

For and
about
gay
women
and men

OUT

June/July 1977
Number 5

20p

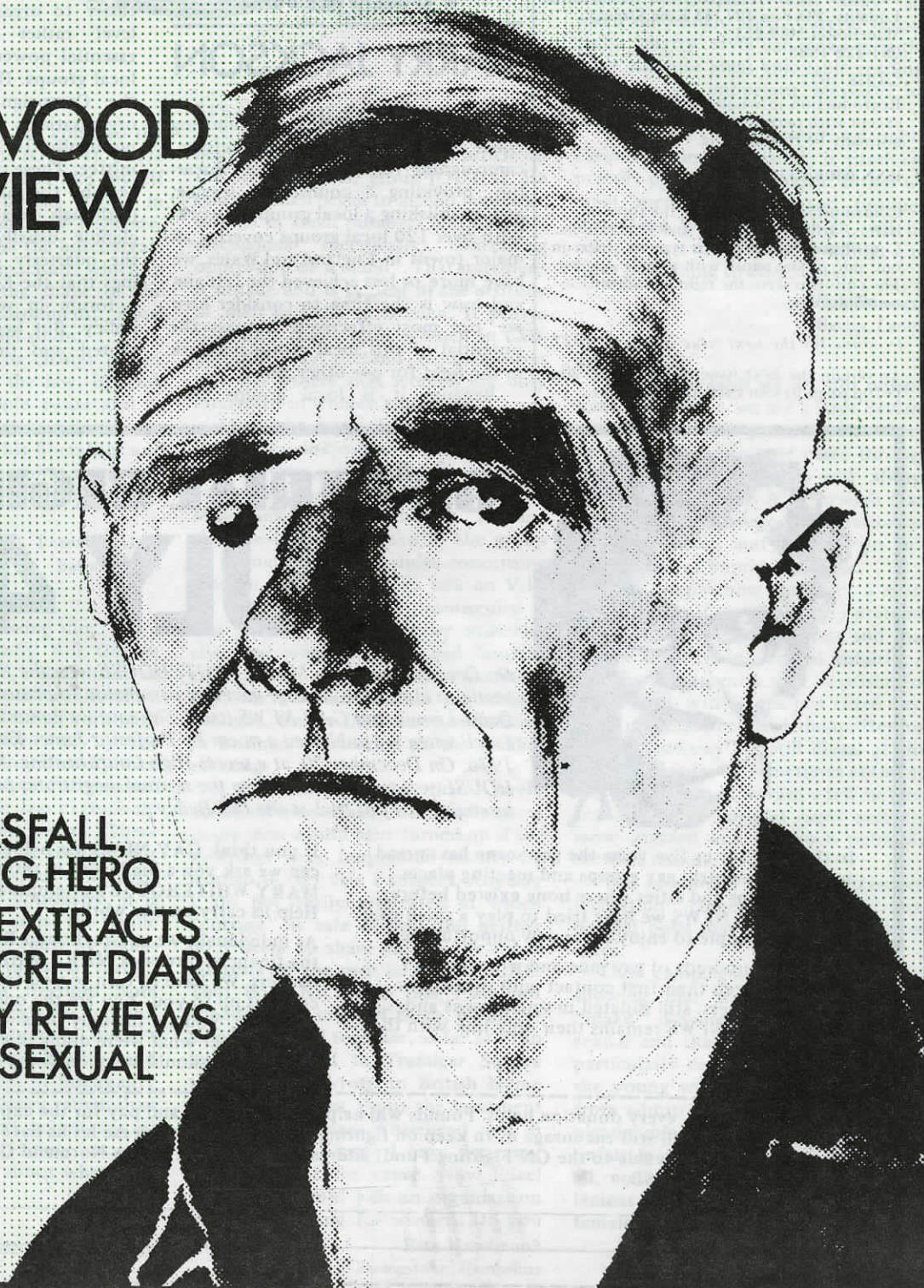
ISHERWOOD INTERVIEW

plus

ALLAN HORSFALL,
THE UNSUNG HERO

EXCLUSIVE EXTRACTS
FROM A SECRET DIARY

LIZ STANLEY REVIEWS
THE HOMOSEXUAL
MATRIX



OUTCAST

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The editors reserve the right to shorten
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To obtain the next issue of OUT send 20p
(+10p p&p) or join CHE and get it free.

CHE Executive Column

Federation

BARRY JACKSON

The five aims of CHE are promoting
equal rights, fighting for law reform,
campaigning for improved sex education,
providing a counselling service,
and establishing a local group network.
With over 120 local groups covering all
major towns in England and Wales, we
have more or less achieved the last aim
and now is the time to consider how
we can most effectively harness the
potential of this local group network
in the fight for our other aims.

Because it is local groups with

which most CHE members most
strongly associate and because it is
easier to organise on a local branch
level rather than nationally, the
essential power base of CHE is in its
local groups. However the direction of
the Campaign and its day to day
organisation is controlled by the
nominally 14 strong Executive Com-
mittee. These people are elected once a
year by the mass membership of CHE
(although less than 10% of those
eligible usually vote). It is only at
the quarterly National Council meet-
ings that the EC and local groups have
a forum in which they can discuss
policy. But because the groups repre-
sented and those representing them

● Continued on back page

GN'S TRIAL BEGINS ON JULY 4



On December 9 1976, MARY WHITEHOUSE won the first round in her
battle to close GN. A judge gave her permission to prosecute GN editor
Denis Lemon and GAY NEWS itself. She says we committed 'Blasphemous
Libel' when we published a poem by Professor James Kirkup on June 3
1976. On December 20, at a secret High Court hearing, MARY WHITE-
HOUSE was given leave to skip the normal magistrates proceedings and take
us straight to full trial at the Old Bailey...

In the last four or five years the gay scene has spread
across the country; gay groups and meeting places
exist in towns and cities where none existed before.
Here at GAY NEWS we have tried to play a small part
in helping people to enjoy these new opportunities.

For many hundreds of gay men and women, GAY
NEWS has been their first contact with other gays.
For many others, still isolated in small towns and
villages, GAY NEWS remains their only link with the
gay community.

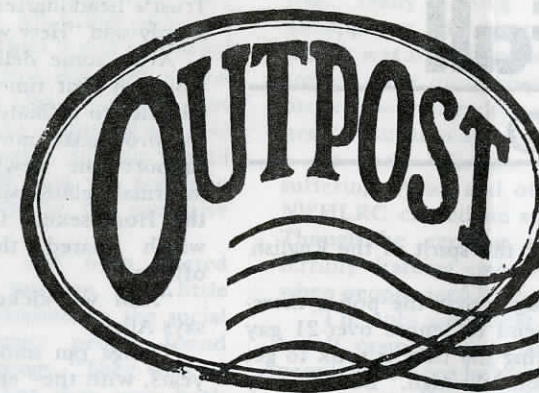
If you think GAY NEWS has helped you in the past,
can we ask you a big favour in return? Help us fight
MARY WHITEHOUSE's attempts to close us down.
Help us carry on our work.

As individuals, we at Greyhound Road cannot match
the financial power of MARY WHITEHOUSE and her
backers. We have to turn to you for help. And in the
end it is up to you. You are the ones we produce the
paper for. You are the only ones with the right to de-
cide whether what we're doing is worthwhile, and
whether we should carry on doing it.

Pennies or pounds, every donation helps. Pounds will help us hire lawyers and pay for the expenses of the trial.
But even pennies will still encourage us to keep on fighting. If you can help, please let us have donations urgently
(cheques and POs payable to the GN Fighting Fund) addressed to: Gay News, 1A Normand Gardens, Greyhound
Road, London W14 9SB.

Donation from (Name) _____

Address _____



TYME AGAIN

I'm glad someone has come to the
support of John Tyme (OUT 4). There
are many conservationists like myself
who are heartened by his efforts in
Yorkshire, Chichester and Highgate.
Like CHE his target is the bureaucrats
and the government machine, which in
his case comes in the shape of the
Department of Environment, Road
Construction Units and so on.

While we strive to change public
opinion, and hence the law, his task
too is to make people aware and to
rally support, and although sentiment
is often on his side his liberalism and
determination is something we should
all make an example of. Thank you for
an interesting article.

Peter T. Alton
Barnet, Herts.

SELF-OPPRESSIVE

Perhaps I'm just being dim, but I
cannot understand why Bill George
(OUT 5) thinks CHE's definition of
homosexuals self-oppressive. Certainly
it is probable that we are all born with
a bisexual potentiality, but by the
time they reach adulthood many men
and women have developed an orienta-
tion which is more or less exclusively
heterosexual or homosexual. There
are plenty of theories as to how this
comes about, but precious few facts.

If anything is self-oppressive, it is
surely the attempt to enlist the whole
human race for the gay cause by claim-
ing that everyone is bisexual 'really'.
What we demand is freedom from
discrimination for everybody, gay, bi,
or het. In this context it doesn't
matter who is in the minority, and
setting up a new norm of bisexuality
could well be a hindrance rather than
a help. Let's insist on acceptance of
people as they are, not entangle
ourselves in theories about what they
might be innately.

Jim Edgell
Tunbridge Wells, Kent

SPEAKING OF READING

I feel I must comment on a point
made by Robert Rowe in his article on
the Reading CHE group (OUT 4). He
said "women began to attend regularly,
though in small numbers and only for
discussions specifically concerning
oppression of women". That statement
is untrue and is typical of the attitude
of men in CHE to women. It proves
that they don't want women in CHE
because they pretend to themselves
and tell others that women are only
interested in women's subjects.

Over the past three years I have
attended discussions and speakers
which were, if anything, directed
solely at men — the doctor from the
Middlesex Hospital hadn't realized
there would be women in the group
so brought only two slides concerning
women when he did his talk on V.D.
At the discussion on promiscuity it
was pointed out to me by someone
else that when the men had finished
talking each other down, as a sort of
sop, they deemed to ask me what I
thought. Unless I was away on holiday
or business I attended all the speaker
meetings.

I do admit, however, that I rarely
attended the socials. One wonders how
many men would have turned up if the
meetings were frequented mostly by
women — very few I suspect. Anyway
I am not really interested in which
"cottage" is safe or best and neither
do I seem to share any of the other
interests of the men in Reading CHE.
That does not mean that I am not
friendly with most of them. We all get
along very well together, as far as I can
tell. I marched to Trafalgar Square
with them. I wrote to British Home
Stores to protest about the treatment
received by Tony Whitehead and in
lots of ways I hope I have done my
bit to further the cause. Now I feel
perhaps I should join an organisation
which is fighting for women. Do you
blame me?

Rita Hambrook
Basingstoke, Hampshire

WASTE PAPER

OUT has been greeted with a huge
wave of apathy. No-one seems to be
reading it: why?

One reason is the presentation.
There is no attempt to make the
articles readable: no concession is
made to the non-intellectual. Page
after page of small print is all very well
for bibles and insurance policies but
it does not tempt the faint-hearted to
plunge in. Most of the articles are
written in such a turgid style they are
almost unreadable, and they are
often dauntingly long. Careful layout
and a 'chatty' style can make even the
most abstruse ideas enjoyable reading.
We have an important message; we
must say it clearly.

The money CHE spends on publi-
cations is simply wasted: it produces
prettily-printed waste paper. Either we
must spend far more and produce
something worthwhile which will be
read, or we must spend nothing, and
leave publishing to Gay News.

Nick Bennett
Bacup, Lancs.

DEVIANT?

As homosexuals we are not normal
but a minority — we are a large deviant
group. If we are persecuted in some
quarters, it is in some cases through
religious bigotry which will always
exist. In most cases it is through fear,
based on inadequate information or
misinformation, and through no lack
of the milk of human kindness.

Our campaigning may get a more
receptive ear if we would stop pretend-
ing that we are not deviants and that
we are always being treated unfairly. A
teacher was recently sent to prison for
intercourse with a girl just three days
short of her sixteenth birthday. Hetero-
sexual "sodomy" is still illegal at any
age and this law is sometimes enforced
too. The leniency toward a few hetero-
sexual age of consent cases recently
were isolated and got such publicity
for that reason.

The continued high age of consent
legislation comes from fear that
normal boys may be led into deviant
ways.

Our campaigning should aim at
showing that it is not possible to
"make" a young man into a homo-
sexual and that the law is unfair, not
particularly on the older gays, but on
the young who it purports to protect
from admitted deviance. And when we
plead unfairness, we should not be
unfair in our selection of cases. After
all, no heterosexual male would get a
lenient sentence for consorting with a
female prostitute of thirteen.

Peter Danning
Twickenham, Middlesex

Allan Horsfall

THE UNSUNG HERO

BY JEFF GRACE

Ask most members of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality why Allan Horsfall is honorary life president. Apart from a knowledgeable few, I guarantee they'd be stumped for an answer. But without Allan's heroic work in the early 1960s it is unlikely that CHE would exist — at least in its present-day form.

Did you know for instance that he started the North West Homosexual Law Reform Committee, merely by going out one day in late 1963 and getting some headed notepaper printed?

Out of the informal group which sprang up after Allan's impetuous printing spree came this country's largest and most established homosexual organisation. In those early days before the 1967 Act, the Law Reform Committee met each week in the boardroom of the Church of England Diocesan Board of Social Responsibility in Blackfriars Road, Salford.

"We used to have a fairly good turnout," Allan recalls. "It was then largely a matter of talking to meetings to which we could get invited, writing letters to the press and generally just existing. We'd write letters to MPs too, to let it be seen that there was some sort of interest outside London, which was pushing reform forward."

"We existed for quite some time on a supporters basis. There was no subscription for the first two years and in that sense we were eminently democratic — not in a structured way — but in the sense that all our meetings were open to all our supporters, or to anyone else who came along."

His reason for getting involved in the infancy of the gay movement was, he says, on a personal basis. "It stayed on that basis for some time," he adds.

Allan, you see, had been hoping that the Government would take action on the Wolfenden Committee's Report (published in 1957 but not acted upon for 10 years) fairly quickly.

"Indeed, it did take action quickly on the repressive aspect of the report, the prostitution thing. And I was of the opinion, and still am, that the government of the day could have pushed it through if it had had the will to do so. It would have gone through the Commons very easily."

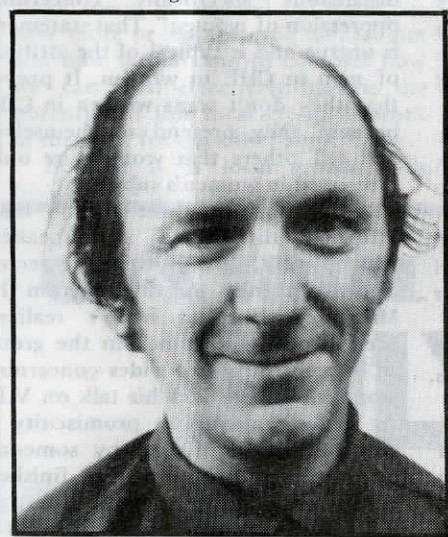
"It became clear to me that it wasn't going to, but I had hoped nevertheless that the authorities would observe the spirit of the report in the way that the Scottish authorities are

now observing the spirit of the English situation."

Allan thought that the police therefore would tend to ignore over-21 gay activities during the time it took to get the legislation through. But shortly after came a terrible case in Bolton.

"A witchhunt in the old order," he explains. "I thought we'd done with all that, but this involved eight people, none of whom were guilty of any public offence at all. Several of them were professionally ruined and one of them was driven to suicide."

Allan swiftly put pen to paper and wrote a strong letter of condemnation



to the local press which brought him into contact with some of the men concerned.

At this time he was a supporter of the Albany Trust but he realised that what was needed was a broader-based movement.

"I think the Trust did some exceedingly valuable work, and still think that the work they did would have been sufficient to get the Bill through had the Government had the courage."

"But it was quite obvious they didn't and I realised that there would have to be — if you'll forgive the hackneyed expression — some work at the grass-roots."

And that's precisely what Allan set about doing.

With the support of Colin Harvey, then senior social worker for the C of E Diocesan Board for Social Responsibility in Manchester and the Rev. Bernard Dodd, a Methodist Minister, Allan went out to his local printers.

The NWHLRC was founded and

Allan sent off a letter to the Albany Trust's headquarters in London, which simply said "Here we are!"

After some deliberation, the Trust, which at that time had been discussing whether to affiliate with or give support to provincial movements, agreed to support the newly-born group. The informal relationship also extended to the Homosexual Law Reform Society which shared the Trust's London offices.

"And we kicked off from there," says Allan.

Things ran smoothly for about two years, with the "eminently democratic" order existing. Then came the organisation's first structural crisis.

The Bishop of Middleton, a vice-president, felt it was far from satisfactory that important decisions were being made by such a nebulous body of people. "He thought it was very important that we have a committee prepared to be named and prepared also to stand on its decisions."

The NWHLRC agreed with him and decided to become more structured. And the first thing that happened was that a lot of people stopped going to meetings. "They felt obviously that they would have to be more closely identified with the organisation than they could afford to be."

Despite this, the movement grew. And noticeable too was the way the support was changing. At first, the greater part of this support was non-gay. Allan explains:

"If you went along to a Church meeting, the tendency was to pick up a lot of names of people who wanted to be kept in touch. Although they were sympathetic, they were not going to become heavily involved in the movement because they had no personal interest in it."

More gays did rally round though — "and you didn't pick and choose in those days" — and the named committee was relied on more heavily to steer the movement's policy.

And that's what caused the next crisis.

Quite unintentionally, the old, open democracy was gone and supporters started accusing the committee of being a "self-appointed élite not answerable to anybody."

This long and agonising row threatened to break the committee altogether.

But it was resolved eventually after a great deal of discussion. "There were a lot of heartaches and wasted work along the way."

According to Allan, a lot of the credit for the survival of the organisation must go to Michael Steed who later became chairman of CHE. "I think he really held the thing together," Allan says.

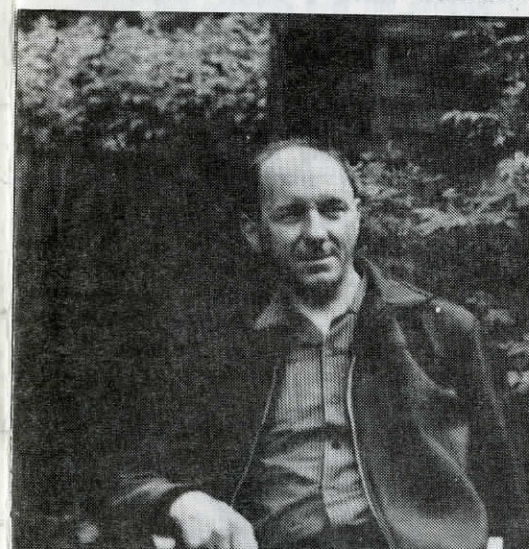
During the mid-60s the internal struggles stifled the full potential of

the movement, but it managed to carry on the work that Allan had promised himself to do. By 1966 it had an elected chairman (Allan filled this post several times), a secretary and a treasurer, but nobody else in the organisation had specific areas of work. It wasn't until the advent of CHE that the portfolio system was adopted by the executive committee.

The NWHLRC had been started with a political purpose and little importance was attached to the social side. However, many people found support at the meetings. "They weren't able to do much but they were both helping and being helped."

In its infancy, it is surprising to learn that Allan had very little problem getting advertising space in local papers for meetings. And no resistance from the police.

As far as television and radio went, the committee hardly made any impact at all. "It was rather a low-key thing then; it wasn't until we went national



and organised the first conference and then upset the conference town (Morecambe) that we got a lot of media exposure."

But the NWHLRC did make confrontations at a local level. As early as 1966 the organisation held the North's first big public meeting on the question of homosexuality. "The hall wasn't full but it was quite a breakthrough," remembers Allan.

With the passing of the Sexual Offences Act in 1967, the movement slowly began to evolve into what we know today as CHE.

It's surprising to learn that shortly after the passage of the Act the NWHLRC organised what must be this country's first gay switchboard. It was run from a private house in Manchester and operated one night a week.

"There was a tremendous response," Allan remembers. "I should think it was the first switchboard."

"It sounds a bit cynical now but we

were really testing the amount of unhappiness and frustration that there was. It was an information and recruiting service done quite cheaply. And it did prove how tremendous was the unhappiness, frustration and fear."

To help alleviate some of that suffering, Allan and other members of NWHLRC carried on some befriending. Though he explains that he finds it terribly draining emotionally, especially when people need long-term support.

"I'm only sorry that the social scene hasn't opened up to an extent where people who need help can be led immediately to something that's congenial."

"God knows it's bad enough in the city but in the smaller places it's even harder — as hard as it ever was. I sometimes think that it's worse today than before the Bill was passed. Not for any particular homosexual but the whole situation. More people are getting into trouble now than in the early sixties because police interest has increased — especially in terms of police harassment."

Allan sees the reason for this in the fact that the police are just not perturbed by the gay lobby. "I think we need an organisation as tough as the Automobile Association which the police and authorities take note of. One is able to drink and drive although it's against the law because the police are afraid of the motoring lobby."

"How afraid are they of the gay lobby? Not a great deal."

By 1970 the organisation had changed its name to the Committee for Homosexual Equality. It had been suggested that it be called "Campaign" but this was thought to be just a little too abrasive. It was not until early 1971 that the Campaign tag was taken and has stuck until the present day.

Allan moved over as secretary and became chairman. Paul Temperton moved into the secretary's seat and a vast expansion took place. From national advertising new branches grew up all over the country. By November 1970 there were groups existing in London, Bristol, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Nottingham, Liverpool, Cambridge, Blackburn and, of course, Manchester.

Paul Temperton gave up his job and became the first full-time employee. He worked from home for a while and then CHE got its first headquarters in Kennedy Street, Manchester.

"That's basically the point when it really turned national. We adopted a constitution and it became a different kind of body altogether."

Allan served his year as chairman and then dropped away from the organisation. "I had some ill health — a couple of heart attacks — and didn't work for a year. I wasn't up to the increasingly complex task that being chairman of the organisation was

becoming. It was a bit more than I could cope with."

"When I stepped aside, they very kindly asked me to be the President which was, and is, much less demanding."

After stepping down as chairman, Allan didn't serve again on the new-style executive committee.

What are his thoughts about CHE now?

"Like everyone else I'm a bit confused. CHE is suffering at the moment because people's living standards are being depressed all the time and they're looking for economies. The first thing we all look at, I suppose, are the things we subscribe to."

"I've always maintained that if you're pushing forward with a political campaign then you've got to push like hell in every direction. But CHE hasn't got the resources to do this."

"We've prioritised on law reform and I think that's right. And we've said we must have action within the unions and I think that's very important too."

"Over and above this I don't think you can tell what will give next."

Asked whether he lamented the passing of NWHLRC and whether he was pleased with what came from it, Allan replies: "Oh, I never lament it at all, and I'm pleased with the natural progression."

"Although we argued about the way it should be done, nobody argued that it shouldn't be allowed to grow or that it shouldn't become national."

"I don't think I realised what would happen. Though I thought it would become a bigger movement than in fact it has."

"I thought for example that if the Americans could be as advanced as they were at that time without the advantage of the law, then how much more advanced ours would become once people over 21 were free of being dragged from their beds in the night and carried off."

"I'm always sorry that it's been so slow in this country."

BLASPHEMY IN 1977

A Public Meeting at the
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
Holborn, London, WC1.

Speakers:

Brian Sedgemoor,

Labour MP for Luton West

Barbara Smoker,

President, National Secular Society

Nicholas Walter,

Editor, "New Humanist"

Friday, 27th May 1977 at 7.45 pm

Organised by the National Secular Society
702 Holloway Road, London N19.
Telephone 272 1266

Mitchell's Month

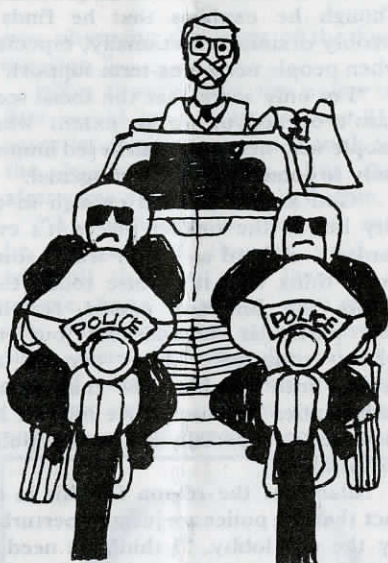
While rooting through the dustbins of Westminster, an OUT investigator came across fragments of a long lost diary. It is believed that it contains a record of the activities of Peter Mitchell, a member of the Westminster CHE group, and the gay candidate in the recent Parliamentary by-election in the City of London and Westminster constituency. We publish exclusive extracts from this fascinating record of a month in politics. Peter Mitchell is a research assistant to a group of MPs.

January, Wednesday 26: 8.30 pm. The point of no return. Am selected as candidate and rush across to House of Commons to post letters to parents and employers. Next collection at rising of the House so I pray for no all night sitting.

Thursday 27: Arrive at work at earliest time for 3½ years. Start ringing round in order to be first with the news. Mixed reaction. The chairman of my group of MPs tells me to concentrate on the campaign and let MPs ask their own questions for a change. The director of the charity which gives me house room is on the way to an executive meeting from which rumours of loud grunts filter back from the preponderance of generals.



Friday 28: *The Times* Diary reports that the Gay Labour Group will have no truck with me. Undismayed as I have had much better than truck in the past. Truck and not a little gin with GayCon in the form of Ian Harvey. As an old politician he uses events instead of wasting energy fighting them.



Monday 31: Letter from father warns about the business vote and says two trees had fallen down. Read Sunday's dose of "Majesty" while waiting for editor of *Soho Clarion* to turn up. Mind totally numb by time interview starts. Hotchpotch of questions centre on sexshops and porn. My failure to have counted the number of prostitutes, policemen, restaurants etc in Soho is deplored.

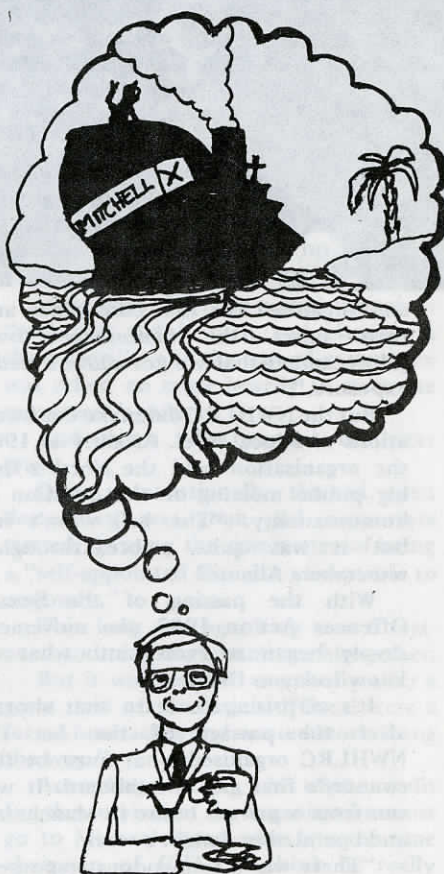
Ring Pat Healy, an old acquaintance at *The Times*. She asks me if I mind being described as a practising homosexual. I insist I am perfect and will sue if any other implication appears.

Thursday 3: John Clare of the *Evening Standard* proves the value of friendly probing. After about an hour my guard is sufficiently down to reveal a best forgotten month enduring electro-convulsive therapy at Brookwood Necropolis — sorry — hospital.

Friday 4: Invitations to appear on the platform at my adoption meeting have been causing consternation all week. But Britain's No 1 and original homosexual is made of sterner stuff and I join Antony Grey for much needed refreshment in a wine bar before we move on to Caxton Hall. There, encouraged by an honest piece in the *Standard* I respond to orders to thump the tub and drive an eager crowd to the Feathers where we indulge our fantasies. One solid outcome is a handbill declaring "we all speak the same language" in 17 different ones!

Tuesday 8: I am numb from the neck up with a heavy cold which a succession of large scotches does little to mitigate. But this is little excuse for my worst performance of the campaign when I fail totally to win over my audience at Sappho, amid the deafening silence of closet doors slamming. I am attacked by one woman who regarded Bill Walker's imprisonment as no greater infringement of civil rights than the refusal of a pub landlord to serve her. I stagger home determined to concentrate my campaign on heterosexuals.

Saturday 12: Join rentacrowd at Victoria Station for first real skirmish with the electors. Hired a superb megaphone which effectively protects me from all comers. The others are not so lucky. One recoils from an elderly woman only to hear that she has suffered as a lesbian for 80 years, and is delighted someone is doing something at last. Jackie Forster fraternises with five



Illustrations Bill Cort

National Front supporters who, to her dismay, reveal they are gay.

Monday 14: Favourable, if inaccurate, piece in *The Guardian*. As always women totally ignored. BBC arrive to film for a projected series "Seems like yesterday". Unequivocal that I find life far more gay than I did 25 years before.

Thursday 17: Drive through the streets of Westminster, but because of rain I can only thrust the loudspeaker through the window. After about an hour a friendly passer-by tells me I am totally inaudible.

Friday 18: Awake to long missive from Commander Boaks, my opponent, telling of his vain attempt to get my candidacy annulled by the Lord Mayor and the Home Secretary.

Saturday 19: Motorcade starts from Finsbury Square. As we wind through the city two cycle cops wave us down to say loudhailing is forbidden. They are over-ruled by their controller and I have just finished hurling abuse at *The Sun* premises over the excision of Jeremy Sandford's article on the gay age of consent when they reappear to say they were right the first time. We are delighted to accept their escort for the last 200 yards to the Obelisk.

Tuesday 22: Buckingham Palace for tea. I face 45 minutes of intelligent questioning from half a dozen members of staff and am thanked for presenting the subject seriously for the first time. Unfortunately many of the Household are away in the South Seas in *Britannia* but I am assured they will have been sent their postal ballots.

Wednesday 23: With loudhailer and Griff, my agent, at Pimlico Tube. Woman with child takes batch of leaflets saying: "Oh Yes. We've got two of those at home!" Man taps my badge with approval but asks what my other policies are. "Civil rights for all," I say. "For all whites," he replies, "only for people who belong here." It begins to rain.

Thursday 24: Polling Day. At about 10.15 pm arrive at Caxton Hall in prime state of intoxication. I start circumnavigating the room moving from one counter to the next with joy in my heart as I see a vote for us. I place my arm around the Liberal candidate and regret that I could not come out as a Liberal as it would have lost me votes. Labour looks grim at NF success. Commander Boaks and I greet each other amicably in front of the Lord Mayor. After the declaration I am grabbed by the BBC and bid Peter Brooke, the winner, to take the message to the Commons that MPs will ignore gays at their peril, and it is time for certain of his new colleagues to come out and fight for their brothers and sisters.

On with the job GAY GROUPS GET TO WORK ON TRADE UNIONS

A trade unionist who took part in CHE's recent conference on gays and the trade union movement, talks about his experiences. Ian Davies, who is area manager of a social work team in Tower Hamlets, reflects on issues important to trades unionists arising from his recent fight against dismissal.

The struggle to get my job back after being dismissed for a minor homosexual offence raised many complex issues. I have a great sense of the fact that one fight is over but that the battle continues.

I was angry that I had become the victim of prejudice and I was one of many to whom this had happened. The anger that I felt towards the police and my employers kept me fighting through the subsequent ten months.

As a trade union member of long standing it seemed logical to take my case to the union, the National and Local Government Officers' Association, (NALGO). It had been expected that I would be cautioned, perhaps even in writing. The shock at my dismissal, albeit with an offer of a lower graded post, brought together a group of people — trade union branch officials and rank and file members — who were to offer support and encouragement for many months.

The response of my team was immediate and unanimous: "you must fight!". For a good deal of the ensuing ten months of the campaign I didn't think I'd get my job back but that nevertheless I should take a stand and so make it as difficult as possible for future victimisation to take place. I really believed that as I was the first to fight I might lose but it would create a precedent and the next would stand a better chance.

Several months after the union had taken up the fight my case was heard by an Industrial Tribunal which found that I had been unfairly dismissed and recommended reinstatement. Tower Hamlets social services committee refused to do this. On August 11, 1976 my team came out on strike.

A branch meeting was called at which 300 members were present. Normal attendance is about 50. The vote to support the fight and recommend nationally-supported action was overwhelming and the meeting very strongly supportive. A strike fund appeal was launched and a remarkable response followed from NALGO branches throughout London, some sending

cheques for £200.

It was not until a month later, when NALGO made the strike official, that Tower Hamlets capitulated under the threat of a one-day total stoppage of all local government services, with support of other unions and a threat of indefinite strike action.

The message in retrospect is quite clear; there is a great deal of non-gay support against homosexual discrimination. It is obviously not universal but it is not limited either to the younger age range even if it is most strong there; many middle aged people who didn't want to go into the nitty-gritty of sexuality were strongly in support of our fight against discrimination and injustice.

The trades unions must be forced to challenge the ignorance, prejudice and fear in people's minds which work against gay people in their workplaces. NALGO picked up the issue quite easily initially when it was all about legalities, the right to appeal and so on. In the later stages it was less embarrassing for the national executive council of the union to fight on the tribunal issue rather than that of gay rights.

I believe it is essential that all trades unions should have as part of their policy a clause against discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation. NALGO does have such a policy. During our campaign it was something that gave added strength to the cause, as we could refer more reluctant executive council members and officers to the union's declared policy. In turn, our fight made clear the need for such a clause.

My sacking was initially motivated by my sexuality but it soon became a case of my employers defying both the tribunal and untested public opinion.

I am now perhaps not surprisingly a more convinced trade unionist than I was before the case. I believe that the combination of a well-coordinated gay movement and the supportive trade union movement can begin a successful fight back against discrimination in all forms.

It is clear that there is discrimination on a massive scale, and often because people feel alone and isolated in the workplace, they refuse to fight. We must involve ourselves more actively in the unions, individually and collectively, in order to break down this isolation.

Out here on a visit

CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD TALKS TO OUT

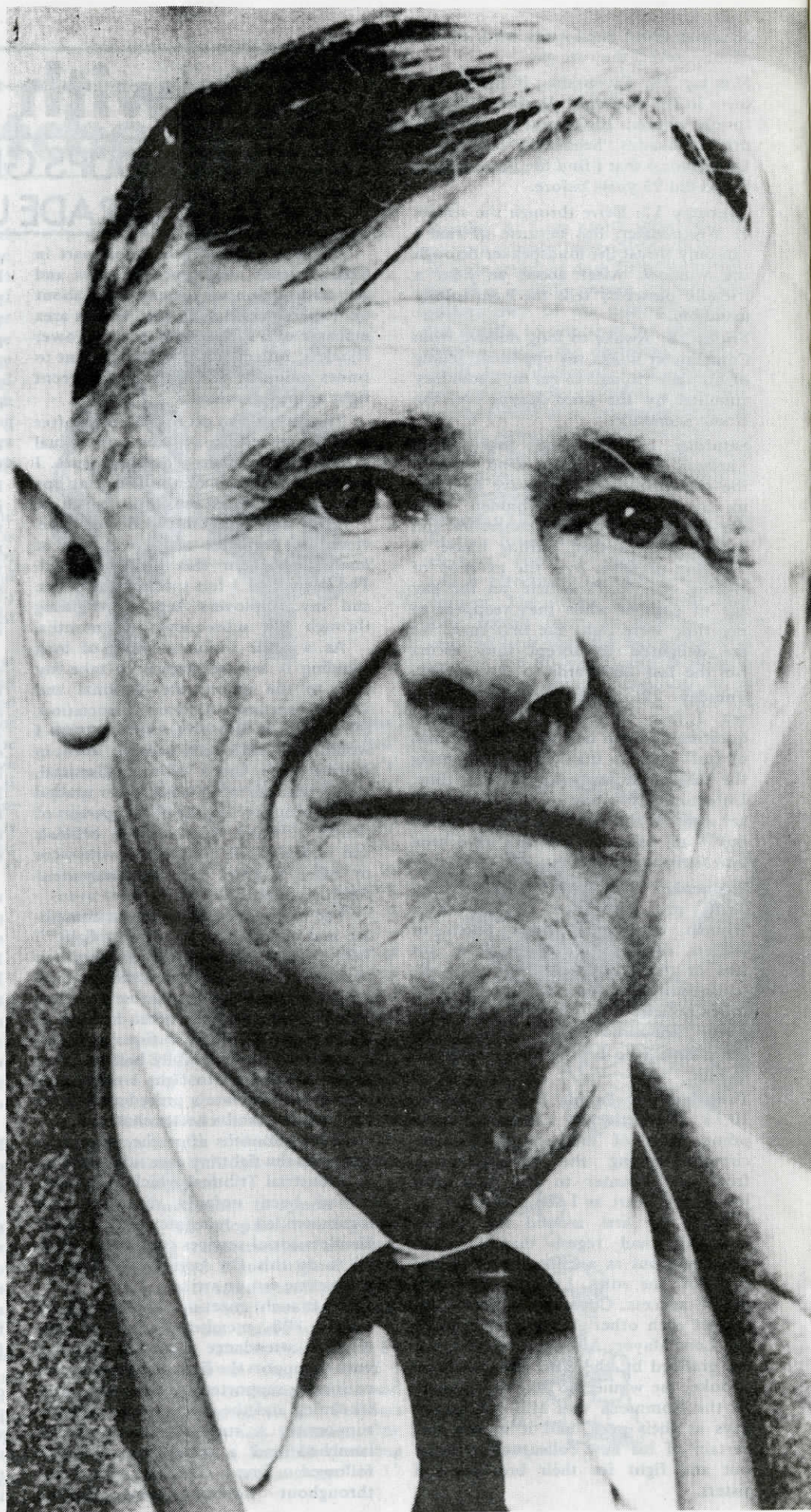
OUT met Christopher Isherwood at his London hotel during his recent visit to England. His autobiography had just been published, to the delight of the gay community and the dismay of the Auden family. It is an honest and explicit book; funny and moving. Not all his reviewers thought so however. Dame Rebecca West thought it "a symphony of squalor", and even the less malicious reviews managed to avoid his commitment to gay liberation and how it relates to his work. But Isherwood himself was unconcerned. Sitting in his hotel room, he shrugged and said:

"They don't want to understand it really, they don't care. Most critics are so bored with their jobs, they just rattle it off."

Isherwood is a small man with close-cropped hair, he's 72 but looks ten years younger. He's diffident. He's charming. He's a realist. His voice is strange, a well-modulated croak. But what he says has the force of his unswerving conviction that homosexuals are oppressed and must plan and struggle for their freedom.

How was it, we asked him, that he came to a resolve so early in his life to be openly gay, to make no compromises with heterosexual conformity?

"Well I've always lived a very sheltered life within the artistic Bohemia where you can practically get away with murder anyway. My first job was as a secretary to a string quartet, that was the life of the London studios and I met scores of writers and musicians and everyone was very relaxed about everybody's sexuality. The only time I had to keep a low profile was when I did a certain amount of private tutoring in London, with kids. You know how people carry on if they think that the tutor is gay. Actually my relationships with these kids were of the most spotless correctitude! That's really the last sensitive job that I ever had. After that, wherever I was employed it was in circumstances where it didn't really matter, be it as a movie writer or as a professor on campus, or, obviously, teaching English in Berlin. It's very



easy under those circumstances to come out."

But, we said, there were many people in that position who did not

"I KNOW THAT I AM GAY DOWN TO THE VERY DEPTHS OF MY NATURE"

come out, because they did not feel happy about themselves.

"That's one thing I've never had any problem about. I know that I am gay down to the very depths of my nature, and I really am very relaxed about heterosexuality. It's not that I'm frightened of women, but I just am very 'queer' and that's all there is to it. That makes it easier. I can very well understand how a lot of people are troubled by genuine doubt. And then of course the question comes if you're that sort of person, 'Ought I to be gay on principle', if you feel this is a worthy cause and if you feel you have some talent for it in yourself. But that question didn't arise as far as I was concerned."

He never toyed with the idea of passing as straight but was surprised at how many people did that even now. Many of his friends pretended to be straight but for him it just was not thinkable.

"My test was the question of whether you could fall in love. When you're young, sexuality is no great problem, you can get yourself in the mood, but I simply could not feel that romantic feeling for a member of the opposite sex."

"I've had some brother and sister kind of relationships. There's a clash which can occur when women seem, and I say advisedly, seem, to represent the establishment, part of the great marriage fortress, which we run around outside of. But I'm glad to say it's becoming more and more clearly defined

"IT'S VERY IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE IN IMPORTANT POSITIONS TO COME OUT"

that women are an oppressed group. And the enormous insult of the way that most of them are treated even by their nearest and dearest is something that one has to fight against."

When the gay movement started in the USA he was working in a film studio. "A boy I was going around with was one of the first members of the Mattachine Society. But I didn't get involved with it at that time. I suppose that was in the late forties." Now he speaks at rallies on college campuses but adds, modestly, "That's nothing

"THAT WAS A TREMENDOUS MOMENT — WE FELT THAT YOU WERE FIGHTING OUR BATTLES FOR US"

very sensational, I just appear and speak. I've spoken at them a whole number of times."

We told him about the early days of CHE, before the law on male homosexuality was changed in 1967. "Of course that was a tremendous moment", he said, "because in matters like the law the effect of England on the United States is immense. We felt that you were fighting our battles for us."

The military theme was expanded by Isherwood when we said that many gay people objected to demonstrations or even wearing badges. "Everything has to be considered from one standpoint alone — tactics. There may be strong arguments against some forms of demonstration, but you can't make moral arguments against it, as a principle. When you get down to specific cases you argue what should be done on this occasion, just like in a military operation; should we attack from there or here or not attack at all. The trouble is we're such a disarrayed army, and the fronts have very little contact with each other. Someone's going screaming ahead on the left, while the people on the right are digging ditches and defending the position."

We wondered if we were all in the same army. There were people who said "don't rock the boat, we're lucky to be given what we've got and society's quite right to keep us in our place."

"It's the 'quite right' that's so terrible", Isherwood replied. "It's those miserable archaic ethics again. In the last resort, all groups that are struggling for their rights, that's not a negative thing, it's a positive thing and in the course of the struggle, change comes. Sooner or later the struggle has to end in some kind of understanding with the opposing forces. Therefore it's revolutionary."

But what would the implications be for heterosexuals in accepting the gay struggle?

"I think it would make everybody much more flexible in their sexual attitudes and that would be something that would spread right through our society. I'm not an anthropologist, but even spending four or five days in Western Samoa, you get a glimpse of a better world. There's something about these people. Being gay there would mean something totally and utterly different from anything we can conceive. Of course it may not be desirable, we may not like to live in that sort of culture, but it's very moving. There's a

great deal of joy in it which is harder to find in ours.

"It's very important for people in important positions to come out. But not people like me, because I'm just a Bohemian, and what do you expect of a Bohemian? They think it's cute."

"But you can't get mad at people for not being heroes. Some people are in positions that are absolutely impossible". The real examples would be distinguished

"THE WAY LESBIANS ARE TREATED ... IT'S IMMENSELY INSULTING"

professionals in important jobs in the sciences and in administration and so on, speaking about it. It's always presented as such a backstairs thing: 'Oh he was such a great man and great men have weaknesses, so he had a weakness'. The put-down in all this! The 'weakness' is actually an admirable human being, but it's referred to as if it were an impediment of some kind."

But the great lesbian figures were never described as having a weakness, we pointed out.

"Well, the way they get at women! The way lesbians are treated! They say: 'What can you expect, they wallow around and kiss each other a lot, you really can't tell if they're lesbians or not.' Do you know those terribly insulting paintings, there's one of a harem, and they're all flopping around like seals, it becomes a purely academic question whether it's sexual or not, it's more like the zoo. It's this sort of absolute contempt, it's immensely insulting. Lesbianism was never put in the criminal code just as much as to say, 'Well what can you expect?'"

The conversation turned to the fear in heterosexual men of what homosexuality represented. We said they talked about the nightmare of being dominated by the strong man who would force them to submit, making them feel weak, into a castrated position.

"They're afraid of their roles being thrown out. I think it's one of the charms of homosexuality, the possibility of assuming either role, which I'm sure must be psychologically very healthy. Being able to do both, surely, surely that must be better, to have acquired that flexibility. That must be good."

On a more personal level, we knew he had lived with Don Bachardy for many years, but he felt that vows of any kind in this shifting world were a mistake. "A love relationship is maintained by daily affirmation, not by

making a contract. I don't think there should be security in marriage. After all, if you're holding somebody by a vow that he or she made years ago, what use is that? A relationship is entirely between the two of you, and the outside world only in a very secondary sense. People may rejoice that two people are married because the example of their happiness or their working together is socially good for the whole community. You see that with the Quakers, and they have the absolute minimum of ceremony. I'm very Quaker-minded as a matter of fact. I'm really against marriage as a vow or a contract, except in the unanswerable case of providing for the children. I don't think we need a contract. I can't imagine marrying Don. I'm amazed that people are always talking about how gays are so fickle and promiscuous, but it's fantastic the number of gays I know who have had very long-term relationships. It doesn't seem to have made any difference, the absence of a marriage vow.

"People carry on so about getting old, how terrifying it is, a ghastly tomb, gaping. It's one of the functions of older people to give reassurance. It's very important to try and reassure people. Fewer people would be lonely if they could only understand the options. Most people don't want to be lonely, but they set such a price on it. They have to be un-lonely in exactly the manner to which they've been accustomed. It's no joke being lonely, there's no question, and death isn't just a sneeze either."

'GAY LIB STUFF'

Our time with him was coming to an end, but we managed to catch one last illustration of his commitment to the gay rights movement.

"I try to be in academic situations of the highest respectability, and then say something. For example, at a State University near Los Angeles, they wanted someone to speak when they gave people their degrees. I said I'd give 'A Last Lecture'. The idea is if you knew this was your last lecture, what would you have to say. I get started, and of course, out comes all this gay lib stuff, and there's not a thing they can do about it. I was standing up in a great flowing gown in front of two thousand people. The kids were just delighted. Things like that are valuable."

Angus Wilson did that a couple of years ago we said when he opened a CHE conference in Sheffield. It went down very well, but it was reported in a lot of the Sunday papers as: 'So what? Who is he anyway?'

At this, Christopher Isherwood smiled, gave us a piercing glance, and said: "They'll do anything, you see, to put you down. That's for sure."

Tripped up

LIZ STANLEY CATCHES OUT C.A. TRIPP, AUTHOR OF THE HOMOSEXUAL MATRIX

A recent issue of *Gay News* hailed this as "one of the seventies' most challenging and controversial books". Proclaimed modestly by its publishers as "a classic", it has been presented by some sections of the American gay press and by its GN reviewers as exciting, intellectually challenging, stimulating, although of not much relevance to gay women, and — most importantly — as the most important study of homosexuality in recent years. Having received wide coverage both in GN and in many popular American publications, and its publishers being known as the smartest of smart cookies, I'm reasonably certain that this book is destined to be the seventies' equivalent of D. J. West's *Homosexuality*. It will probably become a best seller and a major source of information and opinion about homosexuality. This is why there is a need for the remnants of the British gay movement to evaluate critically the claims — both implicit and explicit — of *The Homosexual Matrix* from many standpoints.

The flyleaf boldly declares:

"Not another polemic on the homosexual's 'plight' or 'gay liberation' this major study strides across the whole range of homosexuality from its place in religion, biology and anthropology to its role in all areas of society, including politics, the military, espionage and psychiatry."

In non-publisher's English this means: "This is a study of the totality of homosexuality. It is not biased — it is objective because it is detached from these polemical viewpoints". The author, a practising psychotherapist and psychologist, spent ten years in its writing because "it was necessary to sort out the issues, to go after special sources of information, and in the process, to stay as empirical and as inductive as possible". And so I would suggest that the *Matrix* must be judged in relation to these claims.

Tripp glosses, with varying degrees of superficiality, over both homosexuality and heterosexuality. A read through the index (which I enjoyed immensely) demonstrates this panoramic sweep: from pre-historic Peruvian ceramics to the Loch Ness monster's footprints, from the sexual habits of anthropologists to the strength of the female libido,

from "sodomy, loose definitions" to protozoa "as a paradigm of sex itself".

Much that the *Matrix* says in its trip around everything about sex is well-meant: some of it is sensible and liberal, yet its pan-sexual sweep and resultant superficiality leads it into declaring as absolute truth statements which are debatable or even flatly contradicted by other research. For example, it claims that rape laws exist for the protection of the weak, while Brownmiller's excellent study of rape (1) suggests that such laws are more plausibly seen as designed to protect male property rights over women as reproductive units. Another example is Tripp's proposed classification of homosexual activity in different kinds of society. However, in the vast majority of anthropological studies there is a serious lack of evidence about male homosexuality, and all female sexual conduct, which means that no such classification is possible. Such omissions and failures might be more acceptable in a "popular" book — but the *Matrix* lays claim to be a work of serious and careful scholarship.

The *Matrix* also claims that its statements and arguments are based on scientific data, on "facts" which can be checked by others. Many statements are made about male and female homosexual life-styles, relationships and sexual activity. Yet I can discover no body of original research carried out by Tripp which would enable him (I am following other reviewers in the assumption that Tripp is male) to make such statements, apart from one brief mention of an "unpublished survey". All other references are to research carried out by other people. Most of this research derives from Kinsey material which is thirty years old and is based on suspect samples and methods.

On this point a *Harper's Magazine* review (2) suggests that the *Matrix* "suffers from a bad case of what might be called the Kinsey syndrome", while the *Body Politic* (3) comments: "I have never before read a book which states so often 'the evidence says that' without even minimally indicating the source of that evidence".

The central thesis of the book sees sexual attraction and sexual activity in terms of "complementarity", defined as a "mutual fit in (sexual partners') modes

of being dominant and submissive". However, for the "vital spark" of lust to flare up, "resistance" is required as a necessary precursor of arousal. That is, no "resistance", no arousal. Thus strain, stress and sexual satisfaction are seen to occur together in a pattern "as old as sex itself". Now resistance in the context of this book would appear to be barriers — real or pretended, internal to a relationship or imposed from outside — such as deep personality contrasts, rows, jealousies, differences in "modes of dominance and submission" (a butch/fem or male/female division) or else sexual peccadillos such as sado-masochistic "tendencies", as witnessed by the following:

"His partner's genitals or his own, or any other parts of their bodies, may be subject to insult if not to overt abuse."

Someone screaming abuse and insults at my genitals would be more likely to make me laugh than feel sexually aroused. But of course I'm only a lesbian, and Tripp has very definite ideas about women's low sexual drives.

Alison Hennegan's *Gay News* review demolishes any pretensions it may have to be equally concerned with both gay men and gay women; and this point must be reiterated here. Its remarks on female sexuality in general and lesbian sexuality in particular are based, where they have any connection with reality, on misrepresented Kinsey data and one unpublished piece of research; but his most outrageous and put-down remarks are totally unreferenced. The *Matrix* doesn't even mention any of the research on either female sexuality or lesbianism carried out at any time in the last ten years, apart from Kinsey and Masters and Johnson.

The referenced Kinsey material is interpreted by Tripp as showing that women have an inherently low sexual response and "drive". However, Kinsey was simply reporting on the frequency of female orgasm in sexual relationships in the forties, while the *Matrix* ignores the fact that the experience of sexuality occurs within a social, political and sexual context. Many women who are able to have orgasms don't; but not because they have a low sex drive. What can one say about a "scientific" work which confuses capacity and performance in this way?

The *Matrix* tells us another "absolute truth" — most lesbian sexual relationships become non-sexual within two or three years. This, we are told, is mainly because of women's low sexual drive, but also because two lesbians have less "focal resistances" than two gay men. Lesbian sex is also said to be concerned with the periphery of the body (toes?) rather than genitals, and a lesbian will sometimes spend more than an hour simply caressing a breast. But Tripp

seems quite unaware that women, as well as men, make love according to how they feel at the time; sometimes it may be prolonged, sometimes it may be a swift genital experience.

Each of the issues outlined appears to me to be extremely controversial and the viewpoints expressed contain little but polemics. By this I mean that, having adopted a particular model of sexuality, the *Matrix* then is forced to interpret data (or to make it up) to support this model. It also seems downright peculiar to compare the sex life of a single-celled animal, a protozoa, to human sex. Only a person working from a position of crass biological determinism could even suggest such a thing!

How does the *Matrix* see male homosexuality and male sexuality in general? Male sexuality is said to reach its ultimate crescendo in male homosexuality:

"The generally low sex drive of women, and particularly their peripheral rather than focal interests in sex, leaves them quite unmoved by the more resistant forms of sex . . . But when two men are excited and unrestrained in their sexual interaction, the fire that is fed from both sides often does whip up levels of eroticism that are rarely reached elsewhere . . . (lesbian) techniques are so lacking in focal resistance that their actions tend to seem bland."

It goes on to say that women experience sex much less intensely than men. How arrogant! We can never know how or to what degree of intensity another person experiences anything, for the very good reason that we can never feel what they feel. Yet this is one of the major themes of the book: that women experience sex less intensely than men. Unless the author is the Myra/Myron Breckinridge of psychoanalysis, then this is sheer prejudiced nonsense.

Tripp also sees sexuality as a "drive". He sees males as aggressive sexual subjects driven by fierce sexual needs, and women as receptive sexual objects. But to make such sweeping generalisations is fraught with dangers. Such views contribute to a shared myth of sexual "normality" to which many men aspire but few will probably achieve. The costs of this in terms of the worries, fears and sexual problems of many men is probably incalculable; however, the link between such mythology and justifications of rape and sexual assaults on women and children (4, 5) is undoubted.

There are things to be read with less than outrage in this book — and most of them are contained in the last two chapters in which, thankfully, the notions of resistance, dominance and submission are quite forgotten. One chapter deals with what it calls the politics of homosexuality: not what I

thought it was going to be about, but instead a straight forward, if very dated, account of some of the witch-hunts against gay men in the USA. This is followed, in the last chapter, by a discussion of homosexuality and psychotherapy. I suggest that this chapter be read in conjunction with Phyllis Chesler's account of lesbians and psychotherapy (6).

The last theme I want to discuss concerns the "politics of homosexuality", although politics of a different kind from those in the *Matrix*. Homosexuals of both sexes are oppressed. The *Matrix* does mention this (but not much more) in a few places, but does little to explain why it occurs. Does the oppression of gay men occur for the same reasons that lesbians are oppressed? Is this oppression all a dreadful mistake, caused by ignorance and a lack of education? Is it solvable by a few, respectable homosexuals, preferably male, and middle class and famous, being openly declared as gay? Or doesn't it matter why homosexuals suffer, are persecuted, internalise guilt, are murdered or kill themselves?

Not only is this question of oppression largely absent from the pages of the *Matrix*, so also is the question of liberation. This book manages to ignore the existence of the gay and lesbian movements in the USA. Nowhere does it acknowledge that many gay women and men choose to be openly and proudly homosexual; it merely documents strategies for concealing sexual preferences. Nowhere does it mention the part played by gay groups and organisations in enabling many gay men and women to meet others. For a while I considered that the American gay movement might be an invention of the gay press; now I'm wondering if C. A. Tripp has spent the last ten years with his head in a bucket of Peruvian ceramics. I'm also wondering what has happened to the ideas of gay liberation and gay pride when large sections of the gay press are to be seen on their knees in front of authors like Tripp who are kind enough not to say anything positively evil about gay people. If I ever write a book about gay people I shall pretend to be a heterosexual expert — then I can be fairly sure that it will be well received.

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- 3 *Body Politic*: April, 1976.
- 4 Florence Rush: *The Sexual Abuse of Children* in Connel and Wilson (Eds): *Rape: the first source book for women*, Plume Books, 1974.
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- 6 Phyllis Chesler: *Women and Madness*, Allen Lane, 1974.

The Homosexual Matrix

by C. A. Tripp.

Published by Quartet Books, £5.95.

● Continued from page 2

change from one meeting to the next, these councils are pretty ineffective.

The field officer system (now known as area representatives), established to fill this gap between the EC and local groups, relies too heavily on the EC for patronage for it to have any sufficient authority with local groups. Thus we see the two components of CHE, EC and groups, drifting apart in a sea of incredibility and suspicion, we see how this credibility gap is self enlarging and as time goes on we will find that the EC is no longer able to effectively 'lead' or 'manage' the Campaign. In order to push forward with the political campaigning we must now create a much closer-knit and unified movement which will embrace more of the activists who at present stay outside of CHE.

To put the power back where it belongs we would propose changing CHE into a federation of local groups, rather than its present mass membership basis. Thus it would be the local groups who would be members and, through a delegate council, it is they who would decide the policy and direction of CHE. By electing the Executive Committee from that body the lines of communication, authority, responsibility and answerability immediately become clearer and more effective.

This proposal would mean that individuals' membership would be handled entirely by each local group on whatever basis they felt appropriate to their area. It would mean that each group would elect delegate(s) to the national council who would serve for at least one year, thus giving some continuity to the council. It would mean that the Campaign would be financed by block subscriptions from local groups rather than thousands of subscriptions from individuals, thus cutting central administration costs; and most importantly it would give considerable powers to the groups through the national council.

These proposals, together with others concerning associate membership for individuals not in local groups, will be debated at the forthcoming CHE conference. They clearly represent a major change of direction for CHE and one which we feel it would be inappropriate to introduce at short notice. However they represent an analysis and solution which is very attractive and one which we believe should lie at the basis of future thinking on the constitution. If conference agrees the principle this year then a fully revised constitution will be prepared for the 1978 conference. Meanwhile shorter term changes to ease the changeover are being prepared and will be published shortly as amendments to the constitution for this year.

CHE News in brief

CRIMINAL LAW BILL

At the request of CHE and the Sexual Law Reform Society, Lord Beaumont of Whitley proposed a number of amendments to the Bill during its passages through the House of Lords in March. The amendments were designed to remove the right of trial by jury from men accused of homosexual soliciting. Although not passed, the amendments did provoke a discussion of the issues involved and attracted the support of senior Conservative peers such as Lords Gardiner and Hailsham (both former Lord Chancellors). This increases the chances that the Tory Party will back the strong body of libertarian Labour and Liberal MPs who have announced their intention of opposing the bill when it reaches the Commons.

... AND LAW REFORM

Following the introduction into the House of Lords by Lords Arran and Boothby of bills designed to lower the male homosexual age of consent in England and Wales to 18 and to legalise male homosexuality down to the same age in Scotland, CHE has begun to canvass support for amendments which would further lower the age in all three countries to 16. Letters and copies of 'No Offence' (CHE's booklet on homosexual law reform) have gone out to more than a hundred peers who are believed to be sympathetic. A meeting has also been held with representatives of the Scottish Minorities Group to discuss a joint strategy.

Because there is unlikely to be any time available for the bills in the House of Commons, it is most improbable that they will become law even if passed by the Lords. Nevertheless CHE hopes that they will provoke discussion both in Parliament and in the Press and so prepare the ground for successful legislation in a future session.

CHE is particularly anxious that legislators and journalists should not be led to believe that a male gay age of consent at 18 would be any more acceptable to the gay movement than the present age of 21. Legal equality with heterosexuals remains the sole aim.

MORE UNION SUPPORT FOR CHE

The hundred thousand strong Society of Civil and Public Servants (SCPS) has decided not to hold its annual conference

at Scarborough as long as the town refuses to allow CHE conference facilities. NAPO — the Probation Officers' union — the Liberal Party and the NUS have already taken the same step, causing the resorts' hoteliers and restaurateurs to lose hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of business.

Meanwhile considerable local interest in Scarborough has been aroused by a second application by CHE for conference facilities. The object of the move is partly to expand the number of possible venues for future conferences and partly to allow the borough council to reconsider its earlier decision. If CHE is allowed to come to Scarborough, the other organisations blacking the town will feel able to go there too.

SEX EDUCATION CONFERENCE

In order to bring together youth workers, teachers and health educators concerned, among other things, with promoting a fair approach to homosexuality in schools' sex education, a special weekend conference was held at Loughborough University on 16/17 April. The conference was jointly sponsored by CHE, the Family Planning Association, the Albany Trust and the National Youth Bureau.

Among the discussions at the conference was one led by Tim Bolton-Maggs of Tyneside CHE on the extent to which any discussion of homosexuality is excluded from schools.

"We have learned . . . by being involved in this conference, that the climate of opinion is still as much against homosexuality as it is against contraception" said conference organiser Trevor Locke of the CHE Executive.

TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

The special problems of discrimination facing gays at work and the possibilities of organising gay groups within Trades Unions were among the topics discussed at a one day conference "Gays and the Trade Union Movement."

Organised for CHE by Richard McCance, the conference attracted over 60 people — half from outside CHE. Twenty unions were represented.

The conference gave teeth to its pledge to fight discrimination against all oppressed groups within Trades Unions by donating half of the money collected at the conference to the Grunwick Strike Fund which is supporting a group of workers — predominantly Asian women — who have been on strike for eight weeks in support of proper working conditions and better pay. The remainder was earmarked for CHE's own Employment Campaign.

Several more meetings are planned between now and CHE's Annual Conference and a Conference programme will be run emphasizing the importance of the Campaign's work.