

S.D.S.

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S.B. No. 1 (Filmsy)

Special Report }

SPECIAL BRANCH

17th day of April 1975

Privacy

SUBJECT Anarchist Workers Association

1. Submitted herewith are copies of the Anarchist Workers Association Internal Bulletin for April 1975 which have been obtained from a reliable source.

Privacy

Reference to Papers L00/74/169

2. The Bulletin deals with various IWA schools and conferences, and includes details of motions to be submitted to the National Conference in May 1975. None of the contents appears to be actionable.

Privacy

3. Persons mentioned in this report have come to our notice as follows:-

[Redacted] Privacy

Peter HAIN L05/69/700

[Redacted] Privacy

[Redacted]

[Stamp]

BOX 7

[Redacted]

008

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Page No. 404/234

ROBERT J. JONES

Privacy

J.P.

Unable to

Rob PURDIE

LOS/67/52

Privacy

[Redacted]

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Privacy

Chief Inspector

Privacy Privacy

Privacy

[Signature]
CHIEF SUPERVISOR

Privacy

[Redacted]

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AWA: INTERNAL BULLETIN.

New Series. No. 7.

April 1975.

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Comrades will see that I have not done their stencils en bloc. I have tried to group similar subjects together, as

- (1) Pp. 1-13 Reports & Motions.
- (2) Pp. 14-21 International.
- (3) Pp. 21-30 Articles.

Privacy

COPY DATE FOR NEXT ISSUE : APRIL 30 1975.

22nd-23rd February 1975.

Privacy briefly introduced his paper, 'The Role of Revolutionary Organisation' outlining its major points.

Discussion initially focussed on the concepts put forward. This concentrated on the dialectic between the rev. org. and the working-class.

Privacy stressed the need to reject the concept of innate consciousness, which he saw as a tenet of trad. anarchism. Other contributors accepted this, but emphasised the importance of unconscious elements in working-class activity and organisation.

This broadened out into a wider discussion of the means by which the rev. org. relates to the w.c. Relationship with other left groups

It was felt that while we should see ourselves as part of the left, but at the same time be prepared to attack the authoritarian groupings. Other comrades however stressed that this should be done by building within the w.c. organisational forms and political forms, e.g. by stressing the need for prol. democracy and the importance of raising certain issues e.g. sexism which they play down.

This raised the role united front organisation, e.g. on issues such as the Shrewsbury Two. It was felt that while specific political questions should be raised, this should not be done programmatically.

This prompted discussion on the nature of social-democracy, and how far this had influenced the growth of anarchism. Several comrades disputed the argument that anarchist movements had flourished under social-democratic governments, and instead stressed the importance of the relevant economic conditions.

This led to consideration of voting in elections (and the forthcoming referendum). There was considerable disagreement on whether we should take an abstentionist position or call for a Labour vote.

Relationship between anarchists and the working-class

Need to fight for rank and file control of Trade

Unions. Unions.

STUDENTS

discussion on potential of student movement and whether it was worth involving members in student struggles.

Two main points of view...

- 1/ students should concentrate on w.c. struggles and class conscious community projects.
- 2/ w college as "factory of bourgeois ideas", and students as future wage-slaves. Need to directly confront ruling class ideas and organisation in the college.

Important not to isolate students from w.c. (as in I.S. Comrades disagreed on how far students were the future cadre of the managerial class.

a brief discussion followed on whether to have a formally organised discussion- or on a more loose basis.

PROBLEMS OF SHOPFLOOR ORGANISATION

Badly attended union branch meetings-problems faced if a shop-steward-co-operation between union officials and management.

Should "reactionary strikes" e.g. those for the maintenance of differentials be supported? Management often forced disputes when unions are weak. This raised the question of how far any strike raised ~~workers~~ consciousness, through confrontation with management.

Trades Council work was stressed as an important form of intervention.

LEFT ANARCHIST MISTAKES

Russia-poor communications, groups isolated.

Showed need to openly confront Leninist groups and maintain base-level democracy.

The minimum level of members involvement in Leninist organisations was stressed, which, it was argued, would give a coherent libertarian alternative a very great advantage.

The possibility of armed struggle against Leninist groups was discussed.

Spain- collaboration in bourgeois government and their manipulation by the R governmental forces. Shows need to retain tightness of rev. org. and determination to smash state

THE DISCUSSION ON

the discussion on the role of anarchist organisation continued....

France 1968

Privacy stressed the unpreparedness of the anarchist groups, and their low degree of involvement. He also felt that the degree of student-worker liaison had been exaggerated and cited examples of friction between them.

The short discussion following stressed this point, and also considered boredom as a factor contributing to the events.

Anarchist comrades in France can only really work effectively in the C.F.D.T. which is relatively more democratic than the C.G.T., since it is organised on both a horizontal and vertical level.

the Future

Several points became clear. Firstly, the need to retain our organisation during the "transitional" period after a revolution.

Social revolution as a continuing process.

Secondly, in the immediate future, the organisation needed far more pamphlets. It was argued that there was a dialectic with new members, and that they would therefore, make an important contribution.

recruitment...this could not be done on the basis of single campaigns (as the I.W.O. does) but on the basis of political education and activism (French CORE)

organisation...must be kept tight. The FAI was cited as an example of political degeneration through opening up

front organisation...several comrades stressed the need to involve militants in activity before recruitment.

a youth movement was put forward by several members as a possibility.

Other comrades disagreed with this, claiming that it was an artificial

division, while some members stressed that such issues should involve

the whole membership, caucuses within A.W.A. were seen as the main

form of organisation.

USE OF DOCUMENT?

Three alternatives.... (A) as an article in I.C.R.

(B) as a pamphlet

(C) nothing

It was eventually agreed to recommend to the next delegate conference that it should be used as the basis for a pamphlet. Needs to be covered in I.B. discussion.

DISCUSSION ON "MINIMUM DEFINITION OF A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION (TAKEN FROM "LEAVING THE 20th CENTURY-A BOOK OF SITUATIONIST WRITINGS....

introduced by **Privacy**

Brought out points on post-scarcity societies and the role of the individual in groups and in society.

Comrades disputed several points....

1/ rejection of the concept of "post-scarcity", real hardship ahead due to exhaustion of natural resources.

2/ argued that modern industry gave the potential to overcome scarcity.

3/ claimed that workers' management of production is the key factor in overcoming alienation

4/ disputed this and argued that a considerable degree of alienation was inevitable in modern industry. Stressed a partial return to basic production.

5/ raised points about historical development of anarchism. Saw anarchism as subjective, Marxism objective.

6/ disputed this anarchism objective and accepted much of Marxian economic analysis.

7/ raised role of individual in group and importance of distinguishing AWA from Prot. groups on the question of the state.

8/ returned to discussion on alienation, and need to question nature of production, and its purpose

9/ again stressed shortage of resources

10/ pointed out amount of waste prod. under cap.-re-allocation of work-force.

...recommend to next D.C. that next weekend school be on nat. lib./ Ireland and T.U. movement....

MINUTES OF AWA DELEGATE CONFERENCE FEBRUARY 2ND

The delegate conference took place in London.

Reading list The reading list was ratified. It was agreed by delegates that there was a need for an obvious segregation of those books designated essential and suggested, with all sub-titles to remain. Anyone wanting to write a review of each book (not more than 12 words long) should submit it to the controller within the next 6 weeks. The controller will edit and select reviews at his/her own discretion. It is suggested that controversial reviews should be avoided. Send to Privacy. Reviews of books and the IB itself will be duplicated and handed out to members and all new members.

Platform

London delegate reported that Privacy is responsible or had been made responsible for printing of the Platform. This would be ready shortly. It was hoped that a 2,000 run would be completed. The cost would be about £70. The price of the pamphlet will depend on print costs (possibly 15p.) Could all members place an order with North London AWA as soon as possible, preferably cash in advance.

Date of next delcon

IN LEICESTER 19th-20th APRIL. ALL MOTIONS TO BE SENT IN TO MARCH IB. TO ALLOW FOR DISCUSSION OF APRIL IB.

Political developments

It was noted by delcon that there seemed to be a political lull throughout the country. The organisation was making slow but sure numerical progress. Leicester and London groups have in past two months gained several candidate members. The situation in which isolated individuals find themselves was discussed. It was felt that these comrades should try and correspond more frequently with their parent groups, as well as make use of the IB. The solution to this problem will only be found when local groups are built in the geographical areas in which the individuals live. Individuals must try and use their parent group whenever possible, by making use of equipment, speakers, and organising weekend leafletting, flyposting, street sales with comrades from the parent group helping the isolated individual. Future conferences must review the developing situation in this respect.

Membership cards

Membership cards are being printed and all 1975 membership dues will be recorded on them.

National Conference

Beginning of May, 3rd and 4th in Leicester. Leicester group will announce name of conference secretary and contact address should be put in March IB. All motions must be received by conference secretary for circulation by Friday April 18th. Discussion papers must be supplied on typed stencils. If possible discussion documents should appear in IB at earliest possible date.

Ireland

It was recognised at delcon that the Commission of Inquiry on Ireland has never properly functioned collectively, due to a number of reasons which will be discussed at Nat. Conference. Therefore since the Commission never practically activated itself it cannot officially recess. Due to the latest legislation two

of the organisations appear to be non-functioning, Prisoners Aid Committee and Irish Prisoners and Hostages Committee leaving TOM. The four remaining members should meet in March and discuss their observations on TOM producing a report for the April IB.

Weekend schools

It was noted that the first weekend school was postponed to Feb. 22nd/23rd and a report should appear in the IB. A number of suggestions for weekend schools have been made. These include 1. Proletarian culture and art. 2. Irish situation. 3. Sexism 4. National liberation movements. Members are asked to state through IB their personal and group preferences. In the light of this opinion poll next delcon will decide date and venue of the education W/E.

Public

That speakers at ANA public meetings should express official ANA policies, and

where ANA policy is unclear DC should attempt to clarify it.

These two motions were acknowledged. No delegates or observers expressed disagreement with the Leicester motions. It was proposed by **Privacy** the ideas contained in the motions be regarded as a reflection of ANA policy. End of delegate conference.

ROTATION OF OFFICERS - NORTH LONDON ANA. (RESOLUTION ADOPTED)

The administrative positions should be rotatable and be held for a period of twelve months. The four positions to be held in group at present to be Secretary, Treasurer, Literature Organiser (vacant) Meetings Organiser (vacant) The election of these officers to be held in last group meetings of successive quarters. At the end of the first quarter the Secretary will be elected, 2nd quarter Treasurer, 3rd quarter Literature Organiser, 4th quarter Meetings Organiser. As the new posts of Literature and Meetings Organiser are vacant two members should be elected on a ~~provisional~~ provisional basis until official elections take place. No post will be held more than 12 months.

The idea of rotation has been adopted by the group on a provisional basis (27th Jan. 1975) to enable all the members of the group to acquire the necessary organisational skills, which should enable ~~each member~~ each member to play a fuller role in the organisation. It is also hoped that this idea, if successful, will be adopted by the rest of the organisation.

In order that members are not plunged in at the deep end, there will be an apprenticeship for one quarter to each position, in which the "apprentice" should gradually assume the full responsibility from the retiring officer. Each apprentice will be elected the quarter before they assume full responsibilities.

The definitions of each post has been suggested as follows:

The Secretary assumes responsibility for circulation of documents and other information to members. Answers ~~enquiries~~ enquiries from readers and contacts and general coordination between the N. London group and other groups. Group advertising will be switched to Meetings Organiser.

The Treasurer is responsible for dealing with financial matters of group members contributions to the group and forwarding of members national contributions. He or She should keep detailed accounts and report to the meeting when necessary. He/she should make sure that money is collected from literature organiser and forwarded to National Fund.

The Literature Organiser is responsible for distribution of all public literature relating to the group including Lib.Struggle, pamphlets, etc. He/she should ensure that the money is collected from all distributors. In addition he/she should endeavour to widen the fields of circulation so that new layers of militants can be reached.

The Meetings Organiser will be responsible for ensuring that meetings are organised regularly and that all members are properly informed if and when changes are made. He/she should be responsible for group meetings and public meetings and the payment of rooms. He/she will also be responsible for all aspects of advertising and publicity relating to groups placing ads in Time Out, etc.

It is not envisaged that any one position is an island in itself. It will of course be necessary for close coordination between all the officers-where necessary certain tasks should be delegated to other members. As and when the organisation enlarges it will become necessary to create new positions where the work load becomes excessive.

THE PLATFORM OF THE LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISTS

This pamphlet has now been reprinted in offset. All comrades/groups should order bundles, if possible money in advance. A 1,000 run was printed, costing £105. so we need to sell fairly fast in order to finance other publications from the pamphlet fund, including a possible reprint of the Platform, Libertarian Communist Review, etc.

LEAFLETS OF THE AWA

A 500 run pamphlet, containing the Aims and Principles, the Constitution, an introduction and a flow chart of the organisation has been printed, financed by London group funds. Comrades should have received this by now. Extra copies for close contacts, interested people, should be ordered from London group, and sold at 2p. (Forget to mention that Platform should sell at 20p each, and is also available from London Group)

NORTH LONDON AWA REPORT

The group has now accepted two of its candidates as full members, and a candidate associate member in Canterbury as a full member. As two members of the group now lived in Surbiton, it was agreed at a North London meeting that a North Surrey AWA group will be set up, with member in Canterbury and candidate in Maidstone affiliating to this group. This group will also keep in close contact with interested people in Brighton and Southampton.

Southampton meeting

An interested comrade in Southampton arranged a public meeting addressed by Cde. Heath of the North London AWA. A leaflet was produced for this. The comrade spoke on Revolutionary Anarchism and the Role of the AWA. About 15 people attended.

~~The meeting and a great deal of work was done in the afternoon. The situationist made the usual interventions, but this was satisfactorily handled.~~

Two comrades from Southampton attended the AWA weekend school.

Bloody Sunday demp

North London comrades brought the "Libertarian Struggle" banner out on this march, and members from Oxford, Norwich, Canterbury, Leicester, also attended. The anarchists formed up behind our banner, and for a pleasant change were orderly, and well disciplined, keeping to the relevant slogans for the march.

Northern Ireland Public Meeting

Very well attended meeting, almost 40 there. Comrade gave rundown of situation in Northern Ireland over last 50 years and the importance of agitation within the working class to withdraw the troops and end internment, which would be a serious setback for the British state.

Oxford meeting

Privacy spoke to about 10 people in Oxford, members of local anarchist group; there was a fair amount of individualist opposition, the comrade was backed up by our candidate member in Oxford. Another person expressed interest in the AWA.

General outlook Healthy state of affairs with a number of new contacts. As the group grows in size it will be able to increase its effectiveness and get over to a larger number of workers, etc.

From **Privacy** :

As a recent candidate member of AWA, I never met '**Privacy**' & I believe this gives me a more lucid insight, perversely, to her motivations. At risk of excessive presumptuousness, I believe her critique is all a screen. A screen that has held off all the replies so far printed.

The central omission, I believe, is to not consider that she has joined IS. This shows that apart from her objections to AWA's 'contradictions' in theory (or lack of it), she has found a more conducive vehicle in party socialism. There is no suggestion at all, in her writings, of the authoritarian/libertarian criterion entering the question.

I have been interested in the individual or group shifts in position over the past few years, & there are 2 routes to use in leaving organized anarchism: a) disaffection from the "messing about", lack of commitment, unreliability of comrades &, recently, autocratic leadership at the other extreme; b) an obsessive interest in the economics of the capitalist contradictions. As anarchists we are deluding ourselves if we attack capitalism for being uneconomic. We know we could run capitalism better than capitalists, but we're out to wreck it, & wreck it by revolution; when one studies economics for its own sake, one is really in the thick of orthodox Marxism. I'm moved to make this comment because quite often there is a subconscious leaning to accommodate criticism of one's position. I fear that unless we limit economic studies to "What makes THEM tick" we are using a recipe that is only too frequently available. We don't compete at all well on foreign ground!

Or are we trying to 'kid' & soften up Marxists ?

Minutes of Meeting of AWA (South of Thames)
held on Sunday 9th March 1975

Attendance : 10 comrades (2 Kingston, 1 Nth. London, 2 Battersea, 5 Southampton)

1. Introduction.
2. History of AWA and membership.
3. Membership helping each other - leafletting, flyposting, literature on squatting, etc.
4. Libertarian struggle - Decision that IS should be produced regularly, should run to AWA line, should not be so sectarian, general feeling of dissatisfaction on name but no alternatives suggested.
5. Southampton Branch to produce leaflet to uphold word of Anarchism through using its history.
6. Discussion on paper to be submitted to National Conference - Criticism on paragraph on membership not simplified enough. Criticism on paragraph drawing similarities between Marxism and Anarchism. Approval on paragraph on IS distribution. Criticism on paragraph on communications between various branches.
7. Motions for conference - that sufficient money should be raised to include a Mayday special page on subject of 'Occupations of Firms by Workers'.
8. Public, Group and Contact meetings - Local groups to organise own but to differentiate between Libertarian Circles and AWA Public meetings.
9. Other topics discussed -
 - (a) Equipment of Kingston Branch
 - (b) Disassociation from 'gucilla type anarchists'
 - (c) Candidate membership of Battersea and Southampton comrades
 - (d) Decision to hold public meetings on a more regular line to encourage possible Marxist disillusioners to Anarchism.
10. Decision for communications - Southampton responsible for Oxford, Brighton for Hull, Canterbury for Scotland, London for other London groups.

MINUTES OF THE DELEGATE CONFERENCE HELD AT LEICESTER 15, 16 MARCH

Item 1. North London's emergency motion:- That the present edition of the paper should be scrapped and the next edition should come out in May. **Privacy** proposing the motion explained that the paper was out of date, and that publication should therefore be postponed to allow time for new material to be submitted. It was agreed that from May the paper would be able to revert to monthly production. The print order is to be uped to 1500 copies. A compositor is now available in London which can be used by the organisation free of charge, saving at least £10 in production costs and several days in production time. The function and history of prod. col. and the editorial board was outlined in response to requests for information. A general discussion on the paper's production followed. It was noted that it is essential for articles to be properly presented (typed with triple spacing) in order that the editors can function efficiently. It was agreed that the group secretaries should contact members asking for articles for the paper. There was a general discussion on the role and content of Lib. Strg. The vote was taken on the North London emergency motion:- 2 in favour, 1 abstention.

A second motion was proposed to reflect the feeling of the conference following the discussion of the paper:- That this delegate conference reaffirms the paper's function as the major agitational/propaganda tool of the organisation. That the best articles have been attempts by comrades to explain the development and involvement in particular struggles. We must strive to direct the paper into the struggles where it will have the most effect/best be sold. The motion was passed unanimously. It was agreed that the editorial week-end would take place in London on 5th. April. The following articles were promised by group delegates for the May Lib. Strg. :- King ton - Portugal.

North London - Working womens charter & current economics.
Leicester - May-day and May-day history.

It was agreed that Southampton comrades should write an article on occupations, and that Leicester should prepare one on the E.E.C. for the June edition. All articles to be between 500 & 2,000 words. A circular was drafted to be sent to all members informing them of the delegate conference's decision on the paper.

Item 2. It was agreed that an observer would be sent to the Scottish Anarchist Conference with fraternal greetings.

Item 3 - Educational work - and a book called "National Liberation Struggles and Imperialism - towards an A.W.S. policy". Lenin's "Imperialism the highest stage of capitalism" and Bob Purdie's "Ireland Unfree" were suggested as pre-reading. The dates were provisionally fixed for 12th. & 13th. April at Leicester.

Item 4. It was decided to ask **Privacy** to act as a collector of articles for the L.G.R. At the moment there are insufficient funds available to print it. The D.C. after some discussion, decided to make a recommendation to the next conference that 3 members are elected subject to recall by delegate conference as editors of L.G.R. for 12 months.

Item 5. Associate Members:- concern was expressed by comrades as to the isolation of associate members who had little say in the running of the organisation. It was felt that some help might be given by central members of groups, but that little could be done until there are more groups to embrace isolated members.

Item 6. The Delegate Conference noted that the present national secretary will be resigning at the coming national conference and that members should be thinking about a replacement.

Item 7. Comments for the booklist are to be circulated in the I.E. Maximum of 12 words.

Item 8. The problems of the last Leicester public meeting were discussed.

Present at the delegate conference:- Delegates from North London, Kingston and Leicester groups and observers from North London (1) and Leicester (2).

Treasurer/Mem. and Sec. Report

I am pleased to report a massive improvement in the finance of the Association. This has allowed the printing of one thousand Platforms at a cost of £110.00. To be sold at 20p each. Please order from the North London Group. The quicker they are sold the sooner more literature can be produced.

Financial Statement

Press Fund	: £135.50
Leaflet Fund	: £130.00
General Fund	: <u>£76.97</u> (actual total : £46.00)
Total	: £181.57

Membership Organisation

Would group secs. please inform me as quickly as possible whenever their group accepts a candidate member, or a c.m. finishes his/her probation.

Non payment of dues

A small number of comrades have not cleared last years membership dues. This is not good enough for self confessed revolutionaries. contd.

Treasurer/membership Report (cont'd)

I have been deliberated on whether the minimal funds, as laid down by the association, not to be a debt collector. The monies asked from members is minute when compared with other organisations. If people are in financial difficulty they should discuss it with their group.

I shall move at the National Conference in May, that all members owing monies from 1974 be expelled from the association.

Several comrades have paid off 1974 membership, but have not payed anything for the current year, therefore I will also move that any member who has payed nothing in the current year is disqualified from all voting at the National Conference.

If folk think these two motions are too tough (or scathing) then one must ask oneself, if our organisation is a militant revolutionary force, or a friendly social club.....??

Privacy 23rd March 75

NORTH LONDON AMA GROUP REPORT(MARCH 75)

North London AMA have acquired two new candidates and four full members. The group's address for outside correspondence is BCM N.LON.AMA WC1V 6XX. N.L.Meetings are now held at 8.30 on Thursdays at the Bloomsbury Wine Lodge in Shaftesbury Avenue. A new AMA group has been formed in Kingston, a full report is being submitted for this I.B.

N.L. held a public meeting on the 25th at the Roebuck, the subject being the role of the CIA in Britain. Due to the meeting clashing with the Islington anti-IP pickettthe attendance from outsiders was small, about 15. The picket itself was attended by members from N.London and Kingston.

The Anti-Apartheid demo on the 23rd was attended by N.London and Kingston comrades marching behind the Libertarian Struggle banner, And a fair amount of Platforms were sold on this March. We will be supporting the Troops Out demo on the 6th April. We are sending a fraternal delegate to the Scottish Anarchist Federation conference Easter weekend.

National liberation contd.

raising of consciousness of the peasant and working class and ultimately to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism itself.

LEICESTER GROUP REPORT

Leicester AWA held a public meeting on 9th March on "Revolutionary Anarchism and the Trade union struggle." The speaker was Nick Heath from N.London AWA. Most of those present, apart from AWA members, were anarchists of other varieties. From the resulting discussion we felt that there were lessons to be learned which may be of use to other comrades:

1. We still have more affinity with "class anarchists" who are not members of AWA than with Trotskyists. The latter are likely to 'outflank' us as an inevitable consequence of their politics.

2. Our attitude to criticism should not be one of personal hostility. There seems to be a dangerous attitude within the organisation- perhaps because of our small size- of people feeling personally threatened by any criticism.

3. This attitude is also dangerous from the point of view of free internal discussion and criticism. If the "unity" of the group is sacrosanct there can be no healthy internal life.

4. There is a danger of confusing "liberalism" and lack of principle with necessary open-mindedness. Non-membership of AWA is not equivalent to liberalism.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT * IMPORTANT.

No contributions (motions etc) -except from Leicester- have so far been received. Remember, ALL MOTIONS/DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS MUST BE SENT TO CONF. SECRETARY BY APRIL 18th at the latest on roneo stencils.

I will not be sending out Standing Orders of Nat.Conf. as they are contained in 'Documents of the AWA' which all members should have copies of -if not it is available from Conf.Sec.. Final details of Conf (May 3rd/4th) will be distributed early on in the second half of April. Could members write as soon as possible if they are bringing along close contacts (giving latter's names etc) to Nat.Conf.. All enquiries/ correspondence should be sent to Conf.Sec. Privacy

Privacy (NO mention of AWA on envelopes please).

Proposed amendments to the AWA Constitution, for voting on at Nat. Con. on May 3rd/4th:

'That H)I. be deleted and replaced by the following clause, "Any member has the right to dispute internally any policy, tactic, part of the Aims & Principles or Constitution which the organisation has adopted, while not extending the dispute into a public scuffle, and while still adhering to the fundamentals of organisational revolutionary anarchism."

'That the words, "and not contravene the Aims & Principles or the Constitution", be deleted from part H)2. of the Constitution.'

Any other contributions welcomed.

Privacy 26.3.75.

KINGSTON AWA

april group report

The group was formed mid-Feb by Privacy with P in Canterbury as the third member. The first thing that was done was to put an ad in line out:-

NORTH SURREY ANARCHIST WORKERS ASSOCIATION is a group of Libertarian Communists who believe that 'the authoritative organs of workers' power must be a creation of workers themselves. Our role as revolutionaries is to aid other workers in struggle against class oppression towards a concrete and coherent development of independent power. As Libertarians we think the character of the developing revolution will be profoundly social. History has shown a deep antagonism between the working class and the alleged forces of liberation, the Revolutionary Party. The past failures of Anarchists have been primarily the failure to organise anyone interested, contact...

The response produced an Italian woman (who has subsequently moved in) and a bloke from Cambridge, who is about to start his finals, and a letter from someone in Wandsworth.

Subsequent to the Weekend School, a Sunday afternoon meeting was arranged here for contacts south of the Thames (what Privacy called the 'transportine' region). The minutes can be found elsewhere. It was a very successful meeting, one person who came out of hesitant interest said afterwards that it was a very relaxed meeting. It is planned to hold another in Brighton on (provisionally) April 20th starting 11am.

After the contacts meeting, two comrades from Wandsworth area came along to a Kingston group meeting and subsequently became candidate members. JF works for a small building firm, and P was recently made redundant. In Kingston, P works in the local department store as a porter and is USDAW delegate to the Trades Council on the Executive Committee, and P is trying to get into NGA as an IEM Composer.

A banner is being made 4mx2m black with red letters: Anarchist Workers Association KINGSTON. It would have been ready for the recent Sharpyville Day anti-apartheid demo, but the sewing machine broke down. 20 Platforms were sold on this demo.

Privacy will be bringing up at his branch meeting, and Trades Council, the Campaign against the Criminal Trespass Law (CACTL), which has important implications for factory occupations as well as squatting movement. (CACTL, 119 Reilton Rd, Brixton, SW).

We discussed reprinting a poster against religion produced by a US anarchist group. It has been temporarily shelved until there is more in the funds. Lithoed 12.512s.

We discussed a pamphlet called 'Counter-Planning on the Shop-floor' by Privacy which P is writing an afterword to; There is a possibility of getting it distributed in Waltham, Luton.

P who used to 'fold Freedom' informed us that it was going fortnightly due to increased postage costs. They have also been working with two community papers: Movement and Lower Down. The group discussed an article JF was going to write on anarchism for Lower Down.

A comrade from Oslo was at the last meeting and told of the situation in Norway. It seems that per head the Norwegian anarchists are the largest in the world. Their paper sells 4000 copies every 3 weeks, compared to the CP's 6000, but the dominant left group are the Maoists who sell 20,000. All in a population of 4m. It is 15p for 20-24 pages. In Oslo they are 6/7 groups, mainly students. The federation includes libertarian marxists, but does not have formal membership. In some groups, the workers don't admit students.

There has been discussion on the paper, whether it should have 4 or 5 columns, what articles are being written, and the possibilities of it being regular monthly.

NOTIONS TO NATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 1975

- 1 That an editorial board of three persons be elected to produce the Libertarian Communist Review by July 1st and thereafter bi-ly for a year, subject to recall by Delegate Conference. Further, that the LCR editorial Board be empowered to advertise LCR using funds from the Pamphlet fund. Kingston AWA
- 2 That Procoll be empowered to advertise the reappearance of Libertarian Struggle using money from the Paper Fund. Kingston AWA.

whilst on the subject of the Libertarian Communist Review....

at the last do [P] was given the job of collecting articles : so far in the folder are an article on the Scottish teachers strike by [P] from Dundee, a translation of the manifesto of a Portuguese group called Conate with an introduction written by an American comrade, the Tyranny of Structurelessness (which could do with an introduction putting into a historical perspective re ORA - any offers?), a review of a pamphlet by Anton Ciliga, by myself. Awaiting suggestions for further contributions.

For issue No 3, I'd like to suggest it be devoted to a discussion on the Platform from as many people as possible, as there has been disagreements, people saying it is dated, others thinking it was the AWA Platform. Perhaps [P] could write something on the historical background to the Platform, [P] has been promising an essay on the Platform, the US comrades have their criticisms.

Incidentally, a member of the Libertarian Communist group has purchased here a brand new IBM Composer which will be used mainly for AWA publications. He would like to join AWA, but we're not too keen to let him in yet, especially as he wants to retain joint membership of LC, which resembles in many respects the ASA at the time I was a member.

One of the members of LS talks of 'fusing' AWA & LC. My opinion is that as a faction they have little to offer, and talk of fusion is premature. I proposed that the two groups co-operated in the distribution of each others' publications, and writing for each others publications, subject of course to the editorial rights of the groups concerned. [P] has written an article on 'Libertarian Communism and Organisation' on LC No. 5. Their address is:

Privacy

Privacy, for Kingston group, Privacy

Privacy

Correspondence is going on with people in the USA who are intending to form an AWA-type grouping there. I thought I'd start with the good bit. The anarchist movement there is generally in a far worse state than the British movement at present.

The Match is probably the nearest equivalent to Freedom, its individualist politics being complemented with humanitarian articles on slaughtering animals. It shows all the worst side of traditionalist humanist anarchism, even to the extent of having

Privacy as a contributor.

The Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is the equivalent of the old AFB, only worse. A bulletin is produced from Mountain View, Calif, which is unedited nonsense from anyone who wants to write. Needless to say they don't like AWA.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a 600 strong alliance of anarchists, syndicalists and DeLeonists who work together in attempts to form industrial unions. They produce Industrial Worker, monthly, and have sent missives over to Britain. Some members of the New York branch who I met during my visit (more anon) are part of those discussing the proposed ORA.

Moves are afoot to try to hold a 'continental congress' of anarchists in 1976, and I attended the conference held in Boston in October which was of the 'Working Party'. This consisted of all the sorts who would attend a typical AFB conference from old-time syndicalists to hippies and anarcho-feminists. With the aid of the proposed ORA faction, the meeting was split up into two sections, those interested in the continental congress, and those who wanted to talk about anarchist theory and practice. We were mainly in the second group, attempting to introduce our perspectives.

The Philadelphia Solidarity collective, whilst importing London Solidarity's material, are by no means a carbon copy of Privacy group. They produce a Libertarian Struggle format magazine which is sent out to 600 subscribers, but has appeal only to people already interested in socialist ideas. Some of them are interested in the proposed ORA, I believe. It suffers from being a 100% male group of around 12 people, whose companions are interested not in politics, but things like ballet. Nevertheless it is certainly one of the better groups I came across.

A lot of the anarchists are very much yuppie-orientated, especially apparent in SRAF. Even the IWW can be seen to contain the traditionalists and a younger element. There is a magazine coming out of Boston called Black Rose. It is a liberal try to produce an equivalent to Radical America, the USA's biggest circulating left magazine.

Boston is also the home of the group attempting most to get ORA off the ground. The most interesting thing to note is that most of them come from a marxist background, and still retaining their class analysis, have come to look at the possibilities of anarchism. (British ORA started off different; it was an amalgam of all sorts of anarchists who had in common their belief in the need for 'organisation'. With the very recent entrance of former marxists into AWA, we shall be seeing an interesting political development). Theoretically, they are all very sharp, and really have the problems of practical organisation to face. Not to mention the slurs of the traditionalists, especially

Privacy

THE LEFT

Percentage-wise, the US left is even smaller than in Britain. The CPUSA Moscow, has 3000 members, over half reputedly FBI-men. The Daily World, on the east coast is worse than the Morning Star. Leftie superstar Privacy on their central committee; they control few unions and generally act as the left conscience of the Democrats.

Dominating US left politics are the many Maoist groups. The Guardian sells 21,000 weekly and has the most effective news gathering network of all left papers. Total membership of the several Maoist groups is around 3000. They are heavy and just unbelievably boring, containing black and 3rd world nationalists and white middle class youth.

There is an obvious connection between the Vietnam War and the fact that both the USA and Australian lefts are dominated by Maoists, and not as here, Trotskyists.

The intellectual origins of the US left are interesting, and well beyond the scope of this report. I wholeheartedly recommend Philosophy by Stanley Aronowitz (McGraw-Hill)pb. Written from a Councilist point of view, it deals with the development of the US working class movement, not their leaders.

Well-known 'anarchist' Noam Chomsky is a member of the New American Movement, which has similarities with Il Manifesto in Italy. They are sort of liberal social-democrats who say Lenin was ok in 1917, but afterwards wasn't too hot. Perhaps an over simplification, as they too, are an alliance of different tendencies. They put out a newspaper of the same name, and the theoretical magazine Socialist Revolution more or less follows their line.

IS-US deserves special mention. They are so different from their UK parents as to be almost unrecognizable, I say almost, because their paper, Workers Power looks like ** has been printed by SW Litho Ltd. Their line on rank and file work is similar to IS-UK, but they're not as pushy; the paper is a finitely one of the best put out in the US and worth reading if you want to know a little about what's going on. In all they have only 3-400 members, but WP appears fortnightly. They have broken with Cliff's State Capitalism, and there is even a group advocating that PAE should be dropped. I attended a rank and file conference in New York as a guest of a prospective ISer and was very impressed. Of course there was the build up party speech at the end. Problems of bureaucracy are already rearing their ugly head, and doubtless as they get larger their libertarian aura will be seen as the mask covering their Leninist politics.

0000000000000000000000

Whilst over there I also picked up some interesting publications;

Hard Times by Stud Terkel(Avon) - a peoples history of the Great Depression.
Lenin as Philosopher by Anton Pannekoek - recently reprinted here by Merlin. Book.
Workers Councils by Anton Pannekoek pts 1&2. - Worth reprinting.
publications by Black & Red, and Root & Branch.

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I intend to hand the job over to someone else at the next conference. Any volunteers?

Pin Leicester is responsible for contacts with Hong Kong, Aus & NZ.
Proposals:

1. That the IB be made open to contributions from people in USA, and be sent to people in the USA on the recommendation of the International Secretary and Boston group. nb a copy is sent to Boston already. A fee should be payable.
2. That where possible UK & US should co-operate, ie Distribution of each other's publications, and contributing to same, subject to editorship in the producing country.

Privacy

Postscript: A note on terminology.

One section of the US anarchist movement I didn't go into in any depth is the right-wing free-marketters, in effect anti-statist capitalists. They call themselves 'libertarians'. In no way are they to be confused with fascists, being in many ways quite radical, and co-operating with 'leftists' frequently. The nearest equivalent in this country are the Young Liberals of the Main genre. Consequently, the term libertarian communist caused quite a stir among many people.

Privacy

STRICTLY INTERNAL --- STRICTLY INTERNAL --- STRICTLY INTERNAL --- STRICTLY INTERNAL

The following was passed on by OIA (France) from a comrade in T... in the West German Republic, and throws some light on recent events there. French OIA urges all its groups to take all security measures necessary in light of the letter a) to mobilise to assure information and solidarity with German comrades, victims of repression. The groups are invited to inform the National Collective of action to be taken as regards a national solidarity campaign.
c) to destroy the document.

The letter follows.

Dear comrades of the OIA,

Yesterday, for the 3rd time in a month, the State political police have come to interrogate me about the Berlin events. (2nd June movement, murder of Judge Drenkmann, kidnapping of Lorenz) They are equally interested in my contacts in the Arab countries.

Between other questions, they have told me that the French military police are interested in me because of debts and the distribution of leaflets over the last few years in French barracks in I.... THEY ARE INTERESTED IN MY CONTACTS IN FRANCE.

The German police have told me that they suspect me of being an 'ideological organiser' of 'anarchist terrorism' and even that I am an 'anarchist malfactor'.

The revolutionary syndicalist and libertarian communist groups around the monthly 'Befreiung' have categorically denounced the strategy of urban guerilla warfare in West Germany. No 10, 1974, Befreiung.

We are not the Red Army Fraction. We think it is impossible today to make guerilla warfare in West Germany. We think that the RAF conceptions are false. Our politics are the emancipation and the mobilisation of the masses. We must support and propagate the mass struggles of workers. We have other possibilities other than guerilla warfare. The struggles of Wyhl, of Nordhorn Range, the occupation of houses, strikes, etc, are the proof.

I am a partisan of class struggle, of the self-organisation of the working class for its own emancipation, of social revolution.

I am a partisan of direct democracy from the base, and of a specific libertarian communist organisation.

For us, the Social Revolution will not be the work of an armed avant-gardiste minority but on the contrary of the majority of organised workers struggling for the destruction of the capitalist system and for generalised self-management.

The witch-hunt carried out against 'anarchist criminal terrorists' (massive searches, the interrogation of hundreds of left militants, press campaign against the 'anarchist danger') severely hit our libertarian workers movement still too weak to counteract the vast police campaign of a bourgeoisie moving more and more towards the right, towards fascist methods.

We still do not know if it is possible to continue semi-legally our work; work in the factories, the legal production of Befreiung, the printing of leaflets, pamph-

lets, meetings, centres, demonstrations, etc.

The present anti-anarchist hysteria comes as grave social problems hitting the working class.

100,000 to 200,000 young workers without work-

An unemployment total of 1,500,000 workers without counting the hundreds and thousands of immigrant workers who have had to return home.

The reformist trade unions prove incapable of really struggling against the capitalist offensive. From this flows a partial radicalisation of rank and file trade unionists (e.g. demo of 2,000 young metal worker trade unionists and unemployed youth against capitalism and unemployment at Ludwigsburg near Stuttgart, 20 Feb)

The bourgeoisie seek to liquidate our rank and file work in the factories, the neighbourhoods, the unions. This offensive, under the cover of an "anti-anarchist struggle" hits above all the militant workers propagating self-management of their struggles and the self-organisation of the proletariat against capital.

We will not be treated as criminals by a furious and hysterical bourgeoisie.

We, as libertarians, continue the struggle among workers, employees, women and peasants (as at Wyhl) for their self-emancipation, for the class struggle, for generalised self-management.

libertarian greetings,

XXXXXXXXXXXXX X(still at liberty) XXX

INTERNATIONAL CIRCULAR

Following the July '74 circular on the convocation of a International Congress, where are we?

The secretariat of Libertarian Communist International Coordination (CICL) is at present of very little efficiency; this fact is due among other things to difficulties met by the various sister organisations (reorganisation of British OIA under the title ALI, dissolution of OIA Brussels provoking the break up of the Federation Anarchiste Communiste (FAC), Council Socialist Federation uniting French and Walloon speaking libertarians in Belgium, trans.note) and circulation of information) it is to be noted that we have received very little in the way of replies to the circular.

In these conditions, we estimate that the conference of 29-31 March should be postponed.

For the moment, the individuals responsible for international relations in OIA and FACO (Federation Anarchiste Communiste d'Occitanie, grouping in area of France with strong regional culture, and a strong feeling for autonomy, a bit like Wales, trans note) as well as foreign comrades present with the aim of organising a PREPARATORY COMMISSION for the meeting of a EUROPEAN CONFERENCE which would be able to be called for autumn 1975. This conference having for its essential aim the clearing of the ground for a proper congress, and also for preparing the bases of a libertarian communist strategy on a European

We ask all sister organisations and groups to start work in this perspective and to send their proposals and documents to the provisional secretariat in Paris.

We also ask all the organisations and groups to confirm their participation in the International Coordination.

This circular has been sent to the following:

ORR(France)FACC(Occitania)LSG(Tubingen),Hamburg group,ACAG(China)OAR(Argentina)OAR(Denmark)OCI(Italy)MVA(Britain)OR.(Geneva)IA(Norway)Swedish group.

Each of these organisations should circulate this information in its own sphere, and with those sympathetic organisations with which they are in contact and which are not mentioned here.

ORR(France)33 rue des Vignoles, 75020 PARIS.

As regards the above, it should be recognised that it is essential that we supply the Preparatory Commission with adequate information, and that we ensure that we send delegate/s to the planned European Congress.

On this level, our proposals for international work should be along the following lines

- a) That a multi-lingual bulletin is produced with description of economic, political, social background in each organisation's country, any developments, activities engaged in by organisations. That this information be constantly revised and kept up to date.
- b) that each component organisation be informed of campaigns of repression, imprisonment of militants so that international solidarity campaigns can be mounted, and that organisations be kept in contact so that they can harbour comrades fleeing from severe repression (as in Chile, Greece) and be able to obtain jobs for them, help support them, etc.
- c) where possible links be created between workers in different countries in the same international combine (e.g. Ford's) to increase effectiveness of militants at these plants. The comparing of problems faced in different countries by workers in similar industries (e.g. railways)
- d) that we eventually move to the production of an international revolutionary anarchist review, published simultaneously in several languages, with contributions from members of component organisations discussing international developments, theoretical discussion, problems faced in each country.

Further to this, I would like the above suggestions to be put to the next Delegate Conference to be discussed and decided on, so that our International Secretaries can be instructed as to what replies they should make to the Preparatory Commission and to sister organisations.

Privacy

THE CONTINUING SAGA OF FREEDOM. Freedom, the anarchist(?) weekly (sic) is, as from now going forthrightly.

Translation of CRIFA Circular dated 1975, addressed to Federations adhering to the International of Anarchist Federations (IFA), & to groups & individuals in countries that do not have a federation.

The CRIFA (the Italian Federation) met on 26 January. Representatives of the International Relations Commission of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) & the Bulgarian Anarchist Federation attended.

After long discussion it was decided that CRIFA send this circular, which would ask the activists of the groups & federations of the IFA to start active preparations for the 3rd IFA Congress originally scheduled for the spring of 1975, but which it is hereby proposed to modify.

The CRIFA is in contact with many countries in Europe, the USA, & Latin America, but can always be joined by those who accept that there should be one federation per country, & work to build up a federation where there is none.

The 3rd Congress will be a working congress, a continuation of those of Carrara (1968) & Paris (1971). Delegations should be composed of responsible, mandated comrades; mandates will be verified to avoid the disturbances at Carrara & Paris. Apart from IFA members, no observers will be admitted, & publicity will be only what is absolutely necessary.

The agenda at the Congress will be followed with the aim of reaching a conclusion on each point - which will have been discussed beforehand in the CRIFA bulletin. The bulletin will also publish, in addition to the reports of federations & groups & individuals in countries lacking a federation, the writings of other comrades: these are first to be examined by the Preparatory Commission of the Congress, & by CRIFA.

It is clear that an agenda can never be definitive, & federations can put forward their views on it; after discussion, change & completion in the CRIFA Bulletin, the Congress will draw up the final agenda.

Because of the enormous preparatory work involved, the CRIFA has found it necessary to set up a Preparatory Commission for the 3rd IFA Congress, consisting of 2 members each of the Italian FAI, the Spanish FAI, & the UAB (Bulgarians). CRIFA proposes the following agenda:

- 1) Verification of mandates (by a nominated Commission).
- 2) CRIFA (Italian FAI) Report.
- 3) Delegates' reports -
 - a) on the situation in their country & the activity of the anarchist movement there;
 - b) on the economic, political & social world situation, & the position of each organization on this situation & the more important international problems.
- 4) Theoretical basis of social-revolutionary anarchism, & its insertion in the modern world.
- 5) The technical-scientific dynamic of production on the economic & social level (the role of the multinationals), & its connection with the struggle against capitalism & the state. Perspectives for an anarchist inspired social revolution.

CRIFA ---- continued.

- 6) Means & ends of the international anarchist movement; the movement of industrial & agricultural workers; the student movement; modern syndicalism & anarchism; the 3rd World; methods of revolutionary anarchist struggle; Esperanto; international solidarity with anarchist movements & with peoples who are victims of totalitarian repression, whether given that name or not; co-ordination of anarchist propaganda internationally.
- 7) Agreement on the association & financing of IFA.
- 8) Nomination of a new CRIFA & choosing of the date for the next IFA Congress.

This suggested agenda could serve as a basis for discussion in the CRIFA Bulletin & at the Congress - the Paris Congress was not able to do this in the manner we would have wished.

As for earlier congresses, we are asking you to let us know as soon as possible, your views on the following:

- 1) Is spring 1976 suitable for the congress ? If not what do you suggest ?
- 2) In what continent, country, town, should the Congress meet ?
- 3) Could you organize in your own country the Congress ? If so, what means have you for doing so ?
- 4) When, approximately, could you send us the reports under para. 3 of the agenda (not to be read out at the congress) ? These are to be published in the CRIFA Bulletin at least 2 months before the Congress.

Hoping to hear from you: fraternal greetings,

Privacy

This translation appears with the knowledge of the International Secretary. I myself attended the Paris Congress in 1971, & would be prepared to enlarge on the above, & its possible relevance, should comrades so desire. Which reminds me - has anything come of the proposed Libertarian Communist International, first proposed by the French ORA, & for which we set aside £10 about a couple of years ago ?

Privacy

WHICH WAY D-W-D?

This document represents an incomplete but useful summary of some of the things I have had going round my mind for several months. A rough draft was briefly discussed at the 'south of the Thames' meeting in Kingston on March 9th. I am grateful for the comrades' suggestions. Responsibility for the final product is my own. **Privacy**

1. History

The Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists (ORA) was formed from out of the political and organisational morass of the now dead Anarchist Federation of Britain (AFB). The Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance (ASA) was formed at the same time; it was organisationally looser than ORA, the name being chosen as an attempt to heal the decade-old breach caused by the formation of the Syndicalist Workers Federation (SWF) and its break with the Freedom Press group. The SWF collapsed in June 1968, to be reborn when the ASA died due to frustration with the hippie element which managed to disrupt ASA meetings.

ORA was a formally tighter organisation. The common denominator for ORA members was that they were anarchists who believed in organisation - nothing more and nothing less. There were hippies, pacifists, libertarian communists, even the Vice-Chairman of the Young Liberals!

They were in effect creating a grouping that the Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists (1926) would call a 'synthesis'. The Dielo Truda Group say:-

--Such an organisation, having incorporated heterogeneous theoretical and practical elements would only be a mechanical assembly of individuals each having a different conception of all the questions of the anarchist movement, an assembly which would inevitably disintegrate on encountering reality.

As the ORA grew in numbers and the newspaper was conceived and born, the gaps in the organisation widened, people dropped out as the level commitment was stretched. This was one of the mistakes of the original Leeds proclama - they expected from each member the same amount of commitment as they were themselves prepared to give.

2. Type of Members now joining

An interesting synthesis of ideologies could possibly now occur within ORA, as the organisation has developed falteringly into a class-conscious grouping of libertarian communists, it is important to note that the people who have thus developed have been trained in anarchist politics. Recent developments have seen a number of new members who have come from a Marxist background: this represents a breakthrough for the ORA. I will go further into the differences between the two approaches in section 8. Are we seeing Marx and Bakunin finally reconciled?

3. How membership will grow in stages

Any political group is capable of attracting 100 members purely on the basis of its theoretical positions; at its height ORA had 60-70 members and a number of sympathisers. The present position of the ORA with around 40 members and candidates and a small number of active sympathisers is one of potential strength.

Conditions for membership must be kept relatively strict, although we ought not to flinch from having to work hard with some people. There is the danger that the geographical distribution of members and applicants means we will not be able to keep some people once they realise our actual strength. There is the recent example of the guy in Bradford who after a period of correspondence applied to join by post, and then resigned because ORA was unable to give him much help in his town on the same day that another enquiry from Bradford was received!

At around the 100 stage it will be necessary to have in preparation an adequate education programme in order that the mass of the membership does not fall behind

the most advanced or coherent individuals. It will be around this stage that people may be leaving in factions to join other groups, which may have its possible causes in either lack of an education programme, bad communications, or a combination. The organisation must not lose its homogeneity or fragment.

4. Weekend schools to be regionalised

As anarchists we have always been aware of the dangers of the democratic centralist form of organisation in that it takes away the initiative from the periphery. There can be seen in the weekend schools the beginnings of an education programme. Instead of having just one on a topic and expecting people nationally to get there, these must be regionalised with people trying to get to the 2 nearest if possible. These ought to be a vital way for members to meet contacts - after the London school, several applications were made for candidate membership.

Regional meetings ought not to be restricted to weekend school format. Kingston group organised a very successful Sunday meeting for comrades 'south of the Thames'. This discussed the situations of the individuals in their various towns and how mutual assistance can be given. A potted history of ORA/ANA was given also (see report elsewhere).

5. Build a group around each individual

The perspective we should have for members who attend such meetings is to, as far as possible, build a group around each individual. This means the pooling of technical facilities, and knowledge of how they work. When meetings are arranged for specific towns comrades should be prepared to travel and help with the leafleting, flyposting, paperselling and speaking. The reason we haven't been doing this in London is because putting the organisation back on its feet kept us busy. (see film shows)

6. Need for a regular news paper

One of the things that Privacy understood very well was the value a newspaper has in unifying and clarifying an organisation. Libertarian Struggle didn't unify ORA but certainly was an aid to clarification. It gave members the all important sense of 'belonging'. A newspaper with which to organise, and a vehicle around which to argue as well as being important educationally. We must think what sort of people we're trying to attract to ANA and produce a paper accordingly.

Several things are necessary to produce a good paper:-

- 1) Control of the means of production; another thing the Privacy understood when they invested a part of Privacy's inheritance in the Varitypers which were used to produce the first series of LISTS. Now, thanks to a sympathiser who is working with the Kingston group we have direct access to a brand new IBM Composer. Legally, however, it is still his property, which may have the same unfortunate consequences as when the Privacy left and took with them their Varitypers. The question of our own press can't be left at the moment as we have found a cheaper printer.
- 2) Content; much time was lost when members of the London group were forced to type every article out for the type setter. In future please will all members submitting articles to the Editorial Board do so typed, triple-spaced on one side only of the paper. Style is also important; paragraphs should be short, i.e. 5 lines, and many short articles are better than one long one.
- 3) Selling it. Members should take a few more than they can actually sell, and keep the unsold copies for interested contacts. This will become increasingly important as we develop our own theory and break with all past 'anarchist' movements. Members should be responsible for paying for any discounts given to bookshops and unsold copies. Above all, the paper won't be able to come out regularly unless copies are paid for quickly, if possible in advance.

7. Local publications

Each local group should aim to buy a duplicator or AA offset litho. Bearing in mind we are a federalist organisation that aims to encourage working-class self-activity in all aspects of everyday life, we seem to have slipped in the bringing out of local AWA publications. Pamphlets, posters, rank and file broadsheets. Specialised publications for certain firms, of Big Flame Ford Specials. A local paper could be developed out of an A3 sheet inserted into each Libertarian Struggle. Local groups could be responsible for producing and paying for occasional Libertarian Struggle specials that were for national distribution on special topics that stand on their own. Specialised AWA publications may be considered, eg for schools, industries, etc.

8. Danger of Economism

Our goal is not the self-management of the world as it is, but its permanent and complete transformation. The strength of anarchism lies in its subjective approach, which led it to participate in more cultural activities than the Marxists whose objective long-term approach led it to economic and parliamentary struggle, and the largest sections to reformism and state capitalism. As AWA has developed out of the anarchist movement and become involved in workplace organising there is the danger of overreacting. This was noticed by Leicester group at the beginning of last year. Whilst recognising the economic relationships as the fundamental basis of capitalism, we must not ignore the other aspects. By talking mainly about the economic aspects of capitalism, there is the danger that we will be talking to those already aware, ie other leftists. Because socialist economics are that much more difficult to understand than bourgeois economics, we should be prepared to have to win people over through other aspects of personal oppression tying it up with class struggle, which is not as easy as aiming just for lower strata of the like IS, IMG etc.

9. Affinity groups

When ORI was still young it was necessary to oppose the concepts of affinity groups and national organisation, because of the lack of a clear class line and a willingness to build the organisation at all costs. What is necessary is to re-define these concepts in the light of our experience of the last few years.

This section really needs to be expanded after discussion in light of my talk on the individual, the group and the national organisation at the London weekend school.

A group should exist as a focal point for those individuals in it. It should have certain functions: primarily a means whereby members can share their experiences of everyday life, and receive collective assistance in struggling back. As most of our life is spent in work situations then 'job reports' as they have become known in London group will take up a good measure of the time.

That there are other aspects that a revolutionary group should interest itself in will not be denied: the question is how much emphasis should be given to sexual repression, culture, work, international topics, etc. This is where the concept of affinity groups must be redefined, as AWA seems to be evolving an excellent model for a p libertarian organisation not based on face-to-face relationships.

It must be noted here that some of the self-defined 'collectives' were very elitist, and closed to outsiders. Much can of course be learnt from the women's movement, its successes and failures. 'Tyranny of Structurelessness' was much concerned with democratising the women's movement; People Against Sexism has arisen as an attempt to do for mixed groups what consciousness-raising groups did for the women's movement.

It is very important that a revolutionary group is not just a number of people coming together once a week to discuss politics and action - it must be a group of friends. Here is where I'd like to bring up the concept of a 'revolutionary

culture', and I'd have been slightly out of my depth. To a certain extent, some people are lost by London I.M. because of the large geographical area covered to parochial groups. A revolutionary group must be based on trust; the Platform uses the term 'rigorously organised anarchist collective s'.

Theoretical unity is the major element of trust in terms of political action, but personal trust must not be under-estimated as a factor in group dynamics.

To suggest that different people can be approached in different ways is to suggest that there are different aspects of the class struggle; it is not to be confused with liberalism. Marxist economic analysis is far more difficult to grasp than bourgeois economics. Thus topics such as eg work if tackled correctly can point a person in the direction of seeing 'society' not as a whole entity threatened by other 'societies' but as a dynamic force composed of classes with clashing interests.

10. Danger of campaign politics

The IMG, and their French equivalent are facing serious problems as a result of working on single-issue campaigns on an unprincipled basis. They are getting people to join on the basis of positions taken over certain issues, who later find out that they are not in agreement with the rest of the positions of the group. So much time is subsequently needed for education purposes, and disagreements result in the multitude of factions.

11. Advertise our presence

Predvall should have a mandate to place ads for the paper in other journals as they see fit, the money coming out of the Press Fund. This could prove vitally important if we are to expand out of the areas we are in at present. The same applies for the Libertarian Communist Review, the Platform and also local publications.

12. Internal communications

It is necessary to restate the functions of the Internal Bulletin (IB). Groups should be submitting monthly reports, and isolated individuals would benefit themselves and the organisation by occasionally stating their position and asking for suggestions, assistance, etc. In this way the monopoly of information created by London would be dispersed.

In addition to the IB, the suggestion was raised at the south of the Thames meeting that groups and individuals in a region should divide the rest of the country up between them and have a collective responsibility for maintaining postal, phone and personal contact with those areas. This is useful in bypassing the IB which comes out monthly, and increases the sense of belonging.

13. Theoretical journal

It is of paramount importance that we manage to put out again a theoretical review: the last one mandated to me to collect articles for the next LCR subject to an editorial board being elected at the Conference. For No 3, I'd like to suggest a special issue to discuss the Platform as there are many people with criticisms of it.

That's all folks - don't forget to bring your IB's along to the conference.

Privacy

Kingston AWA

This is an attempt to reply to Comrade W's piece in the last I.D. My intention is to offer a brief history of the protestant para-military organisations. I had intended to attempt an analysis of the current ceasefire, but this would have made this piece too long as my view is not completely formulated.

INTRODUCTION

It has been said before that the A.F.I. should adopt a firm stand on the Irish struggle. There are a few basic demands that we all find acceptable, troops out, etc. The divisions in the organisation revolve around the nature of the pro-vo political aspirations and the protestant (anti republican) working class (and the role the present clerical orientated 26co. government will play in a united Ireland). What I intend to do is to examine the development of protestant working class militancy in the present Troubles (I will not however look at the UWC as my main intention is to examine the direct protestant w.c. organisations). This is only a rough draft of something I hope to enlarge upon at a later date, it is by no means final. At the end of this I have added a short post script on national liberation struggle.

PROTESTANT ORGANISATIONS (from Malvern St. to 'Motorman')

The first organisation to be proscribed in this present bout of the troubles was the UVF, on the 28th June 1966. The reason given for the banning was the shooting of four catholic barmen, one of whom died, in the early hours of the 26th. Three men were subsequently sentenced to life for this assassination, one of these later became a loyalist folk hero - Gusty Spence. The 'UVF' then went underground (I put UVF in inverted commas there is little evidence to suggest that they were at this time anything more than a small collection of hangers and seemed to be mainly the product of rhetoric).

Whether the UVF existed as a smaller forerunner of the present body cannot be accurately ascertained, but one similar volunteer corps did exist. The UPV which was attached to Paisley's UCDC. The relationship between the two bodies was summed up as the UCDC being the 'executive' and 'governing body' of the UPV. At the time there was some confusion between the UPV and the UVF, amongst many loyalists little was done to clear this confusion until the actual banning of the UVF. Undoubtedly as with the later case of the UDA/UVF there was a certain amount of overlapping of membership of the two organisations. It seems unlikely that the UPV was an armed force on the lines of the IRA, although individuals in the organisation were almost certainly armed.

To understand more fully the reason for the formation of the UCDC/UPV/UVF trinity of loyalist reaction, the political situation of the time must be looked at. To quote Boulton.. 'Ireland has permanent crises like China has permanent revolution.. 'One of these crises had been stirred up when, in 1965 the so-called liberal P.M. Capt. O'Neill and the taoiseach, Lemass were shuttling back and forth

I use the term protestant in its accepted sense in the six counties to denote that section of the populace who wish to retain the link with the U.K.

between Belfast and Dublin talks about economic co-operation, O'Neill insisted that there was no discussion of the constitution in answer to the accusations levelled at him by such died-in-the-wool unionists as Paisley and later CRAIG. Ireland divided politically had been united economically since the war, the partition question a black deuce that the comprador politicians of the south or the unionist politicians of the north could play whenever either of their respective regimes were internally threatened. This card eventually proved to be too wild for them to control. But in 1966 it was Ian Paisley who played this card out of sheer political opportunism, he knew well that O'Neill was no liberal or at least not liberal enough to grant equality to the catholic minority. That O'Neill did eventually pass these reforms is no argument for upholding the liberal O'Neill theory, it must be remembered that he was forced into implementing the reforms demanded by the minority only after the situation had become untenable for the Labour British government. But in 1968 it was a classic example of (too little too late). If O'Neill had implemented these reforms in 1967 or early 68 it is unlikely that the present crisis would have reached such dimensions, but O'Neill had neither the courage or the strength even if he did have the inclination to liberalise the Six County regime.

Compared with 1966, 1967 was a fairly quiet year, with the UVF gone so ground, loyalism contented itself with anti papist rantings in the Protestant Telegraph. February saw the birth of the CNA, and the efforts of its chairman, Betty Sinclair, to steer the movement along a course that would prevent it from slipping into a sectarian groove. From its beginnings protestants viewed it with first suspicion, and later with hostility, which manifested itself on walls around the province with the legend CNA = IRA, and later with the clashes which took place regularly from August 1968. Craig banned all CNA marches, Bunting, with his Loyal Citizens of Ulster was making sure that the civil rights marchers knew where they stood. At the end of October, Jack Lynch flew to London for talks with Wilson, a few days later O'Neill was being pressed by Wilson to implement a series of reforms which corresponded roughly to the demands being made by the CNA. Loyalists sensed a sell out, the UVF was called to arms the UVF issued a communique to the effect they would not consider any concessions granted to the minority. The troubles had started in earnest. The UVF, probably through lack of resources, maintained a low profile during the early stages of the troubles.

In September 1971 Charles Harding Smith of the Woodvale Defence Association, pulled all the various defence associations together under a central council, this was the birth of the UDA. The UVF made an attempt to take over the UDA, the UDA news bulletin was forced to warn its membership that 'extremists' were trying to take over the newly founded organisation. At the same time Billy Hull revived the 'CDC and it was renamed the Loyalist Association of Workers, it was from this group that the UVF was later to emerge. A series of political manoeuvres by Paisley, Boal, and Craig for the support of the loyalist w.c. base possessed by the LNA and the UDA, ensued. Paisley and Boal made a miscalculation in the mood of the protestant w.c. and pursued policies too liberal for the mass of the loyalist population, Craig emerged as the victor enveloping his newly found strength in a political organisation. This organisation began to take on the outward trappings of fascism with large military rallies and Craig being referred to as simply as 'the leader'. With the UDA itself a power struggle was going on between John McKeague, Harding Smith, and the UVF. Harding Smith was to come out the victor of this struggle eventually but not until after a new council had first emerged and McKeague had been expelled. (As is well known now Smith was afterwards deposed).

In May 1972 the new leadership of the UDA adopted the hard line policy of declaring protestant no-go areas in protest over the security forces seemingly apathetic attitude to the republican no-go areas. This militancy was an embarrassment to Craig who declared he was not in principle in favour of no-go areas. Craig obviously did not understand the dynamics of working class reaction. The UDA continued the policy of barricading the protestant areas of Belfast. On the first weekends in June the UVF set up barricades in Derry, and McKeague's Red Hand Commandoes together with the UDA set up no-go areas on three of the housing estates in Bangor, Co. Down, and along the Ards peninsula also in Down. It was this policy which eventually forced the authorities to implement Operation Motorman. This was the Zenith of UDA achievements.

CONCLUSION

The UDA was an inevitable reaction to the provoc bombing campaign in the Six Count

ies. It had a strong working class base, but like all reactionary movements degenerated into a petty form of chauvinism, racketeering, or sectarian assassinations. Being products of loyalist ascendancy, the UDA and the UVF had the basic aim of protecting the privileges of the protestant working class, and the retention of the link with Britain. Obviously there were some socialist elements within these organisations but for the most part they were ineffective or bumped off. What must now be realised is that while the main component of these organisations is the working class, or one section of it, they are inescapably reactionary, bearing as they do a close similarity to the colonies of Algeria.

We cannot ignore the protestant working class, but we must not look at activities such as the UDC strike as heralding an embryonic revolutionary class consciousness; the working class are just as capable of throwing up reactionary organisations as they are of revolutionary ones. We cannot fall into the trap that BIFFO and CPI(NL) fell into. Whilst recognising that the oppression of the protestant working class is only a degree milder than that of the catholic working class, we must decide which is more favourable to our aims, the retention of the link with Britain or the dissolution of the border.

Post script: National liberation struggles

To reach any decision on Ireland we must take a general stand on the whole concept of national liberation struggles, and modify this position for specific instances. While we are libertarian socialists with an internationalist outlook we must recognise that this in no way excludes support for nations seeking political independence. True internationalism whereby all nations are unified on a free and equal basis is impossible under capitalism, but this is no alternative for allowing the social chauvinists to say that a nation's right to self-determination is not feasible under capitalism.

The struggle for social reforms of any sort does not divert the working class from the revolutionary struggle, similarly with the right of secession, as long as it is not seen as an end in itself. It is true that most nations will be economically dependent because in the majority of cases the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation will sell out for political independence becoming a mere comprador bourgeoisie on behalf of either the oppressor country or a rival imperialist power.

This leads to the question of the defeat of imperialism. Is it possible for a socialist revolution to take place in an exploited country or does this country have to wait for the working class of the imperialist nation to rise?

And again is capitalism made stronger or weaker by the break up of colonial groupings?

The first question's answer is obvious. To try to hold back the workers of oppressed nations until the workers in the "mother" country create a revolution is national chauvinism. The second question needs a longer answer. As I have said before it is one step from colonial domination to imperialist domination. While a colony remains part of the imposed federation of the colonial power, the economic exploitation of the masses is easily seen and a simple remedy is thought of, get rid of the political oppression and the economic oppression by obtaining independence. Imperialist oppression is a more subtle form of exploitation, not only does it oppress the workers of the neo-colony but also lays off the workers of the imperialist power by the creation of a labour aristocracy.

The problem which confronts socialists is how to channel the liberation struggles into the overthrow of not just the political domination but the economic domination of imperialism and ultimately the establishment of a libertarian communist republic. It is not impossible that this could be done "at a stroke" but it is more likely to be done in stages. National liberation struggles must be supported by all serious revolutionary socialists as an interim measure on the way to the overthrow of capitalism. Any progressive movement which aids the breakup of imperialism even when this means the establishment of a local capitalist state, must lead to the

(Continued after N. London March report)

Ireland, Vietnam and Liberation Struggles - A Reply to Rupert Williams.

I welcome the very well formulated contribution in the last I.B. in this somewhat theoretical process. The simplistic attitude of the left in general, has caused considerable amount of confusion both in Ireland & Britain. Central to Rupert's argument is the role of British imperialism and its relationship to Irish capital. I believe he has misunderstood this complex question and consequently the nature of British Republicanism and its relationship to Irish capital. To begin to understand this I shall first of all outline the development of imperialism.

GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

Britain was the first country to develop a strong and vigorous capitalist economy and due to its superior growth in the 19th century, was also the first to organise a powerful imperialist economy. The essence of imperialism is the ability of a capitalist country to extend its influence to countries without an organised bourgeoisie. This process usually involves the use of the armed forces to smash any resistance by the people. Imperialism's phenomenal success lay in its ability to widen the application of capital such backward countries India & Africa, that had plentiful supplies of both cheap labour and raw materials. It was a heightened form of capitalism that exploited workers in exactly the same way, save that the surplus value extracted was that much more intense.

In the latter part of last century Germany began to compete with Britain, which eventually led to growing tensions between the rival powers. The explosions had to come leading millions of armed workers to their deaths in the 1st World War. The end of the war saw a gradual decline of both powers which was further compounded by the development of the bourgeoisie in the colonial countries.

SHIFT OF POWER AXES

During the 'thirties we began to witness the emergence of America as a world power vying for the position of master imperialist. The 2nd World War laid the conditions necessary for the transformation of the imperialist axes and the U.S. assumed the position vacated by Germany and Britain. The 'Soviet Union' greatly strengthened, also assumed an important role. It was only a matter of time before the imperial muscles of both were flexed. America, deeply disturbed by Russia's encroachment of its world markets, launched into a war against the Korean people under the guise of a fight against 'communism'. The same excuse was used again in 1962 to slaughter the Vietnamese people. Imperialism has become both transformed and disguised and the people of South-East Asia the 'jam in the sandwich'. To understand this process it will be necessary to analyse the main forces involved.

IMPERIALISM TODAY

Vietnam offers us a striking example of conflict between the forces of international monopoly capitalism, as represented by America and the emergent state monopoly countries, Russia & China. The servile and comprador bourgeoisie sides in the meanwhile with America, hoping one day to betray their masters. The war torn workers and peasants fight desperately, not caring whether Russia or America wins, perhaps hoping one day to achieve freedom. At this point I want to make it quite clear that I am not characterising the two forms of imperialism as being the same, because their internal structure differ in certain fundamental respects which inevitably leads them into conflict, but this is not the time to analyse this. This struggle will find new arenas and the power axes will and are shifting. It is a conflict which will only be resolved with the final victory of international labour.

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

Firstly, when analysing a national liberation struggle, it is not good enough to merely say 'It is a fight against imperialism and therefore it must be a progressive movement for the working class! (no direct quote intended). As I have previously pointed out, capitalism assumes different forms some weaker and others stronger, some even disguised and transformed, but always with the the same historic mission, that of complete victory over labour. National liberation can never be liberating for workers, because it is essentially the victory of a national bourgeoisie even if this takes the form of a workers' struggle. For an example of this you only have to look at Bangladesh. Bailed by most of the Trotskyists as a 'national liberation struggle', all that's changed is the masters. I think these are the sort of swops we don't need. Workers, whether enslaved by a native or a foreign bourgeoisie, still remain slaves and in this very real sense, **WORKERS HAVE NO COUNTRY.**

STANDARD REVIEWS SHOULD BE...

Having used certain incorrect premises, **Privacy** when develops an argument about what a libertarian position should be. He ~~criticizes~~ the struggles of enslaved workers against capitalism, whether this is imperialist or nationalist in origin, with a position of "unconditional but critical support for national struggles" which he further compounds by strongly implying support for the I.R.A.

"Their (the Provos) struggle is a stepping stone to libertarian communism. Comrade you are so very wrong - any continuing support by the left, in this country, can only serve to reinforce the barrier dividing Protestant and Catholic workers, and disguise the reactionary nature of Irish Republicanism."

I would like to come back to an earlier point which he made, in which I am in full agreement. First we have to develop our position beyond "Freeing of Irish political prisoners, and to internment troops out." The problems of British and Irish workers will not be solved until the working class is united under the banner of libertarian communism. The morass dividing the protestants and catholics is of course much deeper than just a political and economic question, as it involves the age-old tool of oppression, religious bigotry. Consequently a great emphasis has to be placed upon shattering the whole basis of religion - ignorance and fear of the unknown. We should fight to extend our ideas to Ireland and assist workers in the creation of a conscious socialist movement. We are rapidly approaching the stage when we can do this. Central to our work will be the establishment of contacts in Ireland and distribution of 'libertarian struggle'. As to the reunification of Ireland - we have to make it quite clear that this can only take place when the mass of workers consciously desire to unite as a class.

Privacy

WIMBORNE REPORT

There are now three candidate members in Seton, attached to the Kingston-group. Inevitably, because of the distance involved, we are functioning on our own to a considerable extent. We have however had one discussion meeting with the comrades from South London, and exchanged several letters.

Seton

Much of Seton's industry is based on the docks and ship-repair. Traditionally, these have always been the best organised workplaces in the area and they have given the lead to other factories. There is however an important Fords plant, together with recently developed light industry. The large building sites are comparatively well organised in trade union terms.

The Communist Party has, at least on paper, about two hundred members, and the dominant influence on the largest building site (Higgs and Hill). The Docks shop-stewards committee is controlled by left-labour elements who have recently been ~~xxxxxxx~~ isolated from the rank and file on several key issues (e.g. the proposed blacking of asbestos). They have tended to politically zig-zag all over the place, but have been seriously involved both in the production of a local bulletin, "The Decker", and in the I.S. dominated paper, "Dockworker". They generally move, if they are pushed fairly hard, e.g. last year they agreed (after 18 weeks) to black Maxwell-Joseph and Fords in response to a request by the workers occupying the Strachans factory in Eastleigh, despite the hostility of local union bureaucrats.

The W.R.P. has a relatively large branch (estimated at about 40) dominated by an E.T.U. steward from the Vesper-Thorneycroft ship repair yards. They have apparently been unaffected by the W.S.L. split. A number of stewards from the docks work with them.

The I.S. number about 25, but only about a dozen are very active, forming an "inner circle" which, in effect, makes the branch decisions.

There is the remnants of a Solidarity group here, including Privacy ~~xxxxxxx~~ (author of their 'Lump' pamphlet). They have a number of contacts, both in Seton and in Poole and Bournemouth. There are still a few individuals around who produced, about three years ago, a trendy-libertarian paper, "Mantra" and the A.S.A. paper, "Red and Black Outlook".

WE feel that our main task should be the setting up of a local ~~xxxx~~ paper, which will positively relate to industrial militants. ~~xxxx~~ We're hoping to set up a two-sided issue by May 1st, covering Fords, the Working Womens Charter, squatting together with reports from contacts we have in the Post Office and on the railways. It could give us a lot of credibilty- we think that as it directly relates to this area, it could sell pretty well.

The university

Two of us are students. During the last ~~xxx~~ term, things have been fairly dead, though both of us have worked in broad based campaigns to (a) sit-in over catering prices, a movement which gained considerable support before being sabotaged by the Broad Left and (b) reform the uni.

structure, so as to give more power to union meetings while phasing out sabbatical officers. We are establishing a Revolutionary Anarchist Society as a focus for activity.

Abortion

On April 12th, S.P.U.C. and other groups are organising an anti-abortion march and rally in Southampton. The Womens' group called a meeting last Thursday (20th March) which agreed to organise harassing tactics and a counter-rally. The meeting was well attended including members and delegates from W.L., I.S., I.M.G., C.P., L.P. and A.W.A.. It was agreed to produce a counter-leaflet (written by Privacy) and organise a large-scale flyposting campaign. Any support AWA groups or contacts can provide would be welcome. It is important that as many comrades as possible come down for the march. Accommodation available - contact us at Privacy. There is another meeting this Thursday, contact us for further details after then. ~~(Traxiprix)~~
Solidarity and Libertarian Circle

A meeting was held between us and the Solidarity group to discuss our ideas and ways in which we could help each other out. The main thing which came out of the meeting was the organisation of a Libertarian Circle discussion group. Meetings are being held at a pub in town on the first Thursday of every month. Hopefully it can become more than just a talking shop.

The bookshop

As many comrades know, we live above a bookshop. The back room devoted solely to ~~political~~ political books and pamphlets. It has quite a ~~good~~ good selection and we're hoping to increase it. Some groups, I.S., I.M.G., Solidarity have been stocking the shop with their own material for some time, and we will be doing the same as material becomes available,...

We'll try and put a detailed report of our involvement in squatting struggles down here in the next I.B.

Anyone who wants to come down here for a weekend is very welcome...