

IN CASE OF NUCLEAR ATTACK

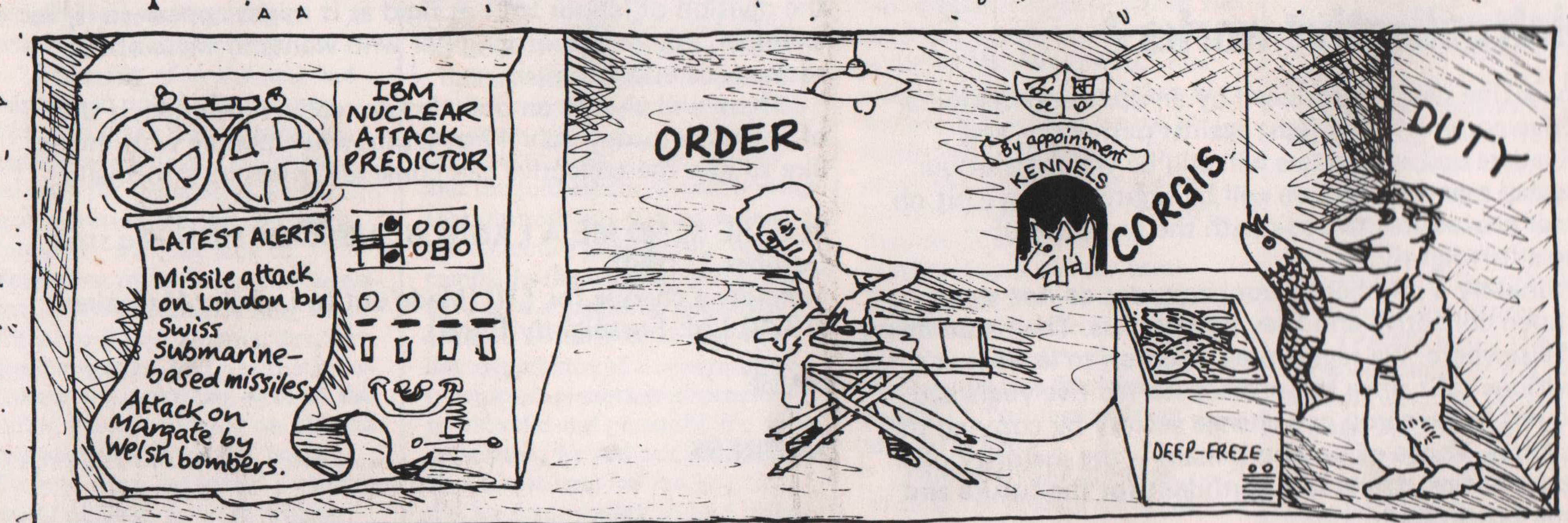
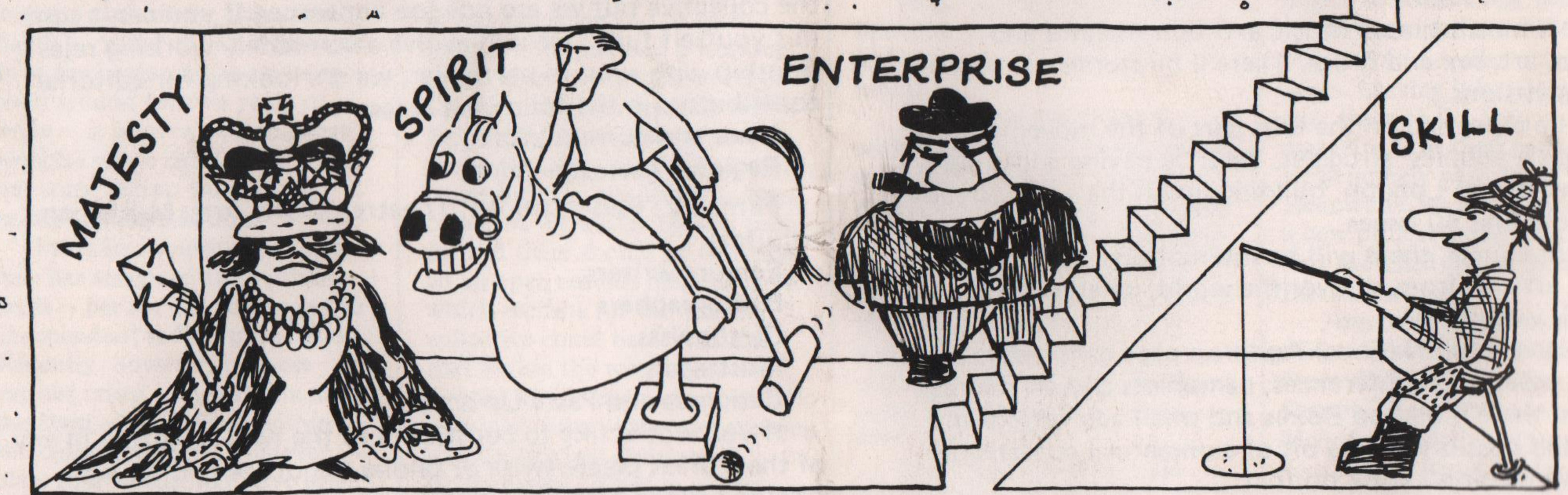
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by which we mean...



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the Leveller

No 39 July '80 45p

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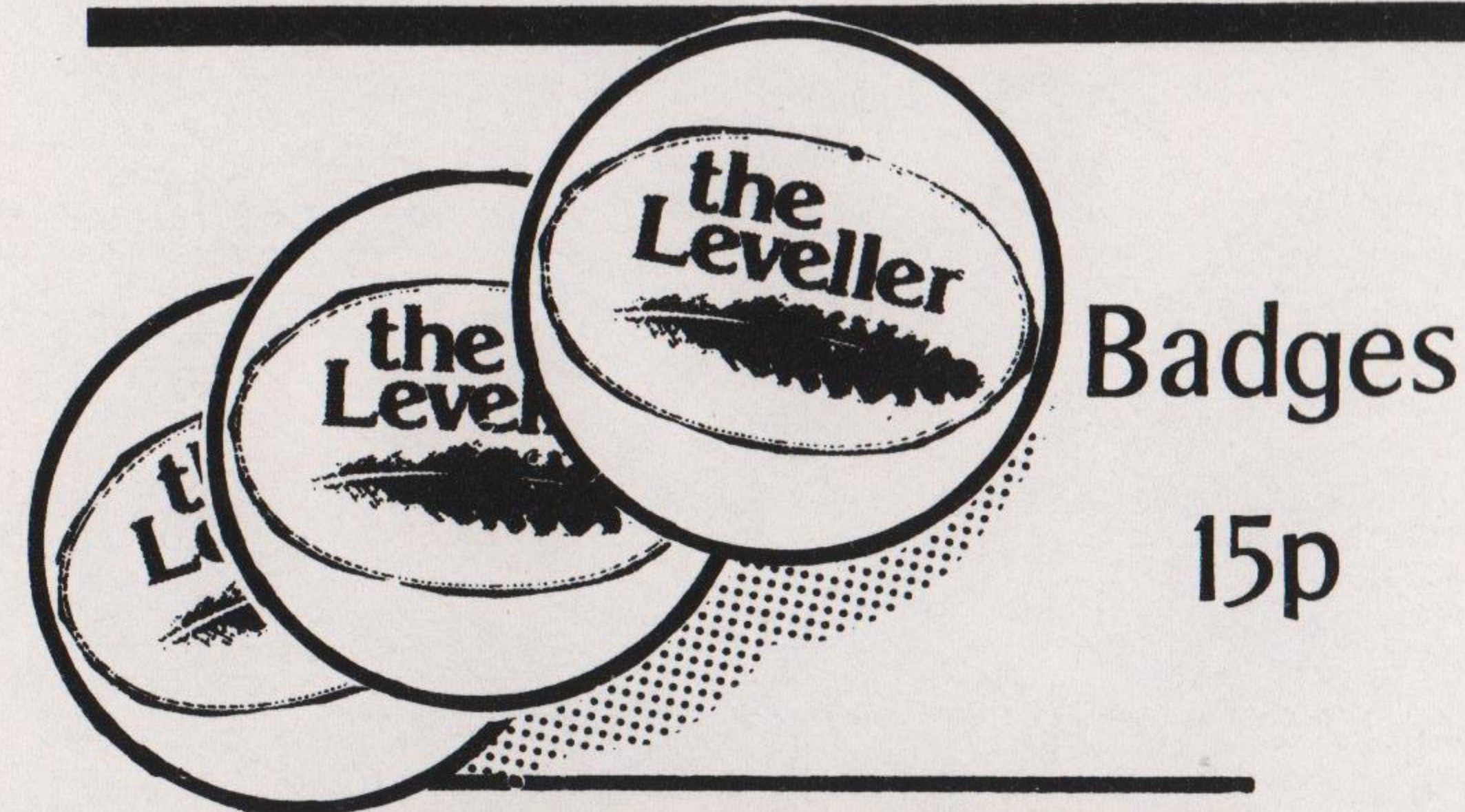
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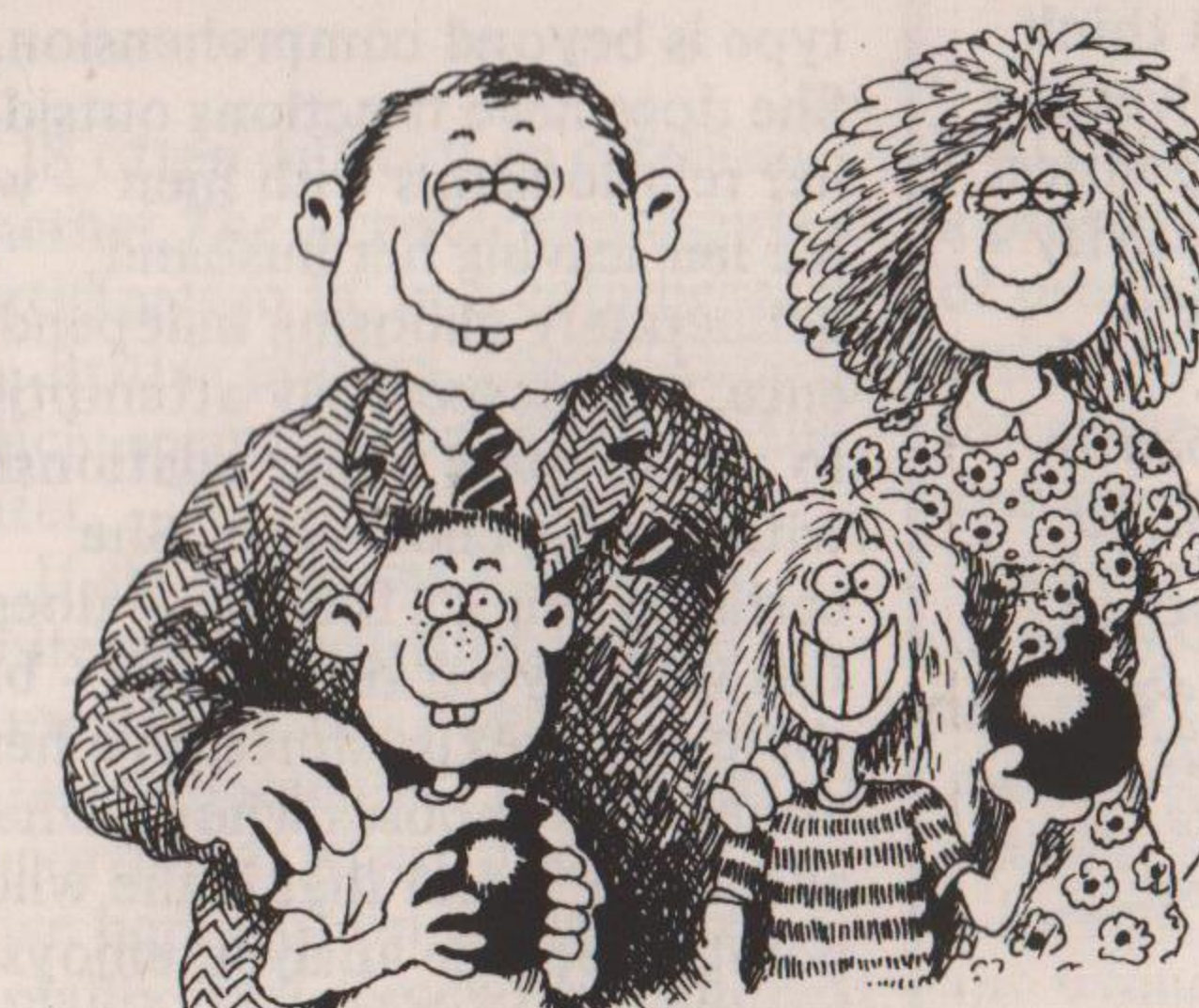
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JULY 1980

INSIDE



POPULAR MISCONCEPTION
OF TYPICAL ANARCHIST



ACTUAL ANARCHISTS
IN REAL LIFE.



Going Fortnightly

The magazine is currently selling just over 7,000 copies — and that without the backing of a party or great commercial finance. We are convinced that tens of thousands of readers will support the new fortnightly and we're giving it an initial six months to see what happens. (See pages 26 and 27)

Appeal

Your response to our appeal last month was magnificent and raised nearly £800. But we'll need to more than double that this month if we're to go into the fortnightly with a clean slate. Our current debt is not nearly so alarming as it was painted in the last issue — it now amounts to something around £2,000 — but what is particularly bothersome about it is that it is owed to other socialist organisations like our printers and typesetters.

So please dig deep so that we can move ahead confidently to the fortnightly.

Annual Readers' Meeting

There will be an Annual Readers' Meeting at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, on Saturday July 19, from 10.30 am to 5 pm. This meeting replaces the old AGM under our new, slightly bourgeois, company structure and there will be ample opportunity to talk through the work and debates of the last year, and to discuss the launching of the fortnightly. A creche will be available and accommodation for comrades from outside London can be arranged if you contact the office first. All readers are welcome and can speak but only Founding and Supporting Subscribers can vote. Organised groups and tendencies on the left are invited to send observers — who may also speak but not vote.

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Cover photo: Laurie Evans
Cover design: Chris Schüller

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LETTERS

The Leveller, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1

Roeg Sex

THE REVIEW of Nicolas Roeg's *Bad Timing* (Leveller 38) grossly misrepresents an interesting, and important, film. To suggest that Roeg has constructed a film that celebrates "a woman portrayed as a sex object and receiving her just rewards" is, at best, disingenuous, and, at worst, libellous. Your reviewers' elaboration of the film's narrative is so selective that it entirely neglects to mention the most crucial events.

For example, Milena is being operated on whilst Roeg reconstructs the history of her relationship with the psychoanalyst. This reconstruction itself is, in my opinion, a brilliant achievement and certainly deserves a mention. It also just so happens that the operation is for a drug overdose which the psychiatrist fails to report, at first, to the medical authorities. The reason for his failure - entirely absent from your reviewers' account - is that he just happens to ravish her. That's right, he fucks her whilst she is unconscious and nearly dead.

Of course, you could dismiss this, and the rest, as being "as boring as porn" - sixth form symbolism and kindergarten Freud. An arrogant, but permissible, judgement. It is unjust, though, to argue that the film is sexually exploitative and reinforces sexist stereotypes of women.

Neither of these judgements apply, in my opinion, for the film is attempting to explore a topic which is almost taboo in bourgeois culture - sexual possession. More specifically, it is concerned with masculine attempts (Roeg is a man) totally to possess and control the object of sexual desire. The film's achievement is that the audience cannot avoid being confronted with crucial questions about this issue. An issue of extreme importance to the Left; sexuality and possession are neither irrelevant nor middle class preoccupations,

as your reviewers imply.

Just how they manage to perceive Milena as a sexist stereotype is beyond comprehension. She does have functions outside her relationships with men - we see her leaving her husband, deliberately choosing independence, and desperately attempting to create space in her relationship with the psychoanalyst. She certainly enjoys fucking - does this worry your reviewers? - but there is no sexist stereotype here either. She chooses whom, where, and when - and that is the whole point. Alec, the analyst, enjoys her "liberation" but cannot cope with the implications. Roeg has neatly encapsulated a dilemma cruelly experienced by many men (and probably women too).

Your reviewers, far from exposing Roeg as a sexist, merely reveal their own obsessions. In their haste to misrepresent the narrative - and hence the film - we are informed about the fucking on the stairs scene twice; about white panties on a shaking bottom; about Milena's smart clothes, *ad nauseam*. Just how is a director supposed to make a film about sexual possession - or indeed convey the notion of sexual possession in a film? The ravishment is by no manner of means soft porn. In no way is the stairs scene titillating. If your reviewers found it so then they ought to go back to their kindergartens and read Freud again. Or maybe just visit an analyst.

Phil Lee

Sisterhood

I'VE BEEN sent a copy of your May issue (No.38) in which you publish a report of a Life conference at which I spoke. In this report, you refer to me making personal remarks about Anna Raeburn which I did not make, and which I would not make under any circumstances. Your reporter must have confused me with someone else, and it is a very grave confusion. Anna Raeburn is a very nice and very kind person; I like her very much. I admire the sincerity and commitment which she brings to her convictions; I disagree with her judgement on abortion, but it would be inconceivable - indeed, laughable - for me to disparage anyone's personal life, or past. It is simply out of the question. I would not make such remarks and I would like you to make my position on this matter absolutely plain in the next issue of *The Leveller*.

Mary Kenny
London WC1

Anarchist Action

IF WE hadn't met the Leveller reporter up at Torness, we'd find it impossible to believe he was there, so full of crap is his report of the attempted occupation of the Torness reactor site. Of course we know it's hard for a paper written by (semi)professional journalists, parasitic on other people's struggles, to find out what's going on. So we'll only correct the more important mistakes.

1. The occupation was *not* planned 'supposedly in secret', but at meetings of the Torness Alliance (which are open, even to hacks). Both we and the London Region Anti Nuclear Alliance produced thousands of copies of a leaflet each, which were widely and openly distributed. Both the occupation, and the several meetings to prepare it, were publicised in *Peace News*.

2. It follows from this that the event was *not* planned by 'what are generically known as "the anarchists"' (whatever that means) but by a broader coalition, although we certainly saw it as an anarchist action, and took part in it for that reason.

3. It also follows that it is completely misleading to suggest that the action was denied the "blessing of the Torness Alliance". Since last year the TA has evolved into an coordinating rather than a decision-making body. The agreement to publicise the occupation in the Alliance newsletter, to open its pages to discussion of the occupation, and to devote several



national meetings of the TA to hammering out the details, adds up to considerable involvement.

4. If Mike Dick found it "difficult to find a single Scot", he must've been hiding from them (and keeping his ears shut). There was a large group from Aberdeen, including the punks he noticed throwing a "football" (a clearly labelled toy "bomb" in actual fact) into the site, and others from Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee.

5. You should have mentioned the successful struggle of those arrested, who, in spite of the police threat to keep them inside until the demonstrators went home, managed to get released anyway through the threat of non-cooperation and refusing to be released unless everyone was released.

Finally, we'll restrain ourselves from commenting on the next article, in praise of SCRAM, by Joanna Blythman, except to say that if we "think non-violent direct action is futile", how come we took part in, and helped publicise, the "non-violent direct action" that Mike Dick was "reporting" on? And thanks for the rumours - where do they come from, the Special Branch? Of course we're *always* planning "creative destruction", not just of reactor sites but of other obstacles we meet. And that includes newspapers who don't bother to join the struggle they're reporting on, send someone out on the day to sniff out a "story", and then print an article almost none of which is true.

Ecology and Anarchism
Collective
London N1

No nark

I READ with interest the interview with Dafydd Ladd published in your last edition.

Whilst I did not fully understand the reference to myself and the Daily Mail, there seems to be an implication that I passed to Mr Ladd and his associates information which I had obtained from Scotland Yard.

I most certainly did not, and would be glad if you would kindly set the record straight. I would not like to have the reputation of being a "nark" in any direction whatsoever!

Incidentally, I hope your financial difficulties are resolving themselves. Whilst I am not exactly in sympathy with many of your views, I hope you will continue to be able to get them into print.

Raymond Rogers
Crime Correspondent
Daily Mail

SWP versus SPG

IT IS often difficult to establish whether *The Leveller* represents a participation in, or a commentary on, British politics. Diane Abbott's article seems to contribute to the latter.

If she dismisses Howe and Whitelaw as indistinguishable from Healey and Rees, and the extra-parliamentary left as merely opportunist, where does that leave her? Not on the left presumably, and somewhere amongst a liberal mish-mash.

Anyway, I am on the extra-parliamentary left and will rush to account for the reasons why the Friends of Blair Peach invited a speaker from Bristol to speak at the April 26 rally.

Blair went to Southall to demonstrate his solidarity as a white revolutionary socialist with the defence that the local Asian community was mounting against the provocative incursion into their neighbourhood of a few Nazis and a few thousand coppers. He unfortunately was the one, of many who fell victim to state violence, whose injuries proved fatal.

The purpose thereafter of forming a Friends' committee was not simply to mourn our friend's death. It was to make sure that everyone knew why he was there, who killed him, and the relation this has to all those whose aspirations do not mesh with those of a white capitalist state.

Besides the Bristol speaker, Bernard Connolly from the South Yorks Steel Strike Ctte. spoke on April 26. The reason for this was that his organisation had suffered at the hands of the SPG since Blair's death, in the same way as St Pauls had.

As such these comrades who turned up on April 26 would have had the chance to share the opposition of the "extra-parliamentary left" to the ways in which we are expected to conduct ourselves within politically acceptable norms.

Ms. Abbott does herself, and us, an injustice by mistaking a sincere wish to extend the struggle, with the desire for a once-and-for-all remedy.

As an afterthought, it is interesting that Linton Kwesi Johnson's last but one album said that "the SWP can't help we..." but his latest album has a song about Blair, an SWP member, praising him for the stance he took at Southall.

Nick Grant
London NW10

Pros and cons

WRITTEN BY A woman who is not a prostitute about the movement of prostitutes, Tricia Dearden's article on Prostitution centred on the alleged split between prostitutes and the women's movement. She talked about the difference of analysis of women's oppression she said that the prostitutes' movement doesn't help to change society, she painted prostitutes as a foreign body with no place in the women's movement - different creatures with different needs, wishes and hopes. It is exactly the same view that the prostitution laws are there to maintain: that pros are a lower class of people who should be kept apart from everybody else.

We suspect that she really means not the women's movement, but Women's Liberation, in which case, we agree with her. TD says that Women's Liberation has not taken a position on prostitution. As pros we can say that not to have taken a position *for* us is to have taken a position *against* us.

Contrary to what some so-called feminists think, prostitutes are very much part of the women's movement - the massive movement for financial independence which has become much more visible over the past few years. It is a movement where women from all walks of life have gone on the game to *get the money* to finance an independent life, where housewives have gone on a two day strike in France, taking a lead from the national hookers' strike five years ago, where nurses, black and immigrant women, single mothers, women with disabilities, pensioners wives and mistresses are demanding cash for the work we all do.

Yet Louise Webb, National Coordinator for PROS, in her letter to *The Leveller*, is still firm in her view that, "unlike straight women, prostitutes cannot join the women's movement until the unjust laws are repealed". It is time to get rid of this 'feminist' idea that some women are happy victims who need to have their consciousness raised so that they can *then* join the women's movement. Prostitutes and other women *are* on the move. We may appear to be in different bags, but we all want the same things. We are also interested in independence, abortion, child benefits, and rape. Unless you believe that people who *have* less, *want* less than you do, and *fight* less than you

do, in which case your theory is called *racism*.

Not content with making a separation between pros and other women, Louise Webb had to remark that there are divisions among prostitutes, some make more money, some make less. Of course there are divisions. We concentrate on what we have in common as pros, regardless of how we work and how much money we make. We also stress the need to work with women who are not on the game, and we are organising together with non-prostitute women. Louise Webb is a social worker, a legal profession, which is why she is able to be public as a national coordinator for PROS. Fine, we have *never* complained about it, although there is a power division between social workers and prostitutes. But we wonder why you always seem keen to advertise the divisions among pros, to remind us of our weaknesses, to tell us that all the odds are against us.

As a National Co-Ordinator you should first co-ordinate and promote the *unity* of the sector you represent, instead of endorsing TD's attack on prostitutes. It is a scandal that in your position you lead us against each other instead of leading us against our enemy! You should know that we are not going to win the abolition of all the laws against prostitutes if we concentrate on our weaknesses, on the divisions among us, and on how difficult it is for pros to organise.

After having attacked PLAN, the ECP and our spokeswoman, Selma James, and the Wages for Housework Campaign - the first women's Campaign which took a stand and organised with prostitutes Tricia Dearden finally remarks that feminists should reach out to prostitutes who 'have been left stranded outside the movement'. Well, we've got news for her, for Louise Webb and other so-called feminists. With the kind of support the 'stranded prostitutes' campaign has gathered from women and men and from Parliament, especially after the Cynthia Payne case, it seems to be the 'enlightened feminists' who are stranded outside the movement of prostitutes and other women. They can't make up their mind not only on the question of the abolition of the laws against pros, but also on the question of money for women, the money we all need and have been fighting for.

Margaret Valentine
English Collective of Prostitutes.

★ Lord God Almighty Is On Holiday

Republican prisoners

ROSE MCALLISTER was one of hundreds of prisoners serving sentences for political crimes in Northern Ireland. Like others sentenced after March 1976 she was refused political status, even though prisoners convicted of the same crimes, between 1972 and 1976, had been granted and retained 'special category status'.

In Armagh Jail there are about 68 women prisoners. Three have political status, thirty are on protest for political status, other Republican prisoners are on remand, and there are three Loyalist prisoners who are not fighting for political status. The protest for political status began in 1977 when republican prisoners refused to do prison work, lost their remission, and were locked up for nineteen hours a day.

Rose McAllister spent two years in Armagh on protest. This was her third prison sentence since 1971. Her husband is serving a six-year sentence in Long Kesh; her nineteen-year-old son cared for the three younger children on £30 a week Social Security. Her application to have her youngest son, at the time a four-month-old baby, with her in jail was refused by the Northern Ireland Office, as "not in the baby's interest".

What I feel now is desperation. I'm so desperate for everyone to know what is going on in Armagh Jail and to try to understand why it's going on; not to believe the propaganda from the Northern Ireland Office and the British Government. I have this fear that it will all fizzle out, that all the suffering will go unnoticed.

That can't be allowed to happen, even though I have to tell the same story over and over again. It's the truth. I've no need to tell lies - the truth is damaging enough. The problem is to get people to believe that it is the truth, not Republican propaganda, and to do something about it.

You can imagine the cells closing in on you. It's not just the dark, it's the dirt and the dust. I have asthma which was affected by the dust. As you put shit on the walls (to dry) it gets darker but what do you do when your pot is overflowing? You either put it in the corner or you smear it on the wall. The cell is like a cave, there's no contrast, it's all one colour. You can't see anything except this tiny wee strip of sky through the boards that were put on the window in February 1980.

We were not allowed food parcels, we were relying on food sent over from the prison cook house and if it was bad we didn't eat. The meat was rotten. One prisoner complained to the cook who said that he was not responsible, that supplies were the governor's responsibility. Another girl saw the governor who blamed the cook. The same thing happens with Dr Cole, the prison doctor; he claims it's not his fault that medical supplies are limited.

Rose McAllister:

Keeping the Armagh protest alive



Rose spent two years in Armagh Jail on protest. She was released in May this year after serving her full sentence.

Dr Cole would come round and ask us if everything was all right. We were living in all this dust and filth; all he had to do was look at the conditions we were living under. He says that 99 per cent of all illness in prison is imaginary. But even the one per cent aren't allowed any medical treatment.

Lynn O'Connell found a lump in her breast. She'd seen all the signs outside, saying you should see a doctor immediately, if you have a lump. The attitude in Armagh is - why see Cole? He does nothing. She saw him anyway and he told her she would have to wait a year before anything could be done. When he refused her treatment she applied to the Northern Ireland Office to see her own doctor. The application was refused. One year later the screws came up without warning and told her to wash her hands and face, they were taking her to hospital. The lump was removed at 11.30 am and she was back in the cell at 4.30 pm. The screws never left her side, they were with her even in the operating theatre. She felt very ill after the anaesthetic but wasn't allowed to stay in bed.

I've read that Pauline McLaughlin has anorexia nervosa. But it's not that. The girls give her extra food and she just eats and eats and then vomits it up. Even if she has a drink of water she just brings it all up. When I left she weighed 5 stone 12 pounds. Cole has sent for her and told her that she was losing weight so rapidly that if she didn't come off protest she would die on it. He also told her he was recording all this. He promised that if she came off protest he would take her to hospital. We were worried and told her it wouldn't help our protest. We

persuaded her to go off. Dr Cole took her back to 'B' Wing and she was put on lock-up. She was allowed one food parcel a week, but what's the use of that when she vomits it up.

Dr Cole brought in a psychiatrist. She saw him three or four times and then told him to fuck off, there was nothing wrong with her mind, it was her stomach.

In 1980 there was an unusually vicious raid by male screws from the prison riot squad on February 7. The women were locked in their cells for twenty-three hours a day and washing facilities were withdrawn.

This wasn't a general raid (we have two of these a year and the last one was just before Christmas). In a general raid they just go in, any floor boards that are loose are just ripped up, they take all the furniture apart with crow bars, they tear up personal photographs and your clothes are destroyed. It's like the Brits doing a house, they don't care what damage they do, just go in and ransack.

This time they were aggressive. We knew by the way they walked into the wing that they were up to something. Then Scott (the governor) walked in and everybody just stood and looked. We knew that they'd not been told to handle us with kid gloves, if anybody didn't do as they were told they just laid into us.

Scott thought that he'd break our backs, but he did the opposite. What he did was put his own back against the wall. He'd taken everything off us; remission is the most important thing, but we'd lost that anyway, so he had no weapons to use against us. He thought he knew us

Republican prisoners

naturally - he has the same impression about all women - and he thought that with enough pressure, enough fear, we'd eventually break. What he didn't realise was that there are women who with more pressure find more strength and determination to go on and do more.

He's actually giving us weapons to fight with, strengthening our protest, a protest we firmly believe in. He said he would restore the 'privileges', the washing facilities, the toilet facilities and free association. You do not go to thirty-one strong women and say that washing facilities are a privilege.

The basis of the struggle in Armagh is the same as in H Block - we are all protesting for political status, but the pressures the women are under physically and mentally are different. Physical violence is totally different for a woman than it is for a man. Men will fight back and women will too, but with different fears.

Bernie O'Boyle, for example, has a three year old daughter, she wants to see her every month. Half an hour a month is a terribly short time. Bernie is dirty, she smells, she looks wretched. She knows the child will see the difference in her every month. My own children have been searched and kept waiting for up to three hours on visits. They even went to the extent of removing a 6-month-old baby's nappy!

None of the girls in Armagh would classify herself as a feminist; that's not how they define themselves. To them it's a women's struggle. Its their struggle. They say 'I'm not a feminist, I'm fighting for my rights and for my freedom'.

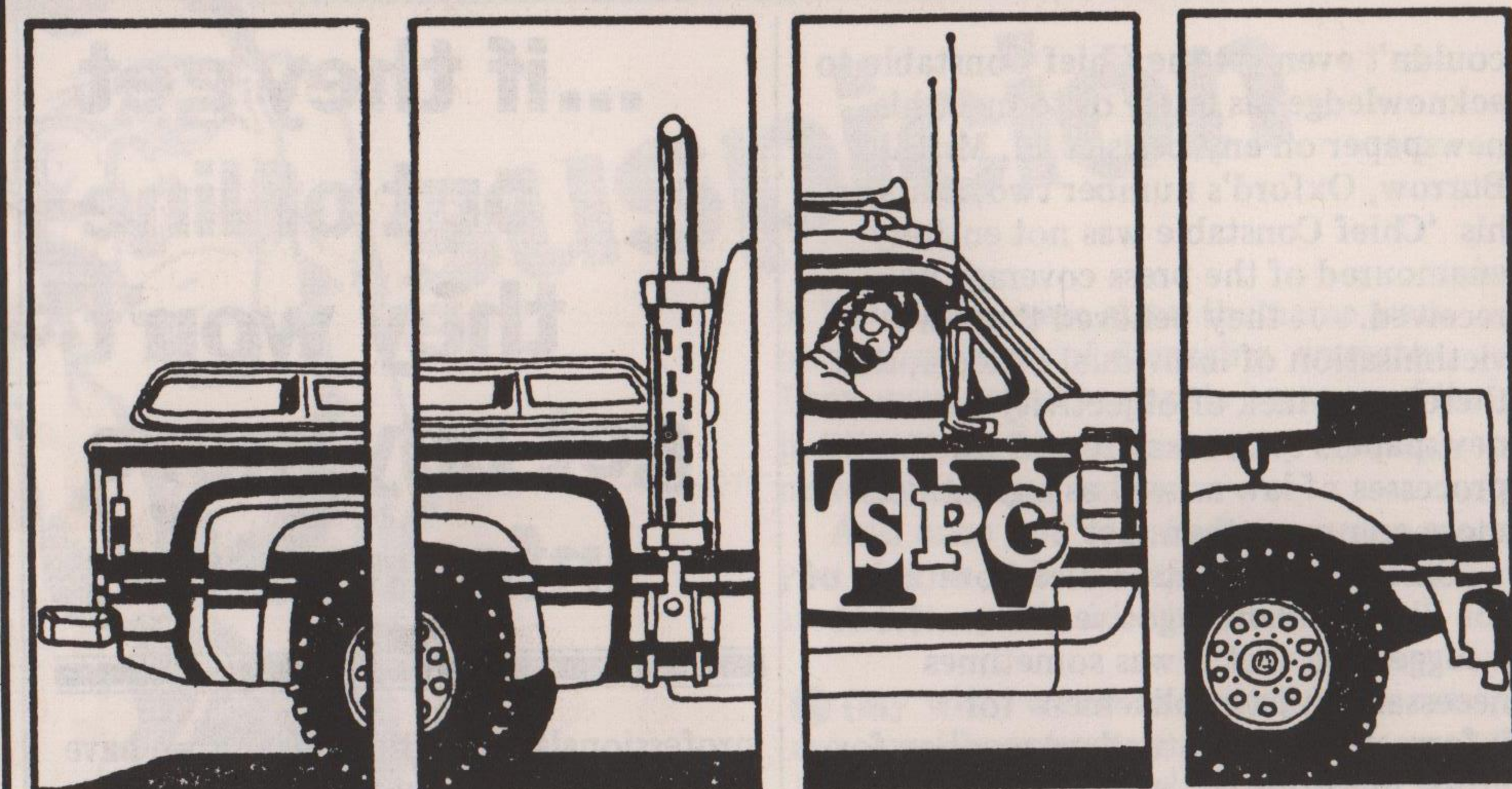
There's a logic in Armagh - the governor's logic. You could write a 40p letter about the women's struggle outside and he won't censor it, because he sees it all as nonsense, but a man's letter saying he's proud of you is censored. He has the living proof facing him 24 hours a day and yet he still doesn't believe how strong women are.

It's not easy doing bird when you're on protest. With all your determination geared up for it twenty four hours a day, you don't feel it, honestly, you feel boredom, the frustration of being locked up 23 hours a day. You feel all this but you're doing a protest you believe in. When I came out I expected to feel human emotions, love, happiness, relief, but I didn't feel a thing. I didn't realise I was dehumanising myself. Every one of those girls is doing the same thing, they won't know it until they come out. When I came out I felt as though somebody had cut a bit out of the inside of me. There was a hole you could put your hand into but nothing would fill it. I'm explaining all this but I don't know whether you could really understand it.

The morning I was going out I went round every cell, even though the screws were pulling me away. I said I would do my best. I promised them I would work for them, anything for Armagh, anything.

Liz Storey

Thought police



Policing the news media

Senior police officers have been loudly accusing the press of some sort of concerted campaign against them. Recently a confidential meeting was held between senior officers and trustworthy, safe senior journalists to discuss how to patch things up. A copy of the minutes of the meeting has arrived in *The Leveller's* office.

Metropolitan Commissioner Sir David MacNee told a recent conference that there was a 'tactic' of taking a few unconnected incidents like the deaths of Liddle Towers, Jimmy Kelly and Blair Peach to suggest that there was a "crisis of confidence in the police".

Last month Merseyside's Chief Constable, Kenneth Oxford, wrote in his Annual Report that allegations from vociferous pressure groups 'bent on the disestablishment of democratic policing have been supported by so-called investigative journalism'. He said those who had enquired into the death of Jimmy Kelly 'are patently incapable of detecting truth but enjoy short-lived fame which ultimately, in my experience, cannot and does not sustain forensic examination'.

The meeting between the police and the journalists was sponsored by the British Executive of the International Press Institute, and held at the Tower Hotel in London at the end of April. It was addressed by Alan Goodson, Chief Constable of Leicestershire, and attended by such well-known investigative journalists as Larry Lamb, editor of the *Sun*, David English of the *Daily Mail*, and Dick 'Francis of the Yard' Francis, Director of News and Current Affairs at the BBC.

This man, whom *Leveller* readers will

remember as the man who signed the secret agreement with the Metropolitan Police allowing the Yard into the BBC's editorial process, sustained his normal Gobbledygook Quota 'the general principle of disclosure should be that the media would disclose allegations unless and until they appeared to be flawed or maliciously motivated. The credibility of the media was at stake if it did not publish'.

Bob Edwards, editor of the *Sunday Mirror* said that the police had been "completely vindicated" by the Jimmy Kelly inquest but that the press had been

Creepy hacks queuing up for scraps of copy...

right to enquire into the case. 'Of course', he added, 'there are trouble-makers and organisations eager to attack the police, but responsible newspapers are concerned about it too'. Somewhere between the nudes and the gay vicars.

Poor David English felt that there had been an 'orchestrated campaign' in the Jimmy Kelly case and the *Daily Mail* had tried to balance that by seeking help from the Merseyside Police Force. But the police wouldn't even help the *Mail*. 'It was like Fort Apache up there'. He

couldn't even get the Chief Constable to acknowledge his letter or to meet his newspaper on any basis at all. Mr HJ Burrow, Oxford's number two, said that his 'Chief Constable was not entirely enamoured of the press coverage he received. . . they believed there was victimisation of individual officers; that there was a lack of objectivity by some newspapers . . . scant regard for the processes of law as well as a great deal more comment than fact'.

Sir Phillip Knights, Chief Constable of the West Midlands, got very resentful at a suggestion that it was sometimes necessary to pay policemen for information. (It is standard practice for crime reporters to 'give a copper a drink' for a tip-off). Knights said: 'I you have to pay anyone in the West Midlands force for information, you come and see me and you will get it for free'.

Brian Scarlett, chief crime reporter for the Press Association and secretary of the Crime Reporters Association, said: 'crime reporters are sometimes accused of being 'coppers' men'. (Many of them are just creepy hacks queuing up at the police press bureaux for little scraps of copy. They know that if they get out of line they won't get any more so they just print what they're told). Scarlett surprised everyone by saying that crime reporters 'saw their job, in part, as holding a balance between ill-informed attacks on the police and the need to expose corruption, brutality and other misdeeds by policemen.' (Very few incidents of 'Corruption, brutality and other misdeeds' have been exposed by crime reporters).

Larry Lamb, editor of the *Sun*, in a comment on why newspapers carried stories about police corruption, said that he thought police officers were worried that the newspapers 'relish publishing stories of policemen who topple from the pedestal on which society rightly places them. . . I promise you it gives me no pleasure to publish such stories.' Noting that policemen were even more sensitive than politicians, he also made the surprising statement that: 'Disclosure is what we are at'. He said he was concerned about the extent to which news was falsified in those newspapers which were regularly misled by some policemen and police forces. It was 'bad enough when policemen tried to manage the news with the best of intentions in what they imagined was the public interest. But it was intolerable when they tried to manipulate the media merely to cover their own tracks. Fortunately, certainly in London, this sort of thing was now very rare'. (!) (Even fewer incidents of 'corruption. . .' have been exposed in the *Sun*.)

Goodson, who is President of the Association of Chief Police Officers dealt with attacks on police interventions on political questions: 'Why not? we are

...if they get out of line they won't get any more information

professionals, practitioners, and we have first hand experience to quote. Why should not this be brought to bear on current national domestic problems? . . . some very unkind things have been said about the so-called arrogance and non-accountability of chief constables. Well, we regard ourselves as accountable — although, for all its power and influence, not to the media — and we are certainly non-political. We feel that we have a voice to raise on occasions and we shall continue where we deem it appropriate to have our say.

Law and order was now a political slogan. This automatically put the work of the police in the political arena. Industrial unrest, picketing and violence were not new. . . but the backdrop to

this activity this season was the reform of trade union immunity — a subject bristling with political and emotive overtones.

'Is it any wonder, then, that we, the force, are being driven out of our silent shell, are being pitched into the public forum and compelled to raise our voice lest our interests are drowned in the unchallenged chorus from the public commentators?' Almost in the next breath, he said it was 'absolutely fundamental to the British police system that the policeman stood aloof from politics. He must not only be, but be seen to be, non-partisan, exercising his policing role in an independent way.'

The self-pity of these muddled men! There they are quietly getting on with it, building up their own little riot squads, kicking people to death, filing hundreds of names on their computers, covering-up large-scale corruption and generally cranking-up public opinion in their support and then people want to know what they're up to.

At the end of the meeting the Chief Constables were advised to phone editors if they thought they had anything worth reporting. This cosy little arrangement seems likely to be accepted. And there will be more, similar, discussion between a few ACPO members and a 'dozen or so' Fleet Street editors in private in the future.

Dave Clark



Under suspicion

● They removed my glasses. Very distressing as I'm short-sighted. Refused to give them back during questioning.

● Two bright lights were left on in the cell all night although I made a request to turn them off as I couldn't sleep.

● They didn't ask me about my movements, but they were interested in the people I knew. I wasn't questioned much at all. My interviewer X was doing most of the questioning, and its purpose was to frighten me.

● At one stage I was grabbed by the shirt and shaken. Struck under the chin by the use of the forearm.

● My wife was asked why we got married as quickly as we did. She was asked if she 'really' knew me and throughout her questioning she felt that the police questions were designed to undermine her confidence in me as a reliable husband. She was also questioned about our sex life. She was asked what method of contraception we used.

● I was arrested in a most spectacular way, with four to six police in plain clothes as well as a policewoman in uniform bursting into my bedroom after breaking into the flat through three locked doors. I was told to dress during which time there were police coming in and out of the room. During the whole time there were four of them in my bedroom.

THESE people were suspected of damaging property. Anyone would think it was a police chief's residence destroyed, rather than a few empty holiday homes in Wales and Tory Party offices in Shotton and Cardiff. The police response to the arson campaign, 'Operation Fire', is the subject of a report by the Welsh Campaign for Civil and Political Liberties (WCCPL). It deals with the way that people arrested were treated and questioned.

People were deliberately disorientated,



frightened, bullied, kept out of contact with friends, relations or legal representatives. They were driven from one police station to another, interrogated with high pressure techniques, asked about their political beliefs, made to worry about their families.

● I was told that I was a terrorist and had caused £250,000 worth of damage to property.

A senior officer in station X stood in front of me holding a folded newspaper containing a report on one aspect of the campaign. He struck me across the face with the paper.

I was told by one member of the police that I was a terrorist and therefore didn't have any rights.

For the purpose of drumming up support for anti-terrorist laws, torture in Northern Ireland, the SAS, Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the unfortunate Muzorewa, terrorists are people who kill indiscriminately. But the people arrested

in Wales who were given the name were only suspected of damaging property. They were called terrorists because of their political beliefs or membership of Welsh nationalist organisations.

And once you've called them terrorists you may as well treat them as such. Where are the people inside the labels?

● (My wife) was told that all 'terrorists' are sexually perverted and that because I was a terrorist I must be perverted too. (She was asked) if there were any vibrators around the house or any pornographic literature.

The Special Branch must be having trouble keeping up with the drift of much that happens on the left, particularly in relation to sexual politics and the women's movement. But, however astonishing their ignorance and prejudice about personal politics, they've closed the circle - the political is now personal. If you are 'subversive' you must be 'perverted' too.

But if the assumptions of investigating officers appear incredibly crude, the techniques of interrogation are becoming much more sophisticated.

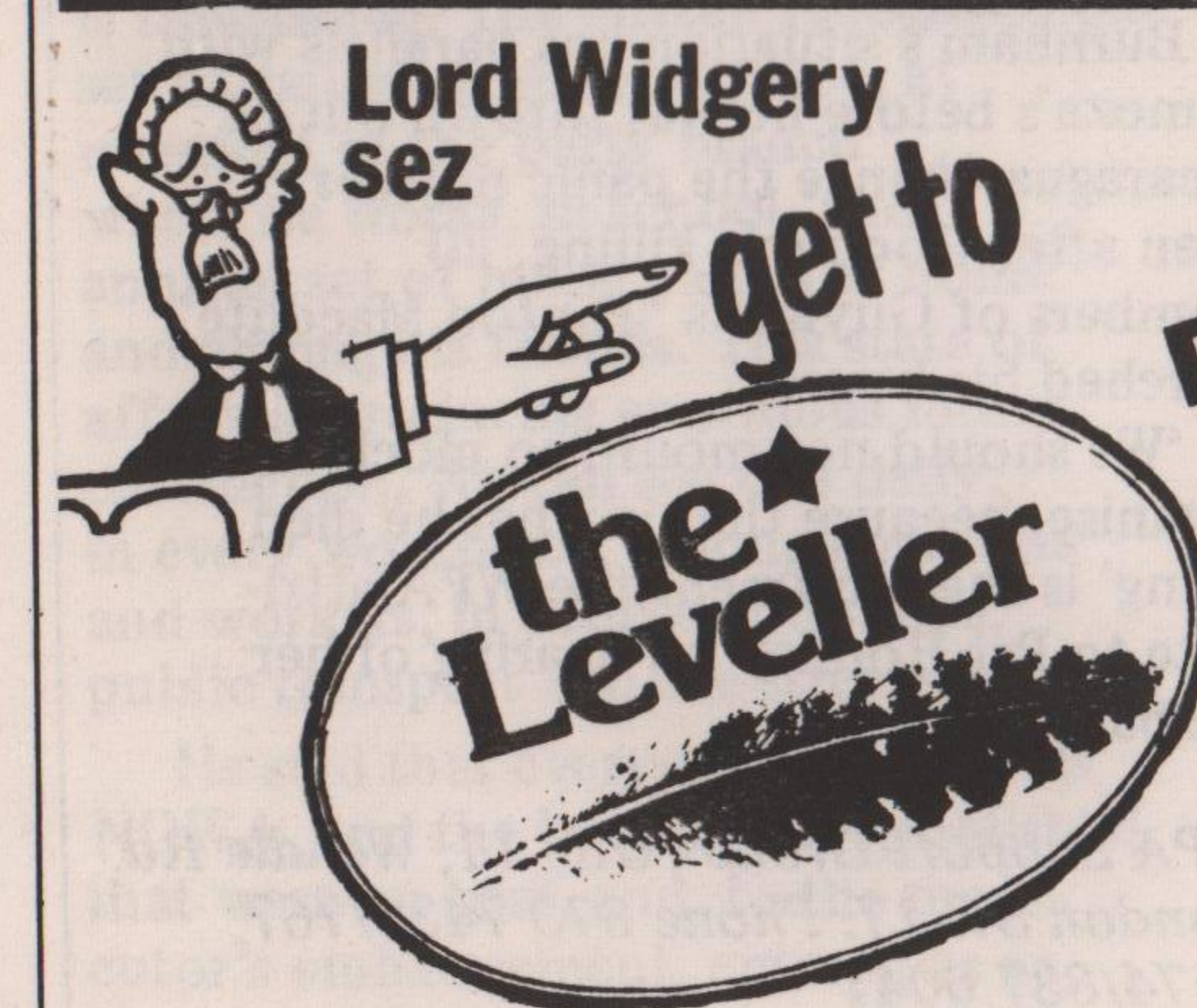
'Operation Fire', a combined SB/CID operation involving a large coordinated team of officers from the four Welsh forces had to come up with some culprits. They didn't find any among the 250 people covered in this report. What they did get was a lot of working intelligence.

The WCCPL are organising a campaign to keep up the pressure on the police - to demand an explanation as to why these people were detained and questioned and to support them in their official complaints.

If you are a 'subversive', or hope to become one, you may want to support them.

Chris Stretch

Copies of the report (£1.50) from: 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road, Cathays, Cardiff. Contributions to: The Treasurer, 16 Shirley Road, Cardiff.



Delta & Basement
celebration shuffle
at The Clarendon Hammersmith Broadway London W6
July 4
(a Friday)
see music press for details



Pathé is silenced

PIERRE-CHARLES PATHÉ, of the Pathé-News family, journalist and admirer of Soviet achievements, was sentenced to five years in prison for 'activities harmful to military interests and to the diplomatic situation in France' though no military secrets were involved. In convicting Pathé, a harmless 70 year-old man in delicate health, the French state has virtually passed a death sentence on him. And to quote Mr Cens, one of the defence lawyers, whose chambers were burgled in suspicious circumstances, the trial 'has set narrow limits to freedom of expression in France'.

THE CASE against Pathé was brought by the DST, the French Secret Service, under Article 80, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code. According to the state prosecutor Baechlin, 'this is the first trial in the free world on the charge of undermining a country's diplomacy'. It was therefore creating an important precedent in French law. The prosecutor pressed for the 10-year maximum sentence.

Although one defence witness declared that France had a new Dreyfus affair on her hands, the State Security Court's public gallery was almost deserted. Only a few journalists heard the verdict given on Friday afternoon, before the Whitsun holiday. The French left press did no more than to remark that Pathé was

sentenced as 'an example', and in Britain *The Guardian* simply carried the verdict without comment.

Pathé was arrested on 5 July 1979 in a restaurant in the 20th arrondissement. He was handing over copies of his articles in an envelope including some rough notes. His main KGB link was named as Igor Kuznetsov, a Soviet diplomat accredited to UNESCO, who was expelled from France after being caught 'red-handed'. The site of their rendezvous was never secret: they always met in a restaurant or in a cafe, a public place by any definition.

Pathé had opinions on virtually everything and everybody, not only is his more specialised field of scientific journalism, but also, like any French intellectual, on the French political scene. He made observations on the squabbles between the new Gaullists (RPR) and the Giscardians, the relationship between the Communists and the Socialists, and passed these on. A kind of collaborative journalism? Perhaps. An exchange of secrets, certainly not. With his knowledge of the Russian language and culture and of Soviet affairs, Pathé's particular viewpoint and obvious empathy would be sought after and prized by Soviet diplomats who no doubt used him. In the

view of the state, 50,000 francs was the pay-off for this kind of information.

Pathé had also contributed to a number of journals and taken part in debates. The prosecutor referred in particular to an article by Pathé in the glossy magazine *Realités* which he brandished accusingly. 'I haven't read it', he added, 'because I don't want to be corrupted by it.'

The prosecutor presented Pathé as a secretive, highly intelligent, socially privileged and ideologically motivated man in the pay of the KGB. It was the portrait of the 'outsider', 'Janus-faced', of the 'Trojan horse' in our midst. The witnesses for the defence, which included prominent intellectuals and public figures, were of the same ilk: 'they are all highly dubious and would also find themselves in the dock along with Pathé, if France had psychiatric hospitals' — a scarcely simulated threat.

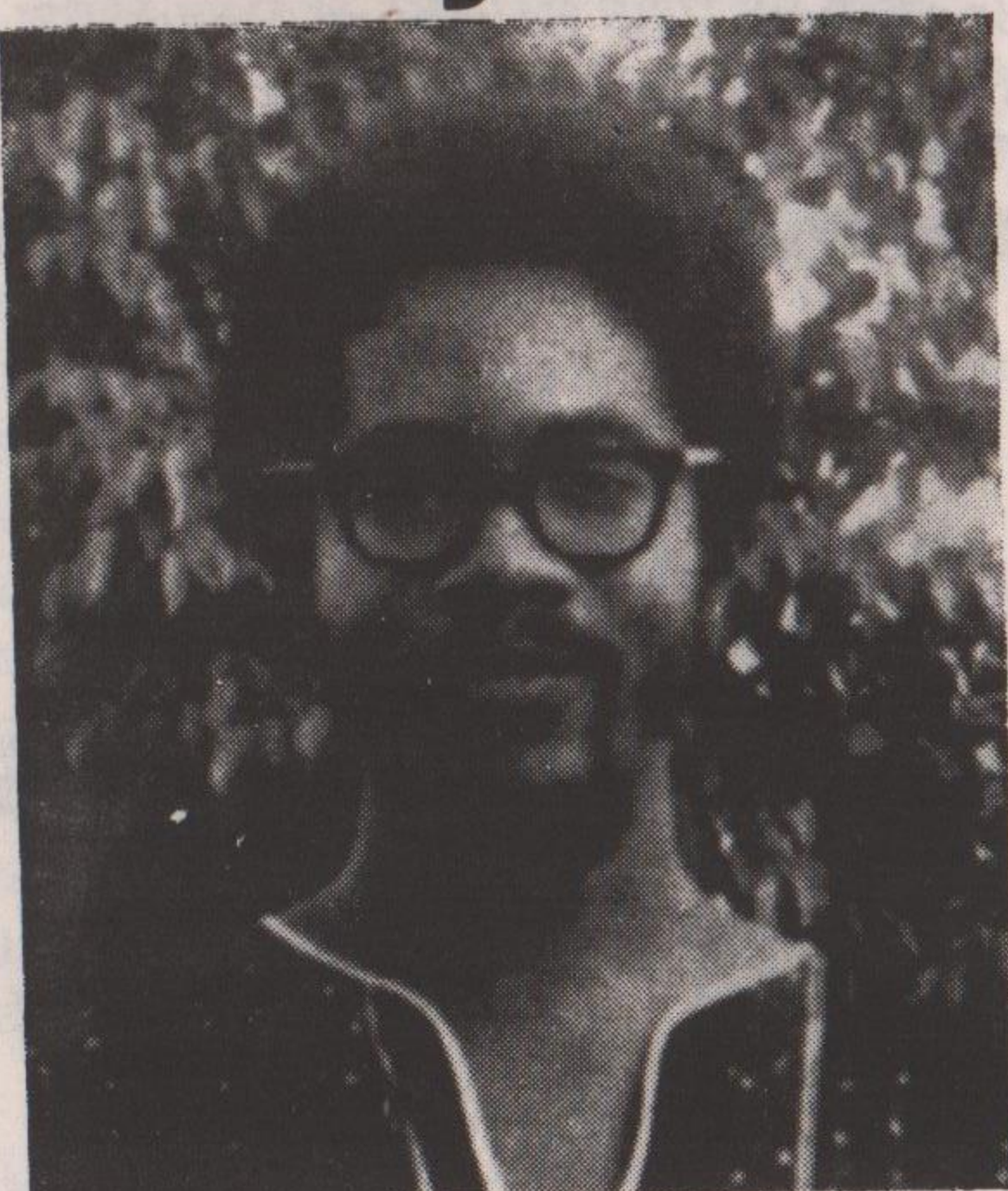
It was a case of one totalitarianism mirroring another. Pathé was a scapegoat for the DST and hence for the French state, in order to establish a precedent in law. Thus a journalist or academic, who has exchanges with the socialist countries, is liable to a prison sentence of up to 10 years at a time when the French President has been shaking hands with President Brezhnev. The international picture might be complex. The domestic picture presents simple McCarthyism.

A major right-wing shift in the ideological consensus in France is being consolidated by this campaign. Special police activity is also increasing. Students protesting in Paris against the Imbert decree limiting the number of foreign students, were gassed by the CRS. They could not be given adequate medical treatment because the gas 'was a new formula apparently unknown to the medical establishment'. The trial of Pathé, in these circumstances, seems to mark the beginning of a new era of fascism in France.

Gill Seidel

Guyana

Rodney killed



Dr. Walter Rodney

WALTER RODNEY, author of *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, and a prominent member of Guyana's multiracial Working Peoples' Alliance, was killed in Georgetown by a bomb planted in his car on June 13. Rodney's brother was also injured in the explosion. With suspicious promptness minutes later the police sealed off the area.

Rodney and two other WPA activists had been charged with arson after Prime Minister Forbes Burnham's Peoples' National Congress HQ caught fire in July 1979. (see *Leveller* 31). PNC officials are said to have started the fire themselves to cover up evidence of corruption.

Burnham's inability to make the charge stick led to yet another trial postponement, till August 20 1980. Rodney's murder is internationally regarded as

Burnham's 'act of desperation' in trying to silence the leadership of the growing radical opposition - WPA meetings commonly attracted thousands of people - which has so far organised within the law.

Burnham's situation has parallels with Somoza's before he was thrown out of Nicaragua - hence the panic murder. Even after Rodney's killing, 20 members of Guyana's 'Tonton Macoute' searched his house.

'We should not mourn so much as organise, because that is what he died doing' is the sentiment the WPA attribute to Pat Rodney on hearing of her husband's murder.

WPA Support Group (UK) 11, Wandle Rd. London SW 17. Phone 673 7436/767 5574/837 0041

A shower of questions

MIROSLAW "MIREK" CHOJECKI is a member of the radical Polish underground publishing enterprise NOWA. Along with colleague Bogdan Grzesiak he was charged with stealing, and inciting two state employees to steal with them, a duplicating machine. They got off with suspended sentences and fines, which the court waived because they had been held illegally for weeks before they were charged. Unexpectedly light sentences due to the level of campaigning in their support, inside and outside Poland.

IN THE SECOND week of June Chojecki suffered another round of persecution by the barbaric Polish bureaucracy with a prosecution on trumped-up charges. The same week brought two distorting articles in his praise by Bernard Levin in *The Times*.

As a persecuted middle class intellectual, a nuclear chemist barred from working, and a publisher whose arguments against the state run on cultural and 'freedom of expression' lines, Chojecki is first-grade grain for Levin's mill.

The Leveller has received the first translation in Britain of Chojecki's 2,000 word 'defence' delivered at the trial. It was not a defence but a counter-accusation: the state was on trial. His flat had been searched 17 times in four years. He'd spent more than 200 hours in illegal detention. He had been accused, with no evidence, of counterfeiting money, breaking and entering, and planning to poison the Warsaw water supply with nuclear isotopes (to prove which the police had taken a jar of curry powder from his home). This type of procedure was 'an illustration of a far wider phenomenon which embraces the whole of public life...'

'On the other hand, beneath the surface of the party-state mock-up, a vigorous social and cultural life is flourishing. The citizen recognises one set of values at his workplace, at meetings of the party branch where he works, in school, and another set of moral values at home and among his friends. This state of affairs is producing enormous moral destruction. We can see this daily, in every workplace, among engineers and workers, in offices and shops, public transport and the streets.'

He said that everyone knew it was NOWA, and the books it has published, that were on trial, and, to the prosecutor's embarrassment, entered as an

Four days after the arrest of Chojecki in March, the streets of Warsaw were bombarded with a shower of leaflets. Supporters of NOWA constructed a catapult (using twisted Marlboro cigarette packets for a fuse - because they burn more slowly than the flimsy Polish packets) on the roof of the Academy of Sciences. When the packets burned through, the catapult released 130,000 leaflets over the streets. This is the text of one side of them.

HOW MUCH LONGER ?

How much longer ?

will there be queues in front of empty shops
will we buy less and less for our wages

How much longer ?

will we be fed pretty phrases on freedom and prosperity
will we be deceived by the papers, radio and television
will we read only the books, see only those films, which are acceptable to the government of our country.

How much longer ?

will we be forced to take part in the farce of elections
will we be forced to hide our views and feelings
will we be witness to the injustice in the commission and courts

How much longer ?

will Polish workers be denied authentic trades unions
will Polish peasants live in fear of the laws of their land
and will there be more places in prisons than in hospitals

How much longer ?

must our children listen in school to lies about their country's history
will the books of our famous writers be forbidden
will the pastoral letters of our bishops be censored
and will we have to resort to foreign radio stations to get information about our country

How much longer ?

will our brothers who speak the word of truth out loud be harassed, vilified, imprisoned.

exhibit a complete catalogue of its output. Foreign writers published included Russell, Orwell, Singer and Gunther Grass.

Chojecki is a member of the underground organisation KOR - according to Levin an organisation 'that helps everybody in trouble with the state for whatever reason'. KOR actually stands for Komitet Obrony Robotnikow, literally 'Committee for the Defence of Workers'. It grew up after the savage repression of the food riots of June 1976 (see *The Leveller* 4). It won an amnesty for the hundreds jailed after the riots, and changed its name to Komitet Samoobrony Społecznej, or Committee for Social Self Defence. But it keeps the old acronym and its wide social and political roots.

One reason the regime may be unwilling to make martyrs of the intellectuals is that it fears another round of rioting, and the consequence of the spread of organised opposition throughout the population. Food prices are about to go up drastically again. The government wants to further

reduce meat subsidies; it is also facing the tenth anniversary of the most serious revolt it has ever faced - the shipyard strikes in Stettin and Danzig of December 1970, which forced Gomulka from power. Edward Gierek's ten years of power are not expected to be celebrated with great enthusiasm.

All rulers fear workers' organising. In Poland, since 1970, there has been a growth of embryonic free trades unions, particularly in the shipyards and the coalmines of Silesia.

The latter started up after a series of pit disasters last year, which followed the introduction of a longer-hours shift system. 68 miners died, eighteen of them abandoned underground. The Initiative Group for Free Trades Unions in the mining city, Katowice, grew up around Kazimir Switon, a mining engineer. He had been a KOR activist and was imprisoned in 1978.

Last October, after attacking the state over the accidents, Switon was arrested outside a church for 'unlawfully assembling a crowd'. His pregnant wife was assaulted by police. He got two months but at the end of the

sentence he was simply detained for a further three months, then charged with assaulting the police and damaging their car. He received one year suspended and a heavy fine. Released at last he continued to organise ... and took part in the hunger strike in Warsaw in defence of the NOWA defendants.

Switon has not been written about by Levin. Nor were two other court cases heard in the same week, which demonstrate how the repression of workers and peasants exceeds that of the intellectuals, with their ability to mobilise international protest.

Edmund Zadrozynski is a former metal worker from Grudziadz, disabled by an industrial accident, a popular workers' leader. His son was arrested for theft. Zadrozynski was then charged with 'master minding' burglaries and profiting from stolen goods. The only evidence against him was from his son, forced by police to make a statement. In court the son retracted his statement. The court's reaction, completely illegally, was to split the charges against the father, dealing with the lesser charges and sentencing him to two years, and handing on the more serious ones to a higher court. That case has still to be heard.

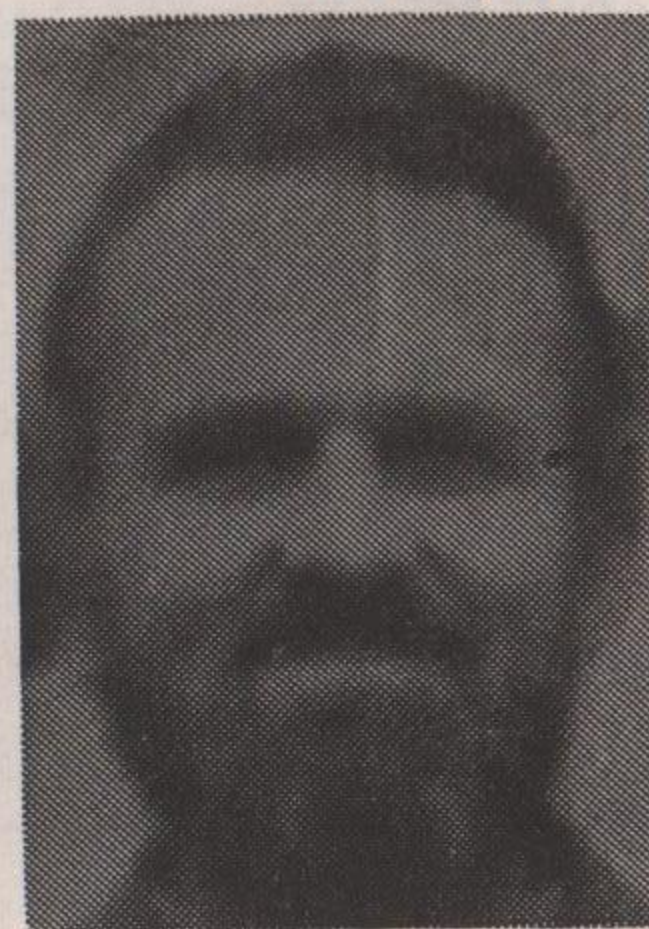
Jan Kozlowski is a peasant farmer who had started a farmers' self-defence committee. Earlier this year a young vandal smashed Kozlowski's window with a stone and a neighbour, Tadeus Kolano, apprehended the youth and took him to the police station. Police let the youth go and charged the two neighbours with assault. Kozlowski got two years, Kolano eighteen months. On appeal, heard in the second week of June, Kolano was freed. Kozlowski is still serving his time.

All the cases show the common pattern in Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe: the charging of political opponents with common criminal offences. Workers and peasants are the more easily-oppressed; their struggles to organise are bitter and unheeded abroad. But the espousal of their cause by right-wing axe-grinders such as Bernard Levin doesn't detract from the bravery of the struggles of radical intellectuals either.

Tim Gopsill



Chojacki



Switon

North-South news 'dialogue'

Most of the foreign news that we read in the West is brought to us by four major news agencies, agencies that are closely tied up in the Western political as well as information systems. For some years Third World countries have been struggling to build their own information systems, often to the distaste of the media entrepreneurs of the West, who camouflage their

concern with references to the 'freedom of the press'. But it is an uphill struggle for Third World people, faced as they often are with repressive governments, under-capitalisation and the criticisms of those who currently control the media.

Katherine Morrison examines the international news agencies and the arguments for change.

We talk...

Reuter, the biggest news agency, is wholly-owned by British and Australasian newspaper interests: 90 per cent of its stock is in the hands of the Newspaper Publishers' Association (the British national papers) and the Press Association (the internal agency owned by provincial proprietors). The rest is held by the Australian Associated Press and the New Zealand Press Association (the equivalents of the PA). Most of its contracts are with government and national news agencies, who themselves disseminate domestically. Its Economic Service is an important part of its £76 million turnover, and it has 15,000 subscribers in business. Reuter is assumed to have divine infallibility by the British media: the BBC, for instance, uses its material unchecked. For other agencies it demands corroboration.

The two big American agencies, Associated Press, and United Press International, are owned by US newspaper consortia. Their material is angled solely for such papers and TV networks. As such it is not just pro-American, but it also selects news important to American interests, and ideology. UPI, for instance, maintains a large Moscow bureau whose staff spend much of their time sniffing out people opposed to the regime, many of them Jewish families who want to emigrate to Israel. Yards of the stuff tickle out into newspaper and broadcasting offices every day. The agency is five per cent owned by the Hearst empire, 95 per cent by the Scripps Howards newspaper group, which owns the newspapers in San Diego, California, and the smaller Scripps Agency which covers Latin America and has been shown during Senate hearings into the CIA to have been used as a cover by the Agency. UPI reports from South East Asia are widely-believed - even in British media offices - to comprise CIA material. They are frequently

based on statements attributed to "Western intelligence sources".

The Associated Press is part of the APDJ group, the other initials standing for Dow Jones, the business information service, which keeps Wall Street ticking over.

Puffing to keep up with the rest is Agence France Press, a French government mouthpiece. General de Gaulle took it over in the sixties because of his distaste for the anglophone domination of world news. AFP has a virtual monopoly on information from certain former French colonial areas, particularly West Africa. In the recent wars in Chad, for instance, the only material available to the rest of the world came from AFP.

Faced with this barrage of Western media monopoly there have been attempts to build alternative information systems. ASIN, for example, the National Information Systems Network, is a year old: it covers Central America, the Caribbean and the Andean Pact countries. At its third meeting in May this year ASIN agreed unanimously to fight for 'true and direct communication between peoples and governments with full sovereignty over the communications media'. But in practice ASIN has shown itself to be very little communication between peoples and a lot of governmental bull. The Mexico meeting called on all the countries of ASIN to establish links with mass organisations 'in order to broaden the base for two-way communication from and to the people'. But although its members are aware of the problem of government control of the media there is little evidence so far of governments' willingness to give the media independence.

Lack of funds, a proper telecommunications network and of qualified staff forced the new Pan African Agency (PANA) to put off its launch, scheduled for July 1980. Its creation was originally decided upon

1436 : INFORMATION:

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB 12, REUTER - - JAPAN RAISED STRONG OBJECTIONS TO AN INDIAN PROPOSAL TO DRAFT NEW CODES OF CONDUCT AND ETHICS FOR FOREIGN JOURNALISTS AND USE OF COMMUNIST POLITICAL EXPRESSIONS BY LAOS TODAY WHEN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS IN ASIA RESUMED HERE.

JAPANESE DELEGATE TAZO NAKA

APPOINTED AND

How Reuter reports Third World attempts at a New Information Order

...you listen

by the 14 nation African Council but it will now have to wait.

The only body in a real position to aid a limited attack on the status quo is the United Nations, which has allocated a 100 million dollar budget to promote, develop and increase 'the means of communication' among the peoples of member nations for the purpose of 'mutual understanding and truer and more perfect knowledge of each others' lives'. The UNESCO Declaration on the sponsoring of a New Information Order omitted all references which could be construed as authorising government control or interference in the infant media. But the problem remains: if a government is giving birth to a communications baby, will it ever allow it to stride out on its own?

For the UN's vision of 'unrestricted pursuit of objective truth' will, as often as not, be in the care of a repressive state machinery. Sean McBride, president of the UNESCO Commission on Communications, warns of the concentration of ownership of the media in the hands of multinational companies and adds that there are now 70 countries where freedom of expression, as we understand it, does not exist. Speaking at the Annual Delegate Meeting of the British National Union of Journalists, McBride said that the most serious threat facing journalists everywhere is the increasing imperative on governments to control news flow in order to maintain their control over people with an increased literacy and raised political consciousness.

Even agencies set up to be independent of these influences have to wrestle for the accommodation of their principles with the all-important economic considerations. The Inter Press Service, set up in 1964 as an international cooperative with a commitment to change, aimed to provide an alternative to the major agencies. Starting with coverage of

Central and South America, its original cooperative ideal has become a centralised organisation with a decision-making body at its Rome head office. Sensitive as the central body is to the patronage of certain countries, its editorial coverage has developed a strong line in expediency.

Last year, when the president of Colombia, Turbay Ayala, was on a European tour, the London office was asked to do an interview: the staff outlined their questions, conscious of head office's interest in securing a contract with the Colombian government. The 'direccion' from Rome was firm: no nasty questions on the rapidly-degenerating human rights situation in the country.

Tied up with the selection of news as an ideologically imperialist weapon is language. The Western media don't just reject issues important to the Third World.

The Director of InterPress, Roberto Savio, speaking at a Canadian-sponsored international symposium on the New Information Order, held in Senegal in April, criticised 'news that is reported to be lively and interesting, and thus likely to be published by more newspapers'. Instead, he said, news should be 'disseminated in a national context'.

Coverage of this symposium by UPI commented: 'But he (Savio) offered no view on whether that kind of context would make it easier to suppress news than if marketability was the main criterion for dissemination? The report had begun: "Journalists from different parts of the world were no more able to agree on UNESCO's New Order of Information than the bureaucrats and special interests who have so far monopolised the debate".

UPI was 'reporting' in the way it always does, though perhaps a perceived threat to the Old Information Order itself added a touch of extra spite. But, perhaps unwittingly, there was a grain of truth in what it said.

The road to Brighton pier

TAKING the fight to the enemy's door: this year's Right to Work march for the unemployed, organised by the Rank and File movement, is heading for the Tory Party conference. Its arrival in Brighton on October 10 will coincide with a mass picket of the conference. Rank and File convenor John Deason says he's not expecting too much aggro - 'it won't do Thatcher any good to have pictures of police beating people up outside her conference' - but he does admit the organisers will be spared one problem: restraining, as they have had to do at TUC conferences in the past, the rage of jobless youth confronted with the greasy physical embodiment of their oppression.

The marching is starting where layoffs and anger are greatest: South Wales. It leaves Port Talbot on September 23. The march is co-sponsored by the South Wales executive of the National Union of Mineworkers, an important development for Rank and File, which is trying to broaden its political support beyond the Socialist Workers' Party.

It's just a year since the movement sponsored the Defend Our Unions conference in Manchester (see *The Leveller* 29) and launched what was planned as a broad industrial rank and file revolutionary resistance. Many non-SWP militants were there: in particular the Party held out, and has continued to hold out, an open hand to the Communist Party-sponsored Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trades Unions.

The hand took a nasty bite back in January, when a follow-up conference in London organised by the LCDTU broke up in fighting, as Rank and File supporters attempted to move a motion committing the meeting to the seven point Code of Practice, but were prevented from doing so.

He is open about the campaign's failure to grow at the hoped-for rate. The Code of Practice, which sets basic militant trade union principles for solidarity in disputes, has been adopted at national level by one union - NUPE - and by 'hundreds' of other labour movement bodies at various levels. But over the last year it has obviously been more honoured in the breach. Deason attributes the weakness of the rank and file to repeated sell-outs by union leaderships, and to the failure to advance socialist answers to the crisis rather than the 'patch up capitalism' solution from the Labour left.

Up at the top and

The team is called Narcimento, that's Pele's name. We were formed by accident, a combination of two teams getting together. This is our second season in the Hendon and District Sunday Football League.

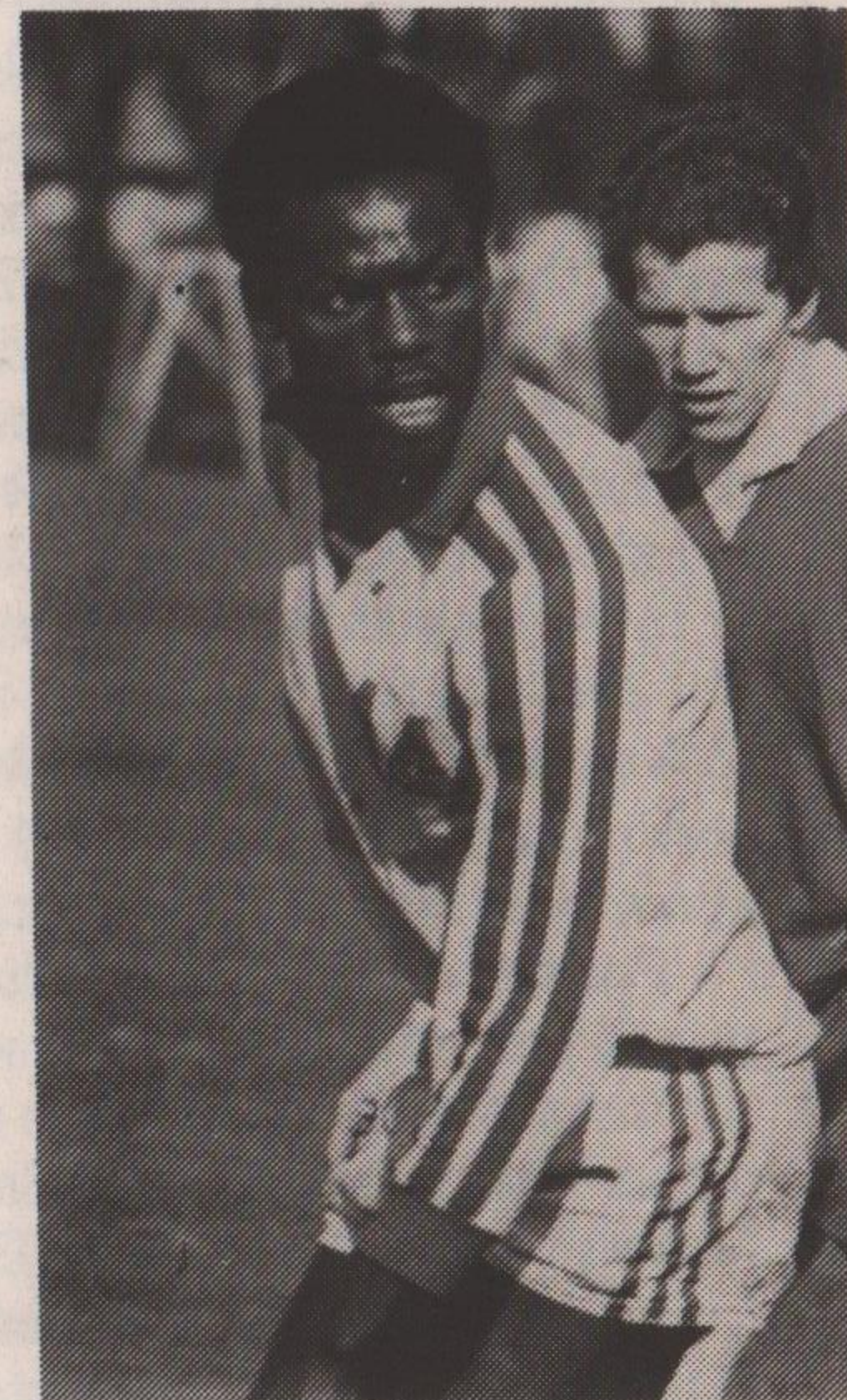
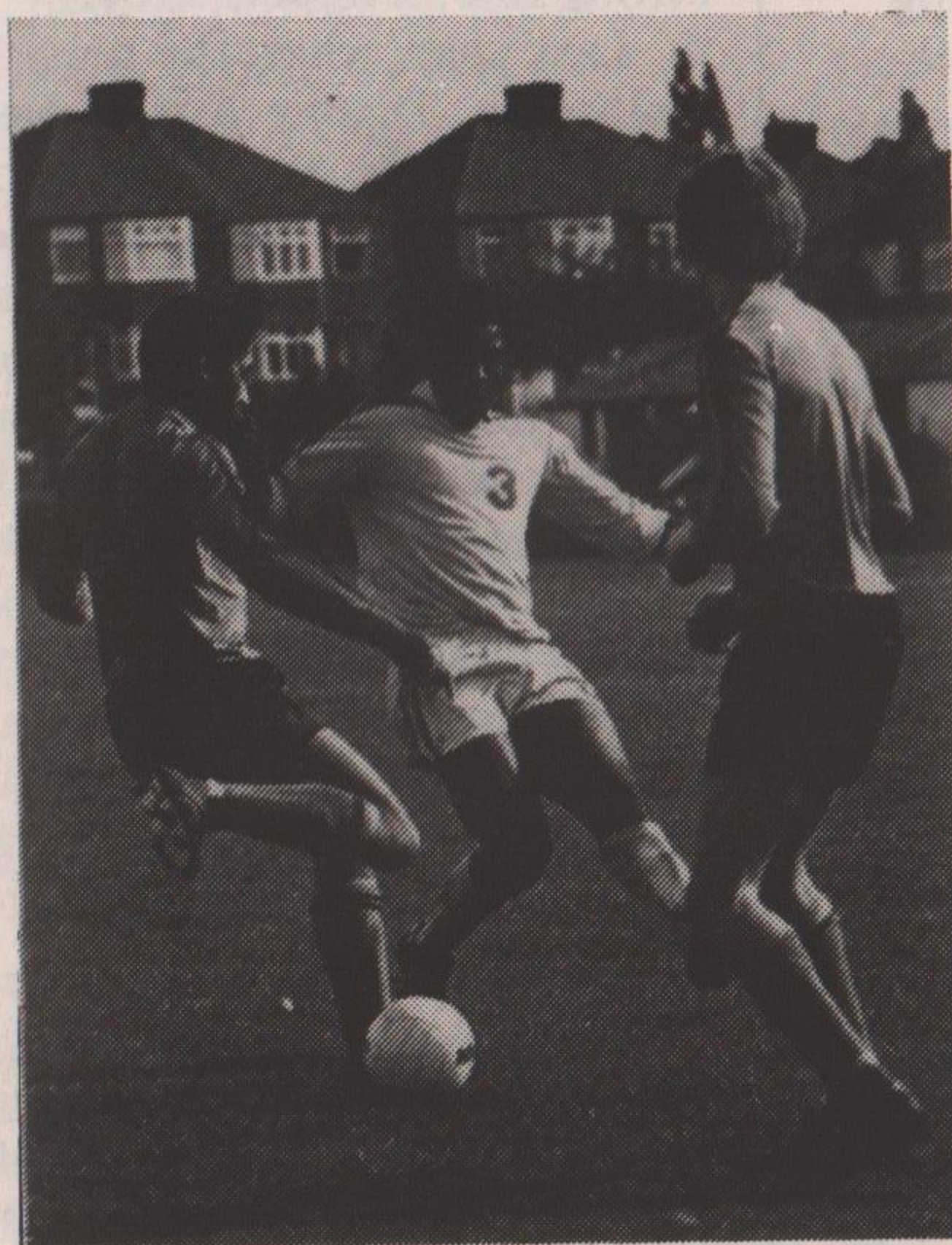
I would say we are a good side. We've only been beaten twice in my memory.

We believe in playing open, attractive football. We believe in playing that way because we believe it gives most pleasure. And to an extent it comes natural. Being working class you are restricted in what you can do socially and football is a good means to turn to. But I think our style of play and philosophy is more affected by being black. We do tend to have a lot of flair in our game; this might mean being a bit bold, going forward and enjoying ourselves.

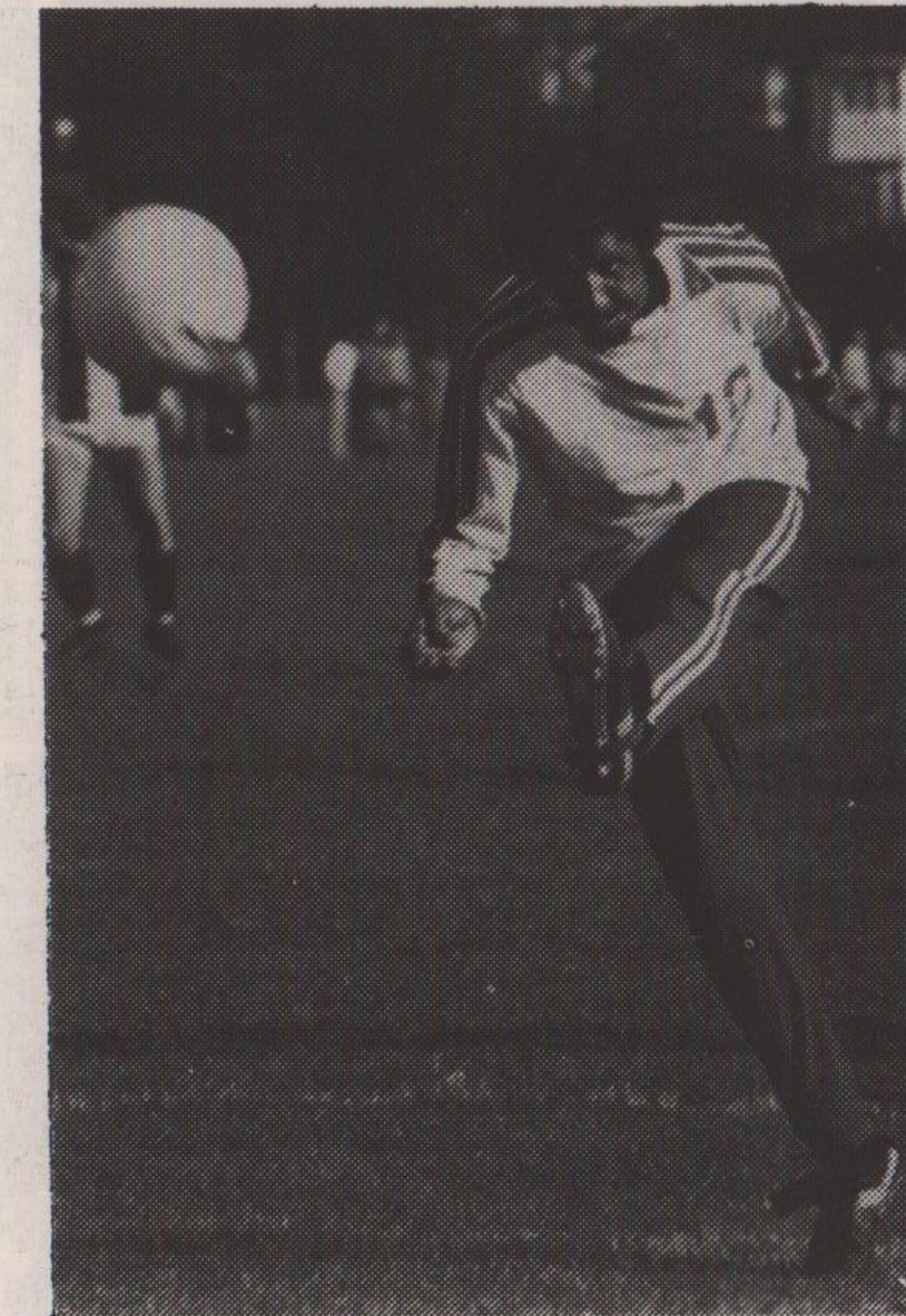
Kids run around playgrounds pretending to be Ardiles and imagine what it would be like to be in the same realm. Maybe we get a bit of this among our own players.

The flair that we have in our football may not be physical: it may be social. The background from which you come is very important. In West Indian culture there is an emphasis on the flair and self-expression and this is carried over into things like cricket and football where you dice with death a bit but it's all part of the game.

Being a footballing team we find we have to take a lot of stick, dirty play and retaliation come after a lot of intimidation. But, in general, I consider us to be a very well-disciplined team, and it's not enforced by any one individual but by the team in general - which I think is a good thing.



out of the League



NARCIMENTO, a team of black footballers, was thrown out of the Hendon and District Sunday Football League for 'disciplinary reasons'. This followed two very successful seasons, first as runners-up, then as winners of their division as well as winning the Intermediate Cup. Their bad record, three sending-offs and thirteen cautions in 30 games, was the basis for refusing them readmission for the coming season. But other teams, one with a worse record on the field, were readmitted merely because they were more efficient in administration, according to the secretary of another club in the H&DSFL.

Marie-Ange King and John Nieto watched more than 20 games to put together an exhibition of photographs and text on Narcimento (from which the pictures and quotes from captain Loxley English are taken). The exhibition is available for use in schools, colleges and community centres. It was intended as a celebration of what, in the view of the producers, was unquestionably the most entertaining and talented football team in the H&DSFL. But expulsion has deprived the club of a future in football, since the chances of their getting into any other league 'are almost non-existent'.

Nieto and King believe that Narcimento players were victims of very poor and inconsistent refereeing when opposing teams resorted, in frustration, to crude intimidatory tactics in the face of Narcimento's skill.

'In one match a ref. thought tempers were running high and called the Narcimento team for a ticking-off. This was clearly racist. He should have talked to the two captains together. In another game the Narcimento captain was attacked as he left the field.'

'At such times retaliation seemed the most effective way of getting any justice'.

According to Mr Ellis, H&DSFL secretary, League officials can't vet refs allocated by the Football Association. And under FA rules referees' reports are accepted without query. Perhaps the treatment of Narcimento points to a need for investigation into the handling of leagues like the H&DSFL. In any case Narcimento are writing to the league requesting them to reconsider their decision.

The Narcimento exhibition is on view at Centerprise, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8 from June 30 to July 20. People interested in using it should contact King or Nieto on 01 249 9922



Violence

Rebellion arises from the spectacle of the irrational coupled with an unjust and incomprehensible condition.

It protests, it demands, it insists that the outrage come to an end. Its aim is to transform. But to transform is to act, and to act nowadays, is to kill while it still does not know if murder is legitimate. Hence it is absolutely necessary that rebellion derive its justifications from itself, since it has nothing else to derive them from.

Albert Camus

We are engaged in some desperate rethinking. Anarchism, like Marxism, is in real crisis. Both can provide theological delights while remaining practically useless. But while I would propose the desperate need to think, I can quite see that there is someone out there who is just desperate. Whoever it is is thinking 'stuff the bullshit Quail, the time has come for action'. And they'll pick up their gun and go off and blast their way into history - or oblivion.

John Quail:
Anarchism and
Armed Struggle

With...the elimination of even the simple appearance of substance from the democratic parliamentary cover-up erected in 1945, it became clear that opposition in this country could only be extra-parliamentary, anti-parliamentary and potentially illegal.

Andreas Baader

I'm gonna take just a one step more,
'Cos I feel like bombing a church
Now that you know that the preacher is lying.
So who's gonna stay at home
When the freedom fighters are fighting?

Bob Marley: Talking Blues

The proletarians cannot become the masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing...every previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

Karl Marx:
Communist Manifesto

Regular raids close down all di little blues we have, den the Black and White is the only place wey I and I can go.

Dis a sufferer struggle, black and white, young and old.

Bristol rioters quoted
in 'Grassroots', May-June 1980



Angela Phillips

VIOLENT revolution begins at Calais. Despite being force-fed a TV diet of violence, and the conclusions we are intended to draw from it, the English at least accept a consensus that overthrowing rulers is something foreigners do.

Thatcherism is a determined attempt to wreck the consensus, to polarise politics. Capital in crisis stamps with an iron heel. Everyone is subject to violence from those with power above them, physical or psychological; Blair Peach, black youth, people at work, women at home, schoolchildren, everyone.

Everyone cracks some time. Frustration wells up. We might internalise our anger, take it out on others, or strike back.

The class politics of most of the left envisages — fantasises about — the whole working class reaching this stage, instantaneously. But there is no political structure to encompass, let alone direct, this dream. And the parties aren't about liberating persons, but regimenting them to confront capital, Waterloo fashion.

The last Tory government, ten years ago, challenged working people to react. There was no collective resistance, at first. There was the Angry Brigade — the name was not gratuitous; individuals, easily disposed of. (On the next page, we interview Jake Prescott on why he did it, what he expects this time round.)

What will we do when the SPG come? When we're thrown out of work? Robbed of welfare benefits or a hospital bed? When we're angry, with our backs to the wall?

We might resort to passive resistance: strike, or demonstrate. We might picket (potential or actual violence). We might attack property: Luddism, bricks through windows, arson, carefully-planted bombs. We might hit people: fascists or police, husbands, social security officers. We might kill them. We might kill judges, generals and rulers.

Many people feel it is a stronger action *not* to meet force with force; to reject the whole violent context in which politics — our lives — are conducted. Localised collective political action is their answer. In the next issue we will offer voices for non-violence.

On these pages we also present thoughts on political violence from others, who over the years have been able to put things more succinctly than us. And we have sought out left party views.

Revolution is made bloody by the powerful refusing to give way. We can be sure of their violence.

Prescott: I did it my way

JAKE PRESCOTT may still be something of a folk hero to many people politicised in the late sixties. Sentenced (alone) to fifteen years for Conspiracy to Cause Explosions, he was both the victim of a sensational blatantly political trial, and, in his bombing activities with the rest of the Angry Brigade, an exponent of the kind of politics many were dreaming about.

It was 1970. The Tories had just taken power for the 62nd time or something. We thought the time was right to embark on a violent strategy, to spark off a violent reaction from the institutions of repression and get them into such a state that, coupled with industrial unrest, that some sort of statement about political violence might actually change things. We thought that if certain things were to happen, MPs to be actually attacked, the working class would realise and say, let's not go through all this again, putting our energy into getting Labour back in again.

This decision led to 40 bombings, an "anti-terrorist" hysteria that had the *Daily Mirror* offering £10,000 for information, and a hurricane of police activity, with hundreds of violent busts and, eventually, twenty-odd arrests. The harassment of the anarchist left was intense, the information gathered, paltry. In the first Angry Brigade trial, Jake was acquitted on three specific bombing charges but Melford Stevenson gave him fifteen years on the finding of conspiracy, while co-defendant Ian Purdie was acquitted. In the second Angry Brigade trial four comrades out of eight finally brought to trial got eight years.

Jake's sentence came down to ten on appeal. He served eight years and two months, not just losing remission but adding time on a string of disciplinary charges. He submitted to authority no more inside than he did out. In particular, he was deeply involved in the occupation of Hull Prison in 1976. (See *The Leveller* issue one.)

Now he is a welfare rights worker in Yorkshire, where *Tim Gopsill* visited him

I came to political violence in the course of my personal political development, from my

criminal past. For me it was a logical outcome, a progression, my one-man civil war. It was a development from my petty thievery, stealing from the working class, which is where criminals start, up through the the class structure, getting more professional, robbing the middle class, then banks, and, if you are really good, the state, train robberies, and using computers to rob millions. I went through all that and it became a very personalised thing of me against the state and the police, and then me against the judges and politicians.

At that stage I thought I had embarked on making a statement that every one of us were political human beings. We set off to use a kind of political violence - not against people, and in more than 40 incidents no-one was even injured - to punctuate the struggle and break through marshmallow democracy. We all agreed on the inherent violence in the system and the corruption of institutions and we wanted to reveal them to the people.

I think we were probably naive, and in terms of trying to address the people it was really badly done. In particular, we didn't appreciate how sophisticated the state's reaction would be, even on the level of the complexity and power of the press.

The first AB bombings were unreported. A publicity clamp-down kept eight bombings out of the media. Targets included the Spanish Embassy and banks, the Putney home of Sir John Waldron, then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, of Sir Peter Rawlinson, then Attorney General (all of these while Jake was still inside on other charges), the Miss World contest 1970, Department of Employment and Army recruiting offices. The flak flew in public from January 12 1971, when they set off two bombs at the home of Employment Minister Robert Carr, the Jim Prior of those days before 'Tory Wets' had been invented. Then there were press hysterics.

Jake's handwriting on the envelopes containing the AB communiques after these bombings was the only substantive evidence against him. He didn't deny this part in the proceedings. He didn't deny his involvement with the group, but refused to say more, and



1971: Jake Prescott under arrest

Violence

The gentlemen shareholders congratulated themselves on the happy outcome of the strike...It was then that I decided to introduce among that concert of happy tones a voice which the bourgeois had already heard but which they thought had died with Ravachol: the voice of dynamite....

So I prepared a bomb. What about the innocent victims? I soon resolved that question. The building where the Carmeaux Company had its offices was inhabited only by bourgeois; hence there would be no innocent victims. The whole of the bourgeoisie lives by the exploitation of the unfortunate, and should expiate its crimes together....

French anarchist Emile Henry

Violence and counter-violence are perhaps contingencies, but they are contingent necessities, and the imperative consequence of any attempt to destroy this inhumanity of the contra-man. I can only destroy in him the humanity of man and realise in me his inhumanity.

RD Laing & David Cooper:
Reason & Violence

Today I would say that there is a connection between the politics of the armed underground and prison, that is: isolation. These politics lead to an almost complete cutting-off from the people whom you actually want to reach.

Astrid Proll

Tomorrow the bicycle races Through the suburbs on summer evenings. But today the struggle. Today the deliberate increase in the chances of death, The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder.

WH Auden: Spain 1937

In 1967 that woman could never have seen herself supporting the killing of another person. There's been a great change in people. There's a war going on here, right? People hate the Brits. They'll turn a blind eye to an IRA man walking down the street with a rifle. If a soldier is killed they'll be happy about it, they'll be cheerful about it. That's a fantastic change.

Could you see an English district coming round to attacking the forces of the state? It's a vast psychological change.

Member of Belfast
Brigade of Provisional
IRA talking to 'The
Leveller', Dec. 77

Violence

In some societies, for example, South Africa, armed struggle is the only means of bringing about progressive social change. In Britain, however, the conditions exist for advancing to socialism without armed struggle and civil war, and this is our objective. We have no illusions about the resistance that will come from the existing ruling class but we believe it is for us to isolate them by the building of a broad democratic alliance of all the forces adversely affected by capitalism's crisis.

The danger of violence comes from the right, not the left, and if there was an attempt to prevent by violence a democratically-elected left government carrying through the policies on which it had been returned we would be in favour of doing everything possible to defeat such an attempt, including the use of force.

George Matthews, former Executive Committee member and head of publicity, Communist Party.

Tanks. That's the way the capitalist class greets people who take to the streets and occupy their factories to assert their rights and improve their lives. The examples multiply. Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador and South Korea are among the latest.

All capitalist states consist, in Lenin's words, of 'armed bodies of men' employed to protect the property and privileges of a tiny minority, and their officers will act in defiance of left wing governments. Their force has to be met with force. Workers' parties, such as the Labour Party, which are not prepared to face this necessity can, in the end, only lead workers to the grave, as the Allende experience in Chile confirmed. What is certain is that only mass resistance to the privileged minority can succeed in removing its rule.

Geoff Sheridan, 'Socialist Challenge' IMG's newspaper.

The Workers' Revolutionary Party completely rejects individualism. It cannot liberate the working class from capitalism. On the contrary, it confuses and divides the mass movement and is used by the capitalist class to step up its police state repression. Like Trotsky, we believe that the victory of the socialist revolution resists in the hands of a Marxist trained revolutionary party and the masses, not in bombs.

From 'Newsline' February 1980.

Victims of violence: IRA pub bombings Birmingham. The Angry Brigade hit at property but avoided injuring people



tried, though lumbered with a far-from-committed lawyer, to present a political defence. Asked by Crown QC Peter Matthews about the use of violence, he replied: *It's been necessary all through history.*

Matthews: *Before you went to Albany Prison, you took no part in political action, did you?*

Jake: *Criminally speaking I had.*

Matthews: *But had you taken part in political activity...*

Jake: *I'd taken part in expropriation, stealing from the ruling class.*

(On the wording of a communique) **Matthews:** *What about these first words, "Fascism and oppression will be smashed"?*

Jake: *I hope so.*

I said in court that if the majority of people were in favour of overthrowing the state I would be wholly in agreement with it happening through violence. And now I think that anyone else who embarks on what we did, that's OK, the only thing you aren't entitled to do is to do it badly and get fucking caught. And they should have a better analysis than we had. But we never had any proper discussion of what we were doing. It was hard to get it together, when you are fighting a war, and we thought we were, you can't stop to consider what you are doing, and say, hold on, we need a change of course. You are convinced you are right. Perhaps we should have thought about it and discussed it more, but if we had we probably wouldn't have done it.

Jake is open about the political faults. The working class obviously weren't and aren't prepared to support class violence. But he adds that political alternatives for change were useless.

We had very little to do with the working class. They worked in factories where they were controlled by the unions, which were involved in government and wage bargaining, part of the system. Meanwhile the great mass of people had no relation to that, no political voice. They could work in parties and get an extreme right-wing Labour government if they liked, that was fine. That kind of politics

might not be fruitless for some people, but it was for us. People who are for autonomy and cooperation and collectives, working and challenging the state that way, they are fine, but people who are into parties and ballot boxes and voting Labour are not. Party work does not have any relation to me, or the people I am interested in, the class I came from.

They are the mining community of Fife in Scotland. Jake was down the pit from 16 to 20, then took up petty crime. And it was to a mine store in Fife that he returned in 1970 to steal the gelnite used in the AB bombs.

I am 35, and I have spent 28 years of my life in institutions: orphanages and prisons. These are the people I care about. Cons understood what we were doing, it is a gut thing to them. I am interested in oppressed people in institutions. People in prisons and mental hospitals have a clearer if not a better analysis of political reality than Tariq Ali or someone with a well sussed-out world view. I don't think the left groups have the best analysis. That kind of person leading that kind of life, I don't give a fuck if we made their oppression stronger or we weren't part of their class struggle.

The AB came under attack from many left groups, under the easily-imagined charges of being remote from the struggle, counter-productive, or even *agents-provocateurs*.

There is no question that we gave the state the licence to be more oppressive. You could say we started the Bomb Squad. So did the RAF in Germany, but now there is a great debate going on there about democracy and human rights and great resistance to what the state has been doing. But we didn't consider the argument about fuelling the state's oppressive capacity. I don't necessarily think that's a bad thing. If some left wing groups accuse us of being counter-productive because the instruments of oppression have been strengthened, because there were dozens of raids and they all had their membership lists seized, well they shouldn't have left them where the police could get them, and while I admit they've got a point from their point of view, I don't give a fuck. If there was a

Robert Carr's home bombed by Angry Brigade



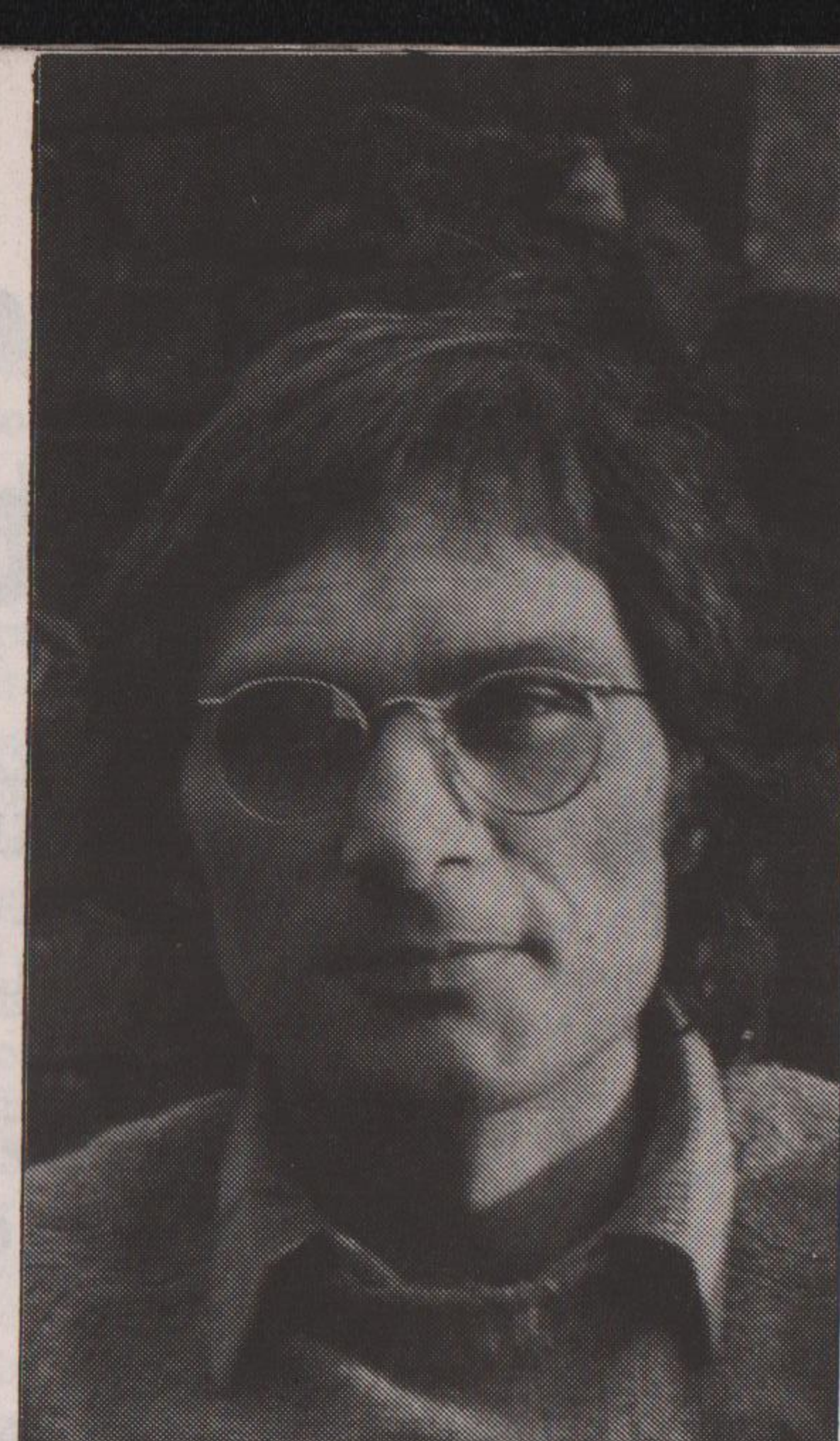
general strike next week the oppression would be so much stronger than anything we could have caused, and that's not an argument against a general strike.

Jake is no ideologue. While the prosecution's implication, that he was just a seasoned criminal brought in by a crowd of middle class lefty wankers to add a touch of professionalism to their activities, is obviously wide of the mark, he has little interest in theory and is not a particularly articulate advocate.

I never considered myself an anarchist, or a Trotskyite or Marxist. I considered myself a criminal, but that was a political activity. It was very personalised for me. I have been beaten up by screws so many times. I have been absolutely fucking terrified. In prison you haven't got any defence at all, you have to rely on yourself. They can make you surrender 100 times a day, but if you dwell on it you are fucked. You have to concentrate on resistance and keep yourself under control. Nor can you sit and have debates and arguments, you haven't got the time. You can't afford to let yourself relax or let your mind think about what the enemy is doing, and once you start in a group like the Angry Brigade it is also self-generating. My whole life has been disciplined by authority which is corrupt and brutalising. It is absolutely essential that you keep that part of you that resists intact. Marxist politics haven't reached the stage of sophistication to explain the lives of people in this position. I'm concerned with people who are up against the state, and the left is not.

This leads him to support armed struggle in Northern Ireland.

I would not be so presumptuous to enter any criticism of the Provisionals. It is their struggle and their fucking business. People say, if the IRA got to power you would have this or that kind of reactionary state. I don't expect the IRA to have a fully worked-out socialist programme. I know a lot of IRA prisoners and they are really sound, they have given their lives, working class blokes, to fighting a war against Britain. If I was in Ireland I would do the same. All the young



Jake Prescott today

Proxies I met said the overall aim overrode every other consideration. When you have got Britain out of Ireland, then you can have discussions about politics.

Jake actually thought of going to join the Provos in 1970.

When I was first politicised I thought of going to Northern Ireland, but when I read Jerry Rubin's 'Do It!', and he wrote that he had gone to South America with a group of American students to join Che Guevara. They had this very romantic image of donning bandoleros and fighting in the hills. But when they eventually found Che he said: "You are really lucky, living in the belly of the beast while I am here eating grass, go back and fight there." So I thought, I will go to London and that's how the whole thing started.

It's ten years on since then and, again, a Tory government has taken power.

It's even worse now than then. Not just here but we are being dragged into a European fascist system. I believe the state is inherently fascist, and the state's violence against people is much heavier, what we were talking about and making statements about, but of course not because of us or any resistance. The need for direct action is greater. I won't get involved again; I'd be too easily picked up, there are even some comrades who would unwittingly perhaps give me away, so I'm not going back to London. I'd be a marked man, but anyone else who tries to do what we did, good luck to them, that's OK, but don't get caught.

One reason he got such a monstrous sentence, says Jake, was because he'd, personally, made a bomb threat to Melford Stevenson, on the phone, before the trial. It didn't get reported because it wasn't said in front of the jury, but it did come out in the trial. The state knew about it because they'd found a press cutting, clipped out by Purdie, about the (anonymous) threat.

Ian had stupidly kept it in a box under his bed. That's how stupidly badly organised we were.

Violence

History has time and again proven the inability of peaceful, parliamentary means to overthrow capitalism (Spain, Chile). For the ruling class such 'democracy' is a 'tactic' not a principle.

Material pressures on all sides force the working classes towards a violent response, often - as in the Irish liberation struggle - involving mass support. But even successful guerrilla wars (Zimbabwe) have left unresolved the question of socialism and workers' management. The October Russian revolution was carried through with the minimum of bloodshed: only external intervention fuelled a prolonged civil war.

Taking these lessons, the Workers' Socialist League fights for a programme centred not on acts of violence but on the mass mobilisation of the working class as a decisive leading force in the overthrow of capitalism.

John Lister, editor 'Socialist Press', Workers' Socialist League.

"We have got to govern millions of hired hands and it must be by force, fraud or goodwill", wrote Gladstone. To this day they remain the central doctrine of the ruling class. When goodwill measures like the welfare state become too costly; when parliamentary democracy becomes transparent for the fraud it is, the ruling class has always, and always will, resort to force - to violence.

Our society is riddled with violence. There is the violence used against those fighting racism as at Southall, or those fighting for a living wage, like the steel workers. There is the use of the army in Northern Ireland. Revolutionaries have to be realistic. The ruling class will fight to the death to keep control of our society.

Robert Mark, former top cop, put it like this: 'A degree of controlled violence is essential to government as we understand it'. The question is therefore how to deal with their violence. Guerilla warfare is no answer. There is only one answer, building the mass revolutionary party and 'mass' is the key word.

Joanna Rollo, Editor Socialist Worker.



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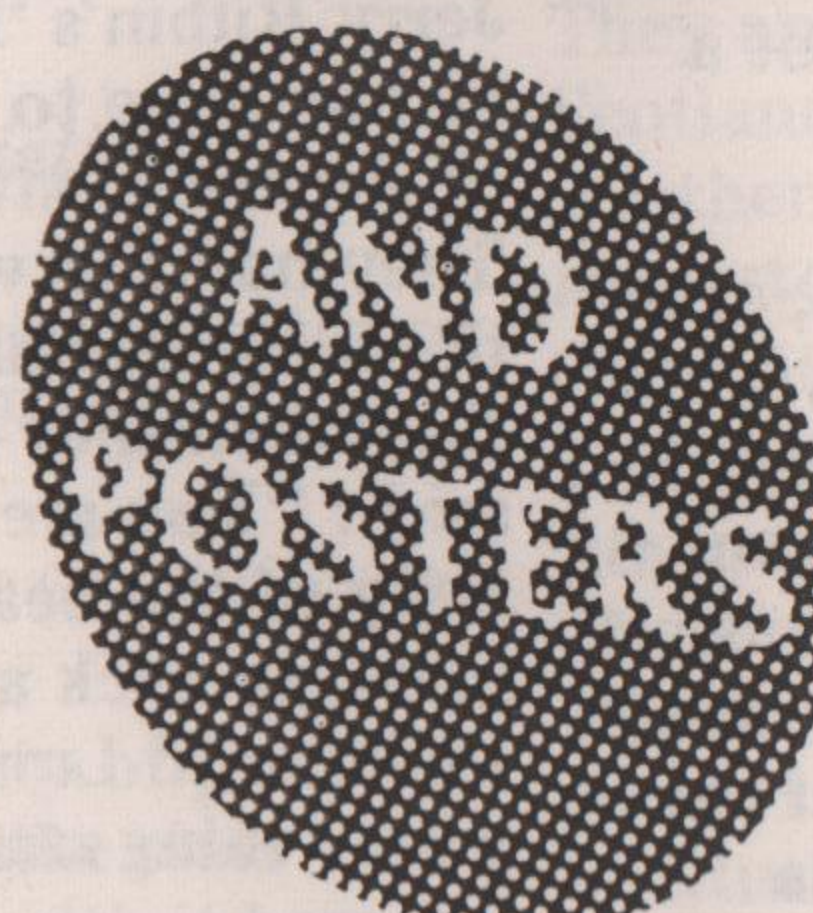
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SHORT NEWS

'Socialist' comedy

THE SO-CALLED 'Socialist' theatre company, CAST, was prevented from performing during an SWP-organised May Day Rally in Edinburgh. Roland Muldoon of CAST, a sort of one-man cabaret turn, reminiscent of the worst male stand-up comics, was 10 minutes into his act when about thirty angry women and a few men began to protest at his act which had, up until then, consisted of sexist jokes about women.

Pointing out that if similar jokes had been made about 'stinking wogs' or 'thick paddies' people would not have been in the least bit amused, the protesters got even more enraged when Muldoon replied: 'Sit down girls, you've had your say, so FUCKING SHUT UP!' At this point the women began a pincer movement towards the stage, forcing Muldoon to abandon his act.

Needless to say, the reaction of the men in the audience was predictably apoplectic, ranging from verbal abuse like 'hysterical bitches' to threats of physical assault and actual manhandling. One enraged sexist even took out his false teeth in order to challenge the men who were supporting the disruption to a fight.

The organisers of the event had been warned that there might be trouble if they persisted in putting CAST on. People who had the misfortune of seeing CAST perform the same stale old act at Skegness and elsewhere had strenuously objected. In answer to this the organisers had agreed to speak to Muldoon in advance about his sexism.

The rally had drawn over 300 activists from all areas. It could have provided a focus for socialists on May Day and a forum for left unity in general. But what in fact happened was that the performance by CAST, and the men's reaction to a justified protest by women, merely exposed the SWP's tokenist approach to Women's Liberation, its inability to accept an autonomous women's movement, and its superficial understanding of sexual politics in general.

Joanna Blythman

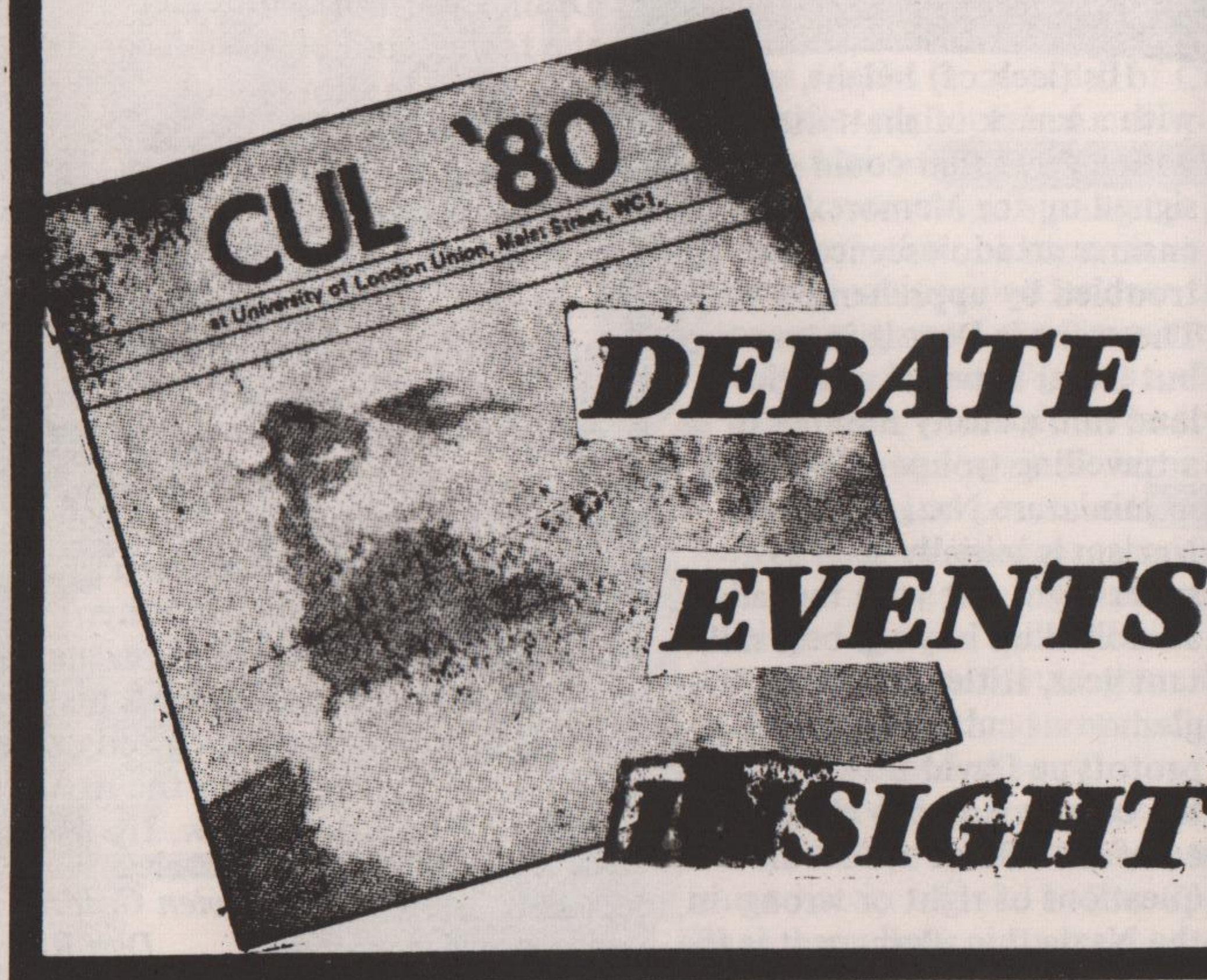
CUL'80

12th Communist University of London

July 5 to 13

With 67 courses over nine days, there's something for everyone at CUL '80. From Sociology to Sexual Politics; from Thatcherism to Technology.

Prospectus available from Denis Walshe, 16 King Street, London WC2E 8HY.



'Socialist' comedy

IT'S not hard to see why Callaghan wanted to stop the Labour Party's special conference on May 31. For one thing it showed that contrary to the media view, Benn is actually holding the party together. For another thing, the most dynamic events of the day were not in the Wembley Conference Centre at all, but in a lunchtime side meeting called by the Campaign for Pabour Party Democracy.

Some 300 delegates crammed into an airless room to cheer the plan for seven left fringe groups in the party to organise for the annual conference in October. The seven are: the CDLP, the Labour Co-ordinating Committee, the Independent Labour Party, the Institute for Workers' Control, Clause Four, the National Organisation on Labour Students, and the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory.

The Militant joined after agreeing some minor provisos, and a seat on the Mobilising Committee, and the Labour Party Young Socialists joined, making nine groups in all.

It has got just three months to prepare its campaign to democratise the party by having the leader elected by the NEC, the Cabinet (in government) elected by the PLP, the manifesto drafted by the NEC, and Parliamentary candidates subject not just to mandatory reselection, but also to a requirement that they all sign an undertaking to abide by party (conference) decisions.

This is not a new socialist grouping within the Labour Party and there is no 'political programme'. All the groups have taken part on the clear understanding that they remain autonomous. It is an adhoc body; when its aims are achieved it will probably break up.

It is not certain all the aims will be achieved at Blackpool in October. Although the majority of constituency delegates will support them, they could go down to the union block votes. And, ironically, scrapping or watering down the block vote is not one of the demands. This is largely because the individual groups are still split on the question. Any proposal to end the union block votes (or even, as suggested in the LCC submission to the party's Special Inquiry Committee, increasing the constituency votes to make more of a balance) would unite enough votes to defeat the whole scheme. (The inquiry's first report was still in press.)

● The IWC is sponsoring a week-end conference on Democracy in the Labour Party, to be held in Leicester on July 5-6. Details from IWC (Tel: Nottingham 784504)

BEYOND THE FRAGMENTS

ON AUGUST 30 the people who were involved in the writing of *Beyond the Fragments* and people who came together after the book, plan a conference in Leeds to bring together the fragments themselves. Although *The Leveller* considers itself one of the fragments of the non-aligned left, and a part of the debate that led to the book, we had not been directly involved in the meetings before.

There had been a number of planning meetings and the one held in Leeds on May 30 I attended as a representative of *The Leveller*. This dealt mainly with what was going to go on at the conference. It is planned to have the first half-day dedicated to discussing areas of struggle, and the second half to organizing for struggle. The discussion will be organized in workshops which will cover a range of areas: film, theatre, song and cultural politics, new technology, housing, science and the creation of unemployment, the welfare state, and the press. The exact number and subjects is being left open, in order not to restrict the discussions or the people involved. On the other hand, some sort of order and structure is foreseen so that the day does not degenerate into an elitist talking shop only for those with similar ideas, backgrounds and well worked out political perspectives, where only a few people have any idea what's going on. The aim of this conference is definitely to start a movement.

The meeting was about 50/50 men and women and when we were talking about the workshops there was a dilemma as to whether we should have separate feminist workshops, or whether, because that excluded feminist contributions in other workshops, there should not be specific feminist workshops. The issue is not yet resolved.

The Leveller collective plans to help organise the proposed workshop on the press, which might cover dealing with the straight press as well as setting up our own. Anyone with ideas for this should contact us. For general queries on the conference, write to 39 Kelvin Grove, Liverpool 8, phone 051-727-4608.

Adam Thompson

THE RECENT lockout of journalists by the International Publishing Corporation gave readers of music papers a short breather. Fall back on *Sounds* and *Heavy Metal*? Keep faith in non-appearing *Melody Maker* or *NME* and miss all the gossip? Or perhaps sample the new blackleg product 'fortuitously' hitting the stands to fill the gap? And what's so new about *New Music News*?

You MUST read on now...

THE BRITISH music press is a unique institution: Japan goes in for glossy 'artistic' full-colour mags, Europe and America both have some monthlies, but the States is mainly serviced by radio. Only Britain boasts four music weeklies as well as the specialist *Black Echoes* and *Smash Hits* (a teeny pop paper where you get to read all the hit lyrics). IPC has two main music papers - *New Musical Express* and *Melody Maker*. (*NME* the leader in sales and energy, is in the Magazines Division, while *MM*, the flagging 50 year old veteran, is in the Business Press)

The

The IPC dispute reminded the music paper journalists that, despite their relative freedom, for IPC the music press is just another product. The editor of *Melody Maker*, Richard Williams, resigned after being pressured by senior management to put out the paper with scab labour and old copy. Acclaimed features writer, Allan Jones, flung three typewriters & through *MM* in a fit of anger at the management - he assumed he'd be given the boot, but instead got made features editor. Ray Coleman was drafted in as temporary editor: he used to edit *MM* but is now on the *Now!* magazine payroll.

Meanwhile four *MM* staffers left. When the dispute was over the remaining staff went back to work (in the Nissen hut which still houses *MM*) in a cynical and generally depressed state.

While the IPC mags were off the newstands the opposition flourished. *Sounds* (owned by the Trafalgar House Group) saw its sales shoot up and a brand new music paper was launched. It was the brainchild of Mark Williams - gossip-writer and one-time contender for *NME* editorship.

NME

The name *New Music News* was obviously derivative and the layout was uncannily influenced by the planned re-design of *Melody*

With-

Maker (this had been sacked editor Williams' pet project - a last-ditch attempt to boost *MM*'s alarmingly-sagging circulation).

Only *MM* workers would have seen the still-to-be-launched redesign so it seems likely that Mark Williams simply pirated its good points for his own effort. Some would say the Pearce Marchbank redesign wasn't worth pirating - the style is familiar to Londoners from Marchbank's work on *Time Out* which in turn is familiar to any Alexander Rodchenko design fan.

With this sadly derivative identity, *New Music News*' crew of disaffected music writers, some of whom have been banned from involvement with their old papers because of their association with it - put an issue together in a week.

And it shows. Since then the level of *New Music News* hasn't risen beyond regular music paper standard - to put it kindly.

In theory it should be an opportunity to re-create the comparatively heady days of *Let It Rock*, the old independent music mag staffed by a writers' co-op, some of whom are working on *New Music News* now.

in...

Whether it fulfills its potential is impossible to predict. It was originally going to fold when the IPC mags returned, but now it's decided to stay and fight. For the already-fragmented music paper audience

it's too soon after the return of *NME* and *MM* to assess the newcomer but perhaps rumour that its publisher, Bunch Books (run by Felix Dennis of *Oz* and *Kung Fu* magazine fame) is already looking for a buyer will prove just that - rumours.

Vivien Goldman

REVIEWS

Growing UP

The Tin Drum by Volker Schlöndorff. Odeon, Haymarket.

NENE SAID: 'After seeing *The Tin Drum* I couldn't eat fish for a week.' Fishes, death and sex are interwoven throughout. Eels slither voluptuously from the tender crevices of a rotting horse's head, found by Oscar's extended family unit - mother, legitimate and putative fathers - on a beach picnic. Mother meekly forces down yard upon yard of eel cooked by her husband, but only after her horrors on first being commanded to do so have been allayed by a brace of orgasms, courtesy of the Polish lover, just out of hubby's field of vision. We are reminded of our voyeur position by peeking at it all in the mirror of the bedroom cupboard door. Eventually, Mother - pregnant again and unsure of the father - eats herself to death on fish, still wriggling from the barrel.

Oscar is a dwarf, by choice. At the age of three he deliberately hurls himself down the cellar stairs to stunt his growth. This gives cause for an eternal round of recrimination against the adult trio, whose under-the-table caresses had prompted his disgust with grown-ups in the first place. Sexuality, especially Mother's, seems to offend Oscar greatly - unless he's an active participant.

His (lack of) height, coupled with a knack of shattering glass with a yowl that could get him signed up for Memorex ads, ensures an adolescence untroubled by apprehensive adults. The scene is Danzig in war-time, but Oscar's special qualities land him a cushy number in a travelling troupe of midgets in miniature Nazi uniforms. Nazism is initially seen as a super night out with the lads, all dolled up in your best militant gear, Hitler as just another glamorous cultural shaman, a prototype David Bowie - or is the comparison too close for comfort? Oscar at first sidesteps questions of right or wrong in the Nazi ethic. Perhaps it is the

death of his midget woman lover, smithereened while grabbing one last cup of coffee, that starts him thinking.

It's tempting to spot the symbol in Oscar's tiny, noise-making presence as he forever batters away at a red and white enamel drum. Is he meant to be Germany, conscience awakening to adult responsibilities only after the death of the Fuehrer/Father? His little drum draws his Polish father away to his death in a shoot-out at the Polish Post Office. Comic surrealism gives way to emotional audience involvement as the Pole is dragged off to the firing squad as he is about to put the finishing touches to a house of cards by candlelight, the slumped body of his card-playing comrade hoisted upright by his braces.

Shot in autumn browns and golds, coloured by the occasional flash of neon blue, *The Tin Drum* is visually a warm bath. You luxuriate in slow pans across countryside or the Gothic architecture of picture postcard Danzig. Full of Gothic grotesquerie, a contemporary extension of the classical German expressionist films that re-emerged as Hollywood horror, *The Tin Drum*'s warmth counteracts the fabled cool of sections of the new German film school.

When Oscar disrupts a Nazi rally by beating out an off-beat tattoo, he sets the Hitlerjugend waltzing, and he passes on this unique life rhythm by giving his son (his, or his father's?) Oscar secretly duplicates his parents' menage a trois with his step-mother) a drum on his third birthday. When the kid starts throwing stones into his father/grandfather's grave, Oscar reaches a momentous decision, hurls his drum in among the falling sods, and instantly begins, for the first time in 20 years, to grow. Up.

Vivien Goldman
Dan Re'em

REVIEWS

IT'S PRETTY RARE that you can leap about to a funky record and not be nauseated by the mushy, sexist lyrics. But then, Spoilsports' first single, *Shout* (for what you want), is a rare treat.

The five-woman band has produced a tight, exciting sound on the A side, with some thumping bass from Ruth Bartle, and soaring harmonies on vocals. The song calls for women to stand up and fight for a better deal in society. And the lively musical backing gives the lyrics an optimistic thrust, so that the opening lines - 'You've got a child to love and comfort, and no money, no money to buy her shoes' - are a call for action, not just self-pitying anger on the part of women.

Love and Romance on the B side considers the younger generation of women, led on as teenagers to seek 'romance', and then petrified of losing their precious reputation to the male seducer lurking in the shadows.

This song has altogether a smoother sound, perhaps too smooth for such hardhitting lyrics. Energetic solos from drums, saxophone and keyboards lift the music higher, but it is *Shout* that really gets your feet tapping and your brain smarting with joyful indignation.

It would be great to hear a lot more from this band, to really have them let loose with their considerable musical talents, and terrorise the rest of the bland and sickly professional music scene.

Barney Bardsley



Shout (for what you want) b/w *Love and Romance*: Spoilsports. Available from Barbara Stretch, 46 Ellesmere Road, London E3 and at gigs.

Burning at both ends

Writing by Candlelight: E.P. Thompson
Merlin Press, £2.70

DURING the ABC trial a strange, almost legendary creature emerged from the gloom of its study somewhere in Worcester, and, with a half-crazed smile on its wizened face, announced its re-emergence onto the political stage.

Rapidly the word spread: 'The Thompson is coming! The Thompson is coming!' Reactionaries trembled in their elegant shoes, businessmen sold up and moved to Miami, judges respected the law, Home Secretaries read Departmental memos again.

It seemed that nothing could stop The Thompson as it cut a swathe through the cant and humbug of jury-vetting, and deaths in custody, of Cruise missiles and drunken newspaper columnists.

A movement sprung up in support of it: old enemies who'd fought vicious battles over the exact nature of the Transitional Programme joined hands and said: 'Comrades, he's right'. Hardened cadres glimpsed again a vision of a world living in peace and harmony. Now some extremist publisher has gathered his latest writings together and added a few early essays, bound them up in a readable form at a realistic price and tossed them, fizzing, into the political market place. Mr Whitelaw, this book must be immediately banned before The Thompson does any more damage!

Dave Clark

Protest and Survive: E.P. Thompson. Spokesman 45p

EDWARD THOMPSON'S recent pamphlet, *Protest and Survive*, presents a detailed criticism of the defence strategy of both the super-powers. The title is a plagiarism of the recent government publication, *Protect and Survive*, which encourages the public to put their heads into brown paper bags, bury themselves in basements and kiss their arses goodbye.

Thompson is worried, very worried. He argues that the possibility of nuclear war is increasing rapidly. He cites the change in Pentagon strategy from Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), to one where talk of 'limited victory' is countenanced. This could take two forms, either confining hostilities to a limited theatre (Europe), or inflicting more damage on the Soviet Union than would be inflicted on the States.

Thompson introduces the notion of 'cultural deformity' which accompanies the deformed political process of both East and West. How could anyone with any moral sensibilities even consider the complete destruction of 5,000 years of human culture and possibly the human race itself? To countenance such horrors not only 'encourages resignation - it also beckons the event'. It is the labelling of an external group 'the enemy', thereby avoiding the fact that they are human, which allows this disjuncture between ration-

ality and moral sensibility.

The hysterical cold war rhetoric emanating from both sides of the iron curtain is aimed not at 'the enemy' but at their own populations; whipping up hatred and fear allows the respective regimes to tighten their grip on the mechanisms of internal control. Dissenters are labelled as enemy agents, civil liberties are reduced in the interests of national security and attention is diverted from internal problems. At a time of general economic stagnation, where the old forms of hegemony are declining, the creation of an external enemy establishes a new hegemony, that of protector of the people against the enemy.

Viewing the present round of the cold war just in terms of a ruling class conspiracy would be comforting, for it rules out the possibility of nuclear holocaust. But human culture does not work like this. Even if there originally was a conspiracy, it has permeated our culture and is now real. The possibility of Armageddon exists, and is accentuated by cold war hysteria, whether the original function of the hysteria was diversionary or not.

Dan Re'em

(A new organisation has been created, an All European Appeal for Nuclear Disarmament, as an attempt to combat the increasing atomic menace. For more information, contact: Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 29, Great James Street, London WC 1.)

BACK PAGES

BOOKS



IN A GLOOMY period for Scotland, when Thatcher's attacks are slashing at living standards and hopes, there is still light on the horizon. The First of May Bookshop has just moved to larger and more accessible premises at 43, Candlemaker Row.

What began as a small mobile bookstall three years ago, has expanded to become the largest selection of socialist and feminist books in Scotland. The new shop has a sunny meeting place above and a bookshop below, and will provide a real focus for the left in the city.

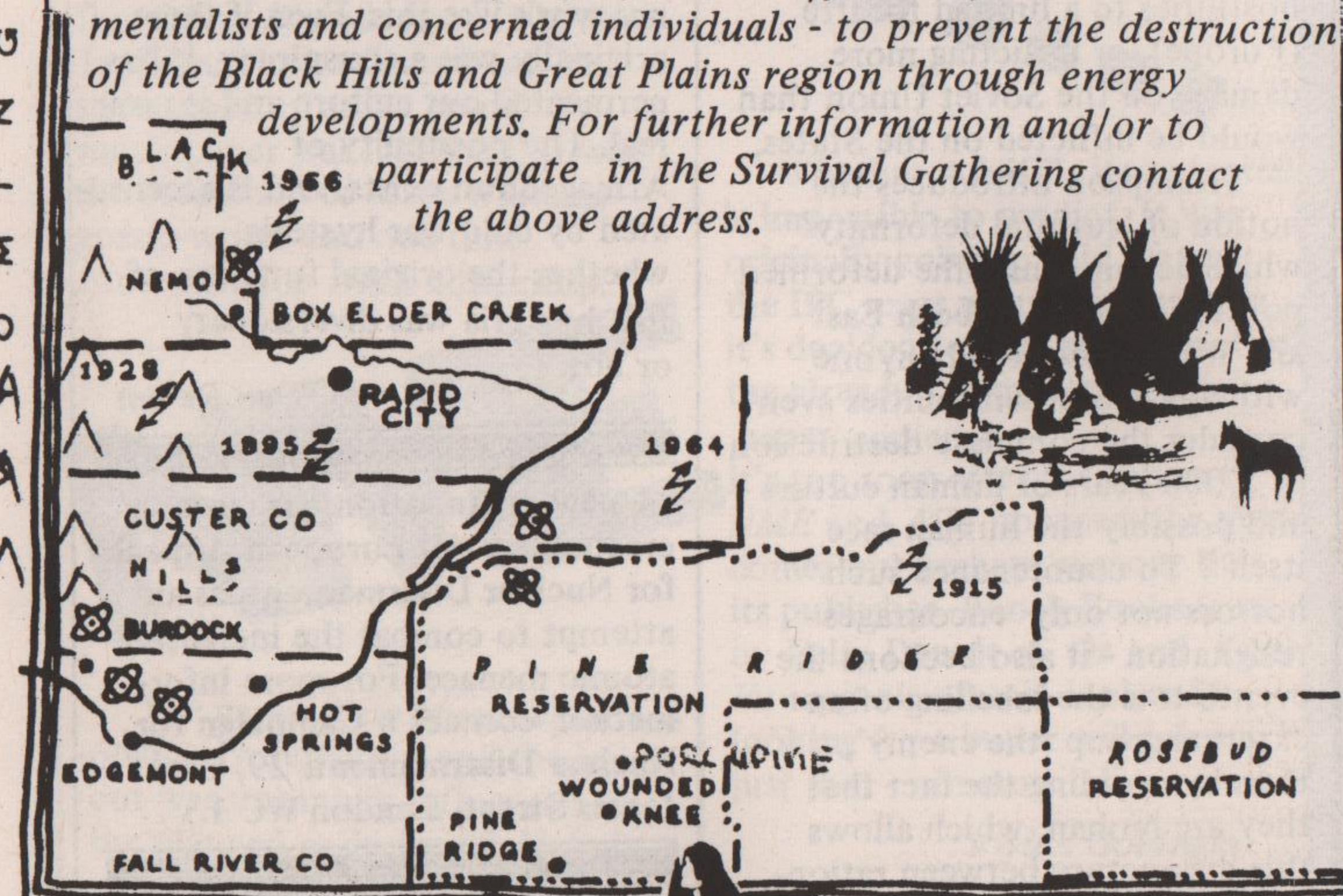
The Edinburgh Books Collective, which runs the shop, is a group of non-aligned people working on a voluntary rota system. They will be continuing along the same lines as before, trying to make books

and pamphlets available which are impossible to find elsewhere. The expanded shop has much more space, particularly for children's books, and larger sections on energy, the Third World, on Scotland and Ireland. The basic political and feminist theory, fiction, etc is better displayed.

The Scottish and Northern Books Distribution Co-Op, (which grew out of PDC) has always provided the bulk of the books and periodicals in the shop. They will continue to build up the distribution network throughout Scotland. Radical books have definitely got a better chance of reaching people than three years ago.

Edinburgh Books Collective.
(031 557 0133)

FOR ANYONE planning a holiday in the States this summer... there will be an **International Survival Gathering in the Black Hills of South Dakota USA**, sponsored by the **Black Hills Alliance PO Box 2508 Rapid City South Dakota 57709 USA** - a coalition of Indian people, ranchers/farmers, environmentalists and concerned individuals - to prevent the destruction of the Black Hills and Great Plains region through energy developments. For further information and/or to participate in the Survival Gathering contact the above address.



PUBLICATIONS

YOU'RE READING this note as a result of a miracle called the Publications Distribution Cooperative, a small network set up in 1976 by a number of radical magazines, all of whom faced the same problem: distribution was being squashed into the hands of a few nearly-monopolistic suppliers, chief among them WH Smith and John Menzies. "Smenzies", as the authors of a new booklet called **Where Is The Other News?** entitle them, effectively shape public opinion in the UK by their control of the distribution of newspapers and magazines and, of course, they don't distribute troublemakers like us or the Eye or Undercurrents or Gay News.

We now have a small, independent commercial wholesaler as well, but the truth of the matter is that Smenzies control most of the retail outlets too. The authors, all former PDC workers, would like to see a law passed on the French model requiring distributors to take all the magazines, whether they like them or not. Some of us would like to see Smenzies nationalised, or PDC grow into a large national force. Neither is likely to happen, but this booklet is a well-researched contribution to a much-needed discussion.

Where Is The Other News? is available from the Minority Press Group, 9, Poland Street, London W1V 3 DG.

THE MAY/JUNE issue of *Race Today* features the first part of three part series on Blacks and the British Police. It is entitled **From Bobby to Babylon** and it traces the development of the struggles waged by blacks against police malpractice over the last 25 years.. 50p from:

Race Today 74, Shakespeare Road, SE 24 OPT. (The whole series will be produced in pamphlet form at a later date).

ALTHOUGH LIVERPOOL is not a typical industrial city, **Merseyside in Crisis** is a book that could be written about almost any area in Britain outside the Midlands and the South East. Produced by the Merseyside Socialist Research Group, it documents the way in which decisions taken outside the area have - time and time again - meant that Merseyside factories have closed, and people been thrown out of work. (The current rate of unemployment is more than 12 per cent). And it looks at the way people have fought back against the crisis in the city through unions and activist groups. "Politics", they say, "is too important to be left

to the Labour Party".
Merseyside in Crisis £1.15 (inc p&p) from: 23, Glover St. Birkenhead, Merseyside.

CAMPAIGNS

GAY PRIDE WEEK '80, starts Friday June 20 and culminates in a Major Parade on Saturday June 28 at 12 noon. The parade starts from Bressenden Place, SW1 (just behind Victoria Station) and winds its way to Malet Street, where there will be a Gay Fair at the London Student Union building. In 1979 more than 15,000 people attended - this year we expect even more.

Gay Pride Week aims to engender self-respect and a sense of community in gay men and women by creating a ten day Festival of Art Exhibitions, Discos, Films, Parties, Plays, Picnics, Political and Social Workshops etc.....

Further details can be obtained by contacting Gay Pride Week Committee at: 5, Caledonian Road, N1 9DX.



On Saturday June 28 a petition addressed to the Prime Minister will be delivered to 10 Downing Street: it demands that the Government take immediate action to abolish all discrimination against homosexuals and adopt a positive attitude towards educating public opinion about homosexuals and homosexuality. The petition, which is sponsored by the Campaign for Homosexual Equality, will be handed in during the Gay Pride Week Carnival Parade at approximately 12.30pm. Additional information from: 01 289 9335.

THE VIRGINITY TEST case finally exposed one aspect of the racist conduct of Home Office officials after hundreds of Asians, particularly women, had been abused and humiliated. Mrs Kakar, the victim in that case, suffered severe depression, which the publicity only made worse. She did not want to stay in Britain after that, and is now back in India in poor health.

Mr Kakar, a widower with

four children in school here, has been split from his wife and all their lives have been severely upset.

The Home Office has paid no compensation. But after 240 MPs from all parties signed a motion addressed to the Home Secretary, he accepted that compensation was due - but only to Mrs Kakar, not to her husband or family.

Legal action is being instituted by Mr Kakar against the Home Office and he needs financial help. Please, therefore, send contributions to:

The 'Virginity Test Appeal' J. Hostettler, Solicitor, Warlow House 218, Northfield Avenue, London W 13

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, after two years of research, have released their dossier on the conditions of German political prisoners. Prisoners convicted of being members of revolutionary groups are held under conditions which are of concern to AI under its commitment to oppose 'torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment' of prisoners. But despite their attempts at objective reporting AI not only fail to draw the necessary conclusions but repeat unquestioned the official account of the Stammheim murders.

The International Commission for the Protection of Political Prisoners and Against Isolation Torture was formed in June 1979 following a massive hungerstrike of political and social prisoners against isolation torture and the new isolation wings. The commission, whose members are based in Germany, Italy, England, France and Holland, is engaged on behalf of all prisoners involved in anti-imperialist resistance in United Western Europe. A full statement is available from: The British Committee for the Protection of Political Prisoners and Against Isolation Torture. c/o 35 Wellington Street, London WC 2.

THEATRE

THE BLACK Theatre Cooperative (BTC) is at present touring Europe with Mustafa Matura's **Welcome Home Jacko**. For the last two weeks of May BTC presented a new play, **Mama Dragon**, by Farrukh Dhondy, at The Factory, Chippenham Mews, London. Mama Dragon is an Army flamethrower, liberated from Northern Ireland by Flank, a black ex-soldier. Flank's experience may be useful to the mates he comes back to, but it has also freaked him out. He proposes

to use his flamethrower at a Lewisham-style confrontation which is building up. The fact that a lot of black youths and others might also get wasted doesn't bother him.

The background of do-gooders and hustlers, the siege mentality that the ghetto develops, all are teased out. The action is interspersed by excellent reggae played by The Government.

BTC will be presenting **Mama Dragon** at:

The Lambeth Festival (Oval House) July 19/20 7.30pm.
ICA, the Mall, SW1, August 5-23 (930 3647 for details)
Phoenix Arts Centre, Leicester, August 25-30.



THE MOON goes musical this summer. **Death of a Dreamer**, a new musical by Billy Colvill and Melvyn Robinson is set in the class war-torn East End of London in the 1980's. The unemployed are on the streets, and so is the mysterious Dapper Man, the symbol of the aspirations and betrayals of the 1930's... The musical score draws on jazz, ragtime and music hall, experimenting with the harmonic content.

Death of a Dreamer opens June 24 at 7pm and runs until July 19 at the **Half Moon Theatre**, 27 Alie Street, London E1.

FILM

IN A WORLD where the powerful medium of film is almost exclusively controlled by anti-working class businessmen and their toadies it's good to hear of two films which try to put the interests of the working class first. **Look Back at Grunwicks** and **Southall on Trial** both contain powerful indictments of the SPG - one for the violence they showed on the Grunwick picket line and the other for the sheer racism and brutality they demonstrated in Southall.

Inexpensive to hire (approx. £12 for **Look Back at Grunwick** and £6.50 for **Southall on Trial**) both films would add a great deal



SIXTEEN YEAR old Marc Wood plays Bletchley the punk in **Thames TV's** six part series **The Latchkey Children** - one of the most interesting children's programmes to be televised in recent years. A dramatisation of Eric Allen's prizewinning sixties novel, it's about kids saying 'They're always telling us what to do. They never ask us what we want.' This time, at least, the kids kick back against the adults railroading them along.

Marc got a lot of stick during filming because people, even some production staff, took him for a real punk, which he's not. (He used to be a skinhead). He's the only member of the excellent cast whose life does resemble that of the character he plays. 'The world doesn't owe you nuffin', is the way he puts it.

The Latchkey Children, directed by Horace Ove, is on ITV at 4.45 on Mondays.

to any meeting, day school or conference. They are available from:

Socialist Film Services, Room 427, The Woold Exchange, Brushfield Street, London E 10. Tel 01 247 0335. Southwest: 0272 551582. North: 0532 460171

WEST MIDLANDS ARTS organises regular screenings of documentary/feature films and has become a workshop base for new filmmakers in the Midlands. Yugesh Singh Walia's 25 minute story of family and other pressures on an Indian girl's growing up in Britain, **Mirror, Mirror**, is shot in minimalist style - one location, one character - and is based on discussions with Indian women between 16 and 25 years old.

The Women and Film viewing session is intended to help in choosing films for, or about, women; some are about specific subjects, such as abortion, others deal with the way television and commercial cinema present women. There will be more

information about the films and how to book them at the event. The charge is £3 per person but if anyone has particular difficulty in raising this they should contact: Frank Challenger, West Midlands Arts, Lloyd's Bank Chambers, Market Street, Stafford, ST 16 2 AP. Tel 0785 59231. Coffee, lunch and tea will be available, and a creche will be provided.

Birmingham Arts Lab screenings:

July 1 **PRESSURE** by Horace Ove. Room 644. Aston University. 7.30pm
July 3 **WOMEN and FILM** viewing session. Nearly 20 films and film extracts including **Take It Like A Man**, **Ma'am**; **Whose Choice?** and **Mothers are People**. Arts Lab Cinema. 9.45 am to 5pm.
July 8 **JOBS FOR THE GIRLS TAUGHT TO BE GIRLS** by Jenny Woodley. Sheffield Film Group, Room 644 Aston U. 7.30
July 15 **MIRROR MIRROR** by Yugesh Singh Walia. Byng Kenrick Theatre, Aston U. 7.30.

Further details from: Roger Shannon. 021 359 4192

Going fortnightly

The Leveller is changing gear! From this Autumn we'll be coming out every fortnight in the most exciting development in radical journalism for years!

It will be a big gamble, of course, but you, and we, are used to that. And we will be needing your support if we are to succeed.

We are escalating because we want to play a larger part in the growing fight back.

Spending on the police and armed forces soars while the pensioners and the unemployed get peanuts. The wealthy shift their capital out of useful work and into speculation in the international market place, while the poor get poorer and the government gloats.

And behind it all, stands the escalating Cold War, the horrors of poisons and chemicals, the almost casual acceptance of nuclear obliteration.

It's madness! And it's time to say enough!

There is anger at school leavers with no prospect but the dole, at adults thrown out of work with no future before them.

Anger at police officers allowed, time and time again, to get away with murder and assault, corruption and perjury.

Anger at the way our nurseries and hospitals, our libraries and welfare services are being attacked.

Anger at racism and institutionalized attacks on black people.

Anger at the creeping extinction of our rights to assemble

and demonstrate and picket.

Anger at the way our kids get packed into larger and larger classes while good teachers can't even get work.

And anger at the casual decision to spend another five billion on unspeakable weapons of destruction while millions starve for the want of a few quid.

It's time to say enough. And tens, hundreds of thousands of people are saying so.

They're occupying hospitals against closure, petitioning for schools, demonstrating against Cruise, marching for the right to work, drawing up alternative plans for factories, campaigning for their children.

They're fighting inside the Labour Party for democracy and accountability and leaders who'll work for the people instead of themselves.

They're fighting in the revolutionary parties, leading campaigns to defend our unions, to pull out of Ireland, to fight racist laws, to resist the closures.

And they're fighting in thousands of small autonomous groups in the women's movement, the anti-nuclear campaign, the campaigns against 'sus' and racism, against patriarchy and increasing police powers.

All over the country people are starting to move, and it's going to grow, week by week, month by month, as the full extent of the Tories' plans for Britain become clearer.

It is truly socialism or barbarism. And we're for socialism.

And that is why we're going fortnightly in the Autumn.

The split

THIS LETTER is not addressed to The Leveller collective, but directly to the readers. As is no doubt reported elsewhere in this issue, a number of collective members — nearly half — have left the magazine. As we were in the main, but not exclusively, the 'older hands' — some of us having been in at the beginning, most having been around for two years or more — it is not a decision that we have taken lightly, nor without some regret. We owe the readers an explanation.

From its inception the magazine has staggered from crisis to crisis — par for the course for an independent radical publication. Recently, however, to these various crises — mainly financial — has been added a crisis within the collective itself. Whatever ideas individuals may have had the collective as a whole had ceased to have any clear idea of what it was doing or why.

For many of us the mag had become so politically incoherent as to make it impossible to defend as a whole — we answered only for the articles we liked, and regretted the rest. We were impatient with the lack of development in the mag's journalism — professionalism may be a dirty word in some quarters, but for a magazine that has the avowed aim of competing with all the other glossy products on the newsstands it is an essential not a luxury. Also, we found it increasingly difficult to work within an organisational structure so inefficient that it took 15 hours

to achieve what could have been done in five.

These factors combined to bring about a crisis of morale, that everyone felt — not just those of us who eventually left. Something had to be done.

The whole collective got together. We voiced our criticism: of the magazine and of each other. We established a working party to look into all aspects of The Leveller's set up. This working party, the nucleus of the group that was eventually to split, suggested that the hitherto open collective should be closed; that instead there should be constituted an open readers meeting from which recruits for the working collective could be drawn; and that within the working collective we should each adopt specific responsibilities — thereby creating a more efficient division of labour (such a division exists anyway, even within an open collective — only it comes about by default rather than by design).

These proposals were agreed by the collective. However, when we went on to reconsider the political purpose of the project and the journalistic form by which that purpose was to be achieved, the collective divided into two camps. In the working party, we envisaged a magazine politically engaged at the level of the everyday experience of a comparatively wide cross section of people — to provoke and persuade the unconverted. We did not want to be a house mag for the left, nor did we want simply to be a reflection of the 'movement' out there — we wanted to make our own

interventions. Journalistically, we envisaged an altogether higher level of product — better researched, better written (with real care for the use of words) and better laid out. We wanted it to be bigger, to carry more in-depth material and to appear more frequently.

These aspirations are more than just wishful thinking. They are a statement of political intent.

While appearing to agree with these aims, however, the rest of the collective had no stomach for the necessary means for achieving them. Overturning a previous collective decision, albeit one with which they had all along been unhappy, they voted against the closing of collective membership. An open collective and the new vision don't mix.

This "organisational" dis-

The collective replies: During the discussion on reorganisation political differences which had existed for some time began to surface. It would be wrong to suggest that the breakaway group had a coherently distinct political view (and the fact that their letter avoids politics suggests this is still the case). What unites them is that they are prepared to sacrifice the politics of The Leveller for capitalist values like "the product", "professionalism" and "efficiency".

Ultimately the proposal to close the collective would have led to a paper claiming to be a departure from con-

ventional journalism but being produced by a traditional hierarchy. A technocratic solution to the political problem. If, as the breakaway group say, an open collective and the new vision don't mix, it is their vision that is faulty. An open collective is an essential part of The Leveller's political perspective. If they think an open collective cannot turn The Leveller into a vital force for socialism they will just have to watch us prove them wrong. They will also have to stomach the Leveller becoming a paper committed to people's struggles, and not just commenting "professionally" from the sidelines.

We have put a lot of ourselves into The Leveller over the years. Leaving it has been an easy thing to do. However, the magazine is in their hands now we genuinely wish them well. Meanwhile, we are discussing a new project along the lines first sketched out in these internal debates.

Tony Nicholls, Cherrill Hicks, John Verner, Mike Prest, Cathy Myers, Rose Shapiro, Terry Ilott, Jeremy Nichol, Ian Walker, Russell Southwood, Dave Taylor.

How will we do it?

It won't be easy. We have no illusions about that. We will remain an independent and committed socialist magazine and that means we have no party to support us, no wealthy backers ready to pull out at the drop of a red flag.

And we don't want them.

Instead we want you to support us. By telling us what's going on in your area. By sending us pictures and cartoons, stories and letters. By offering us help in producing the magazine, in selling it. By setting up benefits and jumble sales and discos and the thousand and one other ways we have of mobilising finances.

And by you taking out a launch subscription for the first six months of the new fortnightly. The form is on the back page and it costs £10. That will bring you the first thirteen copies of the new magazine and give us the sort of subsidy we will be needing.

What kind of magazine?

It will be campaigning and committed. It will be angry and irreverent. It will spill the secrets the state and capital don't want you to know about. It will report the debates and movement and arguments on the left. It will look at culture through socialist eyes. It will examine the politics in everything from sexual relations to the International Monetary Fund.

If you've been reading us over the past four years you'll already know the sort of mixture to expect.

We'll go on exposing secret agreements between the police and the BBC. We'll go on naming Blair Peach's killers and RUC torturers and murderers. We'll go on revealing SAS networks in Rhodesia and secret Social Security codes, naming Special Branch men and plans for nuclear defence.

There'll be more about personal politics — abortion, children, families, divorce, gays and love. More about advertising and football and blue jeans.

We'll be looking more closely at finance and industry, at science and technology, at the law and education, at the unions and the state.

There'll be a lot more music and film, theatre and television, art, sex and drugs. There'll be stories, cartoons and competitions.

We'll be reporting on the left, part of the movement, focussing on peoples' struggles. We'll be having a lot more stuff from out of London, building up on the work already done in the first 40 issues.

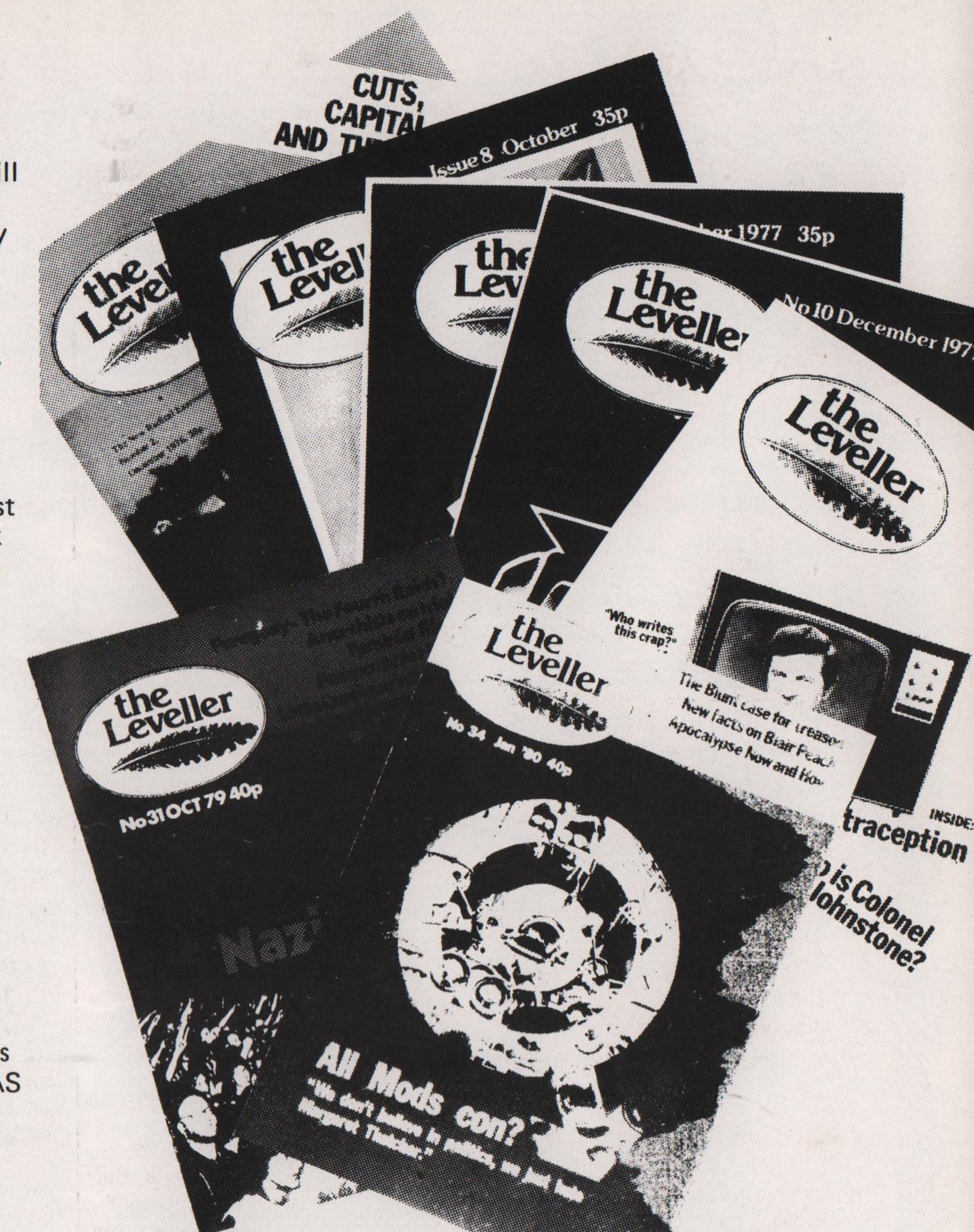
And, of course, there will be international news and features, articles from all over the world, wherever the struggle is waged.

We'll have a full National Agitprop page giving details of marches, meetings, conferences, pamphlets and all the rest of it. And there'll be Red Boxes and small ads, letters and reviews and possibly even a bit of commercial advertising — though we wouldn't bank on that.

Which collective works?

The magazine will be produced by an open and democratic collective committed to fight against patriarchy and racism. Readers and supporters will still be welcome at our open Tuesday meetings but we will be tightening up a bit on our internal procedures to cope with the pressures of producing a fortnightly.

Unfortunately a number of our comrades do not agree with the open collective and they have left us. Their statement is printed elsewhere. We regret their decision to leave — it's the first serious split since the project started five years ago — but we do not believe you can change society by copying the ways of capital. Those of us who remain — the majority of the collective — feel strong and confident for the future and we wish the others well.



We are actively seeking new contributors for the magazine. We would prefer contributors to become active members of the collective but we are not too concerned if you can't commit yourself fully: we will evolve a comradesly working relationship with you. In particular, we are looking for editorial contributors in the following areas:—

- News and current affairs
- Regional correspondents
- Film; TV; Radio; Books; Theatre; Sport; Arts; Music contributors
- Feature writers
- Photographers
- Cartoonists
- Illustrators
- Designers and Paste-Up artists

If you would like to contribute to the new magazine in any of these areas please write or phone the office and we will discuss further with you. There is no payment, of course, and the division of labour isn't as rigid as it might appear so if, for example, you're a photographer who wants to write about rock music and feminism, call.

There will also be an open house readers' meeting at the office on Saturday July 12 at 2 pm, when people who might like to join the collective can come and meet us informally.

PLEASE SEND ME A LAUNCH SUBSCRIPTION (To start October 1, 1980)

I enclose a cheque for £10 (Made out to Leveller Magazine (1979) Ltd. Fortnightly Fund).

NAME

ADDRESS