

FREEDOM

DECEMBER 9 1972 Vol 33 No 50

THE JURY IS OUT. . . After the longest Old Bailey trial in history today (Monday) the jury has retired to consider its verdicts in the matter of the so-called 'Angry Brigade' or the Stoke Newington Eight. Even though juries (particularly in the United States) have been known to produce surprisingly liberal verdicts—sometimes with no effect on the sentences—it is unlikely that in the present atmosphere harsh sentences and verdicts can be avoided. It is highly significant that Commander Ernest Bond, the legendary Commander X, has been given promotion, this augurs well for official opinion of how he marshalled his case against 'The Angry Brigade'. Despite defence appeals, none of the accusations of framing or planting seemed to have tarnished the former Commander's reputation.

It is inevitable that the left and the anarchists will and must protest against verdicts and sentences. We can still remember the savage fifteen-year sentence against Jake Prescott for 'conspiracy' which in proven essence was addressing three envelopes for the 'Angry Brigade'.

But, even in the most savage sentencing, in the most outrageous perversions of justice and fulfilments of vengeance, the radical movement has been able to extract some shred of hope that the gauntlet had once more been thrown down, that the giant monster of the State had been confronted and although we of the Left had been defeated we had emerged with honour, dignity and unity.

We cannot feel this in the present case. Perhaps the whole thing went on for too long. One always hopes in these civil liberty cases that one can unquestionably defend—or to use a phrase 'show solidarity' with—the total outlook of the defendants.

ANGER AND AFTER

One is past caring that means are used which are compatible with the ends. One is used to defendants who have views on Ireland and Vietnam which one cannot share. One also feels that the joint insistence or alternation between total innocence and highly justifiable guilt is a little wearing. But nevertheless we have tried to maintain a defence of these comrades in the same way that we have covered many other cases—giving them critical support and ventilating all infringements of their civil liberties—additionally we have maintained a continual running 'Contact' column advert for their literature and financial support. Perhaps we could have done more but it was not in our hands.

The key phrase which seems to have annoyed many comrades (and doubtless satisfied some) is 'critical support'. It is true that the editors of FREEDOM have never expressed an editorial viewpoint on this case (it is perhaps unnecessary to add that only unsigned articles, which are rare, represent an editorial viewpoint—frequently we print articles which are at variance with the individual or collective views of the editors!). But we have not felt that a collective viewpoint was necessary on this topic. Coverage was scant, information was scarce, and many viewpoints that could be expressed would have been harmful to the conduct of the case and doubtless would fall in the category 'contempt of court'.

From the start, possibly from defence

tactics the defendants have, in the main, with, of course, the exception of Stuart Christie, never affirmed their anarchism. John Barker in fact explicitly stated 'Personally, I am not an anarchist', and the affiliation standpoint and expressions used by the accused substantiate this viewpoint. We do not blame the accused for taking such a stand and we have never made it a condition of our support (for what it's worth) for any civil liberties case that the persecuted should have the same political views as we.

Criticism has been made of the exploits of the Angry Brigade—if such exists—from the political Left on the grounds

of 'elitism' and 'adventurism'. We anarchists cannot specifically criticise the series of incidents on such eclectic grounds. All these events so painstakingly pieced together by Commander Bond bear the stamp of romantic individual acts. Whether or not they were definitely planned to avoid loss of life we do not know—suffice it that they did—more by luck than judgement. Secondly, it is obvious that there was an almost total failure of publicity, which was ironical, considering that the thin threads that connected many of the defendants with the so-called 'Angry Brigade' were primarily concerned with

publicity. The utter failure of the exploits to capture working-class sympathy and the over-optimistic evaluation that the situation was potentially revolutionary are two more failures of interpretation of what was happening.

A comrade has criticised the viewpoint (given in FREEDOM, 22.4.72, by N.W.) that a *Conspiracy Notes* claim that the Angry Brigade represents the Left-wing revolutionary movement is questionable. 'It can be argued,' says N.W., 'that the AB has actually alienated itself from the movement by its methods and has indeed injured the movement by opening it up to internal distrust and division and to external pressure and persecution. If the Angry Brigade are really sensitive to the needs and desires of the people, they should consider how they have helped to fulfil those needs and satisfy those desires. If the Angry Brigade is really part of the revolution, they should consider how they have helped to advance or retard it. And even if in the final analysis the Angry Brigade can be shown to have done more good than harm, it is still up to each one of us to decide whether we really feel that we are part of the same movement.' There is nothing to quarrel with in such a statement given a position of critical support. Our comrade remarks—from where we don't know—I learned they [these remarks] actually did serve the state—to use in discrediting the accused.' He further expected editorial protest against such a viewpoint—we cannot really see anything incompatible with anarchism in such a view, indeed we can see more flaws in the AB viewpoint as publicised in *Conspiracy Notes* and *Anarchy* No. 9 (New Series).

Our comrade goes on with his protests of this 'counter-revolutionary stab-in-the-back' to an article by Dennis Gould under his standing title 'Riff Raff', July 29, 1972. Dennis Gould wrote,

'Political militants eager to do anything to stir up "the people" are quite happy to see bombs planted and violence done so long as it creates publicity and gets attention. (Although this rarely gains long-term support of any revolutionary nature.) The only way to create more and more individualists . . . is to present anarchist ideas and activities in an open and friendly way, which doesn't go down at all well with the sneering, suspicious, hidden-identity revolutionaries who are always on the brink of revolution but somehow never quite get there.' . . . 'I know from experience with the Committee of 100 that there are plainclothes police and paid informers that will always be eager to pick up information freely available.' One of our criticisms of the AB case has been that it has created a conspiratorial atmosphere, with accusation and counter-accusations flying about. Dennis Gould's viewpoint would at least eliminate this.

It has been a sad business. Perhaps one could sum up the AB as confused in its aim, uncertain and unwise in its allies, foredoomed to disappointment (even in achievement) and employing means inconsistent with its ends.

JACK ROBINSON

TOO MANY MARTYRS

SEAN MACSTIOFAIN'S apparent reluctance to starve himself to a quick death confirms the cynicism of those of us who always believed that the 'patriots', Catholic and Protestant, who have been prepared to see children blown to pieces in N. Ireland are not so eager to seek their own martyrdom. After all, the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent people 'for the cause' is the mark of the cowardly bully who is prepared to sacrifice anyone—except himself—on the altar of his lust for power. Undoubtedly, MacStiofain was the main architect of the Provisionals' callous and politically disastrous policy. Repeated calls from Provisional units in the North for an end to the bombing of civilian targets have been angrily rejected by MacStiofain who seems intent on drowning the people of Ireland in their own blood. If MacStiofain lives he may not now be able to recapture the leadership of the Provisionals which may pass into more politically-aware (if no less authoritarian) hands, but it remains to be seen.

At a time when there was widespread popular support for opposition to the Lynch Government's proposed repressive legislation which can be used to suppress any opposition (see last week's FREEDOM), two bombs exploded in the centre of Dublin killing two people and injuring over 70 others. It is not known who was responsible for these bombings or their motives, and denials have come from all quarters. One bomb exploded near Liberty Hall which is the home of the Irish TUC and the scene of the recent Provisional Sinn Fein conference. The other bomb in Sackville Street killed a bus driver and a conductor who were apparently on their way to a busmen's social club. As news of the explosions reached the Dail (the Irish

Parliament) where the new legislation was being debated, the Opposition MPs of Fine Gael—showing the typical integrity and courage of politicians—immediately withdrew their amendment to the Bill which went through on a large majority. (For the record it must be said that Labour, Independent and a few Fine Gael MPs voted against.)

The bombings could have been the work of Protestants from the North or of agents provocateurs intent on discrediting opposition to the Bill, but it is also a measure of the lunacy and political ineptitude of the Provisionals that they could also have been responsible. In fact, whoever was responsible, no one could have made it easier for the Government to pass its legislation. People in the South are bound to be numbed for a time by the unaccustomed death and injury on their doorsteps and will shut their eyes to the repression in their midst. However, as the realisation dawns on people of the way a government with almost unlimited powers suppresses any opposition to stay in power, then there may be renewed support for the Provisionals' tactics.

For too long the people of Ireland, North and South, have been betrayed, bamboozled and bombed by the politicians, priests and 'patriots'. And yet in their collective strength as workers they have the power to resist the repression of any government—the strike of RTE workers showed the way—and also to build a new, free Ireland. As in this country factories and workshops are yours of right, my Irish brothers. Take them, hold them and build a truly free Ireland without capitalists, politicians and priests. That would be a worthwhile memorial to Ireland's real martyrs.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

Have you sent
your Guarantee (see p.3)
towards our £2000
needed for next year?

RED EMMA SPEAKS, edited by Alix Kates Shulman (New York: Random House and Vintage Books. Paperback edition £1.25).

A LIX KATES SHULMAN, an American feminist writer who recently produced a biography of Emma Goldman for young people, has now followed it with a useful anthology of her writings and speeches. After a short but good introduction, which rightly stresses both her anarchism and her feminism and which pays due tribute to Richard Drinnon's 'pioneer biography' *Rebel in Paradise*, there are 26 passages arranged in four sections—'Organization of Society', 'Social Institutions', 'Violence', 'Two Revolutions and a Summary'—each with a preface.

The book contains half of the twelve chapters of her collection *Anarchism and Other Essays* (first published in 1911, reprinted by Dover Publications in 1969)

Emma Goldman Anthology

'Anarchism: what it really stands for', 'The Psychology of Political Violence', 'Prisons: a social crime and failure', 'The Traffic in Women', 'The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation', and 'Marriage and Love' (omitting 'Minorities versus Majorities', 'Patriotism: a menace to liberty', 'Francisco Ferrer and the Modern School', 'The Hypocrisy of Puritanism', 'Woman Suffrage' and 'The Drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought')—as well as three extracts from her autobiography *Living My Life* (first published in 1931, reprinted by Dover Publications in 1970) describing the preparations for Berkman's attack on Frick, the assassination of

McKinley, and the outrage on Reitman at San Diego, and the afterword of her memoir *My Disillusionment in Russia* (first published in 1925, reprinted by Crowell in 1970) summing up the failure of the Russian Revolution.

Of the other sixteen passages in the book, twelve are essays originally published as articles or pamphlets (most of them first printed in her paper *Mother Earth*)—'What I Believe' (1908), 'The Child and Its Enemies' (1906), 'Syndicalism: its theory and practice' (1913), 'Victims of Morality' (1913), 'The Failure of Christianity' (1913), 'Intellectual Proletarians' (1914), 'Preparedness: the road to universal slaughter' (1915), 'The Philosophy of Atheism' (1916), 'Address to the Jury' in the New York conscription trial (1917), 'Was My Life Worth Living?' (1934), 'There is No Communism in Russia' (1935), 'The Individual, Society and the State' (1940). Then four passages are taken from manuscript drafts of speeches (in the New York Public Library)—'Socialism: caught in the political trap', 'The Social Importance of the Modern School', and 'Jealousy: causes and a possible cure' (all about 1912-13), and the Address to

the Paris Congress of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (1937).

So *Red Emma Speaks* contains the great bulk of Emma Goldman's shorter works, though the exclusion of those essays which are already easily available in recently reprinted books would have made possible the inclusion of more of those which are difficult to get hold of—especially her further writings on the Russian and Spanish revolutions, which are particularly important as contemporary comments which have more than stood the test of time. As Mrs. Shulman says, 'It's a pity she didn't live to write a book on her experiences in Spain, as she did on her experiences in Russia.'

Emma Goldman was not a particularly profound or original thinker, though she was important for bringing questions of sex, women and children into the centre of the political arena—no doubt it is her feminism which has caused her current return to popularity—but she was always clear, consistent and courageous to a remarkable degree over a period of more than half a century, and she is certainly still well worth

reading. Her thought represents one of the most straightforward and accessible versions of anarchism, and her work is therefore one of the best introductions to the whole ideology. *Red Emma Speaks*, despite the irritating title and a few minor errors and omissions, is an excellent first step on a long journey. One lesson it teaches is just how old the journey is. Mrs. Shulman reports that in a mass demonstration of American feminists in New York in August 1970 one militant group chanted:

Emma said it in nineteen-ten,
Now we're going to say it again!

And she comments: 'That we may have heard the punch line before only makes us want to hear the story again.'

N.W.

Railways and Roads

Continued from page 1

the State collects from them are both so huge that they are both united in running down the railways or placing them at a disadvantage if it means higher revenue and profits.

The arguments put forward by those who favour the use of roads for the transportation of goods say that it is more efficient. But this so-called efficiency relies on containerisation of goods. Huge juggernauts speeding noisily through the countryside, disturbing and destroying. Many of these goods could easily be transported by the railways. Although this may not be profitable in monetary terms, as far as community needs are concerned it is far more efficient.

Even the railway unions are waking up and are realising that the livelihoods of their members are at stake. They are now linking up with groups campaigning on environment and pollution issues. Any further axing of the railways will have both social and environmental consequences. As with the manufacturing section of the capitalist system, profits are put before the real needs of the community. Companies want their goods transported as cheaply as possible. Roads, with all the public's money spent on them, provide the profit-hungry companies with a means that is fast destroying both town and country. Boards of directors however do not concern themselves with this destruction. Governments look after these same interests. But the interests of the community lies in having good services for the travelling public. The railways can also be used to transport a lot of the goods that are now being put onto the already overcrowded roads. Railwaymen and the community share the same interests and should get together and do something about it.

In the beginning was the word that 'scared us all into time, into space, into shit'. While the logician struggles with his syllogisms and the politico with his practicalities, Burroughs explores and dissects the very basis of (Western) thought itself, and recommends nothing less than the death of the word. Using the tools of cut-up and fold-in, the true meaning of spoken or written language can be revealed. Just as heroin is junk, so semantics is Junk—the new opiate of the people. Junk, from being *need*, has become *desire*, which in turn has become *power*. If power is destroyed, then so must language. The horizontal lie must be eliminated. The end-result of such thinking is the same as that suggested by a writer whom Burroughs himself admires—Samuel Beckett: they both acknowledge the ideal of silence.

P.T.

From literal junk (heroin) to metaphorical Junk was a logical transition for Burroughs the explorer, experimenter and reporter. Those already readers of him will probably know of his interest in Scientology, and his subsequent disillusionment with the organisation, though not with some of their ideas (such as the use of the E-meter, for example), which he considers valid methods of de-conditioning.

This was not intended to be anything more than an introductory note to the work of William Burroughs. For those interested enough, here is a bibliography of his main works, all of which are still obtainable:

Junkie: *Confessions of an Unredeemed Drug Addict* (1953); *The Naked Lunch* (1959); *The Exterminator* (1960); *Minutes to Go* (1960); *The Ticket that Exploded* (1962); *The Yage Letters* (1963); *Nova Express* (1964); *The Soft Machine* (1968); *The Job* (1969); *The Wild Boys* (1972).

PRESS FUND

Contributions

November 23-29 inc.

Rochdale: B.B. 30p; London, N.20: J.B. 46p; Rotherham: D.S. £3; Dundee: U.S. 50p; Wimbledon: D.T. 50p; Northumberland: C.H. 25p; Cheam: L.J.I. £2; London, W.1: P.L. 64p; In Shop: L.S. £1; London, N.20: M.J.B. £1; Wolverhampton: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; Dundee: T.A. £1; London, W.5: J.W. 25p; Hounslow: L. 50p; Blakeney: J.G. £4; Bangor, NI: J.T. £10; Total: £25.90

Sales (Voline): £2.00

TOTAL: £27.90

(1) INCOME FROM POSTAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND SALES
(Target for 1972—£4,500)

Amount received to November 29 £2,573.92

(2) PRESS FUND CONTRIBUTIONS
(Target for 1972—£1,500)

Amount received November 23-29 £27.90

Previously acknowledged £1,195.44

TOTAL TO DATE £1,223.34

TONY SOARES

Comrades,

We would like to inform you that the trial of Tony Soares has been scheduled to start on December 11, 1972. The date has been arbitrarily fixed by the court, at very short notice and at a time highly inconvenient to the lawyers and a number of key witnesses. Such a tactic is consistent with the Government's policy of railroading Black activists to prison.

Tony Soares faces charges of attempt to encourage MURDER of persons unknown, attempt to incite arson, making of explosives, and possession of firearms with intent to endanger life. The charges result from one article reprinted in *Grass Roots*, Black community newspaper, from *The Black Panther* newspaper.

We would like to ask you to show

your support and solidarity by coming to court on the day of the trial and on subsequent days.

A PUBLIC MEETING
ABOUT THE CASE
is being held on

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10
(eve of the trial) at

CAMDEN STUDIOS, Camden Street,
LONDON, N.W.1 at 6.30 p.m.

Nearest tubes: Mornington Crescent and Camden Town.

Yours for Justice,
GRASS ROOTS DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

54 Wightman Road, London, N.4



Secretary:
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN

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, Gateshead, Co. Durham

Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester, Q.M., FL.

Yorkshire: Trevor Savage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds, 6.

Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 19a Meadowside Avenue, Walkden, Worsley, Lancs.

Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood 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 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA

S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

AFBIB—To all Groups.

AFBIB is produced at 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. Send all news, reports, subs., etc., to Oxford.

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.

Protesting too much?

I HOPE WE are not expected to take too literally the concluding paragraph of the article 'Some More Equal Than Others'—'women must get together and support each other in finding their own identity before they can contribute to that (the) revolution—we cannot work effectively alongside men until they are willing to honestly examine and change their role as oppressors'. One can imagine these words being written at the time of the Suffragette struggle when indeed women had no opportunity to work alongside men because almost the entire male population was either contemptuous of or bitterly hostile to the fight of women for the vote. Of course women have still not achieved equality of rights with men, but the transformation of their situation in the last fifty years has been considerable. They are still exploited and in some ways discriminated against, but society is full of exploitation and discrimination. The chief victims are the poor as always, and most of all the poor who are also black.

I cannot believe that women are so oppressed and disoriented as to be unable to play their part in the fight to end the horrible society we all live in. Their problems are not so intractable as to be incapable of solution, most of them I would think even within the existing framework.

To take an example—contraception and abortion. In this field taboos are falling fast. In some London boroughs they are starting to give free contraception to all who need it, including girls still at school. There is no sound reason why capitalism should not yield liberty to the individual in these areas—after all it does not threaten rent, interest and profit. It is not granted or withheld (as the article states) because of the system's need for a large docile work force. Technology has already assured that there are several men for any job—and the ratio will inevitably increase. The only block to progress that I can see is religion—take Southern Ireland with its huge unemployment but no legal contraception.

But looking at Britain itself one has to agree that progress is being made, and I do not think it has much to do with the agitation by women's liberation groups, but rather is due to middle class 'family planners', a few enlightened doctors, social workers and so on, plus the fact that social attitudes do change. After all it would have been unthinkable even twenty years ago for an unmarried girl to have a baby, suffer no social stigma and be supported by the state until the child was of school age—however miserably inadequate you might think that support is.

In the field of work, progress will be much harder. Arthur Moyse is quite right in saying that trade union organisation is the best way to achieve this. However the question of work for women is itself a little more complex. Many women are secondary not primary wage-earners—they only want to work part-time and do not have the same incentive as men to organise and to fight for better pay and conditions. The question of monotonous, repetitive work is not too simple either. Some women I imagine do not mind doing something monotonous with their hands if their minds are left free to enjoy the company of their fellow workers. It can be an escape from the modern disease of isolation.

Perhaps there will always be monotonous work, whatever the society—certainly domestic jobs like cooking, washing, bed-making and so on can be terribly monotonous but worthwhile in human terms.

Of course employers must be stopped from getting away with murder where cheap female labour is concerned. Women can and are doing this as the recent battle of the night office cleaners in London showed—and I believe Women's Lib. did help there as well as postmen and dustmen. However there is a shrinking demand for labour in all manual jobs and we could reach a situation where employers will sack women and take on men rather than pay the women a comparable rate. So we cannot really isolate the struggle of women for equality from the general struggle of all against the system. Then again I think one has to be a bit careful about demanding the right of women to work—which is not for one moment detracting from the desperate plight of the many who have to work to survive. As far as I know, under Communism women do not have the right not to work—which I think is incomparably worse than anything which faces us here. In Russia, for instance, there are no bars to women in any profession—but they are just as much prisoners of the state as anyone else—and as far as I know their domestic burdens are just as heavy if not more so than here.

I must confess that the professional women who seem to predominate in the Women's Lib. movement do put me off a bit. They shout about the right of single women to fulfil themselves by having a child, for married women not to have them, or if they do to shew them off at the earliest possible moment for less cerebral types to care for—much as Victorian ladies used to hand over their babies to working class women to be breast-fed. They meantime want to go out and earn good money doing whatever they have been trained at university to do, which, unless they are doctors, I would guess is largely useless work.

Any single girl with any sense, left with a baby, would like to meet a man she likes, and whom the child likes—and most difficult of all who likes the child. Bringing up a child on your own is likely to end in neurosis for both mother and child. I can't shed too many tears over those women who think their brains are going rusty because they have to cook the dinner. Let them look around. They will find plenty of local problems to get stuck into—or perhaps they could write a regular column for FREEDOM?

On all counts working-class women have more right to complain of oppression at work and at home. The old contemptuous attitude does undoubtedly persist in working class communities, particularly in the north. It stems from various historical factors, and I imagine that women going to work and thereby getting a certain measure of independence will in time bring it to an end. The fact that there are many thousands of women who do not know what their husbands earn or when they get a rise, is disgraceful and Women's Lib. should say so loud and long.

Taken all in all though, the situation for women, bad as it is, is not incurable. There is a lot we can do and unlike our Suffragette sisters we can expect to get quite a lot of help from men.

JANET ALEXANDER.

to meet for discussions with Comrade Shelepin, Head of Trade Union Affairs in Russia. No doubt our Vic will find the experience very useful next year for rooting out 'subversives' and 'extremists' in the unions who are opposed to a Government-TUC wages control deal. Comrade Shelepin used to be head of the secret police!

ANOTHER POLICE RAID

While we were still laughing at the abortive raid on the highly respectable *Railway Gazette* by police searching for a secret Government report on the intention to destroy our railway system, some nameless MP came on the radio to flaunt his civil liberties conscience. Of course, said he, it was quite understandable that police should raid 'other publications' but not the respectable *Railway Gazette*. So much for the guardians of our non-existent civil liberties.

BROTHER JAILERS

It is reported that Victor Feather, General Secretary of the TUC, is soon

WANTED—GUARANTORS

THE RESPONSE to our proposals for a better FREEDOM next year has not been so swift and sure as to guarantee FREEDOM's continuation. But a number of people have asked us to make clear what it is we are asking for. We are NOT asking at this point for cash donations up to £2,000. Our project is to make a FREEDOM that will reach a wider circulation and be viable from sales. What we are asking is, that if we undertake this and if as the year goes on the best efforts we make to increase income to the necessary amount fail to reach that figure, that we can call on you to honour a pledge up to a given amount. We do not intend to let FREEDOM die. If you feel concerned to take part in its life and can commit yourself to helping with money, please fill in the form below and return it to us NOW.

IF WE DO NOT GET THESE GUARANTEES 'FREEDOM' WILL NOT APPEAR IN 1973!

If necessary for the continuation of FREEDOM in 1973 you may call on me for a sum not exceeding £..... which I hereby guarantee. (Please say if pledge can be honoured only after a certain date which is

Name

Address

If you cannot help with money can you SELL FREEDOM? For example, six copies sold and paid for each week in every college in Britain would probably solve our problem.

INDIANS ON STRIKE AGAIN

FURTHER TO OUR REPORT in last week's FREEDOM concerning the strike of 500 Indian workers at Mansfield Hosiery Mills, Loughborough, the last week has seen further developments. After a four-week strike the men returned to work on Monday, November 27, to find that, far from carrying out their promise to train Indian workers for the better paid knitting jobs, the management had engaged new employees during the strike to train for jobs as knitters.

The Indians also found themselves on short-time working, a three-day week, with the additional fear that the company intends to install new machinery which will endanger their jobs and thus be a threat to their livelihoods. The management claimed that the arrangements for short-time working had been advised by the union, but the union denied any knowledge of this, and again the Indian strikers found themselves being cynically pushed about by two equally untrust-

worthy and indifferent white institutions.

With this renewal of the strike the men are even more determined to wrest some real concessions and safeguards from the management.

PETER MILLER.

LATER:

Following the intervention of an official of the Department of Employment in an attempt to get the men back to work, a meeting of strikers has decided to stay on strike and have adopted the further demand that the 41 men set in as trainee knitters during the strike, whose employment had been a bone of contention with the strikers, should not be dismissed but found alternative work. The strike meeting was told of a new management offer of full-time working and the setting on of six to eight Indians to be trained as knitters. The mood of the meeting was so opposed to a return to work that no vote was taken. The struggle continues.

Gartree Ignites

AFTER THE WIDESPREAD protests by prisoners all over Britain a few months ago, the uneasy calm was again broken last week by an outbreak of rioting and an attempted escape at Gartree Prison.

Prison officers at Gartree were incensed at the flouting of authority by the prisoners who climbed onto the roof some time ago, and they threatened a work-to-rule and strike action if the authorities did not clamp down on 'soft' conditions in the prison. It seems highly likely that the riot last week was the result of the way the prison officers have been taking their revenge on the prisoners. Dick Pooley of PROP wrote to the Home Office warning them of the worsening situation at Gartree after receiving a letter from a prisoner's wife two months ago, but the Home Office officials would not meet him to discuss conditions at Gartree.

The reaction of the press was typical: local residents were terrified with scare stories of homicidal maniacs wandering the countryside, Mafia conspiracies and all. (In fact, despite press reports to the contrary, no prisoners did get outside the perimeter fence.) As on previous occasions

the press has done its best to present the prisoners' protests as being instigated for their own purposes by a few notoriously violent men, and the protest by hundreds of prisoners is represented as being simply a cover for the escape attempt by 13 prisoners which was reported as a 'mass' break-out attempt. Frederick Sewell and Frankie Fraser were obvious choices for 'ring-leaders'. Unfortunately for the journalists who had not done their homework Fraser had been transferred to Hull Prison two weeks previously!

Thanks to the distortions of the press the prisoners' protests have evoked little sympathetic response, even from the politics of the Left. The initial protest which should have resulted in widespread action outside prison has merely resulted in a repressive backlash from the prison officers. If the long-overdue sympathy and solidarity is not expressed now, who can doubt that we will soon have an Attica in Britain?

TERRY PHILLIPS.

PUBLICATION DATES

FREEDOM will be published on Saturday, December 23. The following week, the typesetters will not be working on Monday 25th and Tuesday 26th, the days on which it is necessary to have FREEDOM set. The issue of December 23 is No. 52 of Volume 33, and will complete Volume 33.



Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied.

Please add postage & cash with order helps.

The Philosophy of Egoism	James L. Walker £0.60 (2½p)
The False Principle of Our Education	Max Stirner £0.30 (2½p)
Slaves to Duty	John Badcock Jr. £0.40 (2½p)
State Socialism and Anarchism and other essays	Benjamin R. Tucker £0.50 (2½p)
The Black Flag of Anarchy	Corinne Jacker £2.50 (15p)
The Book of Ceremony	Clem Gorman £0.50 (3½p)
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**WE NEED YOUR
GUARANTEE!**

THERE IS VERY little that is original in the writings of James Connolly. Irish Nationalism and Industrial Unionism, with the emphasis veering at times from the one to the other, are the main component parts of what is best described as Connollyism. The many articles he wrote for labour journals at home and abroad reveal little evolution in his thinking. What they do reveal is a search for compromise and synthesis; the Gaelic Leaguer, the earnest teacher of Christian morals, the Revolutionary Syndicalist would all, he hoped, realise that they had a common interest and combine to free Ireland as a first step towards the realisation of the Workers' Republic of his dreams. Unlike the Sinn Feiner, Connolly the theorist, did not check his ideas whenever they had reached the point where the freedom and independence of Ireland was considered to be the first item on the agenda. He was constantly searching beyond that phase, seeking a means of reviving as closely as possible in an industrial age, the form of society that had existed in Ireland before the Conquest. Historical research may have since dispelled some illusions concerning that society but in no way alters the fact that Connolly's main inspiration was derived from the image of that society as he and his contemporaries understood it. 'We are socialists,' he wrote in the first issue of the *Workers' Republic*, 'because we see in Socialism not only the modern application of the social principle which underlay the Breton Laws of our ancestors but because we recognise in it the only principle by which the working class can in their turn emerge in the divinity of free men with the right to live as men and not as mere profit making machines for the service of others.'

Connolly was to find the answer to his problems, the fusion of all his ideas in a gospel preached across the Atlantic, in America, by the Industrial Workers of the World. This gospel, Industrial Unionism, was itself derived from the traditions of libertarian socialism or anarchism. The anarchists had seen in the industrial revolution in the cities of France a new means of overthrowing the bureaucratic state and replacing it with a libertarian society. Anarcho-Syndicalism, as it was called, rejected the optimistic forecast of Karl Marx that the workers had only to wait and the gift of the nations' wealth would fall like manna from the skies. The Syndicalists were less optimistic; instead of waiting with Marx for the requiem bell to sound the death-knell of Capitalism for the 'expropriators to be expropriated', they set about organising the trade unions or syndicates, to accomplish this task and by means of direct action rather than parliamentary means. Their leading principle was the principle of Industrial Unionism, their method was direct action and their main weapon was the General Strike. The administration of things would be carried out by delegates freely elected and subject to recall and not by parliament, which they considered to be an assembly of the capitalist class, set up with the sole purpose of administering the capitalist system.

In the USA, where industrial development was more advanced than it was on the continent of Europe, the American Syndicalists concentrated on a centralised organisational structure, necessary to combat the highly efficient, well-organised forces of capitalism in that country and called their system Industrial Unionism. It was as an Organiser for the Industrial Workers of the World that Connolly spent his years in America. The vision of a future society as preached by the

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC

IWW corresponded with Connolly's own ideas and agreed in many vital respects with the principles which Connolly believed to have permeated early Gaelic society. The wheel had turned full circle from the Breton Laws to the ideals of Syndicalism and mentally at least Connolly was back where he had started and he set about enthusiastically to weave the strand of Industrial Unionism into the fabric of his political philosophy.

SIGNPOST THE ROUTE

There are many today who waste time on idle conjecture about the form of society or the system of government that Connolly might have wished for in his Workers' Republic. There is little need to speculate because Connolly was not content to merely mouth revolutionary slogans and phrases and if he did not provide us with an exact blueprint, he did signpost the route towards the Workers' Republic and mapped out most of the site. However, Connolly had a voice of his own and he spoke often enough and clearly enough on the subject and nowhere better than in his essay on 'Industrial Unionism and Constructive Socialism'.

The political institutions of today are simply the coercive forces of capitalist society; they have grown up out of and are based upon territorial divisions of power in the hands of the ruling class in past ages and were carried over into capitalist society to suit the needs of the capitalist class when that class overthrew the dominion of its predecessors. The delegation of the function of government into the hands of representatives elected from certain districts, states or territories represents no real natural division suited to the requirements of modern society, but it is a survival from the time when territorial influences were more potent in the world than industrial influences and for that reason is totally unsuited to the needs of the new social order which must be based upon industry.

The socialist thinker when he paints the form of the new social order does not imagine an industrial system directed or ruled by a body of men or women elected from an indiscriminate mass of residents within given districts, said residents working at a heterogeneous collection of trades and industries. To give the ruling, controlling and direction of industry into the hands of such a body would be utterly foolish. What the socialist does realise is that under a socialist form of society the administration of affairs will be in the hands of representatives of the various industries of the nation; that the workers in the shops and factories will organise themselves into unions, each union comprising all the workers at a given industry; that said unions will democratically control the workshop life of its own industry; electing all foremen, etc., and regulating the routine of labour in that industry in subordination to the needs of society in general, to the needs of its allied trades and to the department of industry to which it belongs; that representatives elected from these various departments of industry will meet and form the industrial administration or national government of the country. In short, social-democracy, as its name implies, is the application to industry or to the social life of the nation, of the fundamental principles of democracy. Such application will necessarily have to begin in the workshop and proceed logically and consecutively upward

through all the grades of industrial organisation until it reaches the culminating point of national executive power and direction. In other words, Socialism must proceed from the bottom upward, whereas capitalist political society is organised from above downward. Social democracy will be administered by a committee of experts elected from the industries and professions of the land; capitalist society is governed by representatives elected from districts and is based upon territorial division. The local and national governing or rather administrative bodies of socialism will approach every question with impartial minds armed with the fullest expert knowledge born of experience; the governing bodies of capitalist society have to call in an expensive professional expert to instruct them on every technical question and know that the impartiality of the said experts varies with and depends upon the size of his fee.

It will be seen that this conception of socialism destroys at one blow all the fears of a bureaucratic state, ruling and ordering the lives of every individual from above and thus gives assurance that the social order of the future will be an extension of the freedom of the individual and not a suppression of it. In short, it blends the fullest democratic control with the most absolute expert supervision, something unthinkable in any society built upon the political state.

ONLY GEOGRAPHICAL EXPRESSIONS

To focus the idea properly in your mind you have but to realise how industry today transcends all limitations of territory and leaps across rivers, mountains and continents, then you can understand how impossible it would be to apply to such far-reaching intricate enterprises the principle of democratic control by the workers through the medium of political territorial divisions.

'Under socialism, states, territories or provinces will exist only as geographical expressions and have no existence as sources of governmental power, though they may be seats of administrative bodies.'

'Now, having grasped the idea that the administrative force of the Socialist Republic of the future will function through unions industrially organised, that the principle of democratic control will operate through the workers directly organised in such industrial unions and that the political, territorial state of capitalist society will have no place or function under socialism, you will at once grasp the full truth embodied in the words that I have just quoted that "only the industrial form of organisation offers us even a theoretical constructive Socialist programme".'

That Syndicalism was no mere passing phase with Connolly is evident from the fact that he reiterated and elucidated these principles of Industrial Unionism in *Labour, Nationality and Religion* and Syndicalist ideas are scattered throughout his writings. It was as the leader of a trade union militia—the Citizen Army—that he joined in the Easter Rising in 1916 and consequently his ideas became submerged in the sea of conflicting ideas that is Irish Republicanism. In the *International Socialist Review* of March 1915 he wrote: 'How could this war have been prevented, which is another way of saying why did the socialist move-

ment fail to prevent it? The full answer to that question can only be grasped by those who are familiar with the propaganda that from 1905 onwards has been known as "Industrial Unionism" in the United States, and, though not so accurately, has been called "Syndicalist" in Europe. The essence of that propaganda lay in two principles. To take them in the order of their immediate effectiveness; first that Labour could only enforce its wishes by organising its strength at the point of production, i.e. the farms, factories, workshops, railways, docks, ships, where the work of the world is carried on, the effectiveness of the political vote depending primarily upon the economic power of the workers organised behind it. Secondly, that the process of organising that economic power would also build the industrial fabric of the Socialist Republic, build the new society within the old. . . . The failure of European Socialism to avert the war is primarily due to the divorce between the industrial and political movements of Labour. The socialist voter as such is helpless between elections. He requires to organise power to enforce the mandate of the elections, and the only power he can so organise is economic power—the power to stop the wheels of commerce, to control the heart that sends the life-blood pulsating through the social organism.' As late in the day as 1916 he was calling for organisation at the point of production in the 'Workers' Republic'.

TOOK WHAT SUITED THEM

No, Connolly did not abandon Industrial Unionism but the people who came after him had a vested interest in keeping it quiet. The petit-bourgeois nationalist leadership of the Republican movement were interested in propagating only those of his ideas that suited themselves.

William O'Brien who became leader of the ITGWU was a typical trade union bureaucrat opposed to Syndicalism. *Socialism Made Easy* which is essential to the understanding of Connolly's theories was not published in Ireland in its entirety for over 37 years, hence the ignorance of Syndicalism that exists in Ireland.

The latest publication (*Plough Book Service, Dublin, 1971*) is spoiled by a Trotskyist introduction—the writer of it, D. R. O'Connor Lysaght persists in confusing Syndicalism with conventional trade unionism—but it is nevertheless welcome. Connolly advocated a form of socialism that 'destroys at one blow all the fears of a bureaucratic state, ruling and ordering the lives of every individual from above and thus gives assurance that the social order of the future will be an extension of the freedom of the individual and not a suppression of it.'

Had he lived to witness the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, he would have seen the Syndicalists, many of them members of the IWW, clubbed, imprisoned and murdered—in the name of Socialism. He would have seen the most bureaucratic state in the history of mankind crushing individual freedom and imposing a totalitarian dictatorship—in the name of Socialism. In Ireland he would have seen his own most vital ideas suppressed—in the name of Socialism.

His dream is still alive in its entirety in Ireland, with those workers who believe that the emancipation of the working class can be achieved only by the working class itself—or not at all; and who believe with Connolly that the only organisation capable of achieving it is the One Big Union of the entire working class.

HENRY BELL.

Brooke, and Co. rave so about the IRA terrorists and NEVER say a word about the terrorists on the other side? Both are equally evil in the things they do, to my mind. Tonight there is a huge Provo protest meeting in the city and 15,000 gardai are on duty. Fortunately it is pouring solid which I profoundly hope will damp a lot of idiots off. Half the trouble makers and stone throwers on these occasions are young men who are unemployed and always have been, and are in it for kicks without one idea in their heads.

Stephenson is being drip-fed, and the Provos are declaring this is a plot of the wicked army doctor at the Curragh to kill him. One can live on a drip for months as I know and the doctor is quite right to do it.

This ghastly priest Sean MacManus with his crocodile tears on the wireless about this 'brave hero dying for Ireland' makes me feel sick. If one is a priest one should at least be true to one's tenets and *felo-de-se* is a mortal sin, as is murder, according to Catholic teaching.

The row going on in the Dail is terrific. I have the wireless on while I write this.

The Dail adjourned without a decision last night. It will reconvene this morning and a vote probably taken today. More

and more it becomes plain we shall never be freed of repressive legislation until we have an Ireland entirely free from England, North and South united and solving our own problems together. It now appears plain these rockets being used in the North came from the Black September Group from Libya. They were bought legally. I recoil with horror that any country can make and sell weapons to kill other men regardless.

Kevin O'Kelly has resigned from RTE. He is out on bail pending an appeal. The objections to O'Malley's Bill grow. Even a district justice writes in the papers today how impossible it would be to prove you did NOT belong to a secret society, be it IRA or British Secret Service, who operate over here. He gives notice if the Bill goes through he will join a subversive society as the only way he can oppose the Government. Oh for a bit of good news for a change! Kilfeddar objected in Westminster to the amount of notice given by the BBC to Stephenson. I rather agree with him but I also object to the amount of notice given by RTE to Paisley, Craig, et al. HOW THE UNIONISTS ARE GLOATING OVER THE BILL. Jack is their darling at the moment. There is no doubt he is Heath's servant. Money and Party, that is all he cares for.

I hope you will have a lot of letters and articles showing up the vileness of both Irish parties and their goings on plus the Provos. They are ALL birds of a feather, Fianna Fail, the Unionists and the IRA, and perdition to the lot of them says I.

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Anyone in Hasting or area interested in forming local group please contact Kevin McFaul. Hastings 7905.
Meeting to discuss possible television spot, Thursday, December 21, at 8.30 p.m. Convener: Terry Phillips. Venue: See next week's Column.

Towards an Ecological Solution by Murray Bookchin, Gutter Press, 4p, can only be obtained from Freedom Press and not as published in last week's Contact Column. Sorry for the confusion.

Does anyone know where two French girls can stay during the Xmas holidays? Write Box 100, care of Freedom Press.

ASA Conference: Brighton Union Church (near Clock Tower), December 16-17. Libertarian Unity, Industrial Network, etc. Limited accommodation. Details from the secretary: M. Bashforth, 23 Needwood Close, Wolverhampton, WV2 4PP.

Work is starting on the production of a libertarian news sheet covering Wales, in particular the South. Any comrades interested in receiving the first issue of this, planned for January '73, please contact Jock and Eve Spence, 22 Cwmdonkin Terrace, Swansea.

Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists. Contact Secretary for information, pamphlets, etc. 68A Chingford Road, London, E.17.

Red and Black Outlook (November issue) still available from Julian Turner, 21 Roundwood Way, Banstead, Surrey. December issue being produced by the Brighton group, under the Incredible Rotating Editorship System.

Therapeutic Centre needs full time helper to live in. Unpaid, but board, etc., free. Write to 82 Acre Lane, S.W.2.

ORA North London. Meets every Tuesday at 7 p.m. and Sunday at 2 p.m. at 68A Chingford Road, E.17.

Harlech ASA. A group of anarchist-syndicalist alliance is now forming in Harlech, Merioneth, N. Wales; anyone interested in helping and supporting from the N. Wales area, please contact G. & B. Briggs, c/o Coleg Harlech, Harlech, Merioneth, N. Wales.

Anarchist Calendars 1973, 10p each, 2½ post from Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Press.

Translations wanted from Anarchist journals for FREEDOM. Languages needed are French, Italian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Japanese. Present translators please confirm. Get in touch with Eds.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group please contact Alan Ross and Louisa Martin, 24 Thomas Road, Fulbourn; phone 880147.

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.

Michael Tobin Defence Committee, c/o 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

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.

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

I hope you will have a lot of letters and articles showing up the vileness of both Irish parties and their goings on plus the Provos. They are ALL birds of a feather, Fianna Fail, the Unionists and the IRA, and perdition to the lot of them says I.

H.

This Week in Ireland

I HAVE NO SYMPATHY whatsoever with the chief of staff of the IRA. He is a cockney and has not a drop of Irish blood in him (I got someone to look up his forebears at Somerset House and they are all London born and bred) and he has an outsize inferiority complex which, like Hitler, he can only come to terms with by bloodshed and Walter Mitty. His hunger and thirst strike MAY be very brave physically but it is the acme of cowardice morally as if he dies it will mean a 32-county civil war. He is already a cold-blooded murderer by being an accessory before the fact. I have seen the little mutilated children by reason of his bombs on civilian stores and schools, etc. He is a mock-devout Catholic, a prude but a murderer. He has boys tarred and feathered, aye, and young girls too for allegedly being immoral, but he does not mind killing.

We had a cinema blown up in Dublin. The bang woke me and 30 people, mostly young girls and boys, were taken

to hospital. Eight are still in there. On Sunday I had a job criticising a concert. When I walked to the hall the Provos were out on the streets yelling like rabid jackals. Friends offered me a lift home, only to find their car had been stolen. It is probably on the Shankill Road by now. I get death threats over the phone. I cannot take them very seriously. The IRA are allegedly making attacks with rockets, I think they call them, obtained from the Soviet Union. I think they may have been got from Yugoslavia but not Russia. She would be far too careful to be involved at the moment.

Murders go on galore. One of the most tragic was the 14-year-old son of the eye surgeon Mr. Gormley of the Mater Hospital, Belfast, as the doctor took his two sons and a friend to school. Owing to a road closure they went down a Protestant road and were machine-gunned and Rory was killed, the other son and the doctor wounded.

WHY. WHY. WHY. do Paisley,