



S.B. No. 1 (Flimsy)

METROPOLITAN POLICE



SPECIAL BRANCH

Special Report

3rd day of March 1976

SUBJECT

AWA

1. The following information has been received from a reliable source:-

Reference to Papers 100/76/20

Privacy



On Saturday 14th and Sunday 15th February 1976 the Anarchist Workers Association held a National Conference at the Wandsworth Council for Community Relations, 470a Wandsworth Hill, S.W.11. Thirty three persons attended the first day of the Conference. A national agreement to continue the work of the Association was signed by all delegates of the Association. The conference was held in the Wandsworth Group, Wandsworth, London, on the first morning's session, opened the proceedings at 10.30 am. The agenda of the conference was as follows:-

1. With the agenda settled, the first item discussed was the question of observers. A delegate from Wandsworth, asked whether or not [redacted], who was not a member of the Association but had attended Wandsworth Group meetings, should be allowed to remain in the hall and address the conference. Following a heated discussion and a statement by [redacted] that he was a 'Delegate' from the recently formed 'Central London Anarchist Group' and not, as suspected, an observer of the Anarchist Federation of Britain, it was agreed that observers should be permitted to attend and to address the conference through the chairperson. However, when asked if they would vote, it was unanimously agreed that they could not be allowed to. It was further decided that candidates for membership would be ineligible to vote.

2. [redacted] then introduced the motion submitted by the South Coast Group:-

- 1) 'That standing orders should be agreed'.
- ii) 'That National Conference gives power to delegates to call a conference to amend the constitution and that decisions are automatically effective without waiting for the next National Conference'.

[redacted] suggested that the constitution should be discussed and that any proposals be submitted for inclusion in the Internal Bulletin prior to being presented to conference for debate. In addition he argued that a delegate conference should be held to consider methods of strengthening the constitution, and suggested that such a conference should have the necessary power to alter the constitution without referring it to a National Conference.

this on the grounds that he felt that it would be wrong for a few members to be empowered to change the constitution of the AMA. It was finally decided that an extra conference should be called to decide the constitution and the aims and principles of the Association.

6. The next item on the agenda was the reports from the national secretaries and whilst these were given [redacted] Privacy was required to leave the hall. The first to speak was [redacted] Privacy the National Treasurer and Membership Secretary, who apologised for not having had his report with him and asked for his report to be deferred until the following day. He pointed out that he had held the position of Membership Secretary for two years and that he wished to relinquish this post. [redacted] Privacy Hull, was proposed and accepted to replace [redacted] Privacy in this capacity. [redacted] Privacy informed the meeting that the AMA had three different accounts, the paper fund (Libertarian Struggle), the leaflet/pamphlet fund and the general fund, and suggested that to assist him the London groups should elect a delegate to be responsible for the collection of newspaper receipts. He was strongly supported in this by [redacted] Privacy but nobody was chosen to fill the post.

7. [redacted] Privacy acting National Secretary, informed those present that he had only taken on the job as a temporary measure following the trouble between [redacted] Privacy the elected National Secretary, and the Leicester Group. He stated that he had little to report other than that various correspondence had been received, most of which had been for literature, and that there had been a number of enquiries from the Birmingham area concerning membership. He suggested that the new secretary should be a person who had the full trust of the organisation and was 'politically spotless'. The [redacted] Privacy incident had been very embarrassing for the AMA and such an occurrence should not be allowed to happen again. Nominations for the post of National Secretary were then taken. These were [redacted] Privacy Jim PICKFORD, [redacted] Privacy and [redacted] Privacy [redacted] Privacy was eventually chosen for the post.

8. [redacted] Privacy, International Foreign Language Secretary, reported that she had been unable to fully carry out her responsibilities since December as she had been grossly overworked, and, therefore, wished to resign. She said that the position required someone with a lot of spare time and a knowledge of foreign languages, especially French and German. She claimed that she had been in contact with comrades in Portugal, France, Holland, Sweden and Denmark, and that the future looked bright for the AMA on the international front. [redacted] Privacy then told the Conference that the ORA in France had something like 400 - 500 militants and faced the same kind of problems as the AMA did in this country. Referring back to the post of International

[REDACTED]

Foreign Language Secretary, [REDACTED] Privacy proposed that persons with a knowledge of a foreign language should offer to assist the secretary. Several suggestions were put forward and it was subsequently agreed that an International Foreign Commission be formed instead of an individual being elected. [REDACTED] Privacy South Coast Group, was asked to organize the commission and [REDACTED] Privacy Leicester, was elected International Secretary English Language.

9. The National Secretary English Language, [REDACTED] Privacy asked that three editors be appointed for 'Libertarian Communist Review' and that Conference decide the date of production and articles to be included. [REDACTED] Privacy stated that the review was essential to the AIA and suggested that a board be set up to ensure that production would be regular and to report to Delegate Conference bi-monthly. [REDACTED] Privacy proposed that the Association should concentrate on improving its newspaper 'Libertarian Struggle' and that production of 'Libertarian Communist Review' be discontinued. [REDACTED] Privacy supported [REDACTED] Privacy's proposal of forming a board but felt that it should be left until after completion of the leaflet 'What is the AIA'. The general feeling of the meeting was that the review was a good source of propaganda and should be retained. It was then decided that [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy should be the review's three editors.

10. The next item on the agenda was a request from comrades in Brighton that the Association's duplicator be either repaired, or replaced by a new one, as they had experienced difficulty in producing the AIA's Internal Bulletin. [REDACTED] Privacy suggested that an attempt should be made to purchase a second hand copier, and that full members should contribute £1 and candidate members 50p towards it. [REDACTED] Privacy said that the Peoples News Service duplicator was always available to the London groups, but it was considered that the Association required one for its sole use. A collection raised £18.55 and, when it was asked how other members would be forced to pay their share, a motion that Full members contribute £1, candidate members 50p, and old age pensioners and unemployed persons be invited to make a contribution towards the cost of supplying a duplicator' was passed by a large majority.

11. [REDACTED] Privacy introduced a motion from North London that 'the resignation of [REDACTED] Privacy from the organisation reflects badly on the North London and Wandsworth groups'. This proposal was withdrawn in the face of fierce criticism.

12. The conference resumed at 2 pm, following a break of one hour for lunch, with [REDACTED] Privacy in the chair. This session was dominated by a proposal put forward by [REDACTED] Privacy concerning the unemployment crisis. [REDACTED] Privacy pointed out that the motion had already been adopted by the teachers caucus of the AIA and he apologized for having previously committed the Association with regard to its policy on [REDACTED]

unemployment to his union, the N.U.T.. He considered that it was self-organisation of the working class and not the rank and file movement that would strengthen the position of the working class. He said that there should be a break from the old rank and file ideas, which he thought had brought about a partial collapse of the International Socialists, as he did not want the AIA to take a syndicalist line. There should be complete non-affiliation to any body connected with the Labour Party, which had done little to reduce the level of unemployment, and the AIA should condemn the Right to Work campaign. [redacted] recommended that the Conference accept the proposal whilst [redacted] thought that something should be included in the motion concerning the occupation of factories by workers. Members of the South Coast Group were not ready to vote for the motion unless their amendments (attached) were accepted but [redacted] thought that it was a good motion and had many possibilities, although the wording could be slightly altered. It was then agreed to vote on each paragraph of the motion separately. Sections 1, 6, 9, 13 and 15 were passed unanimously, amended paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11 and 12 were accepted, and sections 8 and 14 were narrowly defeated. (Appendix 'A').

13. Amendments to motion:

Paragraph 2

The sentence 'The AIA members should draw up leaflets relevant to their own situation and that national organisation and local groups should consider financial and practical support for this' was added.

Paragraph 3

'participate' was substituted for 'support' in line 3.

Paragraph 4

'Anarchist workers reject the idea of theoretical issues and political decisions being enshrined as museum pieces. Anarchist attitudes only have validity as part of day to day struggles of working people. Accordingly AIA members and candidate members are instructed to actively campaign in their trade union branches and other areas of working class struggle on these aims and to contribute their experiences to both Libertarian Struggle and the Internal Bulletin' was added.

Paragraphs 5 & 7

The South Coast Group's proposals were accepted.

Paragraph 10

To read 'On employment, the AIA sees the inadequacy of the Right to Work campaign and that the fight against unemployment on this principle could have reactionary implications, i.e. - a call on the bosses to give work to the unemployed on a basis such as reduced wages, longer hours etc.



However, any rank and file initiative to fight unemployment needs supporting and our ideas can be argued within active local back to work groups'.

Paragraph 11

To read 'We recognise that there is no right to be a wage slave but that, employed or unemployed, each worker has a right to live and to a decent standard of living. This means also raising demands for improved working conditions. Creation of jobs by increasing waste production, and increased competitive production, solely for profit, must be recognised as against the long term interests of the working class and, therefore, only supported when redundancy/work sharing with no loss of pay in a particular instance is impossible to win. Therefore, we support the Claimants Unions' Fight to Live campaign.'

Paragraph 12

Sub-para IV South Coast Group amendment passed.

Sub-para VI South Coast Group proposal accepted together with the added sentence 'That speed-ups in production and time and motion studies should be opposed by membership'.

Sub-para VIII South Coast Group amendment passed.

14. It was agreed that a 'pooled fares' system should be introduced, whereby the total travelling expenses would be equally shared by those attending the conference. The day's proceedings closed at 6 pm and the majority of delegates then attended a social at **Privacy**

Privacy

the home of

Privacy

15. The Conference was reconvened at 10 am on Sunday 15 February when **Privacy** was the chairperson. Although no more than ten comrades were present (this later increased to twenty one), it was decided to continue as it was thought that many items could be dealt without too much discussion.

16. The first proposal discussed came from the South Coast Group and concerned the length of conference. Prior to the motion being accepted it was agreed that the words 'whenever possible' should be inserted immediately after 'one day only'



[REDACTED]

editorial collective, for ratification at the next Delegate Conference, and that the words 'Formerly Libertarian Struggle' be included on the front page of the paper for three months. When asked if the new styled newspaper would be ready for publication by 1st May 1976, [REDACTED] stated categorically that it would.

Privacy

22. In recognition after a lunch break of thirty minutes, [REDACTED] took the chair and the discussion immediately took up the other points raised with regard to the newspaper. The remainder of these articles were carried after the following amendments had been made:

Paragraph 4

Sub-para 1 to read 'Each group would be instructed to nominate at least one member to learn to type-set unless special circumstances pleaded at Delegate Conference'.

Sub-para 5 The sentence 'late articles not OK' be put back', was added.

An additional proposal from [REDACTED] which read 'That each group be mandated to produce at least 2 articles per issue, not automatically for publication. We must recognize that to build up a backlog of articles', was passed.

Privacy

23. The next motion discussed was on school students. [REDACTED] pointed out that the N.S.S.S. had yet to be exploited by a single left-wing organisation but was still a true revolutionary group. Suggestions that the word 'potential' be inserted before 'revolutionary' and that 'the ASA supports it' be added, were accepted.

Privacy

24. [REDACTED] National Treasurer, then gave his report. He apologised for not having had the report ready earlier and informed the meeting that, as far as he could ascertain, the money at present held by the Association was £105.90. He explained that the press fund had accounted for much of the cash during the previous year, but was now paying for itself. The high increase of postage had drained the funds and it was proving difficult to operate the ag and three separate funds. The press fund, which received 50% of the annual income, had a balance of approximately £25, the leaflet fund (£27) had about £50, mainly because of the large number of copies of 'The Platform' which had been sold, and the general fund (£58) had £100. He complained that only four members had paid their annual subscriptions for 1976 and that something like £200 was owed. He urged all groups to chase up their members in an attempt to rectify this.

Privacy



25. Privacy then reported that at the last count (in November, 1975) the AMA had 36 full members and about twelve contacts. He said that, although this was a low figure, it was double the number in 1974.

26. Privacy proposed 'That a person be delegated in London as paper co-ordinator' and was himself duly elected to fill the post.

27. The conference then moved on to the question of Ireland. A number of motions on the subject were discussed, including one from Privacy of the North London group, and another from the South Coast Group. In explaining the policy suggested by the South Coast Group, Privacy said that the main problems appeared to stem from ~~capitalism~~. Left-wing groups were agreed on minor things but were divided on all major issues. He said that the troops could only be withdrawn from Northern Ireland if the workers were united. This motion, which read:

'The situation in Northern Ireland is that capitalists from all parts of the world are exploiting the Northern Irish working class and that religious, national and cultural traditions are being used to divide and further exploit the working class.

The AMA rejects the concept of an anti-imperialist struggle. We recognize that capitalism is an international system and that the struggle must be against both the domestic and international ruling class. The struggle in Northern Ireland should be linked with struggles for worker's power, throughout the British Isles, Ireland's economy being an integral part of the economy of the British Isles, Europe and the World.

We reject all para-military groups as nationalistic, elitist and divisive.

The troops presence in N. Ireland maintains divisions between the working class that ultimately benefit only the capitalists. The only way that the removal of the troops could be meaningful is if they are forced to withdraw by united class action, including the self activity of the troops.

The struggle will only be resolved when the people of N. Ireland realise that their best interests lie with each other and not with para-military groups, capitalists and religious and other sectarian organisations', was passed by a small majority.





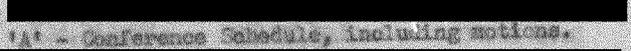
28. The final item on the agenda was 'any other business', during which it was agreed that the next National Conference should be held in either Leeds or Nottingham in October 1976. A Delegate Conference was arranged for Saturday 13th and Sunday 14th March 1976 in Southampton.



29. The Conference finally closed at 6 pm.



30. The following appendices are attached to this report:



'A' - Conference Schedule, including motions.



'B' - South Coast Group's proposed amendments to the East London motion on employment.



'C' - Proposed policy on Ireland from **Privacy**



'D' - Literature about the issues list movement distributed by **Privacy**



31. References of persons identified as being present at the Conference, or otherwise mentioned in this report:

Present:



Privacy



Privacy

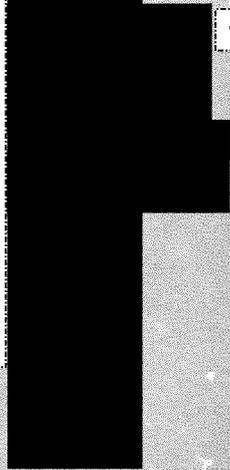
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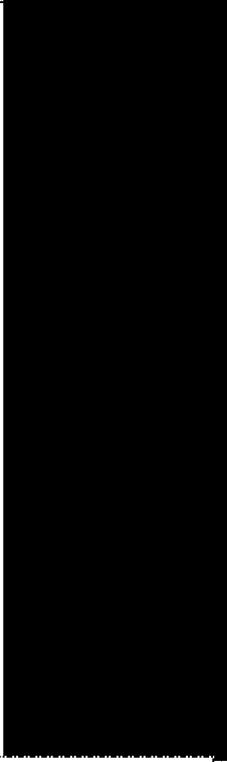
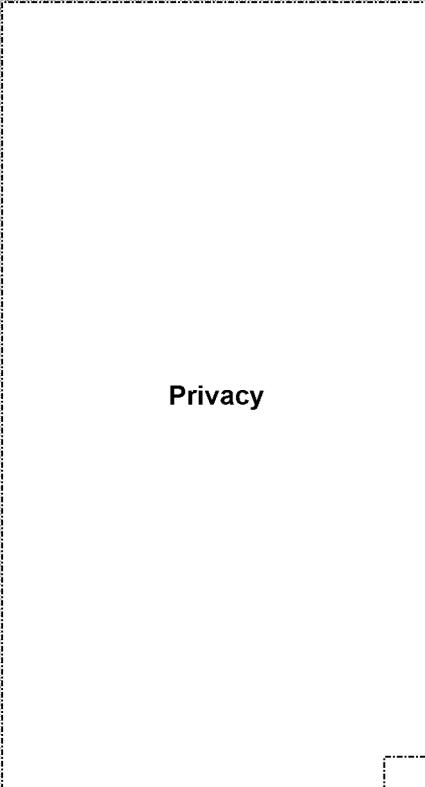
1

2

Jim PEARSON

022/15/126





Privacy

mentioned:

Privacy



Privacy



Privacy



G.T.M. Craft

3

Chief Inspector



Privacy



4



Privacy



CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT

Anarchist Workers' Association
National Conference
(Wandsworth), February 14th/15th, 1976.

SCHEDULE

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Introductory Note

There is no guarantee that all the material obtained in this schedule is what it should be. Apart from the problem of identifying what were and what were not motions - in the last I.B. - and what they were, there were also the problems of deciding what might be useful information and what would not. If there are any glaring mistakes or omissions, it would be much appreciated if these were pointed out - preferably before the proceedings have advanced too far. Thankyou.

(Wandsworth Group)

Agenda

1. Reports:-

Treasurer/Membership Secretary
National Secretary
International Secretaries

2. Ireland:-

(North London) That the A.W.A. recognises that all the various forms and shades of Irish nationalism are blind alleys for the working class. The only true solution to the problems of the working class in Ireland is the building of a mass libertarian socialist movement.

(Wandsworth and South Coast) have expressed dissatisfaction with "Irish policy" and a desire to discuss the question. Neither group has thus far proposed an itemised policy alternative.

3. Standing Orders:-

(Privacy - South Coast) That standing orders should be agreed. (copies of the standing orders should be available!)

4. Constitutional Amendments:-

(Privacy - South Coast) That National Conference gives power to have a conference to amend the constitution and that decisions are automatically effective without waiting for the next National Conference.

5. Length of Conferences etc.:-

(South Coast) That conferences, dayschools, editorial meetings etc. be held on one day only. This is proposed so that people with other commitments (family, work etc.) are not excluded. We also feel that it will keep costs down (day-returns being available for many people) and ensure that meetings start on time and are not interrupted by lunch-time drinking sessions!

6. Anti-intellectualism:-

(Privacy - North London) That (1) There is too much emphasis within the A.W.A. on learning from the writings of prominent persons, and not enough emphasis on learning from experience of life.

(2) This emphasis reflects the

(continued)

origins of O.R.A. as the British version of a French outfit, found by a group in which students and "professionals", of one kind and another, played too prominent a role.

(3) These prominent persons whose writings we pay too much attention to are, almost by definition, intellectuals, academics, professional revolutionaries, or people who are in one way or another set apart from the vast majority of the working class.

(4) What we need as an antidote to this is a healthy dose of anti-intellectualism, which need not necessarily be formalised as a tendency within the A.W.A.

7. Resignation of **Privacy**

(North London) That the resignation of **Privacy** from the organisation reflects badly on the North London and Wandsworth groups.

8. The Paper/Libertarian Struggle:-

(South Coast - North London) That the name of the paper be changed from "Libertarian Struggle" to "Anarchist Worker".

(South Coast) That the format of the front page be re-styled to include "incorporating (formerly) Libertarian Struggle" under the title, and for the slogan "For Workers' Power" to be at the bottom of the front page under the name of A.W.A.

(North London) That all editors of the paper try to make some sections of every issue optimistic and funny. The paper should not consist entirely of details of struggles unpromising in the short term, important though these are.

Privacy (North London) That (1) Each London group be instructed to mandate at least one member to learn to typeset.

(2) Each London group be instructed to mandate at least one member to form the basis of the "Production Collective" of the newspaper. This collective to elect one member as "Prodocoll Co-ordinator".

(3) That a second colour be used on front and back pages of L.S. That this colour be decided by the Editorial Collective, and be not always red.

(4) That a press fund be advertised in the paper with a target of £250 to raise equipment for producing the paper, and contributors be credited by initials or T.U., womens' group, etc.

(5) That Editorial Collective mandate one editor to work on lay-out of the paper, and O.K. late articles.

9. Unemployment etc.:-

(East London) That the A.W.A. believes that unemployment, the social services cuts, wage restrictions and inflation are all the product of one source: the world crisis of capitalism. Therefore, any A.W.A. policy on any of the four points should deal with them as integral to one another.

2 We believe that the working class is not responsible for this crisis and that the A.W.A.'s aim should be to emphasise this in its policy. + *and*

3 We condemn any social service expenditure cuts as a cut in the "social wages" of the working class and we support any initiatives in the working class movement to combat the destruction of the social services: for example, the NCAPP conferences in the Health service and the STC in Education, while

(continued)

fighting the tendency to orientate towards the Labour Party and the T.U. bureaucrats.

We recognise that the public sector workers cannot fight the cuts on their own, in isolated unions, as this could lead to an attitude of defence of one service to the detriment of another. We also recognise that a successful fight against cuts cannot simply be waged on the basis of an alliance of the public sector trades unionists with each other but must involve the unions from the private service and industrial sectors as well.

On this basis, we call for local committees of action against cuts and unemployment to be set up, preferably based on the Trades Councils but, if this is unfavourable, independent committees should be sponsored by those area branches of unions able to do so. Right of delegacy to these committees should not be purely confined to trade unions but should include Tenants' associations, Claimants' Unions and Women's Groups.

The aim of these committees should be to co-ordinate resistance against cuts and unemployment.

We recognise that the T.U.C. and Labour Party at a national level will not successfully fight the cuts and unemployment and therefore we call for a National Delegate Conference of these Cuts Committees to co-ordinate action nationally, and to decide strategy.

We believe in a sliding scale of public expenditure to keep pace with inflation.

We also recognise that, even before inflation, the social services were inadequate and we must fight for increased spending in real terms.

On unemployment, the A.W.A. rejects the notion that there is any "right to work" and that a fight against unemployment on this principle could have reactionary implications, i.e. - a call on the bosses to give work to the unemployed on a basis such as reduced wages, longer hours etc.

We recognise that there is no right to be a wage slave but that, employed or unemployed, each worker has a right to live and to a decent standard of living. Therefore, we support the Claimants' Unions' Fight to Live campaign.

We also believe that the only way in which unemployment can be fought is by the unemployed and the employed uniting to preserve jobs. Principle methods should be:-

(1) Automatic entitlement to free union membership for the unemployed in their relevant union, and full voting rights.

(2) We believe that the unemployed should also be members of Claimants' Unions and other unemployed workers' groups, and active within them.

(3) A major demand both in T.U.s and in C.U.s should be increased and non-discriminatory S.S. and Unemployment benefits, based on a guaranteed adequate income - in or out of work.

(4) Compulsory ban on overtime.

(5) Full pay, work or no work.

(6) Short time working should be met with a slow down in production.

(7) Threatened factory closures should be met with factory occupations and refusal to allow the bosses to move out machinery.

(8) Any proposed reduction of the work force should be met with strike action and, in the public sector,

[continued]

it should be met with refusal to cover for unappointed posts, a refusal to take on increased work-load and, ultimately, strike action if this does not have any effect.

(9) International links must be forged with workers of other countries to prevent international monopolies from moving factories and work from country to country where the economic climate suits them best.

The working class must argue for the return of free collective bargaining and the destruction of any pact between the T.U.C. and the government which entails any restriction on the working class movement's ability to negotiate for better conditions and for better wages.

Inflation is not the working class's responsibility and therefore the A.W.A. believes in the principle of the sliding scale of wages on the basis of automatic cost of living increases so that wage bargaining can start from what can be gained in terms of real money.

Finally, we reject all arguments that employment can be increased by the sacking of women and the repatriation of immigrants. We recognise that the economic crisis would still be here without women and coloured workers and that this is a clumsy attempt of the extreme right to divide and smash the working class.

10. Organised Religion:-

Privacy - East London) That the A.W.A. affirms its total opposition and hostility to the organised religions in all their forms. We recognise that religion, with its concepts of God or Gods, perpetuates and bolsters hierarchical society and submission to authority. We are totally opposed to the preachings of original sin, and the condemnation of sexuality which shackles the working classes to an authoritarian and repressive morality. We condemn the attitude of religion to women as inferior beings. We see that religions have always preached submission to authority and a forgetting of struggle for a better society by pointing to a happy after-life. We see that, historically, religions have always supported the ruling classes, in feudalism and capitalism, and that the churches, in their alliance with the state and the exploiting classes, have always been opposed to revolutionary movements. As materialists, we reject the superstition and mysticism promoted by religions, which keep the working classes in darkness and ignorance.

In accordance with this and our materialist philosophy, and our concept of revolutionary organisation, we regard membership of the A.W.A. and membership of an organised religion as being incompatible, and make this a condition of membership.

11. School Students:-

(North London) That the A.W.A. recognises that the self-managed struggle against school authorities by school students, which is trying to set up school councils comprising students, staff and parents with complete control over the school, is a revolutionary one and should be treated as such.

12. Elections:-

National Secretary
No notice has been received from other secretaries as it is assumed they will continue in office.

13. Any Other Business:-

General Information

Creche:-

The chairperson of the conference will take the names of volunteers. A list will then be posted at the entrance of the conference. It is to be hoped that subsequent interruptions on this question will then be kept to a minimum.

There are facilities both at the Town Hall and within the Centre, though it is felt that we should arrange our own "nurse" rather than leave the matter entirely in the hands of others.

Places to eat:-

There are numerous eating houses in Lavender Hill. The "Take-Away" is excellent, as is the Indian restaurant. If you travel on towards the junction, you'll come across a Wimpey bar and other snack-bars. The pubs are unlikely to be serving food over the week-end.

The social:-

The host group deeply regrets the fact its funds are not what they might be, and they won't stretch to paying for the booze. It is intended that there will be a whipround at Saturday lunch-time (before everyone gets depressed over the price of food) and a delegate will purchase the desired substances during the afternoon. The actual locale of the social will be Privacy, which is right next to the Town Hall. Find Privacy and go right to the top of the stairs!

Overnight guests:-

Anyone who hasn't arranged something, please don't leave it to the last minute. People who have already contacted the secretary, please "confirm you reservations", and people who haven't yet contacted the sec., please do so!

Notes

The National Conference of the A.W.A. Feb. 14th-15th / The Irish Policy

Presented below, in an amended form, is A.W.A. Irish Policy. Rather than scrap our present policy, for the most nebulous reasons, as stated in Jan. I.B., the author felt a clarification and expansion was what was needed. To change the policy in favour of either of the proposed amendments, as they appeared in Jan. and Feb. I.B.'s, would be a retreat into pure irrelevance. (in the traditional mode)

This proposed amended version will prove, no doubt, to be controversial. This is all to the good, as we can at least expand our politics in terms which are relevant to-day, and not in a thousand years when humanity is 'good' enough to live up to anarchist principles.

Proposed Policy in Five Parts

(1) that the A.W.A. supports the role played by the Republican movement as sole defenders of the catholic minority in Northern Ireland, and also recognises the need for an armed reinforcement of this position. *

The A.W.A. does not however support the Republican intention of forced induction of the protestant working class into a 32 county republic. The A.W.A. reserves the right to criticise the political nature and tactics of these Republican organisation, in the struggle to develop a libertarian communist analysis of the continuing conflict.

(2) that the A.W.A. demands the immediate withdrawal of British troops from N. Ireland, and the release of all political prisoners. Only when British involvement in Ireland is terminated will any real progress be made, therefore it is here the A.W.A. should be most active.

(3) that the protestant working class in continuing to be used as a tool of the British ruling class, is playing a basically reactionary role, characterised by their folk culture, which is based primarily on the suppression of the catholic population, and in the grandisment of the royal family. Nevertheless the A.W.A. recognises that the legitimate fears of the Irish protestants, as to the nature of the southern state, and particularly to the overtly political role of the Roman Catholic Church within the State; will have to be largely eliminated before real class unity can be accomplished. This could come when disenchanted with the British (following the withdrawal) and their cultural identity bankrupt and obsolete, the protestants turn on the 'Free' State with such force as to eventually wring important reforms from it; and at the same time find common cause with radical catholics. It would be following this that the chances of a revolutionary anarchist presence emerging would be greatest.

* i.e. that is the right of the workers in these areas to carry on an armed confrontation with all attackers.

cont./

(4) that the only ultimate answer to the Irish crisis is the building of a mass Libertarian Communist movement, bound by class interest, and rejecting all religious concepts as devious and delusionary. The tactics in aiding this creation must not evade exposing the reactionary role played by the state reactionaries i.e. the various religious denominations.

(5) that the practical implications of this policy necessitates the involvement of members in the united front organisations formed to influence Irish politics. While A.W.A. emphasizes the basic differences between Anarchism and Republicanism the organisation realises it is by far the most progressive force to emerge in Irish politics. The sympathetic feelings which some anarchist revolutionaries may express toward the republican struggle does not under any conditions blind the A.W.A. as to the irreconcilable differences in the two philosophys. This manifests itself in that no member of the A.W.A. may join one of these groups, and admission to the A.W.A. is barred to members of these political factions.

NOTE: When the word 'support' is used in the above, it means the propagating of a favourable political opinion by our usual propaganda methods.

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General Motion on Dual Political Membership

that the A.W.A. is totally opposed to dual political membership. No member may join any group/party if that group subscribes to the capture of state power. Admission to the A.W.A. is barred to members of any political group/party which has substantial political disagreements with the A.W.A.

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Personal Motions to National Conference by

Privacy

BRIGHTON/SOUTH COAST GROUP

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FEBRUARY 1976

Proposed Amendments to E. London motion

Paragraph 5 to read:

"On this basis we call for local committees for action against cuts and unemployment to be set up preferably as rank and file co-ordinating committees with the support of Trades Councils where this can be obtained but, if this is unfavourable, independent committees should...."

Paragraph 7. Delete last three words. Add new sentence:
"Delegates to be mandatable, recallable, and rotatable."

Paragraph 8 Delete.

Paragraph 9 Delete.

Paragraph 11 Delete and insert paragraph:

"We would also explain that there is no right to live under capitalism and that the claimants union slogan should be viewed as a revolutionary demand."

Paragraph 12, sub para 4 Amend to read:

"voluntary ban on overtime organised by rank and file workers"

Paragraph 12 sub para 6 Amend to read:

"short time working should be met with the demand for fullwages and no redundancies."

Paragraph 12 sub para 8 Amend to read:

"any proposed reduction of the work force should be met with appropriate industrial action in both public and private sectors."

Paragraph 14 Delete.

active in TOM

Jan - Feb 1976.

Comrades

Just before the day-school I received a letter from comrade Privacy inquiring about a document on Ireland I had posted to A.F. contact addresses, the latter half of which he had seen in photostat form, courtesy of Freedom Press. He indicated that he thought it might be useful for this document to be available to the AWA nat. conf. since there was a motion on Ireland coming up. What follows is mostly the document as it stood originally. Since however it is being reduplicated (and slightly condensed by tired typist - sorry) I have taken the liberty of 1) adding this specific explanation in place of the old intro. 2) deleting references to the Bloody Sunday demo (for which the original was intended in part to mobilise people) & to the A.F. 3) adding a few footnotes on omissions and responses to some of the criticisms made of present AWA policy on Ireland. (I must apologise for not attending the conference to defend these - in the original I suggested an "Irish Caucus" be held at the A.F. conf. and I have also promised to go there as a member of the Anarchist group.

Two points of clarification at the beginning of the document: 1) The very unoriginal "potted history" section I included not because I believed comrades to be ignorant of the events mentioned but because I thought that my contemporary response could not be separated from my historical understanding of the situation. I consequently wanted to make clear what this was so that comrades could see whether or not I seemed to be basing myself on false appreciation. 2) The document suggests participation in the TOM. It does this, however, by arguing the correctness of the TOM demands & - not by arguing that TOM is the best way to forward them - a lacuna which I have not had time to correct.

BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN IRELAND

It has become a platitude of all species of politics that Ireland's troubles emerge from her troubled history - even the bourgeoisie can comfortably nod their heads about this - indeed it is because they can so elegantly portray themselves as confounded in their good intentions by this now "unfortunately" heritage that it is essential for revolutionaries not merely to understand this history but moreover to grasp the ways in which the patterns found in it persist up to the present day.

Most observers of the history of modern Ireland concur upon the overwhelming significance of the 17th British plantation of large numbers of English and lowland Scots in Ulster - a province which had hitherto proved particularly rebellious. Successive British regimens were certain of the support of the "planters" not only because of their religious and cultural sympathies but also because they were given distinct economic and social privileges. These were initially expressed in terms of land rights, and later, despite the brief threat of United Irishmen, in terms of an industrial imperialist linkage based on the linen trade (early development of industry in the North having itself been encouraged by the security of the Ulster Custom). The religious and cultural divisions in Irish society subsequent upon plantation became profoundly reinforced by an unevenness of economic development. This unevenness had significant repercussions, such as the retarded emergence of a Southern bourgeoisie, and it was further strengthened in the late 19th cent. by the creation of a large class of conservative small-holders in the South through the state purchase of land. Within the Northern enclave development itself the protestant bourgeoisie and large landholders further entrenched their position through the Orange apparatus, which on the micro-economic scale employed once again the ploy of division through privilege, creating a protestant "labour aristocracy"

Uneven economic development and the Orange hegemony within it lay behind the mechanism of partition. Partition emerged from a situation in which the contradictions behind - within Irish society - upon which British maintenance of initiative depended - suddenly operated for a while against Westminster when it became compromised by the presence of non-Unionist Irish MPs in Westminster (is when the latter were able to initiate a breakthrough because of divisions within the British ruling class). Within the polarisation of Irish politics around the Home Rule issue - many moving beyond it to demand independence and secure the Sinn Fein landslides, the Orange thoroughly rejecting it - it became evident that the Orange bourgeoisie was not so dependant that it would meekly accept any Westminster initiative, especially when it was noticeable that significant sections of the British ruling class supported the "status quo". The compromise that the British government eventually made with them, despite the wishes of the majority of the Irish people was a crucial seed of future malevolence, a future coil around the armature of reciprocal imperialist links with enclave Orange capital. To retain union with the North was to retain a vital degree of control over the wealthiest section of the island and put the British state in a strong position vis a vis the Free State.

1) The Free State proved an increasingly attractive investment area, especially after the signing of the 1922 Anglo-Irish trade agreement. The amount of British investment in particular grew rapidly (rivalled only by the USA). After the 1965 Anglo-Irish trade agreement, moreover, the Free State became a major exporter of agricultural products to Britain.

2) In the Six County economy, on the other hand, the decline of the empire and the emergence of a more competitive world market severely hit the traditional big industries of linen and ship-building. The main enterprises became stunted at the level of large-scale family firms and the burden of job creation fell upon large aid injections, industry establishment schemes, etc. Unemployment became high in some areas - with the minority population suffering worst. (Eg in 1971, male unemployment in the Falls road area was 33.8%, in the Shankill Road area 7.8%)

3) Meanwhile, the position that the minority population was expected to cope with in the Six Counties became increasingly intolerable. It was more than a case of the pogroms of the '20s having left an intolerable bitterness: the geographical imbalance of the Unionist and Nationalist populations in the statelet had been countered by its notorious gerrymandering and its highly articulate "police" apparatus, whilst the economic difficulties of the area exacerbated sectarian discrimination, particularly with regard to housing and jobs.

In other words, there was growing closeness between Britain and the South, whilst the situation in the North was becoming increasingly urgent a sore thumb as a constant obstacle to this and as an area of deformed industrial development. The British consequently began to call upon the Orange ascendancy to implement reforms and drag itself into the 20th century. Precisely because, however the restricted development of Six County industry had ensured the persistence of a patriarchal Orange bourgeoisie increasingly jealous of its privileges and firmly rooted in the Protestant community and traditions, old style Orangeism remained healthy and vigorous. And although this still saw itself as dependent upon Britain in cultural and some economic ways, (eg for the aid and as an outlet for surplus capital) it retained also a firm commitment to preserve its independence and hegemony within the Irish community. British pressure for reform in the mid-sixties was thus met with promises in London and inactivity in Ireland itself. Catholic minority feeling was nevertheless whetted by this London talk, and as a result of this and other factors the Civil Rights Movement emerged.

If the well-known responses of the Orange establishment to the marches of this body revealed how far from British control the former had gone, the subsequent minority uprising escalated the entire significance of the situation, leading as it did to the introduction of the British army.

The fact that the army was introduced, and that it was introduced after requests from prominent Unionist figures such as the Inspector-General of the RUC, initially gave the British government a new opportunity to seize the initiative: political capital could possibly have been made both North and South through saving the Unionists at the price of reforms to conciliate the South. The tactic expected to provide this was a military one and as such it was very much determined by the expected balance of forces. Given that Free State intervention was, to say the least, unlikely, it was the insurgent Catholic minority which seemed militarily the weakest link. Militant minority dissent had been limited to easily identifiable ghettos, and armed in a primitive fashion. Potential Orange forces, on the other hand, were known to hold a substantial amount even of legal firearms. Even after the disbanding of the "I Specials", for instance, many members joined or formed gun-clubs, "to keep in practise". A policy was therefore adopted of concentrating British troops in large numbers around the most militant Catholic areas. These areas could claim to be 1) protecting the Catholics (as indeed they did, once; their 1st military engagement was in the Shankill Rd. areas) 2) convince the ghettos by a mass display of strength that any resistance to British backed policies was useless and 3) pressure the militant Orange that the Catholics were being kept under control ("We are keeping the troops and we are getting them without strings" Captain Lawrence Orr, Unionist Westminster MP and Grand Master of the Orange Order of the World, Aug. 1969)

The trouble with this tactic was that it was itself politically compromised - its primary trajectory was to embroil the army into hostility towards the Catholics in the place of the Orange mobs. While the UVF and allied bodies engaged in a bombing spree in Belfast and led attempts to sack the Catholic areas, the troops were ordered to concentrate on dispersing the rival defensive groups which had formed in the latter. From May 1970 onwards they began a series of intensive and armed house searches, again almost exclusively in Catholic areas. Eg on 3rd July a force of 3,000 troops encircled the lower Falls area. They began systematic searches, with a view to the discovery of arms and explosives.

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... particularly important in that more than any other single
event of these months it succeeded in placating Orange militancy awhile, but ended forever
the possibility of good relations between the soldiers and the minority population. The
Provisional IRA had, moreover, received a tremendous boost in prestige and support from
its defensive operations. With this re-emergence of an active IRA the conflict intensified
1971 saw the introduction of internment without trial and torture of political prisoners
(as documented by the Belfast anarchist John McGuffin in "Internment" and "The Guinness
Large no-go areas were established in response and a series of mass demonstrations laun-
ched. One of these was on Sun 30th Jan 1972 and the paratroop regiment were given the
job of stopping it. This they did by opening fire on the 20,000 peaceful and unarmed
demonstrators, killing 14 and wounding 10 - Bloody Sunday.

Bloody Sunday did not quell Catholic resistance, and it provoked widespread outrage in
Britain itself. The then conservative government was forced to make concessions. A
major switch in policy was promised, and in Mar 1972 the Stormont Parliament was abolished
and Direct Rule introduced. This new initiative was not without its successes: army repression
continued but offers of concessions were simultaneously made to the Catholic
middle class through the SDLP which was offered a role in a new "power-sharing" initiative
that also involved sections of the Unionist party led by Brian Faulkner. The
groundwork for this new British strategy, which included a "Council of Ireland" was not
agreed until the Sunningdale conference of Dec 1973: hope for its success had, however
already been ground, from the elections to a new Northern Ireland Assembly held in
June of that year. This assembly had been elected under proportional representation
and it had given a majority to potential pro power-sharing forces. On the other hand, how-
ever, the Faulkenerite elements of this majority had certainly not campaigned for
these elections on the basis of power-sharing and in flirting with these notions they
aroused the suspicions of their electoral base. In the Feb 1974 general elections, for
instance, an overwhelming majority of Protestants in the Six County constituencies vot-
ed for the anti-Sunningdale candidates of the United Ulster Unionist Council. The anti
power-sharing unionists eventually clenched the matter through the Ulster Workers Council
strike. This was significant in several respects: it revealed 1) that the army, burdened
as it was with the repression-- its oppression of Republican areas, could not be count-
ed on to act against Protestants, 2) that the Protestant working class could still
be mobilised behind Orange militants in order to preserve its privileges as a labour
aristocracy 3) that constitutional settlement within the framework of the sectarian
statelet could not conciliate the minority population without incurring such an Orange
backlash.

The collapse of Sunningdale left British policy again stranded. The government was
forced to resort to another breaking-space. The establishment of another --constitutio-
nal convention to "discuss possible solutions to the situation" was designed specifically
to provide this. During this period the government has provided little but the obscure
formal insistence that any future Six County statelet government must be broadly based
and representative of the whole community - the convention report itself now being the
most glaring condemnation of this policy.

What the next turn of British strategy will be in the face of the Loyalist intransigence
revealed by this should be well debated in our movement (is an attempted restitution of
Stormont seasoned with a few choice "Castle Catholics" on the cards, for instance?). For
the moment, however, I will content myself with restating the TOM analysis of the events
already covered.

The predominant construct of British policy over the last six years has been a refusal
to suffer the loss of prestige and initiative that would result from accepting the solu-
tions transgressing the framework of partition, a policy summed up in the following state-
ment in the Tory White Paper of Mar 1973: "due provision has to be made for the
U.K. to have a continuing and effective voice in Northern Ireland's affairs." It has been
repeatedly demonstrated, however, that this policy has been operated to the accompaniment
of severe military repression of the Catholic minority: it has also yet to prove success-
ful according to any criteria which would involve the ending of sectarianism, bloodshed and
repression. The British state has failed to find any "solution" to the "Irish problem"
precisely because the "Irish problem" remains the British connection itself, and the six
county enclave which it preserves. It is not merely a case of the historical linkage
between the British and the Orange ascendancy being indisputable; sectarianism today is
reinforced by the continuing orientation of the British troops against the Catholics
and by the refusal of both the state and the army to adequately challenge or even contro-
l the forces of unionism (and how could this be done with the gerrymandered statelet with-
out resorting to a minority dictatorship?). Loyalism continues to force the British state
with the alternatives of either finding a solution to the problem or making it clear that

... but skin and film the ulcerous place,
whilst raw corruption, mining all within,
remains unseen."

It cannot, admittedly, be argued that the demands of "self-determination for the Irish people as a whole" and "Troops out now", which flow from this understanding, will remove all immediate prospects of violence. It may reasonably be argued, however, that the preconditions for the long term disappearance of such developments in Ireland can only be created by granting the Irish people as a whole the right to self-determination, just as the repressive role of the army will only be ended when it no longer has to batter down the minority population in the name of successive British "solutions" which inevitably fail because of their inherently imperialist position with regards to the essential dynamic of the situation.

Footnotes.

10 On re-reading the section on partition it occurs to me that I seem to suggest that the main precipitant of the present situation - troubles was the changing orientation of British economic interests in the Island as a whole, and subsequent British pressure for reform. In fact, I had intended merely to indicate this as ~~one~~ one factor in the situation. I should, for instance, have emphasised here how "Ulster" was deliberately constructed as the largest area within which the "protestant ascendancy" was ensured a permanent "democratic" majority, and how the minority population was consequently continually and ubiquitously shot upon. With more than one third of the population thus alienated from the holders of power not simply by religion, but also by different social and democratic rights, it is not only that sectarianism was if anything intensified and prolonged but that it was an integral part of ascendancy strategy.

Although I used the word "imperialist" to describe the British presence I would agree that the term has come to gloss over a multitude of sins, and I can't claim to be able to give a precise definition of it. On the other hand, continued British military and political involvement through a statelet and in association with a section of population that owe their development primarily to British intervention in the island and are a focus of sectarianism and repression certainly falls within the "genus" of situations which it is common to label imperialist - and until we can clarify our semantics we might as well use it. If British policy in Ireland is thoroughly rotten it is more important that we oppose it than that we define it - such a definition only serving as an intensification. A typist gives up 'cos its not saying anything

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE T.O.M. DEMANDS FOR BRITISH ANARCHISTS?

(Apart from the fact that they appear to work for the long-term well-being of the Irish people)

Hatred of ruling class oppression and violence should not be limited by the boundaries of any particular nation state, and the particular principle of internationalism has consequently become a foundation of all revolutionary movements. When the exploitative relations of capitalism have repercussions on a global scale it becomes necessary to view the social revolution with an international perspective. Some revolutionaries, however, display a tendency to be very tight-fisted in their willingness to advance "self-determination" slogans. I have, for instance, encountered libertarians who dislike the T.O.M. demand of "self determination for the Irish people as a whole" because they feel it is tantamount to "giving support to the IRA" (in my opinion a separate issue) or because they believe there exists no acceptable socialist content to the forces tending, in Ireland, towards Irish unity. Such a response seems to me to be inadequate insofar as it 1) tends to impose upon national liberation struggles demands which bear no relation to the actual state of development of the areas concerned (because it imagines a unity of revolutionary progress which ignores the uneven international development of class forces) 2) obscures the relation of the demand to the reactions of the British state.

Berrisford Ellis, in his introduction to the Penguin book "James O'Connell; Selected Writings", inserts a good quote from an article of Lenin's in "Berne Tagwocht" (May 1916) on the "Easter Rising" which sums up my first objections:

"...to imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary outbursts of a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices and semi-proletarian masses against landlord, church, monarchical, national and other oppressions - to imagine that means repudiating a social revolution. Very likely one army will line up in one place and say: 'we are for socialism' while another will do so in another place and say: 'we are for imperialism'... Whoever expects a mere...

start of the Civil Rights agitation, for instance, it was hoped that protestant workers could be won over to a non-sectarian movement. These hopes proved fruitless as soon as the protestant workers began to feel that the campaign threatened their basic privileges. On the other hand, the experiences of the Six County Catholic minority have been such that it is understandably difficult (if at all desirable) to dislodge them from the prime focus of the attention of the entire Irish catholic working class. Realising the nature and dominant position of the unfinished national revolution in contemporary Irish political consciousness is not a brief for Irish revolutionaries to liquidate their message into that of the national struggle, though it might be argued that it is essential for them to realise the role this plays in the present situation and to respond to it accordingly. It should, however, in my opinion, restrain British revolutionaries from adopting some abstentionist or propagandist position. Acceptance of the analysis argued in the first part of this document - that the foot of the present crisis is the British connection and the British mainmance of the Six County statelet - should lead us to seek to expose this function and to oppose its oppressive, reactionary and sectarian consequences with the demand that the Irish nation as a whole be allowed the right to self-determination. Understanding that the involvement of British economic interests in Ireland could survive self-determination, and that self-determination will not immediately involve social revolution, we must still make the decision between the course of acquiescing in or supporting British involvement in Ireland, or of attempting to deal a definite blow against it.

This already brings us round to my second objection - raising the demand for Irish self-determination penetrates straight to the core of the British state's approach to Ireland, and it is towards the behaviour of this state that we should be turning our attention. As the long-term decline in the relative strength of British global imperialism coincides with the crisis of the post-war boom the level of class conflict in Britain on an economic level is seen to intensify - the present level of large rate of unemployment is the most pertinent example of this. Whilst the ruling class finds difficulties in manipulating its economic capital, however, its political capital has proved more durable. A honest exposure of its record with regard to Ireland could potentially direct several timely blows at this latter: revealing not only the "crimes of capital" in general, but also more specific insights, such as the similarity of interests directing the actions of the parliamentary parties in power, as the degree to which the armed forces operate as the agents of ruling class interests. Encouraging the working class to feel and act upon its ultimate responsibility for the existence of the state and its actions with regards to particular issues is moreover an essential foundation for the more widespread criticism and rejection capitalist economic and political apparatus and the development of popular political consciousness - anarchism will never become viable in a situation where responsibility for political/social/economic/moral or whatever behaviour is seen as being limited to the ruling class. The TOM demands could involve people in accepting political etc. responsibility through the advancement of a distinctly progressive policy: no revolutionary should snort at such a phenomenon.

The TOM nevertheless faces considerable difficulty in finding support - it has to combat the full forces of press and television reporting, the general touchiness of people about Ireland, developed by this and by IRA bombing campaigns, intense national chauvinism coupled with respect for the army, the atmosphere of repression created by the "Prevention of Terrorism" act and sometimes even suspected OGP and NICRA back-stabbing. Furthermore, the present tactic of Merlyn RBS seems to be very much that of "depoliticisation", of referring to "gangster" law and order etc. A major popular statement of recognition of the political significance of British involvement in Ireland is thus essential to help re-create a position in which even progressive debate on Ireland can remain alive. The-BSSC

Lastly, Anarchists in the past have sometimes shied away from participating in events or campaigns supported and admittedly to a large extent nurtured by Leninists and Trots etc: they felt that somehow they would have been duped or their anarchism diluted. Well perhaps it is true that in my approach to the subject of Ireland I have been led up the garden path by disreputably Marxists. On the otherhand, my desire to aid the creation of a society based on common ownership and control of the means of production, that very desire which makes me reject the concept of a post-revolutionary hierarchy, also makes me anxious to stimulate the development of a political consciousness inimical to the relationship of exploitation of capitalism and favourable to the anarchist ideal. I have argued here that the TOM demands and analysis are a valuable part of this process. In order to change my mind, comrades will have to offer some alternative analysis and suggestions for action - not the sterile sectarianism of "wash my hands of all things that do not come from anarchists nor explicitly state the principles of anarchism".

Meanwhile, I close with the words of...

1972 and...

3. Although the TOM demands would not distinguish anarchism from the other elements of the revolutionary left, it is possible that anarchists within the TOM might find a distinguishable position with regards to other elements. There is the question of internal democracy and flow of information etc.; the Labor movement/working class debate; the nature of TOM propaganda. What is needed is a caucus of Anarchists in the TOM to discuss these matters, bringing responses from different groups and TOM branches.

Footnotes

1) The 4th objection to AWA policy on Ireland raised by J.T. & D.Y.C. is the one in most obvious contradiction to the position suggested by my document. The document itself indirectly deals with such a position. My response can be summarized by saying that "placing demands upon a state/govt. is legitimate when such demands are designed to expose the nature of that state/govt. or its actions, and to effect a progressive political development through a campaign aimed at involving the working class". Raising such demands does not prohibit calling on soldiers to "recognize class conflict and thus identify with the working class./ on the contrary, it should aid such a process. We should not moreover concentrate on the army at the cost of ignoring wider class consciousness. In this respect there is one aspect of the TOM demands which I did not sufficiently expound. Perhaps one of the most disconcerting aspects of the present conjuncture is the chauvinism of the British working class: "we must either let our boys rot on with the job or get them out". The failure of the British state to solve the "Irish problem" will not be seen by chauvinism in terms of the real social dynamic of the situation but rather in terms of the states "weakness". This could be an important condition aiding the growth of reactionary and fascist tendencies. A serious and influential exposition of the anti-imperialist critique of the situation is an essential counter to this.

2) The curious thing about both AWA policy and the opposition to it is that they both have no explicit reference to "Self determination". This seems to me to be a grievous lack. The "self-determination" demand transcends sympathy for any one political manifestation in Ire' and as a dissatisfaction with them all, as far as revolutionary in Britain are concerned.

I think a more helpful formulation would go along these lines:

"The AWA is anxious to aid the promotion of anarchist settlements within the Irish working class. It recognises, however, that such a development must coincide with or follow on the eradication of British Imperialism. It also recognises the sectarian, violent and repressive consequences of the British connection, which it regards as the main root of the present troubles, and believes that there can be no "British solution" to them. Thus although it holds no illusions about the nature of contemporary republicanism, or in the bourgeois free state, etc. it is willing to challenge the role of the British state with regard to Ireland by supporting the demands of TOM "Self determination for the Irish people as a whole" & "Troops out now."

Anyone wishing to form an Irish caucus or just get together to exchange information on how up a more detailed policy if one is thought to be necessary for discussion by AWA as a whole could contact Privacy or Privacy at the National conference.