

BEWARE

IRISH GOVERNMENT
(alias 'Dail')

ON THE LOOSE

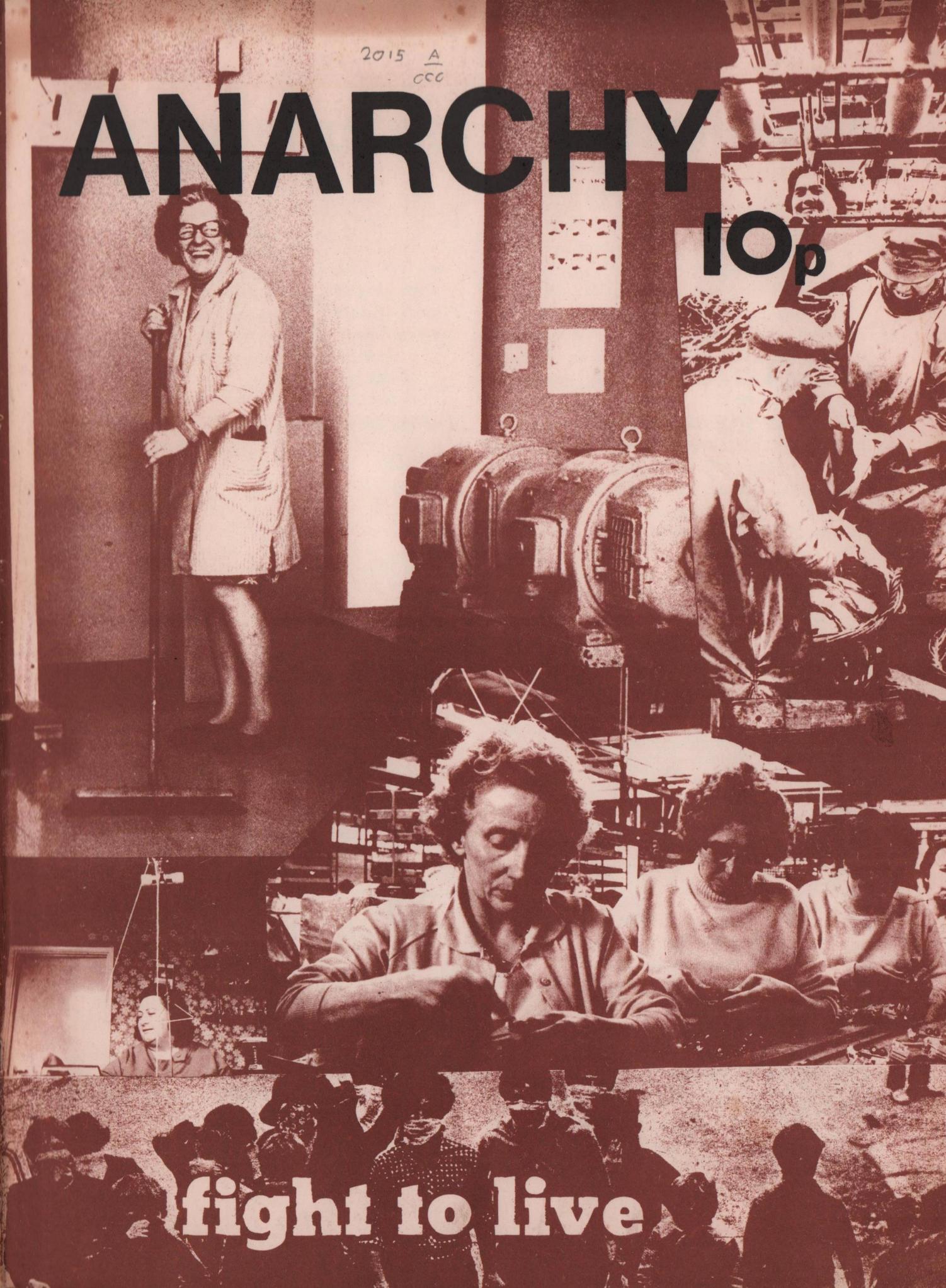
- LAST SEEN NEAR DUBLIN

WARNING: THIS GANG IS ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS

STOP THE DUBLIN HANGINGS!

2015 A
CCG
ANARCHY

10p



fight to live

ANARCHY 21

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HOW TO GET ANARCHY

By subscription mailed to you at excitingly irregular intervals.
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HOW TO SPREAD ANARCHY

- 1 By bundle U.K. 75p for 10 copies, sent to you post free on sale or return - you pay the return.
- 4
- 5
- 9 MEET ANARCHY Meetings are held every Wednesday night starting at 7pm. At Centreprise, 136 Kingsland High St. E.8. Let us know if you are coming to make sure we havn't all been repatriated south of the river. 01-359 4794 (daytime and evenings but not late at night).
- 12
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WRITE FOR ANARCHY

We would like some articles from you. Possible forthcoming topics for Anarchy are Ireland, Mental Health. If there's something you want us to print go ahead and write it. We can't use articles that are too long or academic and we don't usually print poetry. Articles accompanied by illustrations are very welcome. We would welcome more feedback.

This issue was typed, cut up, stuck down and printed by the Anarchy Collective and published by Anarchy Magazine.

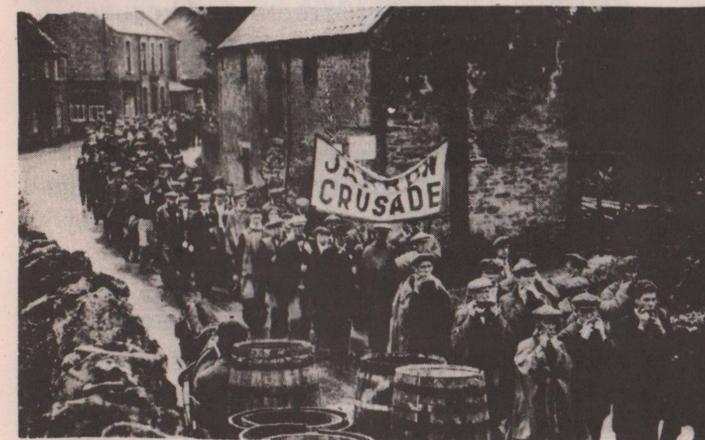
THE RIGHT TO WORK OR THE FIGHT TO LIVE

the left

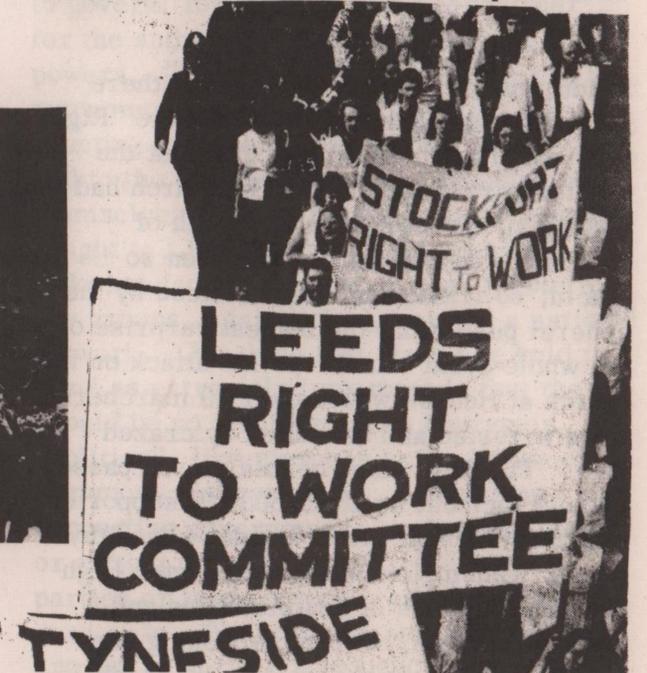
crisis

Despite the fact that Britain is deep into yet another economic recession, plunging ever further, with rampant unemployment, runaway inflation, massive public spending cuts and Union-Government controlled wage restraint, the most amazing thing about the crisis so far is that there has been no working-class response. When I say this perhaps I'm exaggerating, but on further reflection, perhaps I'm not. The rumblings of discontent that we have witnessed lately have been an alarming support for ultra-right organisations like the National Front, which can be illustrated by the large number of votes they are picking up in local and by-elections. On the other hand there has been a reaction to the recent racist successes, large militant sections of semi-political immigrant youth are starting to break out of their traditional subservient roles and organising and fighting against their more immediate oppressors, the police and racists. But again, apart from that, there has been no mass working-class response to the crisis.

But what about (for example) the "Right to Work" campaign? The "Right to Work" campaign is not the working-class reply to the crisis - it is that of the left. (You can "fight for the right to work" with the Communist Party, International Socialists, Workers Revolutionary Party, the unions, all running their own different campaigns.) What can one say about the "Right to Work" except it's a cynical attempt by the left parties to mobilise unemployed workers under their banners. Such campaigns themselves are just souped-up versions of the 30s hunger-marches, which even during that period were archaic, pitiful and demoralising actions, begging for a few crumbs off the capitalists' table, so what are they now? Among the other reactions of the left to the crisis is the mindless slogan "Bring down the Labour Government", meaningless demagogic drivel, for the same people that are calling for the Labour Government to resign, come the next election, apart



PROGRESS... ABOVE. 1936
RIGHT. 1976



from putting up their own shabby candidates, will be out on the streets urging the working class to "Vote Labour - to keep the Tories out". Other idiotic ideas include calls for more nationalisations, and the banning of overtime, which would mean that many workers would take home smaller wage-packets, that is unless the bosses are feeling generous and pay the workers more money for working fewer hours, which, unless the bastards undergo a complete transformation, they will not. An endless list of their stupid demands could be drawn up but a reading of their papers will prove just how much out of touch with reality they really are.



ABOVE... THE CRISIS, HOW THE LEFT SEES IT...
RIGHT... HOW THE CYNICAL RICH SEES IT...

a march

I didn't need much convincing that there must be a better alternative than the "Right to Work" march which took place at the earlier part of the year. The march had walked all the way from the North of England, the whole thing had been so placid, so irrelevant, so unnoticed by the general public that the biggest surprise of the whole event was the police attack on the march at Hendon where over 40 marchers were arrested and assaulted by crazed pigs. The final stage of this march passed without incident as about 3000 IS supporters marched through one of London's wealthy areas, Kensington, down Kensington High Street past miles of denims shops and antique markets, without provoking one hostile word from the wealthy local inhabi-

tants, who lost no sleep that night after observing such a servile effort. The march finished up with a rally inside the Royal Albert Hall - and we are promised more marches like this in the future!

response

The real response to the crisis is just simmering just below the surface. One can expect the initial reaction of the frustrated unemployed and low-paid to be very violent, and when it comes it will be totally out of control of the left (although they might get the blame). The whole thing could be sparked off by something like a riot at an employment exchange in an area



"Which profession or branch of industry would you prefer to be out of work in?"

like, say, Brixton, which if it spilled out into the surrounding streets could cause the built-up frustrations of people living in the area, with its high unemployment, bad housing and large-scale police harassment, to snowball (especially if the authorities over-react) and trigger off happenings in like areas. Eruptions like this, if they persist, could lead to the formation of street-committees, defence groups, expropriating and propaganda groups etc. This is inevitable - it will happen sooner or later (we have small disturbances already but they have been contained). The left as usual will attempt to deflect such events and the struggles that develop out of them; how unsuccessful they are depends on our reactions to their defeatist manoeuvres.

campaigns

Against this background, against the crisis, a much more realistic approach should be made by the anarchist movement. Already moves are being made to build a "Fight to Live" campaign. I don't know where a campaign like this will find its priorities, but when the disturbances arrive, instead of attempting to deflect such movements as the left will do, we should join in and try to widen the struggle. Already as a response to the London Transport fare increases, a small but militant direct action group is running a "deferred payments" campaign. Its successes are limited so far, but it's a small step in the right direction. For the past few years the homeless have been taking direct action and squatting. (The squatting campaign was initiated by people who included anarchists - the left at the time sat back and howled "Adventurist".) Right now squatting should be widened to include those working-class elements who are hostile, by urging them to squat their unemployed and homeless youngsters and their friends in empty houses instead of waiting for council handouts that will never come. Another recent action that springs to mind is that of the Battered Wives and their struggles, also the emergence of Claimants Unions and prisoners organisations. All such trends should be linked into a "Fight to Live" campaign. Without a doubt, as a reaction against intolerable food and commodities prices, some people such as the unemployed and low-paid will have to raid large food and clothing stores. We will certainly see this because of the drought, an unforeseen event, which will push up food prices to unimaginable heights; some people will have to raid in order to survive. "Fight to Live" campaigners should actively intervene in all such events (from organising defence groups in semi-insurrectionary areas to mass shoplifting) and in some cases initiate them.

actions

So far I have said little about the organised working class. It is obvious that the exceptional industrial peace Britain is experiencing is thanks to the unions and the government's recent efforts. But as the crisis gets deeper and deeper with no sign of an end to it, a social and political upheaval the like of which has never been seen in this country is on the cards. The only question is, when? I think rather than wait for the organised working class to galvanise itself into action (we have been waiting about 60 years, lefties) the unemployed, unorganised and low-paid sections should be encouraged to carry out their own actions. We must guard against the left, who will use "revolutionary" arguments like "We mustn't do anything premature" or "We can't do anything without the unions". When a large scale movement starts, the left parties and the unions will be the most dangerous obstacles.

We must make it more difficult, as the struggle progresses, for the government to govern, for the police to keep "order", for the authorities to rule us and use their powers. "Fight to Live" groups should be autonomous, each group reflecting and reacting to the situation of their own areas and to the crisis in general, choosing for themselves what actions to take or support. "Fight to Live" groups could perhaps be linked to factory groups or real revolutionary groups, again linked, say, to a national network. One thing that should be held in mind as extremely important is that there should be no involvement in bourgeois "politics", like marches to the House of Commons, lobbying MPs, canvassing or supporting government election candidates or getting people to join "revolutionary" parties or trade unions - all of which are dead ends. We know the alternatives, we are aware of the consequences, we are not

afraid, we will "Fight to Live" and as our struggles progress towards other dimensions revolution could be in the air - unless of course all you want is "the Right to Work".

M.P.W.

(THE ABOVE ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN BEFORE THE NOTING HILL RIOTS TOOK PLACE)



Noel Murray has withdrawn his appeal to the Supreme Court and asked them to set a date for his execution. This should be done when the court sits on October 1st and the date for execution should be not less than 10 days and not more than 18 after that. Marie Murray is still waiting for her appeal set for November 1st. However the court appears not to accept Noel's withdrawal and this is leading to some confusion.

We think that Noel has tried to withdraw his appeal to protest about his conditions in the Curragh Military Camp. Radio Eire put out a government written broadcast saying that Noel & Marie had all the privileges normally allowed to prisoners in the death cell. This is not true. They are not allowed to see each other. Only Noel's parents (both over 70 and in ill health) are allowed to visit them. No friends are allowed visits. They are kept in isolation. They are not allowed papers or books from outside, nor are they getting the letters of solidarity from relatives,

friends and comrades, that have been sent to them. So much for privileges.

The defence group in Dublin urgently needs funds. The lawyer will only visit Noel & Marie once a week for an hour when the defence group can pay him a £50 fee. They also want to take the case to the International Court at Strasbourg which will cost about £3,000. They have published a pamphlet giving the facts about the trial - you can get it from them for 20p (send postage too).

At a meeting in London on 10th September organised by the London defence group, over £160 was raised for the Dublin group.

Here are some addresses:-

The London group can send stickers, posters and leaflets, also more group addresses. Postage appreciated.

LONDON : Box 2, Rising Free, 142 Drummond St. NW1.

DUBLIN: 155 Church Rd., Cellbridge, Dublin.

London pickets: (Saturdays)

10-12 a.m. Irish Embassy, Grosvenor Place, London SW1.

2-4 p.m. Allied Irish Bank, Kilburn Square, Kilburn High Road.

Noel Murray, Curragh Military Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

Marie Murray, Mountjoy Jail, Dublin.

Letters of protest to: Irish Embassies.

We support our comrades without reserve, and we only recognise bourgeois justice as a tactic in this campaign. All the prisons, courts, judges & police are geared to defend privilege and power, and our aim is to destroy that. People as they struggle will develop ways of living together without any repressive state machinery.

Anarchy Collective

THE LEFT & ILLEGALITY

OR "WHAT DIDN'T YOU DARE DO IN THE WAR, DADDY?"

Frequently in discussion of equal relationships between men and women we used to get the chestnut about sorting the minor details out after the revolution - I am worried in the same way about the faith people put in being able to actually defeat the police, army, navy, and air force - I mean, comrade, are you going to hit them over the head with a placard or drop a pile of leaflets on their foot?

Not even breastfeeding comes naturally to mother or child, so how do people expect fighting, shooting, tactical sabotage and bombing to do so? And if it does get together, where are you - in there being useful, or ripping off a book on guerrilla warfare that you should have read years ago but never got the time?

People argue that when someone lets off a bomb it just means more repression. Everyone gets raided, public opinion backslides, and anti-terrorism laws get passed. This puts the blame for our masters' oppression onto those who are resisting it. Our oppressors will be repressive anyway, it is in their nature. Power is compulsive, the more they get the more they must have - are we to sit back timidly until one day we realise the net is too finely drawn to escape? And where will your public opinion be then? I know Marx reckoned that when we are severely enough repressed we will as one rise up and engulf the world with cries of freedom, and I immediately distrust this as naive and counterproductive. We can be put off from struggle if we follow this dictum - the time might never be quite

right - how are we to know when it is?

If I wait until repression has broken me can I rely on all of you to not be broken too? When a repressive society allows a certain amount of dissidence it means it feels safe. All the time, we see people's power being channelled into the state machine, the history of trade unions is a good example, and the state's encouragement towards popular power in grass-roots associations has never been so great. Perhaps dear friends they have read Marx too!

Having said we must learn to fight let's look at our two faced attitude towards this fight. Charity may begin at home - resistance it seems does not!

RESISTANCE IN SPAIN O.K. ?

I can't help wondering if the Murrays were to stand up and say "we robbed a bank so we could be rich" whether you would all breathe a sigh of relief and go back to defending people from nice safe distances again.

What makes resistance in Spain so much easier for you to support than resistance here? Although it could be said to be true that life in Spain is more restricted, revolutionaries seem in no doubt that life here could be better, that people here are oppressed, that the capitalistic system is not a healthy one for the ground we stand on and the people who stand on it and that gross inequalities are a fact of everyday life. The main difference I can see is one of subtleties. Spain is not subtle. Fascism is not subtle. But here in England oh how subtle we and our oppressors are!

Spain doesn't pretend to have a free press or freedom of speech, this country

does. No-one finds the reality of torture in other countries difficult to comprehend but talk of it happening here and you're called hysterical by the right and paranoid by the left.

Much time and money is spent in this country telling us how "free" we are, and true to form people believe it. "Well" you say "it's political consciousness that's needed". I agree - and it's needed. a bit more among the left too, because we do not seem to be aware of how bad the situation is. If we were aware of this, the argument used against meeting the state's violence with our own - that the time is not right yet - would not be heard as often as it is.

When we cannot meet more than three

to a room, when our every movement is watched (and their technology makes this easier all the time), when our printing presses are seized - won't it perhaps be too late? I can't help feeling that to nip things in the bud (though I would liken the present situation more to an oak tree than a delicate shoot) is much easier than to destroy a very regimented and secure oppressive state.

I think we have to strike now (and again and again until we win) in every possible way, the slow day to day way and the sudden, spectacular, morale raising way as well. We will have casualties of course and this does seem to put people off - I have no wish to enlist for (or to volunteer myself for) a kamikaze regiment, but I would like to point out that we



a cabinet minister's kitchen
2 bombs destroyed it jan.12.1971.
condemned as senseless violence
damage repaired in 3 days

1 of over 2 million slums in britain
damp and dry rot destroys people
people condemned to live in squats
can this ever be repaired?

FIGHT BACK WITH THE ANGRY BRIGADE

have casualties whether we fight or not - industrial diseases, working conditions that kill and maim, prisons full to capacity (when housebuilding slumps prison building soars), mental hospitals have never done better business, battered babies have become commonplace, even the state recognises that wives are battered and offers help (albeit insufficient) - we, as many governed by a few, are a disposable commodity. As we have casualties whether or not we fight surely it is better to fight?

RESISTANCE HERE O.K.

People have always rushed to pen a paper whenever someone pulls a good one for a political reason - to disclaim it. During the Angry Brigade's campaign people came out with all sorts of nonsense. Now while I think some of the targets were a bit misplaced, show me anyone who didn't go to work with a smile on their face the morning after Robert Carr got done. You say that violence should only happen when there is a mass movement behind it? That line is in danger of becoming the chicken and egg problem. If we never see what is possible how will we know what can be done? Do you criticise the printing of papers while there are still people around who do not know that ordinary folks such as us can have the means to do it? Do you criticise a group of workers for striking because they should have waited until the country was ready for a general strike? Should you remain homeless rather than squat a house because many people think squatting is wrong?

For a campaign to be successful it needs publicity - not the hysterical screamings off the 'popular' press but good back-up propoganda to give meaning to the campaign; we can achieve this, we have the means at our disposal - with strikes, occupations and squatting (among other things) this is done, or at least

attempted, but when it comes to violence what do we do - mostly ignore it or else write frantic disclaimers about minority adventurists and the alienation of the working class - well with back-up like that is it surprising that the ideology of a campaign doesn't get accross ?

If I thought this reticence to either get involved in political criminality or to support those who have was due to a general reluctance towards law breaking I would understand it. Although I don't suppose anyone thinks we can achieve an anarchic society through revolutionary struggle without breaking the oppressors

WANTED FOR CONSPIRACY



ROBERT CARR

This man is guilty of conspiring to kill and maim the public at large by perpetuating unsafe conditions in workplaces;
conspiring to terrorize and intimidate workers by threatening them with legal punishments if they go on strike;
conspiring to defraud the people out of the fruits of their labour to the profit of a small group of capitalists who "own" almost everything;
conspiring to extort money from the poor and give it to the rich;
conspiring to bribe and blackmail trade union officials so that they no longer even "represent" the workers, but become policemen for the bosses;
conspiring to distort the truth by spouting claptrap about 'productivity', 'industrial relations', 'anarchy' and the 'national interest';
conspiring with Henry Ford and other foreign agitators to imprison millions of people in the life of boredom, frustration, isolation and humiliation which the capitalist system condemns them to;
CARR conspired to commit these crimes against the people with the members of a terrorist group calling itself the 'CABINET'.
These men are dangerous. If you see any of them, deal with them as you think fit.

all power to the people

IAN PURDIE AND JAKE PRESCOTT DEFENCE GROUP
CARE OF 11, 11A BERWICK STREET, LONDON W1

laws it is sensible not to indulge in pointless risk-taking.

But politicians don't seem to be reluctant about crime and risk-taking - only political crime.

AGAINST BOURGEOISE CRIME

I am worried by the political status politicians have put on their selfish crimes. I cannot really get excited in the political value put on ripping off trendy clothes and buying luxury goods on stolen cheque cards and the like. Ripping off a bourgeois product doesn't make it any less bourgeois - an electric toothbrush is still just that whether paid for by your own sweat or someone else's (the example is a true one).

But when discussing the bombing campaign of the Angry Brigade and the alleged crimes of the Murrays in Dublin I have been amazed and horrified at the reactions of supposed anarchist comrades and libertarians.

Do those who criticise the bombing of Carr's house (when Minister of Employment), the robbing of banks to raise funds for political enterprises and the shooting of a pig, say, in a getaway, say they have never done a criminal act or applauded one? No. Do they criticise the "working class" thief, shoplifter, bank robber or pig killer? No. What they appear to be saying is "it's okay to rip-off for self advancement, we certainly wouldn't dare alienate the factory worker by saying s/he shouldn't, but this adventuristic, isolated crime and violence in the name of a political ideal is all wrong and what's more politically incorrect".

Well, as far as I'm concerned that kind of thinking is politically incorrect. I am not advocating bombing campaigns or bank raids as the only form of political

expression or even the correct one - "correctness" can only be judged on the particular circumstances as with any political action and not as a generality - so, too, these actions should not be condemned as a generality.

However, crime for a cushy life does seem politically suspect - an anarchic revolution will not result in a future of sitting on our arses looking beautiful, it means hard work; not dreary, spirit destroying work to keep others rich and idle, but hard work all the same!

I have seen so many people busted for petty things they should never have got into, causing others to waste valuable time arranging bail, fixing a defence etc. for what? Because they wanted a flash weekend in Brighton on someone else's cheque card. Very political comrade.

There is of course an argument that any crime is good in that it shows us the law can be broken; it helps to break down the pig in your head.

If you use this argument I want to know why you do not apply it to blatantly political crimes? And I want to ask if it is destroying the pig in your head to rip off something that's used and/or ownership is in keeping with a selfish, capitalistic society?

So let's hear it louder for our comrades who are resisting - and give them the support they and the struggle need, remember that a mass movement of struggle and support is made up of individuals who struggle and support each other - I think we could do with some practice.

Here then are the main points I would like to emphasise: -

1.) I am not advocating that we should go

out and bomb places of interest. To advise such action would be irresponsible, to take such advice would be stupid.

- 2.) We should support comrades who fight back and who attack the state and frighten its leaders.
- 3.) When the state is attacked in this way we should come out of our cupboards and use their action to publicise anarchism and explain the terror of ~~the~~ state against us daily.
- 4.) We have to learn how to fight the enemy - mass attacks by people who either have no weapons or ill-use those they have through ignorance will end in mass slaughter by the state's law enforcement squads.
- 5.) We will never win unless we try!

Charlotte Baggins

THE IRISH SOVIETS

Like other European nations in the aftermath of the First World War, Ireland was shaken by great social and political upheaval. British forces had suppressed the Dublin uprising of 1916, but the overwhelming support given to the separatist Sinn Fein party in the parliamentary elections two years later inevitably led to a renewal of the armed struggle for national independence. By the middle of 1920 the Anglo-Irish war was at its height, with the IRA engaged in guerilla operations throughout the countryside and within the cities against the British Army and the Black and Tans, the specially recruited terrorist auxiliary.

It was also at this time, while the national question was being decided by

force of arms, that thousands of Irish workers and agricultural labourers spontaneously and instinctively attempted to carry out a thoroughgoing social revolution.

Strikes and lockouts had become common in Eire since the turn of the century as the advantages of organization were recognized by workers in town and country. The new mood of Irish labour expressed itself in the founding of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in 1909. Greatly influenced by the syndicalist organizations of America, Britain and the Continent, the ITGWU preached the new doctrine of industrial unionism and **proclaimed** its determination to organize the **entire** Irish working class into one all-embracing industrial union. With Jim Larkin and James Connolly as its chief spokesmen, the union openly advocated class warfare and announced its ultimate goal to be the overthrow of capitalism and landlordism in Ireland, and the establishment of an "industrial democracy" - the social ownership of the means of production under direct workers' control. Despite many bitter and violent strikes, and at least one major defeat, the ITGWU grew rapidly in the decade following its founding and by 1920 had more than 100,000 members, nearly half of whom were landless farm labourers.

Traditionally "beyond the pale", the southern and western counties of Ireland were often **considered** to be the most rebellious and **least** Anglicized areas of the country by the British administration. It was here in the counties that comprise the provinces of Munster and Connaught that the irregular warfare between the IRA and the Black and Tans grew most savage and widespread. And it was here, in the least "governable" part of Eire, that the soviet movement suddenly developed.

In May of 1920, fifty ITGWU members

went on strike at the Knocklong creamery in County Limerick over a wage dispute. The creamery was the largest in Ireland, and served as a center of trade and distribution for all the farms and villages in the district. It was owned by Sir Thomas Cleeves, a prominent Unionist loyal to the Crown. Shortly after the inception of the strike, the creamery employees decided that "a break in the financial relations between employers and workers" did not mean that "accumulated wealth in the form of creamery buildings and machinery should be allowed to go out of use". They seized the creamery under the slogan "We make butter, not profits", and declared it a soviet, having in mind the example of the workers' councils in Russia who had taken over their factories in 1917. Though immediately denounced and boycotted by the large landholders, Knocklong Soviet Creamery continued to process and distribute milk supplied to it by the small farmsteads. Soon thereafter mill workers a few miles away at Bruree followed Knocklong's example - describing themselves as a "workers' soviet mill", they announced that "We make bread, not profits". At the same time the occupation of large ranches and estates by landless peasants and subsistence farmers spread rapidly throughout County Kerry, in Galway and elsewhere in the province of Connaught.

In the spring of 1921 coal miners took control of the Arigna mines in Co. Leitrim and hoisted the red flag. In September the port of Cork was sovietized for a short time by dockers, and large estates at Toorahara and Kilfenora in Co. Clare were occupied and declared communes or soviets. The following year agricultural soviets and cooperatives were established in Mallow, Co. Cork, Ballingarry, Co. Limerick, and Cashel, Co. Tipperary. The town of Carrick-on-Suir in the latter county was completely sovietized by the late summer, and flew the republican tricolour at one end of the main street and

the red flag on the other.

When not actually antagonistic, the official labour movement was embarrassed by the workplace occupations and land seizures and remained aloof. The Voice of Labour, organ of the Irish Trade Union Congress, reminded union members that "the Dail (the Republican Parliament) and not labour had been entrusted by the Irish people with authority and responsibility". One of the few genuine socialists still prominent in the leadership of the trade union movement, Thomas Johnson, made a plea at the Dublin Trade Union Congress of 1921 for a reconsideration of the soviets and land communes. They were, he insisted, "the most important question that could be raised in the Labour Movement or in Social Economy... It is a challenge... to the rights of property. It says: though you may happen to have a parchment which allots to you the right to use or possess this machine or that particular factory, though you have that power under legal enactment, henceforth that is not enough. We... say that these material things shall be continued in use so long as the community requires the product. That is the issue raised and it is a contention that the Labour Party in Ireland, I hope, will continue to espouse and put into operation." But neither the Irish Labour Party, nor the Trade Union Congress, nor those now in control of the ITGWU would look upon the communes and soviets with anything but bewilderment or hostility. By 1921 and the armistice with Britain, these elements were already looking forward to the role of "labour statesmen" within the new Free State government. The trade union leaders and officials were eager for the governmental sinecures that had been promised them by the Sinn Fein party, and that had already been bestowed upon their "responsible" counterparts in England. Indeed, the movement of the ITGWU from revolutionary syndicalism to business unionism must have been one of the most rapid

transformations in trade union history.

But many of the original militants of the ITGWU had faced death or internment since the direct involvement of the union militia - the Irish Citizen Army - in the revolt against Britain, and the sabotage by dockers and other union members of British war materiel. And the organization itself could hardly function normally in an atmosphere of martial law, police harassment, and detention without trial. Out of this situation it was perhaps inevitable that a more typical trade union structure would develop, staffed by a conservative and politically ambitious officialdom.

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church, of course, immediately condemned the soviet movement, as it had every manifestation of popular protest within Eire for three hundred years. More surprising, perhaps, was the reactionary attitude displayed by certain sections of the Irish Republican Army to the social unrest sweeping through the west of Ireland. Although the Munster IRA did not interfere in the sovietization of property, the Connaught provincial commanders halted land seizures by force and ordered restitution made to the land owners. The Republican law courts, set up clandestinely throughout Ireland as an alternative to the British system of governance, invariably decided in favor of the landlords when cases of land seizures were brought before them. Indeed, the reactionary nature of this policy was even recognized in the House of Lords, when the old-line Unionist Lord Monteagle assured his fellow peers that the Sinn Fein land courts adhered to the highest standards of justice and equity!

The Irish Farmers Union, representing the largest ranchers and estate owners in the country, was able to destroy many land communes by the simple tactic of boycott. In some areas, notably in County Clare, landlords formed vigilante groups and broke

up the soviets by force. Several months after its sovietization, the Knocklong creamery was totally devastated by the British Army and the Royal Irish Constabulary. Soviets and cooperatives were particularly favored targets for British troops and Black and Tans. Indeed, as at Knocklong, even property owned by Loyalists was wantonly destroyed. The Irish cooperatist George Russell charged that "In these attacks, creameries and mills have been burned to the ground, their machinery wrecked; agricultural stores have also been burned, property looted, employees have been killed, wounded, beaten, threatened or otherwise ill-treated."

The treaty with Britain in 1921 that created the Irish Free State was bitterly repudiated by the left wing of the IRA who continued to fight, now in a civil war against their former compatriots, for an unpartitioned, independent Irish Republic. In September of 1922, what was probably the last soviet in Ireland went down in defeat when Free State soldiers expelled "diehard" IRA men and local communards from Carrick-on-Suir, restored the factories and mills to their former owners, and hauled down the red banner.

Like similar movements elsewhere in Europe at this time, the Irish soviets were unable to survive and develop. Against the combined force of the British imperialists and native Irish bourgeoisie, against the hostility of virtually every social institution in Eire, they could offer only scattered resistance. The Sinn Fein party had demanded that the "social question" be put aside until independence had been achieved, that all the Irish people join in a patriotic national front against the British Crown. But the unyielding opposition to the social revolution on the part of the embryonic nationalist government had been immediately obvious. Even before the truce with Britain, the provisional government - through its control of the land courts and

a large section of the IRA - did all in its power to halt the land seizures and to repress the soviets. There could be no doubt as to the fate of the "social question" once the middle-class nationalists had established themselves in power.

Of the most influential and internationally-known Irish radicals of the day, who might have had some effect on events, all were absent from the scene. James Connolly had faced a firing squad in 1916 (much to the delight of the Dublin Employers Association), the fiery orator Jim Larkin was conveniently serving a jail sentence in America for the advocacy of "criminal anarchy". Liam Mellows, the Galway socialist and IRA commander who supported the soviet movement, was shot by Free Staters after his capture in 1921.

Postscript

Obviously this essay cannot pretend to present a full and detailed account of the Irish soviet and communal movement of the early 1920s. It has been difficult enough to assemble the facts for even this brief narrative. Almost all histories of modern Ireland are exclusively concerned with the political development of the Irish middle class, set against a background of what is termed the essential conservatism of the Irish people. The social discontent that lay at the root of all popular revolutionary movements has never been properly assessed in any contemporary history of Ireland. The attempted social revolution of half a century ago, as can be seen from the bibliography that follows, has been acknowledged with only a passing reference from a handful of historians.

Martin Comack

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LETTER

Dear Anarchy Collective,

I did not see the first part of 'Fascism in Britain Today', so perhaps some of my comments on the second part have been covered. However, I would like to say a word or two in favour of the 'liberal' or pacifist view, for which MPW holds such contempt.

For a start, to take Hitler's word for anything, or follow his advice in any matters seems to me, as an anarchist, somewhat strange. The romantic notion of anti-fascists clashing with the NF, east end '30s style, is all very well, but has little to do with the reality of the situation. Indeed, it may be that the prospect of going on a demo in order to clash with 'lefties' has enhanced the attraction of the front for some.

At the last anti-fascist demo I attended, the NF were wielding bicycle chains and meat hooks, and there can be no possibility of opposing those, except with one's own bicycle chains of course. But all this begs the question, as does Wright's cheerful description of the successful attack on the fascists. Their fascism is likely to increase in direct proportion to the number of socialist bricks they are hit by. If an NF supporter injures YOU, it doesn't stop you being an anarchist. The violence which accrues around NF demos merely gives them much-needed publicity, a very negative result.

What we must do is (as Wright suggests) organise 'blockage' demos properly, disseminate more relevant propaganda more efficiently, and emulate the anti-fascists on the 'march against the muggers' demo. To allow the front to dictate battle terms to us - ie. violence - as has usually been the case in the past, is to invite defeat, as any

general (or police officer) would tell you. And is 'free speech' really going to mean anything anyway, if we only afford it to those with whom we agree? Such a course does not bode well for an anarchist society of the future.

The truth is that the NF is the biggest irrelevant distraction to come the way of socialists for many years. The government, politicians, and all the other defenders of the system are no doubt delighted to see the entire left battering itself ineffectually against a few fascists. Only now that the front presents a 'real' threat - ie. it intends to field candidates at the next election, and may win a seat or two, to upset the delicate balance of Labour's '1' majority in parliament - is any action being taken by the establishment. By drawing attention to 'extremists' we are drawing attention away from the real fascists in established government.

The Front is in any case merely a symptom of discontent with the system, and trying to suppress symptoms never stopped a disease (All talk about stopping Hitler in the early stages is merely rhetoric). Instead we should be exploiting and channelling that discontent into libertarian ideas, pointing out to people the differences between the victims of the state's selfishness and bad planning, and the perpetrators in the government and system itself - we should (and can) channel hatred for blacks and coloureds into hatred for officials and bureaucrats. But to pretend that the hatred does not exist, or merely fight it as and when it arises, on its (ie. the NFs) own terms is merely to invite disaster, and play the state's game.

Yours,
Simon Carney.

france, after lip : imro

At the invitation of the Anarchist Workers Association, the IMRO workers held a public meeting in London on August 13th.

About 50 people attended the meeting — some of them anarchists, others not. This small number slightly disappointed the two French comrades from IMRO who, as a result of similar meetings which have been held in Germany, Italy and France, have been accustomed to speaking to much larger audiences.

How could they sum up 10 months of real life struggle within the space of 3 hours? They were a handful of workers, yet they did, and still do bother the French ruling class. Below is an outline of their struggle.

Since September 29 1975, the workers of IMRO (Imprimerie Rouennaise) had been occupying their factory in order to oppose the impending closure of the factory and the resultant redundancies of all the workers. On Friday, July 16 1976 at 4.00 a.m. the riot police evicted them.

During the ten months of the occupation, the owners and foremen were forbidden access to the factory. From a workforce of 90 people, 30 were constantly present day and night.

Only a few women assisted in the occupation, a source of concern to the occupying workers: "... (they) have preferred to stay at home looking after their kids rather than paying a childminder... we think this is a consequence of bourgeois ideology, which prevents women from seeing themselves as workers".* (The quote is taken from the interview conducted in France by the AWA. See "Anarchist Worker" No 29, July-August.)

The comrades utilized their working tools, which were previously in the hands of the capitalists, in order to publicize both their fight and those of striking workers in other factories and workplaces. This publicity was achieved by

printing posters, leaflets, their own newspaper "Special Licenciements"¹ and screening a film about workers' struggles in Normandie. For in France at the moment there are numerous small factories engaged in strike action — e.g.: "Griffet" at Marseilles, the Fougères Shoeworks, etc. In the printing industry itself, about ten factories are currently on strike.

The IMRO premises and all workers' meetings were open to any left organisations, trade unions or political parties sympathetic to the nature of their struggle. Discussion was open to all, and exchanges of viewpoint about the occupation itself were encouraged. IMRO comrades also spoke at a number of meetings abroad and participated in demonstrations and meetings.

Since the forcible eviction from their factory, the IMRO workers are now obliged to continue their fight against the bosses and the government outside of the premises. They continue to print their newspaper, and have successfully sought popular support by gaining the solidarity of other workers, and by attempting to link their struggle with those of other workers in different workplaces.

The IMRO workers are also participating in strike factory commissions which were originally set up during the "Lip" workers struggle. The commissions set themselves the task of co-ordinating the many workers struggles against the ruling class. These might be seen as the first steps towards a European Strike Factories Assembly — all workers fighting in common against international capitalism and union bureaucracy.

At the beginning of the occupation, the workers organised themselves according to their own specialized form of work. As the occupation progressed, however, the divisions of labour were broken down, and the IMRO workers found it easier and better to exchange tasks instead of having one assembly to re-discuss the already known aspects of a specific task. This led to the workers having a "free control" of the factory, in which every worker took the initiative and organized their work along the lines thought most suitable.

Having once organized along these lines, the

THE NOTTING HILL RIOTS

carnival

Every year, during the August bank - holiday, Britain's West-Indian community holds a Caribbean-style carnival; with colourful parades, music, dancing and dozens of side events. Hundreds of thousands of people from all over the country attend. It is held on the streets of North Kensington.

This year, however, the festivities were interrupted on the last day: young blacks harrassed by a police presence numbering 1,600 defended themselves against arbitrary police arrests. At about 5pm rioting broke out between police and young blacks, it spread over the whole Ladbroke Grove area and lasted well into the night. Over 300 police were injured, 35 police vehicles were damaged, several shops had been looted and 60 people arrested.

harrassment

This is an attempt to sort out the reports in the media, and present them in a manner, as I see it, favourable to the young blacks. (Well you don't expect a pro-police article in an anarchist magazine do you?) The large police presence was 'justified' by shady allegations of mass outbreaks of 'petty crime' by young blacks in the crowds. But this was no excuse for the massive police presence. The young blacks, people with good memories, knew that the police were there for the express purpose of TERRORISING them.

IMRO workers then began to question the entire system of production; whereas before they had been unable to live and work without the bosses and their orders, now they realize that they can, and are fighting to encourage other factories and workers to take the same initiative.

I finish by letting the IMRO workers speak for themselves. The following extracts are taken from "The Statements of the IMRO Workers in the CGT Union" which was given to the French leftist press in June 1976 as an answer to an accusing document from their Union:

"We discussed with everybody, and any progressive organization who came to us.....no political organization can pretend to have directed, openly or by manipulation, our struggle."

"To think that the workers are not capable of discussing without being manipulated! It's despising them!"

"We don't regret one thing we have done.... we have the feeling that we did accomplish our duty as strike workers, and we're calling upon all the workers to support our fight against unemployment, against the bosses and the ruling class who want the workers to pay for the crisis."

"Workers, the IMRO unemployed workers: fight for a better world! Solidarity!"

Joel

1. "Special Licenciements" may be obtained from the IMRO Solidarity Committee c/o 17 Hemstal Road, London NW6, who will also be glad to supply any further information concerning the IMRO occupation. Please enclose stamped addressed envelope for reply. Enquiries, donations and messages of support may also be sent direct to IMRO c/o Comité de Soutien IMRO Fraternelle—Mission Populaire, 183 rue Saint Julien, 76100, Rouen.

*An obvious flaw in the organization of the occupation.—typist

Mass arrests of young blacks is so commonplace, the police so hated by young blacks, that the police force of the entire country has only a couple of dozen black police officers. Cases involving mass arrests in London alone: the Mangrove 9, Metro 4, Oval 4, Brockwell Park 3, Swan Disco 7, Cricklewood 12, Stockwell 10; cases that have involved frame ups and police brutality, are examples of the extreme harassment suffered by young blacks. Individual cases, random street searches and beatings by the police must run into tens of thousands.

It is not a question of how many police should have been there, that is a question for liberals to pick bones over, the question is: Should the police have been there at all? Only the people who attended the carnival can answer that. Anyone who attended the event must have been offended by the sea of police helmets and uniforms, it was after all a carnival not a political demonstration. Let us now look at the fighting.

battles

The actual riots were the fiercest and protracted street battles on mainland Britain since the 1936 Cable St. riots. Who won? From newspaper reports it looked as though the police took a real hammering. The battles that raged that day were not like the usual police vs left confrontations, more like the Falls Road battles of the early 70's. Police were knocked over like ninepins by volleys of bricks and bottles (the nearby demolition sites providing ample ammunition). Baton charges were ineffective in dampening the enthusiasm of the rioters as they paid the police back for years of harassment. Although attempts to build barricades were ineffective, the sheer hostility and mobility of the rioters along with the constant stone throwing drove the police back. The police having no riot equipment such as shields, had to pick up dustbin lids and traffic signs to protect themselves, police also tried charging the crowds with their vehicles, horns

blaring, but the intense stoning forced the police to abandon some of them, which were set on fire and several were burnt out. The initiative lay with the youngsters until midnight, when the rioting petered out.

aftermath

In the aftermath of the riots it was learnt that several shops had been looted, but this was a mere fringe activity, involving as many whites as blacks. Most of the people there were either trying to get away from the riot area or fighting the police. The stalls under Portobello flyover were not looted, they were smashed up and used as ammunition. It is interesting to note the large number of hated transport police that were injured and that a number of their vehicles were burnt out. (The transport police have been involved in beating up young blacks and framing them especially in south London). The crack Special Patrol Group seemed to inflict most of the casualties on the crowd, mostly randomly, thus helping to spread the rioting, but the ordinary police were hard put to control the situation. Bridges over the Thames were blocked by the police and cars containing young blacks were turned back; but it was too late, blacks from all over London, indeed from all over the country, were at Notting Hill. The Notting Hill riots were a collective reply by the young black community to years of police repression. They were not race riots but ANTI-POLICE riots by (mostly) unemployed, low-paid, young blacks, the people at the bottom of the economic and social scrapheap. Two weeks later in B'ham 300 young west indians gathered in the town centre after a youngster was arrested for stealing an ash-tray; a few days later 50 youngsters stoned police outside their station after 5 people had been arrested, not dispersing until early morning. It seems that this is going to become a more common occurrence, probably spreading to other discontented sections of the population. Notting Hill was only the beginning.

MPW

