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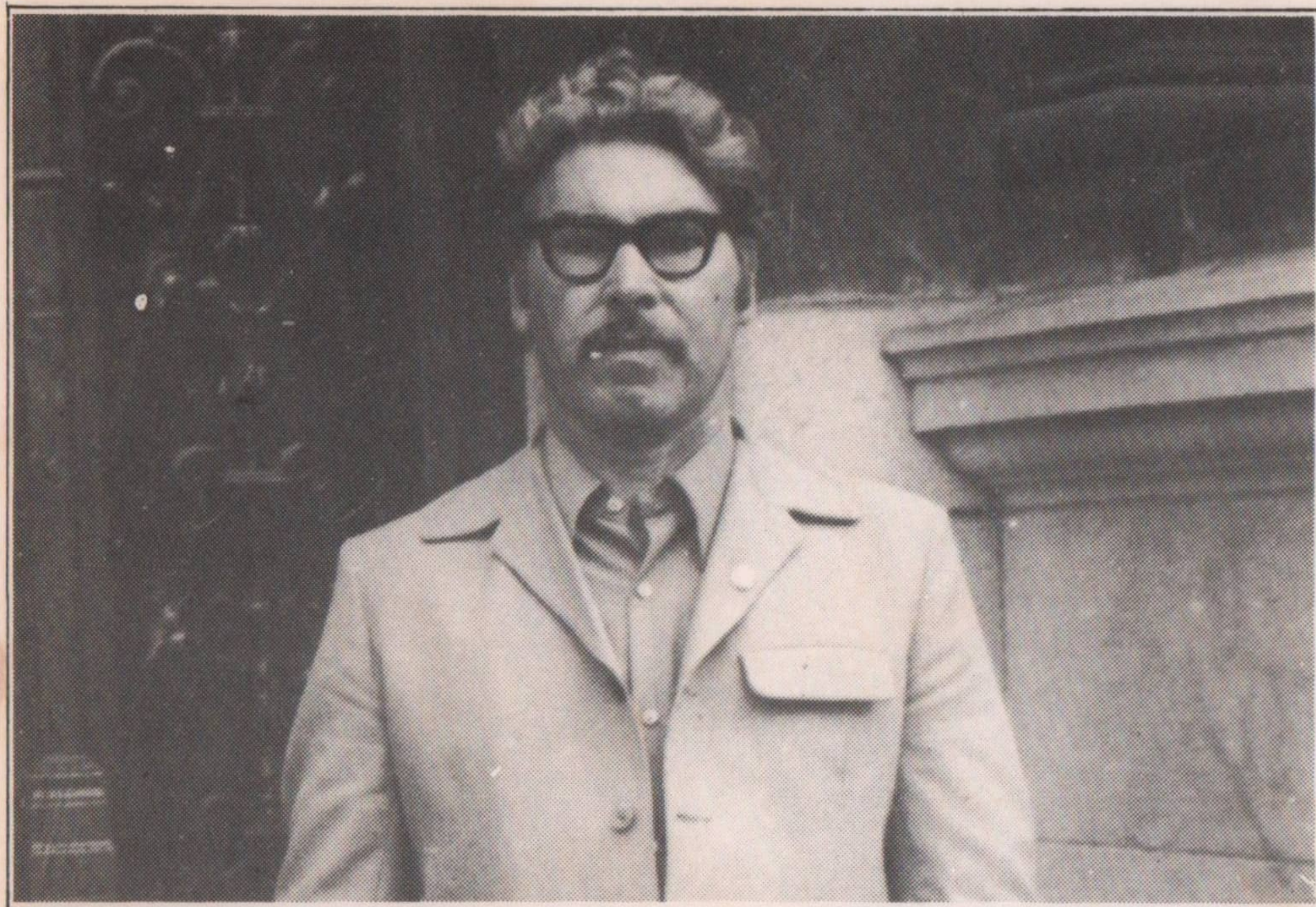
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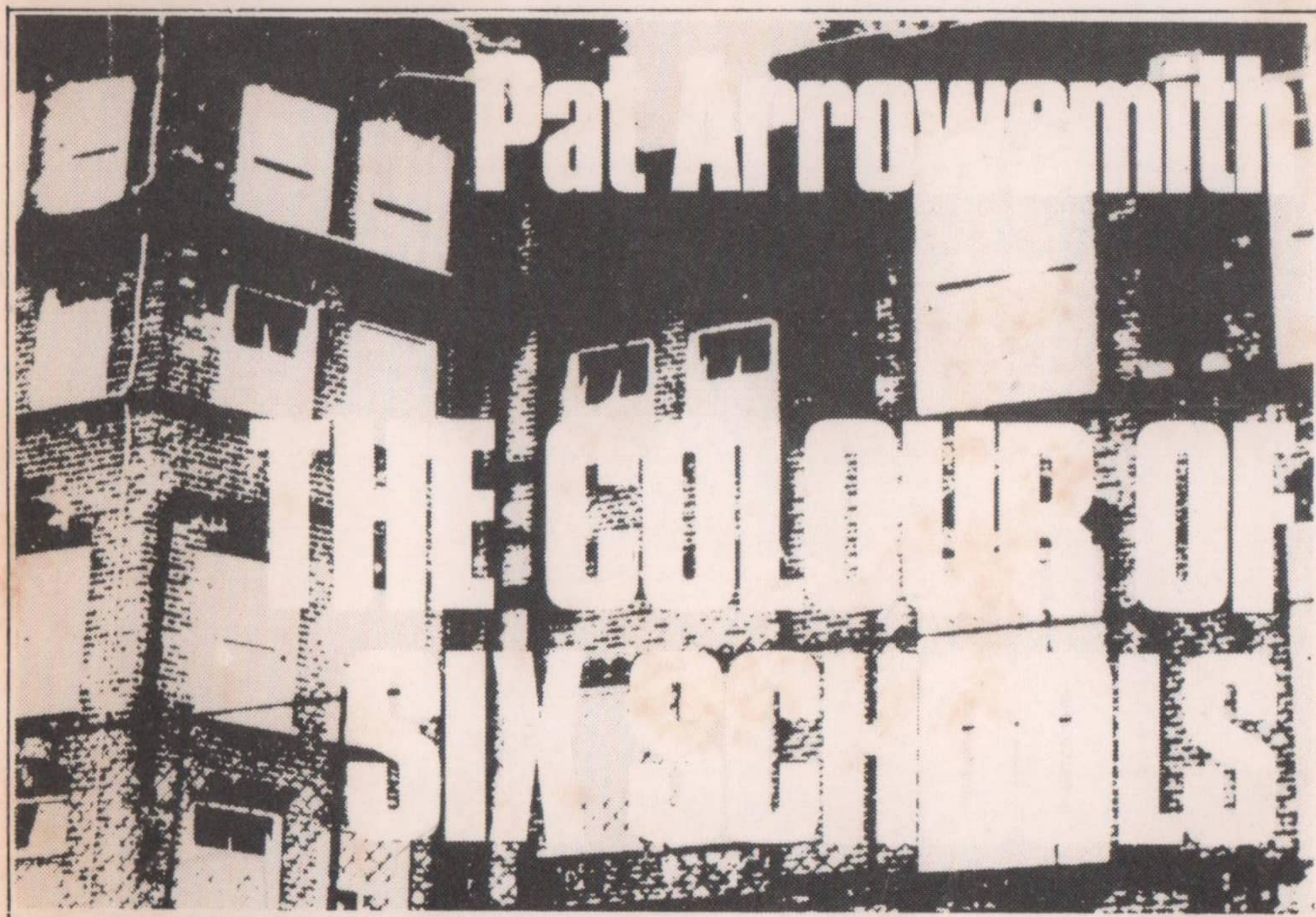
The 'deserter' the Sunday Mirror sent to Sweden

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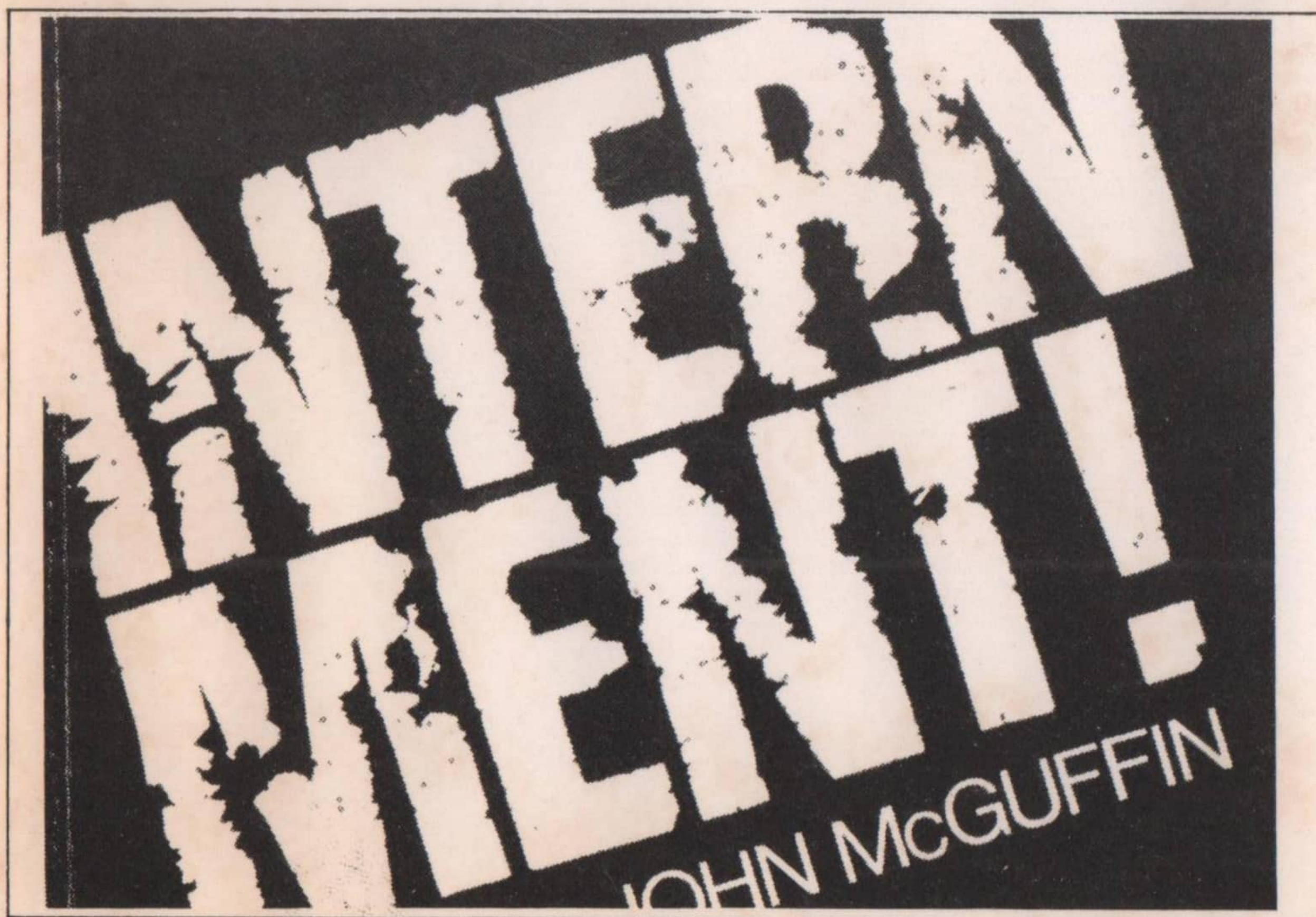
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Walter Morrison:
Victimised for trade
union activities - see
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A book you ought to read
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How the media covered the massacre - see NOTES Plus: LETTERS and PRISON REPORT



cover story

Alan Sinclair of Black Box News Service
who followed British army 'deserter'
George Exelby to Sweden, reports that
it was the Sunday Mirror who sent him
there

On 26 August the Sunday Mirror opened 'its file on people helping British soldiers to desert to Sweden'. Paul Donovan, author of this bold expose, claimed that 'aiding the soldiers' escape are pacifists, the London "underground" movement and a variety of so-called peace groups.'

Highlighting the case of Lance-Corporal George Exelby, the last known soldier to have gone to Sweden, and boldly brushing aside threats of retaliation from the publishers of IT the Mirror man continued his probe. 'HOW exactly did these soldiers leave Britain? WHO gave them money, advice and contacts?'

Donovan stated that in conversations with him the tall, fair-haired deserter 'revealed' his escape route and contacts. What Donovan did not say was that through classic Mirror methods of conjecture, cajolery, hounding, bullying and booze he played on Exelby's fear, vanity and financial difficulty - and that he actively assisted him to make contact with groups and individuals who would get him to Sweden.

In effect Donovan 'ran' Exelby - advising, instructing, wining and dining the deserter at various stages until he reached Sweden and the Mirror had its story.

The day after publication a frightened and confused Exelby - despite advice from the Swedish Deserters Support Group in Stockholm - surrendered himself to the British Embassy hoping that the article would gain him some kind of leniency. And on 2 September the Sunday Mirror was able to report that Exelby 'is now in custody at his REME unit at Arborfield, Berks, while officers investigate his case.'

In all George Exelby was absent without leave for 12 weeks. The story of his 'desertion' began on 2 June when

- instead of reporting for a pre-training exercise in South Wales before going to Ulster - he travelled to London. Two days later he found a job at the Carnival strip club in Old Compton Street, Soho. Until he found accommodation in a Kensington bedsitter he stayed at the servicemen's hotel, the Union Jack club.

On Saturday 23 June the Daily Mirror published a story about the death of a British deserter in Sweden, claiming he'd killed himself. After reading it Exelby decided he would sell the Mirror his story: funds were low and frequent trips to Andover to see his girlfriend were proving expensive.

Exelby's girlfriend, Pauline Scamill, was the ex-girlfriend of Kevin Cadwallader, the first British soldier to desert to Sweden and the present middleweight boxing champion of Stockholm. After Exelby's disappearance the police, seeing Pauline as a link, visited her several times.

Within hours of phoning the Daily Mirror on 23 June Exelby was having his first meeting with Paul Donovan of the Sunday Mirror at Holborn Circus. They met again two days later at the Swiss Centre and over a meal discussed Sweden: Exelby was to go through the 'pipeline' and provide Donovan with all the details.

They had a further meeting on Wednesday 27 June - on the same day Exelby left his job at the strip club.

The following day Exelby walked into the offices of the War Resisters International, announced he was a deserter and said he wanted help in getting to Sweden. He repeated this request at the offices of the Peace Pledge Union.

According to the Mirror Exelby had found the address of the PPU 'through reading "underground" newspapers' - and Exelby himself insisted to me that he found it in IT. But IT say they don't recall publishing the address of the PPU - and certainly not in a recent issue.

More sophisticated liars than Exelby and Donovan would have cited the London telephone directory which lists both the WRI and the PPU. But Donovan needed to 'establish' that someone other than himself gave Exelby the idea of visiting the PPU.

This explains why Donovan's story specifies that Exelby went 'first' to the offices of IT - although he did not

in fact do so until Friday 29 June, the day after his visit to the WRI and PPU.

The purpose of Exelby's visit to IT was to ask for help in getting a 'crash pad': he had by now left his Kensington bedsitter. Next day, 30 June, Exelby reported to Donovan at the Regent Palace Hotel and informed him of his progress in meeting 'peace groups' and the 'London underground movement'.

He then went to Andover for a couple of days, saw Pauline and looked up a couple of friends.

When Exelby had his next meeting with Donovan on 10 July at the Trafalgar Hotel, he was able to report further progress: he had now met people who had agreed to get him to Sweden.

They met again a week later at the George pub in Wardour Street. During this time Exelby had mysteriously 'lost' his passport. Insisting that someone in the 'underground' must have stolen it he told his contacts that he must have a new one - and they must help him get it.

In an article he wrote later for Cenotaph, the new underground bulletin for British servicemen, Exelby described what he did - and what future deserters should do: 'Go to Somerset House, using your own name and correct date of birth, say you have lost your birth certificate and ask for an abbreviated one, it costs about 25p.

'After getting this go to the nearest labour exchange which should have a passport section. Furnishing them with the abbreviated birth certificate and two passport photographs ask for a visitor's passport. Unlike the full 10-year passport which is sent through the post and takes up to a couple of weeks to obtain, a visitor's passport is handed over the counter within minutes of application.'

Two days later, on 19 July, Exelby met Donovan for the last time before going to Sweden.

In an interview published in IT after he left London Exelby claimed to have been a member of the notorious SAS and to have been wounded in action. Before leaving Exelby asked IT to stop publication - it was too late: the presses were already rolling - but didn't explain the real reason for his request. It was that the interview was pure fiction - the product of Exelby's fantasies.

The date he flew to Sweden was 26 July - two days later he reported his

safe arrival to Donovan. Within a fortnight he visited the British consul in Malmo 'just for a talk'.

I interviewed George Exelby on 21 and 22 August, piecing together the story of his involvement with Donovan with the aid of his diary. I was with him for about 24 hours and interviewed him for about six. After I'd left Sweden Exelby phoned Donovan to warn him that I had been to see him.

On Sunday 26 August - the day the Mirror article appeared - I got a reverse charge call from Exelby in Sweden, but when I answered he hung up.

On 27 August, before giving himself up, Exelby phoned a member of the Deserters Support Group in Stockholm and admitted what was clearly implied by the details of his meetings with Donovan - that it was the Mirror who had sent him to Sweden.

The 31 August issue of Peace News - which also included a fact-sheet for British soldiers on getting out of the army - quoted Gwyn Williams, one of those named in the Mirror article, as follows: 'I know of no one on the pacifist left who urged George to go to Sweden. He had the disadvantages of this pointed out to him, and was told of other ways of leaving the army. If anyone put him up to going to Sweden, the only person I can think of that it could have been is Paul Donovan.'

And Peace News added: 'Incidentally, Donovan invented much of the "quote" from Howard Clark used in the Mirror article.'

Libel report

From now on each issue of INSIDE STORY will include a report on libel. Here we review some recent cases - including our own - and introduce our 'Anti-Libel Agreement' which Peace News and the Catonsville Roadrunner have also signed. Elsewhere in this issue (after

Blacklisted, NOTES and LETTERS) are more examples of libel actions

In INSIDE STORY 10 we published a letter from Le Brasseur & Oakley, threatening to start libel proceedings against us unless within seven days we agreed to publish 'an apology and withdrawal' of the article on Holloway Prison in INSIDE STORY 7 as well as a 'counter-statement' - they also demanded £50 costs.

Since that letter, which was dated 21 June 1973, we have received no fewer than seven further letters from Le Brasseur & Oakley, most of them rude and/or threatening, but - by 8 September at least - no writ. We have, however, been sent the 'counter-statement' which appears over the page.

Le Brasseur & Oakley are, clearly, an imaginative firm. Having failed to extract an 'apology and withdrawal' from us by their threats, they tried to slip it into the 'counter-statement'. They wrote an introduction to it which ended: 'The editors and publishers of this magazine concur and agree with this statement.'

In the letter which accompanied this 'counter-statement' they went even further: 'It goes without saying that the article as now sent to you is in its final form and if you alter it in any way or include any additional material with it then we reserve all rights on behalf of Dr Stevenson and her fellow medical officers.'

Even if we had not intended to include any further comments on Holloway's medical facilities in this issue, we would have been persuaded to do so by that letter.

Readers may remember that in their original letter Le Brasseur & Oakley said they were surprised that we 'failed to give the doctors impliedly mentioned the normal journalistic courtesy of giving their own views.'

The answer to that point is quite simple: first, the official view of Holloway is hardly a closely guarded secret - it is the prisoners whose view is seldom heard and, secondly, Holloway doctors sign the Official Secrets Act - thus they are not in fact allowed to give their own views.

We have, however, spoken to two ex-Holloway doctors. Both have signed the Official Secrets Act and have broken it by speaking to us: they therefore cannot

be identified. Their comments follow the 'counter-statement'.

Absurdity is the keynote in libel proceedings: the effect of an action - or a threat, if reported - is always to attract publicity and attention to the offending passages. We have decided to formalise this absurdity - and reply to threatening solicitors with threats of our own. Below is the text of our 'Anti-Libel Agreement'.

'The following publications agree that, in the event of any one of them being sued for libel or threatened with a libel action, the others will all republish within two months the passages alleged to be libellous - without necessarily endorsing the opinions expressed or implying acceptance of the facts stated.

'Each publication also agrees that it will publish within two months of receiving it, any reader's letter which replies to a personal attack, whether or not libel is alleged or a libel action threatened.

'We invite all other publications in Britain to sign this agreement.'
Catonsville Roadrunner, Peace News, Inside Story

For papers signing the agreement we propose the following brief standard letter to be sent to solicitors.

'By threatening one of the publications listed below with a libel action, you have guaranteed that all of them will republish the passages you allege are libellous.

'We suggest that in future you advise your clients not to use the law to try to silence the press.'

Most readers will know that Pat Arrowsmith's book The Colour of Six Schools was withdrawn from circulation following a libel threat by Mrs Betty Smyth, head of the Brentford School for Girls. See Peace News (17 August) for a full account of this incident.

Below are the passages which - so far as we can gather from a virtually illiterate letter by her solicitors, Reynolds, Porter, Chamberlain & Co - Mrs Smyth doesn't want you to read.

'Inter-staff relations at this school were not good. The RI teacher, Mrs Childs, in particular enlarged on the bad atmosphere, and what she said was borne out by one or two other teachers. There were two camps, she said: the first consisting of those staff who came with the Head from her previous school, who have the best jobs, the second comprising all the rest. Disapproval of the Head herself was expressed. Mrs Childs accused her of being racially prejudiced, also of being very impersonal and not mixing at all. The head was not popular, she said; she was a very poor judge of character and didn't really know her staff. Miss Bond, a history teacher, described her as very authoritarian and allowing no discussion at staff meetings; also very suspicious of anything modern, psychological and so on. She did not agree, however, that the Head was racially prejudiced. I myself received a cooler reception from the Head here than anywhere else.'

'Mrs Childs (RI) too considered the racial atmosphere quite good - despite the fact that she was critical of the Head's attitude to race relations.'

'There are coloured prefects - the Head did not seem to know just how many.'

'(According to Mrs Childs, the Head had considered the dance a Black Power manifestation, said she found it ugly, and walked out when it was being performed.)'

'Rather bitterly Mrs Childs said the Head did not think RI important and discouraged girls, who had to fight to take it.'

Counter-statement

The medical staff at Holloway consists of four full-time medical officers all of whom are fully qualified medical practitioners. Three of the full-time medical officers hold postgraduate qualifications, two in psychiatric medicine and one in obstetrics and gynaecology. In addition to the full-time medical officers there are a number of regular visiting practitioners among whom are consultant venereologists and psychiatrists.

A proportion of women who come to Holloway are found to be suffering from chronic pelvic infection. This condition could arise following venereal disease, or as a complication of a mis-

carriage or even childbirth. It is completely false, as suggested in the article, to say that any woman has had her 'stomach ... messed up and badly infected' in the prison. Indeed the prison hospital possesses one of the few colposcopy clinics in this country - that is, it deals with the study and diagnosis and prevention of cancer of the cervix. The Acting Senior Medical Officer is responsible for this clinic. She has in addition an honorary appointment in an outside hospital.

A number of serious allegations are made in the original article which give a distorted and false impression of medical facilities at the prison. The way in which internal examinations are performed is criticised. The true situation is that if a woman does not wish to be examined then in accordance with normal medical practice she will not be examined against her will. If a doctor at the VD Clinic considers an examination necessary then she will interview the person concerned and, provided she is willing, she will be taken to the examination room.

The examination procedure involves taking swabs internally so that tests can be made. To enable swabs to be taken a vaginal speculum must be inserted. This is done only by a qualified venereologist who will usually be a consultant experienced in this procedure which does not cause miscarriages. What can and often does happen is that on being brought to the prison a woman is found to have an infection of the cervix which leaves it extremely tender and liable to bleed slightly at the slightest touch during the examination.

The only situation where a woman can be dealt with against her will is where she suffers from an infectious disease. Only in that case will she be isolated from other patients but even then she cannot be examined or treated against her will.

The article alleges that a certain inmate was out of her mind from the effect of drugs at the time when she was in danger of miscarrying. It is impossible to answer this allegation without knowing who the individual was but the likelihood is that she had been put under sedation for her own benefit while in pain and to safeguard her pregnancy. Had she been taking other drugs outside prison then these could

have given rise to disturbing side effects. Where a medical officer's opinion is that a woman needs medication then she will receive it. Similarly if a woman needs a special diet because of illness she will receive that as well.

In cases where a pregnant woman in prison complains of abdominal pain and then suffers a miscarriage one of two things will happen. If the miscarriage is complete then no evacuation of the womb (uterus) is necessary and therefore she will be treated in the prison hospital. If the miscarriage is incomplete then she will be transferred to an outside hospital where the necessary treatment would be carried out, since the prison hospital does not have surgical facilities. Most of the patients are admitted to the Royal Northern Hospital.

The suggestion that a woman who has miscarried is denied proper medical or surgical care is false and erroneous. Where these facilities are not available in prison, then the patient will be transferred to an outside National Health hospital. When a woman is in advanced pregnancy she is transferred to K Wing of the prison. This is the maternity wing which is looked after by both medical and disciplinary staff. The Acting Senior Medical Officer is in charge of this wing. A number of nurses are qualified in midwifery.

The author of the article states that she saw a pregnant girl with her baby's head and shoulders hanging out of her. In the extremely rare event of a sudden delivery (precipitate labour) the patient is treated as an emergency and the necessary steps are taken for her transfer to an outside hospital if necessary.

The prison medical staff have received no complaint of the standard of care from the Royal Northern Hospital and the true situation is that a close working relationship operates between the prison medical staff and the hospital medical staff.

Allegations are made that inmates are allowed to smash up without being restrained and that one inmate rang a bell for two hours in the prison hospital without any member of the nursing staff coming near her. In the first instance it is untrue to suggest that a woman would be allowed to smash up if these incidents can be prevented. This type of behaviour is a recognised

reaction in an individual with a psychopathic disorder and the staff are well aware of the possibility that it can suddenly occur.

What sometimes happens is that a woman will barricade herself in the room and proceed to smash up. Even in the short time necessary for staff to get to her and restrain her a woman may be able to cause a certain measure of injury to herself. Sometimes this type of reaction happens without warning after a woman has perhaps received bad news in a letter or from a visitor.

As for the allegation that a woman was allowed to ring her bell in the hospital for two hours, the medical staff have no record of such an extremely unlikely incident in the place. It is possible for a woman to ring her bell and when she is seen by the nursing staff nothing is found to be wrong with her. There is nothing to stop a person continuing to ring the bell if she so wished.

Finally it should be emphasised that a woman detained in Holloway prison receives the same standard of medical care which she can expect to receive outside.

The two-ex-Holloway doctors say emphatically that medical facilities in Holloway are comparable with those in ordinary hospitals. But, the stress that, in the atmosphere of prison, medical care can never be perfect.

One said: 'With its decrepit old buildings and prison officers desperately institutionalised - as inadequate as the prisoners - Holloway is a horrible place to be.'

The article we published - written by a serving prisoner - was described as 'grossly exaggerated'. But one doctor added: 'I don't blame anyone for exaggerating.' (We hope to publish a further article based on these doctors' comments in the next issue.) Needless to say both considered the threat of a libel action an absurd reaction.

We invite other people with experience of Holloway's medical facilities to send us their comments. Also the next issue will include a passage which we were prevented from publishing in INSIDE STORY I because our printers, Darwin Press, insisted on a solicitor's libel letter. Incidentally INSIDE STORY 7 was read for libel - without the Holloway article being queried.

Blacklisted

Just over two years ago Walter Morrison, shop steward at the McCormick Screen Process Printing Company in Glasgow and a registered disabled person, was sacked for his trade union activities. He has since been blacklisted in Scotland by other employers and remains unemployed. Here Alan Sinclair of Black Box News Service shows - by means of a remarkable tape-recording - how the blacklist works and examines the background to the Morrison case.

On 8 March 1973 during an adjournment debate in the House of Commons Bruce Millan, Morrison's MP, stated: 'There is no doubt that in a sense, whether by deliberate action or effectively in other ways, he has been blacklisted by employers, screen printers in Scotland.'

I decided to investigate the operation of the blacklist by posing as an employer in the process of setting up a small screen printing firm in Glasgow. I had in front of me a reference, dated 19 April 1968, from McCormicks' manager, William J Rees. It described Morrison as 'honest, conscientious and a good worker. He has a very good record of attendance and is punctual.'

The reference concluded: 'Should any further information be required we would be only too happy to furnish same.' Accordingly, on 25 May 1973, I telephoned W P McCormick, the firm's boss. During the call my receiver was connected to a taperecorder and, as extra witnesses, two other members of Black Box News Service listened in on an extension. Below is the transcript of that conversation.

SINCLAIR: Hello, Mr McCormick.

McCORMICK: Mr McCormick here.

SINCLAIR: My name is Sinclair. We interviewed a couple of people for jobs and I have got a reference from you dated April 1968 regarding a chap called Morrison. I wonder if you

could give me a little background.

McCORMICK: I wouldn't touch him with a barge pole. How many screen printers are you going to have?

SINCLAIR: I'm not sure, it's being handled by our Mr Felix. All he asked was that I get my hands on a screen printer, someone to employ here.

McCORMICK: The man nearly ruined my business. He'd cut your throat for a tanner - of course I never said that. Speaking as an employer he lost 18 people their jobs. I had to get rid of the lot of them. I offered them their jobs back but they wanted to come back as a gang - led by this man. I think he is a Maoist. You'll finish up as a hired help in that business, that's how you'll end up - nothing surer. It will take him about a year and a half, then you'll be in dead trouble.

Walter Morrison, who suffers from progressive arthritis in both legs, joined McCormicks in 1967 under the 'quota provisions' of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944 which compel employers with 20 or more employees to take on one person registered as disabled. He had been advised to register by the Department of Employment - and driven to McCormicks by two officials of the Department.

After an interview Morrison was taken on under the 'quota provisions': McCormicks received a government subsidy for his training. Within a few months he asked for a reference (the one quoted above) to help him get another job in the industry but the firm persuaded him to stay.

McCormicks, a small factory with just under 30 employees, had no union organisation to speak of and was considered 'wide open'. There were a number of women bench workers doing the same work as men but getting paid well below the men's rate. The shop steward was seen as a tool of the boss: all the foremen in the place were ex-shop stewards. A shop floor committee of three existed but was a bit of a joke: meetings with the works manager would often be brought to an end with him shouting, bashing his fist on the desk and chasing the committee from his office.

For two years Morrison was reluctant to be drawn into open confrontation with his management, though he

attended branch meetings of his union, the Sign and Display Trades Union, and wrote the odd letter to the press on industrial matters. 'I just minded my own business' he says. 'I didn't want trouble for I had a wife and family to look after, bills to pay.

'Look, I knew the score. Often, when I had some letter or other published in the press on the questions of industrial democracy and workers' control, McCormick used to come up and question me about it. I knew what would happen if I got involved for he couldn't buy me off.'

Then, early in 1970 - after another farcical retreat by the shop floor committee - the shop steward resigned and Walter Morrison was asked by his workmates to represent them. This time he did not refuse. Soon the workers at McCormicks were winning tangible gains: an all-round wage increase, equal rates for the women workers, a new bonus payment.

McCormick reacted strongly to this new threat to his profit margins. He started insisting that the McCormick Super Continental Screen Printing Machine, which he'd invented, didn't need screen technicians to operate it only 'feeders' - unskilled workers who would get unskilled rates of pay.

He tried to break down the united resistance of his workforce by offering higher wages to a small group of men. When that didn't work he threatened dismissals for anything and everything, especially bad time-keeping, and spoke of introducing work study techniques.

The atmosphere in the factory became very tense. Then, during one particularly bitter dispute over a time-keeping bonus, McCormick offered Morrison the position of overall charge hand - with a substantial wage increase - if he gave up being shop steward and agreed to help the management introduce new work procedures.

Within two weeks of rejecting this crude bribe Morrison was given his notice for alleged industrial misconduct. The evidence was so flimsy that, after union and workforce intervention, McCormick dropped the matter. But he threatened: 'Next time I will make the dismissal stick.'

Some time later a worker died at his bench. Everyone else stopped work for the rest of the day - the traditional mark of respect in the Clydeside area. McCormick was furious: he demanded that

the time lost be made up at the weekend at single rates of pay.

After these incidents it was hardly surprising that many of the workers started looking for other jobs. In August 1971 several screen technicians asked Morrison to help them draft letters to other employers including Abbotsinch Services - a customer of McCormicks' now starting its own screen printing department. What none of them knew was that McCormick himself had been hired as consultant to Abbotsinch Services: he knew about the letters.

A few months later, on 28 October 1971, McCormick said to Morrison: 'Well, Walter, we have come to the parting of the ways' and informed him that he and another screen technician were being made redundant. The other man, though angry, accepted the decision since McCormick promised him a job at Abbotsinch Services - he was one of those who had applied for a job there.

Walter Morrison - who was offered only 'the chance of an interview' - did not accept the decision. Instead he put a number of points to McCormick about redundancy procedures and his own case.

McCormick wouldn't answer - or even listen. Instead he freaked out, waving redundancy papers in the air, and launched a bitter personal attack on Morrison blaming him for all the firm's troubles. Finally he declared his real intention of getting rid of the shop steward.

An emergency shop meeting was called at which the workforce voted unanimously to resist the dismissal. A carefully worded document calling for arbitration was signed by all the technicians, including three foremen: it expressed their firm belief that the dismissal was 'blatant victimisation'. Also some of the workers who had been thinking of leaving volunteered to be made redundant in Morrison's place.

On 13 November Morrison received a report by Tom Dargon, national officer of the Sign and Display Trades Union, who had visited the factory on 8 and 9 November. He had agreed verbally that Morrison was being victimised but said he was afraid the shop steward would have to be 'sacrificed' to appease the employer. In his report, copies of which were also sent to the union's

general secretary and president, Dargon recommended that the union take no action over Morrison's dismissal and asked the general secretary to 'endorse my recommendation'.

Anger swept through the shop at this sell-out. The union was seen to be making deals behind the workers' backs for on 12 November - the day Dargon wrote his report - McCormick had put up a notice on the factory board which included this sentence: 'Members of the Signs and Display Trades Union have been advised that their Union is aware of all the circumstances agreeing that there is no Union case to be answered, and that any industrial action on this matter can never have the backing of the Union.'

It was obvious that union officials were making deals with McCormick over the telephone without consultation with the workers involved: Dargon's request to the general secretary that his recommendation be 'endorsed' was clearly superfluous.

The union upheld the 'redundancy' decision despite the following facts: volunteers were available to take Morrison's place - one man actually left before his notice expired; systematic overtime was being worked; large amounts of work were being sub-contracted to outside firms; Morrison had a strong case under the Disabled Persons Act and McCormick's reluctance to go to arbitration showed the weakness of his position: in his own words 'I might lose'. To crown it all, the other worker selected for redundancy was asked to stay.

On 18 November, the day before Morrison's notice expired, it was decided by 23 votes to one to seek 'a formula for reconciliation' with management. It didn't work. McCormick flew into a rage, cursed and abused the delegation, smashed his fists on the table, knocking over books and scattering documents, threatened to bring in the police and eventually ordered the five-man delegation from his office. Then he followed them into the main factory, shouting abuse at everyone in his path and punching Morrison in the back.

It was agreed by the workers that Morrison should begin a work-in when his notice expired on 19 November, but a few days later he was served with an Interim Interdict ordering him out of the factory. Since his case was under

investigation under the Disabled Persons Act it was then agreed that he should leave to avoid prejudicing it.

McCormick was delighted at getting Morrison out and strutted up and down the shop shouting 'It was easy, it was easy.' In his elated condition he also threatened several sackings. After three hours of this the workers had had enough: 23 of them walked out leaving only four scabs in the shop. One or two workers left, the rest set up a picket outside.

After much coming and going between union officials, the employer and the Department of Employment, the union asked the workers to go back 'pending negotiations'. But, having achieved his declared objective of getting rid of 'troublemakers', McCormick wanted to select which workers he would have back. The strikers stood solid: one back, all back. The following Friday, when they went to collect their last pay packets from the company, they were forced one by one through a cordon of police.

None of them ever went back to McCormicks though in the end their picket was abandoned and they started looking for other jobs. Towards the end of January 1972 Walter Morrison began a lone picket which was to last six months.

On 19 June 1972 a disablement advisory committee of over 40 local VIPs questioned Morrison at length on his case under the 'quota provisions' of the Disabled Persons Act which in certain circumstances deter an employer from 'discharging a registered disabled person because in so doing he breaks the law'. McCormick did not appear in person but submitted a statement which was read out.

After a two-hour hearing a member of the committee told Walters: 'The committee was very impressed with how you conducted the case.' It had decided in his favour with a recommendation that McCormicks be prosecuted.

Bruce Millan MP found it 'very unsatisfactory' that the disablement advisory committee came to a decision 'but that neither Mr Morrison nor himself - nor for that matter anyone else apart from the minister and the committee - knows what the decision was.' On 27 July Millan was told that the committee's decision was 'confidential and could not be disclosed'.

On 10 October 1972 - a full four months after the disablement advisory committee hearing - Morrison was visited by an investigator from the Lord Advocate's office, which has to authorise prosecutions in Scotland. Morrison was grilled for more than four hours, asked a lot of personal and political questions - going right back over 30 years to his schooldays - and assured that it was extremely unlikely that the case would have got this far if there wasn't strong evidence for it.

But - above all in 1972 - the courts were to be used against trade unionists not employers. And, besides, in the 28 years since the passing of the Disabled Persons Act, not a single Scottish employer had been prosecuted under it. On 20 November 1972 the Lord Advocate told Millan there was 'no evidence which would establish that the employers had acted without reasonable cause'.

All this time Walter Morrison never missed an opportunity of seeking employment elsewhere in the printing industry. He applied for every screen printing job advertised in the press and haunted the disablement replacement office at his labour exchange. But the blacklist was in operation: though he was a skilled technician and a member of the appropriate trade union, the jobs he applied for often went to unskilled or non-union labour.

In November 1972 A C Torode, the general secretary of the Sign and Display Trades Union - which by then had become a branch of NATSOPA - proposed that 'No non-unionists or fresh labour be accepted into the shops covered by working rule agreement until Walter Morrison is employed.'

But, as Walter Morrison bitterly says, 'They haven't bothered their arse about the resolution...non-unionists are regularly accepted into the union and jobs allocated to young persons and other unskilled people while I remain unemployed - bluntly the union just doesn't have the guts to act against the employers.'

Fearlessness note

A C Torode is the father of crusading Weekend World journalist John Torode.

The case of Walter Morrison has a parallel in London where, a year ago,

the general secretary of NATSOPA supported the management of the Press Association in its victimisation of John Lawrence, the father of the PA chapel.

In October 1972 120 clerical workers at PA were in dispute with management over house rates. A mandatory chapel meeting on 17 October agreed to continue until the management agreed to further talks: effectively this meant the workers were on strike.

Next day the NATSOPA branch secretary told the chapel to return to work but the meeting rejected this instruction. Then the management moved - dismissing the FoC, John Lawrence, for being on strike. The workers agreed to stay out until their FoC was reinstated: he had been sacked for taking the same action as themselves.

But the secretary of the London Clerical Branch refused to seek Lawrence's reinstatement on the grounds that the strike was unofficial. A circular from NATSOPA's joint London branches asked that 'neither moral nor financial support be given to the PA strikers'.

After nine days on strike the other workers were threatened with dismissal unless they returned to work at once. They decided to do so but continued to press for Lawrence's reinstatement. This demand was now backed by the branch.

Then the general secretary intervened: he 'set aside' the branch's decision. A year later John Lawrence remains unemployed.

*an unmarried nurse got 'substantial damages' when she was wrongly shown as pregnant in a breakfast food ad
*an American publisher got £250 plus costs from the BBC after a programme showing a literary party at a London hotel - the outrageous implication being that 'professional people are especially prone to the dangers of alcohol'

*a bakery got damages from the BBC because of 'derogatory reference' to a certain wonder loaf

*a business consultant who alleged that the detective arresting him on fraud charges was drunk got six months for criminal libel - plus five years for fraud

The United Nations
Covenant
of Civil and
Political Rights

European Convention
for the Protection of
Human Rights
and
Fundamental
Freedom

OFFENCES
AGAINST
the
PERSON ACT
1861



reviews

Wynford Hicks reviews Internment! by John McGuffin (Anvil Books, 75p) which is distributed in Britain by Rising Free

It was the British who gave the 'concentration camp' to the world - in South Africa during the Boer War. Some 20,000 people, mainly women and children, died in the camps from disease and neglect.

The history of British imperialism and resistance to it includes many such atrocities. As John McGuffin reminds us in Internment!, just over 14 years ago 11 of the Africans detained in Hola Camp, Kenya were beaten to death. A few months later the Acting Assistant Commissioner of Prisons, J B T Cowan, was awarded the MBE.

Irish opponents of British rule have endured an endless succession of different forms of internment and detention without trial: in 1881-2 more than a thousand Irishmen were jailed as 'suspects'; after the Dublin rising in 1916 more than 1,800 were interned at Frongoch in North Wales; by 1921 there were 7,000 Irish political prisoners inside, most of them on weighty charges like 'whistling derisively' or possession of a republican newspaper.

The partition of Ireland in 1921 hardly interrupted the sequence. In the North internment was used in 1922, from 1938 until the end of the Second World War and in 1956-61. In the South there were by 1923 - at the height of the Irish Civil War - more than 11,000 republicans in camps and jails. Internment was also used in the Second World War and again in 1957.

The first section of Internment! is a brief history of these events, based on previous accounts in books and newspapers and supplemented by the personal reminiscences of internees. The general effect of this introduction is to emphasise that internment since 1971 has been very similar to the previous examples. But there is one significant difference.

Internment since 1971 has been more brutal and vicious than before. As McGuffin says, many of the men interned in 1956-61 and lifted again on 9 August

1971 maintain that 'the behaviour of the arresting troops in 1971 was much worse than they had ever experienced.' The first chapter of Internment! is a personal account by McGuffin of his own arrest (he was released a few weeks later). It is a useful part of the book, though at times he seems unable to decide whether to react to the soldiers' behaviour with cool irony or anger. Some of the asides in this chapter - 'What sort of people were these, at whose mercy we were?' - don't quite fit.

Many readers will already be familiar with the details both of what happened on 9 August - the 'helicopter run' in which men were pushed out from four feet up, having been told by the soldiers they were higher, the 'obstacle course' of broken glass, barbed wire and sharp stones over which men were forced at the double with bare feet - and the 'sensory deprivation' torture which followed.

Internment! includes chapters on torture and brutality and the government's attempted whitewash, the Compton Report. While the British army has often practised torture during interrogation before - in Kenya, Cyprus and Aden - McGuffin is emphatic that 1971 was the first example of its systematic use in Ireland.

Two of the book's appendices refer to torture - they were both submitted to the Parker Committee on interrogation procedures. In one, by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, the methods used in Ulster are compared with those of the Russian KGB and with academic experiments on sensory deprivation.

In the other, an Amnesty memorandum, it is argued that - as well as being objectionable - torture is inefficient in extracting information. McGuffin himself quotes and seems to agree with Cyril Cunningham, a former Ministry of Defence psychologist and intelligence specialist, who says that the torture was carried out by 'a bunch of roughs... it seems the intelligence services in Ulster were run into the ground and were scraped together at the last minute to cope with the situation.'

In a footnote McGuffin puts forward a more sinister explanation. The really guilty men, he says, are 'the shadowy and anonymous figures who came over from England and set up the "interrogation centre" at Palace

barracks, complete with its noise machines and disorientation equipment. It is they who used the internees as guinea pigs in order to further their "scientific knowledge" of human resistance to "stress and strain".

McGuffin is now at work on a detailed study of the 'sensory deprivation' inflicted on the 14 internees. At what level was the decision taken to use this torture? Where in Britain were men trained for this purpose? And, most important, what are the British army's plans for 'interrogation' in the future? As McGuffin points out, torture did not end in 1971.

Torture is only one of the major issues discussed in Internment! There's a careful look at the statistics of internment - by six months, for example, '1,600 completely innocent men (by even the government's standard)' had been 'released after "interrogation" - nearly 67 per cent'. There are accounts of the conditions of internees, escapes and the various 'legal' procedures which have governed internment: three appendices, on the Special Courts, the McElduff case and the Diplock Report, are particularly valuable here.

A chapter is devoted to the role of the media during internment which includes some unfamiliar information and a few mistakes. Most of the 200 people who packed the ICA in November 1971 to protest about censorship and distortion were hardly 'leading journalists and broadcasters', although there were certainly more household names than is usual at such meetings. The meeting in October 1972 which McGuffin says voted to black press releases from the Civil Rights Association and Sinn Fein couldn't have been 'a special meeting of the Northern Ireland chapel of the National Union of Journalists' since a chapel is an office rather than a regional branch.

Although as a whole Internment! has been carefully prepared for publication - sources are quoted in abundance - the index is imperfect. Cyril Cunningham, for instance, is nowhere to be found in it although he is quoted in the main body of the text and in an appendix.

A key chapter in the book describes the civil resistance movement in the North, notably the rent and rates strike. There's a sidelong glance at the British Anti-Internment League - but no account of its make-up, tactics

and essential failure to mobilise a powerful movement against the British state.

Nor is there, anywhere in the book, any discussion of the effect on British politics of the Irish conflict. There is a reference to the case of Michael Gallinan, Louis Marcantonio and Thomas Quinn, but nothing on Michael Tobin (who, incidentally, was released from Chelmsford jail on 17 August), Sean O'Toole and the other Irish republicans and activists in Britain who have come up against the law.

Inevitably a book of this kind will not satisfy everybody. Some people will criticise McGuffin for not analysing more deeply the political situation which produced internment and for not expressing more clearly his own views on the conflict. At one point he refers to the 'murderous bombing' of Bloody Friday, 21 July 1972 and comments 'Many who had been prepared to give at least tacit support to the Provos were totally sickened.'

But he does not discuss the general question of Provisional IRA tactics or explain why he left People's Democracy or say what he thinks now are the prospects of a genuinely revolutionary movement in Northern Ireland. Perhaps that's another book.

The one McGuffin has written, though, is a very useful piece of documentation. It will surprise only those who still believe that the British state keeps the rules - even its own.

Nicolas Walter reviews a selection of recent pamphlets

'Political Prisoners' and Prisoners' Unions: Conflict or Cooperation? (South London PROP - 10p), a 24-page duplicated discussion of whether 'political prisoners' (such as the Stoke Newington 5) are a special kind of prisoner, whether prisoners' unions (such as PROP) should be particularly concerned with such prisoners, and whether police harassment of political activists is any different from that of criminals in general. Some useful points are made about the nature of policing society, the role of the media in this process, and the prejudice of the political sects, but the argument is too confused and repetitive to illuminate this important subject as

much as it needs.

Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis (25p), The Sexual Struggle of Youth (37p), What is Class Consciousness? (30p), Selected Sex-Pol Essays 1934-37 (40p) (Socialist Reproduction), a series of four offset booklets issued during the past two years containing a total of 380 pages of political writings produced by Wilhelm Reich between 1928 and 1937 - that is, while he was still trying to combine Freudianism and Marxism and before he began the process of drastic revision which turned his work away from its original revolutionary insights towards its final irrational mystification. Many of the items included also appear in a recent American book edited by Lee Baxandall (Sex-Pol Essays 1929-1934), but this is a useful edition, with clear if clumsy translations and helpful if uncritical editorial material, giving a good idea of Reich's important early work which is almost unknown in English.

The Politics of Homosexuality (Pluto Press - 20p), a 19-page printed argument by Don Milligan that gay liberation is an essential part of the revolutionary struggle. One of the better statements of this line - much clearer, for example, than Faggots and the Revolution (Gayprints - 20p) - but rather too much concerned to link gay repression with capitalism (including state capitalism, the IS jargon for communism).

On Lumpen Ideology (Black Liberation Front - 12p), a 12-page offset essay by Eldridge Cleaver, arguing that the class struggle today is not between bourgeoisie and proletariat but between European imperialism (involving both ruling and working classes) and the dispossessed people of the world, the former's monopoly of technology leading to 'the lumpenization of humanity', the working class being the wage slaves inside and the Lumpen class being the dole slaves outside the system. Cleaver's call for a 'Lumpen consciousness' based on distribution and consumption, transcending and negating class consciousness based on production, is an interesting development of Marxism which has affinities with the work of Murray Bookchin in the United States and of Keith Paton in this country.

From the GLC Rent Strike to the Housing Finance Act (South Hackney

Private Tenants Action Group - 2p), a 16-page duplicated report of the London tenants' meeting last January, discussing some of the issues raised by the rent strikes of the past few years. Proper analysis of the tenants' movement is needed, and many interesting points are made, but the discussion is fragmentary and the production is poor.

Alternative Bookshops (Smoothie Publications - 20p) a 14-page duplicated list of left-wing bookshops in Britain, arranged in alphabetical, geographical and subject order. Particularly useful to left-wing publishers.

TV Handbook (SCAN), a 79-page offset guide by a group of leftist television workers to making use of the medium and avoiding being made use of by it. There is some practical information which is useful, but too much political rhetoric which obscures more than it illuminates.

Union Struggle at Simca (Coventry Workers' Fight - 10p), a 24-page duplicated collection of material about the CGT struggles at the French Simca works at Poissy against both the Chrysler management and the company union; the latter is affiliated to the right-wing CFT, whose role as a scab union is analysed - the record of the CGT, on the other hand, is played down. The material is interesting and is related to analogous situations in this country, but the background is not filled in and even the foreground is unclear.

Safety or Profit (Falling Wall Press - 18p), a 32-page printed analysis by Theo Nichols and Pete Armstrong of 'Industrial Accidents and the Conventional Wisdom' following the Robens Report last year. The authors argue (with evidence from case studies) that the main cause of industrial accidents is not workers' apathy or managers' negligence but the pressure of production. They call for more statutory control and for workers' representation in safety systems, but they fail to confront the basic political rather than technical problem of why production exerts such pressure. (Incidentally, the subject is covered in much greater detail by Pat Kinnersly's The Hazards of Work and How to Fight Them, the first Workers' Handbook just published by Pluto Press at 80p.)

The TV Handbook (above) costs 15p.

notes

As the Sunday Times (July 15) nobly took upon itself to confess, it wasn't that nobody knew there was a war in Portuguese Africa, it was more a case of what did or didn't make news. Insight went on to point out that there was an 'honourable exception' to the 'media's relative lack of interest' in the war which has, incidentally, been going on for the past 13 years. The Observer had indeed carried an article on 'The Rhodesian link with killings' (in Mozambique - but you would have had to read on to find that out) on 29 April 1973. What Insight didn't mention was that most of the Observer's readers didn't see the story: it was cut from all but the earliest editions.

So the Times story of atrocities took the British public by surprise. One of the justifications with which the Times excused its earlier silence was that sources of former accounts were suspect, though these have been good enough for Tribune for the past 10 years and Anti-Apartheid News for at least three.

The Times editorial of 13 July said that the paper 'has not given great weight to the allegations of massacre and torture made by Frelimo, because we felt that Frelimo had so obvious a motive to make such charges' but didn't go on to explain why the Times hadn't mentioned accounts of atrocities from Portuguese army eyewitnesses and others in a position to know and anxious to publicise what was happening in Portuguese Africa.

Among them was Mario Padua, an ex-army doctor and deserter from Angola, who in 1962, once in Brazil, published a book on his experiences. Jose Ervedosa, ex-air force major dismissed and arrested in Angola in 1962, together with several other ex-army officers, gave evidence before the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation in 1966. He came to London on 25 July and gave a press conference, re-emphasising that the latest incident was part of a pattern, and calling for an international inquiry. It was reported in the Guardian though not the Times.

The first the British heard of Father Luiz Alfonso da Costa was when the Sunday Times, anxious to produce some-

thing new on the eve of Caetano's arrival in London, went to Peru to find him. For two years the man had conducted his campaign to make known the suffering in Mozambique. In the process he toured most of Europe and went before the World Council of Churches and a UN Committee on Human Rights, was expelled from Mozambique and sent to Peru, but all this escaped the attention of the British media (though not of the rest of Europe) until after Hastings.

On 15 July the Observer made up for the story that nearly never was. Without even going to Mozambique, it managed to produce the names of survivors of a massacre in Chawola on the same day and near Wiriyamu. The Times was of course anxious to reaffirm its position in having broken new ground. On 16 July a letter by Father Hastings appeared: 'It just happens ... that the escape of a few people has enabled the world to know of this episode when we know nothing of so many others.' The Guardian had, in the meantime, published some of the Frelimo charges deemed unworthy of investigation by the Times. They appeared on 14 July as a summary of a list compiled over 13 years. Frelimo's statement welcomed the publication of the Hastings material since it corroborated what Frelimo itself had encountered elsewhere, though it had no information on Wiriyamu itself.

To the mighty relief of his hosts, Marcello Caetano was able to tell a press conference in London that, according to preliminary inquiries by the Portuguese government, 'A massacre such as that reported could not have taken place.' The Portuguese government were naturally in a unique position to know precisely what kind of massacre did, but they weren't telling, nor had they any intention of co-operating in any inquiry or of clarifying earlier accounts of atrocities by two Portuguese priests now in jail for their trouble.

Back in Portugal, Daily Telegraph reports undermining the Times were being given a lot of space. Bruce London, of the Telegraph, was touring Mozambique with a military escort: amazingly, he could find no evidence of any massacre. His verdict was reproduced on a sizeable portion of Epoca's front page on 14 July. Alongside was a declaration, supported by a bit of very selective quotation, that the Times, in

its editorial of 13 July had already admitted error and was quietly eating its words.

The Mozambique massacre show wasn't over yet. Peter Pringle planted a trailer for his scoop to come by reporting his expulsion from Tete in the Sunday Times of 29 July. On 30 July the Times managed an exclusive interview with General de Arriaga, commander-in-chief in Mozambique, on his last day of duty there.

Then on 5 August, the Sunday Times carried Pringle's account of his meeting with Antonio, survivor of the Chawola massacre, written from memory. The Portuguese political police had seized and kept his tapes and notes but, as a member of the Insight team, he, 'had had some experience reporting atrocities, from Greece, Brazil, Ulster and Turkey' and was undeterred. As a result of being compelled to leave evidence of Antonio's identity in Mozambique, the Sunday Times saw to it that all available international bodies were alerted to the fact and of course, called for an international inquiry.

The final phase of the coverage was confusing, to say the least. Not to be outdone by the Pringle scoop, the Times next day published the names of not one but five survivors of Chawola. They had managed to intercept two of the Spanish priests responsible for the original report on their way to London. Father Berenguer and Father Moure were to give a press conference the morning the story appeared, but of course the Times' exclusive interview devalued that somewhat.

The Times' own piece on the conference (7 August) began by asking why the priests had not released the names of the Chawola survivors before - odd, since the Observer on 15 July had carried precisely the same names as were being made much of now. They were already part of the UN Committee on Decolonisation's evidence on Portugal, along with the Times accounts, as reported by Peter Deeley, Observer, 22 July.

It looks as if Fleet Street has wrung most of the massacre out of Wiriyaumu now. Our roving atrocity reporters will have to look elsewhere. Why the Times chose to publicise the case after years of silence on the question is still open to conjecture. If the massacre story had not emerged around the time of Caetano's visit,

what aspects of Anglo-Portuguese relations would have come under scrutiny instead. There were possibilities potentially far more embarrassing to the British government than reports of massacres.

PEST, the Progressive Tory Pressure Group, put their finger on perhaps the touchiest area. Commenting on the Buckingham Palace banquet for Caetano, they pointed out (Times, 18 July): Caetano 'has collaborated and given his support to the rebel regime in Rhodesia which has committed treason against the Crown.'

Advertising note

On 17 February the Times published a colour supplement called 'Mozambique - Portugal's state in East Africa - progress in the 70s'. It was an advertisement, as opposed to one of the 'special reports' the Times prepares from time to time. In the same issue was an editorial disassociating the paper from its advertisers. Then on 28 May Macao availed itself of the Times colour supplement service, presumably without Lisbon's knowledge or approval.

The Portuguese foreign ministry promptly issued a memo to all relevant officials. Advertising clearly apparent as such, with no endorsement from its publisher, wasn't worth spending money on: in future, it would be allocated where it was appreciated. Accordingly it was the Financial Times that got the advertising to mark Prince Philip's visit to Portugal in June.

*a wife got £750 damages from the Mail which said her husband was engaged to an actress - he later married the actress

*a model - the one who appeared naked in the Times - got damages and a public apology from the Mail which alleged she was searched by police in a drugs check

*Bernadette Devlin had to pay £50 damages to a Dublin policeman after she said he kicked and hit her during a demo

*a former Unionist MP got damages from the ITA and ITN for an 'untrue and defamatory statement picked up inadvertently by the microphone'

*Eric Morley and Mecca got substantial damages from the Guardian over allegations that the 1970 Miss World cattle show was rigged

prison report

From now on our notes on prisons and 'mental hospitals' will be combined.

Research by Jeremy Gray and Ian Cameron

We said in our last issue that leaflets were given out at the World Congress of Psychotherapists in Oslo. We were wrong: the exceptionally mild Amnesty document was not allowed to be distributed. It had also been hoped to debate Russian abuses of 'treatment' but apparently word reached the Polish and Czech embassies (Russian doctors were in any case absent) and their contingents were instructed to walk out. This response set off a stampede of doctors in defence of 'professional ethics': no debate was allowed.

It is to be hoped that at next year's World Psychiatric Association conference in Moscow a little more solidarity will be shown towards Russian dissenters.

The Edinburgh Festival this year included a work called Insanity and Dissent which featured Russia. The director, David Markham, hopes to be invited to put it on elsewhere.

The Mental Patients Union (97 Prince of Wales Road, London NW5, 01-267 2770) is facing eviction and needs support - see MPU News, 2p.

The third issue of the PROP magazine (15p from Back Flat, 451 Abbeydale Road Sheffield 7) has suddenly appeared. Its most interesting item is a seven-page analysis of a mutiny at Kingston Penitentiary in Canada, which apparently ended in the cons brutally attacking the 'untouchables' (sexual deviants) because, after four days, the prison authorities continued to ignore the prisoners' demands. In this account, headed 'RUNNING BEFORE WE CAN WALK', it is suggested that the incident provides a timely warning for us in Britain. This argument would be more convincing if the incident was a recent one: in fact it took place in April 1971. The Canadian example was not followed in 1972 when direct action by British prisoners accompanied the

founding of PROP.

During August Hilary Creek, suffering from anorexia nervosa, was moved from Holloway to Halliwick Hospital, Southgate, London, and her condition is said to be improving. However, when she recovers, she will be sent back to prison - to get worse again.

North London PROP had an official opening of its new premises (339a Finchley Road, London NW3, 01-435 1215) on 3 August. It was hoped that coverage in the national press the following day would mark the anniversary of last year's national prison strike, but unfortunately there was none.

In a lengthy press statement (now a pamphlet, The Development of the North London Group, 5p) the group said it had 'switched its emphasis away from one of illusory initiation of prison protests' and was 'returning to its original role, that of publicist of events inside'. Two examples of this policy are the reports on Strangeways (10p) and Winchester (5p) recently published. The report by the South London group on the Brixton escape of 30 May - see INSIDE STORY 10 - will also be published this month. Finally Brian Stratton's book, Who Guards the Guards? will, we understand, be out within the next week or so: we're sorry it didn't come out in August, we were told it would.

But the North London group sometimes seems to want it both ways: although it no longer wants 'massive support from all branches of the penal profession' - when did PROP ever have it? - it is 'working in conjunction with the other penal reform bodies, RAP, NACRO, the Howard League and also the NCCL'. And - kiss of death - 'the support of academics will be used constructively.'

Although PROP took no action outside the prisons to mark the anniversary of last year's strike, the Prison Officers Association ensured by its work-to-rule that prisoners would act. In Winchester, Swansea, Brixton, Albany, Camp Hill, Maidstone, Dartmoor - and probably many more - there have been hunger strikes and sit-ins, while in Pentonville the recurrent protests against deportation have continued.

letters

Dear INSIDE STORY

Nicolas Walter usually reviews books very well and his critical eye has been brought to bear on numerous books to the advantage of the reader. However, this reputation has suffered from the verbal violence he has launched against Black Flag and Albert Meltzer in particular (INSIDE STORY 10). Nick has a personal dislike for Albert Meltzer which has obscured his normally clear vision, indeed I remember drinking at a bar between Nicolas Walter and Albert Meltzer and being appalled at the bullets, arrows and darts which passed between them.

Opinion is one thing but at one stage the word 'eccentric' is used, presumably critically, about pamphlets Albert has produced and the inaccurate remark that Albert 'has quarrelled with almost every anarchist individual and group in the country' is made. One anarchist steps forward to claim not to have quarrelled but so what? Is it unanarchic to quarrel for fuck sake?

Remarks about The Floodgates of Anarchy are personal attacks rather than detached observation and the description of Black Flag is unfair in the extreme.

There is little credit given throughout for the humour of Black Flag, which is lacking in a lot of anarchist literature and the international news is wide and seldom reported elsewhere. I find both Floodgates and Black Flag very readable and enjoyable. Sure, they aren't outstanding works of literature and faults abound but they have a gut reaction to the world which has its place in the anarchist milieu.

Yours

JERRY WESTALL

115 Stamford Road, London E6

Dear INSIDE STORY

Non-Violent Assassination

Readers of INSIDE STORY may wonder at finding in the August issue a lengthy review by Nicholas Walter of the book Floodgates of Anarchy three years after its publication. The hysterical and hectoring review (a phrase he uses of the authors) will be disturbing to authors whose livelihood depends on the

supposed academic detachment of the anonymous reviewers of the Times Literary Supplement of whom the venomous Nicolas Walter is one.

Amongst the reviews (all, as Walter says, saying the book was 'very good' or suggesting reasons - entirely political - why not) was one in the TLS itself (9.4.70). This review was obviously written by Walter and he has equally obviously not re-read the book since. It begins with the same description of the authors; the 'short' book is labelled 'revolutionary and syndicalist'; the same quotation is given that it is about 'what anarchists think as distinct from academic interpretation' with the same lightly deprecating remark that anarchism 'owes little to the writings of the intellectual' (without noticing that it is backed by a quotation from the most prolific anarchist writer, Peter Kropotkin, a few pages later); there is the same criticism of style and the same conclusion that the author (referred to in the singular, but then apparently thought of as Christie alone) would be better off writing on his experiences in Spain rather than attempting theory.

But there is an important difference: the 1970 review says the book has 'vigour and wit', the 1973 one says it is the product of a 'butterfly mind' and contains 'sweeping generalisation.. abuse ... contempt', the phrase 'eccentric is used and lying allegations are made. In 1970 (six years after Christie's arrest in Spain and a year before his arrest in England) it is 'impressive and always interesting'; in 1973 it is 'very bad' and owed its publication only to the notoriety of both arrests and then by a firm of doubtful reputation and fraudulent practice.

Again these allegations, like those against me, are deliberate lies. Kahn and Averill did not connive at a fraud nor do they publish occult books. A few issues back, INSIDE STORY sniped with an untrue story about the Sphere Books edition; but one notices Walter stopped short of denouncing Davis-Poynter - who intend to publish Christie's next book - as he was negotiating with them himself.

Mr Walter achieved some small notoriety in his pacifist (beg his pardon, it's no longer trendy - 'non-violent-direct-actionist' I believe?)

days of the Committee of 100 by interrupting Harold Wilson at church...now he wishes to make his Committee past an 'anarchist record' (notoriety is something he throws at Christie) so that he can pose as a literary authority on anarchism without actually being involved.

Notice no 2 by Walter of the book (signed) came in 1970 also (Government & Opposition). There, however, Meltzer and Christie, are part of 'one of the most interesting of the anarchist foci' being Walter's only knowledge of activist anarchism. There is no 'evidence' there that Christie had only a minor part, or none, in editing the Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross (whose distinctive and unprecedented feature was the inside knowledge of Spanish prisons, where Christie spent $3\frac{1}{2}$ years) but in 1973 he has (unrevealed) 'evidence' of which he was silent in 1970 that this was so and therefore Floodgates was largely written by Meltzer. It thus affords the ground for his bitter personal attack on the latter, having had no cause in the intervening three years for one on Christie. There is, however, in the 1970 notice a reference to a series of historical pamphlets (by Peirats, Tolstoy, Bakunin, Rudiger) 'culminating with a rather eccentric statement of anarchism' (Walter had just brought out a statement of his own eccentric brand of liberalistic 'anarchism') which three years later became a 'rather eccentric series of historical pamphlets'.

What happened between 1970 and 1973 that altered Walter's opinions? Why is he careful to brand me as 'eccentric' (in a journal pretending not to be a sectarian one) and swift to dismiss every single 'intellectual', other than himself, likely to want to write up the period? Why the campaign of innuendoes? (In a previous issue I was a 'prosecution witness', but Wynford Hicks assured me privately it was 'just a joke'...now I work 'on a national newspaper', but he forgets to mention that it is as a printworker, not a journalist.)

There are solid reasons, based upon Walter's own role which has brought him into controversy elsewhere. But that he should use the medium of the book review as a means to pursue a vendetta in the New Grub Street tradition may - despite Wynford Hicks - be more than a

joke to the authors who (unlike myself) write for a living and must submit to anonymous barbed tongues in the TLS.

ALBERT MELTZER

123 Upper TOLLINGTON Park, London N4

Nicolas Walter writes:

No doubt the best form of defence is attack; but it is perhaps worth noting that Albert Meltzer's letter is not so much a reply to the review of his book as an assault on the reviewer. I may say that I was reluctant to write the review at all, and did so only because no one else would. It was in fact my first proper review of the book. The TLS item was a short note, written for a non-anarchist audience. It did not assume that Stuart Christie was the only author. Now was it entirely favourable ('not so much an argument as a series of reflections' ... 'without much attempt at proof or style'... 'seldom convincing').

The Government and Opposition item was a passing reference in a long bibliographical article, also written for a non-anarchist audience. It made no judgement of the book at all. The INSIDE STORY review was not a personal attack on Albert Meltzer, but was specifically concerned with his book. It contained no deliberate lies, and no errors that I am aware of. Nor was it entirely unfavourable ('some wit and force' ... 'some stimulating points'). My opinion of the book has not changed at all since it first appeared.

I doubt whether Kahn and Averill/Stanmore Press would have published The Floodgates of Anarchy if Stuart Christie had not been arrested and imprisoned in Spain, or whether Sphere Books would have reprinted it if he had not been arrested in Britain. I did not attack Kahn and Averill/Stanmore Press; they have published, for example, several volumes of Krishnamurti's Talks and Dialogues and many of Dane Rudhyar's astrological books. I did not mention Davis-Poynter because they were not relevant; I have had nothing to do with them since I declined to write a book for them last year.

I took part in the Brighton Church demonstration more than a year after I left the Committee of 100; I have never been a pacifist, trendy or otherwise. I work at the TLS as a sub-editor, not a reviewer. I am not aware of posing

as anything.

I have pursued no vendetta against Albert Meltzer, and I have no personal dislike for him - quite the contrary. Jeremy Westall's impression of our conversation on 15 March is totally false, as I told him at the time. I agree that Albert Meltzer's work is often entertaining, and that it has its place in the anarchist milieu. This does not make him immune to criticism.

Dear Sir

Congratulations on your two-part article on the 'Spies for Peace'. May I correct two factual errors and make one political point?

1 Civil Defence has not been 'completely dismantled'. There is not even any indication of its having been cut back since the 'Spies for Peace' revelations of 1963. Nor have any of the lessons of the meaning of nuclear war been learned. In a 1972 government circular on Civil Defence they still talked of 'coping with the aftermath of an all-out nuclear exchange'.

2 The last Aldermaston march was not in 1968 but 1972 and, since CND continues to campaign against nuclear weapons, I expect there will be further Aldermaston marches in future. (At Easter 1973 there was a two-day march from Glasgow to the British Polaris base at Faslane, linked with vigils at Holy Loch and other nuclear bases in Britain.)

This leads me to my political point: the issue of nuclear weapons is not dead. In 1963 there was only (!) the equivalent of 15 tons of TNT knocking around for everyone living at that time: today, even with the much higher world population, the figure is over 25 tons TNT per head. In 1963 US bombers could be recalled two hours after setting off for Moscow because of a faulty signal in the US early warning system: today the ICBMs would have landed more than an hour before the fault would have been discovered. In 1963 there were estimated to be around 500 Soviet targets vulnerable to a US nuclear attack; today the figure is about 5,700; by 1983 it is expected to be about 27,500. (The number of Western targets vulnerable to Soviet attack remains at about one third to a half of the above but still leaves plenty to overkill Britain a few times over.)

I have no objections to, and welcome,

the news that the 'Spies for Peace' and other former CND and Committee of 100 supporters are still active in other causes. But I find it difficult to understand why the issue is discussed in the past tense (discuss CND in the past tense if you wish, our shoulders are as broad as ever). Of course the Bomb is only an aspect of society's ills, but when you campaign for a better society don't forget that the Bomb is still there and still hangs over us all.

Yours sincerely

JOHN COX

CND, 14 Grays Inn Road, London WC1

Journalists often complain - with justification - that the libel laws inhibit reporting but they rarely lose an opportunity to issue writs themselves.

*in May 1971 Anthony Stiles, then editor of the Daily Mirror, got damages from Private Eye which said he was willing to suggest a list of sackings

*in October 1972 Nora Beloff of the Observer got £3,000 plus costs from the Eye which said she'd prostituted herself to obtain political information

*in November 1972 Arnold Latcham, an Express crime reporter, got an undisclosed sum from the Spectator which said he was drunk while covering the Oz trial

*in July 1973 Chapman Pincher of the Express got substantial damages from the Eye which said he'd taken to phoning stories to the Mail instead and then, said his counsel, 'to add insult to injury, a further article appeared in the magazine a fortnight later implying Mr Pincher was in the habit of writing fanciful and fabricated stories while under the influence of drink'

But perhaps the most ludicrous example of all was in 1972 when an official of the NUJ - with the support of the National Executive Council - used union funds to take action against four members of the union for an article in Journalists Charter - see INSIDE STORY 3. However - in fairness to the union - it must be pointed out that the annual delegate meeting last April censured the NEC and agreed that the four members' costs should be met out of union funds.

Incidentally Tony Elliott of Time Out is not taking legal action against us after our report in INSIDE STORY 10. But he denies any deal with Rothschilds; more on Time Out in our next issue.

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