only significant divergence from the studio cuts. You've heard it all before. I've mentioned three; there's also 'Lowlife', 'Bad Baby', 'Chant' and 'Poptones'.

What extra is there? I've never seen PiL, but I gather that their strength in performance derives from the element of antagonism. We get only hints of that: Wobble taunts by playing the bass riffs from fave raves like 'Jumpin' Jack Flash' and 'My Generation'; Lydon tells the audience to 'shuddup', swears at them and snarls 'I'll walk off this fucking stage if you don't stop spitting...DOG!'; Levene jeers 'Good in't we?' at the somewhat less than ecstatic crowd. But the provocation is lost in the translation to vinyl.

Their least successful album, at best 'Paris au Printemps' will serve as a memento for those who saw PiL, and a poor substitute for those of us who didn't. Roll on the next studio album.

Dave Rimmer

## Singles reviews

**JOY DIVISION: Komakino/Incubation (Free flexidisc).**  
**JOY DIVISION: Atmosphere/She's Lost Control. A CERTAIN RATIO: Blown Away/Flight/And Then Again (Factory Records).**  
THE FLEXIDISC was originally released last spring as a totally free record. But when the initial pressing of 25,000 ran out, Factory's bank refused to fund any more and the single became a 'collectors' item' changing hands at up to £10 a copy. Factory, who insisted all along on its being given away free, have now pressed another 50,000. 'And when that runs out,' said the soft spoken Mancunian at Factory's press office, 'we'll press another 50,000 to make sure that doesn't happen again.'

Now we can all hear it, and it's pretty much standard Joy Division fare. 'Komakino' is a good enough song — one of their grim processional, complete with voodooistic drumming; nice if you're keen on the band, dispensable otherwise.

Factory have also released 'Atmosphere' in Britain to cut back the exorbitant mark-ups dealers had put on the US import and the original, incredibly rare French recording. It's a classic song, quite different from anything else that Joy Division did. A haunting ballad swathed in gentle synthesiser melodies, it avoids the usual evocations of fear and claustrophobia, all the more touching in its desolation for that. But why not put this track on a 7 inch and make it still cheaper? The same applies to A Certain Ratio's new single. While not as catchy as their last offering, 'Shack Up', it grows on you — but as a 12 inch, it's

only available at two quid a throw. I thought Factory Records didn't believe in this sort of consumerism.

**LUDUS: My Cherry in Sherry/Anatomy is not Destiny.**  
**DISLOCATION DANCE: Birth-day Outlook/Perfectly in Control/It's so Difficult/Familiar View (New Hormones).**

I gave Ludus's single only half a name check last time — sorry, a production error. They're a good band; their music excites and then subverts the listener's expectations, wittily parodying the standard forms of pop music. Dislocation Dance's EP is equally stimulating, and they write good anti-sexist, anti-patriarchal lyrics.

**WAH! HEAT: Seven Minutes to Midnight/Don't Step on the Cracks (Inevitable).**

The title refers to the nuclear clock — seven minutes to catastrophe's where we're at. Singer Pete Wylie recently dedicated the song to Ronald Reagan. An amazing record — new wave meets R'n'B, and draws on all the power of both. Most bands would save up two songs as good as this for separate singles.

**FAMILY FODDER: Debbie Harry/Version. UK DECAY: For My Country/Unwind. THE WALL: Ghetto/Another New Day (Fresh Records).**

Family Fodder's single is a back-handed tribute to the famous poster icon; *Deborah Harry I'm having your baby...* Teendreams, idolatry, sexism and consumerism are stood on their head in this boppy pop tune. Nice one.

If all Fresh Records' releases were this good, they'd have it made. But UK Decay and The Wall are the worst kind of reactionary punk. Wooden 'social concern' wrapped in 'garageland' music that's become as fossilised as heavy metal. The Wall's single is produced by Jimmy Pursey, arch-guardian of the 1977 time-warp. It shows.

**PERFORMING FERRET BAND: Brow-Beaten/Disco One/Shoo-Shar (Dead Hippy).**

This band represent another dead end punk has got itself into. Accessibility — the idea that given a guitar, a cassette deck and 12 square feet of bedroom anyone can do it themselves — gets distorted into a kind of elitism when the music produced is as introverted and non-communicative as this. Accessibility — to the listener — is so important; the Ferrets could learn a trick or two from the **Single of the Fortnight...**

**ABBA: Super Trooper/The Piper (Atlantic).**  
Ah, the traumas of being a superstar. The bright lights! The agony! The ecstasy! Strapped to a lie detector, I doubt that many of us could own up to not liking Abba. We'll be humming this one well into the new year. And the B side has sleigh bells.

Chris Schüler

## Films

### BABYLON directed by Franco Rosso.

AT FIRST, I was suspicious of this film, fuelled by the smart Rank preview theatre, pre-show drinks and the snootily written hand-out we were given. So my immediate reaction was to try and pick holes in it. But this film is not easy to pick holes in.

The story is about a Brixton based sound system called Ital Lion, who enter a competition for the best sound system around, and make it through to the finals with the legendary Jah Shaka, who plays himself. The main story, though, centres around Blue, who's the Sound System toast (the bloke who sings over the dub tracks like I-Roy).

Through the character Blue, it paints an accurate picture of life for black youth. Between the semi-finals at the beginning of the film and the finals of the Sound System Contest at the end, Blue gets stoned; the sack for answering back to his white boss; arrested and beaten up by the police and has to watch his friends mugging someone. Yeah, a bit much altogether, but taken individually they are realistic events.

Blue like the rest of the characters in the film isn't a hero who knows just how to deal with every situation that confronts him. He's a real person who copes in the only way he knows how.

Franco Rosso, the director and co-author comes from South London and unlike a lot of people around films has not just made a film about a subject he knows little about and has no sympathy for. Blue in real life is Brinsley Forde, lead singer and guitarist with reggae band Aswad. All the actual filming was done on location in Brixton and Lewisham, us-

ing local extras. While filming sets were totally closed to visitors, because, the handout puts it, 'of the fact that shooting was taking place in an area of London where there was racial tension.' The portrayal of racist incidents was sickeningly accurate and I cannot see the National Front or British Movement taking kindly to its filming.

One thing I felt was actually racist about the film though, was that some nurd had put subtitles into all the scenes where the characters had strong West Indian accents. Maybe I am abnormal. But, although sometimes I find it difficult to understand, I do not need subtitles for what is a dialect of English. You would not expect to see subtitles for characters with strong Northern accents, so why did this film use them? As it was they made it hard to concentrate.

While I am griping, why did Rosso pick Brixton to be the centre for the action? The film was largely shot in Lewisham (Rosso's home). Brixton, which most of the actors don't come from, is a totally different area. After Kingston, Brixton is looked to by black kids, as where it's at, since it is like a mini-Kingston, and has an aura about it. There have been films about Brixton already, but none about and based in areas like Lewisham, Stoke Newington, Handsworth etc., which also have a high black population and do not have this mythology attached to them.

This film is worth seeing, though, just because it is the most sympathetic fictional film of black life in Britain to date.

The soundtrack of the film is out on Chrysalis records. But I wouldn't bother lining their pockets. Buy an Aswad record instead. Aswad have done most of the music in the film and in order to get their records done they had to set up their own record label.

Adam Thompson

### BLUES BROTHERS, directed by John Landis.

THE BUDGET for The Blues Brothers was \$27million. It seems that in the absence of any amusing ideas director John Landis handed the whole lot over to the special effects department. This kept a lot of stuntmen in employment, but doesn't stop the audience from lapsing into a bored stupor.

Director Landis, who also made Animal House seems to think that being funny involves blowing up buildings and smashing cars, which after the tenth car becomes merely tiresome.

The characters are not developed, and the storyline of two gonzos trying to raise money for an orphanage is pathetic. John Belushi and Dan Aykroyd who play them are as devastating as cold bubble and squeak.

The Marx brothers would turn in their graves if they knew that such horrors were perpetrated under the banner of anarchic humour. Considering the money, the number of really funny situations in the film is remarkably low.

The film has pretensions to being an R'n'B music film, but since the brothers themselves are hopelessly bad musicians it is fortunate that they don't sing much. James Brown, Aretha Franklin and Ray Charles all make good short appearances. The best but briefest performance is from the great John Lee Hooker, kept short no doubt for commercial reasons.

I would only recommend this film is you are feeling totally brainless and all your friends are out.

Paul Chapman



A big hand for John Carpenter's 'genre' pic *The Fog*

**THE FOG** directed by John Carpenter

THE DISTURBING trend, identified by Jane Root and Pat Murray in the last issue, (*Leveller* 43) of legitimising sexual violence against women is absent from John Carpenter's latest film, *The Fog*.

Carpenter has rejected the sexist bandwagon sadly nurtured by his *Halloween*, and returned to traditional gothic horror, superimposed on a modern coastal setting. Apart from anything else most of the victims are men.

The story opens with an old mariner's account of the inexplicable loss of a treasure ship, the 'Elizabeth Dane', exactly 100 years to the day, lured onto the rocks by a false beacon, now the site of a small Californian port, Antonia Bay. Supernatural rumblings, breaking glass, moving chairs and a (sometimes ludicrous) luminous fog, coupled with the disappearance of a trawler, herald the crew's belated return — a sort of Zombies from the sea grave — bent on revenge.

Like the fog of the title, the film rolls predictably on, drawing a priest, hitchhiker, the local heavy, a DeeJay, weatherman and the chairwoman of the town's centennial celebration into the battle against the washed up ghouls. It offers the odd fright

along the way, but nothing to touch the less conventional snocks of the superior 'Halloween'.

Basically Carpenter's articulate cine-eye has been spoilt by the garbled plot. Where audience sympathy was concentrated on Jamie Lee Curtis in *Halloween*, *The Fog* jumps from character to character, hoping to convey a feeling of generalised terror, depriving it of the tension taken to breaking point in *Halloween*, by its very failure to present a single character to which the watcher can attach more than fleeting interest. Guess who's going to die next, and who cares anyway?

Carpenter's films are all classical genre pictures — westerns, sci-fi and gothic horror brought into the nineteen eighties. Communication is by phone and radio, technological devices which should banish the superstitions on which horror films are based. In fact they become in themselves the objects of horror, isolating the characters. 'My idea of perfection is a voice on the phone' DJ Adrienne Barbeau intones to Charles Cyphers in *The Fog*. He is later killed while she listens impotently. The fickle links of technological communication on which the characters' security depend become the source of their vulnerability: in a Carpenter film phone-lines and power supplies are invariably cut...

Terry O'Brien

# Theatre

**DREAMER:** book by Bill Colville, music by Melyn S. Robinson, at Half Moon — New Theatre, 213 Mile End Rd, E1. (480 6465/6727) until Nov 29.

**THE RISE OF THE OLD CLOUD** by Mike Dorrell; presented by Paines Plough: see listings for venues.

'YOU WAKE up every morning and you feel so unsure', sings Trotskyist Cheryl, having rejected the comfort of a cozy fireside for two. Several of the songs in *Dreamer* begin to explore personal territory unusual for a socialist musical. Indeed the whole of Melyn S. Robinson's in places near operatic, score is striking and pleasurable. Fringe audiences may find the recitative awkward, if not embarrassing, but this has more to do with the muddle of the book, which fails to sustain any belief in the characters.

Terry Weaver is the youngest son of a clothing sweat-shop owner in E3. On his 21st birthday, his father, Danny proposes a Lear type division of his Empire between his three sons, in exchange for their support in his old age.

Only Danny knows that pressure from the monetarist economy is forcing his business toward bankruptcy, which is actually precipitated, in the second half of the play, by a walk-out of the workers led by Rani, until then a friend of the family. When challenged Terry follows Cordelia's line, more out of spite than affection, and is thrown out of the house.

Terry is spoilt and conceited, obsessed with his own appearance. He meets Cheryl handing out leaflets on a dole

queue and they begin an unlikely and uneasy affair. Such bizarre liaisons do occur in real life and it would have been interesting to have seen this one examined in detail. There is no character development, all we are told is Terry lets down Cheryl 14 times in 2 weeks. Continually One hopes Cheryl's politics or his transitory shop floor experience will spark off some realisation in Terry, but the possibility of a change comes finally only when a mysterious seaman turns out to be his uncle Gus and leaves him a parcel containing the Communist Manifesto.

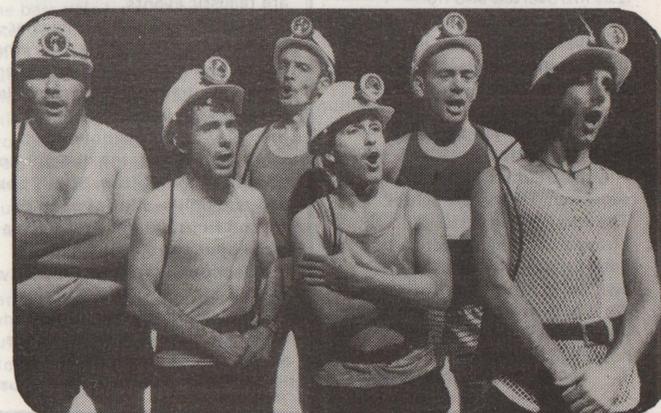
THE PROGRESSION of Mike Dorrell's characters in *Rise of the Old Cloud* provides a much tighter plot than *Dreamer*, but ultimately falls short of its potential. The Play's three acts follow a small group of South Wales Miners through the 1930s, with the intention of reminding us of the many sided dangers of economic depression and the struggle of such communities to prevent its recurrence.

The first act, set in a holiday camp for unemployed miners is rich in a forgotten atmosphere and has enough dramatic possibility for an entire play to have been set there. Credibility is undermined by the inmates all being friends from the same small town, up the valley, and the last two acts removes them there taking with them the two women the group has encountered. No new character is introduced.

Both the women are unconvincing. Middle-class Sarah marries, first, Morgan, who is already dying of pneumoconiosis. At first, Sarah's conversion to the Labour movement promises a driving force for the play, but by

**ONE BIG BLOW** by John Burrows and Rick Lloyd, presented by 7:84 (England) at the old Half Moon (see listings for future venues).

Six actors, six miners' helmets, a space and an audience are all John Burrows needs to provide an evening of entertaining social realism. The show communicates the horrific facts of miners' occupational diseases and demonstrates how conditions could be improved by inexpensive support from the Coal Board's top-heavy administration. The same miners are struggling to retain comradely compassion within their colliery brass band. Keith Lancing



Mike Laye



Holly Wilson as Portia and Jonathan Hackett as Shylock in Shared Experience's 'The Merchant of Venice'.

the third act, having secured the real hero of the play, ex-Communist Will as a second husband, she seems determined to drag him in to a middle-class existence of armchair socialism. Will's own thoughts and motivations are left hazy and his communism seems more a part of his masculine mystique, which sets him apart from the other (Labour Party) rather quaint male characters.

Meg changes from being a coquettish but independent young woman to a harpy forcefully persuading her husband to go back down the mine as soon as war preparations allow the return of those who have developed only the early stages of pneumoconiosis.

Many similar instances in the play can be documented over the over again from the real life experience of the 30s and Paines Plough are to be highly commended for mounting a production that sets out to present them.

Lloyd Trott

**THE MERCHANT OF VENICE** by William Shakespeare, presented by Shared Experience at Sheffield Crucible Theatre; for future venues see listings.

THERE WAS some excellent acting and inventive staging in this production, which fully justifies Shared Experience's reputation for theatrical effectiveness, in trying to make 'the classics' more accessible. But accessible to whom, and why? The production assumed that everyone who went to see it knew the play — but this assumption limits the 'accessibility' to committed and educated theatre-goers. Shakespeare's puns and contemporary references were updated, but you still had to know the text to get the point. Working class people will continue to stay away from the theatre, if what is presented is not a reflection of their lives and struggles, but an attempt to popularise the culture and assumptions of another class.

Does Shakespeare's reputation for 'universal truth relevant to all times' bear

examination? A simplified synopsis of 'The Merchant of Venice' would state that the play is mainly about a nasty unscrupulous Jew named Shylock who bears a grudge against a Gentile indebted to him. The play portrays Jews as being sly and criminal, and Gentiles as being noble, honourable, even 'pretty'. The actor playing Shylock revelled in stereotyped Jewish mannerisms as a substitute for characterisation: he sidled along, crouched, wringing his hands, and lifting them when addressing Jehovah.

One cannot defend the play's racism by suggesting the puns and jokes are simply directed at Shylock, a 'bad' Jew: they are directed at Jewry in general: for example Jessica; 'He says you are no good member of the commonwealth for in converting Jews to Christians, you raise the price of pork'. Not content with the text's racism, Shared Experience included some of their own: on leaving Rebecca, Gobbo exclaims: 'A Jew . . . I mean adieu!'

Shakespeare's racism poses a problem for the contemporary producer. My own view is that racist plays like this, should simply be dropped from 'the World Repertoire'. However whilst it continues to be a GCE set text, and Shakespeare remains on the pedestal of 'World's Greatest Playwright', productions are probably inevitable. But they should then either omit the most offensive jokes and references, or take a stand on them; Shared Experience did neither.

The women in the play have little character, but are simply embodiments of the feminine ideal: they are graceful and beautiful (the richer the more so), elusive till betrothed, then they sink into dutiful submission, offering all their wealth up to the male.

The servants are regarded and portrayed in the play (and in this production) as clowns and fools. In one scene, Gobbo who has just escaped from the tyranny of one master, debates whether it was the morally right thing to do, and concludes that it was not.

Martin Scott

## Theatre listings

**TEMBA THEATRE COMPANY:** Black Lear by Barrie Keeffe. (Reviewed in issue 43). YORK: Thurs 13 — 15 Nov (8pm) — Arts Centre, St Johns, Micklegate. BASINGSTOKE: Tues 18 Nov (7.45pm) — Central Studio, Queen Mary's College, Cliddensden Rd. BROCKENHURST: Wed 19 Nov (7.30pm) — Brockenhurst College. SALISBURY: Thurs 20 November (7.30pm) St Edmund's Art Centre, Bedwin St. WINCHESTER: Fri 21 Nov (8pm) Tower Arts Centre, Romsey Road. NEW MILTON: Sat 22 Nov (8pm) — New Milton Rd. NORTHAMPTON: Mon 24 Nov (7.30pm) Mas-Afancanta Youth Movement, 34 Sheep St. LEICESTER: Tues 25 and Wed 26 Nov (7.30pm) — Highfields Community Centre, 96 Melbourn Road. **UNITY THEATRE:** Mad Tom by Paul Ryan deals with Thomas Paine, author of *The Rights of Man*, and architect of the American Republic. LONDON: Thurs 20 Nov — Sat 22 Nov — Hampstead Theatre, Swiss Cottage. **WOMEN'S THEATRE GROUP:** Stevie Smith Show — Stevie Smith's poems set to music. DUNDEE: Sat 22 Nov — Dudhope Arts Centre. ABERDEEN: Mon 24 Nov — Workers Education Association. **ALMOST FREE THEATRE Power Plays, Inter-Action's Almost Free Theatre examines the issue of nuclear power in a dramatic and informative way in two-act plays.** COVENTRY: Thurs 13 Nov — Warwick University. TELFORD: Fri 14 Nov — Evesham Public Court. EVESHAM: Sat 15 Nov — Evesham Public Hall. WOLVERHAMPTON: Mon 17 Nov — Wolverhampton Polytechnic. DURHAM: 22 Nov — Castle Chare Community Centre. **CAST From One Strike to Another poses crucial questions about the role of trades unions, theatre groups and the law, and could become a test case under the government's new Employment Act.** ORMSKIRK: Thurs 13 Nov — Edgely College, St Helen's Rd. BIRKENHEAD: Nov Fri 14 — Labour Club, Cleveland St. LIVERPOOL: Sat 15 Nov — Christ's College, Woolton Rd. MILTON KEYNES: Tues 18 Nov — Woughton Centre, Chaffron Way, Coffee Hall. ECKINGTON (Nr Sheffield): Wed 19 Nov — Eckington Civic Centre, Market St. LEICESTER: Thurs 20 Nov (lunchtime & eve) — Foss Centre. DERBY: Fri 21 Nov — Lonsdale College. **LES OEUVES MALADES: The Family Album** by Bryony Lavery (reviewed issue 43) STAMFORD: Fri 14-Sat 15 Nov — Stamford Theatre (0780 54762). SWINDON: Mon 17 — Wed 19 Nov — Wyvern Theatre (0793 35534). CARDIFF: Thurs 20-Sat 22 Nov — Sherman Theatre (0222 396844). **NEW YORK LAB OR THEATRE:** Jack London, the Man from Eden's Grove is drawn from the period of London's life; his working class youth, his years of literary success, and the final years, clouded by doubt and drink, before his death at the age of 40. SALFORD: Thurs 13 Nov — Salford College of Technology. MANCHESTER: Sat 15 Nov — Birch Community Centre, Brighton Grove, M14. BIRMINGHAM: Tues 18 Nov — Star Club, Essex St. TELFORD: (provisionally): Wed 19 Nov —

Telford Community Arts. WOLVERHAMPTON: Thurs 20 Nov — Wolverhampton Polytechnic, Wulfruna Street. HULL: Fri 21 Nov — University of Hull. NEWCASTLE: Sat 22 Nov. GLASGOW: Sun 23 Nov — Star Club, Carlton Place. **OXFORD PLAYHOUSE COMPANY:** The Man to Save Us, the Story of Ramsey Macdonald by Stephen Fagan. As the last ounces of gold run out of the Bank of England in 1934, and the poor get ready to tighten their belts still further, Ramsey Macdonald entertains Lady Londonderry, London's foremost Tory hostess, in the garden at Chequers. OXFORD: Thurs 13-Sat 15 Nov — Oxford Playhouse. Bhurs 20-Sat 22 Nov — Garden Arts Centre. **PAINES PLOUGH: The Rise of the Old Cloud** by Mike Dorrell. CUMBERNAULD: Thurs 13-Sat 15 Nov — Cumbernauld Theatre, Kildrum. LINCOLN: Fri 21 & Sat 22 Nov — Bishop Greave's Hall, Bishops Greave's Hall, Bishop Grosseteste College. GOOLE: Mon 24 Nov — The Grammar School. GRIMSBY: Thurs 25 Nov — Whitgift. LOUTH: Fri 26 Nov — Cordeaux High School. **RED LADDER THEATRE COMPANY:** Ladders to the Moon, based on the 1893 Featherstone Disturbance, when soldiers opened fire on an unarmed crowd of picketing miners and their families. The presentation includes conventions and devices from pantomime and fairground as well as music and songs. DUNDEE: Thurs 13 Nov — Whitfield Labour Club. DALKEITH: Fri 14 Nov — Dalkeith Community Centre. GLASGOW: Sun 16 Nov — Star Club, Carlton Place, IRVINE: Wed 19 Nov — Volunteer Rooms. TILLICOULTRY: Bhurs 20 Nov — Devonvale Hall. FAIRLEY: Fri 21 Nov — Edinbarnet Community Centre, TINGLEY: Tues 25 Nov — East Leight Community Centre. **7:84 (England): One Big Blow** by John Burrows, music by John Burrows. NOTTINGHAM: Thurs 13 Nov — British Rail Staff Club, West Bridgeford. NORTHAMPTON: Fri 14 & Sat 15 — Northampton College of Further Education. SOLIHULL: Tues 18 Nov — Solihull College of Technology. NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME: Wed 19 Nov — Newcastle-under-Lyme College of Further Education. **STOKE ON TRENT:** Thurs 20 Nov — Town Hall. MALVERN: Fri 21 Nov — Foley Arms Hotel. TAMWORTH: Sat 22 Nov — Tamworth Arts Centre. LIVERPOOL: Wed 26 Nov — Scotland Exchange Labour Club. **SHARED EXPERIENCE: The Merchant of Venice** by William Shakespeare. SHEFFIELD: Thurs 13 — Sat 15 Nov — Crucible Theatre. CARDIFF: Tues 18 — Sat 22 Nov — Sherman Theatre. BANGOR: Tues 25 — Sat 29 Nov Theatre Gwynead. **SIREN THEATRE COMPANY:** Mama's Gone-A-Hunting. The setting is an intergalactic Court on Earth. The action is provided by Woman, who wants to leave the planet in search of an existence she can control, and Man, who does not want her to go. LEEDS: Thurs 20 Nov — Labour Club. YORK: Fri 21 Nov — York University. LEEDS: Sat 22 Nov — Sexual Violence Against Women Conference.



Free national listings service. Let us have booklets, pamphlets for mention or review, posters and campaign literature, as well as advance notice of talks, meetings, conferences, films, gigs, theatre or any other events you want publicised.



## Publications

**Big Red Diary And Directory 1981**  
This year's Big Red Diary (and Leveller free book offer this issue) explores in its 'Utopias' theme theories of ideal societies down the ages and forward into the future. As well as the standard diary entries there's a damning section on Britain under the Tories and a countrywide Red Directory of useful contact and agitprop addresses. This alone justifies the cover price, but the Big Red Diary is now such a stock-in-trade on the left that it doesn't need a hard sell. Reference-tool, lefty's-little-helper, handy-jotter or thought-provoker... we'll be seeing it around a lot during the next 12 months, and even if you've already got one it's always a good standby present for birthday and unbirthdays. £2.00 from Pluto Press Ltd, Unit 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH.

**Breakout!**  
*The Paper for Insiders.* A magazine written and produced by prisoners and ex-prisoners, needs contributions, money, advertisements or two long-term sponsors in order to survive. Six issues have appeared to date and No 7 (December) is in the pipeline. Please send donations, orders for copies to: Features Editor, Breakout! Box 66, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

**East London Month of Action News**  
As a contribution to the South East Region of the TUC's Month of Action against the Tories, the East End News co-operative has produced a broadsheet attacking the run-down of the area and promoting SERTUC's protest events throughout November (See listings for details of some of these events).

The Co-op has also produced another paper for SERTUC: *Printers Link*, a glossy broadsheet for print workers, plus a smart calendar for 1981. (£1.50 from 17 Victoria Park Square, London E2 9PE). These aren't just fundraising stunts. They show the EEN's involvement in labour movement activity in East London — an integral part of their politics. March 13 1981 on the calendar is printed in red: it is the launch date for the weekly paper itself, which is set to become the strongest alternative paper around. It's been two years in the planning. A target of £25,000 to set the paper on a sound footing is within sight. It's not intended to be a left-basecamp or short-operation, but a permanent part of East Londoners' lives. The EEN will be produced by a consumer co-op, controlled by readers and local community organisations as well as by the workers. No alternative paper has been so thoroughly planned, but it still needs support. Donations to the above address.

**Eco-Socialism In A Nutshell**  
More and more ecologists are beginning to appreciate that the changes they desire can only be achieved in a socialist society. Socialist Environment & Resources Association (SERA) have produced a comic-strip version of extracts from Stephen Croall and Kaianders Sempler's book *Nuclear Power For Beginners* as a contribution to the debate about Eco-Socialism. 24 pages, 50p from SERA, 9 Poland Street, London W1 or direct from the publishers, Writers & Readers Publishing Co-op.

**Fightback No 8**  
*Against Cuts In The Health Service.* Out now, contains articles and reports from across the country on hospital actions, union business, work-ins, private medicine and alternative healthcare. 16 pages, 15p + post (10 for £2.00 or £1.50 subscription) from Fightback, 30 Camden Road, London NW1.

**Gay Noise No 7**  
November 6-20 issue of the fortnightly news, views, reviews and comment paper published by the radical/leftward Gay Noise collective. Lead story this issue is an attack on the Imprisonment (Temporary Powers) Act. 12 pages, 15p from 149 Raiton Road, London SE24.

**Hazards Bulletin No 23**  
November issue of the well-established BSSRS monthly, out now, contains articles on the Health & Safety Council, union reports on hazards at work, factory inspectors and how to use them, Sheffield occupational health project + technews and reports from groups across the country. 12 pages, 30p from British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS), 9 Poland Street, London W11 3DG 01-437 2728.

**The Tory Press And How To Fight It**  
Geoff Sheridan's *Socialist Challenge* pamphlet sold out its first edition of 2,500 and is now reprinted in an updated version which includes an outline of developments this autumn - the hysterical mass media coverage of the Labour Party conference and the TUC call for print and broadcasting workers to have right of reply to bias and distortion. 12 pages, 10p + post (8p each for bulk orders) from: Socialist Challenge, 328/329 Upper Street, London N1.

**Why We Say: Troops Out Of Ireland!**  
An SWP pamphlet arguing the case for withdrawal of British troops from the Six Counties and countering the views of those who oppose this move. 24 pages, 30p + 15p post from: Socialists Unlimited, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

**Women in Nicaragua**  
Outline history of *Ampronic*, the Nicaraguan women's organisation formed in September 1977, which

# BACK

**Health For Sale**  
Socialist Medical Association's pamphlet outlining the danger to the National Health Service from private practice. 40p (ten copies for £3) from SMA, 9 Poland Street, London W1. 01-346 5867/01-439 3395.

**Highland Link**  
No 8 of the Inverness-based local alternative paper leads with attacks on Highland Region cuts and plans for local radio stations, plus short news, sport and listings. 8 pages, 12p from 22 Market Brae, Inverness IV2 3AB. 0463-224841.

**Is China Still Socialist?**  
Nottingham Communist Group's look at China's 'Four Modernisations', revisionism and the Gang of Four, with bibliography and reading list. 42 pages, 35p from: Red Star Publications, c/o Flat 2, 10 Villa Road, Nottingham NG3 4GG. 0602-604991.

**KAR Bulletin**  
*Hands Off Iran!* Official newspaper of the Organisation of Iranian Peoples Fedai Guerillas (Majority) in English. The voice of the militants critical of Khomeini. October issue a contribution to the debate about Iraq-Iran war in preparation. 26 pages, 20p from: KAR, 29 Islington Park Street, London N1.

**Manchester Law Centre Immigration Handbook No 4**  
You don't have to be a lawyer to help someone being threatened with immediate arrest, detention or expulsion under the Immigration Act. A practical guide for advice (including lawyers!) and any one else wanting to help the victims of immigration control. A detailed and practical piece of agitprop. From: Manchester Law Centre, 595 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester. 061-225 5111.

**Missile Madness**  
*The New Weapons Systems And How They Threaten Your Life* by Peter Binns. The SWP case against Cruise, Trident and the rest. 32 pages, 40p + post from: Socialists Unlimited, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

**Prison Transfer Treaties: The How and Why**  
A joint Release/National Council for the Welfare of Prisoners abroad pamphlet looking at the plight of British citizens in foreign prisons and criticising the attitudes of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office and Home Office to the problem. The pamphlet proposes a framework for the immediate establishment of unilateral prisoner transfer treaties. 24 pages, £1 from Release/NCWPA, 1 Elgin Avenue, London W9. 01-289 3876.

**The Tory Press And How To Fight It**  
Geoff Sheridan's *Socialist Challenge* pamphlet sold out its first edition of 2,500 and is now reprinted in an updated version which includes an outline of developments this autumn - the hysterical mass media coverage of the Labour Party conference and the TUC call for print and broadcasting workers to have right of reply to bias and distortion. 12 pages, 10p + post (8p each for bulk orders) from: Socialist Challenge, 328/329 Upper Street, London N1.

**Why We Say: Troops Out Of Ireland!**  
An SWP pamphlet arguing the case for withdrawal of British troops from the Six Counties and countering the views of those who oppose this move. 24 pages, 30p + 15p post from: Socialists Unlimited, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

**Women in Nicaragua**  
Outline history of *Ampronic*, the Nicaraguan women's organisation formed in September 1977, which

played a prominent role in the Sandinistas' overthrow of Somoza's regime in July 1979. Details of how women have been regrouping and organising since the revolution, plus extracts from *Ampronic* documents and interviews with members of the women's association. 40 pages, 50p + post from: Megan Martin, 107 Nevill Road, London N16 (cheques to 'Nicaragua Co-ordinating Committee').

## Announcements

**National Abortion Campaign** needs £2,000 to expand and include contraception campaigns, video tapes for schools, plus leaflets, posters etc. For this it wants you to promise just £1 per month as a standing order. Contact National Abortion Campaign, 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1. 01-278 0153.



**Nasira Begum** is still fighting deportation from this country. The campaign to help her needs money and support. Please contact Friends of Nasira Begum, c/o 595 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester M12. The London Women's Co-ordinating Group on Armagh draws your attention to the deteriorating conditions of the women in Armagh Prison. Money and support needed. Contact Women's Co-ordinating Group on Armagh, c/o A Woman's Place, 48 William IV Street, London WC2.

**Technical Authors Group (Scotland)** is a non-profit making independently organised research group, in need of further sponsorship, membership and contributors. Its first Index is due out January 1981 and at present it is working on: the police and penal system, work hazards, computer technology and civil liberties, defence... with wider coverage planned. More information: TAGS, 100 Findhorn Place, Edinburgh.

**Jamaica Action Group** offers information and assistance to editors, producers, reporters and other interested parties. JAG, 183 Brondesbury Park, London NW2 01-451 2444/01-722 2847/01-992 7587.

**Blair Peach Teachers' Resource Centre** set up recently needs support and money to carry on its work on the culture and traditions of working people and its challenge to the sex, race and culture bias of the British school syllabus. Details: BPTRC, 25 Horsell Road, London N5 1HJ.

**Central London WEA** has for many years been running a wide variety of evening classes, on subjects from architecture and social psychology to women's studies and philosophy. It also runs dayschools and weekend schools on subjects like transport, the third world, popular culture and nature conservation. It is now setting

up an Industrial Committee to develop a series of courses and schools relevant to the working environment. Suggestions and help welcome. Contact: Colin Mills, 41A Chesham Road, Amersham, Bucks (Amersham) 6103/01-217 6345.

## Events



**Wednesday November 12**  
LONDON  
March against the transport of nuclear waste through London. Details: South London Anti-Nuclear Group 01-674 5235.

Four Corners are organising a series of film and music workshops for young people on Wednesdays 6.00-10.00, admission £1.00 (unemployed/under-18), £6.00 (over-18), 50p (one film only). Tonight's films are *One More Chance* (1972), a documentary on Shane Ventura, and *Born Too Late* (1979), featuring Matchbox. Showing at 8.30 pm. Four Corners, 113 Roman Road, London E2. 01-981 4243.

**MANCHESTER**  
Gay Centre: speakers from the United Troops Out Movement talk about Northern Ireland and the withdrawal of British troops. 7.30pm, 61A Bloom Street, Manchester. 1. 061-236 6205.

**Friday November 14**  
BRIGHTON  
History Workshop Conference No 14 on 'Language and History'. Approximately fifty different workshops and plenaries, introduced by Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams, £5 for the weekend; creche. Details: Andy Durr. 0273-693655.

**LONDON**  
SE Region TUC month of action event: lobby of the City & East London Health Authority. 2.00pm at Addison House, 32/43 Chart Street, London N1.  
**'Euthanasia — The Right to Die':** novelist Celia Fremelin talks at a meeting of the Gay Humanist Group. 7.30pm Conway Hall Library, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Details: GHG. 01-674 7438.

**MACHYNLETH**  
National Centre For Alternative Technology three-day course Solar Energy (Theory): design of water and space heating systems; commercial panels, solar roof, inter-seasonal heatstore and solar water heating installations. Full course, board and accommodation costs + course details from Centre for Alternative Technology, Machynlleth, Powys. 0654-2400.

**Saturday November 15**  
LONDON  
Troops Out Of Ireland national demonstration, calling for an immediate withdrawal of the British army from the Six Counties, an end to direct rule and the partition of Ireland plus full self-determination for the Irish people. Women For Troops Out contingent will be marching under their own banner on the march. Assemble 1.00pm at Embankment Tube, London WC2. Details: Troops Out Movement, Box 10, 2A St Pauls Road, London N1.  
West London NUJ Branch are holding a benefit to raise cash for seven members of the *Kilburn Times*

# PAGES

chapel who were on strike for ten weeks to save jobs at the paper. 7.30pm (bar to 12.00 midnight), bands: Trimmer and Jenkins, The Von Traps, admission £2. The Tabernacle, Powis Square, London W11.

**MANCHESTER**  
Radiator and Birch Community Association present The Labour Theatre of New York: Chuck Portz in 'Jack London — The Man From Eden's Grove', a one-man show dealing with the life and writing of the well-known socialist author. 8.00pm at Birch Community Centre, Brighton Grove, Rusholme, tickets £1. Advance tickets from North Western Arts Centre, Lloyd Street; Grass Roots Bookshop, Newton Street; Eighth Day, Oxford Road or from Birch Community Centre. 061-224 0020.

**NOTTINGHAM**  
National Abortion Campaign mixed campaigning and information sharing conference for Trent Region (Sheffield, Notts, Leics), 'Abortion — A Woman's Right to Choose. How Do We Achieve It In The Eighties?' Spakers, workshops, films, fun! 10.00-5.00pm, Queen's Walk Community Centre, Nottingham. Information, registration and papers in advance from: 23 Templeoak Drive, Wollaton, Notts.

**Sunday November 16**  
LIVERPOOL  
Liberty Hall presents New Wave: two women's bands — The exSpurtz and Glass Animals plus mixed band The Passage live at Everyman Bistro, Hope Street. 8.00pm, admission 95p (members 70p). Details: Top Flat, 7 Grove Park, Liverpool 8 or 051-708 7270.

**Monday November 17**  
LONDON  
SE Region TUC month of action event: Public Meeting. 7.30pm York Hall, Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, London E2.

**Tuesday November 18**  
BIRMINGHAM  
Film Workshop (jointly organised by BFI and Balsall Heath WEA) showing of *Telling Tales* (Director: Woolley, 1978) 7.30pm, Tindal Street Community Rooms, Tindal Street, Balsall Heath. Details: Film Workshop, c/o Arts Lab, Holt Street, Aston, Birmingham B7 4BA. 021-359 4192 (Roger Shannon).

**LONDON**  
Premiere showing of: *Abaphucive — The Dispossessed*, a film made inside a South African resettlement camp, looking at the economic base of apartheid. Progressive Film Society, Manning Hall, University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1 (To be reviewed next issue).  
SE Region TUC month of action continues with a lobby of the East London Health & Safety Group. 7.30pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall, Patriot Square, London E2.

**Wednesday November 19**  
LONDON  
Four Corners film show: 'Reggae' (Dir: Horace Ove, 1970) 8.30pm (See November 12 listing for full details).  
SE Region TUC month of action continues: Lobby of Parliament on the Transport Act. 1.30pm at the Houses of Parliament in the Grand Committee Room.

**MANCHESTER**  
Gay Centre: speakers from 42nd Street, the mental health project, will be talking about their work and the importance of self-help groups like People Not Psychiatry. 7.30pm: for details see November 12 listing.

**Thursday November 20**  
LOWESTOFT  
'Cruise Missiles and Nuclear Power' SWP public meeting, speaker Mike

Simmons, 8.00pm, Norfolk Hotel, Denmark Road (near railway station).

**Friday November 21**  
LEEDS  
Chile Solidarity Concert Tour: Inti Illimani the six-man Chilean musicians group plays the first of three concerts voicing opposition to the Pinochet regime. With Frankie Armstrong. Organised by Chile Solidarity Campaign. 7.30pm, Leeds Town Hall, tickets £2.00 (£1 children and pensioners). Full details of tour: CSC 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7. 01-272 4298.



**LONDON**  
Two-day Third Black Books Fair, organised by Soma Books, to promote the literature, art, history and cultures of black people living in Britain. Themes: 'Multi-Cultural Education in Schools — Myth or Reality?' and 'The Community and Library Response' + special workshop on 'Developing new resources'. Exhibitions, stories, songs, poetry, writers and drama workshop. 11.00-5.30pm at St Matthews Meeting Place, Brixton Hill, London SW2. Programme details cost 25p through the post (cheques to 'Soma Bookfairs') and more information can be obtained from: Soma Books, 38 Kennington Lane, London SE11. 01-735 2101.

'Fascism: What it is and how to fight it'. Public meeting called by East London Workers Against Racism, speaker: Judy Harrison. 7.00pm, Fairhill House, City of London Polytechnic, 102 Whitechapel High Street, London E1.  
One-Day Remembrance and Share Campaign: for more adult learning opportunities. Includes a lobby of MPs at the Houses of Parliament 12.00-2.00, petitions to Downing Street, TUC, CBI and Local Authorities Association 3.00-4.00 and an evening rally in Central Hall, Westminster 7.00-9.30pm. Further information: Education Centre, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7. 01-263 1127/9, or from the national organisers of the campaign at Stanford Hall, Loughborough, Leics. Tel: East Leake 2333.

**MACHYNLETH**  
National Centre for Alternative Technology: three-day course Solar Energy (Practical) — DIY solar panels, plumbing, installation. See November 14 listing for details.

**MANCHESTER**  
Manchester Hunger Strike Support Committee are organising a 48-hour fast in support of the Republican prisoners' hunger strike in Long Kesh H-Blocks. Starts 12.00 midday, St

Peters Square, Manchester. There will be a press conference and interviews with the fasters before hand. Details and information: Box 15, 164/166 Corn Exchange Building, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3BN.

**Saturday November 22**  
LEEDS  
Sexual Violence Against Women Conference — to discuss women's experience of sexual violence, why it happens and how it affects women, with a focus on how women can organise to fight back. Wide variety of workshops on sexual abuse in the home, on the street, at work, on the phone, in childhood, marriage, the media, institutions. Cost: £4 (£2.50 unwaged). Advanced registration preferred to get an idea of the numbers expected, also donations needed to set up a fares pool. Papers available beforehand. Contact: Sexual Violence Conference, Nottingham Women's Centre, 32A Shakespeare Street, Nottingham. LONDON

One-Day Conference for Women in the Labour Party, called by Fightback for Women's Rights to start organising a rank and file women's caucus. Three themes: democratic reforms to give women more rights and prominence in the party; drawing up a package of women's rights demands to fight for the party to adopt and implement. (All groups and campaigns fighting for women's rights, in or outside the Labour Party, are invited to contribute ideas); getting the party to fight for women's rights against the Tories. Creche, lunch. 11.00-4.30pm, registration £1. Islington Central Library, Holloway Road, London N7. Details: Women's Fightback, 41 Ellington Street, London N7. 01-607 9052.

'No Nuclear Waste — No Nuclear Power': demonstration from Wandsworth Common to Clapham Common, called by London Region Nuclear Alliance as the focal point of a weekend of events and anti-nuke activities. Creche and refreshments available at rally site. Details: Dick Tapsall, 01-688 4248.  
Gay Socialist Two-Day Conference, organised by Gay Left collective. Workshops, lunch, creche available — please give advance notice. Registration £2 (£1 unwaged) 10.00-6.00pm (Sunday 11.00-5.00pm) at Caxton, St John's Way, Archway, London N19. Details: Gay Socialist Conference, c/o 38 Chalcot Road, London NW1.  
Grand Diamond Jubilee Rally organised by London Co-Op Education and Political Committees. Speakers: Fenner Brockway, Alf Lomas, Stan Newens; music from Peggy Seeger and Ewan McColl, Pueblo, Co-Operation (with Jonathan Cohen). Tickets £1.00 (children, pensioners, unemployed 50p). 2.30pm, Theatre Royal, Stratford, London E15. Details: London Co-Op Education Department, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7. 01-263 1127/8/9 or London Co-Op Political Committee, 54 Maryland Street, Stratford, London E15. 01-519 1120.

BSSRS Politics of Energy Group monthly seminar series, with a discussion on Nuclear Technology Export and Weapons Proliferation, introduced by Olivia Sotomayor and Les Levidow. 2.30pm, Action Space, Chertsey Street, London WC1.  
Chile Solidarity Concert Tour: Lati Illimani plus guitarist John Williams. Tickets £6, £5, £3.50, £2.50. 8.00pm Dominion Theatre, Tottenham Court Road, London W1. (See November 21 listing for full details).

**NEWBURY**  
Southern Regional Campaign Against The Missiles meeting 3.00-6.00pm, Labour Club, Station Approach, Newbury. Details: 48 Stratford Street, Oxford, 0865-47429.

**NEWBURY**  
Southern Regional Campaign Against The Missiles meeting 3.00-6.00pm, Labour Club, Station Approach, Newbury. Details: 48 Stratford Street, Oxford, 0865-47429.

**NEWBURY**  
Southern Regional Campaign Against The Missiles meeting 3.00-6.00pm, Labour Club, Station Approach, Newbury. Details: 48 Stratford Street, Oxford, 0865-47429.

Workers Education Association Dayschool. Lecture 'Sexual Politics in Britain in the 19th and 20th century' by Sally Alexander, Barbara Taylor. £1, 2.00-5.00pm 32 Tavistock Square, London WC1. Details: Iris Bonham, 01-636 3186 or Colin Mills, 01-217 6345.

**MANCHESTER**  
Radiator/Birch Community Association: Manchester's fringe theatre company Publick Spirit present 'Frankenstein — A Compleat Fabrikation' the first performance of their unnerving re-creation of the dark evening during the course of which Mary Shelley conceived her novel. (See November 15 listing for full details)

**Sunday November 23**  
BIRMINGHAM  
Arts Lab Film Dayschool using Clint Eastwood's *The Gauntlet*. Part of series of three on sex and gender images on film. £1.50, 12.30-6.30pm, Arts Lab, Holt Street, Birmingham, 021-359 4192.

**LIVERPOOL**  
'In And Against The State': members of the London-Edinburgh Weekend Return Group introduce discussion of their booklet about new strategies for fighting the cuts in the welfare state and making socialism an acceptable alternative. 40p (Liberty Hall members 25p) 8.00pm. (See November 16 listing for full details).

**LONDON**  
Oppose the fascist British Movement march from Hyde Park Corner to Paddington. Assemble Labroke Grove Tube 11.30am.

Equity Left Alliance One-Day Conference on 'Control of the Entertainment Industry'. Sessions on sexism, racism, the union, cuts and funding, future strategy for the left in the actors' union. Students, members of entertainment unions and any other interested parties welcome. Cost: whole day £2, conference only £1.50 (£2 on the door), cabaret only — 10.00-7.15pm; 8.30pm Alternative carbariet with bar. Action Space, 16 Chenies Street, London WC1. Details: ELA Conference, 67 Durlston Road, Londo E5. 01-806 0808/01-691 7915/01-985 3016.

SE Region TUC month of action continues. March to Valentines Park, Ilford, organised by Redbridge Trades Council. Assemble GMWU offices, Green Lanes, Ilford.  
'No More Filipino Deportation': march and rally in support of the Overseas Resident Domestic Campaign, organised by TGWU Region No 1. Assemble 12.30 pm at The Monument, Tower Bridge, march to University of London Union for rally at 3.00pm; speakers from TGWU, COHSE, NUPE, GMWU, MPs, campaign speakers from the Filipino community. Details: Migrant Action Group, 68 Chalton Street, London NW1. 01-288 0241.

**NEWBURY**  
Southern Regional Campaign Against The Missiles meeting 3.00-6.00pm, Labour Club, Station Approach, Newbury. Details: 48 Stratford Street, Oxford, 0865-47429.

**NEWBURY**  
Southern Regional Campaign Against The Missiles meeting 3.00-6.00pm, Labour Club, Station Approach, Newbury. Details: 48 Stratford Street, Oxford, 0865-47429.

**NEWBURY**  
Southern Regional Campaign Against The Missiles meeting 3.00-6.00pm, Labour Club, Station Approach, Newbury. Details: 48 Stratford Street, Oxford, 0865-47429.

**SHEFFIELD**  
Chile Solidarity Concert Tour: Inti Illimani play their third in three days. Sheffield City Polytechnic Students Union. (See November 21, 22 listing for details).

**Tuesday November 25**  
BIRMINGHAM  
Film Workshop screening of *Blacks Britannica* (Dir: Koffi, Mwinipembe, 1978). 7.30pm (See November 18 listing for fuller details).

**Wednesday November 26**  
BIRMINGHAM  
'The Fourth Channel' — TV At The Crossroads, third in a series of three meetings organised by Independent Film-makers Association (West Midlands). Speakers: Rob Birkit, Simon Blanchard. 8.00pm, Star Club, Essex Street, Birmingham. Details: Roger Shannon, 021-359 4192/Yugesh Singh Walla, 021-429 8803.

**LONDON**  
Four Corners: four films from London Film-Makers Co-op — *Musical Stars* (1977), *Filmmusic Part 1*, *The Reeding Landscape* (1977), *Light Music*. (For details see November 12 listing).

**MANCHESTER**  
Gay Centre: Speakers from London Icebreakers talk about their self-help line and why they see this work as political. (See Wednesday November 12 listing for full information).

**Thursday November 27**  
LONDON  
Medical Ill-Treatment And Secrecy In Our Prisons. Sponsored by Friends of Matthew O'Hara. Public meeting on Prison Medical Service, speakers from PROP, RAP, NCLL. 8.00pm Centreprise, 136 Kingsland High Street, Dalston, London E8. Details: Andrew Roberts 01-986 5251. (Please note correction of date from report in Leveller 43).  
SE Region TUC month of action continues with major march and rally, speakers: Tony Benn, Joan Lester, Ken Gild. 5.00pm Tower Hill to York Hall, Old Ford Road, London E2.

## Exhibitions

**WOMEN IN TRADE UNIONS**  
Photographs, documents, banners and badges create a colourful pictorial history of women's involvement in the trade union movement, from the 1850s to the present day, and look to what may happen in the future for working women. On show November 12-28, Congress House, Great Russell Street, London WC1. 01-636 4030. Monday-Friday, 10.00-5.00pm, admission free.

**No Nuclear Weapons**  
The Half Moon Photography Workshops exhibition closes in London on November 28, and is then showing at the Side Gallery, Newcastle-on-Tyne, throughout December.

**Max Beckmann: The Triptychs**  
The Beckmann triptychs, 'amongst the most powerful allegorical paintings of the twentieth century', is on show from November 13 to January 11 1981, at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, Whitechapel High Street, London E1. 01-377 0107.

Chris Schwarz



Chris Schwarz

