

REFLECTIONS ON THE DOCK STRIKE

IT IS NO ACCIDENT that concepts such as 'brotherhood' and 'solidarity' are always associated with the poor and exploited. The rich and the powerful just don't need such concepts. The early trade unions were called brotherhoods, the members were, and still are, called brothers, and the slogan was 'all for one and one for all'. Even today it is assumed that workers will adhere to a standard of conduct in this regard not expected of any other section of society. Anyone who stops to think about it will realise that society thereby pays its workers a great compliment.

However, these noble ideas have taken a hammering over the last twenty years or so. Wealth has increased to such an extent that some of the workers have been thrown some pretty sizeable crumbs from the rich man's table and many have tended to adopt the habits and the desires of those who exploit them. Divisions have been formed within the working class itself between the well-paid and the less well-paid, the haves and the have-nots, and the old solidarity has been weakened. All of which became painfully obvious during the recent dock strike.

Violence has been a feature of the strike and could not have been otherwise, given that one section of workers was laying claim to work done by another section. It was never a case of the dockers (the better-paid) offering their help and superior organising ability to the container men, the cold store men and the workers in the unregistered ports (the less well-paid) to achieve the pay and conditions of dockers.

OH BROTHER!

Had such an offer been made it could not possibly have been refused. Quite the contrary, the dockers wanted the work done by these other workers and said so, quite brutally. The fact that most of the jobs they sought for themselves were occupied by men in their own union made not the slightest difference. The menacing pickets appeared and their object was to force the employers to get rid of non-dock labour and employ registered dockworkers instead. It was fratricidal strife right from the beginning as far as this section of dockers were concerned. The awful thing was that their chief spokesman, Bernie Steer, was a communist, a man who probably in his day has sang the 'Internationale' and shouted 'Workers of all Lands Unite'.

Work in dockland is getting scarcer every day. Docks are closing as a result of technological developments in cargo handling. What work there is, the dockers want, and the reaction of those thus threatened was inevitable. Angry and frightened, they fought back and the basis for violence was laid. At first it was merely verbal, the shouting of insults like 'scab' and 'blackleg', but later, especially at the unregistered ports, it turned into actual fighting.

Lorry drivers were met by aggressive pickets, bricks were hurled

through their cab windows, and they were threatened with being blacked at all ports—in other words with being pushed out of their jobs. The drivers, too, reacted in fear and anger. In the clashes which followed, the police had a field day, fighting with and arresting dockers wholesale. (Lorry drivers, especially on Humberside, where the fighting was worst, have now had enough of their 'brothers' in the Transport and General Workers Union and are seeking to be transferred to a union which organises lorry drivers only.)

I don't believe that the majority of dockers wanted this kind of struggle. Bernie Steer and Vic Turner (on whom much responsibility must rest for all these shameful events) admitted on television that a 'lot of dockers have no heart in this fight'. Of course they haven't. No working man has much stomach for a fight to take another man's job away from him. But there was a small section of dockers who actually relished this kind of divisive struggle, who glory in seeing worker fighting worker—the fascists, the same people who in 1968 organised a strike in all London's docks on May Day to support Enoch Powell's policy of deporting all blacks from Britain. It was one of the most shameful episodes in British trade union history and the men who organised it are still around the docks

peddling their racist poison.

These fascists have now been mightily reinforced from a most unlikely quarter—from the Communist Party and the International Socialists who both gave uncritical support to the dockers against the container men and cold store workers and thus gave a veneer of 'socialist' respectability to what was essentially a pathetic dog-eat-dog fight over a diminishing bone.

EVIL PROPAGANDA

Even the propaganda of these 'socialists and communists' was helpful to the fascists. Never once did they criticise the dockers and never once did they suggest that brotherhood and solidarity was the way to preserve work and wages for all. Never once did they advance any slogan that could have united both groups of workers, not even the old trade union demand of sharing the work without loss of pay. Only the much-despised container men ever suggested that all the workers concerned should become registered dockers and get the same rates of pay and conditions. You would never glean from the *Morning Star* and the *Socialist Worker* that both sets of workers were equally victims of an immoral capitalist system. On the contrary, every effort was made to paint the container men as mere hirelings of the em-

ployers paid to resist the absolutely just demands of the saintly dockers. The employers as a class were not attacked at all, only what were called the 'wide boys and speculators'. If the prefix 'Jewish' had been added to this description of the enemy, it would have been perfect fascist propaganda. Employers like Lord Aldington who were ready to deal with the dockers were OK, only the 'speculators' were at fault.

OPPORTUNISM

The whole thing was deplorable, shameful. Why did they act in this way? The answer is complicated but essentially it is because all these parties are seeking power and to get power you need members, votes and supporters. For that you have to say what you think the workers want to hear. They didn't criticise the dockers because they wanted the dockers' support for their respective parties—so they supported the strong against the weak. They didn't tell the workers that security is impossible under capitalism and that to attack other workers is damnable and must play into the hands of the employing class as a whole. They didn't say it because the workers, or a good many of them, don't believe it any more. High wages, regular employment, and conditions such as were only dreamed of by their fathers, have blunted the workers' desire for a system based on brotherhood and mutual aid. He wants more of what he has already got—and who can blame him? What has been commonplace for the rich for centuries—good food, a well-furnished home, all the gadgets and even a holiday abroad in the sun—now looks possible of achievement providing only that the wages keep coming in and get bigger all the time. The chains are not felt when they are long and golden. Even the unemployed, unlike the unemployed

Continued on page 4

THE RANK AND FILE members in the building workers' strike are still maintaining control over the dispute. Ordinary trade unionists are making the running. They are organising their flying pickets and closing down every site that moves.

In London this is proving a difficult job. Apart from the size of the task, on many sites visited by the pickets they have found that the vast majority of operatives are self-employed. Most of these people do not want to know anything about trade unionism let alone strike action. It will need a lot of argument to convince them that it is in their own interest to join the strike. But convince them we must. A mass picket might stop them from going into work but persuasion of argument would be more convincing and lasting.

London has been divided up into areas. As pickets close up every job in their area, they move onto another. With doubtful sites a small picket remains to make sure it remains closed.

During all this rank and file activity the leadership of the four unions met and decided to extend the strike to medium-sized companies. But Regional Committees and Action Committees are demanding and organising for a full national stoppage. However some union officials are trying to stop local authority workers from joining the dispute. In Manchester they have tried to get Corporation workers back to work. In London four GLC sites have come out despite the reluctance on the part of some officials to get them involved. But in Scotland 10,000 workers on local authority sites have downed tools. A Glasgow rally confirmed this by passing a resolution calling for an 'all out' strike.

GROWING RESPONSE

Last week the employers tried to split the strike by advertising their offer in the national press and suggesting that the majority of building workers were willing to accept their last offer if it wasn't for the 'extremists determined to keep the dispute going for their own political ends'. I think the employers

CLOSING DOWN THE SITES

are becoming worried by the growing response to the strike. Despite the poor union organisation, men are coming out, joining the union, electing shop stewards and generally involving themselves as trade unionists. In the face of this the employer is using the well-worn tactic of trying to divide by saying that it's a minority of 'extremists' or 'militants' preventing the majority of hard-working loyal men from returning to work. In a week when 'militants' has become a term of abuse, with the mass media attacking the dockers' pickets,

the building employers have seized their chance to make their attack.

The strike is not just about a claim for £30 for a 35-hour week and longer holidays but a clean up of the industry. Abolishing the 'lump' labour-only subsidy is part and parcel of our present claim. By coming out on strike we are also campaigning for trade unionism and the ending of victimisation and blacklisting. The strike is a message to the employers that building workers will not tolerate being kicked around any longer and that we will bring some dignity to our working

lives.

Since last week the union has stopped strike pay. Meetings of the membership took this decision because the unions are short of strike benefit funds and also because the Social Security stops £5 out of the £6 strike benefit given to any claimants seeking assistance. Building workers are now finding that exploitation is not just confined to work. They will have to fight the SS for benefits which are rightfully theirs. The degrading conditions and attitudes on sites and of the employers will also be found in the uncomfortable bleak buildings which house the SS. But the lessons of organisation and solidarity which we use to defend our interests on site also apply when we attend the SS. Don't go alone but always have at least one fellow worker with you.

Buildings are one of the few products of labour that increase in monetary value. And yet with every one of our pay claims the cry goes up that it will put so much extra onto the cost of a new house. The present dispute is no exception even despite the hue and cry about the rapid increases in the cost of buying any house, let alone a new one.

HUGE FORTUNES OVERNIGHT

Property is a cornerstone of the capitalist system of exploitation. Huge profits are made overnight by buying and selling. Profits that a building worker wouldn't earn in a lifetime. The sweat, blood and tears that go into a building are turned into huge fortunes for a few. We build hotels we can't afford to stay at, houses we can't afford to live in and factories where other workers are exploited. We create wealth while many of us live on or near the bread line. We are the ragged band of rough and ready multi-national trade unionists

TORY GUN-RUNNERS

IT IS REPORTED that the Special Branch is investigating the smuggling of arms to the UDA in Northern Ireland by members of the Monday Club in London. The Monday Club is a group of right-wing Conservatives and has a membership of about 8,000 including 34 Members of Parliament. Their policies range from the racistist to the crude witch-hunting of 'subversives' in industry and education. It is also alleged that Monday Club members are involved in the military training of the UDA at secret camps in Scotland. The investigation is believed to have been ordered by the Government who do not wish to be embarrassed at this time by the activities of their own supporters.

In an interview with a reporter from the *Sunday Telegraph* the Monday Club's director, Mr. Michael Woolrych (formerly Lieutenant-Commander Woolrych), stated with alarming frankness: 'I have my contacts in the Special Branch and I keep in touch with them over a number

of issues, of which Ulster is one. I have no reason at the moment to suppose that any members of the Monday Club are involved in anything illegal. If they were, they would no longer be members.' What a brilliantly simple solution to an embarrassing problem! In the circumstances it will be very interesting to see if any more is heard of the subject.

What is perhaps more significant in the long-term is the admitted collaboration between the Special Branch and the Monday Club. The connection between the political police and the Tory gun-runners is a dangerous threat to all workers in Britain. A private army of thugs could tomorrow be turned on striking workers to defend the profits of the big business friends of the Monday Club; they have the money, the know-how and the guns. And the political police ensure that they know all about us.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

seeking decent wages and conditions and dignity.

A picket line is a great educator. It's a place for argument and discussion and clarifying your own ideas. One learns about solidarity and how satisfying it is to persuade a lorry driver not to deliver. How gratifying to encounter support from even the postman who doesn't want to cross a picket just to deliver a couple of letters to the site agent. The refusal by the majority of the 'sparks' who refuse to cross peaceful picket lines despite an open invitation by their Electrical Trades Union leader, Mr. Chapple, to do just that.

Trade union leaders are not renowned for their solidarity. But the rank and file members soon found that in struggle support and solidarity are the keys to success.

Many of the products of our labours are wasteful or are built for the rich. Most workers would rather build for real needs of the people instead of offices and luxury hotels. In fact many of them need decent homes for themselves and their families. A sane society would place the need for homes as a priority. Our present system of exploitation places profit first and homes a long way behind. The profits of employers and landlords are made from the exploitation of people both during and outside their working lives.

P.T.

COMMUNIST CARROT AND STICK

The word from Czechoslovakia is that the government, with help from Russia, is operating a 'carrot and stick' policy. While intellectuals are being jailed for terms of up to six years—the workers are being offered consumer goods on an increased scale, provided they keep quiet, that is.

YEAR ONE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by Victor Serge (Allen Lane, £3.95).

VICTOR SERGE (real name: Victor Lvovich Kibalchich), was an internationalist in the most literal sense of the word. He was born in Brussels on December 30, 1890, of exiled Russian parents, moved to Paris and was there imprisoned for nearly six years. On his release he went to Spain and then travelled, via a French concentration camp, to Russia. There he remained for about nineteen years, some of them spent in prison, others in exile, but in 1936 he was deported and returned, first to Brussels and then to Paris. Finally, in flight from the invading Nazis, he sought sanctuary in Mexico where he died, destitute, and was buried as a Spanish national.

At the beginning of the second decade of this century Serge was editing a Parisian anarchist newspaper, *L'Anarchie*. Later he joined the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain. In Russia he became a Communist, editing the journal *Communist International*. Finally, he joined the Trotskyist Left Opposition. But no matter where he was or what he called himself, Victor Serge commands the respect and attention of anarchists for the way in which he always maintained his personal integrity and remained true to the principles of libertarian socialism. His whole life was devoted to the service of the revolution and all his suffering and adversity stemmed from his complete dedication to the cause of the working class.

Serge's memoirs have been available for some time now and are admired for the wealth of biographical and

Serving the Revolution

historical detail they contain, particularly with regard to minor revolutionary characters, but in recent years another of Serge's talents has been revealed to the English reader. The translation and publication of three of his novels revealed that, as Francis King wrote in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 'Of all the European writers who have taken revolution as their theme, Serge is second only to Conrad.' He is, indeed, a creative writer of great power, capable of superb characterization and a brilliant mastery of narrative. Consequently, the appearance of a new book (*Year One of the Russian Revolution* published by Allen Lane at £3.95) is an event to be applauded.

The book first appeared in Paris in 1930 because, like the other books Serge wrote in Russia after 1928, it was written 'in detached fragments which could each be separately completed and sent abroad post-haste and . . . could, if absolutely necessary, be published as they were, incomplete'. This was a wise precaution on Serge's part which one wishes he had observed a little more carefully, for when he was finally permitted to leave the USSR in 1936 a large number of manuscripts—including the sequel to the book under discussion—which he had not managed to send piecemeal out of the country were confiscated by the secret police. (One wonders, wistfully, whether or not at this moment they are gathering dust in some bureaucratic ar-

chive and will, in fact, in some happier time, be rescued by an enlightened Russian administration.)

It is difficult to criticize Serge's work because he forecasts criticism by a frank admission of his own shortcomings and inadequacies. He says, for instance,

'If, as is possible, my account turns out, at various points, to be a misrepresentation of the truth, it will have been unintentionally so, either through lack of information or through my own error.'

The reader is also told that 'the book is bound to be very defective' because the author's full-time militancy has deprived him of 'the repose and leisure which are so necessary for historical research'.

Serge is equally honest and forthright in admitting his bias and defining his limitations. The impartiality of the historian is no more than a myth, he claims and then proceeds to say:

'Historians study the deeds and the laws of emperors, diplomatic activities, military conquests, changes of govern-

ment and the various reforms. . . . These events have their importance, which we would be the last to deny: but any observer today who wants to understand the history of Russia—and indeed of the world—must pay the greatest possible attention to other happenings: the troubles in the countryside, the strikes, the formation of the revolutionary parties, and the economic necessities which are linked with these events by the bonds of direct causation.'

Serge thus pre-defines his history as a work both partisan and subjective, produced by someone far too involved in the aftermath of the events he describes to write about them with detachment. His work must, therefore, be evaluated on these terms but the editor and translator, Peter Sedgwick, whose academic reputation is high, has taken the liberty of correcting and updating many errors and of amplifying some of the biographical details so that the translation is more reliable and accurate than the original work.

The fact that the work was produced

under such difficult conditions, in detached chunks, with no opportunity for revision or editing by the author, is not wholly detrimental to the style of the book. Long chapters are conveniently broken up into smaller sections and the terrific pace of the book, the eloquent flood of facts which pack each telling, condensed paragraph are quite appropriate in giving an impression of urgency and excitement which is quite consistent with the events described.

An attempt to summarize the contents of this book would be futile. The title describes the subject and scope of the work quite adequately and, in a sense, the book itself is a summary, condensed, factual, and economical of space and effort. However, lest anyone should confuse compression with abbreviation, I must point out that including editorial comments (relevant and enlightening), notes and index, the book runs to 436 pages and contains a very great deal of reading. It is also extremely well illustrated and annotated and nobody with any interest in the Russian Revolution should lose the opportunity of reading it. In fact, I recommend it unreservedly, not primarily as a great work of history but as part of the literary testament of one of the most admirable and talented revolutionaries of all time. PROMETHEUS.

The Surgical Control of Brains

IT WAS revealed last month that for 40 years the US Public Health Service's Centre for Disease Control (CDC) have conducted an experiment on syphilis. Very laudable too you might think. But in this case, of 600 men—all blacks from Tuskegee, Alabama—200 were given the best treatment available in 1932, while the rest were merely observed. The ones who were merely observed, so that government experts could study the effects of disease on the human body, were told that they had 'bad blood' which seems rather a Freudian slip.

Since the study's inception 161 unknown participants have died—seven directly from syphilis and 154 from heart disease, a related side effect. Only 74 untreated cases are still alive. In 1942 it was discovered that penicillin could effect a cure for syphilis, but a decision was taken in 1946 to withhold it from the group. This decision was taken at the time that the US were studying (but deliberately not treating) the effects of radiation sickness after Hiroshima and Nagasaki (see John Hersey's book on this).

But it's not only blacks and 'gooks' that the US is willing to experiment on. Prisoners are being used for psychiatric surgery, known as lobotomy, in which brain cells are destroyed by scalpel, electro-coagulation, electro-shock or radiation techniques. The effect of this is to blunt the emotions, destroying the individual's ability to respond. It subdues behaviour regardless of the presence or absence of any brain disease, or any psychiatric difficulty and does not treat any known organic disease of the brain.

All this is to rid people of their 'anti-social aggressive' tendencies and prisoners are being bribed with the promise that if they undergo lobotomy they stand a good chance of early release.

According to Dr. Peter Breggin of the Washington School of Psychiatry surgical control of behaviour is also being tried on adolescents with criminal records and on children as young as five who 'demonstrated hostility and aggression'. This is backed up by the experience of Professor Steven Rose of Southampton who has described the amphetamine treatment being given to a quarter of a million children in Ohio alone. Psychiatrists were diagnosing children who were merely restless as suffering from 'minimal brain dysfunction'. As he said, the causes of being restless might be malnutrition, poor homes or just boring teachers. Double jeopardy with a vengeance. He also drew the relevant parallel of people in Britain who were being 'adjusted to social reality' by anti-depressants.

Breggin shows where all this is leading. Some psychiatrists claim that violent protesters might have brain disease and others have decided what is 'unacceptable violence' in personal and political matters. Unsurprisingly enough, their work receives support from the government. Breggin is attempting to get a moratorium declared on psychiatric surgery and on genetic engineering too. However even if an agreement could be reached on this, governments wouldn't pass up their chance of being able to produce the perfect capitalist man—the

productive, conforming, non-questioning robot. If the constant conditioning of work, law, media, custom, education, etc., failed to work on a few 'mentally and socially diseased delinquents' then they can always whip out the electrodes or the pills.

Of course, the leaders in brain-twisting appear to be the Russians. Dr. Zakusov of the Moscow Institute of Pharmacology told a San Francisco scientific congress that Soviet scientists were injecting chemicals directly into the human brain to change behaviour. An American researcher lamented 'The Russians are far ahead of us'. A Cold War race between two Frankensteins intent on producing a Clockwork Orange-type robot incapable of any independent activity would appear to be on the cards.

Naturally none of these learned psychiatrists make any reference to the mass-organised violence and aggression that the two brands of capitalists unleash on their own and other citizens. Presumably the peoples of Vietnam, Hungary, France, Czechoslovakia, Latin America and Southern Africa and all subversives everywhere are suffering from acute brain damage and deserve to be experimented on, preferably from a great height.

'This disease is usually referred to as "freedom" and appears to be endemic to certain species of man, but with a little research and surgery, I'm sure we can eradicate it and make the world safe for decent bosses, rulers, policemen and landlords.'

STEVE KIBBLE

Built-In Chaos

PLAYING URBAN GAMES by Martin Kuenzlen (i press, \$3.95).

PLANNING IS ONE of the liberal's pet games at present, and Kuenzlen makes sure that urban chaos does not escape close scrutiny on the part of libertarians. Such terms as 'planners' freedom' or 'architectural freedom'—liberal mottoes—mean only freedom of the expert to impose his expertise. True freedom occurs only in a self-managed and therefore self-planned society. Kuenzlen, quite correctly, informs us of the oppressive nature of planning which encourages racial conflict, selfishness, isolation and so forth, anything in fact that divides us. However on the development of cities Kuenzlen is less than careful. Urbanization largely coincided with capitalism establishing itself in Europe and the USA (Kuenzlen's sphere of study). But because the two developed in parallel, this does not mean that they had a common cause. Marx states clearly that the accumulation of capital and the centralisation of production do not create urbanisation but the boom-bust economy of 19th Century Europe did. These rapid changes do not occur in Europe now, but this has had a minimal effect on urban growth. The whole modern period of city building has based itself on an ideology established by 'the media'—the life in the city is richer, more interesting and above all modern. The location of factories is irrelevant to this as modern transport is much more capable of providing access to work than the old horse-drawn trams or railways of

Marx's day. By all means Marx's theory of centralisation is important, but so are the factors that did not exist then.

The consideration of the psychology of urban life is far better, largely because of the fewer Marxist dogmas. The author considers the substitution of the old womb-like mediaeval walled city for the community centre/shops/park of modern towns. He sees a reaction of 'the Englishman's home is his castle', gaining ground as cities continually break up communities either physically by new roads, demolition, etc., or by attracting people away from community life by encouraging individual 'activity'—TV-watching, 'a day in the country' and so forth. This mass-individualism, so called, has become an opiate of present day society with the person finding his 'individualism' being nothing more than controlled existence. Everywhere we see old communities wrecked by planning (Inner London is a fine example) for a new type of society. The poor Inner London area is subject to huge motor-schemes despite the fact that car ownership in Inner London is only 4 cars to 10 families. What we see is not an invasion but a substitution of new individual centred desires (car/home ownership) for old community ones.

Kuenzlen says (p. 47, col. 1) '... the parts are isolated, exhausted and anarchistically related. . . . However if they were anarchistically related by true individualism or true planning freedom the city would cease to be a weapon to suppress our creative and co-operative desires.'

D.B.

Petlura and Swartzbart

This letter refers to a letter from Peter Newell (published in January) in which he characterised Schwarzbart as 'a GPU agent' and Petlura as a 'Ukrainian nationalist and no friend of the Ukrainian anarchists'. In the last paragraph of his reply Morris Gamberg has, however, mistaken the reference to Petlura as meaning Schwarzbart.

Dear Comrades,

Sholem Schwarzbart was never an OGPU agent. There are, in New York, comrades who served with him in Anarchist fighting units in the Ukraine during the years of the Russian revolution, and knew him well. They met him afterwards in New York, when he visited them after his release from the French prison. To them, as well as to anybody who knows the story of Schwarzbart, the accusation that he was an agent of the OGPU is preposterous.

There are also comrades in Montreal, Canada, who formerly lived, for many years, in Paris and knew intimately Schwarzbart as an active Anarchist and an honest watchmaker, in whose small repair shop Nestor Makhno was a frequent and welcome visitor.

We are not discussing here the merits or demerits of Schwarzbart's act against Petlura. Some of us may have negative opinions about it. But for an Anarchist

publication like FREEDOM to print a letter without comment that Schwarzbart 'was an OGPU agent', is beyond our pale of comprehension. And it becomes even more reprehensible when the writer of this scurrilous attack on the memory of an honest Anarchist admits that his sole source of information was an article by an obscure Ukrainian nationalist. And it is also an insult to the memory of Makhno to say that 'Makhno and his comrades well knew' that Schwarzbart 'was, of course, no friend of the Ukrainian Anarchists'. The clear implication here is, that Makhno, the personal friend of Schwarzbart, whom he considered an ideological comrade, knew that the Jewish watchmaker in Paris was really 'an OGPU agent'. Or was Schwarzbart so devilishly clever that he could fool for decades all the comrades who knew him so well, including Makhno, except the unknown but all-knowing Ukrainian nationalist?

Fraternally yours,

MORRIS GAMBERG,
Freie Arbeiter Schritme.
(New York.)

The Inside Story

Dear Comrades,

I agree with D.B. who, in recommending the important pamphlet *Armed Resistance in West Germany*, points out that there is very little else available in English on the subject. But his dismissal of the article we published in

LETTERS

Inside Story 4 as 'lacking in detail' is misleading. The article 'W. Germany: permanent emergency state' was, as its title indicates, an outline of the repressive measures adopted by the West German state since 1968. Though it did not set out to be an analysis of the Red Army Faction, the article certainly included a lot of factual detail on repression in West Germany.

Yours fraternally,

WYNFORD HICKS

If Proof were needed


Dear Comrades,

A few weeks back, there seemed to be an unusually long gap between two of my subscription issues of FREEDOM. However, this morning my copy for July 22 arrived, simultaneously with that of August 12. The late copy was postmarked July 20, and it slid out of its wrapper with suspicious ease. The wrapper was slightly torn in a familiar 'accidental' looking way. Strangely enough, the issue in question has a front-page article on government spying, with copies of Post Office documents. Like the man said: 'If proof were needed. . . .'

Fraternally,

London, W.3

LIZ WILLIS



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**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

AFBIB is produced at 1a Woodstock Road, Oxford. Send all news, reports, addresses, subs., etc., to Oxford, c/o Jeremy Brent.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Oxford. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gillingham, Co. Durham.
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegaeus', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (Q4d, PL.)
Surrey: O. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Trevor Savage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds 6.
Manchester: Mai Cunningham, 9 Brer Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Miel, 1 Lynwood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9445, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin 2.
University and Students Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

'HARDLY WORTH COMING'

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT, almost impossible, to live up to the revolutionary prose of John Brent and one, confronted by stretches of two and three years being served by many inside feels that one's twenty-eight days is hardly worth coming to the nick for. In the vulgar argot one is only in for 'a shit and a shave'.

However a gap of thirty years not only makes one the slowest recidivist in the business but gives a chance to compare conditions. Superficially there have been many reforms but basically, the principle remains the same. Or should one say 'principles', because three principles trip each other up in the prison system: reform, retribution (or vengeance), and security, and each sabotages the other.

There is always the danger of becoming a prison-bore so one must confine oneself, for the moment, to actual facts and situations rather than speculate and reminisce on the wide field of twenty-eight days now and what happened thirty years ago.

Firstly the incident of the sit-down. This did happen at Norwich. On my second day when I went on exercise, I saw the majority of the prisoners had sat down in the sun on a grassy bank at the side of the concrete circular strips which are the exercise perimeter. I thought this was the new, permissive prison, and I continued around the yard another circuit and then asked what was happening. I was told it is a sit-down to protest about the beating up of a YP ('young person'—up to 21—prisoner) by

an officer. I have never been able to verify that such a thing happened. I was told that the boy spit in the officer's eye, that somebody saw it through the spy peephole of a cell, that the officer had been dismissed, that the officer had gone on strike himself and had refused to do a duty for the inmates, that he had previously been responsible for a death elsewhere and he had been sent to Norwich as a penalty, that he was back on duty, that he was not guilty and the boy's eye had been blacked by another YP. What the truth is about this it is impossible to judge. The only incontrovertible facts are that a YP had a black eye (I saw it) and that the 'cons' had a sit-down to protest about this real or imaginary grievance. (I joined it.)

Further facts are, that four 'cons', thought to be ringleaders, were locked up for four days under rule 43, a day's pay was lost by many and the YP was spirited away (probably to Wormwood Scrubs).

The atmosphere in prison is such that rumour and fantasy flourish. The security-consciousness of the authorities is such, that events not even covered by the Official Secrets Act are wrapped in mystery. A terrible fog of darkness surrounds every contact so that even a sudden summons to the Doctor has a Kafka-like impact. Transfers are undertaken in an atmosphere of hush-hush. So the most trivial incident is magnified. However the reality of feeling for the 'us' against 'them', despite the risks, was displayed on that first of my four Thursdays in Norwich and shows what could

be done.

Nevertheless, the powers of prison authorities to obscure events is almost as great as their power to punish. In fact, the very relaxation of prison discipline makes it possible to punish more easily and severely. All one's privileges can be turned into punishments. In the same way paroles and (elsewhere) amnesties are an excellent way of maintaining prison discipline.

To give an actual example. The Prison system maintains its own Star Chamber, its system of justice, upheld not by law or lawyers but by a Visiting Committee which has the power to inflict (by means of the remission system) additional imprisonment on inmates for, what they consider, gross infringement of the prison rules. Last week, two young men (one called Broughton), were 'awarded' loss

of remission for one hundred and sixty and sixty days respectively for smoking and one presume, in the second case, allowing to be smoked what is alleged to have been cannabis (pot). The information was laid by another prisoner and they were presumably caught in the act—although what act the second prisoner committed is vague, and the rules of evidence appear not to have come up to the rudimentary standards of British justice. Not that they had to.

Additional to the loss of remission (remission is always a comfort to magistrates: it makes them feel a little more liberal) these young men lost a complex cluster of privileges for periods of four weeks.

It was worth going to HM Prison just to see in operation once again the naked power of the State when it has no responsibility to answer to anyone—except itself! It was worth going just to see the 'cons' sitting-in, in pursuit of justice for a grievance—however imaginary. Maybe the day has come when they'll sit-down in force for the real grievance of the insult to the human personality inherent in the prison system itself.

JACK ROBINSON.
(Late 170301)

THE ONE MAN WORK-IN

'The effect of the quota provisions of the Disabled Persons Employment Act 1944 is to deter an employer in certain circumstances from discharging a registered disabled person because in so doing he breaks the law and may incur a penalty.'

IN NOVEMBER 1971 shop steward Walter Morrison, a registered disabled worker was dismissed by McCormick's Screen Printers, Earl Haig Road, Glasgow, in a hotly disputed redundancy as a result a large number of workers were sacked. Walter Morrison began a solitary work-in until McCormick's took out a court order which prevented him from entering the premises. Undeterred, Morrison, then an executive member of the sign and display union (now a part of NATSOPA) began a lone picket which lasted six months and received national television coverage.

On June 19, Morrison made history in Scotland by bringing the first case under the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944, Section 9 (7) (b) against his former employers, McCormick's. The Disabling Advisory Committee, consisting of local councillors, Trade Unionists, Department of Employment officials and members of the community, which heard his case has been very quiet; but informed sources in this city say that the case has been found in Morrison's favour. Over the past few months *Labour Weekly* has been crying out for law-breaking employers to be brought

before the courts.

What Morrison wants to know is: 'Why the silence over the committee's decision?' and 'Why isn't McCormick's being taken to court?'

Bruce Millan, MP (Glasgow, Craigton), an ex-Labour Under Secretary of State for Scotland, also wants to know why. On July 27 he raised the question in the House of Commons. Replying for the DEP, Dudley Smith stated that he regretted he must seek a report from the Glasgow Advisory Committee and until he received such the matter is confidential.

In a letter to Morrison, Millan stressed that the reply from the DEP was unsatisfactory. Millan is not the only one to feel this way. Trade unionists are beginning to wonder why the hesitation? Meanwhile Glasgow Corporation with the strongest Labour Council in its history has given a contract to print all the posters for the city's annual Further Education enrolment drive to McCormick's. A very strange action from a strong Labour Council, especially when it is considered that McCormick's is in dispute with a trade unionist which has made industrial history in Scotland; and at present McCormick's is a scab shop employing non-union labour while those trade unionists sacked in dispute are still on the dole.

Further information if required from Black Box, 15 Hope Street, Glasgow G2 6AB.

TODAY KOREA TOMORROW VIETNAM

SO, MORE THAN two decades after the fratricidal Korean war, the bureaucrats of the Chinese-backed North and the Yankee-backed South have decided to stop hating each other, stop slandering each other and to speed up the re-unification of 'their' country.

Twenty years ago British and Yankee soldiers had joined the 'free-for-all' attack on that peninsula to make it safe for American capital. John Foster Dulles had just happened to visit the 38th parallel, the demarcation line, less than a week before the war! The first reports from independent observers were that South Korea had attacked North Korea (hardly surprising since Sygman Rhee, President of the South, had been promising to do that for years) but a US-dominated United Nations found little difficulty in getting the facts altered around a bit.

Within a matter of months a full-scale war was afoot, American pilots complaining that there were no targets left to bomb. But Yankee General MacArthur didn't really understand the 'gentlemen's agreement' that existed above his head, and his invasion of the North, bombing raids on Chinese (and on at least one occasion, Soviet territory!) made Chinese intervention inevitable. This mistake has not been repeated in Vietnam!

Throughout the world 'progressives' everywhere demonstrated and marched against America's aggressive war. War crimes were documented and flogged to the extreme; the shootings of civilians by both sides (the accompaniment of any war) and America's unsuccessful experimentation with germ warfare. It was a

made to order situation for the 'progressive' world. On the one hand Sygman Rhee, who had previously been a Japanese puppet, in the North Kim Il Sung whose reputation had been based on resistance to the Japanese. In the industrial North all enterprises nationalized and state managed, in the South giant estates owned by absentee landlords and millions of land-hungry peasants.

But when it came to the crunch the outcome of the war was to be decided in Moscow (no split with Peking yet!) and Washington. MacArthur was sacked, 'negotiations' led to a return to the old status quo. And from then on, for twenty years, both sides carried on their cold war, each pledged to 'liberate' the other.

Suddenly, without warning, overnight, it's all different. It's like the Moscow/Berlin agreement of 1939 all over again. All the fighting and all the dying had been for nothing! All that was needed was for Nixon and Mao to get together in Peking and agree on a mutual policy of 'fuck the Koreans' for the alleged fundamental economic and political differences to disappear like rising mist. (Christ! What ideological headaches must the Stalinists and Trotskyists be having these days!)

What politicians everywhere have still failed to realise is that Mao and Nixon have also agreed (along with the Kremlin) to a policy of 'fuck the Vietnamese', and it surely takes no political whiz-kid to deduce that a few years from now the two bureaucracies of North and South Vietnam will also be happily getting together to unite in the mutual repression and oppression of the Vietnamese people.

BOB POTTER.

The Rent Fight in Kirkby

ON AUGUST 14 a meeting was called by the 'Tower Hill un-fair rents action group' (Kirkby near Liverpool) which was held in the local community centre to discuss:

1. The best way to organise a total rent and rate strike.
2. The organising of street committees to prevent evictions.
3. How to mobilise tenants as quickly as possible to come to the aid of any tenant who may be victimised.

The outcome of the meeting was, out of 350 people 7 were against a total rent and rate strike, 343 people voted in favour of a total rent and rate strike with non-payment of any arrears incurred during the strike. The reason for this decision is that, if we embarked on a partial rent strike (our rent goes up £1 on October 5), the rent collectors could easily spread rumours of tenants breaking the strike. They (the rent collectors) could easily tell Mrs. X that Mrs. Y next door is paying the £1 increase. The reason for non-payment of arrears is that, if the rent were withholding was put aside until the strike was over the rent collectors could easily sit back and wait for the strike to come to a halt, knowing that the rent was there to be paid. It was also agreed that each block of houses would elect one or two people who could contact all other blocks in the event of anyone being evicted and the estate would be blocked off making it a no-go area.

As I have stated the meeting was attended by 350 tenants, there are 2,000 houses on the estate, but I must make it known that the 'action group' has only been in existence for the past ten weeks, and I think you will agree with me that 350 was a good turnout. Since the Tower Hill action group has been set up we (the action group) have helped tenants in other areas of Kirkby to set up similar action groups. In the past few weeks we have had demonstrations in the town centre and the local trades council brought along prominent trade unionists to speak on the 'Housing Finance Bill'. Several trade union bodies have pledged full support in any action that is taken by the tenants in their fight.

The next move by the action group is to obtain signatures of tenants who are prepared to go on a rent and rates strike. Already there are hundreds of houses with 'We Won't Pay' stickers in their windows. We are getting stickers with 'Rent Spent' on them which we will put in our windows on October 1 as that is the date the rent strike will begin.

We know that the only way to win this strike is to have the solidarity of the tenants and each must know that the others are 100% behind them. May I suggest that comrades start organising groups in their areas. The more groups there are, the better chance we will have of winning this fight.

ANDY MCGOWAN.

The Stateless Asians

ONE MIGHT have thought an anarchist would welcome with great joy the announcement by a Government that 23,000 of its citizens would become stateless. Indeed it highlights humanity's pitiful dependence on the State machine that statelessness is something to fear. For us a stateless society would exclude no one thus General Amin's decision to add Ugandan Asians to the British Asians due for expulsion from Uganda is to be condemned.

Although we have maintained British responsibility for Asians in East Africa is historical rather than constitutional, a passport is a real factor in our present world and the Governments of the world, whether Ugandan or British, are rightly criticised if they do not hold good to the terms of citizenship.

The issues in Uganda are not all clear-cut however. The justification of the Ugandan Africans is that the Asians as a commercial middle class exploited the economy, discriminated against Africans and should not be regarded with any more sympathy than we would have for

white settlers turned out of an independent Zimbabwe. Yet if this is the case surely co-operative ventures should be replacing the excluded Asians rather than an African bourgeoisie.

From this emerges the accusation of racialism by Amin. Anarchists don't hesitate to condemn racialism because a person happens to be black—unlike the right wing who only condemn black racialism—yet the issue is complicated in that although there is an element of racism in Amin's actions the greater part of his reasoning may be economic.

In Britain the efforts by some to work up fears of the incoming Asians might well be seen as a means of diverting attention from Britain's industrial troubles. Although the sudden arrival of large numbers of Asians will naturally strain certain social facilities, that is something that must be seen as balancing to some extent the advantage gained by Britain from the use of Asian labour and commercial power during colonial times.

J.W.

Books

Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied. Please add postage & cash with order helps.

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- Dialectical Materialism and Psycho-Analysis**
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Emma Goldman £3.50 (25p)
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Wm. Morris £0.95 (10p)

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A Swing of the Pendulum

HENRY SALT, who later became a pioneer of vegetarianism, civil liberties and social reform, who founded the Humanitarian League, and was extremely active at the turn of the century, although he is now forgotten, began his career, oddly enough, as a master at Eton. One of his fellow masters, this was many years before the First World War, was accustomed to state that modern youth was effete. 'What the young men of today want', he was wont to declaim, 'is a war, a good hard-fought war.' He was by no means alone in his opinion. The influence of Darwin, whose theories were oversimplified, the effects of the American Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, and the successes of European armies when pitted against ill-equipped tribesmen in many parts of the world, gave violence a prestige, which would perhaps have puzzled earlier generations.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century men still carried swords, and violence was seen as a normal part of daily life, but during the nineteenth century, in Western Europe and North America, those parts at least that were settled, violence decreased everywhere. Instead of people congratulating themselves on this development, the idea began to develop that modern man was inferior to his forefathers, because he did not go armed and ready to fight at all times.

The First World War, when it came, was welcomed by many, as it proved that modern man was not the weakling he had been supposed to be, and was prepared to kill and be killed in exactly the same way as his noble ancestors had been. After the war however there was a feeling of revulsion that lasted throughout the twenties and thirties, right up till the beginning of the Second World War. During this period a theory became for a time fashionable, put forward by the

anthropologists W. J. Perry and Elliot Smith, and supported by writers like H. J. Massingham and James Leslie Mitchell, according to which, in his original state, man had been a simple and gentle creature, living in the wild by foodgathering and hunting (his only form of violence was killing animals for food).

Fashions change, and after the Second World War nothing more was heard of this theory, and the 'Darwinian' concepts were quietly brought back, and man's 'innate evil nature' was again stressed. 1984 offered the prospect of a closed world, entirely bad and without hope, while *The Lord of the Flies* showed us a group of modern children on a desert island, reverting to cannibalism. (The fact that the children came from a religious, choir school passed unnoticed by most readers.)

This fitted in very neatly with the experience that many people had had of the Second World War, with its horrors, and the Nazi atrocities, and while it served to explain and reconcile people to what had happened, it also made it possible for them to support their rulers in the new Cold War.

Ideology serves the economic and political interests of the rulers, but it cannot be imposed. It must fit the popular mood, otherwise it is ineffective. The rulers needed people both violent and submissive, a combination which may seem something of an impossibility to some readers, but in fact it is not so. Like sadism and masochism, the two sometimes go together.

The height of the Cold War was in the 1950s. The hero of the age was James Bond, ruthless secret agent, who nevertheless seems to spend a good deal of his time, as Alex Comfort pointed out, being tortured. Fear of the East kept the Western masses submissive, particularly as they were enjoying a degree of welfare they had never before known, protected by the armed might of America and her allies.

The Cold War finally fizzled out, the Western countries ran into an economic crisis, and suddenly the enemy turns out not to be the wicked Russians and inscrutable Chinese, but your friendly local hippy. Instead of being encouraged to admire secret agents, the individual is encouraged to see himself as a defender of his own home, as in America where individuals were told they should construct fall-out shelters, each for their own family, and that each shelter should have its own gun. Those who advocated communal shelters were regarded as little better than Reds. In a recent case in England, a man with a sword killed a drunk who was trying to break into his house, and was acquitted on the grounds of self-defence. The film *Straw*

Dogs is based on the same theme.

To sum up, Western society, with infinite slowness, and on the backs of enslaved Africans and exploited Asians, climbed up from endemic violence and savagery to a moderate degree of wealth, security and social peace for most of the population, and having done so turned round on itself and deliberately set about cultivating brutality and fear, on the level of fantasy, because it suited the rulers and because people were afraid that their own gentleness would make them vulnerable.

A recent spate of books on ethology, which is supposed to be the science of animal behaviour, has recently come out, which is in fact concealed propaganda for violence, particularly of the man-defending-his-home variety. One of them is called *The Territorial Imperative*. And now, surprisingly, a book has been published by Alexander Alland called *The Human Imperative*, which seems almost to be a return to the Perry-Smith-Massingham-Mitchell point of view, for

Are Hierarchies Necessary?

SOME READERS may not have noticed that the BBC Third Programme is broadcasting a series of talks called, 'ARE HIERARCHIES NECESSARY?' The purpose of the talks is to question whether the hierarchy is the best form of organisation for our time and this should therefore be of interest to anarchists.

The first talk on July 3 by Johnathan Miller dealt with the supposed hierarchical structure of the central nervous system. As I have pointed out before, those who wish to preserve the present structure of society often present it as inevitable by appeal to some mythical natural law. Johnathan Miller showed that the men who claim that the hierarchy is so necessary a part of social structure that it is even reflected in the central nervous system are often the same men who are putting forward that particular theory of the central nervous system, a theory which does not rest on hard fact, but on assumptions which in turn arise from conceptions of society. Thus they fly round in circles to mystify the rest of us. Unfortunately they don't disappear up their own arseholes.

GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

it is the study of a tribe high in the mountains of Central Malaya, who are entirely non-violent.

I have not yet seen a copy of this book, but a brief review of it was published in the *Daily Mail* (18.5.72).

'Here,' writes the reviewer, 'there is always happiness, a startling contradiction of the scientists' theories that war and conflict are inescapable human characteristics, that man is a naked ape dominated by biological killer instincts.'

Alexander Alland believes that this people, the Semai, 'under their own system developed a non-violent culture. The fact that the Semai could be violent in another context shows that their usual non-violence was not the result of genetic selection as might be suggested. The potential for aggressive action was there and it was expressed when stimulated by external cues.'

He believes that their culture has made them non-violent, when attacked from outside, or when they are themselves outside their own culture, they may act violently. But the fact that they can achieve non-violence so successfully suggests that man is not necessarily aggressive because of his animal ancestry. Leaving aside the question as to how aggressive animals really are, and how much their aggression is in fact exaggerated, this book suggests that human beings can behave quite differently from animals. There is no grim fate, which says that men and women must act in such and such a way because geese or chimpanzees do so.

One hopes that this book will be the forerunner of a whole series of works, partly because these books, if they appear, will influence people to be more humane, but also because they will be a sign of a swing away from this increasingly sickening cult of violence, which if it is not given up fairly soon may get a lot of us killed.

ARTHUR WARDO.

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The Congress of St. Imier

To commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the CONGRESS OF SAINT-IMIER of the International Association of Workingmen (September 15, 1872), the anarchists of Switzerland invite their comrades to an OUTING AND PICNIC on Sunday, September 17, 1972, at Saint-Imier (Swiss Jura, between Bienne and La Chaux-de-Fonds). There will be a sign on the Place du Marché from ten o'clock to midday to show the way to the scene of the picnic. In case of rain a shelter will be provided.

Bring something to eat, to drink, to read aloud and also bring some musical instruments. No official entertainments have been organised. Impromptu speakers will be welcome. Comrades coming from a distance will be able to camp.

For all correspondence: Case postale 44, 1211 GENEVA 6 Eaux Vives, Switzerland.

in the minority.

Whitelaw has offered £50,000 to anyone supplying information that will lead to the apprehension of the murder squads. Life is so cheap in Belfast I can't see anyone deliberately putting their heads into a noose for that or any sum. During the night more deaths and explosions. One's mind has got so that it cannot register any more.

H.

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact. Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome.

Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM' Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

100 Years of Libertarian Revolution: A Progress Report. Meeting to commemorate the St. Imier Congress of the First International. Sunday, September 10, 7.30 p.m., at the Centro Iberico (Trinity Church Hall, Holborn—opposite Holborn Tube). Libertarian Communist speakers from UK and the Continent. Organised by North London ORA.

ASA contact in SE England: c/o Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.

'The Fight to Live' by Keith Paton. On Dole, SS, Welfare State, etc. 10p a copy or 9p for over 10. From 102 Newcastle Street, Silverdale, Staffs, ST5 6PL.

Anarchists near Poole, Dorset, contact R. Mander, 86a Albert Road, Parkstone, Poole, Dorset. Can also offer accommodation for any comrade moving there.

'Peace News' for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 50p with free M. Duane 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Electro-Stencils made. 75p each. ORA, 68 Chingford Road, E.17.

'Inside Story' for the stories Fleet Street won't print. Sample copy 25p from 3 Belmont Road, London, S.W.4.

Voice — Wrekin Libertarians' paper — No. 3 out. From 13 Albert Street, Wellington, Salop.

Other Branch Libertarian Bookshop—Centre, 7 Regent Place, Leamington.

Libertarian Aid Committee for the Hyde Park '3'. Visiting: Phone 677 1526 (Mrs. Carty). Letters-gifts (must have Prison No.): 110305 M. Callinan, 110281 L. Marcantonio, 110280 Stan Quinn. Donations: Mrs. Callinan, 59 Brondesbury Villas, London, N.W.6.

ORA N. London. 113 Cazenove Road, N.16, is no longer contact address. Contact ORA, 68 Chingford Road, E.17.

Syndicalist Publications from Syndicalist Workers Federation, BCM-Box SWF, London, WCIV 6XX.

Stoke Newington 8 Trial. Send aid to '8' Fund, Compendium Bookshop, 240 Camden High Street. Meals, fruit, papers, books (new ones only), cigarettes and money needed.

showed that solidarity was not yet quite dead. And so it was also with the printers, the market porters, the busmen and all the rest of the 200,000 workers who stopped work in protest at the jailing of fellow trade unionists. This was the high point of the struggle and redeemed many of the divisive features that had preceded it.

Solidarity was successful. The anger of the workers was directed where it always should have been directed—against the State and the Government. The workers won. The State retreated and the dockers were released.

The dock strike is now over. It ended as it began—with worker fighting worker, brother fighting brother. The scenes outside Transport House, after the docks delegate conference had voted to accept the Jones-Aldington report and call off the strike, were quite sickening to anyone who believes in brotherhood. Rank and file delegates were booed, jeered at, and even physically assaulted by a group of dockers specially assembled there for that purpose. However, the delegates were much nearer the mood of the majority of dockers than their assailants. When their recommendations were put to mass meetings at dock gates they were accepted overwhelmingly despite all the efforts of the Bernie Steers. Let us hope that the fight for security will now proceed on the basis of fraternity not fratricide. But brotherhood must be extended to all men, to the unemployed brother, to the old brother now living on a miserable pension, to the brother with a black face.

Unless brotherhood embraces all men it is a sham.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

This week in Ireland

WHITELAW'S conference of elected parliamentarians planned to begin on September 25 does not look as if it will get off the ground. The SDLP, the Nationalist Party and the Republican Labour have all said they will not attend unless internment is ended. Now we have Vanguard and LAW and other recently formed Unionist parties also belly-aching that they must be invited or it will not be representative. Paddy Kennedy invited members of the two IRA to attend with the six listeners in he is allowed to take with him and was immediately refused by the Provos. In fact no one up there has the faintest idea what they want BUT they won't be happy till they get it.

The 'motiveless' murders with torture go on, some are of Catholics and some Protestants, though mostly the former, but one gets the impression it is a tit-for-tat operation. Whitelaw blundered yet again badly by refusing to call in all licensed guns, saying people (by which he means Unionists) need them for self-protection, and that farmers must have them. Having farmed for years sans a gun I know farmers do more harm than good with their guns, being trigger happy and upsetting the balance of nature by shooting stoats and so on. Some Protestants have been arrested for having batons and guns 'with intent to cause injury' and refused to recognise the court and cried 'No surrender'. The IRA also refuse to recognise the courts, and BOTH sides say the said courts are illegal.

It gets more like Alice through the looking glass every day, but for the ghastly explosions and murders which do not abate. I had to go up to the border town of Dundalk on Saturday.

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