inside story

No. 6 November 25p



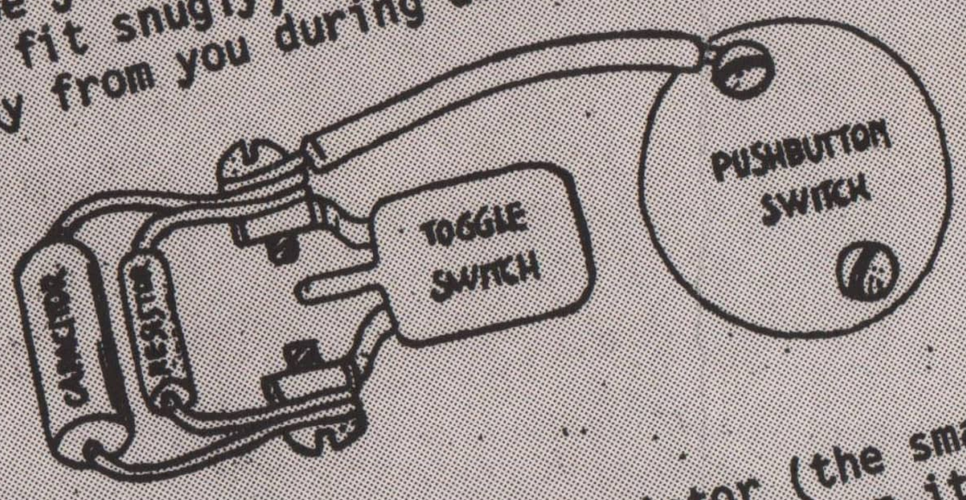
DANGER: phreaks at work

Also:

Broadmoor's jailer psychiatrists

How British doctors stay silent on Soviet methods

2. Make a small hole less than ¼ inch in diameter (it should be just big enough for 3 wires to go through and fit snugly) in the side of the box (facing away from you during use).



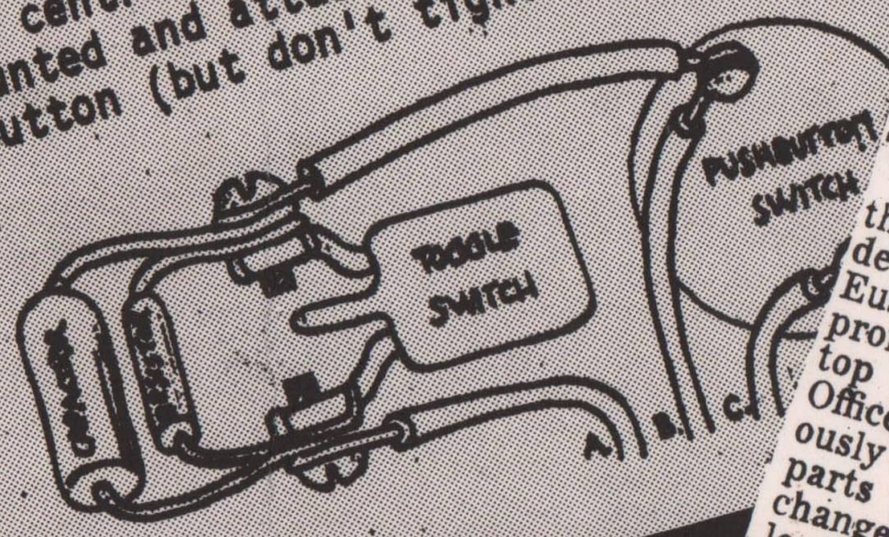
B

3. Take one wire from the resistor (the small part, usually brown, with the colored bands on it) and attach it to one of the terminals on the toggle switch; attach the other wire to the other terminal of the toggle switch. (Just wrap the wires around the terminal screws, but don't tighten them yet.)

4. Attach one wire from the capacitor (the large, usually yellow, part with the printing on one side) to one of the terminals on the toggle switch; (Again, just wrap them around, but don't tighten yet).

5. Cut a piece of wire 4 inches long and strip ¼ inch of the insulation from each end.

6. Attach one end of the wire to either terminal of the toggle switch and tighten; thread the other end of the wire starting inside the box, and out through the central hole where the doorbell button will be mounted and attach it to one terminal of the doorbell button (but don't tighten yet).



C

17 CHARGED

Seventeen men were charged yesterday with illegal abstraction of electricity involving the telephone system after Scotland Yard detectives and Post Office investigation officers had taken equipment from premises at Ladstaines Road, Hammersmith. The men will appear at London Court tomorrow.

PHONES CHARGE
MEN REMANDED

Seventeen [illegible] accused of illegally using electricity through the telephone system were allowed bail when they appeared at West London magistrates court yesterday. The hearing was adjourned till Nov. 7. It follows a police raid on a flat in Hammersmith, on Saturday.

A £5 million remedy

The Investigation Branch—the Post Office's own 80-man detective force, housed in Euston Tower, London—promptly gave phreaking their top priority. Meanwhile Post Office engineers began laboriously to re-wire vulnerable parts of the main group exchanges and the most obvious local ones to "bar" the phreaks' access to "chaining" and the trunk network. But "barring" is a formidably costly task, anything up to £20,000 a time if the exchange to be re-wired is large. According to one engineering source, the Post Office is currently "barring" all the phreaks' main access routes in a circle round London. This is said to be a £5 million job.

Can the phone phreaks phreak the Post Office?

cover story

Some months ago the Daily Telegraph magazine ended a long feature on American phone phreaks with this rhetorical question. Now the Sunday Times' revelation that the Investigation Branch of the Post Office is spending £5 million on anti-phreak measures - and the recent arrest of 17 people in West London, charged with illegally using electricity through the phone system - suggest that the authorities are getting worried. And last month's publication of an underground do-it-yourself guide to fixing phones - see facing page - shows that the Post Office really has got something to worry about.

Copies of this anonymously-produced 14-page pamphlet, a rough pastiche of the STD code book, have been circulating for several weeks. For the Post Office the most disturbing feature of 'People's Power Pamphlet 1' is that it shows how virtually anyone can fix a phone - without using any complicated or expensive equipment.

We look at the profits of the Post Office, the legal weaponry which the phone phreaks are up against, the Post Office's censorship of magazines - and at the suppression of the American magazine Ramparts which published the article on which 'People's Power Pamphlet 1' is based.

Profits

As is generally known the telecommunications section of the Post Office now makes a lot of money. A modest £12.6 million profit in 1961-2 rose during the decade to a peak of £93.5 million in 1970-1. And last year's figure was respectable enough at £58 million. However even the 1970-1 profit fell below the Post Office's target of 10 per cent return on capital.

It's often supposed that the profits of telecommunications are used to offset the losses of the postal services. This is an oversimplification. In fact letters have in the decade 1970-1 lost only £12.9 million while parcels lost £62.1 million. Also the new Giro managed to lose £13.7 million and money orders £17.2 million.

And of course - despite its losses in some sections - the Post Office still makes an overall profit, £20.5 million in 1970-1, £36.1 million in 1971-2.

It's also a relevant point that the Post Office Fund - set up in the early 1930s to absorb the Post Office's surplus, then suspended in 1940 - would have been worth £137 million by 1956, when a new fund was established. The profit made by the Post Office in this period went direct to the Treasury.

The demand that the Post Office should be profitable (even postal services are supposed to make 2 per cent of total expenditure) obviously prevent it providing an efficient service. This happens in two ways: first, services which lose money - postal deliveries in rural areas - tend to be cut back; secondly, wages are held down with a similar result.

In their evidence to the 1971 enquiry which followed the postal strike, the UPW stated: 'On the last occasion when Post Office wage rates fell substantially behind the going rate elsewhere it was necessary in some places to cancel some deliveries and collections...'

And on tariff increases the UPW pointed out: 'Tariff increases have always been designed to maintain a level of service lower than that which was being given when the last tariff increase was made. As a result of this policy the level of service to the community has continually declined.'

Finally, where 'uneconomic' services were maintained, the UPW forcefully attacked the Post Office demand that postal workers should subsidise them by accepting low wages.

In her book Beyond Babel (Deutsch 1972) Brenda Maddox takes a critical look at the Post Office's record of investment in new equipment. In the early 1920s the GPO decided to introduce Strowger step-by-step switches throughout its exchanges - and to maintain steady supplies gave five big companies exclusive rights to supply telephone equipment. This 'ring' of five has since been reduced by take-overs to three: Plessey, GEC-AEI and Standard Telephone and Cables.

After the war the profit-conscious industry and the Post Office agreed to keep the Strowger system instead of developing crossbar - a mistake which 'is to blame, as much as anything can be, for the crossed lines, static and dead silences now encountered in the British telephone service.'

Further blunders followed though not all of them were caused by the industry's concern to maximise profits. Some were just blunders. The Highgate Wood all-electric exchange opened and closed on the same day in December 1962. Later the Post Office spent £25 million on six projected versions of an electronic exchange - and cancelled all but two.

The Post Office now guarantees the ring only 50 per cent of its orders - but in practice the figure is higher. The Post Office says it recognises the contribution which the firms in the group have made to electronic development and considers 'that they should be guaranteed continuity of production for a limited period to reap the benefit of their investment'.

What this has meant in practice is that by 1970 the average contract was eight months behind schedule; the newer the equipment the greater the delay. Or, put another way, it means that the existing waiting list for new telephones remains a constant figure - 100,000.

Generally the Post Office has shown little enthusiasm to extend use of the telephone among the working-class. 'It has never fought with local authorities to install

telephones in the millions of homes built with public money since the war. Only about 10 per cent of the people who are considered working-class are telephone subscribers,' says Barbara Maddox. After all, the poorer you are, the less you'll spend on telephone calls - and the less the Post Office will make as a result.

Laws

According to People's Power Pamphlet 1 the Mute Box has already been built and used successfully in Britain. The pamphlet repeats Ramparts' assurance that detection is unlikely if care is taken. However suspected British phone phreaks face a formidable battery of legal charges.

The 17 people arrested last month are accused of illegally using electricity under the 1968 Theft Act. 'A person who dishonestly uses without due authority, or dishonestly causes to be wasted or directed any electricity shall on conviction on indictment be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.' The corresponding provision under the Larceny Act 1916 was sometimes used against people dishonestly using a telephone.

By the 1968 Theft Act a new section was introduced into the Post Office Act. 'Fraudulent use of public telephone or telex system with intent to avoid payment (including any such system provided, under licence, otherwise than by the Postmaster General)' is the crime. And the punishment is 'on summary conviction imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to a fine not exceeding £100 or to both, or on conviction on indictment imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years'.

Then there's our old friend 'conspiracy'. If it is proved that there was an agreement between two or more people to use telephones with intent to avoid payment - a Mute Box takes two - this would be indictable. Conspiracy is a common law misdemeanour for which there is no maximum penalty.

But of course the crucial aspect of the law of 'conspiracy' is that it can be applied even where no specific statutes were broken.

The publishers of the pamphlet have not broken any specific law. There are no regulations in Britain equivalent to the California penal code, making it illegal to sell 'plans or instructions' for any 'instruments, apparatus or device' intended to avoid telephone charges.

But the law of 'incitement', like 'conspiracy', is designed to catch anybody who hasn't committed a specific offence. At common law it is a crime which is indictable to solicit or incite another to commit a crime, whether it is a statutory or common law offence and whether it has any effect or not.

And, if Grass Roots can be accused of 'incitement to murder' for republishing an article (see INSIDE STORY 5), no political publisher can feel safe from the law of incitement.

But unlike Grass Roots and Ramparts the publishers of People's Power Pamphlet 1 have not identified themselves. Older readers will remember the 'Spies for Peace' who in 1963 successfully published an anonymous duplicated pamphlet on NATO exercises and 'Regional Seats of Government'. Within weeks the original had been republished many times by different groups, while the 'Spies for Peace' remained undetected. More recently various political pamphlets have appeared anonymously without - so far - a single prosecution.

Censorship

Under the Post Office Act it is illegal to send an 'obscene' article through the post. It is not a defence against this charge (as it is against prosecutions under the Obscene Publications Act) that the material is not likely to deprave and corrupt: the mere fact of 'obscenity' is enough.

What is obscenity? In his summing up of the notorious OZ trial Mr Justice Argyle put it this way: 'There are many art treasures which are on public show in this country which, taken in isolation, might be considered as obscene... Why weren't they prosecuted? The answer was that they were 'world famous'.

You have the paradoxical situation in which 'obscene' material can be on open display everywhere from art galleries to

porn shops, available to children, offending old ladies and Lord Longford, but this same material when sent through the post in a plain envelope is liable to prosecution.

The final result of the OZ trial was that Felix Dennis, Jim Anderson and Richard Neville were cleared of breaking the Obscene Publications Act. But their conviction under the Post Office Act was upheld and they were given a suspended prison sentence.

Since then the Post Office has continued to harass OZ magazine. In February 1972 the subscription copies of OZ No 40 were seized and held by the Post Office. Two months later the same thing happened to OZ no 41.

As a later OZ reported 'Although no action at all was taken by any member of the public or police to seek the prosecution of issues 40 and 41 and although both these OZs enjoyed national (and international) circulation quite openly in newsagents and bookstands up and down the country, still the Post Office felt it necessary to impound subscribers' copies mailed in plain brown envelopes.'

OZ and Ramparts: censored by post and telephone operators



A member of the OZ staff explained 'Our subscription copies are sent out by a computer firm in Cricklewood. They stick on the labels and the copies - about 2,000 - are picked up by the Post Office in sacks.

'I spoke to a high-ranking member of the Post Office who said they looked at them to see if they were obscene. "How do you know?" I said. "How do you know when to open mail?" "The Post Office is empowered to search anything we suspect to be containing drugs" he said.'

Issues 40 and 41 were sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions, the OZ editors were cautioned, though not in the end charged. Finally, during October - eight months after the first copies were seized - both issues were delivered.

Suppression

It was closing time on Thursday, May 12. The people who work at the Golden Gate Magazine Company in San Franicisco's Tenderloin were leaving for the day, when a well-dressed man walked in and quietly presented a sheaf of xerox copies and his calling card, on the back of which was pencilled 'Ramparts June Issue, phone freak box,' and then got back in his car and drove off.

The next morning, Mr Seely, Golden Gate's manager, received a call from yesterday's visitor. The caller identified himself as a Special Agent of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, the Bell system's operating company in California. The conversation was brief: had Mr Seely received the copy of the California Penal Code sections? The caller had obligingly underlined section 502.7 and its phrases that it is illegal to sell 'plans or instructions' for any 'instrument, apparatus or device' intended to avoid telephone toll charges, and that the penalty for violation is up-to-a-year in jail. That was all.

If Mr Seely was aware that the Special Agent's employers were determined people with considerable influence and limitless resources for pursuing civil and criminal actions, it was not because of anything said in this conversation. There was no menace in the voice on the telephone, no demands or threats. But the iron fist was poorly concealed by the velvet glove. Mr

Seely understood very well that he was being offered 'protection'.

The Special Agent was, as Don Corlene says, making him a proposition he couldn't refuse. The June issue never went on sale in San Francisco.

It also didn't go on sale in other California cities where similar visits were made. A major wholesaler in New York was contacted, although the magazine did briefly appear there and in other Eastern cities. But within a week, American Telephone and Telegraph had achieved what the CIA, Pentagon, FBI and other targets of Ramparts' journalism over the last ten years hadn't been able to bring about: the nationwide suppression of this magazine. As this is being written, trucks are stopping at wholesalers and retailers all over the country to collect the thousands of copies that AT&T claims as the spoils of a swift and silent war.

The tactics of the Bell system were carefully chosen to place the editors of this magazine in an almost irresolvable dilemma. The harassment continued, AT&T threatening the magazine itself, noting at the time (and later on to an Associated Press reporter) that civil charges might be filed as well as a criminal complaint reaching as high as a felony conspiracy charge again against the editors. It became clear that they intended to use the legions of agents and attorneys (the blue-ribbon San Francisco law firm representing all telephone systems - Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro - has 160 lawyers on its staff) to block the distribution of the magazine.

Telephone Company attorneys demanded that the copyright of the 'Phone Phreak' article be assigned to the Bell System so that they could prosecute underground or other publications that might reprint it; that the film and plates from which the article had been printed be delivered up; and that Ramparts agree never to print a similar article in the future. Knowing that subscriber copies of the magazine had already been mailed out, they requested a copy of our confidential subscriber list so that they could place those who had received our June issue under surveillance, and that we respond with a 'No Comment' when other members of the press called to ask why AT&T had confiscated our magazines.

Demands that we entrap our own readers and allow ourselves to be muzzled were so outrageous that they easily could be rejected. And as for ourselves, we were willing to have the matter go to court, where it obviously belonged. But the Bell System had hostages we had to consider. Their attorneys indicated that the whole network handling Ramparts was also vulnerable to civil and criminal charges. This meant that the over 500 wholesalers and thousands of retailers distributing the magazine could also be prosecuted. It was clear from our conversations that the largest corporation in the world lacked neither the will nor the resources to do it. To protect this distribution network, the lifeblood of this and other publications, we agreed to the recall of our issue.

We received no immunity from prosecution. All we got from our negotiations with telephone company attorneys was an insight into the unbridled power and arrogance of this mammoth corporation and also an understanding of the process by which we had been betrayed. For AT&T by its own admission got advance notice of the contents of the June issue, not by any process of legal discovery, but directly from our printer, W A Krueger & Co, a national company with headquarters in Milwaukee. Krueger willingly took our check for $12,000 and printed the issue, but protected itself by sending off an advance copy, not to a district attorney's office or to some other 'duly constituted authority,' but directly to AT&T.

The above article is reprinted from the July Ramparts. In October they reported a happier event for phone phreaks - their first international convention. Sponsored by the Youth International Party Line it was held in the basement ballroom of New York's Hotel Diplomat on 29 July. At one point 'Al Bell' passed out mimeographed sheets containing instructions on how to build a Black Box or mute. Next to the speaker's stand was a large cardboard-box model of the device which Bell pointed to as he explained the construction and operation of the device. 'It's simpler than the one described in the June Ramparts,' he said, 'but it uses the same principle.'

Vladimir Bukovsky and British psychiatrists: a quiet betrayal



Some years ago an English actor, David Markham, joined a protest outside the Russian Embassy. Here he describes how, in the end, he met one of the men he was demonstrating about.

'We stood on the pavement in the Bayswater Road, our backs to the railings, as near to the Soviet Embassy as the British police thought proper.

Somebody handed me a cardboard placard with the name BUKOVSKY printed on it, so I knew he must be one of the group sentenced to prison after the Pushkin Square demonstration - one of several demonstrations following the savage punishment of Daniel and Sinyavsky.

I hung the placard round my neck for the rest of the afternoon and vaguely speculated about a name that was then remote and (to me) unknown. For no good reason, it suggested a rather elderly person, perhaps an academic of some kind. It seemed improbable then that I should ever meet him, whoever he was...

My theatre work had brought me into contact with the plays and adaptations of Chekov, Tolstoy, Dostoievsky and Pasternak; and, more recently, I had read Marchenko and Solzhenitsyn, and so to go to Russia seemed a logical step, even an urgent one. If I could be of some positive help, all the better.

I eventually arrived in Moscow early in May 1970 with the address of Alexander Essenin-Volpin in my pocket. I had read his book A Leaf in Spring and knew that he was an active member of the human rights movement in Moscow - and that he had had a spell in a psychiatric hospital. He treated my totally unexpected arrival as something perfectly natural. I remember I was surprised to find he knew Bukovsky, and thought highly of him - I got a lot of surprises during that first visit.

I met Vladimir Bukovsky a few days later. My first impression was of a quiet, self-contained young man, totally lacking in certain qualities: fanaticism, flamboyance, narrow-mindedness and bitterness.

I had brought some literature published by the NCCL and both Vladimir and Alex Volpin were surprised by the scope of the Council's activities, particularly the problem of racism. Vladimir was concerned about the lack of human rights in many other countries, and especially so at the lack of co-ordination between the Russian human rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement in the United States. It was during that same week that he mentioned casually that he had had 'an interview' with a foreign correspondent. This turned out to be the remarkable William Cole television broadcast, in which Pyotr Yakir and Andrei Amalrik also took part, and which was later seen on BBC television.

'Complete identity of views' has become the debased cliche of politicians and power-mongers - but it is what Vladimir and I had, in a very real and basic sense. We were hoping it would be possible to arrange a sort of human rights conference in Moscow, where mutual support could be given and information exchanged, with 'delegates' from such countries as South Africa, Greece, Spain and Northern Ireland attending. It would, of course, have been completely unofficial and unsectarian...'

In a letter he wrote to Markham after their meeting Bukovsky outlined his proposals for the conference:

'The more delegates present at the conference the better, so I think that, besides your acquaintances, 13 committees on civil rights, having given their agreement to collaborate with the Russian public, ought to be used too. Their addresses can be got from Paris. Besides, we should also call on the East European countries and either invite Czechs, Poles, etc, to take part or, if it would be impossible, ask them at least to send their statements and reports.

I believe that the conference need not restrain itself in its conclusions on the absence of freedom in the USSR, because for us this is half the whole matter. Nevertheless it should be mentioned now that it is we who ought to promote such declarations, but not you.

As for the famous public figures who could be involved, it is too early to speak about as we are not interested in giving publicity to the whole matter till the very last moment. The people I mean you can guess from the last reports from Russia.

Many difficulties arise from the problem of language at the conference. So we offer to exchange theses or the full texts of all reports by delegates, before the beginning of the conference, for translation and distribution among the other

delegates. On our part we are ready to send the whole texts of two reports: the first one of the Human Rights Committee and the other one of the Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights...

On the second day of the conference we are to sign the joint declaration - in Russian, English and other languages of the delegates - which should briefly mention the fact of the conference, the contents of reports and numbers of represented countries, the insolubility of civil rights problems in any country without a solution of the same problems in other countries, the necessity of information exchange and mutual support, the necessity of a struggle for the ratification and execution of UNO pacts about civil rights, the necessity of holding periodically - for example once a year - similar conferences in various countries that are most of all in need of this - Spain, South Africa, USSR, etc...

The proposed conference never took place. On 29 March 1971 Bukovsky was arrested and charged with 'anti-Soviet agitation': on 5 January 1972 he was sentenced to 12 years prison, penal servitude and exile. Just two months before his arrest Bukovsky had publicly appealed to Western psychiatrists, urging them to investigate the detention of Russian political dissenters in Prison mental hospitals. The appeal was accompanied by copies of the 'diagnoses' sentencing some of these people to their 'treatment'. Bukovsky asked that the issue be raised at the World Congress of Psychiatry due to take place in Mexico in November 1971.

Two months before the Congress the Times published a letter signed by 44 British psychiatrists which clearly answered Bukovsky's appeal. This letter referred to the Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals, a small informal group including one or two psychiatrists, LSE lecturer Peter Reddaway, some Amnesty supporters and David Markham.

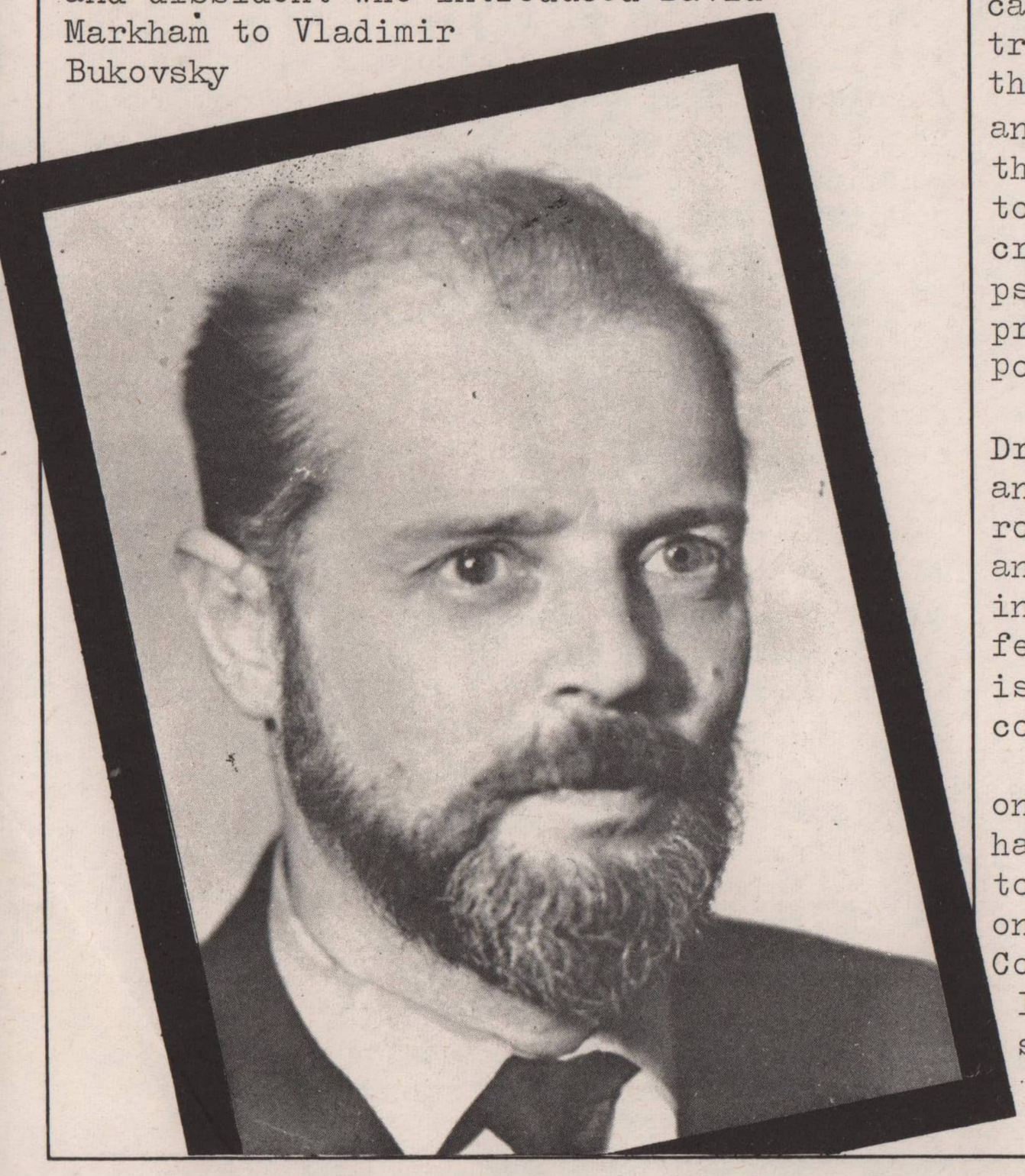
Already at this point (autumn 1971) there was a feeling among some members of the group that many people - including the British psychiatric establishment - were dragging their heels on the issue. In a letter published in the October issue of the British Journal of Psychiatry David Markham wrote: 'Now the overwhelming impression one receives in this country from the people who might be expected to care most - writers, lawyers and psychiatrists - when their attention is drawn to this problem, is one of mingled indifference and suspicion. One possible explanation of this hostile reaction, if I may be allowed to suggest it, is the fear that, in openly criticising their Soviet colleagues, British psychiatrists might be offending medical protocol, or might be simply 'playing at politics'.

'I think it was the Canadian psychiatrist Dr Hirt who pointed out the dangers of such an attitude, comparing it with the negative role played by doctors generally before and during the Hitler regime. And is this, in any case, purely a Soviet problem? One fears not. In many other countries there is growing evidence of an unhealthy collusion between State and medicine.

'But to refuse to face facts emerging in one country, where the abuse of medicine happens to be the most flagrant, is surely to invite similar abuses nearer home. May one dare to hope that at your coming Congress in Mexico this subject will at last receive the open discussion that has so long been lacking?'

David Markham's hopes, those of his

Alexander Essenin-Volpin: Russian writer and dissident who introduced David Markham to Vladimir Bukovsky



associates in the Working Group - and those of the Soviet detainees - were to remain unfulfilled. As I F Stone reported in the February issue of the New York Review of Books 'The fact is that at Mexico City the undemocratic practices customary in dealing with public complaint in the Soviet Union spread to the psychiatric congress. The bureaucracy of the world organization and of the American Psychiatric Association in effect helped to shelve and hush protest. They claimed that the world congress had no procedural basis on which to act.'

In his detailed account of the Mexico Congress I F Stone - following the admirable precept 'The enemy is in your own country' - concentrated on the antics of the American Psychiatric Association. But readers on this side of the Atlantic will be interested to learn that Great Britain had no fewer than two representatives out of six on the executive committee of the World Psychiatric Association, Drs Denis Leigh and W Linford Rees.

Denis Leigh, a consultant forensic psychiatrist to the Ministry of Defence, is the WPA secretary-general. Since the Congress he has continued to refuse to take any further action on the issue.

When David Markham wrote to him about the case of Victor Yachot - a Jew threatened with detention if he refused military service - Leigh replied 'I suggest you send your complaint directly to the All-Union Society of Psychiatrists. This is their address...'

When Dr Sidney Bloch asked Leigh what the World Psychiatric Association was doing on the issue Leigh's response was that only national bodies could bring it up and that anyway the whole thing was a lot of nonsense.

But the most revealing glimpse of Dr Denis Leigh's attitude on this issue came during an interview with him by journalist John Chandos. This is Chandos' account of part of their conversation: 'Dr Leigh expressed concern for the damaging effects to international relations in psychiatry between East and West inflicted by allegations made in Mexico by various delegates at the International Congress of Psychiatrists that the resources of psychological medicine had been misused in the Soviet Union to imprison, silence and ill-treat critics of the regime.

'He expressed doubts of the validity of the allegations. I said I was surprised, because the evidence from many and independent sources seemed to be irresistible. But Dr Leigh stated that he was not convinced of the independence and authenticity of the evidence and that he suspected that there may have been a sophisticated and expensively organised scheme to defame Russia by her enemies, possibly with the participation of the CIA.'

Later, in a telephone conversation with Peter Reddaway, Leigh denied this account of the interview and could produce no evidence of any CIA involvement. He made it clear that he would not support the sort of action on the issue taken by the 44 psychiatrists and that he thought Bukovsky was a schizophrenic: a doctor who had examined him in the Soviet Union in 1963 came up to Leigh at the Mexico Congress and confirmed the diagnosis.

Leigh is far from being the only British psychiatrist who has reacted with 'indifference and suspicion' to the reports of the detention in Russian prison mental hospitals of political dissidents. One wrote: 'Since Stalin's death the whole trend in the Soviet Union has been towards strict legality and I am therefore quite unable to accept that Russian doctors would now stoop to the sort of dishonourable actions which are held against them.'

Another, who had been a member of the Working Group, was also reluctant to criticise his foreign colleagues: 'No doubt you will have seen about Yakir's arrest and his comment "Remember that in our country it is progress when dissenters are sent to labour camps or imprisoned in mental hospitals; formerly they were shot." This reflects my own attitude and feeling that we should not spend too much time chastising the psychiatrists. The blame is really on the political crowd who are calling the tune...'

Dr Gery Low-Beer, a psychiatrist who has recently joined the Working Group, is in no doubt that there is 'gross abuse of psychiatry in Russia with the deliberate use of psychiatrists by politicians: members of the profession are cowed - brain washed - to use their skill for political ends.'

On the evening that he was interviewed for INSIDE STORY Dr Low-Beer had spoken on the telephone to one recent victim of Russian 'psychiatry', Alexei Tumerman. This man, a Jew, has had two spells of detention in mental hospitals, ordered by the KGB

because he might take part in political demonstrations. The first occasion coincided with President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union, the second with the recent imposition of a so-called education tax on Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union. On the second occasion he was detained from 19 September to 1 October 1972.

'I spoke to him in Russia for about 10 minutes,' said Dr Low-Beer. 'As a psychiatrist I can say that tonight he was not suffering from schizophrenia. And the chances that he had been suffering from schizophrenia a few days before are 1,000 to 1. I have spoken to this man's friend who has confirmed that he was never in any abnormal state.

'Yet I also spoke to the medical director of the hospital where he was detained. The doctor actually gave me the diagnosis - schizophrenia - that was made at that hospital.'

Dr Low-Beer added: 'The lethargy and smugness of the majority of psychiatrists here about this very grave problem which threatens to undermine the whole basis of the profession is contemptible - and inexplicable - I think.'

And it is not just British psychiatrists who have dragged their heels on this issue. Although Amnesty International Publications have regularly published an English version of the Russian underground paper A Chronicle of Current Events, David Markham says 'Amnesty have always had to be prodded on the Soviet Union. When Bukovsky was sentenced I had to spend an hour in their office before they agreed to send a telegram. And they failed to get an observer there for his trial.'

However, between Bukovsky's arrest and his trial, Amnesty wrote twice to his mother's address inviting him to come to Britain. Citing the Rudi Dutschke case as a precedent Amnesty warned Bukovsky that in order to get a British visa he would probably have to sign an undertaking to abstain completely from political activity in Britain.

According to a Moscow source this invitation - with its warning - was passed on to Bukovsky in prison by the KGB. Bukovsky



Oryol prison hospital south of Moscow: how many dissidents are detained here?

replied that the KGB wanted to compel him to abandon political activity in Russia - 'and Amnesty wanted to do the same in Britain'. Thus Amnesty was the unwitting tool of the KGB in their persecution of Bukovsky.

More recently, in September 1972, Alex Volpin, who had left the Soviet Union earlier in the year wanted to visit Britain on his way to the USA. He was told that a British visa would only be considered when his American visa had been issued - and that there would then be a delay of several weeks. Volpin did not, in the end, manage to visit Britain.

Lastly it's worth glancing at the curious reluctance of British newspapers to investigate the issue. During and after the Mexico Congress, there were references to its refusal to protest but, despite I F Stone's article, there has been no equivalent analysis of what went on there - and the subsequent inactivity of the British psychiatric establishment. One member of the Working Group says: 'It's a scandal that there's been not a single real analysis of the issue in a paper like the Times, although there have been specific news stories.'

Footnote: of the six people whose diagnoses were included with Bukovsky's appeal to Western psychiatrists, three have been released. But General Grigorenko is still in Chernyakhovsk and Victor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov are still in the Leningrad prison hospital. The total number of political dissidents in Russian prison hospitals is not known - though it is certainly several hundred.

Bukovsky: a biographical note

Vladimir Konstantinovich Bukovsky was born in 1942, the son of privileged Communist Party members. In his last year at school he published a satirical journal Martyr and was expelled together with several of his teachers. His parents were reprimanded by the Party committee for failing to bring him up properly.

In 1961 Bukovsky became a student of biophysics at Moscow University. He was one of the organisers of Phoenix, a dissident group which produced a journal of that name, and took an active part in the poetry readings in Mayakovsky Square. When the authorities moved against Phoenix, Bukovsky was expelled.

In 1962 Bukovsky organised an unofficial exhibition of abstract paintings which was shut down. To avoid arrest he left Moscow for six months with a geological expedition. On his return he continued to play an active part in the dissident youth movement while working as a programmer at the Moscow Cybernetics Centre.

In May 1963 Bukovsky was arrested and detained - without trial - in the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry. In December he was transferred to the prison psychiatric hospital in Leningrad where he spent the next 15 months.

Released in February 1965 he returned to Moscow and resumed an active part in the dissident movement. In December he was arrested again for helping to organise the demonstration in defence of Daniel and Sinyavsky. He was sent first to psychiatric hospital no 13 at Liublino near Moscow, then to the hospital at Stolbovaya Station and finally, once again to the Serbsky Institute.

It seemed that doctors' opinions differed: by no means every psychiatrist was prepared to declare Bukovsky mentally unbalanced. Partly because of this - and partly as a result of protests in the West - he was freed in 1966, though no reason was given for his release.

On 26 January 1967 Bukovsky was arrested once again for organising demonstrations and this time he stood trial. He was sentenced to three years corrective labour for 'illegal demonstration' and sent to the Bor labour camp in the Voronezh region.

In January 1970 after his release he returned to Moscow where he lived until his arrest on 29 March 1971. Bukovsky's 12 year sentence, imposed earlier this year, breaks down as follows: two years prison; five years in a labour camp and five years exile.

Broadmoor: the hospital that's worse than prison

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY
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DHSS

BROADMOOR INVESTIGATION COMPLETED

Department Pays Tribute to Staff

The investigation into complaints made at the beginning of April this year by two patients in Broadmoor Hospital has now been completed. Careful enquiries by two senior officers from the Department of Health and Social Security have disclosed nothing which calls for further action on the part of the Department, or for disciplinary action against the staff.

The allegations made related to some thirty incidents said to have occurred over a period of eight years. Some concerned patients and staff no longer at Broadmoor, others were incidents said to have occurred so long ago that it has not been possible to enquire into them. A small number of the incidents were found to have been reported and dealt with appropriately at the time they occurred.

The Department fully recognises the problems encountered in a hospital which treats some of the most highly disturbed psychiatric patients in the country, and reiterates its confidence in the staff at the hospital.

25 August 1972

No. 72/252

The government's attempt to whitewash Broadmoor cannot ultimately succeed. We look at the growing campaign for a full public investigation.

Just over a year ago links were established between a group of Broadmoor patients who were furthering their education and some members of Reading University. Third year students and Dr J Beckford, a lecturer, started paying weekly visits to Broadmoor for sociology seminars.

Later the group wrote: 'These students were of great academic assistance. They prompted the group to join the NUS and this was accomplished without any interference. They brought many books to assist our studies, not only in sociology, but maths, French, history and other subjects the group voiced an interest in. Personal friendships also developed.

'During the weekly seminars we learned much about each other and the group discovered that the students were similarly motivated in their politics and general outlook. The group, by this time, had become firm students and disciples of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung and had become aware of the need of an eventual socialist revolution and the overthrow of the status quo.

'Many interesting discussions took place on the seminars in which revolution and the destruction of capitalism was discussed at length. The students, however, did not at any time advocate violence or any action, by the group, against the establishment here: in fact they strongly argued against it.

'The following months brought about a rapid deterioration in group-screw relationships. Members of the group were able to point out wrong doings by the screws, and indeed did so, often, and this was unpopular. The degree of harassment and repressive techniques employed by the screws made it obvious that a crisis was approaching...

In January 1972 the group - as the Revolutionary Action Committee for Broadmoor - produced a manifesto which was distributed inside and outside Broadmoor and published in the patients' magazine Chronicle. The document alleged physical and mental repression - by overt brutality and more subtle and frightening methods of control.

'Indiscriminate over-prescribing of strong repressive drugs and electro-convulsive therapy - with or without anaesthetic - are the most obvious methods. Periods of solitary confinement ranging from one day to eight months are another method.'

Then on 31 March two members of the group staged a rooftop protest over conditions. They made a number of demands, notably an immediate public enquiry into Broadmoor, before coming down three days later.

A dossier alleging 38 specific cases of brutality in Broadmoor - which the group had been preparing for some time - was sent to the Department of Health and Social Security. What followed was not the public enquiry which, the group say, was promised but an internal enquiry conducted by the DHSS in secret.

The group also say that neither the patients who had made the complaints nor the members of the Revolutionary Action Committee were interviewed about the dossier. Not surprisingly, in the circumstances, the 'enquiry' concluded that all was well.

But since August the demand for a public enquiry has increased. The Revolutionary Action Committee - with its supporters in Reading, the Defence and Aid Committee for Prisoners in Broadmoor - were joined in June by the Public Action Committee for Broadmoor. Thus Broadmoor enjoys the dubious distinction of having two entirely separate agitational groups concerned with its affairs.

The organiser of the PACB, Dave Mourton, writes: 'The Committee was formed in early June by a number of relatives of Broadmoor patients and other people concerned for patients' welfare. It was clear to us that the cases we had full information about were examples of the general situation inside Broadmoor. There were, for example, the shocking conditions of overcrowding and staff shortage revealed by the investigations of the Commons Estimates Committee four years ago.

'We were even more convinced of this from discussions with other relatives visiting patients at Broadmoor, though it also became clear that their fear of the victimisation of their relatives inside would deter many of them from coming forward to give evidence. Also there was the problem of the Official Secrets Act which applies to all information concerning conditions and treatment of patients - and the hostility of the Prison Officers' Association into which the nursing staff are organised.

'From the outset the PACB campaign has been geared to gaining the maximum possible publicity for the plight of Broadmoor

patients, winning the confidence of relatives and building up support and assistance from as broad a range of national organisations as can be achieved. Organisations which support the call for a public enquiry so far include the Liberal and Communist Parties.

'Apart from regular leafleting of relatives and friends visiting the hospital, we have organised a number of demonstrations. One, in the grounds of Broadmoor on 16 July, was preceded by a loudspeaker tour of the village of Crowthorne nearby. Then curious hospital staff joined the crowd to listen to our speakers - and talk to us. This was in defiance of a circular issued to them the day before which reminded them that they could not speak to us since they were subject to the Official Secrets Act.

'Other events have included a 10-hour leafleting vigil outside the DHSS on 26 July, a public meeting on 22 August and more leafleting at the DHSS on 9 September. Our next major event will be a lobby of MPs at the House of Commons during November.

'As organiser of the PACB, I was one of the speakers at the Broadmoor demonstration and had the privilege of being photographed by the Prison Officers' Association. Immediately afterwards I visited one of the women patients. Mr Nat Morris, PACB secretary, was refused permission to visit his brother in the hospital by the male nurse on duty at the entrance to the men's section, but this was hastily reversed.

'A fortnight later, I was refused admittance to the women's section and referred to a directive issued by McGrath, the Physician Superintendent. McGrath himself was away from the hospital and his deputy refused to discuss the matter with me.

'I wrote to McGrath challenging his right to ban me from visiting patients and suggesting that the ban was not unrelated to my work with PACB. The illuminating reply read as follows: "The grounds on which your visits are not allowed are that on the information available to me your visits would not be conducive to effective treatment of patients."'

All visits to Broadmoor by Reading University students were banned at the time of the rooftop protest in March, while inside members of the Revolutionary Action Committee were also punished: two were placed in solitary confinement for the three days of the rooftop protest.

Later on 1 June the two who had been on the roof, Alan Reeve and Phil Hall, and Bryan Knight were put in Monmouth, the punishment block, for wearing red armbands. They stayed there, refusing to compromise, until late September. Their final release from 'the block' was a victory: they did not make the full political recantation stipulated earlier.

<u>The big question now is: how long can the DHSS avoid a public enquiry into conditions inside Broadmoor? Below are extracts from four of the many reports on the hospital now in the hands of the two committees.</u>

'I was a patient in Cornwall House, going there at the end of 1968 and I was released in September 1970. I was transferred under section 26 1959 Mental Health Act.

Let me tell you about Mr - , the then departmental nurse of Cornwall House. He was the head nurse, although I believe him to be promoted now, a man in a highly trusted position of caring etc for the patients. This man accepts BRIBES. Proof. Off myself, personally, he accepted cigarettes of many hundreds for 'favours' that I needed, ie parole card, new clothes, information on possibility of release, and many others. The amounts for these favours could range from 60 cigarettes for a pair of shoes to 200 cigarettes for a parole card. This man also accepted a 'pony' or £20, from a patient other than myself, for letting him read his own case notes. To the day I was released, I felt that, to attain my release, I had to keep this man supplied to stay in favour with him...

The patients are allotted a small amount of money for their week's work, which they are allowed to spend in the patients' canteen. When they come back with their tea, milk, sugar, sweets, they enter Cornwall House and face at least three nurses who pick the least intelligent to obtain some of these items from. Some of the patients are so frightened that they are only too pleased to hand over their very sparse extras, saying "Here you are sir"...

In 1970 a coloured patient asked a nurse in the corridor for the snooker cues. For some reason the nurse refused to give the cues, and the patient walked away disgruntled and muttering. Because of this,

he was grabbed by at least four nurses on the ward, dragged into a side room and within seconds afterwards, the patients then in the ward heard him screaming for mercy saying "Don't hit me anymore please."

He was kept in the cell three days, and was released on the third day in the evening. When he came out he showed us his chest which should have been black (his normal colour) but was a mass of yellow and blue bruises where he had been kicked and hit. The patient was told by the nursing staff that if he didn't make a fuss about the beating he would probably find that he would be released soon...

I was sitting in the day-room of the admission block, when a member of the staff made a young patient (under 18), who was of limited intelligence, get down on his hands and knees and crawl round the day-room and bark like a dog. The member of staff concerned thought this was very funny, and he encouraged other patients to think it was funny too.

'

'The general public would refuse to believe what does go on in that place. The so-called nurses there couldn't bandage a cut finger. The only thing they know how to do is throw their weight around. Patients need psychiatric help not punishment and it angered me greatly having to work with some people who thought they were god and had ideas of dishing out punishment accordingly...

There was a Dr - there and he certainly was a disgrace to his profession. He was a goodgoing alcoholic and filthy to look at. One day in particular he had such a bad hangover that he had on his polaroid sun-glasses to take a patient's blood and whilst doing so asked that the light be put on as he could not see...

I have just had a letter from another ex-Broadmoor nurse who only stayed there as long as I did and is now in -. She also feels as strongly as I do about the whole set-up at that would-be hospital...

Whenever patients complained to the Home Office the whole place knew when the investigators were about to come, and the staff had it all rehearsed what to say and what they saw.

When - and I left Broadmoor we had to sign the Official Secrets Act that we would not publish any information we learned while we were there.

'

'I have now been in Broadmoor for four months after coming from prison. The reason I was sent here was to take me away from the harsh prison regime and into a hospital where I wouldn't be under the same pressures as in prison.

The above statement is a classic for the propagandist, but reality proves otherwise. I've seen more acts of gross abuse on the patients here than anything I have seen before.

An incident concerning two very good friends of mine highlights the sort of regime which is in practice here. Because they didn't want to go and watch the football on the sports field one of them was bodily thrown into a cell. The other patient seeing the rough tactics being inflicted went to ask the nurses to 'go easy'. He was then attacked himself.

When they were seen by Dr - , naturally they were both feeling very grieved at being assaulted this way, they told Dr - what had happened but they were ignored and dragged over to Block 6, which is the punishment block. At no time did these two inmates attack anybody.

Another incident concerning myself. I had gone to the chapel to see my two friends. Upon entering the place I started to talk to one of them. A charge nurse came over to me and told me not to talk to them. I asked him if he thought this was a prison, he just repeated for me not to talk to them. Now, I hadn't seen my friends for some time and I was doing no harm by quietly talking to them. Suddenly I was surrounded by six nurses and one of them put his arm around my neck, squeezed, and made me unconscious. The next thing I remember was being carried into the strip-cell. At the door of the strip-cell stood another nurse who locked all the others in there with me. I was punched and stamped on, kicked in the ribs and finally had all my clothes torn from my body. They then knocked on the door and went out laughing.

Now, here I am sent from prison to get away from all this sort of thing, only to find that this place is worse, much worse. I have also seen patients here given ECT without any anaesthetic, because the patient happened to swear at the nurses.

I am now in the frame of mind to do anything to get out of here and return to prison. I know that if I stay here life will become more unbearable.

I am not a mentally-ill patient. I am on

ESCAPE TO BROADMOOR

By Mr. Michael Alison, Joint Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Department of Health and Social Security.

Last weekend I had the good fortune to be able to get away from the rush and congestion of Westminster, and to pay my first visit to Broadmoor. It proved to be a really refreshing change. There is a good deal more green and open space in the hospital than in the surroundings of the House of Commons, let alone the surroundings of the Department of Health (where I work) at the Elephant and Castle. And I dearly wish we had a swimming pool in the precincts of the Palace of Westminster (as the parliament buildings are called, since the royal family lived in them in days gone by); because it gets very hot and stuffy here in summer! Of course Broadmoor now has the great asset of the new League of Friends pool, with its lovely site overlooking green fields and distant hills. It will be years before we get a pool for Parliament - not in fact before the new Parliament buildings are put up sometime at the end of the seventies. But while the historic (and impressive) buildings of Broadmoor are to be rebuilt, we shall have to struggle on in the main Parliamentary buildings for a long while yet.

Life and work for a Member of Parliament, particularly if (like myself) he has a ministerial job, is interesting but intensive. We have to keep very long hours when the House of Commons is sitting, and in some ways one feels a bit like a prisoner. For example, I am writing these words in my little room in the House of Commons at midnight. And there is no prospect of my being able to go home to bed before one or two o'clock in the morning. It was the same last night: I managed to leave the House for home just after midnight. This would not be too bad if the work only began like a night shift, in the early evening. But MPs (including ministers) have to attend to their normal jobs during the day, and then start off the PARLIAMENTARY day at 3 30 in the afternoon. This is because the work of debating and discussing legislation (at present we are dealing with the Finance Bill, which gives the government authority to levy taxes) has traditionally only been carried on in the afternoon, to give MPs the chance to attend to their business or professional duties in the morning. And once the debate in the House of Commons has started, MPs have to be "on call" in case votes take place. Even as I write, a loud bell is ringing in my room, and in every other room and corridor in the building, to summon MPs of all parties to the voting lobbies. We have seven minutes to get from wherever we are to the division, or voting, lobbies, after which the doors are locked and we cannot vote. If you miss a vote, it is rather like missing roll call in the army or in a prison: you are in trouble with authorities! In our case they are called the Whips, and their job is to ensure on behalf of their Party leader that his supporters are present, when needed, to vote. If an MP consistently and frequently misses important votes, the punishment meted out to him is likely to be the WITHDRAWING of the Whip (this shows that parliamentary whipping has nothing to do with corporal punishment!). In other words, he will no longer be regarded as a fully-committed member of his Party, liable to obey its rules as well as to enjoy its benefits. He will have become an outsider - an independent. Ultimately this could mean that he will be disowned by his local constituency association, and thus forced to fight the next election as an Independent. This, in turn, would almost certainly mean the wrecking of his parliamentary career: there are very few Independents in Parliament today.

From this you will see that life in Parliament has its snags as well as its assets. And you will understand how nice it was to visit Broadmoor for a change of scenery and settings. It's a jolly good hospital!

- 7 -

Another official view of Broadmoor - published in the patients' magazine Chronicle. No, we didn't fake it: the man actually wrote the article.

section 72, which is a transfer from prison to hospital to finish my time. I would rather serve my time in solitary confinement in prison to escape this place.

In 1967 M, a 16-year-old girl, was convicted of manslaughter, found in need of psychiatric treatment and sent to Broadmoor. The judge, Mr Justice Glyn-Jones told her: 'There is every hope that you will get better. Broadmoor is the hospital best suited for your treatment and you will go there straight away.'

M's first two years at Broadmoor were spent in confusion and the depths of depression. Twice her arms were slashed: the first time a patient attacked her with a piece of glass and later M slashed her own arms. On another occasion, in a fit of extreme depression, M stuck a pin into her arm, which the hospital decided to remove after some weeks. After being given her pre-med injection, M was wheeled along to the operating theatre and ordered to walk in on her own feet. Shocked, the doctor ordered her back onto the trolley...

Two of M's close friends in Broadmoor killed themselves. The first slashed herself on a rooftop, then collapsed onto a lower roof where - in full view of patients - a nurse turned over the dead body with his foot. The second killed herself in M's own room.

Lancaster House - known as 'the block' by staff and patients alike - is where the punishment of women patients takes place. In theory, of course, there is no punishment in Broadmoor: this is what the hospital and the DHSS claims; 'the block' is for disturbed patients who require extra care and attention.

On one occasion M was locked up in solitary confinement for eight days and nights: all she had to wear was a night-dress and she had no bed, only a mattress on the floor. She was not permitted to talk to anyone, including staff. She had in her cell one bowl of water to serve all purposes, plus a toothbrush.

Normally patients are allowed to keep their possessions. If they are transferred to the block, however, their belongings are thrown into a box which is then locked away in a room. Only staff have access to this room. Of course M had had clothing stolen before, but on returning from the block she was surprised to be told that none of her clothes could be located. So in desperation and as a protest she tried to get onto the roof. Shortly afterwards most of her clothes 'returned'.

About a year ago, when M was expecting an early transfer to another hospital she had almost £200 worth of jewellery stolen. She packed it up in individual boxes which were then given to a nurse to be taken to the nurses' lodge to await collection by her parents. When they unpacked it at home they found the boxes empty.

Three years ago M's psychiatrist first mentioned to her parents the possibility of a transfer to an ordinary psychiatric hospital. A year ago he assured them that she would be out of Broadmoor 'by Christmas'. But in February 1972 Dr - wrote and said that since she had become disturbed he had now withdrawn his recommendation for her transfer. M's parents have a number of letters from Dr - and the DHSS which conflict with their understanding of what has happened to M - and which also contradict one another.

Recently M appeared before a Mental Health Review Tribunal. Dr - had told her beforehand that he would be recommending a transfer as she was making good progress. But in his evidence to the tribunal he did not. However, an independent psychiatrist did make a recommendation that M be transferred in six months time. Under cross-examination by M's solicitor Dr - admitted that he agreed with this report.

The findings of the tribunal go to the DHSS who make recommendations to the Home Secretary. But these findings will never be made known. It is therefore impossible to discover at what stage of the process a transfer or discharge is blocked - or on what grounds.

Note: The demands of the two committees are not restricted to a public enquiry. Some of the others are: an end to brutality and drug abuse; the removal of top medical staff; the right of inmates to determine their own treatment; reviews of every case for any patient who demands it; civil and political rights; an end to political victimisation; an end to the Official Secrets Act clamp on information and the right of relatives and the public to enter Broadmoor. Further information from: DACPB, 276 Liverpool Road, Reading, Berkshire; PACB, 18 Park Parade, Harlesden London NW10.

Psychiatry: the 'patients' fight back

We asked Keith Venables of the Management of Madness group in Nottingham to outline the radical culture emerging round psychiatry and psychology. He emphasises that this brief introduction is a personal view.

In the last several years we have seen a growing challenge to the psychiatric profession. People like Szasz and Laing and a revived Reich have eloquently questioned the apparently kindly motives of conventional psychiatry. The 'medical model' of madness has been criticised for placing all the emphasis on disease processes of the individual. Instead, a definition of 'madness' as part of social relationships in a crazy society is being brought forward.

Paddington Day Clinic

The demand for an approach to psychiatry which is more 'community-based' has led to some reorganisation of the mental health service. The reorganisation as such is a red herring because it seems that the same repressive methods of therapy - which, for example, adjust someone back into an unchanged situation using electroshock, drugs or manipulating talk - will be offered. And this offer is hidden in the apparently progressive garments of 'the community interest'.

At the Paddington Day Clinic they were attempting to offer a 'substantial therapeutic resource'. The aim was that people should develop self-direction and autonomy through trying to discover, rather than conceal, the causes of problems and then beginning to work through them. It is not surprising, then, that this situation led many people to question the nature of the hospital system and the whole structure of society. And it is even less surprising that the reorganisation would be used as an excuse to close the Paddington. But they hadn't counted on the forces of opposition. Patients and staff ran a vigorous campaign and at a public meeting in April gathered over 800 people in their support.

This sort of response showed how many people realise that mental detention is a political problem. People working in the protest group discovered in their actions a solidarity and purpose that was in itself therapeutic. So, the hospital board concerned quieted the gathering clamour by conceding part of the demands. Paddington was to be left open for a couple of years. This was an apparent victory - but a tactical defeat.

It was a defeat because during the dispute it was easy to link up with other struggles - to help other threatened communities, to challenge the sleepy and the reactionary institutions and to begin to integrate the actions into the movement for a society which is itself therapeutic. The message is still clear, however: we have seen how patients and staff and outsiders can gain concessions from the people who try to control them. How much do we want to take?

Alternatives

In the USA people have tried to set up alternatives to reactionary psychiatry which aim both to discover new ways of doing therapy and become part of the revolutionary movement. They have put this ideal into practice and by following reports in the Radical Therapist (an American magazine which changed its name to Rough Times) we find a number of conclusions. Operating without the money offered by the system allows a certain amount of autonomy but has led some groups to disappear or be co-opted into doing 'safe' things.

One such counter-cultural 'alternative' - Number Nine - made big progress. They outline the logic of their development as getting onto equal terms with their 'patients', starting community meetings, then realising the need for other help like advice on drugs, abortion and the law. Many people who went through personal crises there found that a sensible and meaningful outcome was to fight for the Revolution.

A major recent issue on whether or not 'alternatives' can be subversive has centred around who is able to use them. Capitalism can more easily tolerate help for students or middle-class street people than it can help for blacks or chicanos or poor people: to help them realise their own power... To

me the important aspect of all this is that so-called 'alternatives' raise questions about the way we live, about the kinds of social and sexual relations we would want in a socialist society: living a movement for revolutionary change.

Confrontation

In the States, 'radicals', militant women and gays have intervened in professional conventions. In this country, too, the protesters are refusing to keep quiet (for example Leeds and Nottingham conferences this year). There have been a handful of conferences trying to re-integrate the political and the psychological. Magazines and pamphlets are becoming more easily available.

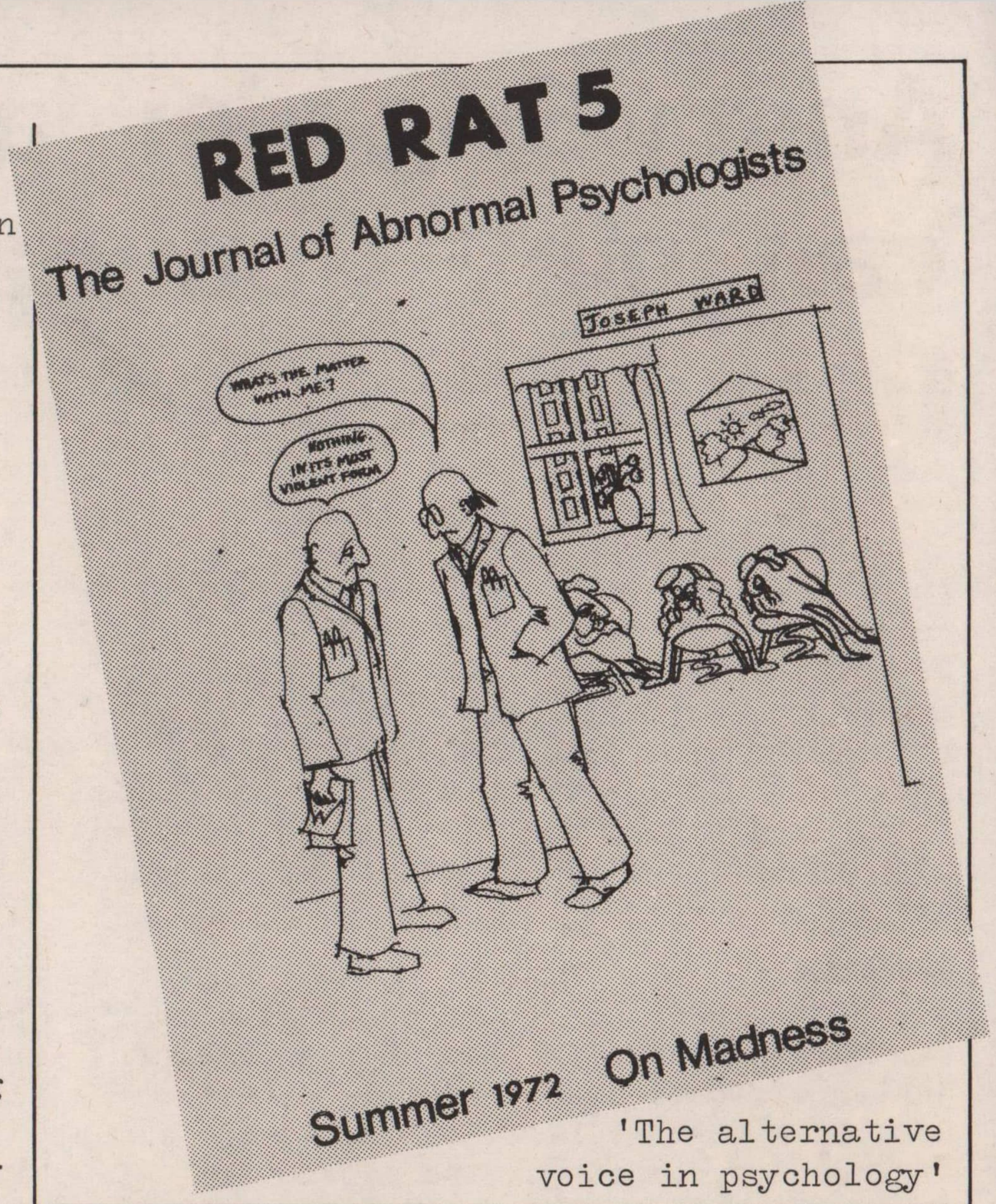
Vauxhalls

At Luton, in June, street theatre, some meetings and a street comic were presented to try and sensitise workers to the way the hospital and factory management work hand-in-hand against the worker. The nice thing about this is that it could easily be repeated outside every factory. The important thing is that it is done again - and done again soon. The fight against the political role of the mental hospital is an important part of the class struggle.

The Future

Where does all this lead us? I think a radical culture concerned with the issues of psychiatry is developing and should be encouraged. As reactionary forms of therapy are exposed, as more progressive forms defend themselves, as the effort required to build new ways of living and doing 'therapy' is put in and as the knowledge that mental detention is a political act spreads we find new questions being asked. By testing out these questions through action I think we can do something worthwhile.

Some of the developments I would like to see include there being more down to earth writing available to give to people involved with mental hospitals. There is a 'radical' psychology student network developing - what about a network of mental hospitals in protest? In the USA, there are now at least 12 Mental Patient Liberation groups: they are patients or ex-patients who are fighting for change on their own behalf (and on ours).



Psychology is People: some of the things discussed above will be furthered at this conference on 25-26 November at Birmingham University Students Union. Certainly there will be a session on the Vauxhalls action. Accommodation available. Send enquiries, ideas, energy and sae to: Bri, 311 Hagley Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 16.

Management of Madness: a short pamphlet available on the Vauxhalls street theatre. Send 2 x 2½p stamps to: Flat 3, 59 Forest Road, Nottingham. Also from the same address there will soon be a bigger pamphlet, a potitical critique of psychology: price as yet unfixed - send about 25p.

Clinical Psychology Group: issued Red Rat 5 on madness and are presently involved in psychiatry and racism etc: Bridie c/o 27 Quadrant Grove, London NW5.

Humpty Dumpty: new radical psychology magazine from: 14 Haslemere Road, London N8.

Rough Times: PO Box 89, West Somerville, Ma02144, USA.

Mental Patients Political Action Committee: c/o Jamie Shupack, 450 East 63rd Street, New York, USA.

Angry Brigade: 'an idea anyone can join' ~ Commander Bond

By our Old Bailey correspondent

Commander Ernest Bond and Detective Chief Superintendant Roy Habershon, top dogs of the bomb squad, last month rounded off the prosecution case against the eight accused of conspiring to cause explosions. Facing them in the dock were Jim Greenfield, John Barker, Hilary Creek, Anna Mendleson and Stuart Christie, all charged with conspiring from 1968 to 1971 and with possessing explosive substances, and Chris Bott, Angela Weir and Kate McLean, charged with conspiracy. Now the defence case is in progress.

The two police officers could give no further concrete information than their junior officers about the raid on Amhurst Road in August 1971, which led to the arrest of four defendants and the 'discovery' of the explosives and arms. Neither of them was present at those arrests, nor at the four which followed. However, they could help on the organisation of the special bomb squad and its mode of investigation.

The squad, made up of officers from the CID and Special Branch, had arrived at certain suspects through information culled from SB files and other sources, including a secret informant. Enquiries included investigations into political activities and affiliations, although Bond and Habershon were not clear themselves how Lotta Continua, 1st May Group, the Wild Bunch and the Angry Brigade (all signatories of various communiques) were connected - apart from the 'technical, scientific evidence' linking the bombs.

According to them, the enquiry had been a normal criminal investigation, unhurried and unharried by pressure from government or any other level. Press reports about directives from Maudling to smash the Angry Brigade were entirely without foundation. A special squad had indeed been formed after Robert Carr's house was bombed in January 1971, but that had been for reasons of efficiency: in order to draw all bombing enquiries together.

Cdr Bond told the court that his police officers had found guns, explosives and detonators at 359 Amhurst Road, as well as numerous documents, posters and pamphlets.

When confronted by the defence's allegation that the stuff was planted by his police officers, Bond replied that this was ridiculous. Although he had not been in the flat when it was found, he was quite satisfied that it had been found there. He added that the allegation of plant was the only defence the prisoners could take. But he agreed that it was also the only defence the prisoners could take if it had been planted.

Asked what sort of organisation the Angry Brigade was, Bond said he didn't know. 'I regard the Angry Brigade as an idea which anyone can join. I wouldn't accept it as an organisation.' But he went on to say that they had connections in Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow. 'Membership of the Angry Brigade', said the Cdr, 'is only established by our enquiries...There are a number of people the police are still enquiring about and who should be arrested.' The prisoners in the dock were by no means the be-all and end-all of the Angry Brigade.

John Barker, defending himself, put to Cdr Bond that the bombings were attacks on authority and that Bond himself would come within that definition. He agreed. 'So these bombings, you see as attacks on your class of people?' Bond: 'I don't say any class of people. On authority, yes.' Barker: 'And it was for that reason that the Angry Brigade was dangerous, not because of the amount of damage that was caused by it?' Bond: 'No. The Angry Brigade were dangerous because of the series of bombings they had embarked upon. I'm quite sure that sooner or later we would have had some body killed.' Barker: 'I suggest that what was thought to be dangerous about the Angry Brigade was not the small amount of explosives they used, but the kind of people their bombs were aimed at?' Bond: 'No'.

At the end of the prosecution case, submissions were made by the defence counsel

on various counts of the indictment. The counts of possession of the explosives substances was dropped against Chris Bott. On the strength of this, he made an application for bail. (The four women are now all on bail.) Mr Habershon produced his usual skilful performance, objecting to bail on the grounds that Bott would certainly abscond and would probably try to spring the others from jail. He also objected to about half the sureties, expressing his opinion that their 'ideology was too close to that of Mr Bott'. Bail was refused.

Ian McDonald, representing Jim Greenfield, opened the defence case with a fine speech to the jury. He told them 'I am for acquittal', at the beginning, in case they were in doubt after hearing his cross-examination of prosecution witnesses. He went on to say that this was no ordinary trial: it would be one of the longest in history; it was also political. The prosecution had very little evidence, except in three cases, as to who did the bombings, therefore motive was of prime importance. And the motivation, the prosecution said, was political, given the targets of attack. The main focus of police investigation had been looking for the right kind of people. The reason why documents from Amhurst Road were presented in court was to establish the politics of Jim, Anna, Hilary and John. It was the prosecution who were making this trial political: it was they who must put the views, thoughts and feelings of the defendants on trial.

He went on to say that smashing the Angry Brigade was not just a question of arresting people. It meant ensuring that they were duly taken to court and that the key people - the Amhurst Road four - were convicted and given long prison sentence. And that was where the jury came in: if the powers-that-be had their way, the jury's task would be to convict these defendants, maybe let off one or two of the peripheral characters, but not Jim Greenfield or the other Amhurst Road people.

The jury's cooperation was part of the strategy of the powers-that-be. But they, the jury, were the only unpredictable factors in this little scenario. That gave them enormous power, and enormous responsibility. While they listened to the defendants and their witnesses, they should not forget their power and responsibility to the people in the dock.

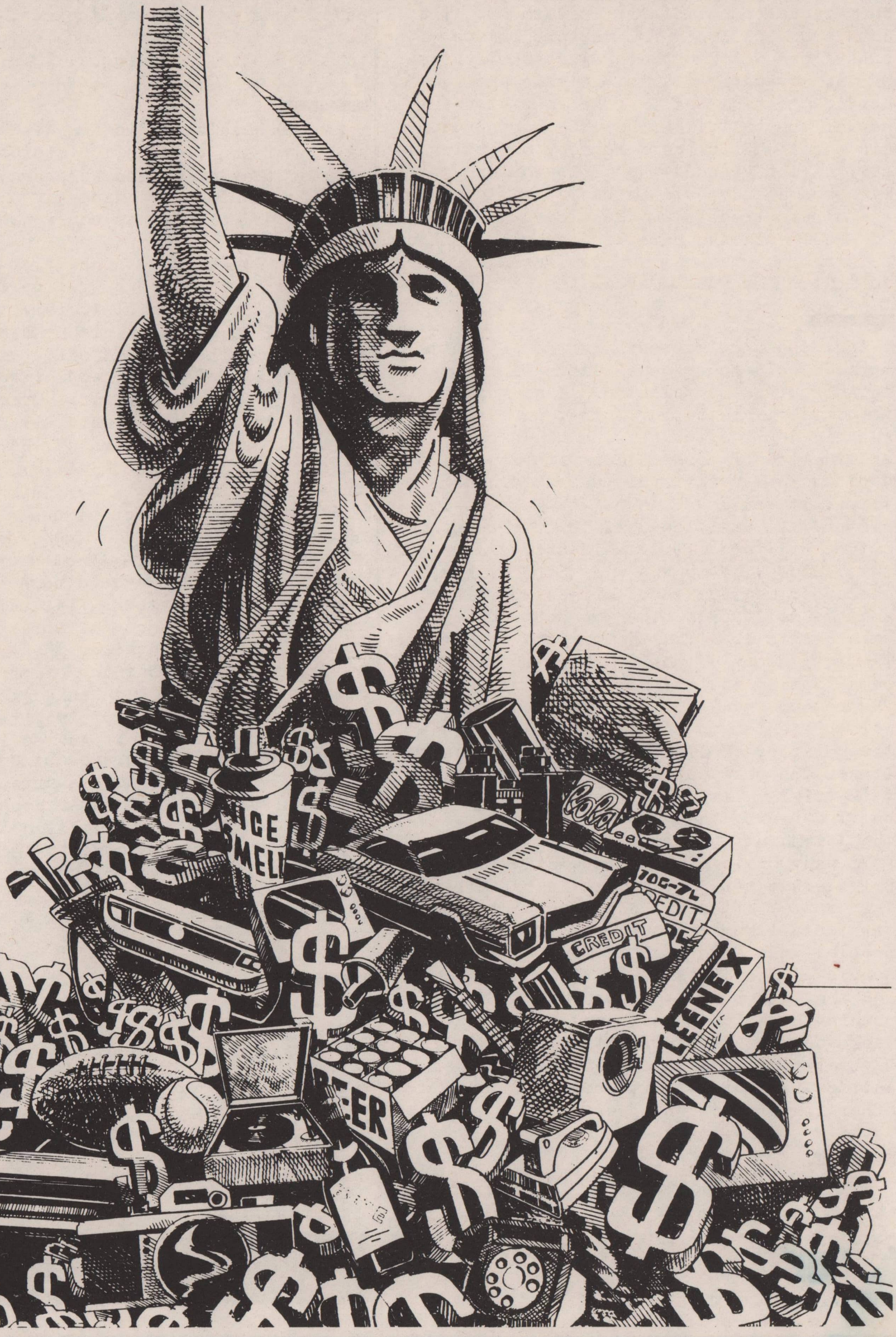
Mr McDonald's prediction of the political nature of the prosecution's cross-examination of the defendants was borne out swiftly as Jim Greenfield, having given his evidence-in-chief, was confronted by John Mathew.

Greenfield had explained that two people who came to the flat over a period of time, revealed themselves ultimately to be connected in some way with the Angry Brigade. Mathew kicked off by demanding the identity of these people, going on to suggest two names himself. Greenfield refused to define them at all: 'I wish to protect them. Criticism of the Angry Brigade tactics aside, in opposition to you, Mr Mathew, they are on my side.'

Mathew asked many questions suggesting that Greenfield would in general approve the use of violence against property if not against persons and would personally be prepared to do anything, including using violence, to 'advance the working class movement'. He maintained that Greenfield had a hatred and loathing of the police and all authority, but when asked to define what he meant by 'authority', merely repeated the question. And so it went on.

Questions and answers about Greenfield's movements from 1968 to his arrest in August 1971 caused Mr Mathew fewer eruptions of incomprehension and irritation. But explaining various documents again involved Greenfield in lengthy discourses on the nature of his research on the power structure of the British State, industry and private armies.

The overtly political questions, and their answers, are no doubt becoming familiar to the jury. Mathew: 'What was your reaction to the Carr bombing Mr Greenfield?' Greenfield: 'I looked at it politically and I thought that that bombing did nothing to advance the movement of the British working class toward socialism. But, on top of that, my emotional reaction was "Good job too".'


ICE
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books

The politics of abundance

Post-Scarcity Anarchism by Murray Bookchin (Berkeley: Ramparts Press $6.95; paperback $2.95 - £1.50 in Britain) has not yet been published in Britain. We think it should be.

After more than a century, the anarchist ideology is still generally ignored, even when the anarchist movement forces itself into public attention. If anarchism is noticed at all, at worst it is abused as a monstrosity or is distorted into one, at best it is criticised for not being some kind of socialism or liberalism or is patronised as an interesting but ineffective eccentricity. Very little is written about anarchism as such, and very little that is written about it is worth reading.

When anarchism is properly considered, there is an immediate problem - who are the anarchists? One of the essential features of anarchism is the rejection of authority, including the authority of anarchists. The people usually listed as the main anarchist writers - Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker, Tolstoy, Landauer, Read, Goodman - did not all call themselves anarchists, were not all involved in anarchist activity, and all said much that is rejected by most anarchists. A study of anarchism that takes account only of these writers is vitiated from the start.

The real anarchist writers - that is, those who lived in and worked for the anarchist movement - are much less well known and much more difficult to characterise. Most of them have no memorial, and only a few - such as Rudolf Rocker and Errico Malatesta, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman - are read outside anarchist circles. Hardly anyone has any idea who they were, let alone what they said.

There is another problem - who are the new anarchists? The old ones, whether well-known or little-known, are dead or silent. One of the main criticisms of anarchism is that it is a thing of the past, that it has said nothing new for 50 or 100 years. If this is not true, who has said something new, and what is it? Here is a book by a real live anarchist which applies the principles of anarchism to the problems of the modern world, and which should be read by everyone interested in either the former or the latter.

Murray Bookchin, who was born in 1921, is best known here for his pamphlet Listen, Marxist!, but as 'Lewis Herber' he is the author of important books on ecology and technology, and as the editor of the New York magazine Anarchos, a contributor to other left-wing papers (including the old Anarchy), and a teacher at the New York Alternate University he is a leading exponent of contemporary anarchist theory.

Post-Scarcity Anarchism was published last year in the United States but has not yet appeared in this country (though it is available in left-wing bookshops). It is a collection of short writings dating from 1965 to 1970 - Listen, Marxist! with some later comments; Ecology and Revolutionary Thought, Towards a Liberatory Technology, and Desire and Need, three essays which first appeared in Anarchy; The Forms of Freedom and Post-Scarcity Anarchism, two other major essays; and some reflections on the French events of 1968.

Nearly all the material has previously appeared in Anarchos, and most of the essays have been reprinted in other papers and in cheap pamphlet editions, often several times. In addition Towards a Liberatory Technology and The Forms of Freedom have been reprinted in The Case for Participatory Democracy, a symposium edited by C George Benello and Dimitrios Roussopoulos and published in 1971 by Grossman, New York; and Post-Scarcity Anarchism has been reprinted in American Radical Thought, a symposium edited by Henry J Silverman and published in 1970 by D C Heath, Lexington. But this collection is the best way to approach Bookchin, and one of the most important anarchist books to appear since the war.

Bookchin's particular contribution to libertarian thought is that he has adapted anarchist communism to the conditions of the technological revolution, rather as

Marcuse has done with Marxist communism. He says in his introduction to this book that we 'stand on the threshold of a post-scarcity society' which will be 'the fulfilment of the social and cultural potentialities latent in a technology of abundance'. He concentrates on the problem of the United States - 'the center of the world counter-revolution - the center of the social revolution that can overthrow hierarchical society as a world-historical system' - but most of his argument applies equally to Britain, as a province of the American empire.

Bookchin argues in almost Marxist terms that 'the American structure' is certain to collapse soon because of 'its ripeness and decay'; but he goes on to argue in most un-Marxist terms that the struggle is not against capitalism but against all hierarchical society, and is not of economic classes but of alienated groups - blacks, women, students, hippies, and especially 'the youth culture'. He dismisses the concepts of bourgeoisie and proletariat as 'threadbare elements of socialist ideology', joining many other American radicals - such as Wright Mills and Marcuse - in rejecting the traditional belief in the revolutionary mission of the working class, and looking rather to the declassed and 'lumpen' elements of society, to the people rather than the proletariat.

Above all Bookchin is a utopian thinker, believing that utopia is necessary for survival - the choice is no longer between 'socialism and barbarism' but between 'anarchism and annihilation' - and is in fact within our reach. He sees the current trend of abandoning rather than attacking established society as a healthy rather than unhealthy symptom - not an evasion of the problem, but the beginning of its solution. To drop out of the present is to drop into the future, to construct utopia from topia, to build the new society within the old.

So Bookchin is advocating a post-Marxist socialism in a post-scarcity situation, his basic point being that authority is no longer necessary in a state of abundance. Essentially this is not a new position. In the late 19th century William Morris and Peter Kropotkin already insisted that there was enough of everything for everyone, if only it were properly organised, and their utopian books - News from Nowhere (1890) and The Conquest of Bread (1892) - were based on the premise that free communism was feasible there and then. What is new about Bookchin's utopian book is that it takes account of the developments of the subsequent eighty years, repeating that free communism is feasible here and now. He was a pioneering publicist for the revolutionary significance of contemporary ecology and technology, and this emphasis pervades the whole book.

The title essay argues in general terms that the principles of power, hierarchy, manipulation, and uniformity are now being challenged by those of freedom, equality, spontaneity, diversity; that the trend towards bourgeoisification and bureaucratisation must be reversed, and the puritan tradition and work ethic abandoned; that a libertarian society will come only through a libertarian revolution, and that libertarian revolutionary groups must see themselves as catalysts, not vanguards; that we must forget the past of scarcity and enter the future of abundance.

Two important essays provide the substructure of this position. Ecology and Revolutionary Thought argues that every revolutionary movement is linked with some branch of science, and that the present movement is related to ecology - the study of the balance of nature, more specifically of the place of man in his environment. Man's destruction of his environment since the Industrial Revolution, and more particularly since the Technological Revolution of the past generation, is closely analogous to the prevailing political and social system. Man has become a parasite which threatens its host, the world, just as some men are parasites on others and threaten their humanity; man tries to dominate and will eventually destroy his environment just as some men try to dominate others and end by destroying them.

There is a clear and cogent account of how the present disaster situation could be transformed by the intelligent use of energy sources and raw materials, the intelligent production and distribution of goods, and the intelligent disposal of waste, so that mankind survives and thrives and the balance of nature is preserved. Such measures would of course involve the complete decentralisation of the economic and social system. More immediately they

would involve a whole new approach to the methods of acting on the environment - that is, technology - and this is the subject of the companion essay.

Towards a Liberatory Technology argues that modern technology, which seems to threaten and overwhelm us, could in fact save and liberate us if it were properly applied. It has become so efficient that the old evils of want and work could be virtually abolished, with the immediate prospect of 'a materially abundant, almost workless era in which most of the means of life can be provided by machines'. With recent advances in automation and cybernation, all physical toil could be performed by machines - even in such intractable areas as mining and agriculture - and all mental toil as well - even most mechanical supervision and maintenance. This development is generally believed to involve centralisation, authority, and planning; but Bookchin insists that computerisation and miniaturisation on the contrary call for decentralisation, choice, and initiative: abundance brings anarchism.

Then come two important essays on the political implications of this position. The Forms of Freedom considers the structures appropriate to a libertarian society, arguing that the traditional advocacy of workers' councils is inadequate. Bookchin takes it for granted that revolution will bring workers' control of industry and that this will take the form of factory committees, but he insists that syndicalism is an attitude limited by a class view of society and that revolutionary society must transcend class. As the basic organ of popular control he advocates people's assemblies - more or less on the lines of the ecclesia of classical Athens or the sections of revolutionary Paris - whether in factories, where the committees should be subject to workers' assemblies, or in society at large, where the communes, collectives, and cooperatives should be subject to assemblies of all the people involved. Such a structure would of course involve the decentralisation of society into communities capable of such grass-roots, face-to-face organisation and the destruction of all hierarchical systems.

Listen, Marxist! is an attack on the neo-Marxist tendencies in the American New Left, written just before the split in the Students for a Democratic Society in 1969, arguing that it is necessary to do to Marxism what Marx did to Hegelianism - stand it on its feet, and salvage what is good by scrapping what is bad. Bookchin applies a dialetical analysis to Marxism itself, showing how much it was a child of its time, how in a true sense Marx (as he said) was not a Marxist; and he exposes the obsessions with authority, hierarchy, class, party, centralisation, and order which vitiate so much in the thought of the greatest socialist thinker. After a traditional anarchist critique of Bolshevism, he calls for a reorientation of the revolutionary perspective from the past to the future, and ends: 'Listen, Marxist: The organisation we try to build is the kind of society our revolution will create. Either we will shed the past - in ourselves as well as in our groups - or there will simply be no future to win.'

In his later comments, Bookchin explains the basic unit of anarchist organisation, the 'affinity group', and replies to some criticisms of the pamphlet: insisting that Bakunin's class analysis was superior to Marx's, remarking that the demand of the working class should be to abolish not just the class system but the work system too, and pleading that Western revolutionaries should not be mystified by the imaginary needs of the Third World but should begin the process of liberating the whole world.

The reflections on the French events of 1968, written immediately after them, amount to a confirmation of Bookchin's call for popular revolt in an economically advanced and technologically sophisticated society initiated by declassed elements and libertarian groups, and based on the principles of freedom and joy. Desire and Need, written shortly before the 1968 events, is a meditation on Peter Weiss's Marat/Sade play, seen as a dramatic representation of the polarity between desire and need in a revolutionary situation, which sums up the message of the whole book - that our desire has become our need.

Post-Scarcity Anarchism will not get universal agreement from libertarians, even within the anarchist movement. Many will doubt the prospects of successful revolution and truly free communism in advanced countries, for genuine liberation from want

and work through technology, for determined action against the present system from alienated groups. But this book cannot possibly be ignored in any future discussion of these problems, and Murray Bookchin has certainly proved that anarchism is not a thing of the past but a view of the future which exists firmly in the present.

pamphlets

Three recent items from what is generally the most valuable kind of left-wing publication - thoroughly documented surveys of objectionable aspects of the system.

The General Electric Company Limited (Counter Information Services - 25p), the second 'Anti-Report' on a big capitalist concern (the first was on Rio Tinto Zinc), a large-format 36-page analysis packed with facts and figures and amounting to a damning indictment of 'the largest private employer' and also 'the largest unemployer' in the country. Excellently researched and produced, but rather short on ideas.

Steel: The Coming Redundancies and How to Fight Them by David Bailey (International Marxist Group - 15p), a 54-page polemic on the current policies of the British Steel Corporation, with an appendix giving the text of the BSC 'Confidential Report' first publicised in INSIDE STORY 1. The description of the present situation and the expected 70,000 - 80,000 future redundancies is more convincing than the prescription for fighting them with a united front of rank-and-file committees demanding a sliding scale of hours with no loss of pay.

Ring Your Own Bloody Bell by R G Gregory (43 The Burgage, Market Drayton, Salop, TF9 1EQ - 12p), a 70-page duplicated memoir giving a first-hand account of the troubles in the Grove comprehensive school in Market Drayton from 1968 to 1971, culminating in the dismissal of the author, a well-known drama teacher with strong libertarian and egalitarian tendencies, for not doing what he was told by the headmaster, the governors, the local authority, and the National Union of Teachers. Badly written and produced, but containing fascinating and alarming evidence of the authoritarian and hierarchical nature of the educational system and the dangers and difficulties of trying to fight it.

news

Front door

The Conway Hall, owned by the South Place Ethical Society, has long been the cathedral of left humanism. But secretary Peter Cadogan - ex-Communist Party, ex-Socialist Labour League, ex-Committee of 100 - has risked its reputation by letting regularly to the National Front.

The latest row came on Saturday 14 October when the National Front AGM was in progress in the Large Hall. Unaware of the new policy a trade union study group had booked the North Room. One of their members, a black man, came late. Thinking he was trying to get into the large hall, the police and National Front stewards hustled him out.

He later got in by another entrance and of course told the study group what had happened. They were furious and are now threatening to prosecute the SPES (chairman Lord Brockway) under the Race Relations Act.

Phones on tap

Not all phone phreaks are poverty-stricken freaks. Some, it seems, pay friendly Post Office engineers up to £200 to install a special 'cold' line to the exchange which, as far as Post Office records are concerned, does not exist. Such a phone can't receive incoming calls because it has no number, but outgoing calls can be made to anywhere in the world completely free.

Among those reported to be 'more than happy' with this unadvertised extension of Post Office facilities is a group of pop promoters, who hope never again to have to pay for a transatlantic call. 'Very good value,' said one, 'we recouped the £200 in the first couple of months.'

Blue beat

Our police correspondent tells us that readers wishing to make representations to Metropolitan Police Commissioner Robert Mark will find him on extension (who would have guessed?) 2121. To see him in person you should aim for room 36 on the eighth floor. On the way up why not drop in and pay your respects to the head of Special Branch, Commander V S Gilbert in room 46 on

the fifth floor. Oh, and we almost forgot the regular porno film shows. They're held on the ground floor, suitably distant from the Dirty Squad offices. Watch future issues for further directions.

O'Toole case

The amazing case of Sean O'Toole, which we referred to in our last issue, came to court last month. The result was a one-year prison sentence - suspended for two years - for the defendant and severe embarrassment for the authorities.

It will be remembered that after his arrest on 5 February 1972 during the Bloody Sunday demonstration in Whitehall, O'Toole was refused bail until 6 March and charged with an escalating series of offences including incitement to murder and incitement to arson.

In court this elaborate concoction disintegrated. After the prosecution case the defence submitted that there was no case to answer on possession of offensive weapons - and the charge was dismissed. And the prosecution agreed that the two incitement charges should not be put to the jury. On the riot and assault charge O'Toole pleaded guilty and received a suspended sentence.

The judge refused to act on the prosecution's last vindictive attempt to harry O'Toole: prosecuting counsel Michael Worsley had reminded him that he could, if he wished, impose deportation.

One further point of interest: the Court of Appeal ruled last month in another case that the bail condition imposed on O'Toole - that sureties' money be paid into his solicitor's account - was not within a court's power.

Jail debate

PROP is holding an open public meeting at 7pm on Friday 24 November at Dame Colet House, Ben Jonson Road, Stepney Green, London E1. A newsletter distributed last month outside London prisons reads: 'What PROP wants is people...all we have is a statement of intent - we do not have a policy. We hope that as many people as possible will come along to our meeting, put their point of view and help us to get recognition by the Home Office. Let's remember the 1000 prisoners who are being punished at the moment for taking part in passive demonstrations...'

Tobin appeal

Last month Michael Tobin applied for leave to appeal against his ludicrous conviction under the Incitement to Disaffection Act and his savage two-year prison sentence - see INSIDE STORY 3. But the application was turned down: Michael Tobin remains in Chelmsford Prison.

He has now received a copy of INSIDE STORY (his defence committee wrote earlier to say that copies were being stopped). Please let us know if INSIDE STORY - or any other publication - is being censored by prison authorities.

Ailing AIL

The Anti-Internment League's conference last month voted to reaffirm its 'solidarity with all the socialist and Republican organisations struggling against British imperialism in Ireland'. Chairman Bowes Egan and organiser John Gray have resigned: Gray has been replaced by Bob Purdie of the International Marxist Group on a part-time basis. A London demonstration is planned for 12 November.

Special agency

Britain will soon have its own alternative news agency, modelled on the Agence de Presse Liberation (see INSIDE STORY 4). In its first statement the People's Press Agency says its purpose will be 'to combat the distortions and omissions of the established press'.

'The agency, and the news service which it will provide, will not be the property of any political group: it will be created for and by all those whose opinions and activities are ignored or misrepresented by the press, radio and television...

'A news bulletin will be published, weekly at first, but more frequently as soon as possible. It will be available on subscription to individuals, groups, organisations and newspapers, the subscription rate being relative to the size and resources of the subscriber. The bulletin will be intended to help honest journalists within the bourgeois press fight against censorship, distortion of news and reactionary editorial policies.

'The bulletin will not rival existing left and underground papers, but is intended to serve them.

'The idea of the agency comes from France, where the Agence de Presse Liberation has been operating successfully for over a year. Here in Britain, a group of people - some of them journalists - has been meeting regularly with a view to adapting the scheme to British conditions. However, we do not regard ourselves as "owners" of the idea, and we are looking to organisations, publications and individuals for ideas, information and practical help.

'It is hoped that the agency will support itself from subscriptions, but there will be starting costs of around £200. Any contribution to these costs will be welcome, but this is not as important as active participation. The agency will be operating by the end of the year.'

In fact the agency could start earlier than that if suitable premises were found.

Note: the PPA's mailing address is c/o INSIDE STORY, 3 Belmont Road, London SW4. Some letters sent to the Agency after the article in INSIDE STORY 4 did not arrive, so if you haven't had a reply please write again.

notes

Attempts by Lord Thomson's Sphere Books to capitalise on the Stoke Newington Eight trial by bringing out a paperback version of Floodgates of Anarchy by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer (a prosecution witness) have not paid off so far. In spite of printing 20,000 copies - and issuing special order forms - Sphere have not managed to persuade many London bookshops to handle this explosive material. A Sphere spokesman said mournfully: 'The trial seems to have died a death: no one seems to be taking any interest in it apart, I suppose, from the underground press.'
Note: a review of Floodgates will appear in INSIDE STORY after the trial.

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At a special general meeting last month the Free Communications Group resolved to accept in principle a sub-committee report which concluded 'The FCG should now change the emphasis of its aims and activities, and attempt to achieve a position in relation to the Labour Movement parallel to that of the Labour Research Department, providing a similar service in the specialised field in which the FCG is expert.'

However the meeting also discussed the possibility of cooperation with the People's Press Agency, so there's a chance that some of the FCG's remaining funds may be used to do more than just 'research'.

****

Paul Foot, we are told, has finally abandoned Private Eye for Socialist Worker, leaving his assistant Martin Tomkinson to step into his shoes. Tomkinson has all the qualifications: besides being a diligent researcher and a member of International Socialism, he's the undisputed star of Private Eye's cricket team. But will Foot be able to make ends meet on Socialist Worker wages?

****

Both the Guardian and Private Eye made fools of themselves over the Time Out 'palace revolution' which in fact leaves marxist John Lloyd as caretaker editor for six months. Tony Elliott meanwhile as majority shareholder - even without his mother's shares - could move back in or sell the magazine to IPC whenever he felt like it.

****

The 'alternative' magazine OZ gave a lot of space recently to an extended gossip column on various 'underground' luminaries by an American lady journalist from the New York Daily News. How piquant it was then to open the October issue of Spare Rib - the women's alternative to the alternative press - and see the same by-line, Lillian Roxon, decorating same tedious story about Germaine Greer's sanitary towels.

****

For the second time the NUJ has set up a committee of enquiry to investigate a complaint by the Workers Press that their man is being excluded from the industrial correspondents' closed shop for confidential briefings. Sheer political prejudice, say the Workers Press - and 'conduct detrimental' to the principles of trade unionism, a recognised NUJ offence.

The opponents of Workers Press claim that the paper do not respect the 'confidentiality' of the briefings, that their application to join the group is frivolous because it follows a 'venomous' campaign

against it and that industrial correspondents only need 'accreditation' or recognition by official bodies - which the Workers Press haven't sought. This last argument seems particularly fanciful: if belonging to the group is so unimportant why bother to exclude the Workers Press? Prospects for them look pretty good this time: the result of a secret ballot among the industrial correspondents themselves on whether the paper should be admitted was 23 votes in favour - and 23 against.

****

Ian Breach's attack on motoring correspondents published in the Sunday Times magazine last month omitted to tell the story of his own resignation from the Guardian. This appeared in the Free Communications Group bulletin: 'I suggested that unless the motoring page gave way to a transport/environment page, it was - if only in name and implication - working actively against the environmental reforms we espoused so forcefully on other pages.

'After making some vaguely concessionary noises, the editor indicated that there was no question of drastic change: it could be commercially damaging; readers might desert us for the Daily Telegraph; certainly he could not accept that many young readers might actually respect us for acting on some of our own sermons.'

****

An all-day conference on workers control in the media, including education, will take place on Saturday 25 November at the London College of Printing, Elephant and Castle, London SE1. Speakers in the morning will include Michael Duane (NUT), Alan Sapper (ACTT) and Reg Brady (NATSOPA). In the afternoon there will be seminars on particular subjects. The conference is open to accredited trade union delegates at a fee of 50p.

[redacted]

letters

Dear INSIDE STORY

I think your otherwise useful criticisms of Counter Course will remain a bit abstract until placed in the context of the capacities of the existing British student movement, its fringes, hangers-on and cast-offs. If I sketch in some features of the production-process of CC, I hope you'll see what I mean.

A book like CC has been on the agenda since 1968. It was in April 1970 that I wrote out of the blue to Penguin suggesting I put together such a book. This was weakness number one: CC was my project, and not that of a politically/intellectually engaged group. My democracy-from-above attempts were not a workable alternative and were far from consistently applied - partly for material reasons (it's time consuming and expensive to consult by post an ever changing list of potential contributors) but more so for personal ones, including that it's difficult to reconcile collective decisions and individual responsibility.

When it came to deciding the final contents of CC, what emerged from below was not a demand for democracy but a group of three key contributors threatening to withdraw their articles if X was or Y was not included. Lots of bad vibrations and broken friendships as you may well imagine. I still haven't recovered.

Several articles invited, promised, discussed and partly paid for never materialised. This is the major reason why Part 1 is so weak, and the fault is mine for not having contingency plans (or for trusting people too much?). Law and architecture were among the subjects scheduled to be covered but where articles didn't get finished. On this point, I feel that Marxist-Leninist heavies were better at producing the goods than gentle Anarchists, and people with a stake in academia better than those without - the academics have facilities, people to talk to, often simply practice in writing.

Articles on computing, industrial relations and child rearing [redacted]

bibliography, suitably revised, should contact me - and by the way, I didn't compile it or write the Intro to the book, though they are unsigned - the Intro because it is some sort of minimum common statement. I more or less agreed with it, last time I read it.

I don't think CC prevents anyone from launching a more radical or revolutionary project. Write to Penguin Education with an outline and decide who's going to run the show and how. I'm sure several of those involved in CC would be happy to offer conflicting advice on how not to do things, me among them.

At least, CC is not a sectarian publication (which some contributors found very hard to accept: it wasn't my idea to include Mandel) and most of it is new, though your reviewer stresses the number of reprints. Part 1 contains three reprints for the reason stated above, and the first I ever heard of Adelstein's piece being a reprint was when I read it in my copy of CC - the footnote was added to the page proofs. Since Adelstein never told me of any pamphlet as we pored over his typescript, I think I can say mea non culpa

How much do you really know about the misuse of drugs?

DRUGS AND SOCIETY is the only journal which offers a rational, objective, critical approach to the drug question.

DRUGS AND SOCIETY provides news, analysis and comment — it acts as a focus for the work of all professional groups involved with the drug problem

here.

Sincerely
TREVOR PATEMAN
c/o Penguin Education, Horton Road, West Drayton, Middlesex

Dear INSIDE STORY

Just thought I'd let you know that I've finally obtained my discharge and am being released on the 1st of November. It's costing me £150 but is a good investment.

Thank you for printing my article in your first issue - I hope it was noticed.

All the best
Yours sincerely
JOHN S BURTON
6 Houndiscorbe Villas, Motley, Plymouth, Devon.

Dear comrades

I have just come across issue number 4 of your mag; liked it a lot. Obviously there is a dire shortage of the real news here (just as your info on events is obviously wasted by the time the Times has got through with it).

Yours
MIKE QUIGLEY
216 Jackson Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

Note: all letters will be considered for publication unless marked 'private'.

editorial

This note is, first, to say that INSIDE STORY will continue to appear every second month until we are able to publish monthly. Subscriptions are for six or 12 issues, not for six months or one year.

Secondly, we have not yet inflicted on you the desperate appeals for donations which small magazines go in for. This is not because we started with a lot of money but rather because we think INSIDE STORY should pay for itself. So, even though we are now short of cash, we are not asking for donations.

We are appealing to you: to subscribe, if you have not done so; to get your friends to subscribe; to sell copies of INSIDE STORY; and - if you are a bookshop or agent - to pay us as promptly as you can.

To become a monthly INSIDE STORY needs your support.

small ads

5p a word. Box numbers 25p. Prepayment is essential.

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BOOKS: A comprehensive political mail order book service. We can supply any political book, pamphlet or paper from British and Irish groups. We carry stocks of books on political subjects from all publishers and can obtain any book in print. We also handle French and Spanish language publications and books. Ask to be put on our mailing list to receive regular information on new books. We operate a search service for out of print titles. Books, 84 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds LS2 8AB.

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BLACK AND RED OUTLOOK: Paper of Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance; subscription £1 for 10 issues; in bulk multiples of 10 at 40p a time from A Portus, 116 Gilda Brook Road, Eccles, Lancs.

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BROKE READERS: persuade one friend to subscribe to INSIDE STORY and we will send you a free subscription

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CAPTAIN STARLITE AND: New adults comic, 20p from: Circle Books, 16 Davenant Road, Oxford OX2 8XB.

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