PUBLICATIONS

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This year that means Media Hits the Pits, a new Right of Reply pamphlet, and an updated version of our founding document in book form. Towards Media Freedom will be packed with lively essays on key Campaign issues.

for £15 p.a., and receive 10 copies of each issue the critics. of FREE PRESS. Get on to your local WEA, CFE. or any other media studies course and sign them up, now

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Unwaged

CAMPAIGN DIARY

The media — long arm of the state?

The role of the media during the Falklands war, the coal dispute and on the issue of peace and disarmament has been finely attuned to the interests of the 'state'. A meeting has been called to discuss this disturbing trend organised jointly by the CPBF, JANE, and Media Women for Peace.

Speakers include Tam Dalyell MP, Jane Hickman, a lawyer who has worked on several cases involving women from Greenham, and Sue Miller and Martin Walker, co-authors of 'State of Siege' on the policing of the miners' strike. The meeting will be chaired by Aidan White of the NUJ. Venue: Holborn Library, 32-38 Theobalds Road, London WC1, Tuesday June 11th at 7.30pm. Everyone welcome.

CPBF to visit PRAVDA?

What are the dogs of Fleet Street howling about now? No less than a play which calls them to order for their blinkered arrogance.

Howard Brenton and David Hare's "Pravda" And all Educational establishments (from at the National Theatre has certainly caused a schools to university departments) are stir with their "comedy". And Anthony Hopkin's encouraged to become institutional Members proprietorial performance was praised even by

Fancy making your own mind up about Pravda? Phone the office (01-437 2795) AT ONCE

NEWS ON SUNDAY

The Nat. Cttee. emphasized the Campaign's concern that women, ethnic minorities and other disadvantaged groups should be fully involved and get fair treatment, when it met representatives of the proposed new left-of-£6 p.a. centre Sunday newspaper.

The News On Sunday group was urged to get £2 p.a. the financial and administrative side of its operations right, so that good intentions are not wrecked by poor business acumen as has £10 p.a happened with so many previous "alternative" £20 p.a. media projects.

£50 p.a NOS is fully committed to the Campaign's £100 p.a aims, the Citee. was told, including the Right of Reply.

NOS is now based at 13-16 Borough Road, London SE1. (Tel: 01-928 4898/4902) if members would like to offer their skills and

Campaign accounts

The final audited accounts of the Campaign for 1984-1985 have now been received.

As promised at the AGM, members wishing to receive copies should write to the Campaign Office

Feminism is dead

Feminism is dead, did you kno Such are the achievements of Women's Liberation that the uncomfortable audacious movement can now be abandoned and the parts that still kick safely

You may have blinked as the epoch ended, but by now you'll have discovered what life is like in the post-feminist era.

This is the agenda the media has set for us. How did it originate and what does it mean? How does it affect the way the media views us and, in turn, the way we see ourselves? How can anything be done to change things?

These are just some of the questions we aim to cover at a major National Conference to be held in the autumn.

Since the encouraging response to the Campaign's Code of Conduct on Sexism there has been an express need for women inside and outside the media to discuss the problem.

This will be the Campaign's first conference on the subject of women and, we hope, a particularly special and rewarding one.

Watch out for more news - but if you want to help with the organizing work, please ring the CPBF office 01-437 2795.

James Cameron award

Members may have read that the Guardian has announced the launch of a trust fund to present annual awards in memory of James Cameron.

The Campaign is in touch with the organizers and would encourage members to support the

Donations can be sent to The James Cameron Memorial Trust, National Westminster Bank. Holborn Hall, 108 Gravs Inn Road, London WC1

You might like to mention the CPBF when you write - or perhaps deposit your donation with the Campaign so that a collective donation can be made.

Further details of the awards and their administration will be made available.

Croydon Campaigners

Campaign members A.J. Potter is keen to hear from other members in the Croydon area, to help build a local group.

If you live or work nearby, drop a line to A.J. Potter, I Norbury Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR4 8JP

FREE PRESS is edited by Mike Jempson.

Copy and adverts for FP.30 should be in. and preferably typed with double-spacing by July 1st.

The Campaign's bi-monthly magazine now costs 30p. It is now on sale in some bookshops, and new outlets are being souaht.

FREE PRESS also takes advertising. The Rate Card is enclosed. Please help develop the Campaign by promoting FREE PRESS in vour area.

Order extra copies - make use of our bulk rates. Encourage suitable advertising and keep sending in letters and articles.

A readership survey will be conducted this autumn.

PRESS

JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR PRESS AND BROADCASTING FREEDOM

No. 29

JUNE 1985

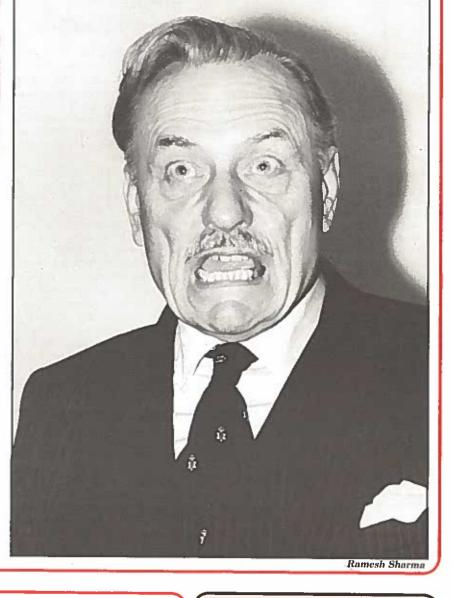
Enoch exposed

We seldom see pictures of Powell like this (right) in our newspapers. Taken by a press photographer at an Anti-Common Market League rally in London two years ago, it was never used.

This portrait tells its own story. There are many others that can, but are seldom allowed to tell more than words ever could.

Our PROBING PICTURES Supplement takes a look at a frequently overlooked aspect of news coverage — the role of photos and photographers.

See Centre spread



TGWU fights back

The Campaign has been working ed with the CPBF and media trade unionists paign against the union's integrity. Ballot fever has gripped the media. The elect Ron Todd, and a right of reply was fearless upholders of democratic practice achieved in the Observer. have created a news saga around alleged irregularities during last year's election of the TGWU General Secretary.

Sparked off by reports on BBC's Newsnight and in the Guardian, allegations and innuendo have burgeoned, and the T&GWU has fought desperately to preserve its good name. Complaints against the Sun and the Daily Mail have gone to the Press Council and libel writs issued against Newsnight's Vincent Hanna and the Guardian's Keith dit the TGWU's voting procedures is linked Harner.

intensified the TGWU press office has work- ballots to retain their political funds.

closely with the Transport Workers' to ensure the immediate and effective redunion to counter what many see as a ress that neither the Press Council nor libel politically-inspired smear cam-

Retiring Gen. Sec. Moss Evans demanded fair coverage during the re-ballot by writing to every Fleet Street and provincial newspaper editor and editors of radio and TV news programmes.

He also wrote to all media union general secretaries and chapel officers asking for their vigilance and reminding them of TUC right of reply policy.

The union alleges that attempts to discreto a forthcoming media campaign to invali-As the campaign to discredit the union date the anticipated positive results of union

The campaign's comprehensive survey of the role of the media in the miners' struggle to save jobs and protect their communities.

It examines how their case was distorted and obscured by media coverage, and how miners and their supporters fought back.

Available NOW from : CPBF, 9 Poland Street. London W1V 3DG.

Price £1.50 — Special rates for bulk orders. 4-50 copies at £1.20 each 50 plus copies at 90p each.

INSIDE: International news p.4 Reviews p.6 Letters p.7

hammering recently.

Michael Meacher MP has attacked their comprehensive in the Mail! misleading treatment of his announcement Norman St. John Stevas and Eric Heffer, about Labour's fiscal plans.

words for them at the launch of a new book Michael of Kent. analysing Mrs. Thatcher's impact on And while Irish columnist Eamonn

the cynical rewriting of her commissioned the notion of hereditary rights. article on teenage morality in the Mail on All in all a rocky ride for Fleet Street -Sunday. And their defensiveness when she but several papers were quick to react to a

She is now compiling a file on similar to mention the colour of a convicted rapist. experiences, and can be contacted at 43 The Daily Mail rejected it out of hand, up" story, apparently by him, in the Sun. becoming increasingly devalued." And more recently it has been Scottish Roll on the Right of Reply.

John Jennings Appeal

Free Press.

Don't forget that the threat of a libel action still

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The media have been taking quite a Tories lambasting the BBC for left wing bias in Scotland, and a public school headmaster infuriated about the imaginative Former CPBF Nat. Cttee. member rewriting of his comments about an Oxford

and some sections of the Press, objected to Labour leader Neil Kinnock had harsh the Dad-was-a-Nazi stories about Princess

Britain's economy and social attitudes, McCann acknowledged that a daughter "Breaking the Nation" (see Reviews p.6) should not be blamed for her fathers' past, In a recent issue of "The Journalist", he did point out that the Royal Family's columnist Melanie MacFadyean exposed claim to the throne is based precisely on

Press Council ruling that they were wrong

Endymion Road, London N4. Breakfast- saying that it had "no intention of having time television astrologer Russell Grant its editorial judgement usurped or cenexpressed his anger on air about a "made sored by a body whose credentials are

hangs over the head of former CPBF Secretary At its first meeting in March the new National John Jennings for an article which appeared in The Freedom Association is suing him. paign for the current year.

Chair: Loretta Loach† defence campaign. A John Jennings Defence Vice-chair: Giles Oakley* Joint secretaries: John Foster *. Simon Collings: National organiser: Mike Power†

Membership organizer: Geoff Sheridant Treasurer: John Beck;

and General Purposes Committee reporting to the National Committee.

* Held this position last year

The Campaign has always had strong support

from the media trade unions. Recent annual conferences of the NUJ and ACTT confirmed this support and called for new initiatives to tackle media bias. Campaign fringe meetings on the media and the coal dispute, and the Code on Sexism were well-attended and lively.

strongly in debates at both conferences. NUJ delegates successfully called for their union to organise a public enquiry into the role of the media, condemned those NUJ members who collaborated with the media's one-sided view of the strike and encouraged the laying of complaints under the NUJ Code of Conduct.

A new NUJ Ethics Council will ensure more stringent and effective enforcement of the Code.

An emergency resolution on media coverage of AIDS committed the union to educating members working in the popular press on the unnecessary suffering caused to gays and others by inaccurate and sensationalised reporting.

Reply was strengthened by an undertaking to work jointly with the NUJ and ETA on a

meetings. The CPBF's Code of Conduct on sexism looks likely to be incorporated in ACTT and NUJ policy.

If you wanna know the truth look in the Mirror

Robert Maxwell's celebrated Ombudsman at the

One of his first complaints is from the Campaign. We have written to say that his boss has reneged on his promise to talk to us about the appointment of the Mirror Ombudsman; ignored repeated requests from us to discuss the appointment of the self-same Ombudsman, Get out of that one, Big Brother Bob.

Coverage of the Nottingham stop-over failed the Mirror's treatment of the miner's strike.

Campaign **Officers**

Committee elected officers to serve the Cam-

Free Press Editor: Mike Jempson* The officers form the Campaign's Finance

Nat. Cttee. meetings take place on the third Monday of each month, with F&GP meetings on the first Monday.

Unions move on the

The coal dispute and its aftermath featured

At the ACTT conference, policy on the Right of Charter for the Right of Reply Broadcasting, following the CPBF conference last December.

Media sexism was also discussed by both

Mirror has got a problem on his hands.

Meanwhile Campaign member Ian Juniper has been taking up cudgels with Mirror Editor Mike Mollov and Columnist Paul Foot:

His complaint is that the "Tell-the-Mirror" jaunt on Maxwell's special train was a fraudu-

to report overwhelming antagonism to most of

Foot's defence of his Editor didn't go down well

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Coal: a privatisation postponed? Law, order and the state of the left. Imperialism in decline: Britain in the 1980s Small Firms, Big Problems

Plus three major articles on Marxist theories of nationalism

CSE membership: £9 pa £6 pa (students/unwaged). CSE, 25 Horsell Road, London N5

Please make sure your letters arrive by July 1 - preferably typed and to the point.

Social Action

Paul Collins has got it wrong when he asserts (letters, FP 28) that at last December's Social Action Broadcasting Conference, a broadcasting union representative argued against greater production access by ordinary people.

I was the union representative to whom he refers, and I made no refernce to ordinary people - whoever they

What I said was that broadcasting is a skilled industry, whose staff are keen to maintain high professional standards. The unions do not wish to see those standards undermined by the use of unpaid, untrained volunteers. The fact that a young person on the Youth Training Scheme or the Community Programme happens to be working on a programme which is about unemployment, racism, or some other 'social action' issue does not make those schemes any more acceptable.

In far too many instances, particularly in independent local radio, young people are being paid a pittance to do a job of work for which they should be properly trained and properly paid.

Lalso said that the broadcasting trade unions are fully aware that institutionalised prejudices, however inadvertent, are still preventing women, black people and disabled people from entering the industry,

All the broadcasting unions are working hard, within their own structures and in negotiations with the employers. to combat those projudices and to persuade the employers to take positive steps to ensure that they employ more black people, women and disabled peo-

Laura Vincent Assistant General Secretary Entertainment Trades' Alliance Thorndike House 70-76 Bell Street London NW1 6SP

Print Action *

I am strongly in favour of a statutory right of reply, the arguments for which are well known.

Previously some people, including myself, have said that the industrial right of reply, i.e. one exercised by the print workers and journalists themselves, should apply until we have the first right by law

It now seems to me we should withdraw the phrase "pending a legal or statutory right", and work hard for the industrial right, without qualification and without a time limit.

When the first right becomes law and begins to operate there may still be important press abuses where it does



not apply or where an error of judgement is made in applying it. I have more confidence in newspaperworkers to act promptly and effectively. Their strength lies in their power to stop production. Recause a lost day's or edition's paper can never be made up, the newspaper unions are stronger even than the

It is right that they should be effective over issues of wages, hours and conditions. It is equally or even more right that they should refuse to print smears against fellow trade unionists, the peace vement and Labour.

But what troubles me is that both rights of reply are palliatives, as are other means of dealing with the press put forward from good quarters. Even if they were all accepted - you would still have the mass circulation newspapers, controlled by five millionaire proprietors, daily selecting the news and using their tremendous influence against progress.

Therefore I suggest that the industrial right of reply go further. In addition to requiring a dissentient statement to be printed where an item is incorrect. distorted or misleading, when a newspaper has carried out a campaign over a period, (eg for wage cuts, against the GLC, or against East-West) detente if the chapels feel strongly about it, they should approach the editor with a demand that their reply be printed.

I know that we have said that we have no desire to censor or ban what appears in the press. But what I am suggesting is that a right of reply should exist not only to incorrect news but also to continual

What does the CPBF think about this?

I feel that my own union, the NUJ, is lagging behind the print unions and urge that for more attention be given to the NUJ Code of Conduct.

Frank Allaun South Drive Manchester 21

Teachers' Action

As retired members of teachers' organisations, my wife and I were amazed at the Premier's allegation (14 March) reported on Radio 4 that staff were disrupting work at a school for the partially sighted. A correction was made on the next

day's "Today" programme, but is this not the sort of clear-cut case that the CPBF could look into, whether or not teachers' organisations are affiliated? Two question demand answers:

(1) How could the untruth have been released, unless there was sloopy work at the Dept. of Education and a failure to check there, and at Downing Street?

(2) Have the correction and apology for the vitriolic attack on teachers matched the publicity given to the

Norman Minaur Kingston Road Woodbridge Suffolk

Tory CND regrets *

I was rather disappointed by the report on Conservative CND in your "Campaign AGM" feature (FP28).

The report states "the complainants tagainst a report of the inaugural meet-

mg of Conservative CND in Tribune) had not ... taken similar action against the Daily Telegraph when it printed a

similar story". The only "similarity" was that the two articles dealt with the same event. The article (in fact in the Sunday Telegraph) was accurate and was even entitled "TORIES 'SEIZE' CND GROUP". We made no complaint since we had no grounds. I made this clear to you during the AGM, which makes the report all the more unfortunate.

Your report also stated that "Andrew Fox. Secretary of Conservative CND, explained that when he sought a Right of Reply from Tribune's then Editor, Chris Mullin had offered to publish a rebuttal in the form of a letter of equal length to the offending article." I did not "explain" this, because it was untrue Again, I did explain this to you and showed you the Tribune letter during the AGM.

I have never made any secret of being a libertarian Conservative yet I have acted in good faith and always been treated fairly by CPBF to the extent that I was selected by the Chair as a teller for the CPBF elections

Like CPBF, I do not believe in a legal Right of Reply, but here we have an excellent opportunity to establish what we mean by a Right of Reply with relation to the FREE PRESS and Tribune articles.

By being seen to act in a balanced and principled way, CPBF could substantially increase its standing as a serious organisation, as well as lay to rest the growing suspicion that we merely wish to censor those with whom we disagree.

Secretary Conservative CND Pembroke College Cambridge

FP replies: This is a much-shortened version of a lengthy letter, the substance of which was presented to the AGM. The Campaign has taken up some of the points raised with Mr Fox

Chris Mullin's letter read: "We will be happy to consider for publication a letter from you in reply to our report of the foundation meeting of Conservative CND, provided that the letter is not onger than the original story."

That sounds like a reasonable offer

Get it on tape *

I have come across hints that the Data Protection Bill'Act will give people the right to ask for copies or access to video or sound tapes that record interviews with particular individuals.

To be precise, this was suggested by Roger Graef on Right to Reply recently. He seemed to hate the idea. I love it.

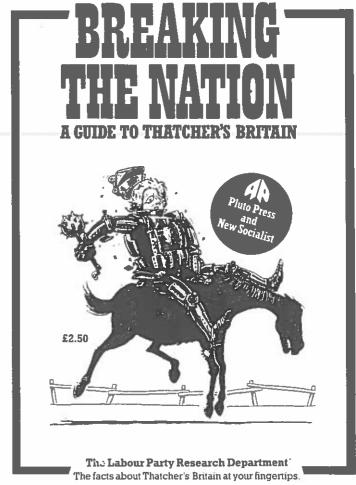
But is it true? If so, how does one go bout gaining access?

This is not merely an academic exercise on my part, because the BBC have tapes they recorded of an interview with

Unfortunately, what they actually broadcast had been carefully edited to give a different impression from that of the original interview Naturally, I want to find out what they have got on their original tapes, so that it can be compared with what they broadcast.

I have long been in favour of an open-access archive of all broadcast material. In the long run this will be the only way to oblige broadcasters to clean up their act and to stop providing channels for disinformation

S.L. Blackmore Westbury Crescent Weston-Super-Mare



TV Star, Shows and Signs

"Television Mythologies" is an intriguing selection of essays analysing television output on the basis of the approach pioneered in the 1950's by the French writer, Roland Barthes,

Barthes introduced a radical new tradition of cultural criticism which rejected the mystification of bourgeois culture as separate from and superior to working class or popular culture. He vastly increased the scope for political analysis of all forms of cultural expression. These essays are, therefore, diverse, entertaining and irreverent. Several look beneath the surface gloss of programmes such as Blue Peter, Top of the Pops, That's Life and Tomorrow's World; others look at the hidden dynamics which create TV 'stars' like Eric Morecambe and Torvill and Dean.

Much of the book is concerned to show how

television subtly yet powerfully reinforces patterns of inequality based on class, sex and race, but some contradictions are explored. For example, the popularity of Tommy Cooper and Diane Dors is explained in terms of their specific appeal to working class experience, and lan Connell argues strongly against the tendency of the left to blame the media for all

On the whole an excellent read, the book manages (just) to avoid being over-intellectual and esoteric. In particular, editor Len Masterman's piece on the BBC's coverage of Orgreave should be essential reading for CPBF

BY LESLEY WOOD

Television Mythologies Comedia/CPBF special offer price £3.25

Catalogue of destruction

The Labour Party Research Dept. has come up with the perfect speaker's notebook for those who want to combat Thatcherism.

Here are the facts and figures that the Press should have been telling us for the last six years.

The jobs lost; the flight of capital; attacks on unions and the welfare state; stagnant housing policies; poverty on the increase, civil rights on the decrease; and much, much more.

A depressing litany of everyone's worst fears. Keep it by your bedside or in the loo. Learn it off by heart, section by section. Then make sure that Thatcher's dwindling band of supporters get an earful, and organise for the future.

Breaking the Nation. A guide to Thatcher's Britain. Pluto Press/New Socialist



GROWING UP EQUAL needs a little help

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the only bookclub for non-sexist and multi-cultural children's books

Free colour catalogues from Box 46, 5 Bradbury St., London N16 8JN or ring 01-254-1640 (24 hrs).

His master's voice

Louis Heren has some pretty good stories to

In "The Power of the Press?" he concentrates on the myths and monstrosities perpetrated by press barons through the ages.

His arguement is that their story fits better into a textbook on megalomania than into the and bookbinding. Two case studies of GLEB annals of the "truly powerful". From Julius Caesar to Murdoch, via Gordon Bennett, Pulitzer, Hearst, Northcliffe, Rothermere and Katherine Graham we get the drift. Propaganda, polemic, crass commercialism.

"If the press has any power it is as a conduit of news, and not as the voice of those who run it," he says, while admitting that proprietors have the prerogative on selecting of the news they're willing to print.

Space forbids extensive quotation from the lips of these extraordinary creatures.

E.W. Scripps (1854-1926) who said "It is easier way, London SE1 6BD Tel: 01-403 0300 for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than it is for a successful newspaper publisher to give democracy a square deal."

A good holiday read from which to pick up conversational nuggets - did you know the Daily Mirror started as a women's newspaper staffed entirely by women? Or that the Melbourne Age may have been the first worker co-op newspaper, under the control of its printing staff?

The last word must go to Heren, despite his peculiar attitude to contemporary media issues. "Journalists are indispensable, but they cannot run newspapers." And so say all of us.

"The Power of the Press?" by Louis Heren.

PRINTING MATTERS

It is little wonder that the Greater London Enterprise Board (set up by the GLC) has upset the Thatcherites in Whitehall. The Board's Investment strategies challenge the idea that industrial change should create decline, unemployment, de-unionisation and de-skilling.

There clearly is an alternative and it requires planning. Printing Matters describes GLEB's ideas for London Print. It highlights the need to bring together the skills of its workforce and the industrial infrastructure, then use London's design and research facilities to modernice rather than scrap the industry.

Printing technology is racing through new generations of equipment at a staggering rate, yet the industry remains almost entirely privately-owned and is plagued with poor management which compounds its problems.

The key problems are: rapid reduction of jobs, diversification of print companies, increasing specialisation; declining pay rates and poor job opportunities for black people and women. GLEB 's main aim, therefore, is to invest in projects that: increase jobs for women and ethnic groups; do not use technologies that deskill and create unemployment; extend and strengthen the role of workers and their organisations.

Four key areas have been pinpointed for investment; city print, small/medium jobbing and instant print, web offset local newspapers investments, in a lithographic printing and a bookbinding co-operative, give some practical indication of what has been achieved.

GLEB's creative and collective approach represent only a minute fraction of what is needed to rebuild industry in London.

Print union chapels and all those interested in the future of the industry should read and discuss this study - and give GLEB the benefit of their views.

by Mike Power

One of my favourites is from US magnate Printing Matters £1. GLEB, 63-67 Newington Cause-



journeyman

The Soldiers' Strikes of 1919 by Andrew Rothstein The first detailed study of the unprecedented wave of strikes and demonstrations in the British armed services at the end of World War 1

23.95

William Morris's Socialist Diary edited by Florence Boos

A meticulously edited text, with a wealth of historical notes and biographical details of the man who influenced much British socialist

'Don't be a Soldier!' The

Radical Anti-War movement in North London 1914-1918 by Ken Weller An invaluable account of women have the power, the courageous stand and men wear penis thousands took against World War 1, which grew to become a massive surge of that's already a best-seller industrial and social unrest Germany and Scandinavia

The Daughters of Egalia by Gerd Brantenberg Translated from the Norwegian The story of Egalia, where holders and look after the children. An hilarious satire

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L. to R. Cynthia Cockburn, Lesley Wood, Sue Johnstone and Wendy Moore unveil the Campaign for Real People at the NUJ Annual

Media weakens

Media Week - the new trade magazine for journalists has agreed to print a same-page apology following an offensive and unbalanced diary story in its April 26 issue.

The magazine's editors also promised to publish a feature article aimed at giving a fair picture of the new campaign on images in the media which has been launched by the NUJ's Equality Council.

The diary piece reproduced a leaflet publicising the Equality Council's Campaign for Real People — a project which focusses on challenging old-fashioned cliches and stereotypes in the media.

But in the rather confused article author George Pitcher failed to refer to any of the objectives of the campaign.

He wrote: "The Campaign for Real People literature has been sent to me by attractive, blonde, busty beauty ex-Miss Wet T-Shirt Wendy 'Gimme' Moore, who is lucky enough to be on the Equality Council of the National Union of Journalists tquite a

"Just scratch the "Break the Mould" panel and smell real people — the sweaty, beery, staleashtrayed men and women of Mould-breakers journalism. should apply for further info to attractive Wendy at the NUJ."

Media Week editors told me that the article was meant to be taken as a joke and was aimed at Fleet Street journalists. They offered to print a leter putting my point of view.

But persistence seem to be key to success Executive editor Ron McKay agreed that Media Week was intended to be a progressive alternative magazine for journalists. He promised to consider demands for a same-page apology and a "sensible" feature about the Break the Mould campaign to be published in May to coincide with the press launch of the campaign. The following day editor Tim Brookes initially rejected the requests - despite my pointing out that a number of people had, amazingly, taken the descriptions seriously. He finally agreed to both demands.

> By WENDY MOORE **NUJ Equality Council**

MEDIA MOVES

We are witnessing radical changes within Britain's media. Newspapers may soon stop printing in Fleet Street: Eddie

Shah has plans to produce a non-union newspaper, the Maxwell/Murdoch newspaper printing empires have now expanded into cable and satellite broadcasting; the Government have set up the Peacock inquiry into the funding of the

through the convergence of communication technologies and the need for publishing empires to expand into the broadcasting area. The driving force is competition for advertising revenue in the scramble for greater profits.

Rupert Murdoch's control of Sky Satellite and Robert Maxwell's control of Rediffusion, might lead cynics to believe that this is the sole reason for virulent attacks by Mirror Group and Murdoch Newspapers on the licence fee system of funding the BBC, and their support for the BBC to carry advertising. This concerted campaign, supported by the Adam Smith Institute and the advertising industry, has led the Government to set up the Peacock Inquiry.

No doubt, this Inquiry will advocate that the BBC should be funded through advertising and this in turn will lead the Government to advocate the total privatisation of broadcasting.

There will be rich pickings for

These changes are inter-connected the likes of Murdoch and Maxwell. No doubt, programmers on cable and satellite cast envious eves on the stock pile of high-standard programming built up by British broadcasting over the years.

If Peacock accepts the arguments of the advertising industry and the media moguls, then the BBC could mop up annual revenue of a billion pounds from the market that currently finances commercial radio and TV.

And that could have a dramatic

- Independent local radio stations will close.
- Provincial evening newspapers will close. Regional papers will find themselves starved of advertising. Fleet Street papers themselves will lose revenue
- ITV companies will lose revenue and some will close.

Clearly, the massive investments in cable and satellite by the media industry, can only see a

NUJ Broadcasting Officer JOHN FOSTER

return on that investment if there are radical changes in the sturcture of broadcasting in Britain. These changes would lead to an even greater dominance by national and multi-national companies over all our media.

The inter-active possibilities of cable raise problems for all those working in the printing and communications industries. If Britain is successfully cabled, why should we need the present system of printing newspapers and distributing, or indeed the present system of distributing mail.

The convergence of ownership within the industry must draw us away from the narrow, tunnelvision methods of dealing with broadcasting, printing and the newspaper industries as separate entities. The are now intrinsically inter-connected. There is a need to campaign for more diverse ownership and control of communications within Britain, not the narrowing of choice and control which we are about to witness.

We must work to ensure that the communication industry is seen within a public service framework and not simply as a basis for multi-national, corporate domination of culture and communication systems based on the ideology of the "fast buck".



"No comment"

As 1984 drifts further into the past, something fishy seems to be happening at Radio Orwell in Suf-

As the following press release reveals, they aren't being sheepish about it. A model of brevity, it speaks for itself as all good press releases should.

NEW DIRECTOR FOR RADIO ORWELL

David Sheepshanks, 32, Managing Director of Starfish Ltd. the rapidly expanding Ipswich-based seafood and shellfish company, has been appointed a non-Executive Director of Radio Orwell, the North Essex and East Suffolk independent Radio Station.

Founded 10 years ago, Radio Orwell is controlled by Suffolk Group Radio plc, which also includes the Bury St Edmunds-based Saxon Radio.

Issued on behalf of Starfish Ltd. Further information from Richard Aldwinckle/Emma Stops

BEHIND THE NEWS. 5

Reaction sets in on Amercian TV

A group of ultra-right-wing business tycoons is currently planning to take over CBS, America's prestigious television network, in a bid to remove what they call "liberal bias in its news coverage".

Co-ordinated by 'Fairness in the Media' whose chief advocate is far-Right Republican Senator Jesse Helms, the plan is to encourage wealthy conservatives to buy up the company's shares and thereby influence CBS editorial policy.

New York financier Ivan Boesky, who paid Helms' expenses in last year's re-election campaign in North Carolina, has already acquired 2.6 million CBS shares for \$247 million.

And now cable TV magnate Ted Turner is consulting merchant bankers and investors to raise cash for a full-scale take-over bid for CBS. Turner has had secret meetings with Boesky and Helms who have both endorsed his strategy.

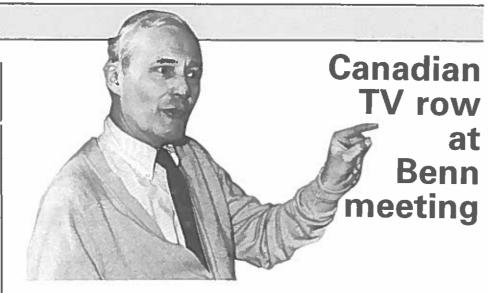
'Fairness in the Media' has already spent over \$800,000 in its anti-CBS drive, using direct mail appeals to rich conservatives calling for them to buy CBS shares. Thousands already

But CBS' lawyers have hit back by pointing out that the Helm's operation is run by Southerners who are blatantly racist and whose real motive is to "publicise their partisan political views".

Meanwhile, the CPBFs' old friend, Daily Mail propagandist Paul Johnson has welcomed the Helm's plan: "Helms may have started a fashion, which could spread to other centres of liberal media power in the US. It could even spread to Britain.

How about a dawn raid on such left-wing institutions as Granada and Thames Televi-

By Mark Hollingsworth | event.



What began with "a quite unpleasant display of self-importance and antagonism" by a TV reporter covering a public meeting addressed by Tony Benn in Toronto last November, has developed into a major row about media bias and accountability in Canada.

The quote comes from the original complaint to CFTO TV by Professor Ian Taylor, a British criminologist teaching at Carleton Uniersity in Ottawa.

He had been among an audience of some 600 at the Benn meeting, which was interrupted first by TV lights and then heckling, abuse and threats from Tim Sheehy of CFTO News after equests that the lights be switched off.

Facilities for interviews and filming had been accorded to the media prior to the public meeting. CFTO TV chose to attend the meeting and altercation began almost at once.

The TV crew eventually withdrew, and Prof. laylor made his complaint.

The TV company's response simply fanned flames of indignation from the group of Labour eaders and academics who had organized the

The President and Chief Executive of CFTO claimed the meeting had been organized by the Trotskyist League (it hadn't - as if it mattered); said that Benn had started the fraças by insulting the crew (audio-tapes tell a different story); and firmly exonerated the crew of all

Just to rub it in he sent copies of complaint and reply to the President of Taylor's University.

But the most staggering aspect of his response was this remark: "Mr Benn does not, in our opinion, have a high news value to our viewers. However, in light of the British miners' strike and the despicable behaviour of Mr Arthur Scargill, our News Department, in its wisdom, believed there was a high interest in the event."

The meeting's organizers have now taken this up with the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC).

They have raised doubts about the TV company's compliance with a section of the Broadcasting Act which requires them to "provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public

The Company is condemned out of its own mouth, they contend, and query its suitability for a broadcasting license.

The case continues as we go to Press.

Prisoner of conscience in Uganda ANTHONY SSEKWEYAMA

Anthony Ssekweyama, editor of the Ugandan opposition weekly, Munnansi, has been detained without charge since he was served with a detention order in November 1984. The reason for his detention is believed to be an article which appeared in Munnansi on 21 Nov., criticising the presence of North Korean troops in the country.

At the time of his arrest he was on bail in Masika to President Obote, which proposed tured.

Letters of appeal may be sent to:

His Excellency Dr Apolo Milton Obote President of the Republic of Uganda Office of the President **Parliamentary Buildings** PO Box 7168 Kampala UGANDA

Three other journalists working on connection with a charge of sedition, made Munnansi are also being held without following the publication in Munnansi of a charge. One of them, John Baptist letter allegedly from Chief Justice George Kyeyune, is reported to have been tor-

the detention of the leaders of the opposi- Amnesty International believes that all tion Democratic Party. The charge of four are Prisoners of Conscience, imprissedition was dismissed by the courts in oned solely for their work as journalists, and is calling for their immediate release.

The Hon, Dr. John Luwuliza-Kirunda Minister of Internal Affairs **Ministry of Internal Affairs** P.O. Box 7191 Kampala UGANDA

JOURNALISTS DIE

The International Committee of the Red Cross, meeting in Switzerland in April. learned that 210 journalists have been killed in Latin America over the last 20 years, and that 98 Arab journalists have been killed in the Middle East during the last decade.

The World Press Freedon Committee released statistics which showed that 23 journalists were killed in the course of their work last year, 81 were wounded and a further 205 gaoled throughout the world.

Commenting on the figures the vice-President of the ICRC said: "When a newspaper correspondent goes to the front, he knows the risks he is taking and he accepts

"However, what you do not accept, because they are unacceptable are the deliberate acts: arrest, prolonged detention, ill-treatment, abduction, murder - designed to disregard your freedom or even your life, to keep you from doing your job."

Puzzled by the choice and order of headlines in a recent edition of BBC TV news (15 March) we grabbed a notebook. Out jottings make scary reading.

The news began with Thatcher's "mistaken" accusation in the Commons that teachers had abandoned a school for handicapped children in support of their pay claim. She wwas later to apologise (unlike the Sun), but we felt she had deliberately used the occasion to throw down the gauntlet to the NUT.

Football hooligans came next - and a warning from the Home Secretary that they faced life sentences for rioting. He said their parents were to blame, not unemployment or deteriorating school facilities. No significance was attached to the fact they had attacked the police rather than rival supporters.

Then came the Queen's new high-cost, highsecurity train, necessitated by repeated security breaches, threats and attacks on members of the royal family in recent years, we were told. Consequently more and more police have had to be armed and trained. So now we know.

Cut to starvation in Ethiopia, where a relief worker wept with a dying child in her arms. How do you squeeze more charity from the west, when public sympathy peaked before the full extent of the famine was realized, and wealthy governemtns ignore the real needs, was the message in this item.

Straight on to new Cruise missile sites in Belgium, with massive arms spending in four countries — effectively preparing for war. More peace protests with armed police responding to them. International arms talks continue about plans for global was conducted from outer space. Governemnt speakers use light-projection prompting techniques to tell them what to say to

Reading between the headlines

Mike Jempson, Dot Lee and Betty Rubinstein take a look at hidden meanings in the news

Then a poor black man is accused of attempting to get into the Reagan's White House briefing on the talks. It is suggested, without evidence that this constitutes a threat from the other side, and the US announces that it will have to hold out until the Russians give something in the talks.

Its a NATO manoeuvre next in northern Norway, where a full-scale land, sea and air exercize is taking place with the most sophisticated weaponry and equipment. Yet four men die of cold, proving how difficult it will be to protect the West in the frozen wastes. Hence the need for cruise missiles in a moderate climate. creating a safe defence front-line, and the Star Wars proposals.

That same night Peter Kellner said that moves away from defying the government on all fronts had marginalised the "hard left", by which he meant those willing to defy the law on principle - the "subversives" against which the government itself was introducing measures.

It all adds up to a frightening scenario. For some time we had kept the kids from the news, because of the constant violence and disaster. Now we would urge everyone to watch out for the news we should be allowed to know

Here is a Radio 4 news bulletin (13 Feb).

There has been an "admission" from Moscow that Chernenko is ill. The clear impliestion is that we are always told everything in this country. Remember Churchill.

Reagan tells us the US will be "stronger and more free then ever before" because of the Star Wars project. It will "deter war", and is "investing in peace and freedom". How do they get people to put this stuff over with a

The Daily Mail will not be on sale today because of "industrial action" by clerical staff. Those wicked trades unionists again!

The Arts Council says it is "powerless to help" two theatres and four opera companies at risk from Arts Council cuts.

The public are given the impression that the arts are frills we can't afford anymore.

The NCB say the miners' strike is "crumbling". An organised return to work is in the

If the BBC is on neither "side" how come this item comes over so lon-sided?

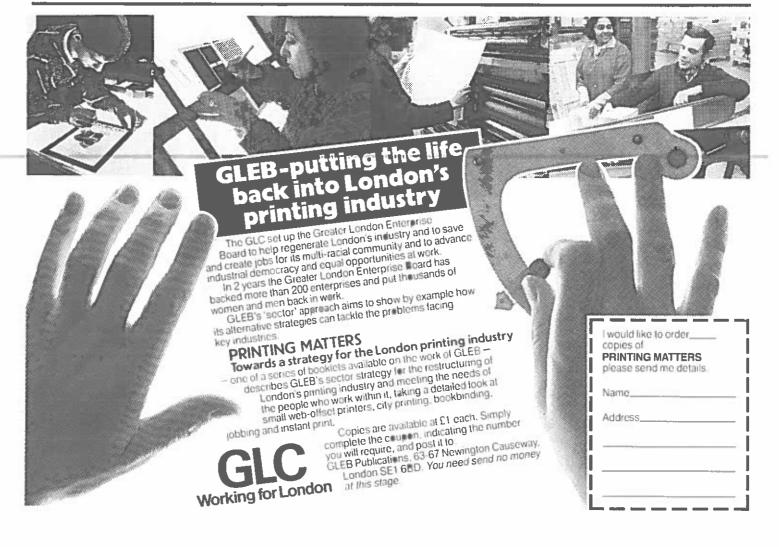
Spain is to buy Scorpion tanks from Britain marking "a new era in relations" More war psychosis.

Mengele ("responsible for deaths of 400,00 Jews") is sought in S. America.

A juicy news story — but why has the BBC done nothing about it before? And note the "one-man-is-responsible" syndrome.

No cricket. Must be bad weather.

If the BBC weren't constantly casting glances over their shoulder at the sensibilites of the political establishment we might get more about the many struggles for civil libersigns of the hidden threats behind the bland ties, rights and freedoms happening everypresentation of what the Establishment feels is where. A wealth of good news we hardly ever hear about.



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Perverted Pictures

by David Hoffman

When my photograph of a peace protest blockade was used to support the London Standard's headline "CND HOLDING HANDS WITH IRA" I was both furious and mortified.

misleading and the copy total- enters the public domain and ly failed to justify it. There it becomes impossible to reswas nothing at all I could do

A few months ago the Mail managed to spirit away a picture I had of Patrick Harrington in a military type uniform and ran it over 34 sq in of a double page spread without permission, credit or notification.

Apart from attempting to avoid payment of my copyright fee they denied me any control over the use of my own picture.

I had taken the picture to show the fantasy world of the National Front's military self-image but the Mail used it to rubbish opposition to Harrington's presence at the North London Poly, in the guise of eulogising the Poly's new director.

Although the article devoted one whole sentence to criticism of Harrington, the strength of the image as reproduced had the opposite

I think that all this is perfectly all right. Once a profit on its misuse.

The headline was viciously picture has been published it trict its use.

> Just as a truncheoning policeman or a manifestly duplicitous politician caught by the camera becomes the property of the photographer to crop, edit and publish as s/he chooses the published photo becomes another 'event' that others may pick up and use as they will.

For the working photographer complete control of one's images is in practice impossible.

Some photographers stamp dire warnings on their prints, others canse around to ensure every print is returned after use. Whatever we do, prints go missing and photos can be lifted from one magazine and used in another without the photographer even knowing of it.

The loss of fees could be dealt with by better copyright law but the image, once in the public domain, is there for ever. All we can do is make a

COMMUNITY RADIO — which way to go?

The debate about how to ensure diverse, successful and accountable local radio stations has come to a head, with the government set on de-regulating the airwaves.

Following controversy at the CPBF AGM over the apparently conflicting interests of media unions and minority groups, the next Supplement in FREE PRESS will examine the issues.

A critical article by Richard Barbrook of the Community Radio Project has been held over for this supplement. Other contributions are welcomed.

Meanwhile the Alliance of Commercial Radio Unions is calling for a public inquiry into the issue. And the GLC is planning a major communications Conference next year.



• Does reading the newspapers give vou a headache?

Campaign member Caroline Rees has been experimenting with some visual images to raise questions about press and media distortion.

Can you come up with any ideas for a poster/leaflet campaign? Send in your cartoons, photo-montage, graphics to FREE PRESS c/o CPBF 9 Poland St. London W1 3DG.

FREE PRESS will return to the subject of photography in another PROBING PICTURES supplement next year. Some of our contributors have also suggested a conference/ exhibition on the subject.

Supplements on Sexism and Racism in the media are lined un for this

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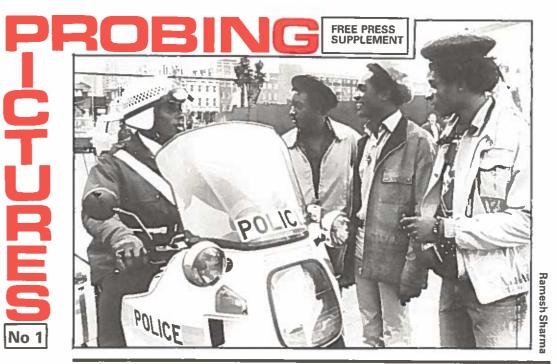




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Seeing is **Believing**

by Chi Chan

People often write to their daily or local paper to complain about the way a journalist has presented a subject in a story. We rarely read about such complaints concerning photographs.

I believe this reflects a passive acceptance of photographic images, in part due to the emphasis that our education system has put on the printed word rather than im-

We are taught to question and appreciate the meaning of words, most of us have not learnt to do the same with those ubiquitous silver images.

On the whole photos in newspapers play a supportive role to the written word. The days of the picture story have all but disappeared.

WOMEN IN ACTION Miners' Strike 1985-85

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For 'hard' news, photos are used to attract the readers' attention serving a similar function to the headline, and are often chosen for their dramatic contents. One recent example was the front page photo in The Guardian on 25th March.

A shocking picture of the corpse of the son of a black councillor killed and burned by his black neighbours accompanied a lead story about the impact of the continuing violence in Eastern Cape townships on the S. African government. The text made no mention of the incident depicted in the photo.

Compare this with the front page of The Times on the same day. The same news item is given less prominence but with no accompanying photo, though the Times did mention the incendiary incident

İmmediately above this story the Times chose to feature a large photo of Zola Budd crossing the finishing line of a cross country race in Lisbon.

Why the image and the omission in the Guardian? And why the unexplained juxtaposition of image and story in the Times? Why lead on Zola Budd at all?

These examples show quite neatly the power of photographs, even in their absence, in relation to the printed word.

The Guardian's case highlights a particular danger inherent in some news photos - illustrating an horrific incident but without explaining the event. For some it is merely confusing. for others it may serve to reinforce prejudice. Once again black people are seen as an unruly mobacting without any reason.

Stereotyping in the media is of course not new. However easily recognised in the written word it is not so readily interpreted as such in photos.

We tend to regard what we see in pictures as the trutha

Photography, like most things is about decision and selection. Very often what you get out of a photo depends largely on prior knowledge of the subject.

In such circumstances, images can simply serve to feed prejudice. Frequent presentation of people in stereotypical poses, not surprisingly, leads to popular acceptance of this "reality"

The photos in our newspapers and their use as an element of design, result from editorial decisions.

Don't forget there is always more than meets the eye in every news picture in your paper.

Images we never see

Press photographers seem to be getting a rough deal these

Quite apart from unauthorised "lifting" of photo-graphs, and the subsequent legal hassles over payment, there are frequent reports of assault and the inevitable problem of police, and even military, harassment of those who attempt to record "unpopular" events.

But there is a less public problem - the "spiking" of pictures that don't conform to the editorial prejudices of the Establishment or the left.

Ramesh Sharma's striking portrait of Enoch Powell (front cover) was not considered worthy of publication.

On May 22 1983 he captured an unusual image during an anti-Police Bill demonstration (above left).

Three black youths chat casually with the black traffic policeman who was steering the march across Vauxhaull Bridge in London.

Because there was no violence the Daily Telegraph picture editor did not even bother to examine the film he had commissioned.

Sharma has offered it to other picture editors. He says left-wing publications dislike it for being "pro-police".

"And the registered professional 'ethnocrats' say its racist!" he says. "What they don't understand is that I didn't create it. It happened."

Sheila Gray of Format caught a telling juxtaposition of images when she was covering the 1980 Tory Party Conference.

Her picture (below) has been widely used since, because it makes its point so concisely. Yet she appears to have been the only one of hundreds of media people who thought of focussing in on three letters of the Conference slogan 'FORWARD TOGETHER'.



Sheila Gray/FORMAT

The views expressed in this Supplement are not no

A Miner's Eye









The South London-based Photo Co-op facturers. has prepared an exhibition of Dave's photos. By Nick Wright, PHOTO CO-OP

The 1984/85 strike by Britain's miners in defence of their jobs and their communities is probably the most photographed episode in the history of our working class.

Dave Dronfield took these photographs (left). He is a miner at Markham Main pit in North Derbyshire. He was on strike from day one. Before the strike he was a keen amateur photographer and a member of the pit camera club.

Dave's pictures have a special value above the work of professional photographers and journalists precisely because they represent the privileged viewpoint of a worker engaged in the defence of the interests of his class, his family and himself. They document the course of the strike.

The technical constraints under which photographs enter circulation normally pass unremarked. Police control of journalistic activity compels a striking miner without press credentials to be positioned with the pickets rather than the press.

Dave's photographs enjoy a special advantage 'because he was highly active in the organisation of the strike. His wife was active in the women's organisation which sprang up. He had privileged access to the strike centre in Whitwell and other pit villages, to the feeding centres, to meetings, to the women's committees. Everywhere in fact that the bosses' offensive compelled mining communities to organise.

Unlike a bourgeois artist engaged in the production of a commodity whose exchange value is underpinned by its rarity value, these pictures are the property of the class they depict.

Organisation The immense creative effort revealed by the strike finds expression in a series of photos which show the range of organisational activity undertaken by miners unable to picket through repressive

use of court powers and bail con-

The big demonstrations organised by the women's committees needed to be co-ordinated and the Chesterfield-based committee rom top responsible for the big International Women's Day rally brought together women of exceptional organisational and political ability from dozens of mining communities.

Conflict

The presence of police ensured constant conflict on picket lines. Dawn picketting inevitably led to arrests (bottom).

The police developed familiar techniques which they used against women-only pickets mounted in N. Derbyshire and S. Yorks (second from bottom).

Demonstration

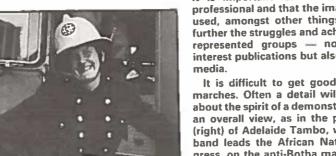
Women Against Pit Closures brought thousands of women to London in a mass demonstration organised and led by women (top),

The monopoly media were continuously wrong-footed by the mass character of the campaigning work around the strike. Mass pickets produced a response from the police that could be depicted in distorted ways. The mass demonstrations, particularly those by women, presented a more difficult problem to the image manu-



"The work I value most is often done 'on spec', frequently with little prospect of immediate publication or financial reward. ... This picture of Gina and Bobby on picket at Orgreave stoking colliery is one of a series I have taken specifically to publicize the women's support group. " Raissa Page/FORMAT

Putting women in the picture



"Sue Batton (above) is Britain's first firewoman. I hope that through my photographs I can help change attitudes to women, in particular about the kind of work they do and are expected to do. " Brenda Prince/FORMAT

Format Photographers is a women's collective set up in 1983.

Our pictures focus on people, their everyday lives and the economic and social issues which confront them.

We share a concern over the politics of representation - how our photos are taken, how and where they are used, and who sees them.

Our politics are informed by feminism.

It is important for us that we are seen as professional and that the images we produce are used, amongst other things, to document and further the struggles and achievements of underrepresented groups - not only in minority interest publications but also in mass circulation

It is difficult to get good photos of marches. Often a detail will say more about the spirit of a demonstration than an overall view, as in the photograph (right) of Adelaide Tambo, whose husband leads the African National Congress, on the anti-Botha march in London last year.

The photo of everyday life on the Falls Road Belfast (below left) taken in 1983 demonstrates how visible women's involvement has become in the struggle of the Nationalist people. Ten years ago such a mural would have been inconceivable in spite of the fact that women have always played a crucial role in the struggle. The photo is hard to subvert though the British Army defaced the mural with paint soon afterwards.

*These are edited extracts from an article that originally appeared in Feminist Review No. 18.





Just as advertising images carry secondary messages, about the joys of heterosexuality and the family, so do our images.

We chose the picture (above) of Margaret Wood, a cleaner at County Hall, to symbolize change and opportunity for the first panel in a GLC Equal Opportunities Unit

Black people can be shown as strong and self-organizing - like the three barristers (below left) photographed for a pack prepared by teachers for use in Brent's multi-



tion in favour of text. Fact and analysis, it is asserted, are best explained with words; words are clear, concise, exact, specific; words can best deal with describing facts. So design is reduced to the functional or decorative; and visual images are reduced to showing obviously superficial fact, clearly, concisely,

communication.

the left — to satisfy.

exactly and specifically, as is expected of Invariably a photograph of a strike will show a line of pickets holding placards standing in front of a works entrance which bears the name of the company. The photograph is used

FOCUSSING'

FROM THE LEFT

We in the field of visual propaganda, like other

professionals, have a client — our comrades on

They provide us with a specific message to

communicate, in a particular form and size and

with an exact budget; and they confront us

with their particular prejudices about visual

Here arises both an obvious and also a subtle

problem. The former is that the left in general,

and in Britain particularly, tend often to

overlook the possibility of visual communica-

to affirm the fact of the strike, the fact of the picket and the facts of the place. How much more powerful, more loaded with our own understanding and commitment would be a photograph of one striker's face in close up or a low angle shot of hand with

placard, or hands locking a gate!

In the rare moments when visual means of communication are given some attention we encounter a reliance on old visual techniques, especially socialist realist and photomontage methods of the 1920s and 1930s and the advertising styles of the 1950s. This implies a cultural conservatism which is out of step with progressive views.

Robert Golden: Photography Politics:One Photography Workshop.

Quoted in Committing Photography by Su Braden, Pluto Press, 1983

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